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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY

ON

SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES.

CHIEFLY DESIGNED FOR THE YOUNG.

VOL. IV.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

FROM THE DEATH OF RICHARD I. TO

THE DEATH OF RICHARD II.

A. D. 1199 — A. D. 1400.



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## PREFACE

### TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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THIS volume is arranged on the same plan as the foregoing; and includes, within *the Times* of some well-known sovereign, the history of cotemporary kings, and simultaneous events.

By consulting the Table of Contents, and referring occasionally to the Index, the history of any particular kingdom, or sovereign, may be read consecutively, at pleasure.

We begin with *the Times of Innocent III.*—the leading character of his day—and with these we connect *the exactly corresponding Times of John* in England (A. D. 1198—1216).

The long period, which we designate *the Times of Henry III.*, son of John, next comes under review (A. D. 1216—1272).

It is easy then to follow, in succession, the history of the three Edwards, father, son, and grandson. *The Times of Edward I.* stretch from A. D. 1272—1307; *the Times of Edward II.* carry us through twenty years; and *the Times of Edward III.* through fifty years more; making up the period of seventy years, during which the papal see was removed from Rome to Avignon (A. D. 1307—1377). *The Times of Richard II.* conduct us to the close of the century (A. D. 1377—1399).

Thus the reigns of *six kings*, occupying in hereditary succession the throne of England, enable us to pass with

ease through the history of *two centuries*; and furnish us with the settled points to which our scattered thoughts may again and again return. A general sketch of the History of Christian Profession is given, as before, in a separate chapter at the close of each century, though much of ecclesiastical history is necessarily mingled with that of the various States as we pass along.

This volume, for the reason assigned in the advertisement, does not contain all the materials that were prepared for it; but it is complete as far as it goes, and terminates at a point which seems a convenient resting-place — the close of the Fourteenth Century.

An appendix, containing a list of all the works from which the historical information is derived, will be found at the close of the next volume; and will include all the fresh sources of ancient history to which I have gone, in preparing a new edition of the first volume, or rather *a new first volume*.

I do not like to lose this opportunity of expressing the high value I attach to the prayers, counsels, and encouragement, of all who love Christian truth; for I have a sincere desire to treat subjects of transitory interest so as to keep in mind the triumphant cry — “*The word of our God shall stand for ever.*”

*June 6, 1849.*

# CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

## CHAPTER I.

*Innocent III. and his Times. A.D. 1198—1216.*

### THE POPEDOM.

PAGE

Introductory remarks on the papacy.—Innocent III. and his pretensions.—State of the empire at his elevation.—Philip and Otho IV. rivals, and successively emperors.—Innocent's judicial fame.—His power over kings.—The Fourth Lateran Council, held under Innocent's direction, establishes the false doctrine of Transubstantiation, forbids preaching unlicensed by the Romish see, and decrees the extirpation of heretics.—Circumstances of Innocent's death.—His character.—His efforts to prevent meetings of Christians for reading the Scriptures and for mutual edification . . . . .

1

## CHAPTER II.

*Times of Innocent III. parallel with the Times of King John.*

### ENGLAND.

Accession of John.—Council at Westminster.—John's visit to Philip Augustus.—His marriage with Isabella of Angouleme.—Murder of Arthur of Bretagne.—Loss of Normandy.—John's quarrel with Innocent III.—The interdict laid upon England by the Pope.—John's resistance to the Pope.—His excommunication and subsequent submission and resignation of his crown, receiving it again as the Pope's vassal.—His war with the Barons, and forced signature of Magna Charta.—Louis elected by a faction in England.—Death of John.—His family.—Government of Ireland.—Kings of Scotland . . . . .

14

## CHAPTER III.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

### FRANCE AND THE CRUSADES.

Papal interdict laid on France.—Personal appearance and pomp of Philip Augustus.—Independence of the barons of France.—A crusade preached for the extermination of the heretics in the South of France.—The Counts of Beziers and Toulouse defend their Albigensian subjects.—Horrors of the war.—Simon de Montfort, the commander of the papal army.—His dreadful cruelties.—Death of the King of Arragon at the battle of Muret.—Blasphemous exaltation of De Montfort.—His death before the walls of Toulouse.—Various crusades promoted by Innocent III.—State of the kingdom of Jerusalem.—Proclamation of the Sixth Crusade . . . . .

31

## CHAPTER IV.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

## DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN ORDERS.

PAGE

- Early history of Dominic. — Formation of the Dominican Order — Work of the first Dominicans in Languedoc. — Their influence at Rome and elsewhere. — Character of Dominic's religion. — Early history of Francis, the founder of the Franciscan Order. — Their mendicant profession and missionary undertakings. — Blasphemies concerning St. Francis . . . . . 42

## CHAPTER V.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

## SPAIN.

- Papal interdict laid on Leon. — Alphonso IX. resists, and at last submits to Innocent III. — Castile under Alphonso the Noble and Eleanor of England. — Arragon under Peter II. — Defeat of the Christians at Alarcos, revenged in the victory of their combined armies over the Moors at Tolosa. — Family of Alphonso the Noble. — Regency of his daughter Berengaria in Castile. — The infant James is raised to the throne of his father in Arragon . . . . . 50

## CHAPTER VI.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

## THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

- Bulgaria, being separated from the Greek empire, is formed into a kingdom by Innocent III. — Isaac Angelus deposed, and his brother Alexius made emperor. — Alexius, son of Isaac, escapes to Italy, and diverts the Fifth Crusade for the restoration of his father and his own elevation. — Taking of Constantinople by the French and Venetians. — Baldwin, count of Flanders, the first Latin emperor. — Division of the Greek empire. — Death of Baldwin, and accession of his brother Henry. — His prosperous reign . . . . . 57

## CHAPTER VII.

*Henry III. and his Times. A. D. 1216—1272.*

## ENGLAND.

- Accession of Henry III. — Events during his minority. — Henry's marriage with Eleanor of Provence, and unpopularity, on account of his foreign favourites. — Character of Langton. — Avarice of the Popes. — Henry's quarrel with Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. — His breach of promise, after confirming Magna Charta, leads to civil war. — Temporary peace. — His visit to France. — War with the barons renewed. — At the battle of Lewes, Leicester makes the royal family his captives. — Prince Edward escapes, heads the royalists, and Leicester is slain at the battle of Evesham. — Henry's restoration and death. — Foreign relations of England in this reign . . . . . 64

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

PAGE

Frederic II. — His marriage connections. — His coronation by Honourous III. — The Sixth Crusade headed by John of Brienne. — Damietta taken and lost. — Sufferings of the crusaders in Egypt. — Frederic still delays to undertake a crusade, and is excommunicated by Gregory IX. — His departure for Palestine, treaty with the sultan, and visit to Jerusalem. — Gregory's attack upon the emperor, and the violent contest between them. — Fury of the war. — Expulsion and death of Gregory. — Innocent IV. continues the quarrel, and deposes the emperor. — Death of Frederic. — Troubles of the interregnum. — The state of Italy illustrated by the story of the tyrant Eccelino . . . 78

## CHAPTER IX.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## FRANCE AND THE CRUSADES.

Review of the affairs of France till the death of Philip Augustus. — Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion, concludes the war in Languedoc, and dies there. — Queen Blanche, regent during the minority of Louis IX. — Character of that prince. — His appellation of saint. — His restraint of ecclesiastical abuses, and wise government. — The taking of Jerusalem by the Karismians excites Louis to prepare for a crusade. — History of the Seventh Crusade. — Damietta again taken and lost. — Captivity of Louis. — At his release he visits Palestine. — Wisdom and justice of his government on his return to France. — His brother, Charles of Anjou, becomes king of Sicily after the execution of Conradin, the grandson of Frederic II. — Departure of Louis for a fresh crusade. — His death before Tunis . . . 89

## CHAPTER X.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## SPAIN.

Accession of Ferdinand III. to the throne of Castile. — Reasons for his being called the Saint. — Early fame of James the Conqueror, king of Arragon. — Union of Leon with Castile. — Ferdinand's war with the Moors. — Taking of Cordova, and consecration of the great mosch for Catholic worship. — Continued successes of James and Ferdinand. — The King of Granada rendered tributary, and Seville taken. — Death of Ferdinand III. — Marriage of his daughter Eleanor to Prince Edward of England. — Pretensions of his son, Alphonso X., to the empire. — Conclusion of the reign of James the Conqueror . . . 105

## CHAPTER XI.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

PAGE

Peter of Courtenay chosen emperor of Constantinople, and crowned at Rome, dies in the prison of the despot of Epirus, on his way to the throne. — His widow Violante reigns till her death. — Their son Robert succeeds. — Losses of the Latins in his reign. — Miserable circumstances of his death. — Accession of his son, Baldwin II. — John of Brienne made his guardian, and emperor for life. — Baldwin's visits to Italy, France, and England, in search of aid. — His traffic in relics. — Remarks on relics. — Weakness and wickedness of Baldwin. — Character and history of Vataces, the Greek emperor of Nice. — His son, Theodore Lascaris. — History of Michael Paleologus. — He becomes emperor to the prejudice of John Lascaris. — Constantinople restored to the Greeks. — Flight of Baldwin. — Elevation of Michael. — His cruel treatment of John Lascaris. — His consequent excommunication by the Patriarch Arsenius. — Deposition and banishment of Arsenius. — Powerful party of the Arsenites. — Political conduct of Michael Paleologus. — Association of his son Andronicus in the empire . . . . . 114

## CHAPTER XII.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## TARTAR EMPIRE.

Origin of the Moguls and Tartars. — Early history of Zingis Khan. — His destruction of the empire of Prester John. — His conquest of the northern provinces of China. — His victory over the Karismians and other nations of Asia. — Sons of Zingis. — Octai's conquests in China. — Description of the Tartars. — Their destructive course, under the command of Batou, in Western Asia and in Europe. — Destruction of the caliphate by Holagou. — Missions of the court of Rome and of Louis IX. to the Tartars, undertaken by Franciscan friars. — First attempts at commerce undertaken by the Venetians . . . . . 124

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Edward I. and his Times. A.D. 1272—1307.*

## ENGLAND.

Edward's personal appearance. — His actions in Palestine, and on his way back to England. — His coronation. — His vigorous attempts to establish order and justice in his own kingdom. — Circumstances of Wales. — Narrative of the fall of Llewellyn, the last of the Welsh kings. — Edward's barbarous treatment of the bodies of the Welsh princes. — Birth of Edward of Carnarvon, prince of Wales. — Edward's character as a lawgiver. — His treaty with Philip the Fair. — Circumstances of Scotland. — Death of Alexander III. — Schemes of Edward I. to obtain dominion over Scotland. — Baliol, his vassal-king, rebelling, is

	PAGE
defeated and imprisoned. — Story of William Wallace. — Robert Bruce crowned king of Scotland. — His misfortunes, and the sufferings of his partisans. — Death of Edward I.	138

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Times of Edward I.*

## FRANCE UNDER PHILIP THE HARDY AND PHILIP THE FAIR.

Retreat of the last crusade. — Melancholy journey of Philip III. from Tunis to Paris. — His character as a good king. — Family troubles and death. — Evil dispositions of Philip the Fair. — His treatment of the Earl of Flanders. — The Flemish war. — History of Boniface VIII. — His quarrel with the King of France. — His famous bulls. — Philip plans the dethronement of the Pope. — Attempt to seize his person. — His wretched death. — Benedict XI. — Clement V. — His coronation at Lyons. — Philip and the Pope plan the destruction of the Knights Templars. — Their horrible treatment. — Philip's unpopularity. — His unhappy family. — His death. — Religious mysteries represented in France	162
--	-----

## CHAPTER XV.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

## SPAIN.

Alphonso X., king of Castile. — His title to the surname of Learned. — His want of self-controul, and consequent troubles. — The respect shown to Alphonso by foreign powers. — War between Castile and Granada. — Death of Alahmar under the excitement of passion. — Mohammed II. succeeds him as king of Granada. — His treaty with Castile. — His subsequent war with the Christians after having called in the aid of the Africans. — Alphonso's family troubles. — His son Sancho made king in his stead. — Death of Alphonso. — Reign of Sancho IV. and of Ferdinand IV. — Circumstances preceding the death of Ferdinand. — Peter III., king of Arragon. — Circumstances of Navarre. — Marriage of the queen with Philip the Fair. — Circumstances of Sicily under Charles of Anjou. — The Sicilian vespers. — Peter III. crowned king of Sicily. — His contempt of the Pope's excommunication and of the challenge of Charles of Anjou. — Defeat of Philip the Hardy in his invasion of Spain. — Edward I., as arbiter, concludes peace between Arragon, France, and Sicily. — The Dominican inquisitors are put down in Arragon. — State of Granada	175
---	-----

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

## GERMANY.

Contentions of the German electors terminated by the choice of Rodolph, count of Hapsburg. — His previous history. — His	
--	--

character. — He gives up all claim of jurisdiction over Rome, and will not visit Italy. — He subdues Ottacar, king of Bohemia. — Rodolph's love of peace and justice. — He wins the affections of the people, and reigns in an excellent manner. — Limited power of the emperor. — Ceremonies used in bestowing the great fiefs. — After a short interregnum, Adolphus of Nassau is chosen emperor. — His unpopular reign ends in his deposition. — He is slain in battle by the emperor chosen in his stead. — Character of Albert, the son of Rodolph. — His vigorous measures to establish himself in the empire. — His efforts for the aggrandisement of his sons end in his assassination. — Swiss cantons . . . . . 192

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

THE GREEK EMPIRE UNDER MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS AND ANDRONICUS THE ELDER. — RISE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER. — COTEMPORARY KHANS OF E. AND W. TARTARY.

The Emperor Michael, in fear of a crusade, attempts the union of the Greek Church with Rome. — The Greek deputies attend the Council of Lyons with letters of union. — Failure of the scheme. — Michael is excommunicated by the Pope. — His death. — Character of Andronicus. — Orthogrul and his son Othman. — The latter invades the Greek empire year by year. — Abaca, the khan of W. Tartary, seeks alliance with the European princes. — His profession of Christianity. — His son Argou dies after forming an engagement to join Edward I. in a crusade. — Missions of the friars. — Cublai Khan completes the conquest of China, and makes Pekin his capital. — Nicholas IV. sends him a letter. — Labours of the Franciscan friar, John of Corvino, in China . . . . . 201

## CHAPTER XVIII.

RUSSIA FROM THE DEATH OF THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CZAR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TARTAR DOMINION.

The revolutions that follow the death of Vladimir the Great. — Freedom of Novogorod. — History of Vladimir Monomachus. — Civil war. — Sanguinary contest for the dignity of grand prince. — Vladimir becomes the capital city of Russia instead of Kiow. — Anarchy makes Russia an easy prey to the Tartars. — Ferocity of Batou and his followers. — Subjection of Russia to the khans of Western Tartary. — Wealth and worldly honours allowed to the Church of Russia by Tartar politicians . . . 212

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Christian Profession in the Thirteenth Century.*

Responsibility of the Popes, because of their knowledge of the Scriptures. — Splendour of the coronation of Gregory IX. —

The pomp and the bloodshedding of Rome enable us to find its likeness in the Apocalyptic Vision.—Singular history of Celestine V.—The Jubilee instituted by Boniface VIII.—Observations on the Crusades in their political, moral, and religious aspect.—Example of the penance imposed on persons returning to the Romish Church.—Tortures inflicted by the Dominican inquisitors.—The first and last inquisitors in Germany.—The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit.—Their doctrines and sufferings.—Predictions concerning the age of the Holy Ghost.—Delusions consequent on these imaginations.—Testimony of the Waldenses in their writings, lives, and sufferings.—History of Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln.—His bold witness against the corruptions of Rome.—His friend Roger Bacon.—Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura.—Carrying about of the Host.—Sufferings of the Jews on the charge of having outraged the Host.—Conversion of the Livonians, Esthonians, and Prussians 219

## CHAPTER XX.

*Treatment of the Jews in the Thirteenth Century.*

General remarks on the persecutions of the Jews by the Gentiles.—Scriptural principles.—Peculiar position of the Jews in the midst of Christendom.—The sorrows brought upon them by their love of money.—Their treatment in England, France, Germany, and Spain.—Evil consequences of wrong thoughts about the Jews . . . . . 249

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III. A. D. 1307—1377.*

Early life of Edward II.—His marriage with Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France.—Story of Piers de Gaveston.—Affairs of Scotland under Robert Bruce.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Increasing troubles of Edward II.—His wife's conspiracy against him.—His deposition and murder.—Accession of Edward III.—Affairs of Scotland.—Edward lays claim to the throne of France.—His wars.—Battle of Cressy.—Battle of Neville's Cross.—Taking of Calais.—Life and writings of Bradwardine, Edward's confessor.—History of David Bruce.—Pretensions of Edward Baliol.—Failure of all the plans of Edward II. for the subjection of Scotland.—The Black Prince gains the battle of Poitiers, and takes the King of France prisoner.—Close of Bruce's reign.—Accession of the first Stuart.—Last actions and death of the Black Prince.—Close of the reign of Edward III. . . . . 259

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## THE KINGS OF FRANCE, AND THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

Louis X., surnamed Hutin.—Philip V., le Long.—Charles IV., the Fair.—These kings, the three sons of Philip the Fair,

succeed each other during the reign of Edward II. — Cotemporary Popes, Clement V. and John XXII. — Philip (VI.) of Valois makes war with Flanders, and receives the homage of Edward III. — Sufferings of France from war and pestilence. — History of the Flagellants. — Popes cotemporary with Philip VI., Benedict XII., and Clement VI. — John (II.) the Good. — Troubles of France during his captivity. — Pontificate of Innocent VI. — Charles (V.) the Wise. — After an interval of seventy years, Rome again becomes the seat of the Popes . . . . . 303

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## SPAIN.

Minority of Alphonso XI., king of Castile. — He assumes the government, and a Jew is treasurer of his kingdom. — Contest with the Moors. — Ismael, king of Granada. — His great character and acts. — James II., king of Arragon, obtains the surname of Just. — His abolition of torture. — His son, Alphonso IV., becomes king in the same year as Edward III. — Peace between Castile and Granada. — Peter IV., the Ceremonious, king of Arragon. — Victories of Alphonso of Castile and Portugal over the Moors near Tarifa. — Alphonso XI. takes Algeziras, and dies of the pestilence before Gibraltar. — His friendship for Edward III. — Discovery of the Canary Isles. — History of Peter IV. (the Cruel) of Castile. — Similarity between him and Peter IV. (the Just) of Portugal. — Peter the Cruel, being driven out of his kingdom, is re-instated by the Black Prince. — He is afterwards defeated, and treacherously killed in Du Guesclin's tent by Henry of Trastamare, who succeeds him. — Character of this king. — Mohammed V., king of Granada. . . . . 324

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

The forgetfulness of the emperors, and the absence of the popes, alters the state of Italy. — Its cultivated and polished state. — Variety of the forms of government. — The republic of Florence. — The aristocracy of Venice. — Liberty becomes lawlessness. — Difficulties in electing an emperor after the murder of Albert. — Elevation of Henry VII. — His course of policy in Italy, and suspicious death there. — The pestilence. — Frederic, duke of Austria, and Louis of Bavaria, raised to the empire at the same time by different factions. — Frederic taken prisoner, and generously treated by Louis V. — Leopold of Austria attempts in vain to enslave the Swiss. — Intrigues of John XXII. — The first of the Visconti, tyrants of Milan. —

Louis V. is crowned at Milan in the year that Edward II. died. — His tyranny in Italy. — His defiance of the Pope. — John excommunicates him, and Clement VI. renews the anathema. — Charles (IV.) of Luxemburg succeeds to the empire. — Evil effects of an elective monarchy. — Revolutions in Italy. — The poet Petrarch. — History of Rienzi. — Petrarch crowned with the poet's laurel at the capitol. — Establishment of the Good State at Rome. — Power of Rienzi. — His pride and downfall. — Affairs of the kingdom of Naples. — The queen, on account of the murder of her husband, is attacked by his brother Louis the Great, king of Hungary. — Retreat of this prince and restoration of Joan. — Miserable state of Italy under its many tyrants. — Murder of Rienzi. — Charles IV. is crowned at Rome, but claims no power in that city. — The Golden Bull. — Charles invades Italy. — The Florentines raise the standard of liberty. — Sanguinary character of the papal agents. — Return of the Popes to Rome . . . . . 343

## CHAPTER XXV.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## THE GREEK EMPIRE.

Close of the reign of Andronicus the Elder. — An account of some of the ruling patriarchs. — The Catalan mercenaries assist, and then ravage the empire. — They retreat into Greece, and take Athens. — Character of Andronicus the Younger. — He is made emperor, and his grandfather retires to a monastery. — Orchan, the successor of Othman, becomes very formidable to the empire, takes the title of sultan, and makes Bursa the seat of government. — Rhodes saved by the Knights of St. John. — Andronicus treats, in vain, of union with Rome. — Novel tenets of the monks of Mount Athos, sanctioned by the emperor. — John Cantacuzene makes himself the rival, and afterwards the colleague, of John Paleologus. — Disgraceful alliance with the Ottomans. — Character of the Sultan Orchan. — Power of his son Amurath I. — Origin of the Janizaries. — Amurath's wars and death. — John Paleologus visits the Pope, and professes the Roman Catholic faith. — Troubles of his reign . . . . . 370

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Richard II. and his Times.*ENGLAND, FRANCE, SCOTLAND, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.  
A. D. 1377—1400.

Accession of Richard II. — His coronation. — Power of his three uncles during his minority. — Charles VI., also a minor, falls under the power of his three uncles. — Insurrection of Wat Tyler. — Richard's courage and presence of mind. — Dangers of John of Gaunt. — The good Queen Anne. — Warlike spirit

of Charles VI. — Insurrection at Paris. — England threatened with invasion from France. — A judicial combat. — Funeral oration. — Derangement of Charles VI. — Misfortunes of Richard. — His external magnificence. — His crimes and consequent terror. — Banishment of his cousin Henry of Lancaster. — Expedition into Ireland. — Circumstances of Richard's deposition. — Coronation of Henry IV. — Richard's mysterious death. — Affairs of Scotland under Robert III. — Affairs of Spain and Portugal. — Connection of the family of Lancaster with the Kings of Castile and Portugal . . . . . 383

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Times of Richard II.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

Wenceslaus, emperor. — His idle, wicked character. — His imprisonment and escape. — Election of an Italian Pope, Urban VI. — The French cardinals being displeased with him, elect another, Clement VII. — Division of the European nations between the rival Popes, one at Rome, the other at Avignon. — Unhappy end of Joan, queen of Naples. — Effects of the system of double Popes. — State of Italy. — Democracy assumes a modified form in Florence and other republics. — Usurpation and horrible cruelties of the tyrant of Milan. — The misconduct and sloth of Wenceslaus lead to great troubles, and end in his deposition. — Character and death of Clement VII. — He is succeeded at Avignon by Benedict XIII. — The jubilee of 1400. — Boniface IX. dies, like his rival, Clement, from the effects of passion . . . . . 405

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Sketch of Poland to the end of the Times of Richard II.*

Review of the history of Poland. — Boleslaus the Great. — Miecslaus the Idle. — Casimir the Restorer. — Boleslaus the Bold. — His murder of the Bishop of Cracow leads to his dethronement, and the rulers of Poland for more than 200 years lose the title of king. — History of Boleslaus Wrymouth. — His pilgrimages and battles. — Casimir the Just. — Lesko the White. — Ravages of the Tartars in the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste. — Lesko the Black. — Poland saved from anarchy in the revival of the royal dignity in Premizlaus, who is crowned by the Archbishop of Gnesen. — Reign of Casimir the Great. — Through his Jewish wife, Esther, the Jews become a privileged people in Poland. — Louis the Great of Hungary becomes king of Poland. — His unpopularity leads him to make concessions to the nobility, which still farther limit the royal power. — Reign of Hedwig, the daughter of Louis. — She marries Jagello, the pagan duke of Lithuania, who is baptized by the name of Ladislaus, and attempts the conversion of his countrymen . . . . 416

## CHAPTER XXIX.

PAGE

SKETCH OF THE THREE NORTHERN KINGDOMS (NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK), FROM THE TIME OF THEIR FIRST PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARGARET, UNDER WHOM THEY WERE UNITED IN THE TIMES OF RICHARD II.

Kings of Denmark — Magnus the Good. — Sweyn II. — Harold the Gentle. — Canute (IV.) the Hungry. — Eric (III.) the Good. — His pilgrimage. — Eric (V.) the Lamb. — Waldemar (I.) the Great. — His prelate Absalom. — Waldemar (II.) the Victorious. — His imprisonment. — Eric (VI.) Ploughpenny. — He is murdered by his brother Abel, who becomes king. — Tradition concerning him. — Denmark laid under an interdict in the reign of Christopher. — Eric (VII.) Glipping. — Eric (VIII.) Moenved. — Christopher II. — Poverty and weakness of Denmark. — Its revival under Waldemar III. — His daughter Margaret is espoused to Haco, king of Norway. — Sketch of some of the preceding kings of Norway. — Olave III. — Magnus Barefoot. — Sigurd. — His adventures abroad. — Suero, a priest, usurps the throne. — Haco IV. listens to the Bible. — Iceland, in this reign, becomes tributary to Norway. — State of Iceland and Greenland. — Sketch of some of the kings of Sweden. — Eric the Saint. — Magnus I. unites the Swedes and the Goths. — His son Bergen. — Magnus II. — His downfall. — His son Haco of Norway marries Margaret of Denmark. — Margaret, by her talents, and artifices, unites the three kingdoms under her sway. — Union of Calmar. — Troubles of Queen Margaret. — Her public and private character. — She is called the Semiramis of the North . . . . . 425

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Times of Richard II.*

## THE TARTAR, GREEK, AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES.

Tamerlane, the great khan, in Asia. — Bajazet, the Ottoman sultan. — Early life of Tamerlane. — His principles of action. — His first difficulties and dangers. — His ambition is sharpened by Mahometan fanaticism. — He is proclaimed at Samarcand, Lord of the World. — His rapid conquests in Tartary, Persia, Arabia, and Georgia. — He extends his empire from the Archipelago to the Ganges, and from the Persian Gulph to Siberia. — His conquest of Hindostan. — He bursts into Syria, and invades Asia Minor. — Horrible destruction. — History of Bajazet up to the time of his battle with Tamerlane. — His wars and conquests. — His defeat of Sigismund and the Christian armies near Nicopolis. — His French captives. — Their ransom and release. — An attack of gout hinders the execution of Bajazet's projects in Europe. — Blockade of Constantinople raised by the Ottoman Turks, at the approach of the Tartars. — At the battle of Angora, Bajazet is taken prisoner by Tamerlane. — His treatment and death. — His family. — Tamerlane, for want of ships,

cannot pursue his conquests farther than the sea of Marmora. — At Samarcand, he displays his glory and riches, and receives foreign ambassadors. — Tamerlane dies at the commencement of the expedition against a native Chinese emperor. — Awful desolation occasioned by Tamerlane's career. — His talents. — His descendants . . . . . 443

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## HISTORY OF RUSSIA UNDER TARTAR DOMINION TO THE CLOSE OF THE TIMES OF RICHARD II.

The Grand-prince Alexander Nevsky — He obtains that surname on account of his defeat of the Danes and their allies near the Neva. — He is murdered at the Golden Horde, and canonised by the Greek Church. — The powerful khan Usbek, from whom Kaptshak receives the name of Usbek Tartary. — Struggles for the grand-princedom. — Execution of the Grand-prince Michael at the horde. — Bosnai Serai. — Division of the Tartar empire into the khannats of the Don and the Volga. — The Grand-prince Ivan (I.) Kalita. — His talents for government. — His love of gain. — Increased commerce of Russia. — The Lithuanians. — The Don Cossacks. — The Grand-prince Demetrius obtains the surname of Donsky, from his defeat of the Tartars of the Don. — His son Vassily attempts to make himself independent of the Tartars, but fails. — Power and wealth of the Greek clergy and monks. — Princely pomp of the primate. — Money a prominent feature in the Greek, as well as the Roman Catholic, religion . . . . . 458

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*General Sketch of Manners in the 13th and 14th Centuries.*

England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. — Dwellings. — Language. — Dress. — Meals. — Halls. — Castles. — Churches. — Abbeys. — Colleges. — Description of London. — Public festivals. — Diversions. — Minstrels. — Mysteries and miracle plays. — Feast of fools. — Feast of the ass. — The boy-bishop. — Arts. — Manufactures. — Medicine and surgery. — Literature . . . . . 467

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Christian Profession in the Fourteenth Century.*

Decline of the papal power, through removal from Rome, its subsequent divisions and vices, and the exposure of its corruptions by men of talent. — Dante and his *Divina Comedia*. — Boccaccio. — Petrarch. — Occam. — Wickliffe. — His exposure of the Mendicant Orders. — His persecutions, translation of the Bible, and general testimony. — Langland's allegory, "the *Visions of Pierce Plowman*." — Chaucer and his writings. — Worship of the Blessed Virgin. — The Dutch Lollards. — The Waldenses. — Their sufferings and practical godliness. — The missionary field in Russia and Lithuania . . . . . 488

# UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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## PART IV.

THE MIDDLE AGES CONCLUDED.

FROM THE DEATH OF RICHARD I., A. D. 1199, TO  
THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION IN THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Innocent III. and his Times. A.D. 1198—1216.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE PAPACY. — INNOCENT III. AND HIS PRETENSIONS. — STATE OF THE EMPIRE AT HIS ELEVATION. — PHILIP AND OTHO IV. RIVALS, AND SUCCESSIVELY EMPERORS. — INNOCENT'S JUDICIAL FAME. — HIS POWER OVER KINGS. — THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL, HELD UNDER INNOCENT'S DIRECTION, ESTABLISHES THE FALSE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION, FORBIDS PREACHING UNLICENSED BY THE ROMISH SEE, AND DECREES THE EXTIRPATION OF HERETICS. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF INNOCENT'S DEATH. — HIS CHARACTER. — HIS EFFORTS TO PREVENT MEETINGS OF CHRISTIANS FOR READING THE SCRIPTURES AND FOR MUTUAL EDIFICATION.

WE are entering on the thirteenth century, which has commonly been distinguished as the noon-day of papal glory; and if, as it appears from history, the power of the Popes, ever previously increasing, came to its height at this period, it is a proper moment for offering some re-

marks on an empire so singular in its character, so wide in its extent, and so lasting in its duration.

Rome, on its seven mountains, whether the seat of imperial or papal power, was still "that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth:" when trampled upon by the barbarians its pre-eminence seemed for a moment endangered; but the false Church enthroned itself amidst the ruins of the seven-hilled metropolis, and the dominion of Rome, though altered in character, was at once revived and extended. Those barbarian kings who had defied the name of Cæsar submitted to the name of Peter; the purple mantle that fell from the shoulders of the last Roman emperor was worn by the Roman Popes with a double measure of power; the imperial eagles were exchanged for the banners of the cross-keys; and the newly constituted governors of the world (the Church and World being then almost synonymous) held in captivity the souls, and not merely the bodies, of men.

Rome papal held beneath her yoke many nations that had escaped the iron grasp of imperial Rome; whilst some who had bowed before the emperors, resolutely maintained their independence of the Popes. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, and the northern part of Scotland, Livonia, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, with a considerable part of Germany, Austria, and even of Hungary—vast countries untouched either by the desolating or civilising hands of the emperors, submitted for a long period, though not without resistance, to the bonds woven by the Popes. Yet these ambitious pretenders to universal dominion, though seldom ceasing from attempts to extend their power over the Eastern Roman empire, succeeded in their designs but for a brief moment, or in a partial manner; the heads of the Greek Church, or of the Mahometan faith, resisted and limited their empire in these regions: Russia, too, fell to the Greek Church; and the great nations of Asia and Africa, under the influence of Mahometanism and Heathenism, and a mixture of Christian sects, knew but little of the awful pretensions of the great crowned priest of Rome. In the thirteenth century, the pope was the centre of the vast circle of civilised and nominally Christian nations of modern Europe; and whilst proceeding through the his-

tory of the opening events of this busy period, we shall find Innocent the Third to be a kind of rallying point for our thoughts. *His times* (being also the times of King John in England) extended from 1198 to 1216.

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GREGORY the Seventh, the famous Hildebrand, perished in his desperate struggle to set the papal throne above all other thrones; and for a century or more after his death, no pope arose with sufficient talent to carry out the bold schemes planned by his superior genius. Those schemes were, however, pursued by Innocent III., and the times were favourable, and the powers of his mind adapted, to their execution. Aided by Satan, the grand contriver, Innocent, with a masterly hand, moved the mysterious machine of popery, crushing in countless numbers the souls of those who favoured its advance, and the bodies of those who impeded its progress.

Innocent's original name was Lothario de' Conti: he was an Italian of noble birth, and though only thirty-seven years of age, had acquired fame for learning in the schools of Rome, Bologna, and Paris: he was elected pope at the death of Celestine III., January, 1198. Innocent's own ideas of the dignity of a pope have been fairly gathered from one of his sermons concerning consecration; they are as follows:—"The vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Lord's anointed, a god to Pharaoh, on this side of God, on that side of man, less than God, more than man." As *vicar*, he pretended to stand in the place of Christ, and therefore, for instance, to remit sins; but it was in this point that the popes proved themselves to be Satan's vicars, for they promised remission on utterly different terms to those proposed by God.

If, in assuming the name of *the Lord's anointed*, Innocent did not blasphemously arrogate to himself one of Christ's titles, he at least made it the basis of his assertion, that every earthly power was to emanate from his own: he was wont to say, that the sun was the type of pontifical, the moon of regal power; and that the latter receives all its strength from the former. Although professing himself to be, like Moses, *a god to Pharaoh*, that is, to kings in general, the pope, far from speaking to kings all that *God* commanded (Exod. vii. 1, 2), spoke to them,

in many instances, in direct opposition to his commands. The idea of possessing a standing-place *between God and man*, which we may suppose Innocent intended to describe, being borrowed from a past dispensation, was common to the whole priesthood set up by man, but it was claimed in a special degree by the pope as high-priest: it was a practical denial of the living way opened by Christ himself: it accused his person, his finished work, and his intercession, of insufficiency. After thus exalting himself, Innocent supposed it necessary to allow that he was *less* than God; but for fear that even this degree of abasement should be mistaken, he placed himself in a new order of being, by at once assuming to be *more* than man.

From this outline of the powers and dignities claimed by Innocent III., we proceed to the detail of his attempts to bring them into action.

The Italian historian observes, that the authority of the emperors in Rome breathed its last at the accession of Innocent: only the day after his consecration he received the homage of the prefect of Rome, whom he invested with his mantle of office, making him promise to resign it at his will; and he also exacted the oath of fidelity from the senators and other officers. The existing circumstances of the empire were most favourable to the schemes of the new pope, and his powerful mind and aspiring spirit took full advantage of them.

Henry VI. (the Severe) had left the empire under the government of his brother Philip, duke of Suabia, during the minority of his young son Frederic; and a general diet held at Augsburg confirmed the emperor's will, and gave to Philip the title of king of the Romans. Constantia, the widow of Henry, remained in Sicily, her native country, and acted as regent of the kingdom for her son. It was not for the interest of the pope to have the empire and the kingdom of Sicily in the same hands, as he might thereby see a neighbouring sovereign more powerful than himself; he was, therefore, willing to confirm the youthful Frederic in the possession of Sicily, on condition of obtaining that controul over the island which Adrian IV. had resigned; and to this Constantia was obliged to consent. Moreover, at her death, which occurred in the first year of Innocent's reign, she left the guardianship of her son to

the pope, with a large annual payment to cover the expenses of the charge. The violent quarrel that had subsisted between Constantia and her husband may account for her throwing her son into the pope's hands instead of giving him up to his uncle; but that imprudent step led to a desolating war of seven years' duration. The kingdom of Sicily included not only that island but the dukedom of Apulia, and the principality of Capua: Philip was not willing to see these fair countries separated from the empire, and when Innocent sent a legate into Sicily to act as regent in his name, the seneschal of the empire contended with him for possession. The pope excommunicated him, and caused the curse to be repeated every Sunday and holiday, with bell, book, and candle; but when this means proved fruitless, he sent an army, and established his authority by force.

Philip now claimed the empire for himself, but he had a powerful rival in Otho, duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. Innocent, during ten years, sustained Otho against Philip, passing by the claims of Frederic; he even went so far as to excommunicate Philip and his adherents; and when Philip Augustus, the king of France, remonstrated with him, he indignantly replied, "either Philip of Suabia must lose the empire, or Innocent the papacy." So earnest also was he in gaining allies against Philip, that when Premislaus, duke of Bohemia, abandoned that emperor to join the opposite party, the pope rewarded his services by sending forth a bull declaring Bohemia to be an independent *kingdom*, A. D. 1204.

The war in Germany, however, terminated in Philip's favour, but he had scarcely been crowned when he was assassinated by the Count Palatine of Bavaria, on account of some private quarrel, A. D. 1208. Thus was this ambitious man another striking monument of the vanity of earthly greatness: he had just obtained the object of his wishes, the pope had granted him his formal absolution, and to Otho a dispensation to marry his daughter, they being within the fourth degree of relationship; and thus peace seemed secure on all sides when the death-blow came. The removal of Philip made way for the renewal of Otho's claims, but it was not till the autumn of 1209, that the pope consented to crown him at Rome,

upon his yielding every pretension to the long-disputed inheritance of the Countess Matilda.

The oath taken by Otho IV. on this occasion, and doubtless it was of the pope's dictation, ran thus:—"I promise to honour and obey Pope Innocent III. as my predecessors have honoured and obeyed his . . . Appeals to Rome shall be made freely, and freely pursued. I promise to abolish the abuse which has obtained of seizing the effects of deceased bishops, and the revenues of vacant sees. The election of bishops shall be free. . . . I promise to extirpate all heresies, to restore to the Roman Catholic Church all her possessions, . . . and to maintain all the rights enjoyed by the apostolical see in the kingdom of Sicily."

This oath, however, was broken as soon as Otho thought himself strong enough to act on the offensive; and his plea was that it was inconsistent with the oath he had previously taken in Germany to maintain the just rights of the empire; but surely he should have objected at the time, instead of committing perjury in order to obtain the imperial crown. By force of arms, Otho recovered all that he had promised to resign, invaded the Norman provinces of Italy, and ravaged the dominions of the young Frederic; but his triumph was short. In 1211 he was excommunicated by the pope, and Frederic was elected in his room by the German princes. Aided by English and Flemish troops, the last of the Othos tried to withstand the powers that united against him; but he was defeated by the king of France at the battle of Bouvines in 1214, and having no other resource he retired to a monastery. Without being formally deposed, he seemed to be forgotten during the three years that he survived his fall; and not being satisfied with common monastic penance, he became such a voluntary in humility as to throw himself on the convent floor to be trodden under foot by the kitchen boys. In A. D. 1215, Frederic II. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and in the ardour of the moment, wishing, it appears, to please the pope, he made a vow to go in person on a crusade to the Holy Land. This rash promise was the occasion of many troubles during his long reign of thirty-five years; but this belongs to our next period (Chap. VIII.).

We have noticed the interference of Innocent III. in the elevation of three emperors in succession, but it should be understood that he chiefly coveted temporal power in order to obtain more extensive dominion over the minds of men. The latter kind of power is likely to be preferred by a man of high intellect; and it appears that Satan himself is ready to delegate to another all the power that he has over the kingdoms of the earth, so that he can subject to himself *the mind of him to whom he gives it*. (Compare Matt. iv. 8, 9 with Rev. xiii. 2, 4.)

When Innocent promised his protection to the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, he did so only on condition that they should acknowledge no emperor that had not been recognised as such by himself: thus he did not require the refusal of obedience to the emperor, provided that the emperor was in obedience to him.

The clergy in this day did not always give an example of obedience to the pope; for when Innocent excommunicated the archbishop of Cologne for crowning Philip without his leave, that prelate continued his functions as usual, and even imprisoned for three years the person whom the pope had sent to supersede him. Another, the archbishop of Ravenna, declaring that he had prior rights, resisted the pope's claims on the exarchate. Innocent yielded; probably he thought that in overturning a lower ecclesiastical authority he might shake the foundations of his own. It was by his devoted attention to the administration of justice, and his skill in deciding difficult cases, that Innocent at first attracted public regard and esteem. Three times a week he presided at the consistory, the assembly of cardinals, to give judgment on ecclesiastical matters; and the most learned jurisconsults (legal advisers) of Europe, for their own improvement, came to listen to one whom they considered a second Solomon. Any person who could take the trouble even to glance over the contents of Innocent's published letters (twelve hundred in number), would form some idea of the immense activity and wide range of a mind which seemed to treat with equal familiarity all things in Church and State, allowing nothing to escape his observation, from the highest affairs of sovereign powers down to the petty quarrels of certain nuns who had been accused of beating each other. Some of the

decisions of the papal court were unquestionably for good as far as the world's order was concerned; and it has been argued that the necessities of the times called for the exercise of such a power as Innocent assumed; but we have graver matters to notice than the assumptions of the pope in temporal affairs, even the iniquitous dominion and baleful influence which he exercised over the faith of men.

The dominion of Innocent over some of the sovereigns of Europe will be more fully noticed in their respective histories; we may here observe that he compelled the kings of France and Leon to submit to him in the article of divorce; he extorted the most abject submission from the king of England; he restrained kings from war, or incited them to take up arms according to his own will; he excommunicated Suero, a usurper of the throne of Norway; he threatened the king of Hungary for detaining his legate, to prevent the succession of his son; he obliged the king of Navarre to restore certain castles to Richard I. on pain of excommunication; he forced the king of Arragon to swear obedience to himself and to promise tribute; and, directing him afterwards in his affairs, desired him to restore the debased coin of the kingdom to its proper standard. Towards the close of his reign, Innocent made a public display of the exceeding power that he had acquired over the souls and bodies of men: the slavery to which Christendom had been reduced was degradingly exhibited in the general assembly held at the Lateran in November 1215. The manner in which it was convened is described elsewhere (Chap. III.).

Four hundred and twelve bishops, including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, with ambassadors from all the princes of Christendom, attended this famous council: it was the Fourth General Council held in the same place. The crowd was so great that one of the bishops was stifled to death the first day: the pope swore by St. Peter that he should be honoured with a marble tomb—we suppose because his life fell a sacrifice to his zeal in swelling the ecclesiastical train which honoured the pretended successor of the apostle. Many of the prelates escaped from the press before the council was over, by paying such exorbitant fines as the pope demanded for giving them leave to return home. On this occasion, the

newly promoted archbishop of Canterbury, and the abbot of St. Alban's, learned the pope's love for exacting gold ; but it was better for them, at any cost, to avoid giving sanction to the laws passed by the synod from which they retired.

The pope opened the council in person with an eloquent speech, and presented to general consideration seventy canons drawn up by himself. It is pleasant to know that some who were present did not approve them ; but none had courage to oppose ; and the grave errors, cruel propositions, and rash schemes of Innocent passed into standing ecclesiastical laws with as little difficulty as his wisest regulations. Besides subjects of doctrine and practice in general, the council had been called to deliberate on the means for the recovery of the Holy Land, and for the extirpation of heresy. We need only refer to those canons which most nearly affected the spiritual interests of men ; the others were comparatively of small importance. The false doctrine of transubstantiation, which had been for some time coming into vogue, was established as a regular dogma of the Catholic Church by the first canon. "The body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, they having been *transubstantiated* into the body and blood by the divine power." The meaning of this divine power is afterwards explained :— "This sacrament, certainly, *no one is able to make* but a priest who has been rightly ordained according to the keys of the Church."

Another canon thus contradicts and confuses the precious truth of justification by grace :— "All pleasing God by a right faith and good works *deserve* to arrive at eternal happiness." Another denies the privilege of any saved person to announce the way of salvation, and substitutes the sending by man for the efficient call and sending by God, "because some, under the form of piety, but, as the apostle says, denying its power (thus subtilly could the minister of Satan turn against others the sword of the Spirit directed at himself) ; because some take upon themselves authority to preach, whilst the same apostle says, 'how shall they preach except they be sent,' all who shall have presumed to usurp the office of a preacher, publicly or privately, having been *prohibited* or *not sent* by

*the apostolic see, or by a catholic bishop, shall be tied with the bond of excommunication; and unless they shall amend immediately, other and sufficient punishments shall be inflicted.*"\* The twenty-first canon requires the annual confession of all sins to a priest, in private; and compels the annual attendance at the Easter sacrament, at least, of all of either sex arrived at years of discretion, of course always excluding those under ecclesiastical censure.

By the eighteenth canon, no clergyman was permitted to pass sentence of death, or to sit in a court of justice *when* such sentence was awarded: other canons, however, which we are about to notice, made it lawful for the clergy to inflict death on the largest possible scale. We seem here to see over again the actings of the chief priests and elders, who would not go into the *judgment hall* of the civil governor *lest they should be defiled*, though their hearts were all the while occupied in compassing the crucifixion of the Son of God.

Let us now relate the means proposed by the canons of Pope Innocent for the extirpation of heresy, always remembering that opinions adverse to those of Rome were called heresy, whether they accorded with God's word or otherwise. Heresy is plainly described in the epistles of St. Paul and St. John, with directions as to its treatment: we are certain, therefore, that the symptoms of this dreadful spiritual disease set forth by the apostles were not the symptoms looked for by the fiery eyes of Rome, and that the hand of the warrior or the executioner was never, under *apostolical* direction, used for its cure or punishment.†

\* Some professedly Protestant churches so firmly retain this error of Rome, or opinions congenial with it, that we do well to refer to the Scriptures alone. Throughout the New Testament we cannot find one instance of any man sending another to preach the gospel. The Lord desired his disciples to pray *the Lord of the harvest* to send out labourers; and there is ample proof that when he gave the willingness and the ability to labour in the gospel, no other authority was needed.

† "Damnableness" (2 Peter, ii. 1) are doctrines denying the redemption wrought by Christ: damnation is certainly denounced against such as bring them in; but it is expressly said, *the Lord reserves* them to be punished *at the day of judgment*. See also Heb. x. 29, where the "much sorer punishment" than any inflicted under the law, comes not from man's hand, but from "the hands of the living God." The proper church-treatment of a heretic is, after a

In order to insure the discovery of what Rome called heresy, the following canon was framed:—"Bishops are empowered to require of any one on oath, whether he know any heretics, or of any secret meetings, or of any persons *differing in life or manners* from the common conversation of *the faithful*." (This scriptural designation was usurped, be it observed, both by Papists and Mahometans.) Any one refusing thus to swear was to be treated as a heretic. Another canon was intended to secure the full punishment of the so-called heretics: "If any temporal lord, required and admonished by the Church, shall neglect to purge his land from this foul heresy, he shall be tied with the bond of excommunication; . . . if he shall disdain to give satisfaction for a year, it shall be signified to the high pontiff that he may announce that his vassals are absolved from the oath of fidelity, and expose the land to be occupied by Catholics, who, without any contradiction, may possess it, *having exterminated the heretics*, and keep it in the purity of the faith, the right of the principal lord being preserved; yet against this he himself shall place no obstacle." Again, "as to Catholics who, having assumed the sign of the cross, shall have bound themselves to exterminate heretics, these may rejoice in indulgence, and are rewarded with the same privilege which is granted to those going with succour to the Holy Land."

The decrees of the Lateran Council concerning a crusade to the Holy Land will be mentioned hereafter.

The same evil spirit that moulded the mind of Innocent to devise cruel things, moulded the hearts of others with sternness, bigotry, and hate sufficient to do them: the above declarations excited thousands to war and plunder, or sanctioned those who had previously perpetrated these crimes; but we defer to another chapter the melancholy details.

After the Lateran Council was ended, Innocent went to Perugia, and there learned that Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, had gone over to England with an army, in spite of his prohibitions. Filled with indignation, he

first and second admonition, to *reject* him; that is, to reject him as teacher, guest, or companion. (Titus, iii. 10; 2 John, 10.) It was not written, "burn" or "destroy him." (See also 1 Cor. iii. 17.)

mounted the pulpit, and taking this text, "A sword, a sword is sharpened . . . it is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furbished that it may glitter"—he thundered against the king of France and his son, and finished by declaring them excommunicate. His health was previously declining, and he never recovered the effects of the fury of his excitement on this occasion. After languishing for many months, he set out for Pisa, intending to reconcile the Pisans and the Genoese, but he was attacked with fever and died, July 1216.

Matthew Paris accuses Innocent of avarice, and says, that inflexible as he was towards the guilty who presented nothing, he was soft as wax towards those who offered to redeem their crimes with gold. Another asserts that he cared so little for riches, that he sold even his plate, using earthen vessels in its stead, that he might relieve the poor. He instituted the hospital at Rome, called by the name of the Holy Ghost; it was intended for the reception of strangers, and for the help of the sick and orphans; in the time of famine, also, he arranged to give private relief to such as would be ashamed to beg. Innocent, therefore, was not without humanity, when his bigotry, or his desire for self-exaltation, did not interfere with its exercise. He blasphemously, or ignorantly, assumed the titles of God and his Christ towards the Church: he called himself both the spouse and the father of the Church, *after* his elevation to the popedom; whilst before that time he said, like other Catholics, that the Church was his mother.\*

This brief sketch of the thoughts and ways of one of the most memorable of the popes may be closed by some interesting information concerning the meetings of Christians for Scripture reading and mutual edification, furnished through his correspondence. The bishop of Metz laid before him the following facts: "that in his diocese

\* The name of "Mother" applied to the Church of Christ is not Scriptural. The Church is a family of brethren and sisters having one God and Father, and one Lord and Master, even Christ, "the first-born among many brethren," the "Head" and the "Bridegroom" of his Church. The appellation "Mother" probably arose out of a mistaken interpretation of Gal. iv. 26, wherein the new covenant is allegorically represented by a free-woman: "Jerusalem, which is *above*, the mother of us all."

no small multitude of laymen and women had procured a French translation of the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, the Psalter, Job, and other books of Scripture ; that they had secret meetings for reading and preaching to each other, avoiding the company of those that did not join in their devotion ; that, having been reproved by their priests, they had withstood them to the face, alleging *Scripture reasons* why they should not be forbidden thus to meet ; that some of them also despised their preachers as ignorant, and said that they could learn more from their own books than from the pulpit, and also express it better." Innocent, who seems to have possessed the wisdom of the serpent *without* the harmlessness of the dove, and knew how to turn towards others the edge of the Scriptures which might have wounded himself, wrote in reply, that "there is great need of discretion when vice enters secretly in the form of virtue, and Satan transforms himself into an angel of light ;" that the desire of understanding the Holy Scriptures was rather to be praised than blamed, yet these persons were to be condemned for holding secret assemblies, and called off from doing so under pain of ecclesiastical censures. At the same time he pressed the discovery of the author of the translation, and what were his intentions in the work ; also what degree of orthodoxy *and respect for the holy see* those who used it possessed. The means taken to prevent the meetings seem to have been without effect, for in a subsequent letter it was matter of complaint that the members of this association continued refractory, and refused either to obey the bishop or the pope. Doubtless the translation referred to was that procured by Waldo, and we learn from other authorities that Metz was full of Waldenses. It is delightful to contrast these scriptural assemblies for worship, reading, and mutual edification, with the pompous council of the Lateran already mentioned : the former, in the liberty of the Spirit, for "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty ;" the latter, in the slavery of the chains forged by one carnal leader : the former, building up each other *on* their most holy faith ; the latter, seeking to undermine the very foundations of the faith. "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty."

## CHAPTER II.

*Times of Innocent III. parallel with the Times of King John.*

ACCESSION OF JOHN. — COUNCIL AT WESTMINSTER. — JOHN'S VISIT TO PHILIP AUGUSTUS. — HIS MARRIAGE WITH ISABELLA OF ANGOULEME. — MURDER OF ARTHUR OF BRETAGNE. — LOSS OF NORMANDY. — JOHN'S QUARREL WITH INNOCENT III. — THE INTERDICT LAID UPON ENGLAND BY THE POPE. — JOHN'S RESISTANCE TO THE POPE. — HIS EXCOMMUNICATION AND SUBSEQUENT SUBMISSION AND RESIGNATION OF HIS CROWN, RECEIVING IT AGAIN AS THE POPE'S VASSAL. — HIS WAR WITH THE BARONS, AND FORCED SIGNATURE OF MAGNA CHARTA. — LOUIS ELECTED BY A FACTION IN ENGLAND. — DEATH OF JOHN. — HIS FAMILY. — GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND. — KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

THE times of Innocent III. were the times of John in England, for that king began his reign the year after the pope's accession, and only survived him two months. They were dark times for England, but before the close of them the clouds began to break, and brighter prospects were opened to an oppressed people. At the death of Richard I., Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffry, would have been king, according to our present laws of succession; but the crown was at this time as much elective as hereditary, and though John's character was in part known, he was preferred to the son of his elder brother, a young and unknown foreigner, and he swiftly took possession of all the powers and honours which he had coveted, and in part exercised, during Richard's absence from England in foreign wars and prisons.

King Richard died on the sixth of April, and it was said that on his death-bed he had named John as his successor, instead of Arthur. John seized all his brother's treasures, dispatched his mother Eleanor to Poitou and Guienne to secure for him the provinces which she had united to the English crown, visited Rouen in person to take possession of Normandy, and then sailing for Eng-

land, was crowned at Westminster on the 22nd May, 1199.

Prince Arthur, now fifteen years of age, was in his own inheritance of Bretagne with his widowed mother Constantia; Philip Augustus promised him his daughter in marriage, and his help in gaining the English throne; but as it appeared in his first invasions of John's possessions that he intended to appropriate the fruits of success to his own use, Arthur took the oath of allegiance to his uncle for the state of Bretagne, thus owning him as superior lord.

On account of the hostilities of the French king, John returned to Normandy after his coronation, but a temporary peace being concluded, he sailed again to England early in the year 1200. That year was distinguished by a general council held at Westminster by the summons of Hubert, the primate; and the bonds in which the Church of England was held became apparent in the new form of words at the close of every canon: "saving in all things the honour and privileges of the holy Church of Rome." Some of the attempts of this council to reform abuses deserve notice. It enacted that archbishops and bishops should not have more than a certain number of followers in their visitations, nor go with their hunting dogs and hawks, but "like such as seek not their own but the things of Christ." Another canon ran thus, "Let no ecclesiastical benefices be given, or promised, *till they are vacant*, that so no man may wish the death of another—a thing condemned even by the heathen." This reasonable law seems to have been forgotten in later times. It appears from this Westminster council that leprosy must have widely spread in England, for it enacts that wherever there are so many lepers together that they can build a church, and have a churchyard and a priest of their own, they may be allowed these privileges. The same disease was so common at this time in France, that Philip Augustus had lazarus houses (called thus after Lazarus—the man full of sores) built in every town for the reception of the infected. The disease seems to have been brought into Europe by persons returning from the Crusades, and was probably nurtured through want of cleanliness, and the little use made of linen.

In November 1200, William, king of Scotland, did homage to John for the lands held of the English crown. The ceremony took place near Lincoln, in the presence of a great multitude. John, at his accession to the throne, became possessor of great territories; but his surname of *Sans Terre* (Eng. *Lackland*), which was given him because his father did not leave him any land, again became suitable through the losses that he sustained. As a son and as a brother, John had acted in a criminal manner before he came to the throne, and afterwards he transgressed yet more in all the relationships and duties of life: his reign was one succession of crimes and misfortunes. On making a second visit to the Continent, John went to Paris, and was hospitably entertained by Philip Augustus: on this occasion, Blanche of Castile, niece to the king of England, was given in marriage to Louis, eldest son of the king of France, and nine barons on either side swore to the observance of a treaty of peace between the two kings. Both, however, were unfaithful to their engagements. It was during his journey to receive the homage of his French provinces that John met with Isabella, daughter of the count of Angoulême. She was at a castle belonging to the earl of Marche, to whom she was betrothed; but her father, preferring a king for his son-in-law, sent for her under pretence of her doing homage for his possessions, of which she was heiress, and gave her in marriage to John in spite of the young earl's prior claims. But this was not the worst part of the affair. The king of England was already married to a noble lady of the house of Gloucester, and he divorced her in order to make Isabella his wife. The nuptials were celebrated at Bourdeaux with the sanction of the bishop of Poitou, and John then carried his bride to England, where she was crowned queen.

The pope justly exclaimed against these proceedings, and the earl of Marche sought revenge by joining other discontented barons in supporting the claims of Arthur of Bretagne to the English crown. They appealed to the king of France as superior lord, and he required that John should make satisfaction to those he had injured, and resign his continental dominions to his nephew; but as he would not do either, and broke even the promises that he

had made, war was declared. Arthur, who had lost his mother, was received with honour at the French court, and knighted by the king; and he seemed to be in a fair way of making his claims good, when his own rashness threw him into the hands of his worst enemy. Eleanor, his grandmother, had always opposed his interests, through jealousy of his mother Constantia, and Prince Arthur, hearing she was at a fortress in Poitou with only a small garrison, besieged her there, hoping to get possession of her person. Whilst he was engaged in this unbecoming hostility towards an aged relative, John by hasty marches came to the relief of the queen, his mother, with a superior force, and Arthur, with the Earl of Marche and several barons, became the king's prisoners. By the persuasion of Isabella, John spared the earl's life, and restored him to his possessions: this nobleman helped him to preserve all that he retained in France, and after the king's death married his widow—the object of his early affection. The fate of Prince Arthur was very different, and though some obscurity hangs over the particulars of it, there can be little doubt that John destroyed him with his own hand. The story is affecting enough in itself without the additions made to it by romance.

Many of us have seen a picture in which Arthur (represented as a little child) is seen in a strong prison, clasping the knees of a stern ruffian, who appears to have been sent to put out his eyes with some instrument of torture, or perhaps to take away his life, whilst the imploring looks of the young prince appear eloquent enough to turn him from his purpose. But Arthur was, in reality, an ambitious youth, accustomed to arms; and we are told that it was only after his uncle found that he could not induce him to renounce his pretensions to the crown, that he resolved to put an end to his life. William de Bray, the first whom he asked to do the dreadful deed, boldly answered that he was a gentleman and not an executioner; and when another went to the castle of Falaise, the place of Arthur's confinement, to fulfil the king's command, Hubert de Bourg, the governor (the person whom the picture is intended to represent as relenting), sent him away, pretending that *he* would undertake the dreadful work. Hubert is said to have spread a report of the

death of Arthur, and to have had a mock funeral to deceive the king; but on finding that the Bretons vowed revenge against him for the murder of their duke, he let them know the secret. Upon this, the king removed his young prisoner to the castle of Rouen, and went himself thither by night in a boat. Arthur, on seeing his uncle, is said to have thrown himself upon his knees to beg for mercy, but the murderous John stabbed him with his own hand, and taking away the dead body in his boat, hung a weight around it, and threw it into the Seine. After the death of Arthur, his sister Eleanor, known by the name of the damsel of Bretagne, fell into John's hands, and languished out her life in captivity; but the Bretons, though deprived of the children of Geoffry, would not submit to John; and having elected as their sovereign, Alice, daughter of Constantia by her second husband Guy of Tours, appointing that baron as regent, they continued the war against John. At the appeal of the Bretons, Philip Augustus, as superior lord, summoned John to take his trial before the peers of France for the murder of Arthur, and on his refusing to appear, he was declared guilty, and all his French possessions forfeited to the king. Philip was not slow in attempting to carry out the sentence.

On looking at a map of France divided into provinces, we perceive that the north-western division, which at this time belonged to England, was a most desirable territory to the king of the rest of France. Normandy, Bretagne, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and some lesser fiefs, were held by the Norman kings of England; but the enmity of the Bretons, the ambition of Philip, and the disaffection of the southern barons, caused the separation of Normandy from the English crown in this reign, John being the last of eleven dukes who had governed that province during three centuries. The relics of the Norman dukedom which still remain to England are the Channel Islands.

John was both indolent and cowardly, but he so little feared the loss of Normandy, that whilst opposing warriors were rising against him all around, he staid at Rouen with his young wife, engaged in idle amusements, and boasted that he would retake in a day what it cost his enemies years to obtain. But a more courageous monarch dwell-

ing at Paris, only seventy miles distant, was planning his entire dislodgment, and in the end effected it. A fortress, called Chateau Gaillard, was, from its position and the boldness of its garrison, the great bulwark of Normandy; it lay partly on an island on the Seine, partly on a rock by the river side. Philip sent a strong force to besiege it; but the Earl of Pembroke, the bravest of the English officers, attacked the French camp in the night with a large body of troops, and had not an unfavourable wind delayed the arrival of the fleet which was sent to his support, the army of Philip might have been repulsed on the borders of Normandy. But even after the defeat of the English sent to his aid, Roger de Lacy, governor of the castle, held out for a year; and when he at last surrendered, Philip, in respect for his courage and fidelity, allowed him to be at large, on his word of promise not to go out of the city of Paris. Innocent III., always ready to interfere with kings, receiving an application from John, commanded Philip to refrain from the conquest of Normandy; but as he did not obey, the King of England deserted a province that he had not ability to preserve. The Normans made desperate efforts to defend themselves after John withdrew his troops, but their resistance was ineffectual, and the whole province was reunited to the kingdom of France, and fell under French laws. Philip pursued his victorious career till Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou, were added to his conquests. Guienne, however, remained to England through the exertions of the Earl of Marche; and the Regent of Bretagne, jealous of Philip's power, offered to assist John in the recovery of his lost provinces. After much wavering, John, with a trembling heart, ventured across the channel, and landed at Rochelle with a large army; he marched to Angers, which he took and burned, but the approach of Philip and his forces induced him to propose a peaceful conference; for this, however, he did not wait, but retired in a fright to Rochelle, and re-embarked for England. Through the mediation of Innocent, a truce was concluded between the two kings in August, 1206. John afterwards found a worse enemy than the King of France in the Pope himself, and the origin of their quarrel is now to be related.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, had been made chancellor by the king, in reward for his promoting his election to the throne, but on taking an office so inconsistent with his ecclesiastical dignity, a certain baron said to him, "My lord, with your good leave, if you would well consider the great power and dignity of your spiritual function, you would not undertake the yoke of lay servitude." Hubert had always been so friendly to the king that, at his death, which occurred in 1205, he was anxious to nominate a successor; but though some of the monks were willing to receive the man of his choice, the rest elected another. Twelve monks of Canterbury went to Rome to plead for the Bishop of Norwich, the king's nominee; others supported the claims of Reginald, a monk; but Innocent set both the candidates aside, and commanded the monks, under pain of excommunication, to receive Stephen Langton, an Englishman, educated at Paris, supposed to be devotedly attached to the interests of the papal see. The deputy monks declared that they were only agents for others, and dared not fix on Langton without a writ from the king; but the Pope terrified them all into obedience to his will, except one Elias de Brantefield, who was more noble-minded than the rest.

Knowing that he was usurping one of the darling rights of the English crown in forcing upon England a primate of his own choice, Innocent exerted all his talents to reconcile John to what he had done. By the returning monks he sent the king four golden rings set with gems, with an accompanying explanation by letter. "The circular form of these rings," said the Pope, "shadows forth eternity, which has neither beginning nor end, and should remind you to aspire to heavenly things; the number four denotes steadiness of mind, unmoved either by adversity or prosperity, based on the four cardinal virtues; the material—gold—signifies wisdom. The colours are equally significant: the blue of the sapphire sets forth faith; the green of the emerald, hope; the red of the ruby, charity; the various splendours of the topaz, good works." This curious letter would scarcely be worth mentioning, were not some in our own days so much in love with the ancient follies of Rome; and as willing to go back to the emblems and shadows of a former dispensation, as if the

reality and substance had not been revealed in Christ. It is most true that John needed faith, and all the things that accompany salvation, but an attempt to convey instruction by means of jewelled rings was worse than useless, especially as, in spite of the Pope's ingenuity, his devices were so transparent that they could not conceal his real purposes.

Despising the Pope's present as a worthless bribe, John sent two knights, with drawn swords, to drive out the monks of Canterbury who had obeyed the Pope's command to elect Stephen Langton. Innocent, by letter, reminded him of the history of Thomas à Becket; but finding he was not to be moved, commissioned the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to inform him that his kingdom would be laid under an interdict if he resisted farther. The other bishops threw themselves at the king's feet beseeching him with tears to submit; but with terrible oaths he threatened to punish all who should promote the publication of an interdict, or obey it when promulgated.

The dreaded sentence, however, issued from Rome, and hung over England during six years, though only partially carried out. The clergy who obeyed it, took down from their places, the crosses, relics, images, altar-ornaments, and even the bells; laid them on the ground, and covered them up; thus depriving the people of the supposed benefits to be derived from these sacred things; they celebrated mass alone, within closed doors; they refused to perform any religious ceremony save the baptism of infants, and the communion to the dying; marriages took place in the churchyards, and the dead were buried in other places without funeral rites. The people who obeyed the interdict were to abstain from meat, to indulge in no pleasures, not to salute each other by the way, nor pay any attention to their personal appearance: all, in fact, assumed the aspect of deep mourning. In issuing interdicts, the Popes put themselves, as it were, in the place of God under the Old Testament dispensation; they declared that sin existed, rendering all public worship unacceptable, or shutting men out from approaching God. We may, indeed, doubt whether that which they prohibited, being for the most part of man's invention, was either pleasing to God, or a blessing to the people; but to those who

judged it to be so, the papal interdict was a serious affliction.\* The king's way of meeting it increased the general suffering. Had John known or acted on Christian principles, he might have told his people that, though there is sin in rejecting one of *God's* servants, he need not have been blamed for refusing a man simply because he was a servant of the Pope: had he even been popular as a king, he might have assembled his states, and they would have helped him to shake off the yoke of Rome. But as it was, he only opposed tyranny by tyranny. He persecuted the clergy who obeyed the Pope, and sent orders to his sheriffs in every county to hang on the next oak any person who injured another for disobeying the interdict; and whilst it lasted, he filled up the sees of Dublin and Limerick, translated the Archbishop of Armagh to the diocese of Exeter, and presented to about a hundred benefices. But John was not seeking to do the will of God, whilst resisting that of the Pope, and no blessing could rest upon his wicked course. He was successful in some expeditions into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, but he alienated some of his chief nobles by his licentious behaviour, and the people, by his tyrannical laws and acts. John possessed that passion for hunting common to the Norman kings, and when we learn that he had 68

\* We have often observed that almost all *religious errors*—and especially those which Satan binds with most power around the souls of men—are either truths distorted and exaggerated, and thrown out of their proper position, or have some truth mixed with their falsity. Now it is one of the first principles of Scripture that man, being a sinner, God's holiness must be satisfied before any can approach Him. Every arrangement for worship and service under the old dispensation taught this truth. The whole priestly order—the prohibition of access to the stranger and the unclean—the covering of the holy things from all but the priests—the continual blood-shedding, in order to make a way of approach for sinful worshippers—all alike proclaimed the Lord's mind: "I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." It need scarcely be added that, open as the way to God now is, He whose blood has satisfied God's holiness *alone* makes it so, and no worship or service can be acceptable but *by* Jesus Christ. There was, as we may say, a divine interdict published by the prophet Isaiah (chap. i. 13, 14). Oblations, incense, calling of assemblies, and even the many prayers, etc., are here forbidden, and declared hateful and unacceptable. Why? Because of the sinfulness of the nation.

forests, 13 chases, and 781 parks in different parts of England, we may conceive that he committed no small or partial injury in causing the hedges around to be levelled, that his deer might have more room for pasture. Yet this was one of the minor grievances. Public records yet remain (the rolls of the exchequer) which prove that justice was done, or denied, or delayed, not for just causes, but for the sake of money, and that the king's good-will was bought like an article of merchandise.\* Geoffry, the chief justiciary, so far restrained the king's tyranny, that, when he died, John exclaimed, "Now am I for the first time king and lord of England;" yet, whilst Geoffry lived, we have such a picture of despotism and cruelty presented to us at the king's court, that we may well be thankful the laws and customs of our country are now so greatly changed.

Seeing his interdict despised by John, the Pope sent Pandulf, his legate, to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him. This man appeared before the king in his council of state in Northampton, and told him that he owed the Pope obedience in temporal as well as spiritual things. John was much enraged, and in order to display his despotic power, he ordered the immediate execution of certain prisoners in the legate's presence. Pandulf patiently looked on whilst some of the condemned were hung, others had their eyes put out, and others were deprived of their feet: such shocking and cruel punishments were not unusual in these unhappy times. At last a priest, who had committed forgery, was brought forth to be hung; and the legate, incensed at the royal sentence against one of his own order, rushed out of the assembly to procure a lighted candle, that he might give the Pope's sentence against the king on the spot.

\* Some of the instances of this seem to us almost ridiculous. The county of Norfolk paid a certain sum to be *fairly dealt* with; some paid for liberty to defend themselves, others for having inquests, and many for permissions to trade in various ways. One paid a thousand marks for the remission of the king's displeasure, another a large sum for his favour; some paid him to reconcile them, or to recover their debts, many for his protection. One man gave twenty palfreys for the king to get him a certain person as his wife; another gave four palfreys for the king to hold his tongue about a certain matter. Similar practices prevailed in Normandy, and probably elsewhere.

The superstitious John spared the priest, in order to prevent the dreaded ceremony of extinguishing the candle, and Pandulf read the excommunication without that form.

This personal anathema affected the minds of many who had disregarded the interdict: the Archdeacon of Norwich, who was sitting in court as a baron of the exchequer, no sooner heard it than he retired, saying he could not serve an excommunicated master. He was imprisoned by the king's orders, and a great leaden cope was placed on his head by way of punishment: this and other severities put an end to his life. Dreading the king's wrath, many of the great nobles left the kingdom, and of the bishops only three remained at their posts.

John, at this time, held a conference with Stephen Langton, and seemed willing to receive him, but such large amends were required for his treatment of the clergy that he drew back. Innocent's next step was to absolve John's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and to proclaim a crusade against him, promising to Philip Augustus the English throne *and the pardon of all his sins*, if he would take the lead. Tempted by these great offers, the King of France prepared a large force for the invasion of England, and though John was able to assemble 60,000 soldiers, he had so little courage that when the legate sent a knight templar to point out the superior power of the enemy, and the little confidence to be placed in the English, terror made him ready to yield anything. Whilst John was at the house of the Templars at Dover, Pandulf presented himself, and proposed to him to yield up his kingdom to be held of the Pope as superior lord; on these terms promising him absolution and protection. On the spot, the king put his crown into the hands of the legate, as a pledge of his submission. Pandulf kept it for five days, and only returned it on receiving the oath of allegiance as representative of the Pope, requiring all its humbling ceremonies. The king was also obliged to promise compensation to the injured clergy, and an annual tribute to Rome; and when he made the first payment, the legate threw the money on the ground, and trampled upon it as if in contempt. The Bishop of Exeter was the only person present who dared to censure this excess of haughtiness.

Truth was as little regarded as justice in these tyrannical proceedings, for John was made to say, that, "not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for the remission of his own sins and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, St. Peter, and his successors in the apostolic see."

John's tyrannical spirit was not at all broken by all this outward humiliation, for he caused a poor hermit to be hung who had said that he would lose his crown that year. As soon as the legate had received John's submission he went over to the King of France, who was preparing to cross the channel, and, according to previous directions from the Pope, forbade him to invade England, saying it was now become a part of the papal patrimony, and its king a dutiful son of the Church.

Philip was exceedingly enraged and disappointed, but not daring at that time to offend the Pope, he employed his fleet in a descent upon Flanders, because the earl, though a peer of France, had allied himself with John, instead of helping his sovereign lord. John, from the beginning of his reign, had aimed at naval superiority, and claiming the narrow seas as the property of the English crown, he ordered his admirals to capture every vessel that refused to lower its sails to their flag: moreover, when he wanted to transport his forces to Normandy, he ordered them to seize for this service every vessel they met. The Earl of Salisbury was now on the seas at the head of the English fleet, and making an attack on the French ships in their harbours, whilst many of the men were on shore, he took and destroyed several, and Philip caused others to be burned to prevent their falling into his hands.

Langton himself was appointed to pronounce the absolution of King John, after he had restored the banished clergy, and the ceremony was performed at Winchester, July 1213; after which the primate, in token of reconciliation, invited the king to dine with him. The removal of the interdict was delayed till the promised compensation to the clergy was made, which was about a year after. Langton, although forced upon the nation at such a cost, deserves the grateful remembrance of his countrymen for the pains which he took to secure

their liberties. Before he absolved the king, he made him swear to restore the laws of good King Edward, and to abolish bad laws. Having made his peace with Rome, John visited Poitou, and even undertook an expedition beyond its limits, but the approach of Prince Louis made him retire in such haste as to leave his tents and baggage behind him. He then returned to England, and became more despotic in his rule than ever. Langton had now found in some monastery the long disregarded charter of Henry I., and by showing it the barons, and suggesting additions, he prepared them to claim the fulfilment of the king's promises. At the next Christmas they petitioned him, threatening endless war against him till he yielded to their demands. He put them off with fair words till the following Easter, and made use of the time in applying to the Pope to aid him in preserving his power, and in promising great things to the clergy for the sake of their help. Innocent wrote letters to the contending parties, hoping to prevent a war in which he might be deprived of his own supremacy: but even Langton himself resisted papal interference, in order to secure national freedom; and whilst the barons took up arms, he prepared the Great Charter (Magna Charta), which the king was desired to subscribe as the only condition of peace. John, upon reading it over, angrily exclaimed they might as well ask him for his kingdom at once.

The barons, who called their troops "the army of God and the Church," moved from Stamford, where they had assembled, towards London, and the citizens invited them to enter. John, in the meantime, was residing at Oxford with a few followers, and Langton remained with him to persuade him to comply with the proposals made. When the king found that the metropolis had declared against him, he consented to a conference with the barons, and the place of their meeting was a meadow called Runymede, between Windsor and Staines. After a long discussion, Magna Charta, and a lesser charter concerning the forests, was signed by the king's own hand, 15th of June, 1215.

The preamble of the Great Charter made the king assign every motive for granting it but the real one, which was that he could not help it. It ran thus—"From our

regard to God, for the salvation of our own soul, and of the souls of our ancestors and of our heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom." The king was, moreover, made to say, "to none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay justice." This Great Charter—the foundation of British liberty—may still be seen in the library of the British Museum: its full value is best understood on comparing the freedom and justice which it established, with the bondage and tyranny that previously existed. It struck at the very roots of the feudal system, which was made intolerably oppressive under such a king as John; and though the system did not immediately fall, it was so injured as to suffer a gradual decay. The Great Charter was so contrived as to give a security to life, liberty, and property, which was not known before. As to liberty and life, it forbade the king's officers to seize or imprison any man by their own authority, without lawful cause, and credible witnesses of guilt, and it secured the privilege of every accused person's trial by a jury composed of his peers. As to property, the officers of the crown might no longer seize corn or other goods, or even require the services of subjects in public works without payment, except by their consent, or by lawful usage. Instead of the king's making taxes at his own pleasure, the taxation was to be by general consent, through parliaments summoned for the purpose. The king was not to make the calls for money, called *aids*, except in case of his own captivity, at the marriage of his eldest daughter, or on making his eldest son a knight. The payments called *reliefs*, which amounted to the first year's revenue of every vassal of the crown on coming to his inheritance, were limited to a moderate sum. The guardianship of minors, which had been a royal right and a fruitful source of injustice, was carefully restrained; and the interference and exactions of the king on the occasion of the marriage of his vassals were as wisely checked. One weight and measure and one width of broadcloth were established throughout England, and merchants were allowed to go out of the kingdom, or return to it, with freedom and safety. The Charter provided also for the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. The

barons were to grant to their tenants the same privileges that were accorded to the immediate tenants of the crown by the king. The publication of Magna Charta caused great joy throughout England, and the people began to think the king's stony heart was *softened*; but it was far otherwise. After his unwilling hand had traced the desired signature, and his tongue had uttered the required oath, he exhibited every symptom of a madness arising from mortified pride. He cursed his mother and the day of his birth, gnashed his teeth, gnawed and broke sticks as one deranged, and then departed for some secret hiding-place in the Isle of Wight; so that, for three months after, few could tell what had become of him. One of the royal patents issued at this time was dated *from underground*; but, wherever the tyrant buried himself, he was busied in plans for the restoration of his former despotism. It was reported that he went out with the fishermen on the coast, and even amused himself by turning pirate; and one historian assures us that he sent an embassy to the King of Morocco, offering to turn Mahometan if he would assist him with troops. There is, however, reason for accounting John a wicked and deceitful tyrant rather than a madman. During his retreat, he sent a copy of Magna Charta to the Pope; and probably having a sufficient understanding of Innocent's character to judge that he would be opposed to a nation's freedom, he asked to be absolved from the oath he had taken. At the same time, John invited foreign troops to come to his aid; and many who arrived from Flanders, being confident of success, brought their families with them, expecting to settle in England. John met his mercenaries at Dover, and there, also, to his joy, he received a bull from the Pope, annulling the whole Charter, absolving the king and his subjects from their oaths to observe it, and even excommunicating those who should uphold it. Langton himself was soon after suspended for refusing to publish this bull, but he did not then obey the Pope's citation to Rome, and continued to uphold the cause of freedom. John had given his people the example of disobeying a papal bull, and the English barons, confident of their own strength, determined now to resist both the Pope and the king. But the hired

foreigners, with fearless barbarity, marched under the king's command through the whole land from Dover to Berwick; the flames of villages and castles marked their progress, and the estates of the opposing barons were specially marked out for desolation. They, on their side, ravaged the king's domains, but finding the want of a leader, they sent to France, offering to make Prince Louis their king, if his father would send him over with an army: they affirmed that John had forfeited his rights by making over his kingdom to the Pope, and they urged that the marriage of Louis with Blanche of Castile made him, as it were, a part of the royal family of England. Notwithstanding the threats of the Pope's legate in France, Philip sent his son; and six hundred French vessels, large and small, landed the prince and his troops in the Isle of Thanet.

Things were come to a strange point when the presence of an invader from France was welcome. Louis was joyfully received in London; and on his arrival all John's foreign troops, except his own subjects—the Gascons and Poitevins, deserted his standard, as it was contrary to the feudal law they should serve against the heir of their monarchy. Louis, therefore, seemed to have every prospect of success; but there arose a division of opinion among the English, many deeming it most rash to acknowledge a foreign king, and the more so as it was rumoured that the disposition of Louis was not less tyrannical than that of John. The king was in the north of England when the French prince arrived, and being resolved to hazard one great battle for the kingdom, he collected all his forces and marched southward. The road lay along the Wash, and not choosing the right moment for passing, the king's carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia were swept away by the tide, and he and his army escaped with difficulty. This misfortune, added to John's previous troubles, brought on a severe illness, and he was obliged to stop at Newark Castle. The imprudent use of peaches and new ale increased his disorder, and he died there on the 17th of October, 1216, aged forty-nine. On his death-bed, it is said, he forgave his enemies, and desired his young son Henry to do the same. He also expressed a desire to be buried near

Wulstan, the good bishop of Worcester: perhaps in this manner he showed his belief that there would be a resurrection of the just, and his desire to have a place with them; but it is written, "the wicked shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." (Ps. i. 5; and compare Rev. xx. 5, 1 Cor. xv. 23.) If John loved any one, it was Isabella; but such was his savage nature, that having suspected one of his nobles of courting her attention, and two others of abetting him, he caused all three to be put to death, and had their corpses suspended at the foot of his wife's bed, that she might see them on awaking the next morning. Isabella was a woman of astonishing firmness to bear all that she must have had to suffer in being wedded to John. We shall hear of her again. Her children were Henry III., who succeeded his father; Richard, earl of Cornwall, afterwards king of the Romans; Joan, who married Alexander II., king of Scotland; Eleanor, who married in succession two earls, prominent in our subsequent history; and Isabella, who became the wife of the Emperor Frederic II.

Ireland was the only part of King John's dominions that seemed to be benefited by his government. The condition of this beautiful island was so wretched through its civil wars, that the king's presence afforded some relief; and as the laws of England, even as they then stood, were superior to those of Ireland, the introduction of them worked for good. It was during the interdict that John levied troops to go into Ireland, and for this purpose extorted large sums of money from the Jews. One rich Jew of Bristol, who refused to pay the thousand marks demanded of him, was sentenced by John to have a tooth drawn every day till the sum was paid. An operation always painful was doubtless far more so under unskilful hands six hundred years ago, and the oppressed Jew, after submitting to the extraction of seven teeth, paid the money.

. It is remarkable that the state of Ireland was uncommonly peaceful during the disturbances in England; the petty kings who had done homage to John, and received presents from him, took no advantage of the subsequent commotions to re-assume independence.

William, surnamed the Lion,\* king of Scotland, closed his long reign of forty-eight years in the midst of John's civil wars; and many nobles in the north fled to the court of his son and successor, Alexander II., and did homage to him for the sake of his protection. Alexander's marriage with Joan, the daughter of John, in 1221, concluded the war which had been carried on for many years between England and Scotland.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### *Times of Innocent III. continued.*

PAPAL INTERDICT LAID ON FRANCE. — PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND POMP OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS. — INDEPENDENCE OF THE BARONS OF FRANCE. — A CRUSADE PREACHED FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF THE HERETICS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. — THE COUNTS OF BEZIERS AND TOULOUSE DEFEND THEIR ALBIGENSIAN SUBJECTS. — HORRORS OF THE WAR. — SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE COMMANDER OF THE PAPAL ARMY. — HIS DREADFUL CRUELITIES. — DEATH OF THE KING OF ARRAGON AT THE BATTLE OF MURET. — BLASPHEMOUS EXALTATION OF DE MONTFORT. — HIS DEATH BEFORE THE WALLS OF TOULOUSE. — VARIOUS CRUSADES PROMOTED BY INNOCENT III. — STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. — PROCLAMATION OF THE SIXTH CRUSADE.

IN January 1200, the Pope's legate, in a council held at Vienne in Dauphiné, laid an interdict upon the dominions of the King of France, on account of his having divorced his wife Ingeburga, of Denmark—a subject which had been treated of in two previous councils held at Paris and Dijon.

Innocent confirmed the legate's sentence, excepting only from the effects of the interdict all crusaders as the

\* He was so called because he was the first king who chose a lion for his armorial device.

especial favourites of heaven. During eight months the interdict was so strictly observed that all the churches were shut, and no funeral rites performed. Philip Augustus was at length forced to make an apparent submission, and to go through the mere form of taking back his hated wife : there was no real re-union.

The question of divorce, which occupies so large a space in history, might always have been set at rest by an appeal to the law of Christ ; and in nothing, perhaps, did the Popes more distinctly assume the divine prerogative, than in their interference on this point. Man's law had made the marriage of certain persons to be sinful, although not so before God ; and such law was used by ecclesiastical tyranny, to torment or divide such as God had joined together, on the one hand ; and it was used also as an excuse by capricious and wicked men for the indulgence of their own passions.

Philip Augustus, the greatest monarch of his age, felt the power of the Pope both in his domestic and political affairs ; and as Innocent III. exerted his utmost talents to make this king his obedient servant, we may conceive the greatness of his vexation at the moment when he would no longer do his bidding.

We are told that as John's personal appearance showed the baseness of his mind, that of Philip gave the idea of his great superiority ; but the French historians think, perhaps, that too much praise cannot be bestowed on a man who, by making such large additions to the crown, might be called the founder of the monarchy of modern times.

The feudal system, as it existed in France, left much less power to the king than that possessed by the English sovereigns. A great show was, however, made when the monarch held his court at Easter and Christmas, and robed in his rich mantle glittering with gold, and adorned with a richly jewelled crown, feasted with his barons, prelates, and state officers. But the barons, having rendered the required homage, returned to their estates, and exercised the rights of petty sovereigns ; whilst some of the higher lords never attended the king after the day of their investiture, unless called to do military service.

In the days of Philip Augustus, the remote provinces

of Languedoc and Provence, which surpassed all the rest of France in refinement and wealth, enjoyed peculiar independence, and this had been maintained through their distance from Paris, their difference of language and legal usages, and their commercial situation. Many of the towns were governed by consuls, and formed a nest of petty republics, and among the feudal chieftains the Counts of Toulouse and Foix, though owning the king as lord paramount, possessed sovereign authority in their own domains. Now it was publicly rumoured in the days of Innocent that Languedoc—the freest and fairest corner of France—abounded with heretics; and that Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, with the Count of Foix, who was yet a minor, had among their subjects great numbers of Albigenses, and some even in their own families, though they were themselves avowed Roman Catholics. After a council held at Rome, 1202, Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, was sent to Count Raymond to inquire into the matter. A great suite, including many prelates, attended him, and they travelled day and night till they reached St. Gilles, in Provence. Much discussion took place at the court of Raymond; and Peter de Castelneau, a determined papist, having entered into argument with a hot-headed gentleman among the count's attendants, offended him to such a degree as to lead to his own destruction. The murderer escaped, and the count, notwithstanding his grief for the crime, had to bear the blame. The circumstance acted as the match which sets fire to a train already prepared for explosion. Innocent wanted an excuse for severity, and instead of trying to find the guilty person, he caused a crusade to be preached against the count and his heretical subjects. A home crusade was but the natural offset of the foreign crusades, so long patronised by the Popes; for it might be argued, if it were right to kill Mahometans for despising the Christian faith, it was right to kill those who were judged to be wrong in faith. Thus ran the Pope's bull:—"Whosoever shall depart to the south of France, in true penitence, should not doubt but that they shall have indulgence for their sins, and the fruit of eternal life. . . . Those who despise these injunctions to go against the Albigenses, we command that they be not permitted the sight of the body and blood of the Lord." In

this last phrase the now established dogma of transubstantiation was broadly stated, and we shall see that it entered into this quarrel in other ways, for one of the chief accusations brought against the Albigenses was disregard of the mass, and in one of their fortified towns, mass had not been said for many years. At councils held, once and again, in 1209, by Milo, a fresh legate, Count Raymond asserted his innocence of the murder, and in proof of his submission to the papal see gave up seven of his castles; but he was only absolved in a third council held that same year at St. Gilles, and at the cost of appearing in his shirt, and with bare shoulders, to receive a public flogging in the church, by way of penance. Nor was this the worst penalty, for he was obliged to accompany the crusaders against his nephew, Raymond Roger, the count of Beziers, whose territories were said to be full of heretics and robbers. This young nobleman left the open country and lesser towns to the enemy, and restricted himself to the defence of Carcassonne and Beziers, shutting himself up in the latter place.

A conference was proposed, which lasted fifteen days, but it did not result in any accommodation, as the Abbot of Citeaux would not accept Raymond Roger's profession of being a good Catholic, whilst he protected those whom Rome condemned.

The crusading army amounted to 100,000 men, and the bishops who accompanied them urged the Albigenses of Beziers to renounce their opinions, that their lives might be spared. The Roman Catholics within the town repeated the demand, but they replied that it was better to displease the Pope than God, and that they would never forsake a faith which gave them the kingdom of God and his righteousness, for a religion which annihilated the merits of Christ, and made his righteousness of no effect. "You Roman Catholics," said they, "may treat for yourselves; but promise nothing for us contrary to our duty as good Christians. God can save us, like the young men who were threatened by Nebuchadnezzar, if he please; or if otherwise, it is an honour to sacrifice our lives for righteousness' sake." The Count of Beziers, certainly, had men in his town of a nobler mould than himself, for he only resisted as a temporal prince; but even the Roman Catho-

lics sent a deputation to the legate, begging not to be included in the punishment of their fellow-townsmen, who, said they, might be won by mild measures, "for the *Church* does not delight in blood." But when the town was taken, and the Abbot of Citeaux was asked how the innocent were to be distinguished from the guilty, he replied, "Slay them all, the Lord will know his own." He said this in the very spirit of the dragon, the devourer of God's people; but how comforting is the truth that the Lord does know them that are His: whatever mistakes man may make in ignorance, whatever temporal destruction he may cause through enmity, *all* that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. The whole population of Beziers was massacred, neither woman nor infant was spared, and even the priests who came out in procession singing *Te Deum*, intending to express their joy that the heretical town was taken, perished with the rest. The blood of 20,000 human beings, followed by the plunder and burning of Beziers, cried to God against Rome as the commencement of this persecuting war. Raymond Roger had escaped to the stronger place, Carcassonne; and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, with Simon de Montfort, a French count, having arrived with fresh troops, the crusaders who besieged this town amounted to 300,000 men. Thus hastily will sinners run into any way proposed for the remission of sin, in ignorance or contempt of the one blessed way set forth in the gospel of God. The Roman Catholic soldiers were only required to serve forty days, in order to gain the promised indulgences, and they fought only with this motive till the desire of plunder was superadded. Peter III., king of Arragon, at this time came to the legate's camp, and held a parley with the count, in the hope of making peace. Raymond Roger assured him that the Albigenses were excellent subjects, and never wronged any one, but the king finding it in vain to intercede for them with the leaders of the crusade, retired in displeasure. During forty days the siege was continued, but the garrison repulsed the assailants boldly, and so many were slain that the dead bodies infected the air. At the end of this period the majority of the crusaders returned home, and the legate growing weary offered to make terms. On receiving a safe-conduct from

him, on his own oath, and that of the barons of the army, Raymond Roger came out with 300 of his followers. But just as he was beginning to make proposals, the legate exclaimed that faith was not to be kept with those who had no faith, and ordered the count and his friends to be put in chains. The people of Carcassonne were at first in great despair, but having discovered the entrance to a subterranean passage leading out of the city, they all departed, carrying sufficient food for some days; they arrived safely at Toulouse, and other places of refuge. On perceiving that the town was abandoned, the besiegers entered; and the legate, in reward for De Montfort's zeal, gave him the lordships of Beziers and Carcassonne, and the custody of their count. Roger died in prison soon after he was put into such dangerous keeping; and the King of Arragon, who was feudal superior of these territories, refused to acknowledge De Montfort's claim. Dreadful cruelties were at this time committed on both sides. One of the Languedoc chiefs put out the eyes, and cut off the noses, ears, and upper lip of a number of his prisoners, sparing to one of them an eye that he might lead the rest to Carcassonne. De Montfort retaliated on a hundred prisoners, and burned others alive. The Bishop of Carcassonne, who favoured the Albigenian cause, sanctioned an attack upon the legate, and a monk who was his companion: before they fell, the one received twenty-six wounds, and the other twenty-four; thus cruelly did the instigators of this war suffer in their own persons. Forty cities and castles that had been taken by the papal party were again lost, and De Montfort wrote to the prelates of Christendom that, without a fresh army, he could not hold out. In the spring of 1210, his wife brought a great number of French crusaders, and the war recommenced with fresh fury. One castle being taken, an abbot exhorted the prisoners to recant, and on their refusing to do so, De Montfort had a fire kindled, in which 140 persons, male and female, were burned to death. They suffered, praising God for the honour of dying for his name's sake: only three women among them abjured their faith. In another castle from which the garrison escaped, it was alleged that mass had not been said for thirty years. Whatever errors existed among the Albigenes, they

were at least free from the cumbrous superstitions and formalities of the Romish Church.

After the taking of Carcassonne, the Count of Toulouse went to Rome, and received the Pope's absolution from his alleged guilt as to the murder of Castelneau; Innocent also gave him a cloak and a valuable ring. But he did not long retain the favour of Rome, being excommunicated, in 1211, for not exterminating the Albigenses in his dominions. He then formed an alliance with the King of Arragon and the Earl of Foix, and finding the papal claims entirely unreasonable, resolved to resist to the last. De Montfort, however, for a time, drew off the King of Arragon by offering his daughter in marriage to Peter's infant son, and the young James was actually committed to his care; but soon after the king gave one of his sisters to the eldest son of Raymond, and formed an alliance with the count. Aimeri, lord of Montreuil, and his sister, the Lady Gerard of Vetville, were Albigenses, and defended their own towns; and the Earl of Foix, lying in ambush, cut off six thousand German crusaders who were coming to the attack. When Montreuil was taken, Aimeri and twenty-four gentlemen were singled out to be hung, the former being placed on a gibbet higher than the rest. At the taking of Vetville, the Lady Gerard was stoned to death, and only some women, who were saved by a gentleman of the besieging army, escaped the general massacre. Toulouse was the scene of many a fierce encounter; it was taken and re-taken by the contending parties, and no man perhaps ever exhibited more courage, combined with barbarity and treachery, than the leader of the papal army, Simon de Montfort. His objects were to extirpate the Albigenses, to overthrow the power of those who had tolerated them, and to usurp the sovereignty of Languedoc. In all his schemes he was upheld by the Pope. The King of Arragon was slain, with 15,000 men, in a battle near the fortress of Muret, but after this horrible slaughter the relics of the Albigensian army rallied at Toulouse, attributing their defeat to the king's having trusted more to his own might than to the living God. Earl Raymond's son had been educated in England, and, on his joining his father, they went together to the court of Rome, and appealed to Innocent against

De Montfort as the usurper of their dominions, and the cruel oppressor of their subjects. It was at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council. The Pope, for a moment, seemed disposed to justice, but his 'counsellors assured him that if De Montfort's services went unrewarded, no one would fight in the papal service again; and he, therefore, put off the earl and his son by referring them to the decision of his legate in Languedoc. Nothing was to be gained from the legate, and in a council held at Montpellier, 1214, he declared Montfort prince of all the conquered countries. Such a tumult arose on this occasion that the earl escaped in disguise to save his life. But after this, the Pope declared him, "the active and dexterous servant of Jesus Christ, and the invincible champion of the Catholic faith;" and in a bull, dated April 1215, he authorised him to retain his conquests. De Montfort, who had previously invited Prince Louis to take possession of Toulouse, and had there disgusted him by his selfishness and tyranny, now went to Paris to be invested by the king with the conquered provinces. The clergy and people of every place through which he passed came out to meet him with the blasphemous salutation, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." It was deemed a happiness to touch his garment.

When De Montfort returned from Paris, accompanied by a hundred bishops and a large army, his friend Innocent III. was no more; moreover, Raymond had come back to Toulouse in his absence, had put his partisans to death, and had laid siege to an adjoining castle, in which the Lady de Montfort had been left. Terrible conflicts followed. De Montfort could not keep an army more than forty days; numbers flocked around Raymond; the country refused provisions to the crusaders; and public thanksgivings were offered in Toulouse for their repulse. In the spring of 1218, De Montfort came against Toulouse with a fresh company of 100,000 crusaders, and on St. John Baptist's eve, whilst mass was being celebrated in the camp, the besieged made a sally. When a soldier brought the news to De Montfort's tent, he exclaimed, "I will *see* my Redeemer, then my enemy." Thus had this wretched man put a piece of bread in the place of the Christ, the Son of the living God. Other messengers

arriving before the completion of the mass, the superstitious bigot again replied, "I will not stir a foot till I have *seen* my Creator." Little did he think that he was about to perish for ever. In the engagement that followed, he was wounded by an arrow, shot by a cross-bow from the city walls, and having retired to a distance, his head was struck off by a stone cast from an engine. The crusading army was entirely defeated. The bell was tolled, by order of the Count of Toulouse, to call the citizens of Toulouse to offer thanksgivings, especially because of the death of the cruel earl. The struggle was long continued between the son of Raymond and the son of De Montfort. The dismal events of the Albigensian war must ever stand connected with the name of Innocent III. as the prime mover; and if anything more need be added to prove that a lying spirit possessed the ecclesiastical promoters of the murderous scheme, we will quote the address of one of the bishops to the crusaders before the battle of Muret: "Whosoever has confessed his sins to a priest, or has the intention of doing so after the battle, will, in dying, obtain eternal life, and escape the passage through purgatory. I will be your surety in the day of judgment. Depart in the name of Christ."

But there were other crusades promoted and sanctioned by Innocent III. besides that in Languedoc: to the Teutonic knights and their followers, who, for more than half a century, carried on a bloody war with the Pagans of Livonia, and to the crusaders against the Moors in Spain, he offered the same indulgences as to those who went against the eastern Saracens; and still larger rewards were promised to the soldiers who fought against his political enemies in Germany and Sicily. In fact, the fervour of the crusades to the East was diminished, when it was imagined that the same privileges could be obtained without going so far from home.

The *Fourth Crusade* for the recovery of the Holy Land, forwarded by Celestine III., and undertaken by Henry VI. of Germany, was diverted for the most part by that monarch's cruel descent on Sicily; those who reached Palestine suffered much from the want of a leader, and were almost all cut to pieces by the Turks. Saphadin, the successor of Saladin, beat down the fortifications of Jaffa,

and destroyed almost all its male inhabitants, that no help or shelter might be afforded to the crusaders in that place.

After the assassination of the Marquis of Montferrat, who had been elected king of Jerusalem, his widow Isabella, the sister of Sybilla, the former queen, married successively Henry, count of Champagne, and Amalric of Lusignan; both of whom bore the title of king of Jerusalem. In the reign of Amalric II., A. D. 1199, a *Fifth Crusade* was proclaimed, but the greater part of it was diverted for the conquest of Constantinople (see Chap. VI.), and the warriors who reached Palestine afforded but little aid to the feeble king. In 1205, Isabella lost her fourth husband, and the Latin kingdom would have become extinct had not the King of France provided for her daughter and only heiress, Mary, a husband capable alike of war and government. This was John of Brienne. He arrived at Acre with a large suite in September 1210, and his marriage with the queen was celebrated the following day. After fighting many battles with success, John appealed to the Pope for help, informing him that his kingdom only consisted of two or three towns, and that it would be swallowed up but for the dissensions that existed among the sons of Saladin.

This application caused Innocent to issue a circular letter, addressed to the sovereigns of Europe, in which he declared, that a crown of glory was reserved for such as went to the Holy Land on a fresh crusade, and that everlasting punishment would follow the refusal to go thither. In the course of his arguments, he asserted that Mahomet and his religion were the Beast of the thirteenth chapter of Revelation, and that the number 666 signified the duration of that power, the term of which was nearly expired. This daring solution of the prophecy is the more remarkable, as a thousand years before an interpretation had been proposed by Irenæus, which was, and still is, brought to bear upon the papal power itself;\*

\* Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and the disciple of Polycarp, suffered martyrdom in the persecution under Severus, A. D. 202. His idea of Rev. xiii. 18. may be briefly explained as follows:—All the letters of the Greek alphabet are numerals; for instance, alpha represents 1, beta 2, and so forth. The number 666 is expressed in the Greek text by the letters  $\chi\theta\varsigma$ . With much ingenuity, a variety of words have

whilst some Christians believe, that the blasphemer to whom this particular description belongs, however shadowed forth by men like Innocent III., remains to be revealed in "the time of the end." The Pope's circular letter was the means of convoking the Fourth Lateran Council, already mentioned, and in that council war with the Saracens was unanimously declared to be one of the most sacred duties of the Christian world. The representatives of the Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Kings of France, England, Hungary, Arragon, and Jerusalem, with others of less note, gave their consent; and Innocent granted a sum equal to £30,000 to forward the expedition, with the usual privileges and dispensations to all who should engage in it. The person commissioned to preach this crusade (the Sixth) was Robert de Courçon; he had not the talents of Bernard, but he was as fervent in his fanaticism as Peter the Hermit; and he enlisted not only able-bodied men, but women and children, the decrepit and diseased, the blind and the lame. The history of the proceedings of the effective forces will be given in our next period, as they did not set forth till after the decease of Innocent III.

The lying spirit that was abroad in the world, deceiving such multitudes into these destructive crusades, affected the children of France in a remarkable manner about the close of the twelfth century. A deluded boy, hearing of the ill-success of every expedition to the Holy Land, asserted that victory could only be obtained by the innocent hands of children, and that he was to be the leader of a child's crusade. Many parents permitted their sons to follow the young enthusiast, and as he traversed the country in a richly ornamented car, meeting everywhere with a kind of religious respect, thousands joined his standard. These unhappy children, to the number of a hundred thousand, embarked in ill-appointed vessels, and

been proposed consisting of the letters necessary to make up the given number, and amongst these the majority of Protestant writers prefer one of the three given by Irenæus, viz. *Latinos*, i. e. the Latin man. That bishop himself, however, believing that the Antichrist in the consummation would be *an individual*, thought it yet more probable that the word intended was *Teitan*, and that this would be the name of the Antichrist.

the Mediterranean sea was their grave. During nearly two centuries the name of Christ was used as a trumpet-call to summon thousands after thousands to the various crusades; and the mark of a cross on the shoulder was assumed by millions, in honour, said they, of the Redeemer. We shudder at the deadly device of Satan, thus to lay his murderous snares in the blessed name of the Prince of Peace. But, in the days of Innocent, the sanguinary excitement of war could no longer satisfy the demands of religious bigotry; darker and more deceptive forms were chosen by the destroyer; and his work was to be done, not only by vicious and bloody warriors in the "*Holy wars*," but by sanctimonious monks in the courts of "the *Holy Inquisition*." Of the founder of the institution so denominated, we must furnish a short account.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### *Times of Innocent III. continued.*

EARLY HISTORY OF DOMINIC. — FORMATION OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER. — WORK OF THE FIRST DOMINICANS IN LANGUEDOC. — THEIR INFLUENCE AT ROME AND ELSEWHERE. — CHARACTER OF DOMINIC'S RELIGION. — EARLY HISTORY OF FRANCIS, THE FOUNDER OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER. — THEIR MENDICANT PROFESSION AND MISSIONARY UNDERTAKINGS. — BLASPHEMIES CONCERNING ST. FRANCIS.

WE have traced monastic institutions from their commencement, and whilst discerning the many evils connected with them, and the contrariety to the revealed will of God discoverable in their very constitution, we have thankfully acknowledged that some good was mixed with the evil, and that God's children were sometimes found to shed their heavenly light from the hiding-places chosen in their ignorance. We are now, however, arrived at a period in the history of monachism which has been deservedly called *its age of consummate wickedness*. Two monastic

orders, whose origin must now be described, may be termed the Jachin and Boaz of that proud temple of popery, to which Innocent III. put the finishing stroke ; but though Satan ever lends his skill in aid of the wilfulness of man in glorifying himself, the greatness of any building reared by human pride only increases the greatness of the fall to which it is doomed by God.

Dominic, the founder of the order called by his name, belonged to a noble family of Old Castile. He was born in 1170 ; and, before the event, we are told that his mother dreamed she gave birth to a little dog, which held a firebrand in his mouth, and enlightened all the world. Whatever value the admirers of Dominic might attach to these similitudes, the reader of the Bible connects no good thing with a dog, or a firebrand. The apostolical warning, "Beware of dogs," was probably a caution against soul-destroying teachers ; and of such a class was Dominic.

In that kind of *religiousness*, which, alas ! multitudes then, and we fear now, put in the place of the real religion of Christ, Dominic, from a child, excelled. As soon as he could speak, he wanted to go into the church to pray, and would get up in the night to do so ; and from the age of six to thirteen, whilst he was under the care of his uncle, an archbishop, he spent his play-hours in prayers, decorating altars, and similar works. At the university, where he remained till he was nineteen, he fasted often, slept little, and often lay on the boards instead of in his bed. He displayed, also, much benevolence and concern for others. During a famine he sold his books and furniture to feed the hungry, and offered in person to ransom one who had been taken by the Moors, on seeing the distress of the captive's sister. We are also told that he wept for the sins of others, preached to them, and brought many to a religious life : seeing his brothers living in sin, he underwent severe penance himself, for *their* souls' health. In this manner he became so famous that many came to consult him about their spiritual affairs.

Had not Dominic borne such a character as this, he could not have gained extensive influence. The power of the Spirit had been manifested in a very remarkable manner among the dissidents from Rome, and it was only by

a great display of false fire, and a base imitation of the gifts and graces of the Spirit, that the enemy could hope to retain multitudes in captivity.

Open-air preaching, and teaching from house to house, were early Christian habits, and had been revived in this age by those accused of heresy: the wide-spreading of their doctrines was, under God, attributable to these practices. The emissaries of Satan now came into this field, and after Dominic had been employed by the Bishop of Osma to preach in his diocese, both to Mahometans and reputed heretics, he determined to establish an order of preaching monks. Eight Frenchmen, six Spaniards, one Englishman, and one Portuguese, bound themselves with Dominic under certain oaths: it was a band, he said, touched by the Spirit of God, and their vows were to preach the gospel, to labour for the conversion of heretics, to defend the faith, and propagate Christianity. Nothing could appear fairer, and two of the number possessing a house at Toulouse, the fraternity made it their headquarters, going out and returning thence as they judged best.

The keen-eyed Innocent (we cannot use his name without thinking how *guilty* he was of the blood of the saints) perceived the use that might be made of such instruments as these, and he gave them full authority to make inquisition into the faith of the inhabitants of Languedoc, and to deliver up such as persisted in their errors to the vengeance of De Montfort. The first Dominicans are represented as going out in couples, like bloodhounds, scenting the prey for that monster of vice and cruelty. The burnings in Languedoc must be immediately traced to their instigation. Fire seemed from the first their chosen agent of destruction. The flames of hell, they alleged, were reserved for those whom they condemned, and they deemed it a good work to antedate the eternal burnings.

Dominic was in the fortress of Muret when the battle, wherein the King of Arragon fell, was fought under the walls; his prayers were supposed to bring about that event. Again; when the papal party were disheartened by their ill-success in Languedoc, he taught them that they would obtain greater influence by the renunciation of their pomp and luxury: in this point he adroitly imitated

the habits of the sect against whom he warred; and the emissaries of Rome, accordingly, dismissed their grand equipages, and many went about without money, servants, or provisions, living on the alms bestowed on them by the admirers of their zeal. The plan succeeded so well that all who worked with Dominic renounced their possessions, and in a few years the Dominicans were ranked with the Mendicant Orders. In the Lateran Council, Innocent gave a verbal sanction to Dominic's Order, but his premature death left its formal establishment to his successor Honorius III.

In 1218, a convent of this order was opened in the street of St. Jacques (Lat. *Jacobus*) at Paris: hence the Dominicans were called Jacobins in France. Dominic at length fixed his head-quarters at Rome. Whilst he was there, perceiving the idleness of the many servants who attended the Pope and cardinals, he persuaded Honorius to appoint him "Reader of the Sacred Palace." This office was formally established, and remained in the hands of the Dominican Order; and, after the invention of printing, all the books which the Popes allowed to Catholics were such as had been approved by this reader and the cardinal vicar—the appointed censors of the press. The reader also appointed the preachers in the Pope's chapel, and examined their sermons before they were delivered. Thus carefully was every opening barred up, and the light of free and simple truth forbidden to enter the papal enclosure. But it is to be remembered that these men had the Bible, and when we know that Dominic undertook to expound the epistles of Paul to the Pope's servants, we wonder at the ingenuity wherewith he could justify his own position, or theirs, in the face of the powerful re-proofs conveyed by those scriptures. But we would fain hope there were good men, from time to time, even of the Dominican order—men who pressed through everything to Christ: we may hereafter point to some of these.

In 1221, the Dominicans were working in eight different spheres, one of which was England: they had also sixty convents. It was in that year that Dominic died at Bologna. In that place he had displayed his zeal as an open-air preacher; six times a day he would stand on a chair in the streets, and harangue the people; and there, it

is said, he stood for whole nights on the steps of the altar, interceding for sinners and infidels. His biographers speak of his peace and equanimity, and his humility of mind; and to him they attribute the saying, "One is master of the world when one is master of one's passions"—an axiom which proves how well he understood the secret of governing the minds of others. In his dying illness, Dominic exhorted the monks to poverty and humility, saying it was his last testament.

It is to be feared neither master or disciples knew anything of humility, except in the evil sense attached to it by the apostle (Col. ii. 18), *i. e.* an outward appearance of humiliation, or the inculcating of doctrines professedly humbling, whilst the fleshly mind is puffed up within. True humility would have overturned the leading principle of Dominic; it would have taught him to say to Christians, as the apostles did, "*Not that we have dominion over your faith.*" It was Dominic who arranged the Rosary—a necklace of beads intended to insure the repetition of the "Lord's Prayer" fifteen times a day, and that of "Hail! Mary" one hundred and fifty times, the beads being passed through the fingers as the task was accomplished. This invention was thought such an honour, that the Dominicans were sometimes called the Arch-confraternity of the Rosary. This fact may show us the nature of Dominic's prayers. He not only adopted the heathen custom of vain repetition with regard to the very prayer which the Lord taught his disciples, when he warned them against that vanity, but, according to his ideas of honour, he honoured the name of the Virgin Mary *ten times more* than that of our Father in heaven. Let us record the judgment which God passed on the prayers of the prototypes of such worshippers as Dominic and his fellow-workers:—"When ye make *many prayers*, I will not hear: *your hands are full of blood*" (Isa. i. 15.); and again, "Woe unto you, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, (how many did the inquisitors devour!) and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." (Matt. xxiii. 14.)

Dominic was canonised by the Romish Church, in honour of the miracles said to be wrought through his

holiness. His Order became one of the strongest pillars of popery; and, only eleven years after his death, the burden of the Inquisition was left in their hands, and the order was allowed its tribunal, prisons, and fetters, its gaolers, tormentors, and executioners, with or without the aid of the secular power: in consequence of this it became the curse of Christendom, and gave a deeper dye to the crimson crimes of the Church of Rome.

Another pillar of popery, erected in the times of Innocent, must now be described. About twelve years after the birth of Dominic, an Italian merchant of Assisi was presented with a son, who was to rival and even exceed the Spanish monk in fame. The child was called Francis, from the facility with which he acquired the language of France, to which country his father chiefly traded. His early life was dissolute, and his first religious feelings seem to have arisen in a prison, into which he was thrown in consequence of his being involved in some broil.

His first work of devotion was to attempt the rebuilding of a ruined church near Assisi, but having dishonestly sold some of his father's goods for this purpose, he was chastised by the angry merchant, and left his home. At last he gave back the money, renounced his paternal inheritance, and began to beg money for the repair of ruined churches, and for the expenses of his own mission. According to his impressions, he was raised up "to oppose truth to error, poverty to the desire of wealth, and humility to ambition." On his first visit to Rome, he exchanged his own clothes for a beggar's garment, and though hooted at, and pelted, in the streets of Assisi, on his first appearance, he was soon applied to by others, to teach them how to renounce the world. Francis professed to find his directions in three passages of the gospels, on which his eye fell on opening the book: "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," "Take nothing for your journey," "Let him take up his cross and follow me." Francis and his followers, though at first ridiculed and chastised as vagabonds, obtained the verbal approbation of Innocent III.; and Honorius furnished Francis with letters to all archbishops and others, commanding them to receive the Friars Minors (the name was chosen by way

of expressing their humility) as holy missionaries. He afterwards granted a full remission of all their sins to such as should visit Portiuncula, the first church of the order, near Assisi, on a certain day—the day which Francis pretended the Virgin Mary, in a vision, had named to him for the exercise of such indulgence. 100,000 pilgrims crowded to the place, ready to trample each other to death, in getting entrance. The fame of Francis spread much more rapidly than that of Dominic, for, in 1219, he assembled 5000 friars of his order in a plain near Assisi. Dominic proposed a union of the two orders, saying that their object was the same; but Francis declined it, and the rivalry felt by the two leaders was perpetuated among their followers.

In 1216, the Friars Minors, going out two by two, dispersed themselves almost throughout the whole of Christendom: it was easy for them to travel, as their profession of mendicity shut out the need of money, and their apparel was limited to a tunic, a hood, and a girdle round the waist, for which they soon substituted a cord: hence one of their names, that of Cordeliers. Ordination was not considered essential for these preachers, and though the majority of the early Franciscans were laymen, and Francis himself was only ordained a deacon, after being long a preacher, they were suffered to take the office of ministers and priests, notwithstanding the complaints of the clergy. The career of Francis, and his fellow-workers, was not bounded by the limits of Christendom, for besides those who traversed Europe, others went to Syria and Tunis, and the founder of the preaching mendicant order himself headed the party that proceeded to Egypt. It was at the time the crusaders were besieging Damietta that the courageous monk left their camp to visit that of the Moslems. He is reported to have offered the sultan to pass through the fire with some of his Mahometan imams, in order to prove the superiority of the Christian religion; but, whatever passed during the interview, it is certain that Francis returned safely to Italy, and after great bodily suffering died there, in 1226. It is said that, at his death, there were 10,000 members of his order, and missionaries from among them in three quarters of the globe. Twelve

of the early Franciscans suffered death among the Moors.

In hearing of the zeal displayed in these dark ages for the propagation, alas! for the most part, of the doctrines and commandments of men, our hearts should long that the missionaries of our more enlightened days might be increased a thousand fold. Would God that all the Lord's people were missionaries, each in his own sphere, or according to his ability, spreading abroad the savour and the knowledge of Christ! But we must not quit the history of St. Francis (for he was quickly canonised by the Romish Church), without noticing the blasphemous parallel which his admiring disciples, and lying biographers, have drawn between him and our blessed Lord. An awful book, entitled, "The Conformity of the Life of the Blessed Francis to the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ," asserts the existence of this parallel from his birth, which is said to have been in a manger, to his death-bed, on which he is said to have miraculously received precisely the same marks in his hands, feet, and side, that the nails and the spear caused in the Lord's body. His whole life, too, is represented as surpassingly holy, and crowded with miracles.

Passing over a subject on which we dare not dwell, let us notice how contrary to the Scriptures is the establishment of a mendicant order of preachers. He who would know the mind of God will not seize upon an isolated text, disregarding the context, but will patiently consider the true bearing of the word of God.

There seem to have been prototypes of all kinds of errors in the days of the Apostles, so that nothing arises against which a fit corrective is not provided in their writings. We have, in the Bible, a description of every moral and spiritual disease, with a specific remedy, or mode of treatment, prescribed for each.

Instead of giving encouragement to idleness and beggary, the Church was commanded, that, if any would not work, neither should he eat.

## CHAPTER V.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

PAPAL INTERDICT LAID ON LEON.—ALPHONSO IX. RESISTS, AND AT LAST SUBMITS TO INNOCENT III.—CASTILE UNDER ALPHONSO THE NOBLE AND ELEANOR OF ENGLAND.—ARRAGON UNDER PETER II.—DEFEAT OF THE CHRISTIANS AT ALARCOS, REVENGED IN THE VICTORY OF THEIR COMBINED ARMIES OVER THE MOORS AT TOLOSA.—FAMILY OF ALPHONSO THE NOBLE.—REGENCY OF HIS DAUGHTER BERENGARIA IN CASTILE.—THE INFANT JAMES IS RAISED TO THE THRONE OF HIS FATHER IN ARRAGON.

FROM the history of Crusades and Religious Orders we may easily turn our attention to the affairs of Spain; they are linked, too, with the doings of Innocent, and the family of King John. We quitted the history of Spain at the time when the Christian states were thrown into confusion and trouble, by the refusal of Innocent III. to sanction the marriage of Alphonso IX., king of Leon, with Berengaria, daughter of Alphonso III., the king of Castile, and Eleanor, the sister of John of England. Notwithstanding the representations of his legate, as to the attachment of the youthful pair and the benefit of the alliance to both states, the Pope persisted in his attempt to separate them, on the plea of their relationship. Their eldest son, Ferdinand, was born in 1200. Leon was placed under an interdict in 1202, which, though only partially observed, brought great distress, and occasioned the most distracting divisions in Church and State. It was not till 1214 that Alphonso and Berengaria consented to separate, and then only on the condition that their five children should be deemed legitimate. When the clergy of Leon petitioned the Pope to remove the interdict, because, on account of it, the laity paid them no tithes and listened to heretical teachers, Innocent allowed them to perform divine service with closed doors, but not the rites of burial.

Papal tyranny was, at this time, more strongly resisted in Spain than in France or England; and it was only at the close of his career that Innocent gained his partial triumph over the King of Leon.

The kingdom of Castile was now the first in Spain. Alphonso III., surnamed the Noble, had by Eleanor his wife two daughters, Blanche and Urraca. The former, through the influence of her grandmother, the Queen-Dowager of England, was married to Louis, the heir of the throne of France, and the latter became the wife of Alphonso, the son and successor of Sancho I., king of Portugal. Castile occupied a commanding position; the chief ports of the Bay of Biscay were possessed and fortified by Alphonso, and by occupying St. Sebastian, he shut up Navarre on the north. That kingdom was continually encroached upon by its powerful neighbours. The king, Sancho the Strong, whose sister Berengaria was the wife of Richard Cœur de Lion, made peace with Castile after the death of that king; and though he lived to be eighty years of age, the suffering which he endured through a cancer in the leg, obliged him to retire from public life. Arragon, now a considerable kingdom, was thrown into trouble through the attempts made by Sancha, a Castilian princess, to retain the power which she had held during the minority of her son, Peter II. Alphonso the Noble deserved that title by making peace between them. The predecessors of Peter, at the age of twenty-five, were married, made knights, and then took the title of kings without being crowned; but Peter, in the year of his marriage, 1204, went to Rome to obtain help against the Moors, who had robbed Arragon of the Balearic Islands, and on that occasion was knighted, anointed, and crowned by Innocent III. In return for this honour, he swore obedience to the papal see, and promised an annual tribute of 250 gold pieces. The Pope decreed, that thenceforth the rightful heir of the throne of Arragon should take the royal title at the death of his predecessor. It is strange that this same king should afterwards have been found fighting against the papal army in Languedoc; but it appears that the states of Arragon were much displeased at his submission to the Pope. Peter II. was in the prime of life when he fell at the battle of Muret. He

was greatly admired for his personal advantages, warlike talents, kingly liberality, and courtly manners; but the great blot on his worldly reputation was his faithlessness to his wife. He had married Mary, the daughter of the Count of Montpellier, by Eudocia, daughter of Manuel Comnenus; but neither her high birth, nor the peculiar solemnity of their marriage contract, prevented him from trying to obtain a divorce; and his queen was gone to Rome to claim the Pope's interference at the time of the battle of Muret. The night before his death, Peter had been with one whom he wickedly preferred to his wife, and on the morning of the battle he was so fatigued, that it was remarked he could not stand up when the gospel was read at the mass celebrated previous to the combat. He was cut off, therefore, in the midst of his sins, and we must count for nothing the high praises bestowed upon him by ancient historians.

We have mentioned the connections between the five Christian kings of Spain and Portugal, we must now relate the circumstances that brought them all into war with the Moslems. Alphonso III. of Castile, being at peace with his Christian neighbours, in the pride of his power sent a challenge to the Mahometan Prince Almanzor, who was absent in Africa and detained there by sickness, charging him to send ships to fetch the Christian hosts, if he dared not meet them in their native land. Almanzor answered by proclaiming an alghied, or holy war; and by the promise of plunder now, and paradise hereafter, he assembled an immense force. The two armies met at Alarcos, July, 1195, and one of the most bloody battles fought since the Moors entered Spain ended in the defeat of the Castilians. Alphonso fought desperately, and remained in the field till some of his nobles, seeing the white banner of the Moslems, on which was embroidered the first verse of the Koran, almost waving over his head, dragged him forcibly from the place of danger. Almanzor died shortly after this victory, and in his last moments said that he only repented of two wrong acts during his reign, one of which was his having set free 20,000 Christian prisoners taken at Alarcos. This regret probably arose out of his knowledge of the spirit of these professed Christians, which was the very reverse

of his whose name they bore. It was as consistent for Mahometans to use the sword as it was unbecoming on the part of Christians; but the latter were Christians only in name, and being without the armour of God they used that of the world.

Almansor made a truce for ten years before he died, and this was scarcely expired when a crusade against the Moors was sanctioned by Innocent III., at the request of Alphonso, and a Spanish archbishop was commissioned to raise help in France. At the same time Abdallah, the son and successor of Almansor, prepared the Moslems of Africa and Spain for another alghied. Castile, Arragon, Leon, Navarre, and Portugal, all sent their soldiers to Toledo, the place of rendezvous; but Ferdinand, the infante\* of Castile, the chosen commander, on whom the love and hope of the nation were fixed, died of fever from over-fatigue before the crusaders were all assembled. Their number is stated at from fifty to a hundred thousand. There were more, be it remembered, engaged in the crusade against the Albigenses of Languedoc.

The zeal of the mixed multitude gathered at Toledo was so hot, that they began by falling on the Jews and Musarabic Christians of that city. These latter were descended from those Christians who had accepted the terms offered them by the Arabs, at the time of their conquest of Spain, and had gradually conformed to Moorish customs, and even accompanied their Moslem friends on their expeditions. In order to avoid a civil war, Alphonso hastened the departure of the army from Toledo, and they set forth in the year 1212, with 70,000 beasts of burden, to carry their store of provisions.

The vanguard consisted of foreigners, under the command of Diego de Hara, a noble Spaniard, acquainted with Moorish warfare: the main body was led by Peter of Arragon, and Alphonso the Noble brought up the rear with 14,000 horsemen.

A shepherd (it was afterwards said an angel) led the crusaders through the mountains of La Mancha; and shortly after they had encamped in the plains called the

\* The sons of the kings of Spain and Portugal were thus styled; the daughters were termed *infantas*.

Navas of Tolosa, Abdallah brought up the Moslem army. His red pavilion was pitched on a rising ground, and the prince sat within it on his shield, with his horse before him, surrounded by a dense circle of negro guards. The position was different, indeed, from that of the early caliphs at the head of their armies; and in the fierce conflict that followed, the Christians revenged their defeat at Alarcos in the most ample manner. Seven prelates, by their promises of eternal rewards, added the excitement of religious fanaticism to the common fury of war; and the iron cross, with which one of them repeatedly broke the Moorish ranks, is preserved to this day, and was long esteemed a holy relic. The Spanish caliph narrowly escaped destruction; for even when an Arab rushed into his tent to tell him the Moslems were conquered, he was calmly sitting as described above, and would not mount his horse for flight till he had repeated a passage of the Koran.

From the battle of Tolosa may be dated the decline of Mahometan power in Spain. The crusaders had given no quarter on the field of victory, and they burned alive all who had taken refuge in a neighbouring mosch, and destroyed every man, woman, and child in the town of Ubeda. The King of Castile was disposed to show mercy, but it was forbidden by the bishops. The Church, as it was called, had now adopted the horrible idea, that it was proper and even meritorious to hasten by fire and sword the consignment into hell of such as they deemed unworthy, or without the hope, of everlasting life. But the hand of God was heavy on the crusaders; though enriched with pay and loaded with plunder, provisions were so scarce on account of a long drought, that the larger number of them died of sickness or famine on their way home. The leaders returned to Toledo, and were received by Queen Eleanor and her daughters. The public rejoicing was very great, and the archbishop made such exertions in providing for the starving soldiery, and exhorting others to the work, that Alphonso made him high chancellor of Castile, with power to transmit the office to his successors. This king, who surely had some noble qualities, did not long survive the victory of Tolosa. He died in October, 1214; and his wife, who was tenderly

attached to him, only survived his loss a few days. This English princess was famed for beauty, wisdom, and piety; she was esteemed the mother of her people, and was a careful mother to her own children. But all her wisdom did not prevent her from building a shrine in honour of St. Thomas à Becket, in amends, it appears, for her father's treatment of that prelate. At the death of Alphonso and Eleanor, their eldest daughter, Berengaria, being separated from her husband, the King of Leon, became regent of Castile, as Henry, the surviving infante, was only ten years old. Alphonso's second daughter, Blanche, was the wife of Louis of France; Urraca, of Alphonso, who had now succeeded to the throne of Portugal; Eleanor, the youngest, afterwards became the wife of the young King James of Arragon, who was only four years old when his father died, and whom Simon de Montfort had expected to be his son-in-law. Alphonso the Noble and his queen, as well as their cotemporary, Peter II. of Arragon, were famed for their encouragement of literature. The former founded public schools at Palencia, in which the famous Dominic was one of the first students. Teachers were brought from France and Italy, as Spain, at this time, furnished none sufficiently learned. Peter II. encouraged the Provençal poets at his court, and himself composed elegant verses. A talent, or at least a taste, for poetry was considered in these days an essential accomplishment for a complete knight.

The talents and wisdom of Berengaria could not reconcile all the nobles of Castile to a female regency, and her brother Henry, whom she loved as a mother, was removed from her care to that of Alvaro de Lara. Civil war ensued, and in the midst of it the young king died from the falling of a tile on his head, whilst he was at play in a courtyard with his young companions, A.D. 1217.

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At the death of Peter II. two pretenders claimed the government of Arragon, but the States acknowledged only their absent infante, and entreated Innocent III. to command Simon de Montfort to deliver him up to them. That ambitious man was unwilling to part with a royal son-in-

law, but during his engagement in war the child's deliverance was effected, and Raymond, the young heir of Provence, was brought with him into Spain for safety. The grandmaster of the Templars was appointed guardian of the noble boys, and they were kept in the castle of Monzon—a confinement so disagreeable to James, that, in remembrance of it, he exerted himself in after life for the redemption of captives. So much confusion prevailed under the regent, the Count of Roussillon, that the grandmaster persuaded the Cortes of Arragon to place the royal child on the throne when only nine years of age, 1217. This young king, afterwards surnamed the Conqueror, was one of the most remarkable sovereigns of his age. He was the son of Peter II., by his hated wife, Mary of Montpellier. His mother wished him to be named after one of the twelve apostles; and in order to decide which should be fixed on, she caused twelve candles to be lighted, to which she attached the apostles' names, and that which burned after all the rest happening to be called St. James, the infant received that name.

Several acts of the celebrated Lateran Council concerned the Church in Spain; and Rodrigo Ximenes, the archbishop of Toledo, who attended as its representative, astonished the assembled clergy by his great learning and accomplishments. It is said that he could speak to every one in their own tongue, whether English, German, French, Greek, or African.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Times of Innocent III. continued.*

BULGARIA, BEING SEPARATED FROM THE GREEK EMPIRE, IS FORMED INTO A KINGDOM BY INNOCENT III. — ISAAC ANGELUS DEPOSED, AND HIS BROTHER ALEXIUS MADE EMPEROR. — ALEXIUS, SON OF ISAAC, ESCAPES TO ITALY, AND DIVERTS THE FIFTH CRUSADE FOR THE RESTORATION OF HIS FATHER AND HIS OWN ELEVATION. — TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS. — BALDWIN, COUNT OF FLANDERS, THE FIRST LATIN EMPEROR. — DIVISION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE. — DEATH OF BALDWIN, AND ACCESSION OF HIS BROTHER HENRY. — HIS PROSPEROUS REIGN.

THE Greek empire at this period reminds us of a goodly forest tree, against which the woodman's axe has been lifted, lopping off one fair branch after another; it is hollowed, too, by the decaying hand of time; it is scathed by the lightning that its towering height has attracted; and one storm after another has torn off its foliage: it may be venerable for its old age, or interesting through its very calamities; but its usefulness and beauty are no more.

In the times of Richard I. we noticed that the beautiful island of Cyprus was lost to the empire, and that the reigning emperor, Isaac Angelus, made himself very unpopular by the oppressive taxes which he levied to supply his extravagant expenditure. A greater loss was experienced during his reign, through the revolt of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. During 170 years, these people had owned no other sovereigns than the Greek emperors; but their masters had been too indolent to change their savage habits by proper legislation, and treated them both with injustice and contempt. The forcible seizure of their flocks and herds—their sole subsistence—on the occasion of a marriage feast given by the emperor, exhausted their forbearance. John, a Bulgarian warrior, fought for freedom at the head of his countrymen,

and obtained from Isaac Angelus the acknowledgment of their national independence: by an embassy to Innocent III., the same John afterwards procured the title of king, and a grant of the privilege of coining money. The Pope was delighted at the opportunity of extending the influence of Rome, and at the same time established a Latin archbishop in Bulgaria. In 1195, Isaac Angelus was degraded from the imperial dignity, and his brother Alexius, a man in nowise his superior, raised to the throne. The talents of his wife Euphrosyne, and not his own, preserved to him the imperial diadem during eight years: she was a masculine and vicious character, and Alexius won no other title than the Tyrant. The deposed emperor was deprived of his sight, and confined in a lonely tower at Constantinople, where he was scantily supplied with bread and water. His son Alexius, aged twelve years, was obliged to accompany his uncle in his wars; but as he increased in understanding, being moved by his father's sufferings, and conscious of his own claims to the throne, he took the opportunity of the emperor's encampment near the seashore, to put on the disguise of a common sailor, and thus escaped in a vessel bound for Italy. The place of appeal for princes in these times was the papal court; and there the young Alexius told his sorrowful tale, and met with the promise of protection and help, on his engaging to procure for the ambitious Innocent the religious submission of the Greeks.

It happened that the armies of Christendom were just then preparing for a new crusade, and the young prince having determined to solicit their aid in placing him on the throne, made them vast promises in order to divert in his own favour the troops raised for the Holy Land. His scheme was advanced by Philip, emperor of Germany, who had married his sister Irene, and by the Marquis of Montferrat, whose brothers were wedded to other princesses of the royal family. Henry Dandolo, the reigning doge of Venice, although blind and old, was also willing to join in an expedition to Constantinople, in the hope of increasing the wealth and power of his country; for he had given his sanction to the crusade with no other view. The Venetians—the first maritime people of Europe—had engaged to furnish the crusaders with ships and pro-

visions, on condition of sharing all their conquests, and receiving 85,000 silver marks. The treaty to this effect was ratified by Innocent. Nothing of moment occurred in these times in which the Pope had not a hand, or a voice.

The chief persons engaged in this crusade were Boniface, marquis of Montferrat; Baldwin, count of Flanders; Simon de Montfort, afterwards so notorious in another crusade; Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, a nephew of Philip Augustus; and Villehardouin, a marshal of France, who wrote the history of the expedition. When the crusaders assembled at Venice, the promised money not being forthcoming, the doge proposed that, in lieu of its immediate payment, they should assist him in reducing the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had revolted from the republic. They agreed, and Zara was taken. But it happened that some of the inhabitants of that place had taken the cross together with the King of Hungary, to whom they had offered allegiance; and Innocent, on learning the circumstances, excommunicated the crusaders for killing and robbing their brethren. Some were absolved on expressing repentance, and the most devout set off to pursue their original design; but the doge and the marquis, the chief leaders, persuaded the Counts of Flanders and Blois, and eight of the French barons, to direct their arms towards Constantinople: Alexius had come to Zara in person, in order to make this diversion of the crusade.

The efforts of the warriors who proceeded to Palestine, without any leader of note, were fruitless; but Saphadin was induced to conclude a truce with the Latins in the Holy Land, after he heard of the taking of Constantinople by their brethren—a circumstance which we are about to relate.

The elder Alexius had despised his nephew's pretensions and influence, up to the moment that the Venetian fleet approached Constantinople, and though he then sent out a threatening message, his heart failed with terror at seeing the force arrayed against him. There were 120 flat-bottomed boats that conveyed the horses, each perfectly accoutred for battle, with a squire holding the bridle; 240 transports came after, laden with warriors, having

their arms piled on either side, and their banners displayed from the stern of the vessels. The Venetians provided 70 store-ships and fifty galleys, with 300 engines for casting stones; and the martial pomp of 40,000 soldiers was deemed incomplete without the accompaniment of a troop of musicians. Constantinople, at this time, contained 400,000 men capable of bearing arms, and the strength of its defences was proverbial; but the Greeks had become a feeble people, and the chief strength of the throne lay in the Varangian guards, who seem to have been mercenaries from Denmark and England. The crusaders, at first, landed at Scutari, and afterwards, on making the passage of the Bosphorus, they found no enemy on the opposite shore to oppose them: the Greeks fled at their approach in such haste, that even the imperial pavilion fell into their hands. Theodore Lascaris, the son-in-law of the elder Alexius, prepared in vain for the defence of the city; for whilst the French made an attack by land, the Venetians forced the chain across the harbour, and burned or sunk the Greek ships. The aged doge stood in complete armour on the prow of his galley, with the great banner of St. Mark floating over him: in the heat of the conflict he urged on the rowers, and, notwithstanding his blindness, he was the first who gained the shore. That night the tyrant Alexius escaped in a small boat; and the blind emperor, being drawn from his dungeon and replaced on the throne, sent a message to the besiegers that they might enter peaceably as friends. The young Alexius was crowned in St. Sophia; but his gratitude to the foreign allies, who had obtained for him the object of his desire, soon offended the jealous and fickle Greeks, and the young emperor was as much suspected as his father was despised. Seeing the danger of his position, Alexius engaged Boniface to accompany him round his European provinces with his troops, whilst Baldwin and his soldiers remained at Constantinople. During the young emperor's absence, his unpopularity increased, for the zealous Flemish crusaders burned down a Mahometan mosch that had long been suffered at Constantinople, and to this cause was attributed a fire which raged for eight days and nights. The people entreated the senate to provide an emperor from their own ranks; but every senator

in turn refused the dangerous honour; and the name of the person proclaimed Augustus by the crowd was scarcely remembered. Profiting by the confusion, Alexius Mourzoufle, the chamberlain of the young emperor, treacherously contrived his death. Rushing into his chamber at night, under pretence that the palace was attacked, he entreated him to escape by a private staircase; but, at the bottom of it, Alexius was loaded with chains and carried to a dungeon: he was put to death some days after, by Mourzoufle's command, February, 1204. Isaac Angelus, his father, died about the same time. The suburb of Galata had been assigned to the French and Venetian troops, and Mourzoufle prepared the city for a second siege, as the foreigners were bent on gaining possession, to revenge, as they said, the death of their friend Alexius. After three months of preparation, the Latins, from their ships, walls, and towers, assaulted Constantinople in a hundred places. On the third day of attack, the Bishop of Troyes and Soissons directed the assailants, four towers were scaled, and the city gates were burst open. Mourzoufle escaped, and the Greeks fled on all sides; and the next morning a suppliant multitude waited on Boniface, crying, "Holy marquis, king, have mercy upon us!" The marquis exhorted the crusaders to spare their fellow Christians; but 2000 Greeks were massacred, and the Pope had reason for his subsequent complaint, that the Latin pilgrims were guilty of the direst crimes at the taking of Constantinople. So great was the robbery committed, that the French, after paying their debt to the Venetians, retained a portion of the spoil amounting to £800,000 sterling.

Three desolated churches were turned into depots for plunder, and the multitude of precious things and costly luxuries heaped within them no money could then have purchased in the ruder parts of Europe.

In the fury of party zeal, the Latins delighted in the profanation of the Greek churches: in the delirium of triumph, they gamed and feasted in St. Sophia, and placed an abandoned woman on the patriarch's throne. They also rifled the tombs of the emperors for hidden treasures: it is remarked, that the corpse of Justinian, which had lain there for six centuries, showed no sign of decay.

Adding ridicule to robbery, the victors paraded the streets in the painted robes and flowing headdresses of the Greeks, displaying a pen, inkhorn, and paper, which they accounted the fittest ensigns of a people so much more learned, and so much less warlike than themselves. Multitudes of books were probably burned at this time by the rough and ruthless Latins; but they carefully gathered many of the relics found in the Greek capital, and there was no small gain in selling them throughout western Christendom. Some difficulty arose in fixing on an emperor; and, at last, the choice was left to six French and six Venetian electors. The marquis, though first in command, was passed by as an Italian; and Dandolo, because the imperial dignity was said to be inconsistent for the chief of a republic. Baldwin, count of Flanders, the young sovereign of a wealthy, warlike people, and a cousin of the King of France, was judged the proper person to occupy the throne. It was alleged, also, that he was a descendant of Charlemagne.

The generous Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of Baldwin, and to assist in raising him on a buckler; and the Pope's legate placed on his head the imperial diadem. On the taking of Constantinople, a letter was despatched to Innocent to entreat him to forgive the offences of the recreant crusaders, and to propose a general council for re-uniting the Greek to the Latin Church. He replied, that the conquerors of Constantinople would be absolved or condemned according to their future conduct; but he assumed the immediate supremacy of the Greek Church.

The papal legate, Pelagius, soon forbade the Greek form of worship, and placed his throne on the right hand of that of the patriarch: the latter fled to Nice, a city which Theodore Lascaris made the capital of a petty independent Greek empire; and this prince, around whom were gathered the noblest and bravest of the Greeks, gladly maintained the patriarch, clergy, and monks, who would not obey the Pope.

On seeing the consequences of his tyranny, Innocent censured his legate for having gone too far; and the attempt to reconcile the Greek and Latin Churches was, for the time, abandoned. Baldwin satisfied himself for the breach of his vow to go to Palestine, by sending thither

the bulky trophies of his victory—the gates of Constantinople and the chain of the harbour. With the title of emperor, Baldwin possessed only one quarter of the city; the rest was divided between the French and Venetians. Dandolo ended his days at Constantinople, bearing the title of the Despot of Romania; and the Doges of Venice, for two centuries after, bore the title of lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire: this was the portion that had been assigned to the blind warrior.

Boniface had received Thessaly and Macedonia with the title of king; a portion which he preferred, as bordering on the dominions of his brother-in-law, the King of Hungary. A quarrel arose between Baldwin and Boniface, and they met in arms; but they were reconciled by Dandolo and the barons of France. Like birds of prey, these foreign chiefs had fastened on the apparently dead carcass of the Roman empire. The Count of Blois took Bithynia, with the title of duke; Athens fell to a gentleman of Burgundy, whose successors bore the same title; the lord of Franche-Comté possessed Achaia, or Greece, properly so called.

But the Greeks, though trampled upon, still struggled for life and freedom; and besides the empire of Nice, there were two other Greek principalities—those of Trebizond and Epirus—over which members of the imperial family reigned. In these independent states, the more learned and valiant Greeks found refuge; and those who remained under the Latin yoke found it so ill-suited to their shoulders, that, before the end of a year, they sought help from John, king of Bulgaria. That prince had sent a friendly embassy to the Latin emperors, and had taken deep offence on receiving for answer, that he must ask pardon as a rebel. As soon, therefore, as the Greeks rose in various places, John came to their help, having added to his own troops 14,000 Comans, a tribe of pagan Scythians, who were said to sacrifice their prisoners of war to their gods, and to drink the blood of the slain.

Thus was a terrible scourge raised up for the Latins; and in a battle which took place, April, 1205, Baldwin was made prisoner, and great numbers of his followers were slain. The manner in which the first Latin emperor

was put to death has been variously related, and was probably very barbarous : when the Pope demanded his restoration, the king of Bulgaria assured him it was impossible, for he had died in prison. In another battle between the Latins and Bulgarians, Boniface, king of Macedonia, was slain. Thus perished the chief leaders of the fourth crusade. The Greeks, who had invited the help of John, became alarmed at his ferocity ; and Henry, the brother of Baldwin, being declared emperor, they supported him in checking the course of the Bulgarians. John was at length stabbed by night in his tent, whilst before Thessalonica ; and Henry, after obtaining several victories over his successor, concluded a peace with Bulgaria. He was a prudent and politic prince, and succeeded in securing the affections of his subjects, and in maintaining peace with the Greek princes. He died in 1217, the year after the decease of Innocent III., and King John of England.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Henry III. and his Times. A.D. 1216—1272.*

ACCESSION OF HENRY III.—EVENTS DURING HIS MINORITY.—HENRY'S MARRIAGE WITH ELEANOR OF PROVENCE, AND UNPOPULARITY, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS FOREIGN FAVOURITES.—CHARACTER OF LANGTON.—AVARICE OF THE POPES.—HENRY'S QUARREL WITH SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER.—HIS BREACH OF PROMISE, AFTER CONFIRMING MAGNA CHARTA, LEADS TO CIVIL WAR.—TEMPORARY PEACE.—HIS VISIT TO FRANCE.—WAR WITH THE BARONS RENEWED.—AT THE BATTLE OF LEWES, LEICESTER MAKES THE ROYAL FAMILY HIS CAPTIVES.—PRINCE EDWARD ESCAPES, HEADS THE ROYALISTS, AND LEICESTER IS SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM.—HENRY'S RESTORATION AND DEATH.—FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ENGLAND IN THIS REIGN.

ONE of the grand blessings of the kingdom of Christ upon earth will be in his absolute dominion, and the irresistible

exercise of his authority; but almost every earthly sovereignty is exercised in so sinful and imperfect a way, that experience proves the desirableness of having some check against absolute kingly power.

English history is chiefly interesting to us at this period, as showing the manner in which our government assumed the form of a limited monarchy.

There were sovereigns more distinguished reigning at the same time as the King of England whose name we place at the head of this period; but his times, stretching over more than half a century, form a convenient chronological enclosure, within which we can readily place the world's history.

At the death of King John, Henry, his eldest son, was only ten years of age; and Louis, the eldest son of the King of France, was in military possession of many of the counties of England. But the English prince had a powerful assertor of his rights in William Mareschall, earl of Pembroke, one of the wisest and most influential of the loyal nobles. He brought the child before the national council, representing the shame and disadvantage of foreign rule, and pleading that the sins of the father should not be visited on the son. The assembly cried out that Henry should be their king, and he was accordingly crowned in Gloucester cathedral, October 28th, 1216.

The Bishops of Bath and Winchester officiated in the ceremony, as Langton, who had been suspended by Innocent III., was at Rome, seeking forgiveness for having espoused the cause of Louis. The crown had been lost in the Wash with the rest of the royal baggage, and, in its stead, a simple gold fillet was placed around the head of the young king. The Pope's legate, who was present on the occasion, required and received from Henry the same homage and tribute which had been paid by his father. In November, the legate held a council at Bristol, in which he pronounced the excommunication fulminated by Innocent III., against Louis and his adherents; and this sentence was not removed till the prince made peace with Henry. The French did not yield without a struggle. Louis was repulsed in person from Dover by Hubert de Burgh, the governor; the Regent Pembroke defeated the French army before Lincoln; and the accumulation

of spoil was so great, that it was called *Lincoln fair*. After these defeats, Louis shut himself up in London, where he had been crowned, and awaited the succour which his wife was obtaining in France. At length a fleet of eighty large ships, with many smaller vessels, appeared in the Channel, and the English had not more than forty vessels of all sizes wherewith to meet them. Hubert de Burgh entreated the Dover garrison to embark with him against the enemy; but they replied, "We are not sea-soldiers, nor pirates, nor fishermen: but go thou and die." Hubert, as chief commander, faced the danger; and his skill, and the expertness and bravery of the English mariners, more than compensated for the smallness of their fleet. One novel expedient was throwing out quicklime, which a favourable wind blew in the faces of their enemies; the iron prows of their vessels and their military engines made leaks in the French ships; and almost all that were not taken went down. It was one of the first of England's naval victories; and when Hubert and his victorious seamen came back to Dover, the clergy met them chaunting psalms of thanksgiving. Having no hope of further help from France, and finding his cause becoming more and more unpopular in England, Louis wisely entered into a treaty of peace with Henry. The young king, on his part, promised to pay all the debts that his rival had contracted in the kingdom, to liberate all his French prisoners, and to forgive such of his own subjects as had been siding with the foreign prince. Pembroke took care that this agreement was fulfilled, and Louis returned to France in September, 1217.

Henry then made his entrance into London, and was crowned a second time at Westminster. Alexander III., king of Scotland, who had been excommunicated by the Pope for taking part with Louis, was absolved, after doing homage to Henry for his English possessions, and surrendering Carlisle. Their friendship was cemented, a few years after, by Alexander's marriage with Henry's sister Jane.

Pembroke, during his regency, was zealous for the observance of the Great Charter; but at his death, in 1219, the young king fell under the direction of Hubert de Burgh, who had married his eldest sister; and this man,

who was more fit for war than for council, soon infringed the charter. He held the office of chief justiciary, whereby he possessed the highest executive power; and some riot having occurred in London, he caused the leader to be put to death, and others to be mutilated without previous trial. By this and similar acts of despotism he brought disgrace upon himself and his royal charge. The national council being assembled, demanded the observance of the charter; but one of the courtiers said it was not binding on the king, as it had been extorted from his father by force. Langton was now re-instated in his office, and, as of old, using his political influence for good, he replied, "If, as you seem to do, you really love the king, you will not seek to involve the kingdom again in troubles." Henry himself said that the archbishop had spoken aright, and that he intended to have the charter obeyed.

The king was still young, and seemed only to need a good adviser, for he was not naturally of a tyrannical temper; but Langton died when he was only twenty-two years of age, and he was left under the evil influence of Hubert, and of De Roches, bishop of Winchester: the latter was a native of Poitou. After a time, De Roches procured Hubert's disgrace, and even urged the king to put him to death as a traitor to his interests; but Henry replied that he would never give up a man who had done such signal service to him and to his father, and that he would rather be reckoned an easy-natured, weak prince, than a cruel tyrant. Hubert proved his gratitude, by continuing faithful to his king when others forsook him.

In 1223, Louis (VIII.) succeeded his father, Philip Augustus, on the throne of France; and Henry, as duke of Guienne and a peer of France, was expected to attend at his coronation: instead of this, he summoned Louis to restore Normandy. A war ensued, in the course of which all, except Gascony and that part of Guienne around Bourdeaux, was torn from the King of England. But if Henry failed to defend his continental dominions, he allowed a multitude of his foreign subjects to find a settlement in England; and De Roches gathered many of the Gascons and Poitevins around the royal person. The king's partiality for foreigners was farther increased by his marriage with Eleanor the Fair, daughter of the Count of Provence

— a lady who was preferred to four others who had been previously proposed. The Provençals, it is known, had long been famous for poetry, and Eleanor was first named to the king by his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, to whom she had sent a poem of her own. The royal nuptials took place in 1226. Henry greatly loved his queen; but she was fond of dress and pleasure; and the expenses of the court, and the bounties lavished on foreign favourites, were highly displeasing to the nation. We are told that 2000 foreigners arrived in England after the king's marriage, and some of Eleanor's connections were raised to the highest offices in Church and State. Notwithstanding the complaints that were made, and the many civil dissensions that marked this reign, the wealth and prosperity of England greatly increased: architecture, horticulture, painting, and poetry flourished under the patronage of a king and queen who had similar tastes. It was Henry who began the building of Westminster Abbey, leaving it to his son to finish. An old chronicle says, "This king, in worldly doing, was not always full wise, but more devoted to spiritual things"(?); and that "he had *fair ends*, though failing and unwise in his doings." The truth seems to be that, however well-disposed, his own extravagant habits, his foreign favourites, and his subjection to papal power, involved him in difficulties; and, in attempting to extricate himself, he cared not what he promised, nor how often he broke the most solemn promises.

When Henry came of age, he declared the charters that he had confirmed during his minority to be null and void; consequently, when he summoned his barons to council they would not come, but met by themselves, and sent him word that if he would not dismiss De Roches and other foreign favourites, they would set a king on the throne who would do so. The offended king, with a body of Poictevins, took up arms, and the estates of many of the obnoxious barons were plundered, or confiscated for the use of foreigners.

The primate, however, interfered, and by his advice the king dismissed De Roches, who was an evil guide, and did other things to satisfy the barons; thus he obtained pecuniary aid. After his marriage, he found a new favourite

in the Duke of Savoy, the queen's uncle: that part of London still called the Savoy was the grant that the king bestowed upon him. About the same time Henry received Otho, the Pope's legate, hoping to strengthen his hands against the barons. Langton blamed him for this step, but did not live to see the consequences of it. The efforts of this archbishop to check both papal and kingly tyranny deserve to be remembered, and the Christian has a memorial of his more private labours in the division of the books of the Bible into chapters, which is said to have been effected by him. A more remarkable resistance to the overwhelming torrent of popish abuses poured into England in this reign was offered, after the death of Langton, by Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln—a solitary witness for God in the high places of the land, of whom we must make mention in our history of Christian Profession. Edmond, the successor of Langton in the see of Canterbury, was so unable to oppose the oppressions of the Pope's legate that he retired in despair to a monastery in France. The King of Scotland, being at a council held by the legate at York, and hearing from him that he intended to proceed northwards to regulate the affairs of the Church, warned him not to do so, as he might not be able to protect him: the conduct of a former legate had been so intolerable to the Scottish people that even Innocent had thought it proper to recall him.

It is said that Otho took away more money from the monasteries than he left in them; but on his way to Italy, he fell into the hands of the emperor's soldiers, and was robbed of his ill-gotten riches.

Reckoning from the death of Innocent III., seven popes successively reigned during the times of Henry III. These were Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent, Alexander, Urban, and Clement, each the fourth of his name, and Gregory X. They were chiefly known in England for their avaricious exactions. "Truly," said one of them, "England is our garden of delight. It is an unexhausted well; and where so much abounds much may be acquired." Gregory IX., just before his death, was mean enough to ask the Abbot of Peterborough to give him, under a borrowed name, a living worth £200, for which he promised to allow the abbot £100; but the latter refused to be a

partner in the fraud. In 1245, Innocent IV. proposed to visit England; but the king's council refused to let him come, saying that the rapines and simonies of the Romans had sufficiently stained the purity of England, without the Pope's coming in person to pillage the wealth of the Church and kingdom. Yet after this a nuncio was sent from Rome, demanding the promotion of 300 Italians to benefices in England, and forbidding the bishops to fill any vacancy till the whole number had been provided for. Ignorance of the English language seemed to be accounted no obstacle, for they could read the Latin prayers like other priests; and the king had made his wife's brother primate, though he was unacquainted with the language or customs of those whom he pretended to teach and govern. The Bishop of Lincoln represented to Henry that the foreign priests in England were receiving 70,000 marks per annum. It was also calculated that the papal exactions amounted to three times as much as the royal revenue. The king's chaplain possessed 700 benefices. "Men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth," did indeed put gain in the place of godliness: it seemed to be forgotten that the lust of riches drowns men in destruction and perdition. There was a time when houses and lands, and tithes, and firstfruits were assigned by the law of the Lord to those who taught his law and performed the appointed services; but those things were to be given as to the Lord by those who offered them, and received as *from* the Lord by those who enjoyed them. Teaching *for hire*, or unwillingness to serve Him *for nought*, were sins incurring the displeasure and judgment of God even under that dispensation. (Micah, iii. 11; Mal. i. 10.) Nor was the danger over, nor warning and reproof needless, in gospel days. The Apostle Paul refers to unruly and vain talkers at Crete, who were teaching things that they ought not for filthy lucre's sake. (Titus, i. 11.) Persons recognised as elders and servants in the Church of God—persons to whom it was the duty and privilege of believers to minister of their substance, or to trust with their offerings to the poor—are directed not to be greedy of filthy lucre. (1 Tim. .iii.) In the same manner, the Apostle Peter warns the pastors of the flock of God not to take up their service for filthy lucre. (1 Peter, v.) Again, he

warns the Church against the false teachers who, among other marks of their true character, have "a heart exercised with *covetous* practices." (2 Peter, ii. 14.)

The avarice and tyranny of the papal see, as exercised in England, were not the only evils that impressed the mind of the nation. The Albigensian War, carried on under papal sanction, awakened the indignation of many, and increased the general alienation from Rome.

Simon de Montfort, the younger son of the notorious leader of that crusade, bore a distinguished part in the affairs of England in the latter half of the reign of Henry III. His elder brother possessed his father's conquests in France, and this young man, on coming to England to take a large inheritance which belonged to his family, was allowed to marry Eleanor, the widowed countess of Pembroke, the king's sister, and was created earl of Leicester. Richard, earl of Cornwall, and the barons of England, complained at first of the favours bestowed on De Montfort; but he gradually won the affections of all ranks, and when he had lost the friendship of the fickle king was strong enough to make himself the head of the national party. Henry's first complaint against the earl was, that he had mismanaged Guienne, of which province he was appointed governor. Leicester returned and justified himself, and told the king that he was guilty of lying, and that it was hard to believe he was a Christian, or ever went to confession; and when Henry angrily replied that he was a Christian, and often went to confession, the earl exclaimed, "What signifies confession without repentance!" The king retorted, "I never repented anything so much as bestowing my favour on one who has so little gratitude and such ill manners."

Leicester afterwards made some satisfaction, and returned to Guienne, but before his term of government expired, the king sent his eldest son, Edward, to take his place, and summoned him to trial before his peers. They acquitted him, and pronounced him an injured man. This circumstance may show the limits now placed to the regal power. Henry's Norman ancestors might have removed an obnoxious minister at once. The king's terror of Leicester was exhibited when, on account of a thunder-

storm which occurred whilst he was on the Thames, he was landed at Durham House, where that nobleman happened to be. Though received by him with courtesy, he said that he feared him more than all the thunder in the world; upon which the earl professed his friendship and fidelity, and said, that his royal master ought rather to fear his enemies.

In 1255, wanting supplies of money, Henry engaged to put his seal on the Great Charter, and he took part in the solemnities used to make his promises more binding. The prelates and abbots who were present held burning tapers in their hands, whilst the charter was being read, and at the end threw them on the ground, uttering an awful imprecation against any who should break its conditions. The king swore thus, "So help me God, I will keep all these articles as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a crowned king."

Yet, after all, on the very next temptation, Henry failed in his engagements. His cousin, the Countess of Arundel, who had been wronged in his court, complained to the king, in person, in the most spirited manner; and as he treated her appeal with indifference, she said, "I, though a woman, with all your natural subjects, do appeal from you to the tribunal of God, the great and terrible judge, and he will revenge us." Many others upbraided the king for his breach of promise, and some of the bishops pleaded with him, "for his soul's health," to desist from the demands which he made in the Pope's name and his own; but he replied by warning them not to resist both the temporal and spiritual head of the Church, and Jesus Christ himself. Thus did Henry refuse counsel and warning on every side, and the most severe chastisement fell upon him. "Better," says the wise man, "is a poor and a wise child, than a foolish king who will no more be admonished;" and again, "Wisdom is better than weapons of war."

In 1257, the king's brother, Richard, being elected emperor by a faction in Germany, took out of England £700,000, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. It proved to be a vain dignity, and he returned home without gaining anything but the empty title of "King of the Romans." The loss incurred on this occasion, added to the

constant flow of money to Rome, caused the poor to suffer greatly from want, for though provisions were plentiful, they could not get money to buy them.

The barons had long murmured, but in 1258, they leagued together and took up arms, determined to make some reformation in the government. The articles which they drew up were called the Provisions of Oxford, because framed in an assembly at that place. The king was obliged to consent to them, and to permit that twelve barons of his own choice, and twelve barons representing the complainants, should preside over the welfare of the state, with Leicester at their head. The King of the Romans was not allowed to return home till he consented to this order of things. During the short peace that followed, in the spring of 1259, Henry went to Abbeville to hold a conference with Louis IX. A treaty was concluded, in which the French king ceded all that had been taken from John, except Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and Poitou; and Henry went to Paris to do homage for the provinces that were left to him, and was entertained with great magnificence. A conversation is said to have occurred between the two sovereigns on the subject of religious worship. Henry, extravagant and fond of display in all things, was wont to have mass performed three times a day; but Louis told him, that it would be better to hear fewer masses and more sermons. The King of England replied, that he would rather hear his friend spoken of more rarely, and see him oftener. The idea of *seeing Christ*, through the transubstantiation of the bread, was then, alas! a common delusion; and we cannot think that so unenlightened a person as Henry could have meant, as some report his speech, that communion with the Lord was better than only hearing Christ preached: he assuredly knew not the joy of communion with the Friend of sinners. His morals have been highly commended, but, in applauding them, it was perhaps forgotten, that truth is a part of good morality. He failed, too, in honesty, if, as we are told, he unscrupulously robbed merchants of wax, silk, stuffs, and other goods, in order to light and ornament churches.

We must hasten to the end of this tedious period. After spending a year in France, Henry returned home, and having that sort of conscience which would not per-

mit him to sin without the Pope's leave, he obtained first from Gregory, and afterwards from Urban IV., complete absolution for the guilt of perjury, and then openly broke the terms of his agreement with the barons. Probably they exacted too much, and in their hands the government might have been shaped into an aristocracy, instead of assuming its present preferable form.

It was during the troubles of the civil war between Henry and his barons, that the first parliament, constituted at all like our present parliaments, was summoned. It seemed necessary to give a voice to all intelligent orders of the state, in order to reconcile the variances which subsisted among them.

After a war of three years, in the course of which the estates of the king and the barons in turn were pillaged, the foreigners everywhere ill-treated, and the queen herself insulted, Henry agreed that the King of France should be the arbiter between him and his barons. The cause was, therefore, brought before Louis IX. at Amiens, in January, 1264, but his decision did not limit the royal power to the satisfaction of the barons. Yet this eminent king gave as wise a judgment as could be expected in the circumstances, and being scrupulously exact as to the fulfilment of his own engagements, he desired that no opinion of his should alter the charters previously confirmed.

The war was quickly renewed, and Oxford falling into the king's hands, the scholars were expelled for having favoured the barons. Henry also took Northampton and Nottingham, and having made prisoners fifteen barons and sixty knights, he would have put them to death but for fear of retaliation. The entrance of the king and his army into London was opposed, and they turned aside and encamped at Lewes. Leicester and his troops, being joined by 1500 Londoners, took up their quarters six miles off, and sent a most respectful letter to the king, saying, they only desired reform, and had not taken up arms to throw off their allegiance. They also offered £30,000 to repair the damage done to his estates, if he would keep his former oaths. But Henry, his brother, and his son, alike rejected all proposals of peace; and the barons, formally renouncing their fealty to the king, proclaimed him an enemy to the State. In the battle that followed, the King of England

and the King of the Romans, who commanded two divisions of the royal army, were defeated and made prisoners, whilst Prince Edward was victorious in another part of the field. Edward, and his cousin Henry, son of the King of the Romans, by an agreement made with Leicester, surrendered themselves as prisoners, as pledges for their royal fathers, till satisfactory regulations should be made as to the government. But the earl had no sooner got possession of the whole of the royal family, than he began to act as sole master and even tyrant of the kingdom. Encouraged by success, the real ambition of his nature was made manifest, and the king's previous fears as to his character were realised. Although Henry was nominally free, Leicester carried him about with him wherever he went, obliged him to consent to his arrangements, and used the royal name, as he pleased, to influence others. The queen was abroad collecting forces to send to the relief of her family; but the fleet was dispersed; the Pope despatched a bull to excommunicate Leicester and other rebels, but it was torn to pieces and thrown into the sea by the mariners who boarded the vessel of the bishops who brought it over; and Leicester found his popularity maintained by his opposition to Rome.

But before Leicester had been in power a year, he found his authority shaken by the very machinery that he had put in operation to maintain it. In January, 1265, he summoned a parliament in London, consisting not only of barons and ecclesiastics, but of two knights from each shire, and of deputies from the boroughs—a class of men never before admitted to the national councils: thus originated the House of Commons.

One of the acts of this new parliament was to decree the release of Prince Edward, but though Leicester permitted him to leave his prison, he guarded him by his own partisans. The Earl of Gloucester, who had leagued with the other barons, becoming jealous of Leicester's usurpations, deserted his cause, and became the leader of the Royalists. He found means to convey to the prince a horse of remarkable swiftness, with directions how to effect his escape; and Edward being allowed to take exercise under the eye of certain nobles, appointed by Leicester, induced them one morning to ride races with each other, as if for his amuse-

ment; and when he saw their steeds were tired, he put spurs to his own, and galloped off in the direction named to him by the Earl of Gloucester, where a party of Royalist horse waited to escort him to a place of safety.

As soon as the prince was free, the Royalists gathered around him in great numbers, and with a large army he first defeated Leicester's son, who was leading troops from London to join his father, and then faced the earl himself, near Evesham. The rebel army placed the old king in their front, in complete armour—a melancholy witness against Leicester's boasted fidelity; because of his helmet, his friends did not know him, and he received a wound; but on crying out, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king," his son came to his rescue, and he was removed to a place of safety. The prince, we are told, greeted him with affection, and asked his blessing.

In the battle of Evesham, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, perished; scarcely less miserably than his father in the Albigensian War, though he had not gone to such lengths in wickedness, nor was he under the excitement of religious bigotry. The people, in admiration of his many great qualities, and in gratitude for the national liberty which followed this struggle, believed him to be a saint, though he died excommunicated by Rome: one chronicle relates that miracles were wrought at his tomb. The Countess of Leicester, the king's sister, who had ever supported her husband, was sent out of the kingdom with her two sons, Simon and Guy; and, five years after, they revenged themselves on the royal family of England, in a desperately wicked manner, by assassinating Henry, son of the King of the Romans, whom they happened to meet at a church in Italy, returning from the crusade: that prince, their own cousin, was endeavouring at the time to make their peace with the king. Henry, at his restoration, behaved with great moderation: he had learned wisdom by experience, and only his increasing age and infirmity, and the absence of his son, who rashly engaged in a crusade, prevented the remnant of his life from being the happiest part of it. He died in November, 1272, and his brother, the King of the Romans, about seven months before him. One sad feature in the reign of Henry III.—the ill-treatment of the Jews—is reserved for our chapter on Christian Profession.

We may add here, as a fit introduction to the chapters linked with this, a quotation from a modern historian (Sharon Turner):—

“The reign of Henry connected England with *Germany*, whose emperor married his sister (and where, also, his brother was afterwards crowned king of the Romans); with *France*, which he visited in much pomp; with *Guinne* and *Poitou*, which he retained; with *Spain*, where his son was knighted and wedded; with *Constantinople*, whose exiled emperor sought his support; with *Armenia*, whose friars came for a refuge from the *Tartars* (see the following Chapters, VIII. IX. X. XI. and XII. respectively); with *Provence*, from whence he had his wife; with *Savoy*, whose count he pensioned; with the north of *Italy*, whither he sent knights to assist the emperor against *Milan*; with the south of *Italy*, through intercourse with the *Pope*, and by the crowds of *Italians* poured into *England*; with *Jerusalem*, whither the *English* still crusaded; and even with the *Saracens*, for the *Sultan of Damascus* implored *Henry's* aid against the *Tartars*. In this reign the *English* traded with *Norway*, *Lubeck*, *Brabant*, *Lorraine*, *France*, *Lucca*, *Placentia*, *Florence*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Gascony*, and *Sicily*. Strange animals were imported into *England*. There was a bear and also buffaloes from *Norway*; three leopards and a camel were sent from the emperor, and an elephant from the *King of France*: the latter excited great curiosity.” The first mention of coal in *England* is in a charter granted by *Henry III.* to the town of *Newcastle*, giving the inhabitants leave to dig coal. Trial by ordeal was happily abolished in this reign. *Henry* is described as of middle stature, compactly made, and robust; the chief peculiarity of his countenance was, that the eyebrow of one eye so fell down over it, as to conceal part of the pupil.

It was in 1236, that *Henry* negotiated the marriage of his sister *Isabella* with *Frederic II.*, emperor of *Germany*; and this high connection was so agreeable to the proud barons of *England*, that they readily granted the king a supply of money on the occasion.

*Henry's* sister *Jane* had married *Alexander II.*, king of *Scotland*, and the son of that monarch, *Alexander III.*, who succeeded his father at the age of eight years (1249), was married to *Henry's* daughter *Margaret*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

FREDERIC II. — HIS MARRIAGE CONNECTIONS. — HIS CORONATION BY HONORIUS III. — THE SIXTH CRUSADE HEADED BY JOHN OF BRIENNE. — DAMIETTA TAKEN AND LOST. — SUFFERINGS OF THE CRUSADERS IN EGYPT. — FREDERIC STILL DELAYS TO UNDERTAKE A CRUSADE, AND IS EXCOMMUNICATED BY GREGORY IX. — HIS DEPARTURE FOR PALESTINE, TREATY WITH THE SULTAN, AND VISIT TO JERUSALEM. — GREGORY'S ATTACK UPON THE EMPEROR AND THE VIOLENT CONTENT BETWEEN THEM. — FURY OF THE WAR. — EXPULSION AND DEATH OF GREGORY. — INNOCENT IV. CONTINUES THE QUARREL, AND DEPOSES THE EMPEROR. — DEATH OF FREDERIC. — TROUBLES OF THE INTERREGNUM. — THE STATE OF ITALY ILLUSTRATED BY THE STORY OF THE TYRANT ECCELINO.

ONE of the most distinguished sovereigns of this period was Frederic II., from his earliest years king of Sicily, and afterwards king of the Romans, emperor, and king of Jerusalem. The possessor of these dignities was of commanding stature and handsome person; he knew several languages, besides Greek and Latin; he was an encourager of learning; and by marriage he became connected with three notable kings. His first wife was Constance, the sister of Peter II., king of Arragon; his second wife was Violante, daughter of John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem and emperor of Constantinople; and his third wife was Isabella, the sister of Henry III. of England. At his coronation, A. D. 1215, Frederic, as we have already said, made a rash vow to go on a crusade to the Holy Land; but finding it inconvenient to join the Sixth Crusade in person, he allowed a number of his vassals to depart in his stead, and set himself to the extension and improvement of his empire.

His first care was to put an end to the violence done by the great lords, most of whom might be called highway

robbers, as they did not scruple to seize all who passed along the roads through their domains, in order to exact from them a heavy tax. At a diet held in 1219, Frederic made them swear to forego these exactions; and at the same time, wishing to keep on good terms with the new Pope, Honorius III., and with the feudal lords, he renounced for himself, and his successors, the accustomed imperial rights of inheriting the moveable effects of deceased ecclesiastics and nobles. Furthermore, when he went to Rome to be crowned in 1222, he surrendered to Honorius the domains of the Countess Matilda, acknowledged the right of appeal from his tribunal to that of the Pope, and engaged to resign the crown of Sicily to his young son, Henry, elected king of the Romans, in order to gratify the Pope's desire, that Sicily should not be united to the empire but remain as a fief of the papal see. The crusaders in Egypt were looking for the emperor's help, but his troops were engaged in rescuing Holstein, Mecklenburgh, and Pomerania from the Danish king; and after he had received the imperial crown, he employed himself in expelling the Saracens from Sicily, and in embellishing Naples, where he founded a university. Frederic was born in Italy, and was so attached to his native land that he wished to make it the seat of government. It was matter of complaint against him, that he spent fifteen whole years out of Germany.

The Sixth Crusade, preached at the command of Innocent III., was not headed by either of the chief kings of Europe. It consisted chiefly of Hungarians, under their king, who, however, soon returned home; and of Germans, led by the Duke of Austria. They landed at Acre, and for want of provisions made excursions into the country, in which they committed great cruelties; and the sons of Saphadin defeated them with a smaller force. After the King of Hungary retired, the Germans shut themselves up in Acre; and in the following spring, being joined by 300 vessels, full of soldiers from the banks of the Rhine, they resolved to carry the war into Egypt.

John of Brienne, the instigator of the crusade, had been assured in a letter from Honorius III., written the day after his consecration, that he inherited all Innocent's zeal for the Holy Land; and when this titular King of Jerusa-

lem waited on the Pope, to demand further aid in the proposed attack upon the Sultan of Egypt, he found the emperor with him. Honorius promised to send a legate at the head of the choicest soldiers of Italy, and to stir up afresh the princes of Christendom; and Frederic agreed to marry Violante, the only daughter of John of Brienne, with the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry, and to lead an army into Asia within two years.

The Germans and the knights of Palestine were besieging Damietta, a strong place at the mouth of the Nile, considered as the key of Egypt, when a strong reinforcement arrived from Europe. Pelagius, the Pope's legate, headed the Italians; an archbishop, three bishops, and two counts, led the French; and the English were commanded by the Earls of Chester, Arundel, and Salisbury. The combined forces submitted to the directions of the first warrior among them, John of Brienne, and, after a year and a half, Damietta surrendered. During this period we are told that its inhabitants had diminished from 70,000 to 3,000! But the plague and the famine which had wasted the Moslems soon visited the unhappy crusaders, and their miseries were farther increased by the rashness of Pelagius, who, as the Pope's representative, imperiously took the command out of the more skilful hands of John of Brienne. He led the army inland, with the intention of besieging Cairo, a hundred miles distant; but it was just at the time of the inundation of the Nile, and they arrived at a point from which they could neither advance nor retreat till the waters subsided. The sultan took advantage of their disastrous situation to compel them to agree to a treaty, whereby Damietta was restored to him, and nothing was gained by the Latins, if we reckon for nought the recovery of some famous relics, and amongst them the wood of the true cross! Some favour was also promised to pilgrims to Jerusalem. After sustaining frightful losses, the poor remnant of the crusade returned to Europe; and John of Brienne, with the barons of Syria, and the military orders, went back to their unquiet possessions in Palestine.

From the circumstance of Frederic's marriage with Violante, the kings of Sicily afterwards bore the title of kings of Jerusalem; but some time elapsed before the

emperor would vindicate his claims to the kingdom. On hearing of the loss of Damietta, Honorius vented his anger against the neglectful prince by letter, and commanded him, on pain of excommunication, to lead an army into Asia. Frederic's only reply was the practical renunciation of papal authority in Sicily, over which kingdom he reigned absolutely in the name of his son: he filled some vacant sees himself, expelling some bishops who were the Pope's creatures, on pretence of treason. Finding his menaces fruitless, Honorius changed his tone, and mildly exhorted the emperor to fulfil his vow. A personal conference followed, and, in consequence of it, Frederic published some severe edicts against those whom Rome denounced as heretics — edicts which greatly furthered the establishment of the dreadful tribunals of the Inquisition. The emperor lingered in Italy to reduce the cities of Lombardy, which had leagued together to throw off his authority; Honorius assisted to restore them to obedience, and engaged them to furnish 400 knights for the relief of Palestine: he then again pressed Frederic to perform his vow, but he died without seeing it accomplished, 1227. Gregory IX., a cousin of Innocent III., succeeded Honorius; he rivalled his famous relative in zeal and fierceness, and outwent all his predecessors in magnificence. He urged a crusade upon Frederic with such violence, that the emperor, in his rage, invaded the papal states: in so doing he brought upon himself a sentence of excommunication early in the year 1228. Frederic had repeatedly broken his own promises, and seemed determined to resist an authority before which the rest of Europe bowed. When, therefore, towards the end of the same year, he at last set out for Palestine, he did so with the avowed intention of claiming the kingdom of Jerusalem in his wife's right, and would not condescend to ask absolution of the Pope, although forbidden by him to depart without it. His train consisted only of a hundred knights; and as the crusaders of Europe, the clergy, and the military orders of Palestine would not coalesce with an excommunicated person, he did not attempt to fight for his crown. His name, however, or his reputation, had such an effect upon the mind of the Sultan Khamel, the son of Saphadin, that he surrendered Nazareth, Bethlehem, and

all Jerusalem except the space occupied by the mosch of Omar: they also agreed to conclude a truce for ten years: many valuable presents were exchanged between the two monarchs; and the friendly terms on which they appeared to be, excited strange suspicions against Frederic. After visiting Jerusalem, and placing on his own head the crown which the patriarch refused to give to an excommunicated person, the emperor hastily departed to Acre, and re-embarked as speedily as possible. The report of an attack made on Apulia by the papal troops is said to have caused his rapid retreat; but he certainly had no inducements to remain in Palestine. During his short stay at Jerusalem, the places of worship were closed and all religious ceremonies suspended, the military monks disputed his command, and even warned him that his life might be attempted if he visited other sacred places. But Frederic's visit seems to have tended to the prosperity of the Latins in Jerusalem; he fortified that city, and fifteen years after the Christian population numbered 6000.

But though the resolute emperor had accomplished speedily, and without bloodshed, the chief object of so many sanguinary expeditions, he had done it without papal sanction, and he had to suffer the consequences of his independent acting all the rest of his life—to suffer, too, we may say, for his own sins. He not only made peace with the Moslems, but imitated their licentious manners.

Gregory IX. excited the cities of Lombardy to revolt, and stirred up Henry, king of the Romans, against his own father; but Frederic, at his return, recovered his authority in Lombardy, and put his rebellious son in confinement. The Pope's next effort was to sow discord in the German states: the following is one of his bulls for this purpose:—

“A beast of blasphemy, abounding with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and the members of other animals. Like the proud, he hath opened his 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 everything in pieces with his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, has also prepared private battering-rams against the wall of Catholic faith, and now raises open machines in erecting soul-destroying

schools of Ishmaelites, rising, according to report, in opposition to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with wicked heresy. Be not, therefore, surprised at the malice of this blaspheming beast, if we, who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to these arrows."

We quote this language the more willingly, as proving the readiness of the Popes to use against their enemies the prophetic language which others have applied to them. Frederic was a liberal patron of literature, and founded many schools; and he was himself a literary person, a poet, and an antiquary: he was also much addicted to astrology, and is believed to have been led into some wild enterprises, through the persuasion that the configuration of the stars at his birth showed that he was to be the most famous of the emperors. It is likely, also, that his penetrating mind saw through the hollowness of the Romish religion, and being unguided by the spirit of truth, fell into complete infidelity. He is said to have stumbled at those two precious doctrines which lie at the very foundation of a Christian's hope in God — the Incarnation and the Crucifixion. Gregory, in one of his bulls, complains that Frederic had said, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet; and that the second was inferior to the others because he had been crucified, instead of maintaining his honour on the earth to the last; and that it was folly to believe that the one only God, creator of the universe, could be born of a virgin. Frederic wrote an apology for himself, addressed, as Gregory's letter had been, to the princes of Germany, and after professing his own orthodoxy returned railing for railing, by affirming Gregory to be the great dragon, the antichrist, and the one of whom it is written, "There went out another horse that was red;" that he was, moreover, another Balaam, a prince of darkness. From the whole of the emperor's language and behaviour, it is evident that he intended to attempt the abolition of the papal government. His apology was accepted in Germany; and finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he went into Italy, determined to take revenge on the Pope. It was in order to prosecute the war with Frederic that Gregory exacted such sums in England and elsewhere. John de Brienne took the com-

mand of the papal forces, and they bore on their shoulders the cross-keys — the device of the so-called apostolic see. The ancient fury of the Guelph and Ghibelline parties revived during the emperor's quarrel with the Pope, and civil war raged in a hundred places at once: towns and even families were divided, some being papal and some imperial partisans. The horrors of poisoning and assassination add to the blackness of the dismal history of war. A chronicle of the times says, that "ploughshares were turned into swords, and pruning-hooks into lances; and that everybody carried flint and steel about him, for the purpose of setting fire to the property of his enemy." In the military contest with the Pope, Frederic had the advantage; and when Gregory offered the imperial crown to Robert of Artois, brother of the King of France, on the ground of Frederic's infidelity, the honour was refused; and it was even remarked that the Pope had less religion than the prince whom he accused. At length Gregory was expelled from Rome, and being reduced to great distress, he begged the monks of Citeaux to implore for him the protection of the King of France, who was making a pilgrimage to their convent with his mother. Accordingly, 500 monks, on their knees before their royal guest, entreated him to allow the Pope to take refuge in France, as his predecessors had done in time of adversity. Louis, also kneeling, promised to defend the Church; but said he must consult his barons before he could receive the Pope. Gregory was removed by death before an asylum in France was provided for him, 1243.

Celestine IV. only survived his election as pope eighteen days, and the contentions of the cardinals occasioned a vacancy of two years. One of them, named Fieschi, who had been a friend of the emperor, was then raised to the papal throne, under the name of Innocent IV. Frederic was so well aware of the change of disposition which a change of place was likely to produce, that when he was congratulated on the elevation of Fieschi, he replied, "The cardinal was my friend, the pope will be my enemy." He well knew that he was a rebel against the power that was aiming at pre-eminence, and that the nature of the Pope's claims must rob him of all favour. But if the Popes were ambitious and unreasonable, the

emperor was as much so, and he refused all the conditions of peace proposed to him by Innocent. Knowing that Frederic intended to take him by surprise, the Pope fled from Italy, and found refuge at Lyons. In the year following, 1245, he held a general council in that city, and excommunicated and deposed the emperor on vague and contradictory charges. The emperor's delegates defended him, and accused the Pope of usury and rapine; and in these charges they were supported by the ambassadors of the Kings of France and England.

Innocent, however, was not deterred from issuing a command to the electors to choose another emperor, reserving to himself the disposal of Sicily. A part of the council agreed to his edict, the rest withdrew in indignation.

Frederic was at Turin when he heard that he had been deposed; and calling for his crown, he took it in his hands saying, "Thou art still mine, and before I part with thee much blood shall be spilt." The known tenacity with which a crown that is a mere bauble is clung to by the men of this world, is made to bear on the conscience of a child of God by the solemn exhortation, "Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." Frederic held fast his perishing crown; but the German bishops, unassisted by the temporal princes, elected Henry, landgrave of Thuringia: hence he was contemptuously called, "the king of priests."

Frederic's eldest son, the undutiful Henry, had died in prison; but his son Conrad, who had been subsequently elected king of the Romans, took the field against his father's rival, and gave him a mortal wound in battle. But Innocent provided another emperor in William, count of Holland; Lombardy revolted, and war raged with redoubled fury. A crusade, with indulgences equal to those given to combatants in the Holy Land, was proclaimed against Frederic; and the emperor, being at last defeated before Parma, retired to Naples, where he died of fever, A. D. 1250.

In his last moments, the Archbishop of Taranto gave him absolution; and in his will he ordered reparation to be made to the churches which he had plundered. Innocent wrote to reproach the archbishop for having absolved

and celebrated the funeral of his enemy; and he wrote to the Sicilians that they ought to rejoice at the death of Frederic, and submit themselves to him. Little need be added concerning Frederic; his character has already been seen in his history: active and courageous as he was, he brought the severest misfortunes on his country and family; and notwithstanding his great talents, no emperor has been considered more mischievous to his people. He degraded himself in private by drunkenness and other vices. Conrad IV., son of Frederic, was acknowledged by the Ghibellines, but William of Holland was supported by the Church party; the former died prematurely, poisoned, it was said, by his natural brother, Manfred; William ended his nominal reign of ten years in 1256, when he was slain in battle. Absolute anarchy ensued. In the midst of the confusion, it was not unnatural that Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of the widowed Empress Isabella, should be named by some; but he was given to understand, that when he came to receive the crown, it was necessary to bring a large sum of money to reward the faction that elected him. The Pope so much favoured Richard that he invited him to come to Rome, to receive the imperial crown; but the English prince did not seem disposed to relinquish his possessions at home for so uncertain a dignity; and we have already spoken of his return to his own land, and the support which he gave to his brother in the civil wars. Another foreign prince, elected at the same moment as Richard, was more anxious to support his claims, but quite as incapable of doing so: this was Alphonso the Tenth, king of Castile.

No emperor was unanimously elected till the year after the death of Henry III. Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, was then called to the throne, A. D. 1273. The period, therefore, from the death of Frederic II. till the accession of Rodolph, is commonly called an interregnum. During this period the King of Hungary and the Count of Holland freed themselves, and consequently their successors, from doing homage; Denmark escaped from its tributary condition; and several German cities established a municipal government, which continues to this day. Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, towns that had been privileged by Frederic, united for mutual defence; and this

association, called the Hanseatic League, afterwards included eighty other towns, and formed a powerful commercial republic. At this time, also, the cities of Lombardy, by paying a sum of money, procured the freedom for which they had long struggled in vain. The affairs of Sicily must be afterwards related.

The state of Italy at the time through which we have passed, may be conceived by the history of Eccelino, a Ghibelline chief in that country. He held the sovereignty of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, all of them distinguished cities; and, during the commotions that followed the death of Frederic II., extended his despotic sway over a vast number of rural districts: against him the papal troops long fought in vain. Eccelino, as far as his power went, outdid the atrocities of Nero and Domitian, and there is but one period of modern history that can be likened to his reign of terror. His ministers, chosen probably for their like-mindedness, were not less ferocious than himself; his spies were ever on the look-out for victims, and the suspected or accused were often executed without the form of a trial. The tyrant constructed dungeons so dark, damp, and loathsome, that they were likened to the infernal regions; and the men, women, and children, who filled them, died either from the pestilential vapours, or the diabolical tortures to which they were exposed. The towns under Eccelino's government were disturbed at night by the groans of the tortured, and by day whole companies were cut to pieces in the public squares, and their bodies consumed by fire. To prove the kind of offences so severely visited, it is alleged that a lady, belonging to the family of one of Eccelino's partisans, having married into a Guelph family, the whole of her kindred were put to death. When Padua was taken by the papal troops in 1255, 600 captives were found in the two chief prisons, and an equal number were shut up in six others: they were of all ages and of both sexes, and many of them deprived of their eyes, or maimed in the most shocking manner. The army that took Padua was headed by the Pope's legate, the Archbishop of Ravenna, for Alexander IV. had proclaimed a crusade against Eccelino, with the usual indulgences. The inhabitants hailed the crusaders as liberators; but they were plundered of all that they possessed, under pretence that they

were the tyrant's allies. Such was the cruel avarice of Rome, even when pretending to succour the oppressed.

Eccelino had among his troops 11,000 men, drawn from Padua and its dependent villages; and suspecting that they might rejoice in the deliverance of the city, he artfully consigned one company after another to the dungeons of Verona, and all, except 200, perished by the hands of the executioners. Growing hardened in crime, and bereft of all feeling for others, the tyrant, having confined four nobles for some time in one of his dungeons, caused the entrance to be walled up, and heeded not the awful cries which they continued to utter till exhausted nature sunk.

In 1258, Brescia surrendered to Eccelino's besieging army; and the legate, with 4000 men, fell into his hands; but from that time the tyrant's enemies increased, and he who had no feeling for others trembled for himself. The prediction of an astrologer filled him with terror. Having lost his courage, he was defeated, wounded, and made prisoner. For eleven days the captive refused to speak, and tore open the wounds which the doctors would have healed. His spirit then departed, and the region over which he had tyrannised was filled with immoderate rejoicings.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

REVIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE TILL THE DEATH OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS.—LOUIS VIII., SURNAMED THE LION, CONCLUDES THE WAR IN LANGUEDOC, AND DIES THERE.—QUEEN BLANCHE, REGENT DURING THE MINORITY OF LOUIS IX.—CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE.—HIS APPELLATION OF SAINT.—HIS RESTRAINT OF ECCLESIASTICAL ABUSES, AND WISE GOVERNMENT.—THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY THE KARISMANS EXCITES LOUIS TO PREPARE FOR A CRUSADE.—HISTORY OF THE SEVENTH CRUSADE.—DAMIETTA AGAIN TAKEN AND LOST.—CAPTIVITY OF LOUIS.—AT HIS RELEASE HE VISITS PALESTINE.—WISDOM AND JUSTICE OF HIS GOVERNMENT ON HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.—HIS BROTHER, CHARLES OF ANJOU, BECOMES KING OF SICILY AFTER THE EXECUTION OF CONRADIN, THE GRANDSON OF FREDERIC II.—DEPARTURE OF LOUIS FOR A FRESH CRUSADE.—HIS DEATH BEFORE TUNIS.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS, the cotemporary both of Richard Cœur de Lion and of John, his brother, closed his reign during the times of Henry III. From his birth he was the object of flattery and hope, and as a child was styled Dieu-donné (given of God) and August; and his reign of forty-three years was a period of such uninterrupted aggrandizement to the French monarchy, that he seemed to have *earned* the imperial title given to him in his early years. When England escaped his conquering arms, through John's reconciliation with the Pope, he turned his disappointed forces into Flanders; and though defeated by the English at sea, his land army obtained a remarkable victory at Bouvines, in August 1214. It was the last battle in which the Emperor Otho III. tried to restore his fallen fortunes. Twenty thousand soldiers fought on either side, consisting partly of knights in complete armour, and partly of foot-soldiers without coats of mail. Otho's cavalry breaking through Philip's lines of infantry, the King of France narrowly escaped death; the emperor

was in equal danger, and only his thick cuirass saved him from the fatal thrust of a French knight. He escaped, and left behind him his Roman banner — the eagle — and the car on which it was elevated. The victory of Bouvines was celebrated at Paris with transports of joy, and attached more celebrity to the name of Philip than any other action of his life. The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne being taken prisoners were treated as guilty of treason against their liege lord: the former was shut up in a strong tower of the Louvre, which the king had built as a country palace, outside the wall which then encompassed Paris; the latter was confined in another tower, with a log of wood fastened by a chain around his waist. The Bishop of Beauvais assisted the king at Bouvines, but it is observed that he fought with a mace, which was considered a more becoming weapon for a priest than a sword or lance.

The warlike passion of Philip Augustus seems to have expired at Bouvines, and his thirst for military fame was so entirely quenched that he feebly supported his son in England, and took no part in the cruel wars of Languedoc. He employed himself in improving Paris and other large towns, in rendering the police more efficient, and in encouraging literature. It is to be hoped that the books read in the schools which he patronised were more improving than those that occupied his own leisure. His favourite books were romances, and many were written on purpose to please him: one of these, an exaggerated history of Alexander, in verse, was very popular; and the particular length of the lines gave to that measure the name of the Alexandrine: it has been adopted by the best of the French poets. Another of the king's amusements was hunting, and when he enclosed the park of Vincennes, Henry III. of England supplied him with deer.

Philip was the first king of France who had a standing army, and a regular bodyguard: the latter was composed of young men called *Ribauds*, who, by turns, guarded him night and day: their captain was called king of the Ribauds: no one entered the palace without his permission, and after a time he was made chief executioner. The evil character of these men may be supposed from the term

ribald being afterwards used to signify a most dissolute character, and ribaldry, to express indecent mirth.

After all his outlay in war and peace, Philip's treasury was well filled; and when, on account of his declining health, he began to arrange his affairs, he set aside a portion of his hoard to reimburse those whom he had unjustly deprived of money. We fear, however, he forgot the poor Jews whom he had banished from his dominions in the early part of his reign, and with whose confiscated property he had enriched himself. Philip Augustus died in July, 1223, and at his funeral, mass was chaunted by the Pope's legate and by the Archbishop of Rheims from two different altars, the clergy and monks making the responses as if only one person were officiating. The singularity of the ceremony was doubtless intended to honour so eminent a king. One of the pleasantest features of Philip's disposition during his last years was his indifference, we may say, his opposition, to the war in Languedoc, though it was set before him as likely to increase the splendour of the monarchy. Four years before his death he recalled his son from the siege of Toulouse, and he said with bitterness, "Those ecclesiastics will engage Louis in war with the Albigenses, he will ruin his health and die, and the kingdom will be left in the hands of a woman and a child."

That which his acute mind had foreseen actually took place.

Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion, on account of his military valour, was thirty-six years of age when his father died, and was crowned with Blanche, his wife, a few days after. His mother, Isabella of Hainault, was descended from Charlemagne, and thus he united in his person the Carolingian and Capetive races. An old writer says, that his greatest fame was in his being son to an excellent father, and father to an excellent son.

The chief events of his short reign of three years were his seizure of the English provinces in France, already mentioned, and his crusade against the Albigenses. Amalric, eldest son of Simon de Montfort, had been driven from his father's conquests by the sons of the Count of Toulouse, and coming to Paris, he ceded all his rights to the king. This circumstance, and the Pope's call to the nobles

and priests of France to cleanse their land from heretics, induced Louis to collect a large army to carry on the war in Languedoc. It was said of Louis that to the courage of the lion in battle, he added the gentleness of a lamb in private life; for this reason he was called *the Pacific Lion*: his deference to the clergy led him into the miserable war, during which he perished. In the spring of 1226, the crusaders reached Avignon, a city under the protection of the emperor, but immediately dependent on the Count of Toulouse. The citizens would have given them provisions, and a passage across the Rhone, just as the Emperor of Constantinople would have helped the crusaders into Asia; but as they would not admit the host within their walls, they were besieged as heretics. For three months Louis kept his army before Avignon, the prey of famine, disease, and the assaults of the garrison; and owing to the want of fodder so large a number of horses died, that the smell of their carcasses occasioned a fatal epidemic. Twenty thousand crusaders perished before Avignon was taken, and though a general massacre of its citizens was permitted, the city was spared from the flames, because the king feared to offend so powerful a sovereign as Frederic II. Raymond VII., who had succeeded his father as count of Toulouse, dared not meet the crusaders in battle; and after 300 estates had been laid waste, all Languedoc submitted to the King of France. As Louis was returning from his conquest, his health, which had long been failing, entirely gave way. He died at Montpensier in Auvergne, November, 1226, having obliged the prelates and nobles around him to swear fidelity to his son Louis, then eleven years of age, and having committed the regency to the queen, Blanche of Castile, during the prince's minority.

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THE reign of Louis IX. occupied forty-three years — the same space of time as that of his grandfather, Philip Augustus: it carries us nearly to the close of the times of Henry III. The surname of Saint is scarcely less closely attached to the name of Louis IX., than that of Great to the name of his ancestor Charlemagne: we must be excused, therefore, if we occasionally call him St. Louis, mentioning

everything that was like a Christian about him, without, however, fully vindicating his title to that honourable but much-abused name — a name which the oracles of God give to every child of God without distinction.

The character of many a distinguished man has been formed by maternal influence, and there is no doubt that Louis was much indebted to his mother's care. "I love you, my son," said she, "with all the tenderness of which a mother is capable; but I would infinitely rather see you fall dead at my feet, than that you should commit a mortal sin." Blanche had other children to bring up, besides the young king: her younger sons were Robert, count of Artois; Alphonso, count of Poitou; Charles, count of Anjou; and John, who died soon after his father: she had also a daughter, named Isabella, who became celebrated for her sanctity.

Some of the nobles of France were displeased to see a woman and a foreigner in possession of sovereign power; but the queen, though gentle, was firm; formed to govern as well as to please; and by her decided course she maintained her authority till her son attained his twenty-first year, and her influence till her death. Louis was long confined to study and to religious exercises, and when some objected that he spent too much time at his devotions, he answered, "If that time were spent in hunting and gaming, I should not be called so rigorously to account for my vacant hours." In after life we learn that he was in the habit of retiring for secret prayer, and that he practised much self-denial, banishing from his court all immoral diversions, and suffering no improper conversation in his presence: he also often invited men of religious character to his table.

The chief event of the king's minority was the termination of the war in Languedoc. Raymond VII., count of Toulouse, hoping to recover his provinces at the accession of a child, did not attend at the coronation of Louis, as vassals were bound to do; and at the Pope's command Blanche assisted the fresh crusade preached against the Albigenses. The war ended in Raymond's performing public penance, and ceding two thirds of his domains to the king; and by the subsequent marriage of his only daughter, Jane, to Alphonso, the brother of Louis IX., the

whole became subject to the crown of France. The rest of Languedoc fell to Louis by his marriage with Margaret, eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, A. D. 1234. The queen mother was so jealous of anything that should divert her son from serious occupations, that she restrained him even in his intercourse with Margaret; but Louis retained his filial respect, and the morality and self-controul which marked his early years distinguished him during his after life.

One of the first independent acts of Louis proved his singular wisdom. He presided at an assembly of his lords, for the purpose of restraining the clergy in the exercise of the judicial power which they usurped, under pretence of their right to excommunicate and punish offenders. The prelates of France, through an episcopal spokesman, complained that his highness was ruining the cause of Christianity; for, by reason of his interference, persons would rather die excommunicate than make their peace with the Church; and he was desired to command the officers of justice to constrain all excommunicated persons to procure absolution, under pain of forfeiting their goods. The king calmly replied, that if any had wronged the Church, or his neighbour, he should be proceeded against: but when the bishop insisted that his order were the sole judges on this point, Louis gathered courage, and declared that it was contrary to God, and to reason, to force persons whom the clergy had wronged to ask absolution. It was well known that ecclesiastics had used the artificial terrors lodged in their hands to answer their own avaricious purposes, and the king's firmness on this occasion checked the existing evil. Shortly after, Louis again showed that he was no blind slave to Rome, for he refused for his brother Robert the imperial crown offered him by the Pope, and would not allow money to be raised in his dominions for the prosecution of the crusade against Frederic. In 1241, Louis held at Saumur a court, called the *Nonpareille*, on account of its unparalleled magnificence. On that occasion he gave his brother Alphonso the girdle of a knight, and invested him with the provinces ceded by the Count of Toulouse; but, on afterwards making a progress with him to receive the homage of his vassals, he met with an unexpected enemy in the Count

de la Marche. This nobleman, as we have already observed, married Isabella, the widow of King John, who had been the object of his early attachment; and this royal lady considered it a degradation for her husband to offer the required homage. Being at the time unprepared for a contest, the king and his brother retired, after signing a disadvantageous treaty with the count; but afterwards they met in battle on the banks of the Charente, and the count with his son-in-law, the King of England, who supported him, were entirely defeated. Henry III. was obliged to fly, and the count and his wife, having made their submission, were pardoned.

We have already mentioned the subsequent relations between the Kings of France and England at this period, but it may here be added, that, after the treaty signed between them, Henry being present at the funeral of the king's eldest son, Louis, took part with the barons of France in carrying the corpse to the place of burial. In order to secure peace between the two countries, Louis forbade his lords to hold fiefs both in France and England; a circumstance which had always made their fidelity uncertain in times of danger: all agreed to renounce their fiefs in the one country or in the other, so that they might only serve one master. Louis was the benefactor and the joy of his country during the eight years that succeeded his minority: we now arrive at an unhappy point in his history, which we must preface by some account of the affairs of Palestine.

At the expiration of the truce concluded by Frederic II., another crusade was determined upon in a general council, held by Gregory IX. The French, as ever, were forward in the enterprise, and a fresh army landed in Syria, in 1239. This hostile demonstration provoked the Moslems to drive the Christians out of Jerusalem; and the war that followed was so unfavourable to the Latins, that they were obliged to sue for peace. In 1240, Richard, earl of Cornwall, arrived in Palestine at the head of the English crusaders, and was surprised to find everything lost save a few fortresses, and the strip of land along the coast. At Jaffa, he collected all the European forces for a fresh attack; but was persuaded to retire when the sultan offered to relinquish Jerusalem, and a large portion of the land,

on condition of the withdrawal of the English troops. The Christians now returned to the holy city, the patriarch and clergy reconsecrated the churches, and the Hospitallers spent their treasures in rebuilding the walls. For two years the Latins were again dominant in Jerusalem, but more formidable foes then appeared against them. The career of the formidable Asiatic conqueror, Zingis Khan, remains to be related in a subsequent chapter, but his name must be mentioned here, as it was a body of Karismians displaced by him whom the Sultan of Egypt caused to be guided into Palestine, in order to save his own kingdom. Barbacan, the Karismian chief, at the head of 20,000 men, attacked Jerusalem; and the garrison, unequal to its defence, retired with many of the inhabitants: all who opposed the entrance of the barbarians were killed or enslaved, 1243. The Templars and Hospitallers of Palestine united against these formidable invaders; but a battle, which lasted two whole days, ended in their total defeat: the two grandmasters were slain, and only fifty-two knights escaped to Acre. As soon as these tidings reached Rome, Innocent IV. declared it to be the duty of Christian princes to engage in a fresh crusade; and by letters exhorted Henry III. to prepare his subjects for an expedition against the Karismians.

Louis IX. appeared to be on the brink of death, through severe illness, when informed of the loss of Jerusalem; and in these circumstances having made a vow to undertake a crusade in person if he should recover, he was no sooner raised up than he began his preparations for the undertaking. In vain did the queen-mother, the Bishop of Paris, and his wisest nobles, caution the king not to risk his valuable life, nor to leave the kingdom which was prospering under his government. Louis seemed to feel that he had vowed to God, and that he could only act aright in fulfilling his vow. He did not, however, set off in haste, but after four years of serious preparation. He took with him his queen, Margaret, his three brothers, and almost all the knights of France (3000 in number); and his whole army, amounting to 50,000 men, with the necessary camp attendants, filled 1800 vessels. One of the plans by which Louis engaged some of his vassals to follow him is thus related. It was customary in France,

for sovereigns and great lords to deliver to their vassals at Christmas, new dresses; hence the term *livery* (French, *livrée*, i. e. delivered). Taking advantage of the opportunity, Louis had all the furred mantles which he intended to distribute embroidered with a cross; and as they were placed on the shoulders of the wearers in a dim light when they came to attend mass with the king on the Christmas morning, they only discovered that they were adorned as pledged crusaders when the daylight dawned. This curious artifice, in the bad taste of the times, occasioned Louis to be called *a fisher of men*, for the persons whom he had thus entrapped went with him to the crusade. The fleet composing the Seventh Crusade sailed for Cyprus in August, 1248. Henry, son of Guy of Lusignan, still reigned in that island, and the king and his army remained there till the following June: it was then determined to make a descent upon Egypt, as the loss of Jerusalem was attributed to the Sultan Malek el Shah. He was old and infirm, and sued for peace; and an attack upon him was the more unjustifiable, as the land which the crusaders desired to win was no longer in his possession.

No prosperity attended the movements of Louis: his fleet, containing a number of small boats, was scattered by a tempest, and when the remains of it were gathered before Damietta, they had to contend with the sultan's war-boats. Louis displayed extraordinary courage, for when his vessel came within an arrow's flight of the shore, he threw himself into the sea, sword in hand; and though the enemy's darts fell like hail, he gained the land with his boldest soldiers, and put all who opposed him to flight. The horrors of the former siege of Damietta were yet fresh in the minds of the citizens, and they so hastily fled that the French were able to take possession of the forsaken city on the following day. Whilst the inundation of the Nile detained the crusaders at Damietta, fresh arrivals from France swelled the host to 60,000; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the king, the most unbounded licentiousness prevailed amongst them; his own immediate encampment seemed to be the only clean spot. It was plain, however, that Louis was out of his right path, and, act as wisely as he would, troubles only thickened round him. Even his nobles were disposed to rebel be-

cause he laid up, for the necessities of the army, provisions and treasures which they were disposed to squander for present gratification.

In November 1250 (the year that Frederic II. died), Louis led on his army from Damietta, leaving his queen and her ladies with a strong garrison in that fortified town. Cairo was pointed out by the monks as "Babylon that was to be destroyed;" but the crusaders, as before, were unable to reach it. The canals that intersected the country, and the burning heat of the climate, delayed the progress of an army already weakened by sensual indulgence, and a month elapsed before they reached Mansourah, a few leagues up the Nile. A canal flowed before this fortified place, and it was defended by the Saracens, aided by the ancient Greek fire. A ford being discovered, Robert of Artois, and 2000 men, hastily dashed through, and putting to flight the Saracens on the opposite side, rashly pursued them into Mansourah. The inhabitants hiding themselves, the band of crusaders imagined the place to be deserted; but in the narrow streets the Egyptians turned upon them, and the people from the tops of the houses attacked them with stones. The Count of Artois, Lord Salisbury, and Robert de Vere, perished with 1000 other knights, including almost all the English adventurers—ever among the foremost in military perils. Louis and his main army, advancing, beat off the enemy, who pursued the rash assailants from their town; but the Greek fire was used with such deadly effect, that the crusaders abandoned the idea of proceeding to Cairo. De Joinville, a French knight, who is the historian of this campaign, describes Louis sheathed in armour, and taller by his shoulders than all the rest, shining like lightning and terrible as thunder, dealing such blows that the foes were scattered wherever he came. Amidst the horrible carnage the Count of Soissons, who displayed the same fearless bravery, said to Joinville, "You and I shall talk about this day's work again before the ladies." This speech not only shows that the French of that day possessed the same courage and levity that have distinguished them in later times, but it gives us a true idea of the chivalry of that day. The desire of winning female admiration was one of the greatest incentives to bravery in the battle-field. Thoughtless

woman, by her approval of knightly feats, gave added spirit to the warrior through many ages; and it is not now unimportant that Christian females should decidedly express the contrariety of war to the spirit of the gospel.

Such days of conflict as we have just described, in such a climate, could not long be endured, and scarcity and sickness compelled the king to give orders for a retreat. His first care was to place the sick on board the French galleys that had come up the Nile; but before they could set sail, the Moslems attacked them, and having murdered the victims of disease threw their bodies overboard. The king attempted to ride at the head of his troops, but he fainted from excessive weakness, and in the next attack was made prisoner, with all his nobles. Every soldier beneath a knight was compelled to choose between Islamism and death; those of rank were reserved in the hope of ransom (April, 1250).

Queen Margaret gave birth to a son, whom she called John Tristan (the Sorrowful), just three days after she heard the news of her husband's captivity. It is said that she obliged an aged knight to swear that he would grant her a certain request; and, on his doing so, expressed her desire that he would cut off her head rather than let her fall into the hands of the Moslems. The demand was not more in character with the times than the answer reported to have been made to it by the knight. "I had already thought of doing so, Madam, did such a misfortune threaten you." Happily he was not called to fulfil his terrible oath and intention, for Margaret was ransomed by the sacrifice of Damietta. It was under the chastening of adversity that the beauty of Louis's character shone forth; and we must hope it was something Christ-like that enabled him to win the respect of the Moslems in his low estate. The old sultan died, and was succeeded by his son Almohedan; but his Mameluke guards quarrelled with him about the French prisoners, and some of them slew him in the Nile, into which he had thrown himself for safety. One of the assassins tore out his heart, and brought it to King Louis, demanding a reward for having slain his enemy; and so great a tumult ensued that the life of the royal prisoner seemed endangered. But he evinced such tranquillity that

the ferocious Moslems were calmed, and the new sultan confirmed the treaty which his predecessor was about to subscribe. After a captivity of two months, Louis obtained his freedom, and the safety of his wife and followers, on condition of restoring Damiëta, and paying a ransom of four hundred thousand pounds of silver. A truce was also concluded for ten years. When the ransom was paid, the king finding the amount had not been correct, honestly made good the deficiency; and when some blamed him for being over-scrupulous, he replied that he valued his honour too dear to sacrifice it for silver and gold. Universal grief had been excited in France at the news of the king's captivity, and a tumultuous rising of some of the lower classes, under pretext of going to his rescue, excited tumults which were not quieted till his return. In the midst of these troubles, Blanche, the queen-mother, who had resumed the office of regent at her son's departure, died. Instead of returning to France as soon as he was released, Louis, reckoning his vow yet unfulfilled, proceeded to Acre; and for four years exerted himself as much for the welfare of the Latins in Palestine as he had done for his own subjects at home. He fortified the towns, laboured to reconcile the jealous barons, negotiated with the Arabs, redeemed 12,000 Christians from slavery, and filled up his leisure with religious exercises, pilgrimages, and attempts to convert the Moslems: many, by his influence, received baptism. It was only the repetition of reports concerning the misery of France that induced him to return thither after an absence of six years. On his voyage to Europe three sermons were preached on board his ship every week, the sailors and soldiers were catechised and instructed, and Louis himself took part in the religious services: he repeatedly exhorted those about him to examine themselves, and to renounce anything displeasing to God. No one could congratulate him on the success of his expedition; but he remarked to Henry III., "I think myself more happy that God hath given me patience in suffering than if I had conquered the world." Transports of joy were expressed at the king's re-appearance amongst his people; but during the sixteen years that he occupied himself in their service, it was frequently observed

with sorrow, that he always wore the cross embroidered on his mantle — a sign that he had not abandoned his first design.

The Dominican friars had settled in the street of St. Jacques at Paris, before the death of their founder, and on this account were now called Jacobins. Their appearance of piety so much attracted St. Louis, that he once seriously thought of abdicating the throne in order to join them. But the queen, to whom he made known his design, called for her children and the Count of Anjou, that he might hear their opinion on the subject. The king's brother was very angry, and the eldest of the young princes exclaimed, that if he became king he should put all the Mendicants to flight. From that moment Louis seemed convinced that it was his vocation to reign wisely, and not to become a preaching beggar: he deeply felt the loss of his prudent mother, and exerted himself to the utmost to repair the evils that had followed her death. Under a tree still pointed out in the wood of Vincennes, he sat to hear the appeals of his subjects; and, making himself accessible to all, he endeavoured to redress the grievances of the lowest. The Count of Anjou had unjustly imprisoned one of his vassals: "Do you think," said the king, "that there ought to be more than one sovereign in France, or that you are above the laws because you are my brother?" he then sentenced the count to imprisonment. A nobleman had hanged three children for hunting rabbits: the king, having searched into the facts, condemned him to be executed; but, at the intercession of other feudal lords, mitigated the sentence to the loss of the greatest part of his estate. These petty tyrants had never been thus restrained before. Again; when a merchant in broad day had his goods stolen in passing through the domains of a certain lord, the king required the nobleman to make compensation, as, by law, a guard was to be set from sunrise to sunset in every lordship, lest any robbery should be committed. Having heard a rich citizen of Paris uttering blasphemies, the king caused his lips to be marked with a red hot iron; and when he heard that some had cursed him for enacting this law, he said, "I forgive them, for their offence is only against myself." The punishment of branding for blasphemy he afterwards changed into a pecu-

niary fine. There were remnants of barbarism in the code called "the Establishment of St. Louis," but it was a great improvement on previous codes; and it was by this king's good judgment that the decision of criminal cases by judicial combat was abolished, and proof from witnesses substituted in its place. But of all the edicts traced to Louis IX. none is more remarkable, as emanating from a sovereign canonised by the Church of Rome, than that which set up a powerful barrier against papal usurpations. It was entitled "the Pragmatic Sanction" — a name given to the king's letter to any public body, informing them of the laws concerning them. In this edict the king said, "The exactions and heavy impositions of money imposed on our kingdom by the court of Rome, we will not suffer to be collected." He declared, moreover, the right of carrying on elections independent of the Pope. The Popes endeavoured to get the Pragmatic Sanction annulled; but the king was firm, and would allow nothing more to be gathered from his country than had been anciently given. We have already referred to the integrity of Louis's conduct with regard to the affairs of Henry III.; and it appears that he repeatedly endeavoured, in a private manner, to prevent the Earl of Leicester from breaking with that monarch. Besides the domains which Louis restored to the King of England, he ceded to the King of Arragon the sovereignty of Roussillon and Catalogne, in exchange for certain rights which that prince had over Languedoc. It was his maxim that it was *good policy* to be just, and that probity and disinterestedness gave a king more real power than any increase of territory.

We must turn aside a little from the history of Louis to describe the career of his brother Charles, count of Anjou, a man of very different disposition. Manfred, a natural son of the emperor, Frederic II., who had been accused of poisoning his brother Conrad, seized upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to the prejudice of Conradin, the infant son of Conrad IV., 1254. Innocent IV. died in that year; and his successors, Alexander IV. and Urban IV., by means of crusades, and promises of plenary indulgence, tried to drive out the usurper, but in vain. In order to maintain himself on the throne, Manfred professed to reign as the guardian of the young Conradin; but that

prince — the grandson of Frederic, the great enemy of the popedom — found no favour from Rome; and Clement IV., soon after his elevation, sent a messenger to Louis IX., offering him the kingdom of Sicily, if he would wrest it out of the hands of Manfred. The good king refused the offer, but when the same proposal was made to his brother Charles, that prince joyfully accepted it, and a crusade against Manfred was preached in France. In this matter, Charles of Anjou acted on his own responsibility, and resources were furnished him by the Pope. In 1266, he met the army of Manfred at Beneventum, and the usurper was slain in battle by the French. Conradin, now aged sixteen, took the title of king of Sicily, and raised a powerful army; but he was excommunicated by the Pope, and taken prisoner in battle with the French two years after. The Count of Anjou caused him to be publicly executed as a traitor, and thus perished the last descendant of the House of Suabia. When brought to the scaffold, the youthful king threw his glove into the crowd beneath, desiring that some one would convey it to his kinsmen, and desire them to avenge his death. The glove was, in fact, carried to one of his nearest relatives, the young King of Arragon; and in process of time the murder of Conradin was terribly revenged. The dreadful act with which Charles of Anjou began his reign over Sicily, was followed by so many cruelties committed by himself and his followers, that the very name of Frenchman became detestable throughout the island.

The long crusade against Manfred had scarcely been brought to a close, when Europe was again aroused to undertake a crusade against the Moslems; for it was reported that the Sultan of Egypt had invaded Palestine; that Cæsarea, and even Antioch, had fallen into his hands; and that 100,000 Christians had been massacred or enslaved. In spite of the persuasions of his nobles, and even of the advice of the Pope, forgetting alike his feebleness and age, Louis immediately began his preparations for a new crusade; and after three years of preparation set sail, as before, from Aigues-Mortes, in Languedoc. But instead of proceeding either to Egypt or Palestine, he obliged his army to disembark before Tunis. The wily King of Sicily appears to have been his brother's guide in this movement: probably

he desired to make a kingdom which lay just opposite his own, tributary to his crown; and if, as some say, he did not actually persuade his royal brother that the African king would be a willing convert to Christianity, he might have convinced him that it was lawful to attack him as a Moslem. The deeper chastisement that fell upon Louis in this second crusade seems to mark him as one whom God loved, and whom he would not suffer to prosper in a path contrary to his mind. On this occasion, Louis left his queen behind him; but he took with him his three sons and the King of Navarre; and the King of Sicily promised to join him with Prince Edward of England. Omar, the sultan of Tunis, opposed the invaders; but they contrived to land, and in a few days got possession of a castle which stood on the site of ancient Carthage. But they proceeded no farther, for they were beset by enemies, and the plague broke out among them: the heat of the climate, and the intemperance of the French, aggravated this terrible visitation. John Tristan, the prince, born in the sorrows of Damietta, died of this plague; and his royal father, whose health was previously declining, sunk after an illness of twenty-two days. This time seems to have been mercifully granted to him that he might glorify God on his dying bed. In his last advice to Philip, his eldest son, he said, "I pray our Lord Jesus Christ to strengthen you in his service . . . and I beg that we may together see, praise, and honour Him to eternity. . . . Love and converse with the godly . . . delight to hear profitable sermons . . . hear the poor with patience; and, where your own interest is concerned, stand for your adversary against yourself till the truth appear." As Louis grew more feeble, he begged that no temporal things whatever might be mentioned to him; he prayed with tears for the conversion of infidels and sinners, and besought that his army might have a safe retreat, lest through weakness they should deny Christ. His last words were, "Lord, I will enter into thine house. I will worship in thy holy temple, and give glory to thy name. Into thy hands I commend my spirit."

We lament to add, that the dying king had desired in his last moments to be removed from his couch, to be laid on a bed of ashes; a proof that the simplicity of his faith was intruded upon to the very last by vain observances.

Nor ought we in faithfulness to omit, that Louis, not content with the sufferings that God lays upon his children, not perhaps fully estimating that precious truth—"by *his stripes* we are healed"—used to keep a scourge wherewith to chastise himself when he discovered he had done wrong. The monks describe Louis as lamentably ignorant, but his code of laws, and his manuscript instructions to his son, seem to rebut the charge: moreover, he established a library at Paris, in which we are informed he collected together the Holy Scriptures, some of the writings of the Fathers, and other good authors. The Sorbonne, afterwards the most famous theological school in Europe, was founded in his reign, and with his help; and the learned Thomas Aquinas, known by the name of the Angelical Doctor, was one of his familiar friends.

Saint Louis died in 1270, and we defer the account of the retreat of his army from Africa, till we come to the reign of his son, Philip the Hardy.

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## CHAPTER X.

### *Times of Henry III. continued.*

ACCESSION OF FERDINAND III. TO THE THRONE OF CASTILE. — REASONS FOR HIS BEING CALLED THE SAINT.—EARLY FAME OF JAMES THE CONQUEROR, KING OF ARRAGON. — UNION OF LEON WITH CASTILE. — FERDINAND'S WAR WITH THE MOORS. — TAKING OF CORDOVA, AND CONSECRATION OF THE GREAT MOSCH FOR CATHOLIC WORSHIP. — CONTINUED SUCCESSES OF JAMES AND FERDINAND. — THE KING OF GRANADA RENDERED TRIBUTARY, AND SEVILLE TAKEN. — DEATH OF FERDINAND III. — MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER ELEANOR TO PRINCE EDWARD OF ENGLAND. — PRETENSIONS OF HIS SON, ALPHONSO X., TO THE EMPIRE. — CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF JAMES THE CONQUEROR.

THE times of Henry III. embrace the cotemporary reigns of Ferdinand III., called the Saint, king of Castile; and James, styled the Conqueror, king of Arragon.

At the death of Henry I., the young king of Castile, his sister, the regent Berengaria, was declared queen; and had she not been divorced from her husband, the King of Leon, Castile and Leon would have been immediately united. That divorce had naturally produced a distance between the royal pair, and when Berengaria sent to invite her eldest son, Prince Ferdinand, to visit her, wishing to raise him to the throne, she did not inform her husband of the real circumstances of the case.

Ferdinand was just eighteen, a handsome and accomplished youth, of a gracious disposition, and yet of martial spirit; and when his mother, in a cortes held at Valladolid, formally resigned to him the kingdom, he was at once received, and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with pomp and rejoicing, in an open space near the city, A. D. 1217. Had some of the Castilian lords led the nation, Louis IX., then in his childhood, would have been acknowledged king, in right of Blanche, his mother.

We cannot find that Ferdinand had any such title to the name of saint as Louis possessed; but it appears that the Spaniards, more than 400 years after, wishing to have a king canonised by Rome, as well as the French, pleaded the merits of Ferdinand, adducing his liberality in building churches, especially the cathedral of Toledo, his zeal against Moors and heretics, and, yet more, the miracles which he was said to have wrought after his death. At Palencia, early in his reign, Ferdinand, in his zeal for Rome, set fire to the faggots on which the victims of its bigotry perished! Who then would envy the distinction of a saint of the Romish calendar?

In 1219, Ferdinand married Beatrice, the daughter of the Emperor Philip: it was a union happy for themselves, but unfortunate for Castile, as it led their eldest son, Alphonso X., afterwards king, to aspire to the empire, and in so doing to bring burdens upon his country. The King of Leon, instead of rejoicing in the elevation of his son, gathered an army and marched to Burgos, hoping that the Castilians would submit to his authority: happily no hostilities took place between father and son, for the former abandoned the war, as soon as he perceived the popularity of the new sovereign. Alvaro, the head of the Lara family, an ambitious noble, who had contended with Be-

rengaria for the regency of Castile, and had even pretended that she wished to poison her brother Henry, opposed with much violence the establishment of Alphonso; but though he had the chief fortresses in his possession he was obliged to yield, and ended his life in disgrace and poverty.

Berengaria went to meet the German princess on the Biscayan frontier, and conducted her to Burgos, where the royal nuptials were pompously celebrated: and, in the same year, the queen-mother had the satisfaction of betrothing her youngest sister Eleanor to the young King James of Arragon. Probably no child ever behaved more like a man, or attracted submissive respect so early as James. From his infancy he had been hardened to war, as he then spent three years with the noted leader of the Albigensian crusade; and, when only eleven years of age, he took the field in person against some of his rebellious subjects. His union with Eleanor of Castile was dissolved, to their mutual sorrow, on the plea of relationship; but they were not actually separated till after the birth of a son, who was named Alphonso. The mother retired to Castile with her infant, in 1229, and six years after, James married the daughter of Andrew, king of Hungary.

In 1230, the King of Leon died; and in order to shut out his son from the succession, he left his dominions by will to the two infantas, daughters of his first wife. But when Ferdinand appeared in his paternal states, accompanied by his mother, the towns opened their gates to him, and on reaching Leon, the capital, he was received with rejoicings, and escorted to the cathedral by the bishops and nobles. But as Galicia seemed disposed to hold out for Teresa and her daughters, Berengaria hastened thither, and persuaded the rival queen to settle the dispute in an amicable manner. These queens, both divorced from the same husband for the same cause, conversed together about their children; and Teresa wisely renounced, in the name of the infantas, all right to the crown of Leon, on condition of their receiving a certain sum of money. From that time Castile and Leon were inseparably united. Shortly after, Sancho VII., the aged king of Navarre, left his kingdom to James of Arragon; but that sovereign, in the end, relinquished the legacy, as the nobles of Navarre preferred as their king,

Theobald, count of Champagne. His elevation produced a close union between France and Navarre. We need now only pursue the history of the conquering kings of Castile and Arragon. Ferdinand III. being lord of Spain from the Bay of Biscay to the vicinity of the Guadalquivir, and from the confines of Portugal to those of Arragon and Valencia, aimed at enlarging his kingdom by conquest. The divided state of the Moors, and the hateful character of Almamon, the reigning Mahometan king of Mauritania and Spain, favoured his designs. In Morocco, this tyrant caused numbers of sheiks, and governors, to be beheaded on the report of disloyalty, and their heads were hung around the ramparts of his castle till the putrid smell became intolerable. But the savage Almamon exclaimed, "Nothing is so sweet as the head of a dead enemy. It must be odoriferous to all who love me!" Under the reign of this monster, warlike chiefs became independent in Valencia and elsewhere: one of these, named Aben Hud, made himself king of southern Spain: against him Ferdinand turned his arms.- He first burst into Andalusia, and, in 1236, took its capital, the splendid city of Cordova. It was sternly defended, and after the walls were broken through, the inhabitants fought from street to street, and from house to house. Their total number was reckoned to be 300,000; and though all who survived the siege were permitted to retire in safety, they lost their riches and lands; and the mosch which they had esteemed sacred fell into the hands of the Christians. Great was the triumph of the Castilians, when their national banner, and the cross, surmounted the great minaret of this famous edifice: this minaret was 240 feet high, having on its summit three gilt balls, and a pomegranate of gold. We can well conceive with what lofty thoughts the conquering hosts of Ferdinand traversed a temple so far surpassing all that they could have seen before. Nineteen gates of bronze opened into the nineteen aisles that ran from north to south, an extent of six hundred feet, and these were crossed by a far greater number of aisles running from east to west: it was like a forest of columns, and among them hung 4,600 lamps, which were always lighted for evening prayer. We are told that 24,000lbs. of oil were burned

for light every year, and 120lbs. of aloes and amber for perfume. Thus the Mahometans exceeded in religious expense, if not in parade, the Roman Catholics of this day. As soon as the taking of Cordova was known, several neighbouring towns submitted to Ferdinand, and feeling the importance of his conquest, he added to his titles that of *King of Cordova*.

In the meantime, the King of Arragon, by virtue of a crusade preached against the Moors, by order of Gregory IX., had added to his own soldiers the Knights Templars who had deserted Palestine, and some choice bands of warriors from France and England: with this aid he reduced Valencia. On taking the capital, he allowed the inhabitants to depart *with* their goods and treasures, and in person superintended their five days' passage of the bridge over the Guadalquivir, that no one might rob or insult them. The immense number of the exiles may be supposed from the time occupied in their departure: it was in deep sorrow that they quitted a region described in their songs as a terrestrial paradise, watered by the purest of all rivers.

Nothing at this time seems to have prolonged the existence of the Moorish empire in Spain so much as the prudence and skill of Alahmar, lord of Argona and Jaen: he gained the confidence of his nation in this time of distress, and by his military talents and political conduct formed Granada into an independent kingdom. He garrisoned the frontier towns, guarded the ports with ships of war, made alliances with the African princes, and created a regular standing army.

In 1237, Ferdinand took a second wife, Jane, daughter of the Count of Ponthieu, and granddaughter of the King of France. This circumstance kept him at home a whole year, but he then resumed the Moorish war with fresh vigour. He rendered Murcia tributary, took Argona and other fortresses, and laid siege to Jaen, the frontier town of the new kingdom of Granada. Alahmar in person defended it, and was astonished that not even the furious storms, which seemed to threaten the destruction of the Castilian host, induced the king to break up his camp. Seeing his enemy so resolute, Alahmar determined to try if he were equally generous, and, going alone to his tent,

announced his name, offered to become the vassal of Castile, and kissed the king's hand in token of homage. Ferdinand embraced his unexpected visitor, and received him as a friend, whilst requiring from him all the duties of a feudal lord. These were to attend his cortes, to pay tribute, and to be ready at his summons to follow him to battle with a company of horsemen: Jaen was delivered up as a pledge of fidelity. As eight months elapsed before Alahmar was called to join Ferdinand in battle, he employed himself in embellishing the city of Granada, which he made his capital, in storing and fortifying other cities, and in establishing manufactures and magazines. All the great cities of Andalusia, except Seville, had been reduced by Ferdinand, and to aid him in taking this important place, he called for Alahmar: his presence was for the benefit of the Moors, as by his intercession Ferdinand moderated the excesses of his soldiers, and offered terms of peace to all the forts and castles that came in his way, before he allowed them to be stormed. Seville underwent a siege of eighteen months, and then surrendered on easy terms. All who chose to remain were granted toleration, and burdened with no heavier taxes than they had paid to their own king: all who chose to depart within a month's space, were provided with beasts of burden, or with ships, to convey themselves or their property where they wished. Thousands of Moslems from the conquered provinces passed into Africa, but an immense number settled in Granada; and that fertile and mountainous country became the garden and stronghold of the Moors of Spain, and survived the other Mahometan states two centuries and a half. Alahmar was the fit person to found a kingdom. He took great pains for the improvement of the land, giving rewards to the best farmers, and to breeders of cattle, and encouraging gardening and the production of silk. He also rewarded the most skilful armourers, weavers, and handicraftsmen; and the weapons and the stuffs of Granada soon became famous. Alahmar also attended to the working of the valuable mines of his country. Still more, he encouraged education, and built many schools: the far-famed buildings of the Alhambra, the strong fortress and palace of Granada, were begun by him. As long as Ferdinand lived, he retained his friendship for Alahmar, though he pursued his conquests

over the Moors; and after taking all the towns from Seville to Algarves, he put to sea and gained a great naval victory.

At the beginning of 1252, whilst at Seville, Ferdinand was attacked with dropsy, and sought to prepare for death by prayers, fasts, the frequent use of the scourge, and other modes of popular monastic discipline.

Just before his death he desired to have the ensigns of royalty removed from his presence, bid a tender adieu to his family and friends, and received the last sacraments. He breathed his last, May 30, 1252, amidst the lamentations of all Seville. We are told that 300,000 Arabs and Moors had departed from that city, and, like other deserted Moorish places, it was filled by colonies of Christians: the Archbishop of Toledo was called to consecrate the chief mosch, and to celebrate high mass there, as soon as the conqueror had made his triumphal entrance.

By his first wife, Ferdinand had seven sons, who were educated by Rodrigo, the archbishop of Toledo, in his own palace; and Alphonso, surnamed the Learned or the Wise, who succeeded his father, was not the only one of the princes distinguished for learning. Indeed the Spanish Christians of this age could no more be reproached by the learned Arabians as illiterate barbarians; and they were prepared in some measure to value and to use the vast libraries that conquest threw into their hands.

The celebrated university of Salamanca was endowed by Ferdinand; and he showed his own excellent understanding in commencing a collection of laws, which were finished and published by his son, Alphonso X.

By his second wife, Ferdinand left a daughter named Eleanor, who became the wife of Edward I., king of England. The connection was formed under the following circumstances. Gascony had been promised as a marriage portion to the father of St. Ferdinand, but he had never come into possession, and its conquest by England seemed to place it out of the reach of Castile. But, during the disturbances caused by the arbitrary government of this province by De Montfort, earl of Leicester, Alphonso leagued with the discontented barons, hoping to obtain the sovereignty. In order to preserve the province, Henry, by his ambassadors, proposed to marry his son to

the sister of the King of Castile ; demanding as her dowry the surrender of the Spanish rights over Gascony, and the duchies of Ponthieu and Montreuil. Alphonso thought himself honoured by the connection, and invited Prince Edward to his court, asking at the same time the Princess Beatrice for one of his brothers. Edward was received with great magnificence at Burgos, and was knighted by the King of Castile. The marriage was celebrated with much pomp in the autumn of 1254, and the prince was soon after allowed to carry his bride to England.

The only other event of the reign of Alphonso X., which we can connect with the times of Henry III., is his election to the empire by one party, at the moment that Richard, earl of Cornwall, was chosen by the other. It appears that he expended vast sums in order to procure this honour at first, and to maintain his right to it afterwards ; but as he could not visit Germany in person, for fear of the assaults of the Moors on his own kingdom, he applied to four successive Popes — Alexander, Urban, Clement, and Gregory ; and at the death of William, count of Holland, he fully expected that the hopes which he had cherished during fifteen years would be fulfilled. But, as we already know, the choice of the electors fell on Rodolph, count of Hapsburgh, 1273. As it happened, however, that one of the electing princes, Ottocar, king of Bohemia, still supported the claims of Alphonso, this ambitious prince continued his pretensions till all his German adherents were excommunicated by Gregory. The sums which Alphonso exacted from his subjects, for the gratification of his own vanity in this matter, caused him to become somewhat unpopular ; but his political troubles, and his fame as a learned man, will be related in our next period.

Something remains to be said of James the Conqueror, king of Arragon, whose character seems much to be preferred to that of Ferdinand the Saint. He vigorously resisted the introduction of the tribunal of the Inquisition into his states ; and, as he was supported by his cortes, the government was not responsible for the cruelties committed in the secret dungeons of the Dominicans. James instituted a society for the redemption of captive Christians, called the Order of Mercy. The chief conquests of James were the Balearic Isles, Valencia, and Murcia : in

the latter field he acted in concert with Ferdinand; but in all instances he seems to have shown more mercy than that king: he permitted no religious persecution, and only 50,000 Moslems left Valencia to settle in the kingdom of Granada. But we must not omit to state that an edict, attributed to James in the last year of his life, forbade any translation of the Bible into his native tongue, and enjoined that whosoever possessed such a translation should give it up to the authorities to be burned. About the same time, the learned Alphonso was causing the Scriptures to be translated into Castilian.

On one occasion, King James having made a confession of his sins to the Bishop of Gironna, had reason to believe that his confidence had been betrayed; and, by way of punishment, caused the tongue of the unfaithful priest to be cut out. For this offence the king was excommunicated by Innocent IV., but absolved on the public avowal of his repentance, 1246. Having finished his wars with the Moors, in conjunction with Alphonso X., James determined to set out for the Holy Land; but, as the fleet in which he embarked was driven by a tempest to the coast of France, he returned home without making another attempt, 1269. In 1274, he attended the General Council of Lyons, but came away soon after it opened, much discontented because the Pope would not crown him without the promise of the same tribute that had been given by Peter, his father.

The last years of James were disturbed by a successful irruption of the Moors into his kingdom, and by the domestic troubles occasioned by his preference for the children of his second wife; but his eldest son, whom he wished to shut out, died before him, and he was able, according to his wish, to leave his kingdom to Peter, his eldest son by Violante. He left many other children.

James is said to have been the founder of more than a thousand churches; but a great many of them were not newly built, but were moschs consecrated for Roman Catholic worship.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Times of Henry III. continued.*

PETER OF COURTENAY CHOSEN EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND CROWNED AT ROME, DIES IN THE PRISON OF THE DESPOT OF EPIRUS, ON HIS WAY TO THE THRONE. — HIS WIDOW VIOLANTE REIGNS TILL HER DEATH. — THEIR SON ROBERT SUCCEEDS. — LOSSES OF THE LATINS IN HIS REIGN. — MISERABLE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS DEATH. — ACCESSION OF HIS SON, BALDWIN II. — JOHN OF BRIENNE MADE HIS GUARDIAN, AND EMPEROR FOR LIFE. — BALDWIN'S VISITS TO ITALY, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND, IN SEARCH OF AID. — HIS TRAFFIC IN RELICS. — REMARKS ON RELICS. — WEAKNESS AND WICKEDNESS OF BALDWIN. — CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF VATACES, THE GREEK EMPEROR OF NICE. — HIS SON, THEODORE LASCARIS. — HISTORY OF MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS. — HE BECOMES EMPEROR TO THE PREJUDICE OF JOHN LASCARIS. — CONSTANTINOPLE RESTORED TO THE GREEKS. — FLIGHT OF BALDWIN. — ELEVATION OF MICHAEL. — HIS CRUEL TREATMENT OF JOHN LASCARIS. — HIS CONSEQUENT EXCOMMUNICATION BY THE PATRIARCH ARSENIUS. — DEPOSITION AND BANISHMENT OF ARSENIUS. — POWERFUL PARTY OF THE ARSENITES. — POLITICAL CONDUCT OF MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS. — ASSOCIATION OF HIS SON ANDRONICUS IN THE EMPIRE.

THE Latin Emperors of Constantinople pass away from the scene during this period as a fleeting shadow; and the imperial city again returns to its natural possessors, the Greek princes. The Emperor Henry died in 1217, leaving no male heir; but his sister Violante had married Peter of Courtenay, a first cousin of Philip Augustus, and this prince was called to share the vacant throne with his wife. Peter had earned a terrible reputation by zeal in the Albigenian War; and by selling his large possessions in France, and by the help of his royal relative, he assembled more than 5000 men of arms, and went to Rome to demand the imperial crown from Honorius III. The Pope

at first refused to interfere with the rights of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and said it was not becoming for the emperor of the East to be crowned in the West; but at length, at the urgent request of Peter and his wife, he performed the ceremony, insisting, however, that it should take place at a church outside the walls, lest the emperor should pretend to any sovereignty over Rome. Nothing, however, was to be dreaded from Peter, as he never reached the throne. Being obliged to borrow vessels from the Venetians, in order to transport his family and followers to Constantinople, the emperor could only repay the services of the republic by promising to help in the recovery of Durazzo, an important place which Theodore Angelus Comnenus, the Greek despot of Epirus, had seized from the Venetian states. Violante and her children were sent forwards to Constantinople by sea, and Peter and his followers, having in vain attempted to take Durazzo, tried to force their way overland. But Theodore had fortified the mountain passes, and the French soldiers were obliged to lay down their arms to save their lives. Peter and the Pope's legate, his companion, were detained prisoners; and though the threats of Honorius procured the liberation of his representative, the emperor was left to perish in captivity. Violante governed wisely till her death in 1219, and, after an interregnum of two years, her son Robert was made emperor in 1221; as Philip, the eldest of the Courtenay family, preferred his own humbler rank of marquis of Namur. Robert was an indolent and voluptuous prince; and the Latin empire, straitened on all sides by the enlargement of the Greek principalities, received in his reign the name of New France. By expelling the son of Boniface, Theodore Angelus added Thessalonica to Epirus; but he was far surpassed in power by Vataces, the successor of Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nice. One of Robert's sisters had been married to Lascaris, and Robert himself married the daughter of Vataces, for the sake of his friendship. But sinfully neglecting his own wife, the emperor formed an attachment to a young lady of Artois, who resided with her mother at Constantinople, and who had been promised in marriage to a gentleman of Burgundy, in the imperial court. The mother and daughter were brought into Robert's palace, but the French

knight, collecting his friends, forced the gates, and in revenge threw the mother into the sea, and cut off the nose and lips of the emperor's favourite. The French barons being called to punish the offender applauded his deed, and Robert departed to the court of Rome to tell the miserable tale. The reigning Pope, Gregory IX., refused to interfere farther than by commanding him to return to his station; and Robert, it is said, died of grief on his way back to Constantinople — the unhappy victim of his own evil passions, A. D. 1228.

Baldwin II., the youngest son of Peter and Violante, was proclaimed emperor at his brother's death; but, on account of his tender age, John of Brienne was invited by the barons of Constantinople to accept for life the imperial rank, and to give his second daughter in marriage to Baldwin. Although eighty years of age, John was still vigorous; and his defence of Constantinople against Vataces caused the poets of the age to extol his valour as equal to that of Judas Maccabæus and Roland; he contended like them with a small force against numerous enemies. But overcome at last by the infirmities of age, and wearied by a life of war, John assumed the mean habits of a Franciscan friar, and soon after died, A. D. 1237.

Baldwin II. bore the name of emperor for a quarter of a century; but that time was chiefly spent in travelling from one country to another, begging for protection and help from foreign princes. Three times in his distress he left his empire, which was, at length, bounded by the walls of Constantinople, and sought in the chief courts of Europe the means of defence for his magnificent city; but all his efforts were of little use. It is true that, at the General Council of Lyons, wherein the Pope excommunicated Frederic II., Baldwin was placed in the seat of honour which the degraded emperor of the West had been wont to occupy, and was saluted with the high-sounding title of Augustus; but Gregory IX. refused any help, save the empty declaration of a crusade against the Greeks.

On landing at Dover the feeble emperor was inhospitably reproved for entering the country without permission; and when at length permitted to present himself at the court of Henry III., he was entertained with cold civility; and the king, always in need of money for himself,

only presented the imperial beggar with 700 marks. The poverty of the French colony at Constantinople was sufficiently evinced by a transaction which took place during the first of the emperor's begging expeditions. Among the famous relics of the imperial chapel was one called *the crown of thorns*, and this was pledged by the barons of Constantinople to some Venetian merchants for 13,034 pieces of gold—£7000 sterling. Unless the relic were redeemed within a certain time, a rich citizen of Venice intended to purchase it; but it was thought too precious a possession for a private individual, and Louis IX. greatly desired to obtain it. The Emperor Baldwin being his cousin, it was agreed between them that the relic should be received by Louis, as if it were a gift; but, in return, he promised to Baldwin far more than sufficient to repay the loan of the Venetians. Two Dominican friars were sent by Baldwin to Venice to claim the treasure; the republic lost it with regret; the Emperor Frederic gave it an honourable escort through his dominions; and the court of France went as far as Troyes to meet it; the king himself carried it barefoot from the wood of Vincennes through the streets of Paris. Some years after, Baldwin, who possessed neither the piety nor the superstition of his royal cousin, sent to him the remaining relics of the imperial chapel. Amongst these are particularly mentioned the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus; the lance, the sponge, and the chain, used at the crucifixion; the rod of Moses; and part of the skull of John the Baptist. Saint Louis expended a large sum in building a chapel for the reception of these fancied treasures; and a miracle, said to be wrought by a prickle from the accredited crown of thorns, has been described by one of the most enlightened of modern Roman Catholics.\* We must not, therefore, judge too severely the weakness of a pious king in so dark an age.

\* This was the celebrated Blaise Pascal. His niece, Mademoiselle Perier, having a disease in the passage which conveys the tears from the inner angle of the eye to the nose, had it touched by a thorn preserved in the convent of Port Royal, and is said to have been suddenly cured; but so minute an account of the complaint and its sudden cure has been left on record by the mother, that the mildness of the disease and the natural relief from it are placed beyond a doubt to unprejudiced minds.

There were other things boasted of in his day far more extravagant. What shall we say of the crusaders who pretended to have brought from the East a beam of the star seen by the wise men; a spar of the ladder which Jacob saw in his dream; a portion of the sound of the bells at Jerusalem; and the very thorn in the flesh from which St. Paul suffered! But even had the relics on which Louis set so high a price been genuine, as was the brazen serpent in the days of Hezekiah, the example of the Jewish king might have instructed all others how to act so as to please God. Here was a relic that had been preserved 700 years; but a prince who did "that which was *right* in the sight of the Lord," seeing it was honoured in a sinful manner by the people who burned incense before it, called it by its true name, *Nehushtan*, i. e. *a piece of brass*, and broke it in pieces. And if this were the right treatment for a piece of brass, which God had once exalted into an instrument of healing, sufficient instruction is given to such as would honour material things that have never thus been used by God; and his right-minded servants will call by their true names every venerated relic, true or false, be it a piece of brass, silver, gold, wood, linen, or prickly thorn. We must return from this digression, and follow the unhappy vender of the crown of thorns to the end of his course. With the help obtained in England and France, and by the sale of all his family possessions, Baldwin was able to carry back to Constantinople 30,000 soldiers. In his first dispatches to the French and English courts, he announced that he had reduced the country around the capital to the distance of three days' journey; but these advantages seem to have been as quickly lost as won; and we find him seeking help in far more degrading ways than before. He espoused his niece to the Sultan of Iconium, a man who, according to Mahometan custom, had many wives; and not content with gaining an ally at such a cost, he sought the aid of the pagan Comams by partaking in their idolatrous rites. A dog was sacrificed, and the parties who made the treaty tasted each other's blood in pledge of fidelity; and when a Comam chief died at Constantinople, Baldwin allowed him to be buried with several live slaves and horses, who, according to the superstition of this savage tribe, would

serve their master's necessities in another world. No prosperity could be expected for a nominally Christian prince who could resort to these expedients; and Baldwin's poverty became so great that he demolished several vacant houses to supply his palace with winter fuel, and stripped the lead off the churches to provide his family with other necessaries. One extraordinary method by which he gained money from the Venetians was the delivery of his son Philip into their hands by way of security: thus it was said the emperor of the East had been reduced to the necessity of pawning his own son!

Let us contrast with the character and history of Baldwin that of Vataces, the emperor of Nice; for whatever the former lost, the latter gained. Vataces, though in an obscure corner, was one of the most remarkable sovereigns of this age. The most fertile lands of the Greek empire were made desolate by fire and sword; but all that fell beneath the conquering arms of Vataces were diligently cultivated by his directions. Corn was sown, vines were planted, and the rich pastures were filled with horses, oxen, sheep, and hogs; and so successful was the imperial farmer in disposing even of minor produce, that when he presented his wife with a crown of diamonds and pearls, he told her with a smile, it was procured by the sale of his eggs. This story may remind us of the economy of Charlemagne. Vataces sold his superfluous corn and cattle to his less industrious neighbours, but he discouraged the importation of costly articles, and set his subjects an example in the simplicity of his habits. The Greek nobles, in imitation of the emperor, began to cultivate their own estates, and in proportion as agricultural pursuits became honourable, the labouring poor were relieved from oppression.

The thoughts of Vataces, however, rose above the clods of the earth, for he occupied himself in the encouragement of learning, and in the promotion of education.

Frederic II., by request, prepared one of his daughters to be the bride of Vataces; but the marriage did not take place, as the Greek prince preferred one of the Italian attendants who came in the lady's train.

Vataces died five years after the Emperor Frederic, A. D. 1255. He had reigned thirty-three years, with equal reputation in peace and war. Theodore, his son and

successor, had been hardened in his bodily frame, and emboldened in spirit, by constant practice in hunting and war, and during his short reign of three years headed the Greek army in person. But his character was very different to that of his father, and he sacrificed his noblest subjects through hastiness or suspicion. The chief object of his jealousy was Michael Paleologus, a descendant of that noble Paleologus who refused the crown offered to him, in order to give it to the first of the Comneni family. In the reign of Vataces, Michael was called by the French title of Constable, because he commanded a body of French mercenaries; and whilst in this position he was accused by a fellow officer of aspiring to the throne. Trial by ordeal was urged by the Archbishop of Philadelphia, and Michael allowed his arm to be sealed up in a bag for three days; but the prelate was probably his enemy, and provided him with nothing to defend his skin against the action of fire; and when the day of trial arrived, and the accused was required to carry a red hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails around it, he found an ingenious way of escaping the danger. He told the archbishop that, as a soldier, he could fight with his accuser, but he did not expect a miracle to be wrought for him, a layman and a sinner: yet if the prelate supposed that his own piety could procure the interposition of heaven, and would hand the fiery ball to him, he would still readily receive it: the trial was of course foregone. Vataces was neither suspicious nor cruel, and Michael Paleologus was left governor of Nice at his death; but on finding that he was in danger of losing his eyes, or his life, through the jealousy of Theodore, he escaped to the Turkish sultan, and helped him against the Tartars. Afterwards, by his influence, he promoted a peace between the Turks and the Nicean Greeks, and Theodore pardoned and recalled him, wanting his services, also, to defend his empire from the rival despot of Epirus. Whilst Paleologus was engaged at Durazzo, the jealous Theodore sent a command to him to return to Nice, and conscious of his innocence he allowed himself to be led there in chains, a distance of 600 miles. The emperor was then severely ill, and instead of recognising the hand of God in his sickness, he attributed it to poison or magic; and caused a number of his kinsmen and

nobles to forfeit their lives, their limbs, their eyes, or their fortunes, on the suspicion of their being accessory to his sufferings. But in his last hours he expressed a wish to forgive, and to be forgiven; and with his dying breath acknowledged the innocence of Michael Paleologus, and commended to his care his son John, a child only eight years of age (1258).

When the day for the coronation of John Lascaris arrived, the superior merits and mature age of his guardian were so eloquently set forth by the partizans of Michael, that he alone received the imperial crown, and the young prince, with a slight diadem, was permitted to walk in his train. From the new emperor, Baldwin tried to recover some of his provinces and cities by negotiation; but not only was he refused even a foot of land, but required to pay tribute as the price of peace. Baldwin had no money, and Constantinople resisted the first attack of the ambitious Greek who aimed at the throne; but the following spring, Michael sent his favourite general Alexius, whom he entitled Cæsar, to make a fresh assault; and a Greek inhabitant of the city, wishing to see it again in the possession of a native prince, discovered to his countrymen a subterranean way of entrance through his own house. The strength of the Greek party in the capital was soon apparent, for Baldwin was awakened by the loud shouts of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!"

The Latin emperor, and the chief Latin families, escaped in some Venetian ships to Italy; and Baldwin spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in vain efforts to persuade the Roman Catholic princes to procure his restoration.

Long after every hope of regaining the throne of Constantinople was extinguished, the title of emperor was retained in the Courtenay family: the English nobleman of the same name claims alliance with that imperial house.

The facility with which Constantinople was taken so astonished the Emperor of Nice, that he did not believe the first messenger who arrived in the dead of night; but the tidings were soon confirmed by the letters of Alexius, with which were presented the sword and sceptre, and purple buskins of the Latin emperor, and even his

bonnet, fastened with a ruby, which he had dropped in his hasty flight. Only twenty days after, Michael Paleologus made his triumphal entry into Constantinople, and the Greek empire was restored (August 14, 1261).

The ambition which led the restorer of the Greek empire thus far, led him to commit a crime which was the foulest blot on the brilliancy of his reign. John Lascaris had arrived at manhood, but was denied coronation at Constantinople as he had been denied it at Nice; but not satisfied with the obscurity of the young prince, Michael caused his eyes to be put out, and removed him to a distant castle, where he was confined for many years. Blinding, a punishment so common among the Greeks, was effected at different periods in different ways; such as tearing out the eyes, burning them out with hot vinegar or a hot iron, or binding a cord tight round the temples till the eyes burst from their sockets: but the sight of John Lascaris was destroyed by an invention then recent, and possibly more merciful, viz. a red hot basin held immediately before the eyes, the intense glare of which destroyed the visual nerve. "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

At this time the patriarch at Constantinople was a Greek who had some tenderness of conscience and firmness of mind: his name was Arsenius. He had consented to crown Michael Paleologus and his wife, to the prejudice of the young John Lascaris, whose father was his friend; but on after consideration he was so grieved at the injustice of his own act, that he retired to a monastery. By much persuasion, the emperor drew him from his retreat two months after the recovery of Constantinople; but his treatment of Lascaris the Christmas following, brought upon him an excommunication from the indignant patriarch. Michael confessed his guilt, and offered to do penance. Arsenius replied, that so great a crime required a great satisfaction. "Do you require me to abdicate the throne?" said Michael, holding out his sword as if ready to give it up, but hoping by the act to disarm his reprover. Arsenius grasped the emblem of power with eagerness, but on finding the emperor did not actually mean to resign it, he left his presence, denying him absolution.

Three years passed away, and though the judgment of many of the Greek clergy, and of the Pope himself, was given against that of Arsenius, he refused to withdraw his sentence. In a synod assembled for the purpose, the patriarch was deposed, and being sentenced to banishment, he desired that, before his departure, the treasures of the church might be looked into: this was done, and he was found to have been faithful to his charge; all that he had accumulated of his own being only three pieces of gold, which he had earned by copying the Psalms. In his place of exile, a desert island of the Propontis, Arsenius was visited by Michael's emissaries; but he would never revoke a sentence which he accounted righteous. We cannot but think that a man of such inflexible integrity must have learned much from the Scriptures which he had transcribed.

Six years after the deposition of Arsenius, the emperor was publicly absolved by another patriarch, on promising to treat his royal captive with mildness; but there was a large body of clergy and monks accounting Michael a usurper, and feeling that he had no right at all to keep an innocent prince in confinement: this party retained the name of Arsenites during forty-eight years, and their influence was so great, that both the emperor and his son were obliged to treat them with respect. At one period of the contest between the Arsenites and the other clergy, they agreed that the fire should decide between them, and two papers, containing their opposite judgments, were cast into a brazier of coals. Both being alike consumed, as fraud was either not attempted or did not succeed, the quarrel went on; and it only ended at last by the clergy on both sides agreeing, by way of penance, to abstain from their functions for forty days: the body of Arsenius was then solemnly buried in the church of S. Sophia, and in *his* name the emperor and people were declared to be absolved. Michael Paleologus married two of his daughters to the Greek princes of Trebizond and Thessalonica, and thus preserved unity in the Eastern Empire. He also, for political motives, cultivated the friendship of the Popes, and sought to bring about a reconciliation of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches. He took the greatest pains to restore the capital to its ancient splendour, by inviting the provincials to re-people it, and by encouraging the industrious

Latins who chose to reside within its limits. The rich Pisans and Venetians, chiefly manufacturers and merchants, had a distinct quarter assigned to them, and maintained their own independence whilst they aided the commercial prosperity of the city. Andronicus Paleologus, the eldest son of Michael, was crowned, and associated with his father in the empire in the fifteenth year of his age (A. D. 1273). This event brings us to the close of our present period; and we need only add that this prince (afterwards called Andronicus the Elder) reigned nine years as the colleague, and fifty years as the successor, of his father.

The family of Paleologus remained on the throne till the fall of the Eastern Empire.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### *Times of Henry III. continued.*

ORIGIN OF THE MOGULS AND TARTARS. — EARLY HISTORY OF ZINGIS KHAN. — HIS DESTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF PRESTER JOHN. — HIS CONQUEST OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF CHINA. — HIS VICTORY OVER THE KARISMIANS AND OTHER NATIONS OF ASIA. — SONS OF ZINGIS. — OCTAI'S CONQUESTS IN CHINA. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TARTARS. — THEIR DESTRUCTIVE COURSE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF BATOU, IN WESTERN ASIA AND IN EUROPE. — DESTRUCTION OF THE CALIPHATE BY HOLAGOU. — MISSIONS OF THE COURT OF ROME AND OF LOUIS IX. TO THE TARTARS, UNDERTAKEN BY FRANCISCAN FRIARS. — FIRST ATTEMPTS AT COMMERCE UNDERTAKEN BY THE VENETIANS.

IN the beginning of the thirteenth century there arose in Asia one of those mighty conquerors, who, from time to time, like destroying tempests, have been permitted to run their wild and overwhelming course, to scourge, as it were, a guilty world.

Besides the many tribes of Turks, to which we have repeatedly referred, there were, in the centre of Asia, two nations equally unsettled and uncivilised — the Moguls and

the Tartars. Mogul and Tartar are said to have been brothers of the Turkish race; and their descendants, often confounded, became at last one people through the conquests of the Tartars. The Moguls inhabited the country anciently called Transoxiana, and they dwelt together in companies called hordes, living in tents, and feeding solely on the flesh and milk of their flocks, and clothing themselves with skins. A chief, who had by his superior power united the many Mogul hordes, died in 1176, leaving a son named Temugin, aged only thirteen. Thirteen hordes, consisting of 40,000 families, adhered to the child, but the rest revolted; and though Temugin at this early age led his followers against the rebels, and performed, it is said, prodigies of valour, it was not till his fortieth year that he vanquished, in one great battle, all the opposing tribes of his nation: on this occasion he ordered seventy rebel chiefs to be cast into cauldrons of boiling water (A. D. 1203).

The ferocious conqueror was proclaimed khan, or chief, in a general assembly of the Mogul hordes, and a native prophet saluted him with the title of Zingis, which in their language signifies the Most Great: hence the name by which Temugin is commonly known is Zingis, or Genghiz Khan. During the years of his comparative obscurity, the young chief is said to have served in the army of Prester John IV.,\* the famous Christian khan of the Kerite Tartars; and his enterprising spirit having brought him into favour, he demanded the hand of the king's daughter. The refusal of his request, and his dismissal in disgrace from the court, is supposed to have led to his subsequent treatment of the khan and his nation, when he had power to revenge himself. The Mogul's military might, and the multitude of his followers, may be conceived from the fact of his complete victory over such a force as the khan of the Kerites could muster: the last of the priest-kings was assassinated, as he fled from the field of battle, and his skull, being afterwards encased in silver, is said to have been numbered among the treasures of Zingis Khan. The fall of the last of the monarchs, in the sunshine of whose favour so vast a show of ecclesiastical dignities had existed, swept away the far-boasted Church of Central

\* See Vol. III., pp. 431—435.

Asia: it could not stand any political revolution, for it was so closely wedded to the State, that it depended upon that and not upon God for its prosperity. The evanescence of so wide-spread a profession of Christianity proves that it was a mere system of ceremonies, without either life or power; and the speedy substitution of Mahometanism in these regions is the more remarkable, as Zingis Khan, however despotic in other respects, did not wish to dictate to his subjects as to their religious creed: he was, in fact, too indifferent to all kinds of religion to attempt it. In one of his early proclamations he demanded obedience as one who had been made king by the Almighty God; and, in commanding his subjects to honour in every nation the just, wise, and learned, and to apply themselves to chastity and purity of manners, he declared that Christians were to be preferred to all others because of their manners. But the impression in favour of Christians seems to have been momentary, for he afterwards refused to see any who bore that name; and whole tribes, consequently, abandoned the profession of Christianity. The Moguls, hitherto an obscure nation, attracted the attention of all Europe by the career of victory pursued for twenty years under their mighty leader: before his death the Mogul empire was of greater extent than all the kingdoms of Christendom put together. It has, however, been well said, that Zingis Khan reigned over ruins, for though he destroyed a multitude of cities, he only founded one — Bokhara, his capital. He left the Moguls in as rude a state as he found them, and he never learned either to read or write. After subduing almost all the Tartar tribes, Zingis, in the pride of power, sent a haughty message to the court of Peking, demanding the submission of China. The defiance of the emperor, to whom the ancestors of Zingis had been tributary, immediately brought the khan over the border with his innumerable armies; and out of the ninety cities that he besieged, only ten were saved by the Chinese.\* Taking

\* The celebrated fortification of the northern empire of China, called *the great wall*, supposed to have been built 150 B. C., may still be traced through an extent of 1500 miles, rising to the tops of mountains, descending over precipices, being almost everywhere twenty feet in thickness, and above thirty feet high. It is built of large burned bricks, and a few stones upon it. Throughout its whole

advantage of the filial love for which the people of China were remarkable, he exposed their captive parents in front of his army; but the cruel expedient being often repeated at last failed of success. As the fruits of his first expedition into China, Zingis obtained a large tribute, and was permitted to place a Chinese princess amongst his 500 wives. The treaty of peace was, however, of short duration; and the khan, in his second inroad, compelled the emperor to retire beyond the Yellow River, and added the five northern provinces of China to his empire. The siege of Peking, which closed this campaign, was long and laborious; for the citizens held out, though famine compelled them to kill and devour every tenth man; and though their projectiles were so spent that they had to use ingots of gold and silver to discharge from their engines. At last the Moguls, by means of a mine, set fire to the city, and such was the vast extent of the imperial palace that it is said to have been thirty days in consuming (A. D. 1210). Great disturbances recalled Zingis Khan to his native kingdom; but wherever he appeared all opposition vanished, and he soon set out with 700,000 men armed for fresh conquests. This time he led his army through the great plains to the north of the Jaxartes, and found a plea for invading Karismia, in that the sultan had destroyed a caravan of Mogul merchants journeying through his dominions. The Karismian chief brought 400,000 men to meet the invaders, whom we may now call Mogul Tartars, from the union of the two nations under Zingis. When we think of a million of soldiers engaged at one time in a fearful struggle in the wilds of Northern Asia, the wars waged in Europe, and even the crusades of the same period, appear insignificant. All, however, tell the same truth: the feet of men are "swift to shed blood;" naturally, they are "hateful, and hating one another." In this dreadful battle, 160,000 Karismians were slain; and they were so intimidated by this touch of the Tartar's strong hand, that many thousands left their native haunts, and

extent are large, strong, square towers, at the distance of two bow-shots from each other. This wall is continued a mile and a half into the sea. Although justly considered one of the wonders of the world, this formidable bulwark was incapable of protecting China from the Tartars.

some of them, as we have already stated, obtained possession of Jerusalem.

In four years Zingis became master of the rich and populous regions of Transoxiana, Karizmia, and Khorassan; and Mohammed, the sultan, who had provoked the invasion, died in a desert island of the Caspian. From that sea to the Indus, a tract adorned with strong cities, the Moguls continued their ravages, though Gelaleddin, Mohammed's son, repeatedly checked them in their destructive career, and even fought as he retreated before them. Driven to the banks of the Indus, one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of India, the sultan, overwhelmed by numbers, spurred in his horse and swam out of reach of the enemy, Zingis himself looking on with admiration of his intrepidity. The khan then gave the command to retreat; and having repassed the Oxus and the Jaxartes at the head of an army laden with spoil, he met his generals returning in triumph from the conquest of Western Persia and Hindostan (A. D. 1220). In the plains of Toukat the Tartar chiefs rested to celebrate their many victories. Zingis and his sons and generals appeared seated in their ancient Scythian chariots, which were covered with the rich stuffs, gold, and precious stones, taken from the conquered nations. At this assembly, 500 ambassadors attended to do homage to the conqueror, and Zingis received from one of his sons the present of 100,000 horses. Armenia, Mesopotamia, and several independent Turkish sultanies, next fell beneath the sway of Zingis; and thirsting for more extensive dominion, he was hastening to complete the conquest of China, and was within a few miles of the great wall, when he was seized with an illness which quickly terminated his life (A. D. 1227). It is asserted that a great number of human victims were sacrificed over his grave. Never did any man, before or since, conquer so many nations as Zingis; his empire extended over 1800 leagues of country from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south, and was the most extensive that had ever yet existed. Because it was so vast, some have enquired why it is not alluded to in the Prophetic Scriptures: it is answered with all reverence, that the only worldly powers noticed in the written word of God, are such as stand in connection with his own people.

the Jews; and no connection can be traced between them and the empire of which we now speak, nor with many other earthly kingdoms of which man's history largely treats. The Tartars, in general, became idolaters, and had temples turned to the north, with their chief entrance at the south; their priests lived in a kind of community, and their superior, called the Great Llama, received a kind of respect which at last amounted to actual worship. The religion of Mahomet, and the idolatry of China, divided the rest of the Mogul empire, with a thin scattering of Jews and Christians here and there. The career of Zingis Khan ended with the minority of Henry III., and the history of his sons will carry us through the reign of the English monarch. The four sons of Zingis, by his chief wife, were Touthai, Zagatai, Octai, and Tuli; they alone were conspicuous in their father's court and camp; they contributed to his victories, and shared the government even in his lifetime. The eldest was chief huntsman, and his portion was Turkestan, Bactriana, Astracan, and the region afterwards called by the name of the Usbek Tartars; the second, who had been chief judge, received Transoxiana, Northern India, and Thibet; the third, his father's prime minister, was the chief heir, and obtained the title of khan; the fourth was a general, and had Khorassan and a part of India.

In an inartificial state of society, commanding talent gains precedence rather than mere seniority of birth; and Octai, being chosen khan by his father, with the consent of the people, his brothers were contented with dependent kingdoms. Fifteen hundred thousand Tartars and Moguls were inscribed on Octai's military roll; every full grown man was probably a warrior; and this force, possessed of a spirit more formidable than their numerical strength, could not fail to do great exploits when led into action by a superior mind.

Within seven years of his father's death, Octai subdued the northern empire of China. Kai-song, a strong place to which the emperor had retreated, was besieged by one of the khan's generals for several years: it is said to have been a city many leagues in circumference, containing 1,400,000 families. The ferocious leader of the Moguls, on taking the place, would have put them all to the sword

had not the khan's chief minister obtained mercy for them by an appeal to his master. All, however, of the blood royal were slain, except the emperor, who made his escape with only seven horsemen, and shut himself up in a third fortified city. After a siege of two years, finding his cause desperate, he burned himself in a house which he caused to be set on fire (A. D. 1235).

The dynasty of Song, in Southern China, survived this event five and forty years, and only fell beneath the conquering arms of Cublai Khan, the son of Tuli. Tuli, who had been regent in his brother's absence, died in 1232, and his son Batou becoming, in his stead, the khan's right hand, set forth, before the end of the Chinese war, for the conquest of Western Asia: he prepared for the expedition by a festival which lasted forty days — so coolly and gladly did these bloody men set about the work of destruction. Their immense numbers, and the rapidity of their movements, rendered it alike vain to fly or to resist; and the countries swept by this living tempest were converted at once from the fair abodes of man into smoking deserts. In less than six years, Batou and his followers traversed a fourth part of the circumference of the earth. The great rivers they either swam on horseback, or passed on the ice, or crossed in the leathern boats which transported also their waggons and artillery. They overran the country of the Caucasus, Astracan, Cazan, Georgia, and Circassia; and then, passing the bounds of Asia, Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Silesia, trembled in their turn beneath the conqueror's tread.

Matthew Paris speaks of them thus: — “A huge nation, and a barbarous and inhuman people, whose law is lawless, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of God's anger, overruneth and utterly wasteth infinite countries, cruelly abolishing all things where they come with fire and sword.” He then describes their appearance from the mouth of an Englishman, who was dragged along with them on their expedition against Hungary. “They be hardy and strong on the breast, lean and pale-faced, rough and high-shouldered, having flat and short noses, long and sharp chins; their upper jaws are low and declining, their teeth long and thin, their eyebrows extending from their foreheads down to their noses, their eyes inconstant

and black, their countenances writhen and terrible, the extreme joints strong with bones and sinews, having thick and great thighs and short legs, and yet being equal to us in stature; for that length which is wanting in their legs is supplied in the upper parts of their bodies." From the same account it appears they were cannibals; for after mentioning their cruelties to the vanquished, he says, "with whose carcasses the Tartarian chieftains and their brutish and savage followers glutting themselves as with delicious cates, left nothing for the vultures but the bare bones." On one occasion, we are told that the ferocious victors filled nine sacks with the right ears of those whom they had slain in battle: it was probably their method of counting the numbers they had destroyed. Of Russia, the most permanent of the Tartar conquests, we must speak in a distinct chapter. In a united mass the hosts of Batou spread from Livonia to the Black Sea; but there a part of them diverged into Hungary, and the others ravaged Moravia, Poland, and Silesia (A. D. 1240). At the battle of Lignitz, the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, at the head of courageous bodies of troops, opposed the torrent in vain; and from thence Batou descended on Hungary with 500,000 men. Bela IV., the reigning king, had lost the affections of his subjects by receiving into his country 40,000 Comam families; and, in his distress, he vainly applied both to Frederic II. and Gregory IX. The latter, indeed, promised his protection, and wrote to the king that he groaned because of the severe judgments of God, but he offered no help. Lublin and Cracow were destroyed, the whole country north of the Danube depopulated in a single summer, and the very borders of Germany gained. A German army was entirely defeated in Silesia, and the duke, their leader, slain. In the winter the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and laid siege to Grau, then the chief city of Hungary. Their engines were planted against the walls; the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies; and a promiscuous massacre followed the taking of the city; 300 noble matrons being reserved for execution in the presence of the ferocious Batou. The ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, and the fugitives

who were tempted to return to serve the victors, on the promise of pardon, were ruthlessly slaughtered as soon as they had reaped the harvest, and gathered in the vintage. Frederic II., seeing the barbarians on the borders of his empire, sent letters to all the princes of Germany, and to the kings of France and England, entreating them to arm their vassals for the common defence of Europe. Historians differ as to whether a recall from Octai, the khan, or the approach of a German army, induced the Tartars to raise the siege of Neustadt, and to retreat from Europe; but we may say that, like the waves of the sea, these fierce destroyers had a limit assigned to them which they could not pass, and it is more than probable that God stayed the scourge in answer to prayer. The sparing of Nineveh teaches us that national safety is in national humiliation, even though really spiritual elements are wanting; and, besides all the secret crying to God that must have arisen day and night from his own elect, we read that in this period of terror, solemn fasts were proclaimed and observed, the churches were never shut, and some of the clergy passed days and nights in praying. Yet, even during this terrible visitation, the emperor and the Pope did not suspend their hostilities. In his retreat, Batou wasted the kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, and at last established himself in the palace and city of Serai, which he raised in the midst of the desert. His brother, Sherbani, led a horde of 15,000 families into the wilds of Siberia, and his descendants, for three centuries, reigned at Tobolskoy. In fact, within fifteen years of the death of Zingis, his descendants had led their followers as far as the Icy Sea, and subjected the Samoyede savages discovered there.

Of the Golden Horde, the name bestowed by Batou on his division of the Mogul Tartars, we must speak more particularly in our history of Russia; we will now turn to the other parts of the empire. Octai, the chief khan, died in 1246; and, after an interval of four years, his son Kayuk was proclaimed. To him, the reigning Pope, Innocent IV., sent a letter, but without success; and the khan died in the midst of his preparations for a war against Europe (A. D. 1251). To him succeeded his cousin Mangou, the son of Tuli, and it was reported that he and his family

were induced to receive baptism through the influence of Haito, king of Armenia, a professing Christian. Louis IX. sent a Franciscan friar that he might learn the truth, but the report was not confirmed, though it appears that one of Mangou's courtiers sent a special messenger to Innocent IV., announcing the circumstance. The khan, however, treated the Christians in his empire with much more favour than his predecessors, and we have no record of his conquests or cruelties. In 1260, his brother Cublai became khan, and his reign was most eventful, by reason of his own conquest of the remainder of China, and the successes of his brother, and lieutenant, Holagou, in Western Asia. The court of Rome made some steps towards both these princes, and they showed a little favour to the Christians in their dominions. The Ismaelians, or Assassins, who lived in such blind obedience to their imam that, at his command, they pointed their deadly daggers at either Christians or Mahometans, had dwelt undisturbed during a century and a half among the hills to the south of the Caspian. Holagou completely extirpated them, though they amounted in his days to 40,000. The destruction of the caliphate was the work of the same hand. Motassem, the last of the caliphs, reigned over Bagdad and Irak; but he spent his hours in the midst of his harem, and was in no condition to meet the armed Tartars. Mahomet had limited his successors to fourteen wives, the number that he chose for himself, but the last of the caliphs is said to have had seven hundred. Yet he believed that his throne was secured by *divine decree*, and exclaimed, in a tone of ignorant contempt, "Who is this Holagou?" After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked, and the long line of Abbasside princes and caliphs, who had reigned in Asia for 500 years, was ended by the public execution of Motassem. From Bagdad the storm rolled across the Tigris and Euphrates; Aleppo and Damascus, the seats of Turkish sultans, were taken and pillaged; and Egypt would have been lost but for the valour of the Mamelukes, the sultan's foreign guards. Armenia and Anatolia next felt the violence of the invaders; and Aizaddin, the sultan of Iconium, fled in terror to Constantinople: his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian princes, were finally extirpated by the Tartar khans of Persia. On a report that

Holagou was marching to Constantinople at the head of 400,000 men, a religious procession was formed, and a solemn litany sung through the streets, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us." But so small was the confidence in God's protecting care, that, on the rumour of an assault, the streets were crowded by thousands flying from imaginary foes they knew not whither; and some hours elapsed before tranquility could be restored. The city was still spared in the long-suffering of God.

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CUBLAI KHAN outlived the times of Henry III., and we shall again refer to his deeds; but here may be placed some interesting facts concerning the missions of Rome to the Tartar princes. In 1246, four Franciscan friars, the ambassadors of Innocent IV., entered the Mogul camp on the frontier of Persia; and we cannot but admire the intrepidity and simplicity with which they delivered their message, whilst we must lament that they sought the exaltation of the Pope, and not of Christ. When asked who they were, they represented the greatness of the Pope, and said that they were his servants, sent to exhort the Tartars to repent of their past wickedness, and to cease from molesting the Christians. Being asked what presents they had brought, they said, with much truth, that the Pope was accustomed to receive, and not to make, presents. When told that they could only come into the presence of the khan by consenting to make three genuflexions before him, they refused to do so, unless the khan and his court would embrace Christianity. On this, they and the Pope himself were abused as no better than dogs. Baiothnoy, the lieutenant of Batou, held a council to deliberate on the treatment of the ambassadors. Some proposed that they should be flayed alive, and that their skins, stuffed with hay, should be sent to the Pope; others suggested that they should be placed in the front of their next battle with the Christians; and the general himself would have sentenced them to immediate execution, had not his principal wife pleaded in their behalf. She reminded him, also, of the deep displeasure expressed by the khan, because he had caused the heart of a former ambassador to be plucked out, and had rode round the camp with it, fastened to the tail of

his horse. After being detained several months, and scantily fed with black bread and sour milk, the Franciscan missionaries were allowed to depart, and Baiiothnoy charged them with a letter couched in the following terms:—"Know, Pope, that your messengers have come to us with the strangest discourses that were ever heard. We know not if you gave them authority to speak as they have done; but we send you the firm command of God, which is, that if you wish to remain seated in your land, you, Pope, must come to us in your proper person, and do homage to him who holds just sway over the whole earth," &c. Carpini and Benedict, two Franciscan friars, who carried presents to the camp of Batou, beyond the Volga, and fell on their knees before him, were obliged to proceed onward to the court of Kayuk, the great khan. They went with many tears, not knowing whether it were to life or death, and suffered much in the journey from the furious speed of the Tartar horsemen, the coarse food, and the intense cold. They arrived at the court of Kayuk, just as he was about to be raised to the supreme command; and Carpini describes the scene. There were present ambassadors from Bagdad, Persia, Nubia, Russia, and China, making, with the princes and dukes, 4000 persons of dignity. The emperor's tent was of white cloth, capable of holding 2000 men, and he was brought out in great pomp in a gilded chair, and thence removed to one covered with felt, on which Temugin had sat when first elected khan. The inaugural address ran thus: "Look on high, and see God; and look down on the felt whereon thou sittest. If thou govern well, thou shalt reign in power and magnificence, and the whole earth shall be subject to thee; but if ill, thou shalt be poor, miserable, vile, and contemptible, and shall not have power over the felt whereon thou sittest."

The costly gifts offered by the several ambassadors on this occasion consisted, says Carpini, of 500 cart-loads of silver, gold, and silk garments; and having nothing to give, he excused himself by saying, he could offer nothing worthy of so mighty a monarch. After some months, the friars were dismissed with a message of defiance to the Pope, and to all Christendom, unless it became obedient to the khan; and on their way back they suffered such hardships from want of shelter and food, that, on reaching Kiow, they

were rejoiced over as men that had risen from the dead. In the days of Carpini, the manners of the Tartars must have been improved, for he describes them as more polished and courteous than the men of his own country. It is, on his authority, that gunpowder is supposed to have been in use in Asia so long before it was known in Europe. Rubruquis, the Franciscan friar sent by Saint Louis, encountered at first some of the rudest of the Tartars. Their houses were fixed upon huge carts, drawn by twenty-two oxen each, eleven abreast; the axletrees are said to have been like the masts of a great ship. On making efforts for the conversion of these wandering people, Rubruquis was told, that some other Christians had informed them, that if they should drink mares' milk after baptism they would forfeit all hope of salvation. Having been desired to kneel before Batou, the friar, being in the attitude of prayer, began fervently to ask of God the conversion of the chief; and his words, being made known by the interpreter, caused a burst of merriment. From the residence of Batou, Rubruquis, against his will, was obliged to proceed to the court of Mangou, the great khan. After suffering greatly from cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness, travelling on horses that flew like wind over trackless deserts, he reached the palace of Mangou. The khan was sitting on a bed, clothed with a spotted skin, and appeared about forty-five. There was plenty of liquor in the room, which he offered to the missionaries, but Rubruquis replied by his interpreter, "Sir, we are not men that take pleasure in drink." But before he had finished his address, the interpreter was too much intoxicated to transmit it, and Mangou himself was drunk.

It appears that Armenian, Nestorian, Mahometan, and Pagan teachers were all labouring to gain over the khan at the time of the Franciscan's visit; but Rubruquis says, that he inclined most to Buddhism, in which he had been brought up. His principal wife professed her wish to become a Christian, and was privately baptized, not allowing any priest to be present: she afterwards called for Rubruquis and his companions, and desired them to chaunt, but the friar adds that she was carried away dead drunk, and many of the priests departed in the same state. Before his return, Rubruquis, who was at least a moral person, accompanied the khan to his capital, a village called

Caracorum, 600 miles N.W. of Peking. He describes it as not larger than St. Denis, near Paris, and the palace, not a tenth part the size of the Benedictine abbey there. It consisted of two streets, one for Chinese, the other for Mahometan mechanics. It contained twelve idolatrous temples, two moschs, and one Nestorian church, and at the latter the friar was requested to celebrate the sacrament. Before he did so, he thought it right to question the communicants as to their observance of the Ten Commandments. When he came to the eighth, they all cried out that they could not keep that, as their masters hired them on the condition that they should have no food or clothing but what they could steal!

We cannot be surprised that Saint Louis was disappointed in the report of the khan and his people, brought back by his messenger; and the Roman Catholic missions of this period seem to have had no other effect than to awaken a spirit of enterprise in the way of commerce, by which the Venetians afterwards profited. Two brothers, Marco and Nicolo Polo, were the first who went out from Venice for the sake of trade (1255); and, after visiting the Princes of Serai and Bokhara, they returned home in 1269. Marco Polo, son of Nicolo, set out in 1271, and was received under the protection of Cublai Khan at Cambalu, or Peking, and having learned the Chinese language, he was employed on various embassies, and finally appointed governor of one of the provinces. After twenty-four years he returned to Venice, and published such marvellous stories, as even to cast a doubt over the true part of his narrative. Intercourse with the East greatly increased the wealth and power of the Venetians; but it is to be remarked that, from the moment the descendants of Zingis Khan exchanged their felt tents for stone palaces, their skin clothing for silks and satins, and their horseflesh and mares' milk for the rich viands and luxuries of polished nations, their power began to decline; and it soon ceased to be formidable in Europe.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Edward I. and his Times. A.D. 1272—1307.*

EDWARD'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE. — HIS ACTIONS IN PALESTINE, AND ON HIS WAY BACK TO ENGLAND. — HIS CORONATION. — HIS VIGOROUS ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH ORDER AND JUSTICE IN HIS OWN KINGDOM. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF WALES. — NARRATIVE OF THE FALL OF LLEWELLYN, THE LAST OF THE WELSH KINGS. — EDWARD'S BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF THE BODIES OF THE WELSH PRINCES. — BIRTH OF EDWARD OF CARNARVON, PRINCE OF WALES. — EDWARD'S CHARACTER AS A LAWGIVER. — HIS TREATY WITH PHILIP THE FAIR. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCOTLAND. — DEATH OF ALEXANDER III. — SCHEMES OF EDWARD I. TO OBTAIN DOMINION OVER SCOTLAND. — BALIOL, HIS VASSAL-KING, REBELLING, IS DEFEATED AND IMPRISONED. — STORY OF WILLIAM WALLACE. — ROBERT BRUCE CROWNED KING OF SCOTLAND. — HIS MISFORTUNES, AND THE SUFFERINGS OF HIS PARTISANS. — DEATH OF EDWARD I.

BEFORE entering on the kingly career of so remarkable a sovereign as Edward the First, it may be interesting to retrace some scenes in his earlier history, which had abundantly developed his character.

Edward is described as a prince of elegant form and majestic stature, so tall that few reached beyond his shoulders; the light yellow hair of his infancy became black as he approached manhood; his left eye had the same singular fall of the eyebrow which marked his father's countenance; his speech was hesitating, but occasionally eloquent. His habits and companions, at the age of seventeen, were anything but creditable; the knights of his household seized and carried away the horses, waggons, and goods of merchants; and under his own eye, whilst he was visiting an earl, at Wallingford, they broke into a neighbouring priory, drove out the monks, seized their provisions, fuel, and fodder, broke their doors and windows, and cudgelled their domestics. As the prince grew older, he used his great personal strength and dexterity in

tournaments, and in stag-hunting, and thus prepared himself for the hardships of war. His irascible disposition, combined with that kind of generosity which forgives on receiving submission, was strikingly illustrated by his behaviour one day, in his early manhood, whilst hawking on a river. His falcon had seized a duck among the willows, and one of the attendant earls, neglecting to secure the prey, the prince upbraided him. The noble tauntingly replied that it was sufficient for him that the river parted them. The enraged prince instantly plunged his horse into the stream, and having with difficulty reached the opposite bank pursued the earl with his drawn sword, till, seeing escape hopeless, the offending nobleman turned round, and with his neck stretched out threw himself on the prince's mercy. Edward then sheathed his sword, and rode home with the earl in a friendly manner.

The incident which is said to have given to Edward the belief that he was under the peculiar care of the Virgin Mary — a persuasion that fortified his courage — is thus related. Playing one day at chess with a knight, he suddenly rose in the midst of the game, as from an unconscious impulse, and in the next moment an immense stone from the roof fell on the place where he had been sitting. Alas! that he should have ignorantly attributed his preservation to any other than God; and that the life so spared should have been passed without God. He afterwards had another remarkable escape, when a flash of lightning passed between him and his queen, leaving them unhurt, but killing two ladies in the room.

The most pleasing trait in Edward's early character we have already noticed; his filial affection. He coveted not the throne during his father's lifetime, grieved at his death as if it had not brought him a kingdom, and ever evinced respect for his parent's memory.

Although Edward's departure for Palestine may mainly be traced to the solicitations of the King of France, the tidings of that monarch's death, and the retreat of his army, did not discourage the prince; and having arrived at Acre with a thousand men, his force was increased sevenfold by the warriors who joined him within the first month: by their aid he attacked Nazareth, after destroying or dispersing the numerous Moslem army in its vicinity. That city —

the birthplace of the holy child Jesus, the scene of his spotless obedience—that city in which the Virgin Mary “found favour with God”—was filled with blood by the prince who boasted of her protection. Every Saracen in it, whether man, woman, or child, was put to the sword.

After such a commencement it is not surprising that the Mahometans sought Edward's life. The Turkish emir at Joppa, who had professed friendship for him, employed one of the Assassins to carry letters to the prince, and whilst he was receiving them with all confidence, the messenger struck a poisoned dagger at his side. Edward was reclining on his couch in the heat of the day lightly clothed, and no friend at his side; but he caught the deadly blow on his arm, and seizing the weapon plunged it into the body of the Assassin. On the authority of a Spanish historian, who, 200 years after this event, wrote the praises of his countrywomen, Eleonora of Castile, wife of the prince, is said to have sucked the poison from the wound; but the minute annalist of the time only relates that the weeping princess, seeing the flesh around the wound begin to blacken, was compelled to withdraw whilst the surgeons made the necessary excisions.

After concluding a truce of ten years with the sultan, Edward embarked for Europe; and whilst at Messina, on a visit to Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, he received the news of his father's death: about the same time he was apprised of the loss of his first infant, a son who had been born to him at Acre. The hard-hearted, ambitious Charles expressed his wonder that Edward should mourn more for the event that placed him on a throne, than for that which deprived him of an heir; but Edward wisely replied that the same God who gave that child could give others, whilst the loss of a father was irreparable.

Edward's popularity in England made it easy for his friends to secure the peace of the kingdom in his absence; and though he was in no haste to return, he wrote to the chancellor, desiring him to administer justice, not sparing any person on account of his rank, so that rigour might control those whom the sense of equity could not restrain. From Sicily, Edward proceeded to Rome; and Gregory X., who had been elected pope some years before, sent out his cardinals to meet the king; and, at his request, excommu-

nicated the murderer of Guy de Montfort, and granted a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of England for the improvement of the royal treasury: this was but an act of justice, considering the former rapaciousness of the Romish priests. In passing through the chief cities of Italy, Edward was everywhere received with public honours; but these, perhaps, were considered due rather to his fame as a crusader, than to his rank as king of England. At the foot of the mountains of Savoy, some English prelates and nobles were waiting to conduct their king to England; but he tarried at Chalons, where the count kept his court, being invited to try his strength in a tournament. In this foolish play at war, Edward nearly lost his life; for after he had unhorsed the count, who prided himself on his strength, the Savoyards were so mortified, that they began to fight in earnest against the king and his retinue, and much blood was shed. This rencounter was consequently named "the little battle of Chalons." In passing through France, Edward attended the court of Philip the Hardy, the son of St. Louis, to do homage for his French dominions, and was entertained with great magnificence; he then went to Gascony, to subdue a vassal who was in rebellion, and at last reached England (August 19, 1274). He was received in London with great joy, the merchants casting gold and silver out of their windows as he passed. His brother-in-law, Alexander III., king of Scotland, came to receive him with a hundred knights on horseback; and, dismounting on their arrival, let their horses loose with their trappings, that any of the populace who caught them might have them. Edward and Eleonora were crowned together at Westminster, in the presence of the king's mother, the King of Scotland, the Duke of Bretagne, and the English parliament; and the public feasting that followed may be imagined, when we find that the provisions collected for the occasion in one county (Gloucester) were as follows: 60 oxen, 60 hogs, 2 fat boars, 60 live sheep, 3000 capons, 40 quarters of bacon, &c. Five hundred horses were let loose for the public entertainment, to become the property of any who could catch them.

It was observed that Llewellyn, the king of Wales, was absent from the coronation; and the remembrance of his

having espoused the party of the Earl of Leicester against the late king, was revived on the discovery that a daughter of that nobleman was coming from beyond sea to be his wife. The lady was intercepted in her passage near the Scilly Islands, and detained at the English court; and Edward sent to Llewellyn insisting on his doing homage, which he refused, except on certain terms that the king was not pleased to grant.

Edward's eye was on Wales from the commencement of his reign; but ere he attempted to subdue that principality, he determined to correct the disorders of his own kingdom. Few sovereigns ever set about reform with so vigorous a hand; and, determining to observe the Great Charter himself, he required his great barons to follow it in their treatment of their vassals. Gross crimes had become so numerous that the ordinary judges were afraid or unable to punish the multitude of offenders, and the king instituted an extraordinary commission for carrying the laws into effect. The officers of this tribunal carried terror into all the counties infested with disorderly persons, and acted in so arbitrary a manner, confounding the innocent and the guilty, that the king was soon obliged to put an end to their power. Edward, in this and in other instances, had prudence not to push his schemes so far as to make them intolerable. Having required all his nobles to show a legal title to their estates, which it was plain they could not do, so many having been obtained by conquest, his officers, in the course of their investigation, came to the castle of Earl Warrenne. By way of reply, he drew out an old rusty sword which belonged to his ancestors, and said that William the Norman did not conquer for himself alone, neither did his barons assist him for that end; and as his ancestors won their lands by the sword, with the sword would he defend them against any who should attempt to take them away. Upon this, the king forbore from farther interference. He had, however, no such regard to the property of the Jews, against whom, in the usual spirit of the crusaders, he was particularly inveterate; but as this subject, the most important to a writer on scriptural principles, deserves separate notice, we pass on to the history of the annexation of Wales to England, effected by Edward I. The mountains of Wales were the last

strongholds of the ancient Britons, and they had gloried in perpetuating their ancient line of kings, and in preserving their language and manners unchanged, whilst England became the spoil of three foreign races in succession. But the independence of Wales, though a matter of boast, was not for its benefit; and could Edward have effected a union in any other manner than that which we have to relate, he would have deserved the thanks of both countries for its results.

Up to this time the Welsh were in such an uncivilised state that, like the Tartars, they trusted to pasturage alone for subsistence; and their hands, unoccupied in tillage, were commonly occupied in carrying on civil wars, and frequently in plundering their more industrious neighbours.

David and Roderic, the brothers of the reigning king, having been deprived of their inheritance by Llewellyn, willingly joined the King of England, and the Welsh prince was obliged to take refuge among the hills of Snowdon, where he resolved to defend himself to the last. Edward did not attempt to attack so dangerous a foe, but he cut a large road through a forest in the centre of Wales, built the castle of Flint, repaired that of Rhydlan, and encompassed Llewellyn by sea, as well as land, by sending a fleet round to Anglesea. Cooped up in a narrow corner, and pressed by famine, the Welsh king and his army could not strike a blow, and submitted on the most humiliating terms. But David, on seeing his country about to be enslaved, joined his brother's party, and urged him to break his treaty with the English king.

Whilst Edward advanced by land, his fleet took Anglesea; upon hearing which, he exclaimed, "Llewellyn has lost the finest feather in his tail." A bridge of boats was thrown over the Menai Straits for the English troops; but the Welsh watched the bridge, and threw into the sea those who attempted to cross. But a traitorous Welshman having pointed out a fordable place, a detachment of English waded through; and by dispersing the guard at the bridge, made way for the army to pass over. Llewellyn came down from the mountains lightly armed to reconnoitre, and whilst resting in a barn, hearing a military shout, he exclaimed, "Are not my Welsh at the bridge?" Being assured that they were at their post,

he added, "Then am I safe though all England were on the other side." As the noise increased, and the danger was made known, the king hastily set off for his camp; and on his way he received a fatal wound from a lance thrown by an English knight, who discerned him to be a Welshman, but did not know his rank. The Welsh forces waited in vain for their royal leader, and all who escaped the sword of the English fled in hopeless confusion. When the corpse of Llewellyn was discovered, the knight who slew him cut off his head and carried it to Edward: the king barbarously sent it to London, adorned in derision with an ivy crown, first to be exhibited to the populace in Cheapside, and then to be fixed upon the Tower. It is said that Llewellyn was excited to his vain resistance of the power of Edward by one of the vague prophecies found in the writings of Merlin, an ancient Briton: it was, that a prince of Wales should one day become king of England. Prince David prolonged the struggle till the autumn, when he was defeated and taken prisoner. The captive was tried before the parliament which the king had summoned to Shrewsbury, that he might be near the seat of war; and the sentence, if indeed the wisdom of England were there represented, stamps a ferocious character on these times. The prince was doomed to die the death of a traitor, *i. e.* to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hung, drawn—the heart and bowels being taken out and burned—and quartered. In this case the head was fixed with that of Llewellyn's on the Tower, and the four quarters of the body were exposed at Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. In addition to the horrors committed against the royal brothers, Edward is accused of having caused all the Welsh bards to be assembled, and put to the sword, fearing that their exciting songs might keep alive the national spirit; but though poetry and painting have perpetuated the accusation, Welsh antiquaries of the present day disbelieve it; and suppose rather that the bards ceased to be known after the conquest of Wales, from the want of that encouragement which they had received from its princes. It is certain, also, that Welsh poetry, which, before the Conquest, was calculated to stir up ferocious passions, assumed a far gentler form

from that period. A code of laws was drawn up for the government of Wales, which did the greatest credit to Edward and his counsellors; it extended to that principality all the advantages of Magna Charta, accommodating English laws to their peculiar customs, as far as consistent with good policy.

The queen, Eleonora, usually attended her husband in his campaigns, and on her account tapestry was carried to hang on the bare castle walls, to give them an air of comfort. Whilst in Wales, at Carnarvon Castle, Eleonora gave birth to a son called Edward; and to please the Welsh, his father gave him the title of Earl of Carnarvon and Prince of Wales. The death of Alphonso, an elder child, soon after, made the young Edward the heir of the monarchy; and from that time the king's eldest son always bore the name of Prince of Wales. The monkish story about this matter is, that the king, having assembled his new subjects, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language; and on their expression of joy and obedience, he presented to them the infant born at Carnarvon. However adorned may be the circumstance of the creation of the title of Prince of Wales, there is not a doubt that it contributed to the tranquilising of the subdued people. Their manners were at this time so rude, that the king was obliged to issue orders that no one should strike the queen, or snatch anything from her hand. The great pains which Edward took in forming laws, and carrying out his plans of justice, gained for him the name of the English Justinian. Parliaments were brought into regular form in this day; no taxes were levied without the consent of the Commons; and the title of barons, hitherto common to all the nobles who were vassals of the crown, was now restricted to those who had a seat in parliament. The great esteem in which the king was held, enabled him, on some grand occasions, to transgress the provisions of Magna Charta: thus, when making preparations for war, he sold the goods of merchants, and exacted corn without payment: in general, he acted according to the laws. The Statute of Mortmain — a law which forbade the clergy to receive bequests of land — is to be traced to Edward I.: it was his method of putting a

restraint on ecclesiastical acquisitions, which were often unjustly obtained; for the priests taught the dying that it was for the good of their souls to bestow their estates upon the Church. In 1286, shortly after the coronation of the new king of France, Philip the Fair, Edward went to Paris to do homage. The words used by him on this occasion were, "I become your man for the lands I hold of you this side the water, according to the tenor of the peace made with your ancestors." The terms were intended by the king to leave him an honourable outlet, in case he should find it disagreeable to observe the peace. A few months after, the two kings concluded a treaty, whereby Edward renounced Querci, on receiving £3000 sterling.

After residing in his French dominions for three years, Edward returned to England; and there was need enough of his presence, as, on investigation, all the judges except two, who were clergymen, were found guilty of altering records, and receiving bribes. The king deprived them all of office, and exacted fines so enormous, that their ability to pay might have given additional proof of their guilt. Bribery appears to have been a common evil, needing a strong hand to repress it, for before the king's departure he had turned the mayor of London out of office for receiving bribes from the bakers to allow them to sell bread five ounces under weight. Edward established a standard for the coin of the realm, and took great pains to prevent its debasement, in order to make money transactions more secure. His severity toward the Jews who were found guilty of coining and clipping the coin was excessive: 280, male and female, were executed in London. After the banishment of the Jews, money-lending became the business of the rich merchants of Lombardy, who resided, or had their agents, in London: Lombard Street derived its name from them. Before the reign of Edward I., the foreign merchants were obliged to live in lodgings, and employ their landlords as brokers; but this king allowed them to rent houses, and buy and sell for themselves.

Edward had reigned twenty years with increasing renown and prosperity, when circumstances occurred which tempted him to try to annex Scotland to the English crown: the union, though for the ultimate benefit of both countries, as in the case of Wales, could not at this time be made

palatable to the Scots, and Edward's ambition led him into many acts of injustice and cruelty, and brought great sufferings on the two kingdoms, both in his reign and that of his son.

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THE succession of Scottish princes in the male line had been so unbroken during the 800 years which had elapsed from the foundation of the monarchy, that Alexander III., who married the sister of Edward I., was undoubtedly the true heir of this long line of ancient kings. From the want of creditable historians, little is known of Scotland up to this period, save through the events that connect it with England. Yet Scotland had risen into a powerful kingdom, for, in the minority of Alexander III., 1000 armed horsemen, and 100,000 infantry could be brought into action. The country was completely studded with fortresses, from the castles of the highest earls, who possessed little less power than the king, down to the single towers of their vassals, with their low iron-ribbed doors and loop-holed windows, which still meet the eye of the traveller even in the most unfrequented places and remotest glens. Around the strongholds, in which the Scottish barons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries resided, sufficient land was cleared from wood for the support of their numerous vassals. The produce of the lord's fields and forests, his huge herds of swine, his flocks and cattle, his granaries and mills, his malting houses and breweries, his dovecotes, gardens, orchards, &c., all went to the maintenance of the formidable bands, ever ready to obey the summons to war. Around these castles were placed the rude cottages of the immediate servants of the baron, viz. his armourers, tailors, wrights, masons, falconers, forest-keepers, &c.; and often the free farmers and tradesmen, for the sake of security, paid a small rent for the privilege of building their dwellings, or booths, near the castle walls. Thus many of the greater barons, besides their large estates, possessed numerous and flourishing villages, for which they received a regular rent, and of whose gains they had a share. In these villages, the larger divisions, called caracutes, were cultivated by the husbandmen and the cotters under them; and each of these poor labourers, for

his own maintenance, had a small piece of ground with his cottage, for which he paid a trifling rent to the lord of the soil.

Alexander II. lost his life in the prosecution of a quarrel with Haco, the king of Norway, concerning the lordship of the Hebrides; and the latter, with the most powerful fleet and army ever raised in his country, arrived in the Frith of Clyde in the summer of 1264. But the Norwegians had suffered by a storm, and the sea was yet rough when they reached the Bay of Largs, where they found the Scots ready to oppose their descent. After a battle of three days, the proofs of which are yet seen in numerous rude monuments, and the frequent discovery of ancient weapons on the spot, Haco, with great loss, escaped to the Orkneys, and died there from the effects of fatigue and disappointment. The battle of Largs might not, however, have ended the war betwixt Scotland and Norway, had not a marriage been concluded between Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, and young Eric, Haco's successor.

The reign of Alexander III., which seemed to promise great things to Scotland, came to a termination in circumstances most unfavourable to the peace of the country. His two sons had died without heirs, and his daughter, Margaret, the wife of the King of Norway, dying also before her father, left only one girl, commonly called the Maid of Norway.

As his only heiress was an infant in a foreign land, Alexander took a second wife, Jolleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but shortly after his marriage, as he was riding one winter's evening with a small retinue to his wife's mansion, his horse started and threw him over a precipice: his neck was broken, and, as soon as he was raised up, he expired (1286).

Thus perished a prince much beloved for his public and private virtues. "Under his reign," says the Scottish historian, "the Church flourished, her priests were honoured with due reverence, justice ruled supreme throughout the land. He reigned over himself as well as others; and was regarded far and near, not only among his friends but his enemies, and especially the English, with love as well as fear."

Upon the death of Alexander, who had been all through

life a kind and confiding brother-in-law, Edward could not disguise his anticipations:—"Now," said he, "the time is at length arrived when Scotland and its petty kings shall be brought under my power."

The first method which Edward proposed to himself for gaining the desired power was the union of the Maid of Norway with his eldest son; and the regents appointed by Alexander to govern Scotland in her minority, agreed that she should be educated at the English court, for the Prince of Wales's bride. After some negotiations, Eric permitted his daughter to sail for Britain, but her health suffered so much during the voyage, that she was obliged to land at the Orkneys, where she died shortly after (1290).

The death of the Maid of Norway exposed Scotland to the dangers of a disputed succession, and the Bishop of St. Andrews, in announcing the event to the King of England, wrote, "We shall be involved in blood, unless the Most High provide a remedy by your interposition." This prelate evidently had Edward's interest in view, and the Scottish nobles agreed to refer the matter to his arbitration. Edward was already in the north, preparing to enter on the affairs of Scotland, when he was deprived of his much beloved wife. She was, as usual, about to join him, but in crossing Lincolnshire, then for the most part undrained, she was seized with ague, and died. The sorrowing king attended the corpse thirteen days on its way to Westminster, the place of burial; and afterwards erected crosses wherever it had rested, that passers-by might pray for the soul of the deceased. One of these, Waltham Cross, still remains. Those in Cheapside, and Charing Cross, have disappeared. The chroniclers of the age warmly extol the modesty, piety, benevolence, and urbanity of Queen Eleonora. They say she was "full of pity, ready to assist every man that suffered wrong, and to make them friends who were not at peace."

Edward's severe grief did not prevent him from laying deep schemes for his own aggrandisement: it is possible indeed, that, like other worldly persons, disappointment, leading him not to God, drove him to seek pleasure from some other source. In May, 1291, the Scottish parliament met Edward by agreement, at the parish church of Norham, and were astonished at his endeavours to prove that, as

King of England, he possessed a feudal sovereignty over Scotland, and that he could only decide between the rival claimants of the crown on his recognition as lord paramount. In order to make a show of justice, he brought quotations from the old chroniclers concerning the homage done by kings of Scotland to kings of England; but it was certain that this homage had been paid, not for their whole realm, but simply for the dominions that they held in England, just as Edward himself did homage to the kings of France for his French possessions. It was true that William the Lion had done homage for his kingdom, on being liberated after he was made prisoner by Henry II. ; but Richard I., partly through generosity, and partly through want of money for the crusade, had entirely released him from an engagement which had only been made by constraint. The power of Edward, and the difficulties of the people of Scotland, effected more than his arguments could ever have accomplished; and the competitors for the crown signed papers, acknowledging the sovereignty of the King of England, and giving him seisin of all the land, and of all its castles. The subtle Edward is accused of having added to the existing confusion, by increasing the number of the claimants; at any rate, they amounted to thirteen, though the true title lay between two of them: these were John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Baliol was great grandson of David, king of Scotland, through Margaret, his eldest daughter, and Bruce was grandson to the same monarch by his second daughter. The heir of the eldest branch of the family, though in a remoter generation, was then, as well as now, esteemed to have the precedence; and Edward accordingly decided in favour of Baliol, and received the homage of the chosen king, both before and after his coronation. For four years, Baliol was suffered to reign; but from time to time he had to feel his servitude, in a manner that neither he, nor a nation's pride, could long endure. In the course of the first year, he received no less than six summonses to appear before his feudal lord, in answer to various complaints; and when, in March, 1293, he presented himself at Westminster, he was obliged to stand in person at the bar of the parliament, as he was refused the services of a proctor to answer for him. After this treatment, it is not surprising that the Scots should take the

first opportunity of trying to throw off the English yoke : an occasion was soon presented.

In 1294, two English sailors, at a maritime town of Normandy, quarrelled with some foreign seamen as to precedence in filling their water-casks. A Norman was wounded, and the Englishmen regained their ships ; but the French pursued them in another vessel, and having taken some of them, hanged them up in company with dogs. The beginning of strife is like the letting out of water, and, as at this time, sailors seemed to have neither king nor law, the quarrel spread through the merchant service of both nations, and led to a dreadful naval battle in the open sea. Though the Normans were supported by French, Fleming, and Genoese allies, the English conquered, and many thousand men were slain and drowned : 240 captured vessels, laden with booty, were brought home by the victors. Charles of Anjou is supposed by some to have instigated the battle ; the King of England would take no part of the plunder, because it had been fought without his order or consent ; nevertheless, the King of France demanded from him the punishment of his subjects, and reparation for the injury they had done. Edward sent an ambassador, and tried to settle the affair peaceably ; but the King of France demanded his personal appearance, and because he did not come, declared his possessions in Gascony to be forfeited, and at once invaded them. Had Baliol refused to answer his call, Edward would probably have acted in a similar way ; but he felt the injustice of Philip's conduct in his own case, and resented it by raising an army against him.

As this war belongs more properly to our history of France, we shall here only observe that Baliol, instead of sending the military aid required by the King of England, entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with Philip ; and, by this treaty, the Scots bound themselves to begin and make war upon Edward with all their strength. In fact, the first hostilities began with the King of Scotland, and knowing these to be quite contrary to his duty as a vassal, he previously procured from the Pope a dispensation from his oaths, and sent to Edward a written renunciation of his fidelity.

Edward's own brother had been unsuccessful in France,

and he was at this time about to lead a fresh army thither himself, but feeling most disposed to go into Scotland, he desired Hugh Bigod, earl marshal, to take the lead in the war on the continent. "I am ready," replied his earl, "according to my office, to lead the van of your majesty's army, but I will not go without you." Edward replied with an oath, "You shall go, or be hanged." With the same oath, Bigod retorted, "I will neither go nor be hanged," and withdrawing himself from court, was followed by other peers and officers of the crown. For a time, the king neglected his war with France, and, marching his forces to Berwick, took it by storm, and put the 7000 persons within it to the sword. Edward was probably the most skilful commander of his day, and his soldiers the best disciplined in the world: it was then the law of the land that every male, between fifteen and sixty, should provide himself with the arms and armour suitable to his rank and life; and the military preparation of the country was as complete as it was extensive.

Dunbar surrendered, after the defeat of the whole Scottish force by an army much inferior in number, under the command of the Earl of Warrenne, the English general: 20,000 Scots were slain, and their principal chieftains. The next day Edward joined his victorious troops, and the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling were rapidly taken. The Scots then submitted themselves; and Baliol, divested of his royal robes, and holding a white rod in his hand, was compelled to resign his kingdom to his liege lord. The Scottish barons, including the Bruce, who was afterwards made king, again swore fealty to Edward; and William Douglas, the sternest and stoutest of the Scottish chiefs, being the only man who refused, was imprisoned for the rest of his days. Baliol was first sent to the Tower, but permitted to ride out the distance of ten miles: he was afterwards placed at Oxford. Thinking to make his conquest more secure, the king removed the Scottish regalia to Westminster; burned the records of the kingdom; and took away from Scone a celebrated stone, on which the kings of Scotland used to be crowned, in order to place it beneath the coronation chair in the abbey of Westminster. When the Scottish king was first seated on this stone, the nobles with bended

knees strewed their garments before it, and a Highlander on his knees, bowing his head, saluted the king in Gaelic, and recapitulated his genealogy. Tradition said that it was the stone which Jacob set up for a pillar, and the rhymes attached to it conveyed the idea that, wherever this stone was placed, the Scots would reign: it was said to have been placed at Scone by Kenneth, and the relic had once been among the treasures of Ireland. In returning to England, Edward left Warrenne, earl of Surrey, as deputy governor, and Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer, making wise regulations for the conciliation of the nation; but his officers probably acted in an oppressive manner; and, had they not done so, the national spirit was so unbroken, that quiet submission was not to be expected.

Whilst Edward was engaged in continental wars, a powerful party was organised against him in Scotland, by Sir William Wallace. One who has learned not to walk *according to the course of this world*, must as stedfastly withstand the world's thoughts as the world's ways; and however contrary to one's nature it may be to withhold admiration from characters that attract the natural heart, a godly person dare not praise and cherish any whom the word of God condemns. Wallace was a knight of iron frame; in size almost gigantic, in strength superior to the strongest men of his time. His personal appearance was attractive, his courage daring, and his fortitude immoveable; but his passions were hasty and violent, and his earliest feeling was a strong hatred to the English — a feeling which was fostered by his uncle, a priest, who never wearied of extolling the sweets of liberty, or of deploring the miseries of his country's servitude. Neither uncle nor nephew had been persuaded that "he is a freeman whom the truth makes free, and all are slaves besides."

That Wallace was revengeful, merciless, and cruel, even his admirers witness; but it is to be hoped that his barbarities have been greatly exaggerated by his enemies. His public career lasted only seven years, but his memory was idolised by his countrymen; and the four centuries of additional independence, which his efforts in part led them to obtain, are supposed to have contributed to the formation of that strong and original character of mind for which the Scotch are still distinguished. Commencing

his exertions with a small band, Wallace continually gathered strength, and had accomplished great things before the tidings of his daring exploits reached the ears of Edward. Being about to embark for Flanders, he commissioned Warrenne to chastise the rebels; and 50,000 Welsh and English were marched into Scotland for this purpose. Wallace abandoned the siege of the castle of Dundee, and charging the citizens to continue it, under pain of losing life or limb, he hastened to meet the enemy. On the banks of the Forth, near Stirling, Warrenne halted, and sent two Dominican friars to offer peace; but as Wallace sent them a lofty answer of defiance, Cressingham persuaded the earl to cross the bridge over the river, though a friendly native warned them it was certain ruin. The Scottish chief allowed as many to pass as he could easily overcome, and destroyed the first division of the army so speedily that the rest fled in confusion. Cressingham was taken in the rout, and the Scots stripped off his skin, and divided it among them, from their hatred to him. All Scotland, except Berwick, was soon in the hands of the Liberator, and he pursued the retreating English to the gates of Carlisle. A friar was even sent into that place to say to Warrenne, "*William the Conqueror* commands you to surrender;" but as the summons was defied, the Conqueror retreated. This epithet was given to Wallace by his admiring countrymen; the title of his own choice was "Governor of Scotland in the name of King John" (Baliol). In 1298, Edward in person, with the strongest force he could muster, and we are told there were 80,000 volunteers on foot, marched over the Scottish border. In order to give his undivided attention to Scotland, he had made a firm peace with France, through the intervention of the Pope, his personal friend; and to satisfy the parliament, he had again confirmed the charters, leaving out the words which he had desired to insert, "saving the prerogatives of the crown." From the detention of a fleet sent with supplies, the English army suffered from want and sickness; and Edward was about to retreat when he heard that Wallace and his Scots were in the forest of Falkirk, a few miles distant. He immediately directed his forces that way, and halted for the night in the moor near Linlithgow. All rested on the

bare earth, their shields their pillows, and their horses near them. As the king was sleeping, his war-horse struck his side with his hoof, and broke two of his ribs. Notwithstanding this accident, he mounted his horse at dawn, and without stopping to refresh his troops, marched to meet the Scottish army. The presence and skill of the king, and the superior discipline of his army, prevailed at last against the bravery of Wallace, and the firm array of his men, whom he had ranged in dense circles with their weapons turning every way; but, not content with the ordinary means of attack, the English generals assailed the ranks of Scotch infantry with stones cast from machines, just as they would have stormed a city. Many thousands of the patriots of Scotland were destroyed (July 22). Famine obliged Edward to terminate this campaign, and Wallace continued the defence of his country. Robert Bruce, the grandson of the first pretender to the crown, fought in the English ranks at Falkirk, and it is said that, whilst in pursuit of Wallace, he called out to him to parley with him, and told him it was folly to try to cope with Edward, and that the Scots would never acknowledge a man of his low birth as king. Wallace replied, he had no ambition to be king; his sole desire was to free his country from a foreign yoke. Bruce wept; and this incident probably aroused both the patriotism and the ambition that he displayed at a later period.

John Baliol was at this time transferred to the keeping of the Pope; and in order to secure the friendship of the King of France, Edward agreed to marry his sister Blanche, and to repair to Amiens to do homage for Guienne.

The beauty of Blanche was accurately described to Edward by his ambassadors, and he was expecting to receive her as his wife; but the hope of becoming empress made her prefer the Duke of Austria, and her sister Margaret's name was inserted, instead of her own, in the treaty with the King of England. Margaret's gracious and affectionate disposition secured the love of her royal husband, and she sometimes softened his spirit towards those by whom he had been displeased. When he granted a pardon to the man who made a crown for Bruce, he said, "We pardon him solely at the intercession of our dearest consort, Marguerite, queen of England."

Margaret, in the kindness of her heart, remitted to the Pope money to be applied for the redemption of Christian captives from the hands of the Mahometans.

The misfortunes of Wallace followed fast upon the battle of Falkirk; either the jealousy of the nobles, or his own mortification, made him then resign the chief command; and Sir John Comyn, sister's son to Baliol, became the guardian of Scotland: he represented Baliol, and the younger Bruce continued the claims of his grandfather, so that a natural jealousy existed between them.

In 1299, the Scots, under Comyn, again expelled the English; but the following year, Edward, for the third time, entered Scotland, and met with fresh success. The Scottish nobles offered the king money for the restoration of their lands; but as Edward rejected their proposal, they sent ambassadors to Rome, throwing the kingdom, as it were, into the Pope's hands. Boniface VIII., as lordly a pontiff as ever reigned, wrote to the King of England, desiring him to send ambassadors to Rome within six months, and the question of the sovereignty of Scotland should be determined there. Edward, in a rage, declared that he would desolate Scotland from sea to sea; but, at the intercession of Philip the Fair, he granted a twelve-month's truce. In the parliament of 1301, some of the Pope's claims were rejected; and 100 barons gave their authority to the letter written on the occasion. Edward, afterwards, in a firm but respectful manner, wrote to Boniface on the subject of his pretensions over Scotland. The Pope's circumstances prevented him from pursuing the matter.

In 1303, Edward, with a large army, again entered Scotland. The greatest resistance which he experienced was at the siege of Stirling; but after ninety days of ineffectual assaults, he was only more determined to persevere. First in every attack, a dart pierced his robe; but when he was advised to expose himself less, he replied, in the language which the daily chaunting of the Psalms made familiar, "The Lord is on my side, I will not fear what can man do unto me." Another day, an immense stone struck his horse's feet, and he fell to the ground; but though his knights again offered to expose themselves to every danger in his stead, he continued to go in and out

amongst them as before. At last the governor came out of the castle, with others, barefoot, with ashes on their heads, and ropes on their necks, imploring mercy. The king, at first, doomed them to die as traitors; but their cries, and the tears of his own friends, softened his sternness, and he ordered them to be imprisoned. After this success, Edward took many other castles, and reconquered the country; and all the Scottish chieftains, including Bruce and Comyn, left the contest to the unbending Wallace. He was offered the same grace as the rest, on condition of surrender, but he refused every invitation, and retired into concealment. Edward felt his conquest insecure whilst Wallace lived; and being enraged by his obstinacy, sent many parties to hunt out his retreat. The fugitive was at length betrayed by a faithless friend, and carried to London. With great pomp he was brought into Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of treason. The chief justice accused him as a traitor to the King of England, as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and miserably slain and tortured the liege subjects of his master, the king. Wallace, with truth, repelled the charge of treason, as he was not of the number who had sworn fealty to Edward: to the other charges he made no reply. During his trial a crown of laurel was placed in mockery on his head, because it was said he had boasted that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall: being afterwards discrowned, and placed in chains, he was dragged at the tails of horses to the foot of a high gallows placed at the Elms in Smithfield, and there, after being hanged, he was cut down yet breathing and his bowels torn out and burned. His head was cut off and placed on a pole on London Bridge: the four parts of his body were exposed at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. The mutilated limbs of one who was a martyr to liberty only awakened all the patriotic and revengeful feelings of the Scots; and the tyrannical Edward found, when it was too late, that it would have been even the part of worldly wisdom to show mercy.

The treatment of Llewellyn, and his brother David, had gone unrevenged by the Welsh, and they had submitted to Edward's laws: he now set his whole mind to legislate for the Scots, and directed his lieutenant to assemble a

national council to read over their laws, and to correct such as were contrary to God and reason. Thinking his possession secure, he continued his jealous inquiry into the conduct of his magistrates in England; and exhibited his desire for good order, in sending the Prince of Wales to prison for having broken down the fences, and killed the deer in the park of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Yet, with strange inconsistency, this king procured a dispensation from the Pope, to emancipate him from the bondage of the charters, and allowed the Pope to levy money on the clergy, on obtaining the half for his own purposes.

A few months after the death of Wallace, the younger Bruce and Comyn contrived a plan for setting their country free. Robert Bruce, who bore the title of Earl of Carrick, had often changed sides in the course of the war, and he was at Edward's court when his scheme for making himself king was discovered to the English government by the faithless Comyn. He was only informed of his danger by receiving the present of a pair of spurs and some money from the Earl of Gloucester, a nobleman in the king's confidence who was his friend. Taking the hint, he secretly rode off to Scotland, and on arriving at the monastery of the Dominicans, at Dumfries, he sent for Comyn, charged him with his perfidy, and stabbed him before the altar.

Some historians, omitting the previous circumstances, suppose that Bruce only murdered Comyn as his nearest rival in the way to the throne. The Comyn family was the most powerful in Scotland, and they, of course, were opposed to Bruce; others preferred peace to war; but the insurrection spread, through the exertions of the new leader, and in a few weeks he was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, in spite of the loss of the ancient stone. The Countess of Buchan left her husband, in order to perform the ceremony, as her brother, whose office it was, happened to be at the English court.

Edward heard the report of this new revolution, when he was suffering from a disease which might have taught him the vanity of all earthly possessions. He had been so noted for the strength and length of his lower limbs, that he was named Longshanks; but these limbs, whereby he had been wont to keep his seat on the most spirited horse,

now failed him, and internal suffering wasted his vital powers. But his inability to ride made him more anxious to increase his military force, and to this end he sent a proclamation through England, that all who were under legal obligation to become knights, should assemble at Westminster on a certain day, for the ceremony of knighthood. Three hundred noble youths attended, and fine linen garments, purple robes, and mantles woven with gold, were given them out of the king's wardrobe. The palace was not large enough to hold the vast crowds who poured in, and the Temple with its gardens was also appropriated to entertain them. The Prince of Wales passed his vigils in the abbey, the other young knights in the Temple church, and the following morning the king knighted his son, and gave him the duchy of Aquitaine; the prince afterwards knighted his noble companions. So great was the pressure towards the altar in the abbey, where the ceremony was performed, that two knights were killed, and others fainted; and at last war-horses were brought in to keep back the crowd. At the conclusion of the ceremony, two swans richly decorated were brought in with great pomp, and placed before the king, and he vowed to God and *to the swans*, that he would go to Scotland, living or dead, to avenge the death of Comyn, and the broken faith of the Scots. And he made the prince and his companion knights swear that, if he should die on the journey, they would carry his body into the country, and never bury it till the prince had established his dominion. Trumpets, clarions, and loud acclamations, expressed the vain joys of this grand occasion; but how melancholy to a Christian mind, to contemplate the last acts of this famous king!

The Bruce who had begun his ambitious career with so black a crime, in his onward course brought deep afflictions upon himself and his friends; but in the midst of these his character was developed; and after proving himself the equal of the English king in skill and bravery, he became as wise and sagacious a monarch. The story of his misfortunes alone belongs to our present period.

After being twice defeated by the English general sent against him, Bruce retreated with a few followers to the Grampian Hills, where they lived on flesh and water, and made their own shoes of skins. After a time, Bruce's

queen, and some of his friends' wives joined them ; but the hardships they had to endure soon obliged them to send the ladies to a place of safety. The royal fugitive then met with a variety of strange adventures, and at last found a safe retreat at Rathlin, an island on the N. coast of Ireland. In the meantime, Edward's vengeance fell on all whom he could reach, and the most vigilant search was made for Bruce and his adherents : the murder of Comyn was the cloke of his own vindictive feelings. Bruce's queen was taken and put into honourable confinement, but the Countess of Buchan was shut up in a stone and iron chamber of Berwick Castle, where she might be seen by the passers-by. Bruce's own brother was beheaded ; his brother-in-law, and another kinsman, met with the barbarous punishment of traitors. The Earl of Athol, one of the partisans of the Scottish king, being taken captive, Edward declared that the news assuaged his pains ; and though some of the courtiers around his bed pleaded that a noble of royal descent should be spared the fate of others, Edward bitterly exclaimed, that he should be hung in a loftier elevation : he was actually suspended fifty feet from the ground, and being taken down half alive, a fire was kindled, in his presence, for the burning of his body ; his head was fixed on London Bridge, higher than usual. Sir Simon Fraser had three times rescued and remounted Bruce, when unhorsed in the battle of Methven before his retreat, and when he was taken, he was treated in the same manner as the Earl of Athol. His countrymen who were prisoners in England had declared that he never would be taken ; and that Scotland would be free whilst he lived, and one of them had laid a wager of his own head to the king to this effect. Edward cruelly required the head of this rash speaker. It is astonishing that, in the face of all these facts, the character of Edward I. has met with such high admiration. After Edward had left Scotland, Robert Bruce re-appeared there ; and, gathering his friends, defeated one English general at Loudon Hill, and three days after overcame another. But his two brothers, being taken prisoners and conveyed to Carlisle, were executed, and their heads affixed to the gates. Bruce is said to have exclaimed, in the midst of his distresses, " Unless the ancient liberty of Scotland had excited me, I would not have endured such sufferings for

the empire of the world!" Edward came in a horse-litter as far as Carlisle, and then offered it in the cathedral, thinking he had recovered his strength for riding; but though he again mounted his horse, the effort produced a relapse, and having reached Burgh on the Sands, he died as he came in sight of the land of mountains, which he had determined to enslave (July 6, 1307). His death was not known in London till eighteen days after, so difficult was communication in those days. In his dying hours, Edward made his son promise to send his heart to the Holy Land, and to carry his bones at the head of the army into Scotland, that he might be a terror even after his death; he was, however, carried to Westminster and interred with great pomp. Ambitious as Edward was, he cared not for the externals of royalty; he never wore his crown after the day of his coronation, and went about in the dress of a common person. Being once asked, why he did not wear richer apparel? he answered, that it was absurd to suppose he could be more estimable in fine than in simple clothing. Edward was temperate in his habits, but the immense expenses incurred in his wars led him to resort to many arbitrary methods of raising money, and the clergy, in an especial manner, felt the burden of taxation: an additional tax upon wool, the chief article of English export, much increased the king's resources. Edward paid the annual tribute to Rome, which John had commenced, but the firm and temperate manner in which he resisted papal encroachments prepared the nation for its final escape.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Times of Edward I.*

## FRANCE UNDER PHILIP THE HARDY AND PHILIP THE FAIR.

RETREAT OF THE LAST CRUSADE. — MELANCHOLY JOURNEY OF PHILIP III. FROM TUNIS TO PARIS. — HIS CHARACTER AS A GOOD KING. — FAMILY TROUBLES AND DEATH. — EVIL DISPOSITIONS OF PHILIP THE FAIR. — HIS TREATMENT OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS. — THE FLEMISH WAR. — HISTORY OF BONIFACE VIII. — HIS QUARREL WITH THE KING OF FRANCE. — HIS FAMOUS BULLS. — PHILIP PLANS THE DETHRONEMENT OF THE POPE. — ATTEMPT TO SEIZE HIS PERSON. — HIS WRETCHED DEATH. — BENEDICT XI. — CLEMENT V. — HIS CORONATION AT LYONS. — PHILIP AND THE POPE PLAN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS. — THEIR HORRIBLE TREATMENT. — PHILIP'S UNPOPULARITY. — HIS UNHAPPY FAMILY. — HIS DEATH. — RELIGIOUS MYSTERIES REPRESENTED IN FRANCE.

LOUIS IX. had scarcely breathed his last, when his brother, the King of Sicily, landed on the coast of Africa, and on approaching the camp, was astonished by the mournful silence that prevailed. He immediately took the command of the army, and at the end of three months compelled the King of Tunis to sign a treaty, whereby he agreed to pay all the expenses of the war, to permit an exchange of prisoners, to allow religious toleration to the Christians in his dominions, and to pay a large annual tribute. A truce of ten years was then concluded, and the crusaders prepared to return home.

The eldest son of St. Louis, Philip III., was acknowledged king at his decease, and is known by the surname of Hardy, either because he survived the plague so fatal to his father and others, or because in his childhood he was wont to ridicule the fear of the Saracens expressed by his mother and her ladies. Never did a king take a more melancholy journey to the throne than Philip. Scarcely recovered from his illness, he embarked for Sicily with the remains of

his father and brother: on the voyage to Sicily, six or seven thousand persons perished by shipwreck, and whilst he tarried in Sicily, his wife, Isabella of Arragon, was killed by a fall from her horse; and Theobald, king of Navarre, who had married his sister, with his uncle Alphonso, the count of Poitou, sunk under the effects of the plague. Thus Philip returned to Paris with five coffins, containing the remains of his nearest relations. A custom often observed when persons died in a foreign land was to separate the flesh from the bones; and in this case the flesh of King Louis was buried in an abbey near Palermo, and his bones were interred by his son with great pomp in the Abbey of St. Denis, the day after his arrival (May 22, 1271).

Philip III. was five and twenty at the time of his coronation: he is reckoned by the French as one of their very few good kings. The directions which Louis left to his son breathed the principles by which he had been himself guided—the fear of God and the love of his people; and though details of the state of France at this period are almost entirely wanting, we are informed that Philip had a good reputation for justice and liberality. One of his laws is still on record, and it would be a happy thing if either in France or in England it had been carried out. It was, that advocates should swear only to maintain *just* causes, to do this with truth and fidelity, but to abandon their case as soon as they found deceit or wickedness.

Through the death of Theobald, Navarre and Champagne were eventually added to the French crown, and by the death of Alphonso, Poitou and Auvergne: these acquisitions made the king very powerful in the South of France. In the spring of 1274, he waited on Pope Gregory X., who was holding a general council at Lyons, and at his demand resigned to him the province called Venaissin, a part of the earldom of Toulouse, which Count Raymond had been called upon to forfeit to the see of Rome as the price of his absolution. Philip only reserved to himself the half of Avignon, but this was afterwards given up by his son to the King of Sicily. In 1274, Philip took as his second wife, Maria, daughter of the Duke of Brabant; and Prince Louis, the eldest son of his first wife, dying two years after, an accusation of having poisoned her stepson was brought against the queen. The author of it was Pierre-

de la Brosse, a designing and ambitious person, who, from the station of king's barber, had risen to that of great chamberlain. He was Philip's chief favourite whilst a widower, and in jealous hate he tried to ruin the princess who had displaced him in the king's affections. Maria was much distressed at the charge, and her brother, by a champion, challenged the accuser to single combat: the king, however, was satisfied by consulting a nun of great repute, who asserted that the queen was not guilty. De la Brosse, in the end, met with the same punishment as the envious Haman, for proving himself a traitor to the king's interests in the Spanish war, he was hung on a high gibbet at Paris. In 1285, Philip III. died at Perpignan, on his return from an unsuccessful war with the King of Arragon, undertaken in behalf of his uncle, the King of Sicily; the particulars belong to our history of Spain. By his first wife, Philip had three sons, two of whom survived him: Philip, his successor, surnamed the Fair, because of the beauty of his person; and Charles, count of Valois, the ancestor of a long line of French kings. By his second wife he had one son, Louis, count of Evreux; and two daughters; Blanche, who became the wife of the Duke of Austria, and Margaret, already named as the second wife of Edward I. of England: she survived her husband. Philip's second wife was a great patroness of poets, and the poetry of this period was more likely to improve the mind than the light songs of the Troubadours. The style was that of Allegory, and the popular poem of the age was called the "Romance of the Rose:" it contained a description and personification of every virtue and vice, and consisted of 20,000 verses; it was the joint work of two poets, who lived thirty years apart. Chaucer, the father of English poetry, translated, or rather imitated, the Romance of the Rose nearly a hundred years after.

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(A. D. 1285.) PHILIP IV., if judged of by anything but his personal appearance, would have deserved a surname the very opposite of Fair. He was proud, irritable, cruel, and unforgiving; and though his political craft has been laid to the charge of the lawyers whom he made his chief counsellors, it was his own subtlety that gave point to

their contrivances. Like Edward I., he was amiable in his domestic relationships; like him, he was always seeking to extend his power; like him, too, he was economical in his own expenses, that he might apply all his resources to the gratification of his ambition.

The circumstances of the quarrel between the Kings of England and France have been already related. Philip strengthened himself by an alliance with the Kings of Castile and Arragon; and as he had married Jane, queen of Navarre, the powers of that kingdom were at his command. Edward engaged the Emperor Albert, the Earl of Flanders, and many of the German princes, to defy the King of France; but the former failed in his petty hostilities, Flanders was divided on the subject of the war, and the other powers, who had received bribes from the King of England, afforded him no help in the contest. Whilst Edward was in Flanders, he narrowly escaped being killed by the party opposed to the war.

Guy, earl of Flanders, had returned home in safety from Tunis, whither he had accompanied Louis IX., his feudal lord, and he hoped to enjoy a quiet old age in his own country; but the Flemings, then the richest people of Europe, had grown independent in growing wealthy; and Guy, seeing their discontents were fostered by the King of France, gladly accepted the alliance of England, and the proposal of a marriage between his daughter Philippa and the Prince of Wales. Philip happened to be the godfather of the lady, and as he made no objection to her marriage, Guy allowed his daughter to accept the king's invitation to visit Paris ere she embarked for England. In this manner Philippa was thrown into the power of Philip, and he put her into close confinement, from which she never escaped, notwithstanding the efforts of her father and of the King of England, and the interference of the Pope. When, at last, Edward concluded his treaty with Philip, he forgot the interests of his ally, and Flanders was left as a tempting prey before the King of France. In June 1300, Guy was driven to such distress that, by the advice of the Count of Valois, he and his two sons surrendered themselves to the king. Philip ungenerously threw them into prison; and his brother, who had en-

couraged a hope in his mercy, was so offended by the act, that he forsook the king's service for that of the Pope.

The Flemings, irritated by the tyranny of the officers set over them by Philip, revolted in 1302; and an army of 50,000 men, under the command of Robert, count of Artois, the first general of France, was sent to subdue them. But the battle is not always to the strong; and this commander, who had spoken contemptuously of the Flemings as a nation of merchants and weavers, had to prove that they were good warriors as well as traders.

The two armies came in sight at Courtray, and the Flemings posted themselves behind a canal, which the French, in their impetuosity, did not perceive: they were entirely defeated, and Robert of Artois, with many of the highest nobles of France, fell amidst a dreadful slaughter. On the field of blood, 4000 pairs of gilt spurs were collected by the victors; and these, with other trophies, were hung up in a neighbouring church.

Determined on revenge, Philip led an army into Flanders in person; but it was only in the second campaign that he met with success. After displaying the most extraordinary personal courage, he gained a great battle at Mons-en-Puelle, and dictated his own terms of peace. Elated with this victory, at his return to Paris, he rode up to the altar of the cathedral church (Notre Dame) equipped exactly as in the battle-field, and offered his arms to the Virgin, to whom the building was consecrated. An equestrian statue, representing the king on horseback, was afterwards placed on the same spot. During the Flemish war, a violent quarrel had arisen between Philip and Pope Boniface VIII. The history of this pontiff is so closely connected with that of France, that it seems necessary to introduce it at this point.

Benedict Cajetan was born at Anagni, but he was made a canon of the Church at Paris, and, as cardinal legate, was employed in various negotiations with several of the princes of Europe. He was elected pope, and took the name of Boniface VIII., in December 1294; and like Innocent III., at the commencement of the century, he, at the close of it, tried to have a hand in everything. He had the highest ideas of the papal dignity, and surmounted

the tiara with its first crown. His predecessor, Celestine V., having abdicated in part through his contrivance, was kept by him in a castle closely guarded during the ten months that he survived; and, after joyfully celebrating his pompous funeral, Boniface ordered the day of his death to be observed as a church festival. Some of his other acts were, the laying of an interdict upon Denmark, the excommunication of the Colonna family, who had protested against his election, and the stirring up of a revolt against the Emperor Albert. We have here, however, to mention the commotions which he excited in France. In 1295, he commanded Philip to make peace with his royal neighbour of England, under pain of excommunication. Philip replied that it was the office of a pope to exhort, and not to command, and that he would suffer no dictator in his affairs. In 1296, receiving complaints from the French clergy, as to the taxes levied upon them by the royal officers, Boniface sent forth a famous bull, forbidding ecclesiastics to pay any tax to princes, without the permission of the Romish see. This excited such troubles that the following year he was obliged to publish an explanatory bull, modifying the foregoing. In 1301, Philip having caused a French bishop to be imprisoned, because of his insulting conduct as papal legate, Boniface complained by a private letter, and the same day issued a bull beginning, "Hear, O children" (*Ausculta Fili*). In this, he applied to himself the language addressed to Jeremiah (chap. i. 10); and on the plea that God had set him over kings and kingdoms, he thus addressed the King of France: — "Do not then persuade yourself that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the hierarchy; he who thinks so is a madman, and he who obstinately maintains it is an infidel, separated from the flock of the Good Shepherd."

In April, 1302, Philip assembled the nobles and prelates at Paris, and with them summoned the representatives of the third estate (*tiers état*), the burgesses of France. On this account it was called a convocation of the States General. It was the first that had been held under the third race of French kings. Terror of the Pope, and the want of money, which was chiefly in the hands of the rich citizens, compelled Philip to open to his people

this prospect of liberty; but it was closed as soon as the necessity was past.

In the presence of this large and powerful assembly the bull *Ausculata Fili* was read, and the king had the satisfaction of obtaining a strong protest against it; even the clergy, after some hesitation, asserted the independence of the crown. The nobles wrote to the cardinals a strong letter, which contains the following language:—“We say, with extreme grief, that such excesses have never yet come into any one’s thoughts, and that *they could only be expected from the times of Antichrist*. Although the Pope says that he acts by your counsel, we cannot think that you will consent to such novelties,” &c.

The letter addressed by the prelates to the Pope says, that they supplicated him, with eyes full of tears, to preserve the ancient union between Church and State, and to secure their safety by revoking the mandate whereby he had called them to Rome on this affair, as the king and the barons would not suffer it. Philip caused the obnoxious bull to be publicly burned at Paris. In the October of the same year, Boniface held a council at Rome, threatened the king with excommunication, and descended to personal abuse. From this council, a bull called *Unam Sanctam*, because of its opening words, is supposed to have emanated. This bull was subsequently explained as not intended to make the French the subjects of the Romish see, except in a spiritual sense; but there can be no doubt that Boniface wished it to be taken in its broadest meaning; and we are informed it was at this time absurdly argued at Rome, that the “two swords” possessed by the Apostles signified the spiritual and temporal swords that were to be held by their successors at Rome. One quotation from this famous bull is sufficient to stamp its character in the eyes of any true Christian:—“As there is but one body of the Church and Christendom, so there is but one head, viz. *Christ’s Vicar*; and it is essential to the *salvation of every human being* to be subject to the Pope.”

In an assembly held at the Louvre, in March 1303, the king and some few nobles and prelates being present, William of Nogaret, a bold knight, and a favourite among the royal counsellors, accused the Pope of the most enor-

mous crimes, and begged Philip to convene a general council in order to condemn him, and place another in his stead. In another assembly, held in the king's apartments the following June, the articles were drawn up by several ecclesiastics, and they included the charges of heresy, sorcery, simony, immorality, and even atheism. During the following three months, all France resounded with complaints against the Pope, and every order of the State vowed fidelity to the king. The king received 700 appeals from different parties, including the chapters of cathedrals, the University of Paris, the abbots and monks, and even the Begging Orders throughout the kingdom.

Hearing that so strong a force was arrayed against him, Boniface laid an interdict upon France, excommunicated the king, and actually offered to crown Albert, whom he had long treated as a rebel. But the overbearing temper of Boniface had rendered him so unpopular at Rome, that he was obliged to flee to his native place, Anagni. On account of his persecutions, the Colonna family had been compelled to hide themselves in foreign countries, and Sciarra Colonna, one of the noblest of these, joined in all the machinations of the court of France.

Wound up to the highest pitch of fury, Boniface composed a last bull, in which he declared that, as the Vicar of Christ, it was his office to rule kings with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel; and he therefore absolved Philip's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and forbade any one to serve or obey him, under pain of being anathematised. But the evening before he intended to publish this bull, Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, with 300 armed horsemen, arrived at Anagni, being commissioned by the King of France to carry the Pope to Lyons, to attend a general council to be held there. The inhabitants of Anagni allowed them access to Boniface's retreat, the cardinals who attended him fled, and the Pope exclaimed, on seeing his enemies, "I have been betrayed like Christ, but I am determined to die as a pope." He then coolly put on his pontifical robes and ornaments, including his crowned tiara, took the keys and the cross in his hand — the emblems of his pretended powers — and seated himself in his chair of state. Colonna, incensed at the pontiff's pride, struck

him on the face with his iron gauntlet, and would have killed him on the spot had not Nogaret interfered. The cries of Boniface attracted some of his fellow-townsmen; and seeing his person covered with blood, they repented that they had given him up to his enemies, and determined to rescue him. The French waited to seize the immense treasures accumulated by the Pope, and, at the end of three days, he was taken out of their hands by force, and conducted towards Rome, where he purposed to assemble a council and take revenge on his enemies. But on the way, the violence of his feelings threw him into a fever, and he died raving mad, having, it is said, actually gnawed off his own fingers. Thus the chronicles of the times say, "he entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog." It was Boniface who placed Louis IX. among the saints of the Romish calendar; he did so in the earlier part of his reign, when he little expected such resistance to his will from that monarch's grandson.

Benedict XI., originally a shepherd's son, and the ninth general of the Order of Preaching Friars, was removed from the bishopric of Ostia to the papal chair in October 1303, and died, it is supposed of poison, eight months after. He was a mild and peaceable man, and occupied himself chiefly in reversing all the acts of Boniface against the King of France, although that king, in sending messengers to congratulate him on his elevation, had not stooped to ask any favour. The division of the cardinals into two parties, the friends of Boniface and of Philip, prevented the election of another Pope for eleven months; but the King of France, by his address, procured the elevation of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, who took the name of Clement V. This pontiff, by birth a Gascon, and consequently an English subject, showed through his whole course the strongest partiality for France, and was greatly influenced by the king. His consecration and coronation took place at Lyons, in November 1305, and was followed by a frightful accident. As the procession left the church, Philip did the Pope the honour of leading his horse a little way, and then resigned his post to the Duke of Bretagne. Just after, as they were passing under an old wall, on which numbers of spectators were standing, the wall gave way, and the duke, with many others,

was crushed to death. The Pope's tiara was knocked off by a heavy stone, and deprived of its finest diamond—a gem of immense value; but the wearer received no injury, though the shock threw him to the ground. The king and his brother Charles of Valois, who followed on horseback, were but slightly hurt. To this solemn occasion we may well apply the language of the Lord, “Those eighteen, upon whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all that dwell in Jerusalem? I tell you nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.” The life of Philip was spared in a remarkable manner; but he seemed only to live to fill up the measure of his iniquities. A few days after the melancholy event that threw a gloom over the festivities of the Pope's coronation, Clement being at a grand dinner in the archbishop's palace, some of his servants quarrelled with those who attended the cardinals, and the Pope's brother, in trying to appease the tumult, was killed. These were considered sad omens of evil for the papacy of Clement, and the prejudice of the Italians was increased when he announced it to be his intention to reside in France. After doing all that the king required, except in condemning the deceased Boniface, Clement went from Bourdeaux to Poitiers, at the request of Philip, and being detained by illness, staid there a year. One chief subject of the frequent conferences between the Pope and the king was the destruction of the Knights Templars, against whom Philip was enraged, because some of the order had taken part against him: their great riches, too, were the object of his desire. At the end of the Crusades, these knights, who possessed lands in several countries of Europe, besides the riches accumulated in the East, went to settle on their own estates, but they continued in obedience to the grandmaster of the order, and were always ready to obey his call. It is probable these wealthy knights were much given to luxury and vicious pleasures, and “to drink like a Templar,” was a common proverb for drinking to excess. The crafty Philip and his lawyers determined to make out a case against them; the Pope favoured the scheme; and a Jacobin inquisitor was provided to search into the crimes laid to their charge. The accusations were so enormous as to exceed the belief

of any unprejudiced mind, and they even contradicted each other: according to the witness of their enemies, the whole body had violated every law of God and man, and had a special hatred to Christianity.

About three months after the death of Edward I. (October 1307), Philip the Fair treacherously invited the Templars to meet at Paris, to deliberate on a new crusade; and, without suspicion, James de Molay, the grandmaster, went thither from Cyprus, attended by sixty knights of the order. They were all immediately cast into prison, and the Templars dispersed throughout France were seized on the same day. Clement for a time drew back, but he afterwards issued a bull for the abolition of the order, and delivered over all its members to the secular power. The horrors that followed are frightful to relate. Exposed to torture, and promised pardon if they confessed the crimes of which they were accused, the confessions thus extorted were used for their common ruin. Fifty-five were burned alive at Paris, and a proportionate number in the provinces; the grandmaster, with three others, was left to languish in prison. Seven years having elapsed, at their earnest demand for justice, they were brought forth and subjected to a kind of mock-trial, and Molay, who could not read, was made to affix his seal to a confession of the blackest crimes. But when he and his companions were placed on a scaffold erected before Notre Dame, and the confession was read aloud as the ground of their being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all asserted their innocence. The cruel Philip, incensed at their boldness, ordered them to be conducted thence to be roasted alive before a slow fire, which he caused to be kindled at the back of his own garden-wall. To the last, the unhappy victims of his rage and avarice insisted on their being guiltless of the crimes with which they were charged, and Molay is said to have summoned the Pope in forty days, and the king in four months, to answer before God for their murder. The fact that both died so shortly after this dreadful deed may have caused these words to be attributed to the grandmaster. The possessions of the Templars were nominally adjudged to the Hospitallers, but it is supposed that the King of France and the Pope divided the ill-gotten spoil.

In carrying the history of the wretched Templars to a close, we have passed over other events in the reign of Philip III. In 1312, the war in Flanders was renewed, as the king was dissatisfied with Robert, son of Guy, whom he had placed in the earldom, because he did not destroy the strong places throughout the country. Weary of the yoke imposed upon it, the populous province poured forth its soldiers to the astonishment of Philip: he one day exclaimed, "Shall we never come to the end? It seems to rain Flemings." One way in which Philip's officers raised money for a new war was by debasing the coin of the realm. Early in his reign, Philip had taken out of the hands of his great vassals the privilege of coining, hitherto as much theirs as the king's, and on the coin which he issued for the use of the whole kingdom he placed in Latin the inscription, "Blessed be the name of the Lord." It was, then, a shocking abuse of his royal prerogative when he obliged his subjects to bring all their good coin and plate to his mint, and paid for it in coin so much debased as to be only one fourth of its value; when his purpose was answered, he decried his own bad coin. The mob attacked the palace, upbraiding the king as a *false coiner*; but he was saved by his guards, and the ring-leaders of the tumult were hung on the trees in and around the capital. Finding it impossible to subdue the Flemings, Philip restored their aged count, contented himself with the homage of his eldest son, and declared the river Lys the common boundary of France and Flanders. Troubles in his own family, as well as around him, embittered the days of the unhappy Philip. He had three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, who all in their turn became kings; they married young, and were miserable in their wives. The wife of Louis was imprisoned, and, some suppose, privately destroyed for the crime of adultery. The wife of Charles, on account of her misconduct, was doomed to the perpetual confinement of a convent; and Jane, the wife of young Philip, underwent a year's imprisonment.

As the king was hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau, his horse was overturned by a wild boar that ran between its legs, and the injury which he sustained, in falling under it, occasioned his death (Nov. 4, 1314). On his death-

bed Philip showed some signs of regret for his conduct towards his people, for he besought his son to moderate the taxes, to coin no base money, and to maintain justice and good order.

The religious condition of the French, during this period, may be estimated by their taste for the entertainments called *Mysteries*, which had become more popular than games and tournaments, and were acted both in churches and theatres. One of these, which distinguished a feast given by Philip the Fair when his sons received knighthood, was performed before the court. The happy were represented singing in paradise, surrounded by ninety angels; the lost were exhibited as weeping in the blackness of hell, with more than a hundred devils around them laughing at their miseries. This play, though probably intended to instruct, seems to us a painful trifling with the most solemn truths; but we must denounce these so-called mysteries as blasphemously irreverent, when we find that they attempted to represent, Christ raising and judging the dead, in one scene; and, in others, his saying Paternosters with Mary and the Apostles, or engaging in the common acts of life, and laughing with his disciples. A comparatively harmless representation, invented probably in ridicule of Boniface VIII., and the rapacious priests, was the exhibition of a fox clothed in every ecclesiastical dress, from the lowest up to that of the pontiff, at every stage devouring fowls and chickens. Theatrical mysteries, we shall hereafter notice, were not confined to France. In the dioceses of Beauvais and Autun, perhaps elsewhere, a foolish ceremony took place in the churches, on the 14th of January, in commemoration of the flight into Egypt. A young girl richly attired, seated on an ass, was led to the altar, and a particular service was prepared for the occasion.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

## SPAIN.

ALPHONSO X., KING OF CASTILE. — HIS TITLE TO THE SURNAME OF LEARNED. — HIS WANT OF SELF-CONTROUL, AND CONSEQUENT TROUBLES. — THE RESPECT SHOWN TO ALPHONSO BY FOREIGN POWERS. — WAR BETWEEN CASTILE AND GRANADA. — DEATH OF ALAHMAR UNDER THE EXCITEMENT OF PASSION. — MOHAMMED II. SUCCEEDS HIM AS KING OF GRANADA. — HIS TREATY WITH CASTILE. — HIS SUBSEQUENT WAR WITH THE CHRISTIANS AFTER HAVING CALLED IN THE AID OF THE AFRICANS. — ALPHONSO'S FAMILY TROUBLES. — HIS SON SANCHO MADE KING IN HIS STEAD. — DEATH OF ALPHONSO. — REIGN OF SANCHO IV. AND OF FERDINAND IV. — CIRCUMSTANCES PRECEDING THE DEATH OF FERDINAND. — PETER III., KING OF ARRAGON. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF NAVARRE. — MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN WITH PHILIP THE FAIR. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF SICILY UNDER CHARLES OF ANJOU. — THE SICILIAN VESPERS. — PETER III. CROWNED KING OF SICILY. — HIS CONTEMPT OF THE POPE'S EXCOMMUNICATION AND OF THE CHALLENGE OF CHARLES OF ANJOU. — DEFEAT OF PHILIP THE HARDY IN HIS INVASION OF SPAIN. — EDWARD I., AS ARBITER, CONCLUDES PEACE BETWEEN ARRAGON, FRANCE, AND SICILY. — THE DOMINICAN INQUISITORS ARE PUT DOWN IN ARRAGON. — STATE OF GRANADA.

WE have now to resume the history of Spain in the reign of Alphonso X., king of Castile, whose sister was the first wife of Edward I.

Alphonso X. was justly surnamed the Learned (*El Sabio*). To mention, first, the best of all his learning, by which, alas! he profited little, he read the Bible fourteen times through, with commentaries, and translated it into his native tongue, which he took the greatest pains to improve. He completed, also, the body of laws begun by Ferdinand his father, and their seven divisions, distinguished by the seven different letters of his name, gave

them the title of the laws *de las siete partidas*; i. e. of the seven parts. This learned monarch caused all the public acts and registers to be written in Castilian Spanish, instead of, as formerly, in Arabic or Latin; and he composed, in this beautiful tongue, both in prose and poetry: in the former, his Chronicles of Spain are considered the most valuable. A richly decorated manuscript is still preserved in the library of the Escorial, containing Canticles in Portuguese, said to be written by Alphonso's own hand for the church of Compostella: their subject is the miracles of Christ, and those attributed to the Virgin Mary. But Alphonso's most celebrated work was a set of Astronomical Tables, calculated by himself, and drawn at great expense by the learned Jews of Toledo. In the palace of Segovia, the room is still shown where the king took his celestial observations, and the cabinet where he put them in order. Paper, which had long been known among the Arabs as a substitute for parchment, was first introduced among the Spanish Christians in this reign, and several tracts written by Alphonso on this new material are still preserved in the cathedral of Toledo. To the cathedral of Seville, he gave a Bible tastefully painted and illuminated after the fashion of the Moorish manuscripts, the frontispiece being decorated with a representation of the architecture of the conquered people. Twelve years before his death, Alphonso wrote a book called the Treasure, in cipher and magical characters: it was a treatise concerning alchemy, in which he professed that a famous chemist from Alexandria had taught him the art of making gold. Probably he was himself deceived by some of the transmutations in the appearance of metals, which might have taken place during their chemical experiments: it is certain that had Alphonso been as expert an alchemist as he pretended to be, he might have saved his reputation as a coiner of *black money*; for he was at one time as unpopular as Philip the Fair, because of his debasing the coin to meet his necessities.

Having spoken of the learning of Alphonso X., we have nothing more to say in his praise. As we pass through his reign we wonder that his political troubles, and his activity in war, left him so much leisure for study and writing; and we wonder still more that a man whose

mind was often bent upon the Holy Scriptures, and often contemplated God's glorious handiwork in the firmament, could have been so earnest about the fleeting honours of this lower world.

It has been said of Alphonso, "he wanted nothing but self-controul to make him a perfect prince." Wanting this, however, he wanted what was necessary for the prosperity of his people, and for his own peace: he broke his own wise laws, he became the terror of his family, and brought ruin on himself. Having "no rule over his own spirit," he became "like a city broken down and without walls; *i. e.* deprived of all strength and means of defence.

One of Alphonso's first acts, on coming to the throne, was to seek another wife, intending to divorce his own consort, Violante, because she had brought him no children. He, therefore, sent ambassadors to the King of Denmark, asking one of his daughters in marriage, without notifying that he was already married. In prospect of an honourable alliance, the Princess Christina accompanied the Spanish ambassador to Castile, but at the end of her fatiguing journey she experienced an unexpected disappointment. The Queen Violante had given birth to her first son, Ferdinand, and Alphonso was quite satisfied to retain her as his wife. The unhappy Christina died a few months after. Violante afterwards became the mother of a large family. She was the daughter of James the Conqueror, king of Arragon, and it was much for Alphonso's interest to preserve the friendship of so powerful a monarch. When Rodrigo of Toledo died, Sancho, the son of James, was raised to that archbishopric in his stead, and the aged king coming from Saragossa on purpose to hear his son sing mass for the first time, Alphonso and his wife met them in the cathedral of Toledo. Some time after, James visited his royal daughter and her husband at Burgos, in order to be present at the nuptials of Ferdinand, their eldest son, with Blanche, the daughter of Louis IX. The rising importance of Castile is manifest in the honour paid on this occasion to the presumptive heir of the monarchy. At Ferdinand's marriage feast, besides the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and the brothers and uncles of Alphonso, there were present Edward I. of England, Philip the Hardy of France, the Marquis of Montferrat, many Italian

and French barons, and the Moorish king of Granada. It was the dread of civil war, through his unpopularity at home, that induced Alphonso to seek increase of strength through the marriage of his son with the princess of France: the connection, however, brought trouble subsequently on the kingdom. Alphonso was one of those characters, which, like some faces, appear best at a distance. He was respected by foreigners rather than by his own subjects. His attractive accomplishments induced Edward I. when a prince to be a frequent visitor at his court; his liberality and reputation led to his election as emperor; his military fame and learning brought him a grand embassy from the Sultan of Egypt; his character as a legislator caused him to be chosen umpire in the disputes of foreign princes; and when waited upon by the wife of Baldwin, the exiled emperor of Constantinople, he sustained his fame as a knight, by granting the distressed lady three times as much as she asked, though his grandees resented his liberality as inconsistent with the state of his own finances.

Alahmar, king of Granada, testified his respect for his deceased friend King Ferdinand, by sending an embassy to Alphonso to condole with him after his father's death, and year by year he deputed certain Moorish knights to bear waxen tapers to the monarch's tomb, to be burned on the anniversary of his death. By the help of Alahmar, Alphonso added to his dominions the rich and populous province of Algarve, but after this, we are told that the King of Granada paused to think. "He reflected that it would be difficult much longer to persevere in his friendship with the Christians, his natural enemies, who would seek but slight occasions to attack him; for neither do wormwood nor colocynth lose their bitterness, nor can grapes be gathered from thorns." Such thoughts as these made Alahmar prepare for the possibility of the Christian arms being turned against him, and it was not long before some occasion of quarrel arose. Prince Henry, Alphonso's brother, had assisted him to reduce some important towns in the south of Spain—Sidonia, Arcos, Lebrija, Niebla, &c.; but having taken some offence he revolted. Being defeated by the general sent to take him, he escaped to Tunis with a recommendation from the King of Granada, and remained

many years at the Moorish court. At his departure, he left the Mahometans of the district in revolt, and especially the governor of Niebla. That town was defended, it appears, by the use of artillery, gunpowder being known to the Moors before it was introduced among Christians. The King of Granada remained apparently neuter during the insurrection of his countrymen on each side, for, on the same day and hour, the flames of rebellion burst forth in both the conquered provinces, Murcia and Seville. Alphonso required the Moorish king, as usual, to come to his assistance, but he declared that his people would scarcely permit him to remain neuter. The King of Castile then desired his generals to treat the Moslems of Granada as enemies, and Alahmar, in return, made an irruption into the Castilian territory. A battle between the two kings was fought near Alcala; and Alahmar, being signally defeated, was obliged to sue for peace. At the same time Murcia having been subdued by the King of Arragon, Alphonso proposed that his brother Manuel should marry the sister of his queen Violante, and that they should jointly reign over that province. But the jealousy of Violante overturned this natural and political arrangement; her younger sister happened to be handsomer than herself, and if raised to the rank of queen, might outshine her: for this reason she made private proposals to the King of Granada, for whom she had formed a friendship during his visits to the Castilian court. He insisted at the treaty of Alcala that a Mahometan prince should be appointed over Murcia by the King of Castile, and on his part engaged that the Murcians should be submissive subjects. Alphonso was ready to make easy terms with Alahmar, because he feared the introduction of African troops into Spain, and the vassal-king chosen for Murcia was the brother of Aben Hud, a man esteemed both by Christians and Moors for his moderation and prudence. Other occasions of quarrel soon arose between the rival Kings of Granada and Castile. Alphonso favoured the Moorish chiefs who aimed at independence, especially three brothers, called the Ascaliolas, who held Malaga, Cadiz, and another important city in Alahmar's kingdom: the King of Granada on his part protected Don Philip, the brother of Alphonso, with Nunio de Lara, and other nobles, who had been unsuccessful in rebellion against him. They had re-

volted during the king's absence in France, in 1275, where he went to hold a conference with Pope Gregory about his title to the empire : on that occasion, though Gregory would not recognise that claim, he granted him a third of all the tithes gathered in Spain, to assist him in the Moorish wars. Alphonso still fed on the vain hope of being emperor, and retained the title till the censures pronounced against him, at the Pope's command, by the Archbishop of Seville, compelled him to renounce his pretensions.

Alahmar, like Alphonso, though a great king, had no rule over his own spirit, and it appears that he died from the effects of passion. The rebel Ascaliolas, who had been received into the Castilian territories in spite of previous treaties, again made irruptions into Granada; and the king calling for his horse, rode furiously toward the frontier, leaving his knights to follow. In consequence of his violent emotions he was seized with illness the same evening, and a litter was prepared to carry him home; but he grew worse so rapidly, that it was necessary to erect a pavilion for him on the plain, and before night he died in the arms of Prince Philip of Castile, who had long been at his court. Every one in Granada wept as for the loss of a father, and Alahmar's body, being embalmed, was placed in a coffin of silver enclosed in marble, on which was inscribed a long epitaph in his praise. His son and successor, Mohammed II., sought the prosperity of Granada by carrying out his father's plans: he is described as a very handsome person, an expert horseman, brave, prudent, and magnificent. With the help of the Christian knights, he gained a complete victory over the rebels; and on his return to the capital rewarded his allies with fine horses richly accoutred, and splendid armour. At this moment, Don Henry, Alphonso's second brother, arrived in Granada from Tunis. The reason of his escaping thence was his belief that the King of Tunis meant to destroy him. Having been invited to a royal hunting party, he was waiting in the court of the palace when two large lions were let in, as if by accident: these animals were often kept for show in Moorish palaces. Facing the lions with his drawn sword, the prince contrived to depart in safety, and fearful of expressing his suspicions, he only observed to the keeper, that he ought to keep the cages better closed. Henry's experience at Tunis gave

him kinder feelings towards his brother, the King of Castile; and he hastened on to tell him that a powerful army of Africans was about to pass into Granada, and that it would be wise in him to prevent their landing, by forming an alliance with Mohammed. The king, by large promises, persuaded his brother Philip, and the other refugees, to bring their friend Mohammed to meet him at Seville; and to that city they accordingly came. Alphonso lodged the King of Granada in his own palace, and knighted him after the Christian manner, in token of friendship: Mohammed, on his part, procured forgiveness for the noble Castilians who had been protected by his father and himself. Great rejoicings and many feasts followed the treaty of peace between the two kings; and Mohammed was much admired for his elegant manners, and the grace with which he spoke Castilian. Queen Violante called him *her* knight, and as such, having one day asked him to grant her a certain boon, she demanded a year's truce for the Ascaliolas. It was the policy of the Castilian court always to favour these chiefs, because they wished to keep Granada in weakness. But the foolish interference of the queen only hastened the evil she wished to prevent, for the year being expired, Mohammed seeing that he should have no peace because the Castilians still protected these obstinate rebels, allowed Abu Jusef, an African chief, to come to his help with 30,000 men. The Ascaliolas, having submitted, were graciously received by their king, and he, with his allies, determined to chastise the Castilians. The whole Christian population of Spain, capable of bearing arms, were summoned to arm against the Moslems; but Nunio de Lara, who led out the first army, was slain in battle, with 8000 of his followers. His head was cut off by the African prince, and sent to Mohammed as an acceptable present; but he, with more feeling than the nominally Christian king, Edward I., turned away his face from the shocking gift, and, remembering that they had once been intimate, exclaimed:—"Alas, my friend, thou didst not deserve this from me!" He then caused the head to be embalmed, and sent it to Cordova in a costly silver urn, to receive Christian burial with the body. In the next battle gained by Abu Jusef, Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, who inherited the warlike spirit of his father, and who had hastily gathered some

troops, was taken prisoner. The warriors of Granada and Africa contended so hotly for the possession of the captive, that one of Mohammed's family, fearful of a combat between them, rode up and thrust his lance into the heart of the prince-prelate, crying out:—"Allah, forbid that so many brave men should cut each other's throats for the sake of a dog." One party then cut off the head, the other the right hand, of the murdered Sancho, and parted apparently satisfied.

At a period so critical to the Christians of Spain, Alphonso was engrossed in his pursuit of the imperial crown; and his eldest son, the infante Ferdinand, who had been appointed regent in his absence, died of fever. But Don Sancho, Alphonso's second son, more than supplied the place of his father and brother, and compelled Abu Jusef to sign a treaty of peace, one article of which was that the Ascaliolas should be considered vassals of Castile, and not of Granada. Thus Mohammed gained nothing by breaking the peace: fidelity would have been his best policy.

The successes of Sancho in the Moorish war helped on his design to secure the succession to his father's throne, in the room of the infant sons left by his brother Ferdinand. The Queen Violante, jealous for the heirs of her eldest son, took them and their mother, Blanche, to the court of her brother Peter, then on the throne of Arragon; and in spite of Alphonso's demands, Peter detained the widowed princess and her children in honourable confinement. The most dreadful family discord followed. In the absence of Violante, the rash Alphonso caused his brother Fadrique and another grandee to be beheaded, for taking the queen's part; but, at her return, he capriciously turned against his son Sancho. An interval of peace was allowed to the King of Granada, because Sancho, whilst engaged in securing the throne of Castile, wished to have no foreign enemies; it was used by Mohammed in embellishing the capital, and in encouraging literature and the arts; and his exertions, with those of other princes, made Granada the wonder of Spain, and the most cultivated city of Europe. Induced by Pope Nicholas, Alphonso made a fresh attack upon the Moslems by laying siege to Algiers; but a complaint in his eyes arrested his course, and

Sancho again took up the war. At the head of 50,000 men he forced back Mohammed, and encamped within sight of Granada; but he hastily concluded a peace with the Moorish king that he might ascend the throne of Castile. The violent temper of Alphonso, his many arbitrary acts, and his excessive rapaciousness, had rendered him hateful to the people; but the measure that at last led to his dethronement was his promising Philip the Hardy, to whose court Blanche had retired, that he would leave the crown to his young grandchildren; and in case they died without heirs, he would give it to Philip rather than to Sancho, or any of his own sons. The King of Morocco took the part of Alphonso in this unnatural quarrel; the King of Granada that of his son; the Kings of Portugal, Arragon, and Navarre were neutral; the Pope only interfered by letter; and in 1283, seeing that only Badajoz and Seville remained faithful to him, Alphonso assembled his remaining adherents at the latter place, and vainly disinherited his rebellious son, pouring curses upon his head. The Pope now interfered more sternly, threatening Sancho and his party with excommunication, unless they returned to their duty, and placing an interdict over the kingdom. This act restored the clergy to a sense of loyalty; the barons and cities followed their example of submission; and Sancho himself was taking steps towards a reconciliation with his father, when he fell suddenly ill. These circumstances aroused the long dormant affections of the king; his indignation vanished, and he courted retirement that he might weep over the repentance and danger of his son. Anxiety on his account so much affected him that his health sunk, while the prince recovered. The king breathed his last, April 5, 1284. His son Sancho, the fourth of his name, reigned till his death in 1295; but, as if his own rebellion had been visited upon him, it was a most unquiet period through the civil disturbances occasioned by some of the proud grandees of the kingdom, and the pretensions of his brother Ferdinand's children, commonly called the Infantes de las Cerdas. Alphonso, the eldest of these, was released by the King of Arragon, and proclaimed king of Castile and Leon: he had numerous partisans. At the death of Sancho IV., his son and successor, Ferdinand IV., being only nine

years of age, the queen-mother, Maria, surnamed the Great, was declared regent. The greatest disturbances marked the minority of Ferdinand, and his kingdom was at one time parcelled out between Alphonso de la Cerda and his uncle John. But the quarrels of the rival pretenders, and the wisdom of the queen, secured the fidelity of the people to Ferdinand. Maria's sorest trouble was that the son over whom she had watched, and for whose sake she had suffered during many years, was, on attaining manhood, inflamed against her by wicked advisers; but not even his insults cooled her affection. Of the kingly dignity Ferdinand had nothing but the name: his whole reign was one scene of revolt. It was at this time that the Templars were so wofully accused; and as those in Spain demanded a fair trial, a council was held in 1310, at Salamanca, in their behalf. After a long and apparently impartial investigation, they were absolved of the charges brought against them; but the evidence availed little, as the following year the order was suppressed. It appears, however, that being connected with the noblest families of Arragon, the Templars for the most part escaped death in Spain. The death of Ferdinand IV. was sudden; and a tradition is connected with it similar to that concerning the death of Philip the Fair. Whilst at Valencia, pursuing an enterprise against the Moors, the king heard of the murder of a knight within the precincts of his palace, and he rashly condemned to death two brothers, named Carvajales, though there was no proof they were guilty of the crime. Enraged at their bold assertion of innocence, Ferdinand ordered them to be thrown headlong from a high rock. As they were led thither, it is said that they called on God as a witness they were guiltless, and summoned the king to meet them in his presence within thirty days. Ferdinand appeared at first to make light of it; but being taken ill shortly after, he was haunted with the thought that he had destroyed the innocent, and died within the given period (September 1312). His widow Constance, daughter to the King of Portugal, was appointed regent; but she only survived him a year, and the infant king, Alphonso XI., was left, as it were, on a bed of thorns.

Having carried on the history of the kings of Castile to the close of our present period, we must consider the

affairs of Arragon after the death of James the Conqueror. James, at the close of his career, felt, as it appears, the utter emptiness of all his military glory. He had wrested from the Moors three of their kingdoms, and vanquished them in thirty-three battles; one of his daughters shared the throne of Castile, another that of France; his son Peter was declared his successor, in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia; to his son James he gave the title of king of Majorca, with that island, Minorca, Roussillon, and Montpellier; and having nothing more to hope or to enjoy in this world, he resigned the crown to Peter, and took the habit of a Cistercian monk: in that dress he expected to be more acceptable before God than as a king or a warrior: he was, at least, aware that the coveted honours of the world were no passport to heaven; though, alas! he was ignorant of the sole ground of acceptance there — the blood and righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Peter, the third king of his name in Arragon, being engaged in war with the Moors when his father died, was not crowned till some months after, when he returned victorious (A. D. 1276). The ceremony was performed with great pomp at Saragossa, and Peter shared all his honours with his wife Constance, the daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily: the oath of allegiance was required for their son Alphonso at the same time. One of Peter's first thoughts was to profit by the existing state of things in Navarre, to seize that kingdom for himself.

Henry I., king of Navarre, was the brother and successor of Theobald, who had died in returning from the last crusade. In 1273, he lost his only son, an infant named Theobald, by a most painful accident. The child's tutor and nurse were throwing him from one to the other for sport, when the former let him fall from the top of the staircase to the bottom, and he was killed on the spot. The tutor, in despair, threw himself down after the child and died at his side. The king had only one child left to him, a daughter named Jane, aged two years and a half: to her he resolved to leave the crown, notwithstanding the objections of those who denied the right of females to the succession, and liked not, as they said, "to let the crown fall from the lance to the distaff." Henry, who bore the surname of Fat, died in 1274, suffocated, it is said, by his

fatness. He had concluded a treaty with Edward I., promising Jane to one of his sons; but before he died he revoked that engagement, preferring for her a connection with France: she afterwards became the wife of Philip the Fair. Union with France, and the talents and attractions of the youthful queen, saved Navarre, after many struggles, from the grasp of the King of Arragon. Jane was celebrated alike for her beauty, eloquence, and liberality, her prudence, and the wisdom of her government: she enchained the eyes, ears, and hearts of those with whom she had to do, and especially encouraged men of letters. Disappointed in his attempts upon Navarre, Peter III. cast his eye towards Sicily, founding his claim on his marriage with Constance: the circumstances of the kingdom favoured his ambitious designs. Charles of Anjou, the most aspiring prince of his times, beholding the feebleness both of Rome and Constantinople, conceived the idea of making himself master of the two great capitals of the Roman empire, and even purchased from the granddaughter of Guy of Lusignan the empty title of King of Jerusalem. Charles's claims to dominion over Rome were founded on his having been chosen perpetual senator at the beginning of his reign. In 1265, when first called into Italy, he received the oath of allegiance from the Roman people, and was lodged in the Lateran palace. But the display of his despotic character subsequently alarmed the Popes and the people; the dignity bestowed on him for life was declared to be only renewable every three years; and in 1278, Nicholas III. compelled him to resign it. That Pope loved his family to excess, and sought their exaltation at all costs; and he took offence at Charles, because he had insultingly refused to allow one of his granddaughters to marry the Pope's nephew.

Charles's claims upon Constantinople arose out of his having married the daughter of Baldwin, the Latin emperor: we have here to relate the manner in which he lost Sicily, during an absence in Naples, laying schemes for an attack on the imperial city.

The acts of violence that marked the whole course of Charles, and the insolence of his French followers, continually augmented the dislike of the Sicilians to a foreign yoke; and they only needed some directing mind to teach

them how to express effectually the bitterness of their hatred: this was at last supplied. Among the Italian nobles, whom Charles had unjustly deprived of their estates, was John of Procida, a fertile island in the Bay of Naples. He had been the friend of Manfred, and the imprisonment of Beatrice, the daughter of that prince, increased his indignation against Charles of Anjou. King James of Arragon kindly received the exiled nobleman, and gave him lands in Valencia. From thence he watched for some years the iniquitous proceedings of the tyrannical King of Sicily, and at last he laid before Peter III. and his queen his dreadful schemes of vengeance: he designed nothing less than the simultaneous massacre of all the French in Sicily. By the approval of the King of Arragon, John of Procida first visited the Pope, to engage him to support the claims of Constance to the kingdom of Sicily, and then travelled all over the island, disguised as a physician, a beggar, or a monk, to prepare his fellow-countrymen for the execution of his dreadful plot: he also visited Constantinople, and obtained from Michael Paleologus money for the expenses of a war against the king who was designing to seize his throne. Peter III., in the meanwhile, having made great naval and military preparations, kept his fleet cruising about in the Mediterranean, as if bent upon attacking the Moors of Africa; and when Philip the Hardy sent an ambassador to inquire the meaning of this hostile armament, he replied that he would burn his shirt if he thought it were privy to his intentions. In the same manner, John of Procida, extensive as his conspiracy was, pressed upon all engaged in it his own maxim, that he would cut off his right hand if it knew the designs of his left. During two whole years that the storm was brooding, Charles and his followers saw not that their sky was otherwise than serene. At last the dreadful day arrived. The ringing of the vesper bell at 5 P. M. on the Easter eve of 1282, was the given signal for the massacre; hence called *The Sicilian Vespers*. The first Frenchman who fell was one who offered an insult to a Sicilian lady as she was walking in a religious procession; and, in the short space of two hours, 8000 are said to have been destroyed. In fact, all the French found in the island, men, women, and children, were murdered, with one, some say two, exceptions,

William de Pourcelets, a gentleman of Provence, was one who owed his escape to the character that he bore for mercy and benevolence. This massacre is one of the most fearful instances of popular revenge in the history of nations: the blood of the French was, as it were, mingled with their *sacrifices*; for at the hour they were destroyed, they were, we may presume, entering on the formal services thus denominated.

The Arragonese fleet, lingering in the neighbourhood, immediately entered the harbour of Palermo, and Peter III. was proclaimed king with great acclamations. When the tidings reached King Charles at Naples, he is said to have breathed a prayer, that if he were to be humbled, God would grant him a gentle descent from the pinnacle of greatness; and, then, hastily collecting the forces he was about to employ against the Greeks, he set sail for Messina, taking with him the Pope's legate. Martin IV., by birth a Frenchman, who in the preceding year had succeeded Nicholas III. in the popedom, was completely the tool of Charles of Anjou, and needing the help of that prince against the Ghibelline party, again made him senator.

The citizens of Messina would have submitted to Charles, on the promise of full pardon and restoration to their original liberties; but when the king, despising the entreaties of the legate, sent them a list of 800 persons whom he required to be given up to his discretion, they boldly renewed the defence of the city till the King of Arragon came to their help, and obliged Charles to retire with the loss of nearly all his fleet. Hoping to effect by ecclesiastical power what could not be accomplished by an armed force, the Pope immediately excommunicated the Sicilians together with Peter III., and laid Arragon under an interdict. Peter, however, was crowned at Palermo, and hailed as the king and deliverer of Sicily. The following year, the Pope renewed the excommunication, absolved the Arragonese from their oath of allegiance, and gave over the kingdom of Peter to Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Hardy: this prince being maternal nephew to the king, it was supposed he would be the more acceptable to the nobles of Arragon. Peter, unawed by the thunders of Rome, and deriding his nominal deprivation of the

crown, left Constance to reign in Sicily, that he might defend his own kingdom, and took up the titles of "knight of Arragon, lord of the sea, and father of three kings." He treated with the same contempt the challenge sent him by Charles of Anjou to meet him in single combat. The place chosen was a plain near Bourdeaux; and Edward I., in whose dominions it lay, was invited by Charles to be the arbiter of the fight: he replied, that he would not sanction it, if thereby he might gain the crowns of Sicily and Arragon. On the 1st of July, 1283, numbers of knights from every European nation assembled in the appointed place, in the expectation of witnessing the singular combat; but their curiosity was disappointed. Charles of Anjou appeared with a hundred knights, and kept the field the whole day; but Peter III., less brave or less rash, came, if at all, in disguise and almost alone, to ridicule, it is said, the folly of his rival.

The following year, Philip the Hardy sent forward an army into Navarre to be ready to assist Charles from thence; and, putting himself at the head of 100,000 men, prepared for the invasion of Arragon. By the permission of the King of Majorca, always his brother's rival, Philip entered Roussillon, took possession of the abandoned town of Perpignan, and, finding a pass through the Pyrenees, laid siege to Gerona, which he took after a siege of seven months. Famine, sickness, and the attacks of the Catalonians and Arragonese, then compelled the French army to retire, and having reached Perpignan with difficulty, Philip there expired. But the chief repulse given to the French was by the fleet of Arragon, both on the shores of Sicily and Spain. Roger de Lauria, the most famous admiral of the day, commanded Peter's maritime forces. He first defeated the combined fleets of France and Naples near Messina, making Charles, the son of Charles of Anjou, prisoner. The Messinese would have beheaded the prince, in revenge for the execution of Conradin; but Constance the queen interceded for him, and he, with seventy of his noble companions, remained under her keeping. Overwhelmed by the capture of his son, in addition to all his other misfortunes, Charles of Anjou, a true martyr of ambition, hurried from place to place to obtain help, and soon sank under the effects of a fever brought on by agita-

tion of mind (January 1285). His son Charles, surnamed the *Lame*, was kept in confinement till the Pope recognised Sicily as belonging to the crown of Arragon: he was then suffered to return to his kingdom of Naples. From Sicily, Roger de Lauria hastened to the relief of Arragon, and drove back the French ships which had come to support the king's movements.

In the November of the same year that witnessed the deaths of Charles of Anjou, and Philip the Hardy, Peter III., surnamed the *Great*, died from the effects of a wound received in an ambuscade laid for him near Villefranche. On his deathbed he took care to get absolution from the papal censures by a Spanish archbishop; but it is to be feared he sought not the blotting out of his crimson sins from the sight of God.

Peter III. left the crown of Arragon to his son, Alphonso III., and that of Sicily to his second son James, then residing in that island with his mother. At the death of his father, Alphonso was employed in war with his uncle, the King of Majorca, in revenge for the aid that he had afforded to Philip the Hardy. Having taken possession of Majorca and Ivica, he returned to Spain, and was crowned at Saragossa (1286). The same year, Alphonso rescued Minorca from the Mahometans. In 1290, Edward I. of England had the honour of being chosen umpire between the French and Spanish princes, and several treaties were concluded. Peace was thus made between Philip the Fair and Alphonso III., and the latter released the Infantes de la Cerda, and the captive Charles II., on condition of their occasioning no troubles in Spain and Sicily. Charles of Valois renounced the title of king of Arragon, given to him by Martin IV. Edward I. promised his daughter in marriage to Alphonso, but just as that prince was preparing to meet his bride he fell ill, and died at Barcelona. By his death, his brother James, the second of his name, became king of Arragon; but the Sicilians would not allow him at the same time to be their king, and they elected in his stead, Frederic, his younger brother. James sought an alliance with Sancho, king of Castile, by asking in marriage his daughter Isabella, then only ten years old, and the espousals were celebrated with feasts and tournaments; but before the marriage could be consummated, the

King of Arragon entered into a treaty with Charles the Lame; and promised, on receiving his daughter Blanche in marriage with an immense dowry, that he would restore to him the island of Sicily. Accordingly, in 1298, he attempted to wrest that kingdom from Frederic, but the Sicilians defended their king, and their independence, and John of Procida prevailed on the Pope to confirm the separation of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Queen Constance died in 1300, and peace was happily concluded between her sons, the Kings of Arragon and Sicily. It is said that James II. repented of his unbrotherly conduct. In his reign, the Cortes of Arragon abolished the use of examination by torture in any case whatsoever: in this respect they exceeded in wisdom and humanity all the governments of Europe. It appears that the Dominican inquisitors had incurred the king's heavy displeasure, and that the prohibition of the use of torture was especially aimed at them. Condemned by their tribunal alone, many of the king's subjects had been banished; others arrested on suspicion, or false information, had endured imprisonment; and several had been burned. One of the friars caused a person to be cast into the flames in the presence of the king, his sons, and two bishops. These things led the government with a strong hand to put down the power of the Dominicans in the states of Arragon, and whatever cruelties they practised must have been carried on in secret.

Mohammed II., king of Granada, died in 1302, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed III., who is said to have been the most beautiful of men, and remarkable also for his mental endowments. His love of learning leading him to night study, his health and sight became impaired, and his enemies, both Christians and Moors, attacked his dominions. His armies, however, were almost always successful under the command of his brother Nassir, and this prince was chosen to supersede the king when he became totally blind (1308). Mohammed the Blind resided at one of his country palaces, taking great delight in conversing with poets and literary men, and in walking in his gardens: in passing alone by the side of an artificial lake, he fell in and was drowned.

Throughout Spain, that kind of knowledge was in-

creasing which exalts a nation in the world's view ; but, according to the word of God, it is righteousness that truly exalts a nation, and nothing, therefore, can be stable whilst this element is wanting. Mercy to the Jews at this period — a time of grievous persecution elsewhere — may be considered as one cause of the earthly prosperity of the Spanish nation.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

### GERMANY.

CONTENTIONS OF THE GERMAN ELECTORS TERMINATED BY THE CHOICE OF RODOLPH, COUNT OF HAPSBURG. — HIS PREVIOUS HISTORY. — HIS CHARACTER. — HE GIVES UP ALL CLAIM OF JURISDICTION OVER ROME, AND WILL NOT VISIT ITALY. — HE SUBDUES OTTACAR, KING OF BOHEMIA. — RODOLPH'S LOVE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. — HE WINS THE AFFECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE, AND REIGNS IN AN EXCELLENT MANNER. — LIMITED POWER OF THE EMPEROR. — CEREMONIES USED IN BESTOWING THE GREAT FIEFS. — AFTER A SHORT INTERREGNUM, ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU IS CHOSEN EMPEROR. — HIS UNPOPULAR REIGN ENDS IN HIS DEPOSITION. — HE IS SLAIN IN BATTLE BY THE EMPEROR CHOSEN IN HIS STEAD. — CHARACTER OF ALBERT, THE SON OF RODOLPH. — HIS VIGOROUS MEASURES TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF IN THE EMPIRE. — HIS EFFORTS FOR THE AGGRANDISEMENT OF HIS SONS END IN HIS ASSASSINATION. — SWISS CANTONS.

THE year after the accession of Edward I., the long and stormy interregnum in Germany was terminated by the election of Rodolph I. in a diet assembled at Frankfort (1273). Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had some time before retired from the contest, was now dead ; Alphonso X., who would not desist from his fruitless pretensions, was rejected as a foreign king ; and Ottacar, the powerful king

of Bohemia, who ruled in addition over Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, was rejected by the other electors because of his dangerous greatness.

Rodolph seems to have been preferred to two kings, because his previous rank was not high enough to excite the jealousy of the electors, whilst his talents seemed to fit him for the difficult position into which he was called. He counted among his ancestors a count of Alsace, and a duke of Suabia, but his territories were small, and the only title to which he could lay claim was that of count of Hapsburg. His military talents had been exercised as leader of various bands of mercenary soldiers, whose services were often called for in these troublous days; and at the head of a few followers he had become famous for clearing the roads of bandits, and had joined in the crusade against the Prussians. An escort that he furnished to the Archbishop of Mentz, who was journeying from Strasburg to Rome, brought Rodolph under the admiring notice of the first of the ecclesiastical electors, and this primate engaged for him the votes of the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves. The promise of the marriage of three of his daughters with the Dukes of Upper Bavaria and of Saxony, and to the Margrave of Brandenburg, secured the favour of three other powerful electors, and Gregory X. added his influence: it will appear that no better choice could have been made.

When the unexpected news of his election reached the ears of Rodolph, he was besieging the city of Basle, the bishop of which had murdered some nobles of his family: the citizens were the first to swear allegiance to him, and he lost no time in repairing to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned king of the Romans by the Archbishop of Mentz, his first friend. The sceptre of Charlemagne, commonly used on such occasions, being mislaid, a crucifix was put into Rodolph's hand in its stead: it might have been well had it served to remind him of the source of all righteous power, as it is written:—"By me kings reign, and princes decree justice." The first step that Rodolph took was, to secure peace with the Pope, and to this end he *sincerely* renounced all jurisdiction over Rome, and all right to the territories known to us as the States of the Church; and left the Church of Germany dependent on the Pope rather than

on the king. Through his whole reign, Rodolph took so little interest in Italy, that he would not visit it even to receive the imperial crown: he compared it to the lion's den, whitened with the bones of the emperors, his predecessors. The friendship of the Pope was useful to Rodolph in putting aside the claims of Alphonso X., and keeping down the ambition of Charles of Anjou: Gregory also warmly advised Ottacar, king of Bohemia, and Henry, duke of Lower Bavaria, to give to the new emperor the homage which they alone of all the electors and princes refused: they remained, however, in disobedience, and were only subdued by the military force brought against them by Rodolph. After the duke had submitted, Ottacar, from the opposite side of the Danube, defied the emperor, supposing that the river was a barrier that he dared not pass; but, by a bridge of boats, Rodolph led his troops across, and the Bohemian king was obliged to come to terms. He surrendered Austria, to which he had no right, as he had only seized it by force on the death of its last duke, and the people complained of his oppression. This important province was given to Albert, the emperor's eldest son, with the title of archduke, and a place in the college of electors. Ottacar, on his submission, was allowed to retain Bohemia and Moravia, and his infant son, Wenceslaus, was affianced to a daughter of Rodolph, and a son of the latter to a Bohemian princess. Amity was not, however, secured; and the proud Ottacar again taking the field against the imperial armies, stirred up, it is said, by his wife, a Russian princess, he was slain in battle (1278). Thus ended the only war in which Rodolph was engaged after he became emperor, and the young Wenceslaus proved the peaceful ally of his father-in-law. Himself giving the example of peace and the love of justice, the emperor had strength to suppress the private wars that had so long raged among the inferior princes and petty chiefs. In one year he rased seventy of the fortresses erected by the nobles, as well for plunder as for war; and some who would not desist from their evil courses were hung like robbers. The anarchy that had preceded Rodolph's elevation had been a harvest-time for banditti, but the country was now to be cleared of robbers: we are told that ninety-nine were hung at one time in Erfurt. A cotemporary chronicler says concerning Ro-

dolph :—“His very name spread terror among the turbulent barons, joy among the people: as light springs from darkness, so peace arose from desolation. The peasant returned to his plough; the merchant, whom the fear of bandits had confined to his home, now traversed the country with confidence.” So far, however, from having a reputation for severity, Rodolph’s common course of administration earned for him the honourable surname of Clement: some historians call him the Great, and to that title he had a better right than most princes. In his reign things wore an entirely new aspect: there was peace within and around the empire. With extraordinary activity, the emperor hastened from one province to another, to watch over the administration of justice, and he was accessible to the humblest of his people. One day, seeing that his guards were preventing the approach of some poor men, he cried out:—“Let them come near! I was not made emperor to be excluded from my fellow creatures!” Again, whilst seated amidst his court at Mentz, he perceived an humble citizen of Zurich, who had once rescued his life in battle. He arose, welcomed him as his friend, and conferred on him the rank of knighthood: it was, in short, his boast that the emperor could not forget the obligations of the count; but whilst he rewarded the services, he generously passed over the wrongs, that he had received in a lower station. Rodolph’s probity was proverbial; and as an instance of his respect for the professed ministers of God, we are told that, being out hunting, he dismounted in an exceedingly dirty road, rendered almost impassable by heavy rains, in order to give his horse to a poor priest who was going on foot to a sick person, carrying the consecrated bread.

During the Bohemian campaign, whilst the emperor and his troops were suffering from thirst, a jug of water was brought to him, but he refused to drink it, saying he would not enjoy a gratification that was denied to his soldiers. Ottacar came to the battle covered with gold and jewels, but Rodolph appeared in coarse and plain garments. Sparing in his personal expenses, and anxiously preserving peace, Rodolph was able to lessen the taxes, and to expend large sums in public edifices: he has been called the second restorer of the empire. Yet even in the days of Rodolph

the imperial authority was exceedingly limited, and that which he effected was rather by his remarkable talents and personal influence, than by virtue of the powers committed to him. With the consent of the diet, he conferred the duchies of Austria, Styria, and Carniola on his two sons, Albert and Rodolph; and Carinthia, with the title of duke, he gave to his son-in-law, Count of the Tyrol. The ceremonial of investiture of any great fief is thus described:— A scaffold was usually erected on an open place, and upon it sat the emperor in great majesty, surrounded by the princes and electors. Before the scaffold appeared the person who was to be invested, mounted on a horse or a mule, accompanied by his kindred, friends, and vassals. The whole party galloped once round the scaffold without any banner; a second time with one; and a third time with a banner carried by the prince who was to be invested, on which were emblazoned the arms of the state he was to govern. On dismounting, he was led up the steps of the scaffold by two princes, and knelt before the throne to do homage and take the usual oaths; after which the emperor delivered him the banners of the several fiefs bestowed upon him. As soon as he had returned thanks, the banners were thrown down into the crowd in front of the scaffold, and were torn to pieces with strange vociferations.

Rodolph desired greatly to procure the election of his son Albert as king of the Romans, during his lifetime; but notwithstanding all the benefits he had conferred on the empire, this desire was not fulfilled; the electors, proud of their privileges, would rather incur the danger of civil war, than suffer even the appearance of hereditary succession.

In 1291, Rodolph I. was removed by death from the place which he had filled with so much honour: we long to know whether real personal religion made him to differ so much from other sovereigns. He died at the age of seventy. After an interregnum of nine months, the Archbishop of Mentz procured the election of Adolph of Nassau, a prince of his own family, he having agreed to all the measures which this ambitious prelate proposed for his own aggrandisement. Adolph, however, did not perform his promises, and proved such a feeble and vicious emperor, that he soon became an object of hatred or indifference to

all his subjects. His unpopularity was increased when, on his receiving a considerable sum from Edward I., on condition of making war with the King of France, he neglected to do what he had promised, and never returned the money.

Becoming altogether dissatisfied with the administration of Adolph, the electors cited him to appear before them; and, though he refused to do so, they proceeded to a formal trial, and sentenced him to the loss of the throne. The Archbishop of Mentz, in the name of the other princes, pronounced the deposition, and used the name of Boniface VIII. to give weight to the sentence; but it appears that the Pope had even promised to Adolph the imperial crown if he would proceed to Rome. By promising all that the Archbishop of Mentz demanded, Albert, the son of the great Rodolph, obtained that prelate's help, and secured the empire: he was elected in 1298, at the deposition of Adolph. The latter took up arms against his rival; and, in a battle that took place near Worms, they met in personal combat, and Adolph fell by the hand of his adversary. Having secured the dignity desired for him by his father, Albert was not careful to fulfil the engagements that he had made in order to obtain it. If he had not possessed more influence and strength than Adolph, he would soon have been deposed like him, for the primate boasted that, as long as he lived, there should be no lack of sovereigns: "he had several more in his sleeves."

When cited before the tribunal of the count palatine, Albert refused to appear: he then took up arms against that elector, and the three archbishops, who had all demanded more than he chose to yield, and entirely defeated them. Greater danger seemed to menace the emperor when he was summoned by Boniface to appear at Rome, to answer to the charge of high treason; but he stood firm; and that Pope, being hard pressed by the King of France, altered his tone, and not only recognised Albert as emperor, but offered him the dominions of Philip the Fair. These, however, could only be obtained by the sword, and Albert wisely abstained from taking advantage of the Pope's gift. The son of Rodolph inherited some of the noble qualities of his father, for he was famed for his faithfulness in

all his engagements, excepting those which he had made with the prelates in order to obtain the crown: he is said to have been a *worshipper of truth*, and hostile to flattery as much as open lying; simple in his habits, decorous in his conduct, tender as a husband and a parent, he was beloved by his household and friends. As a sovereign he was remarkable for his firmness and military talents, and for the preservation of the peace of the empire. When acknowledging Albert, Boniface expressed, in his pompous bull, that the Popes had transferred the Roman empire from the Greek to the German princes, and had granted to certain ecclesiastic and lay princes power to elect a king of the Romans, afterwards to be made head of the empire by the Pope; and he made this a fresh occasion for asserting that all temporal sovereigns derived their power from the successors of St. Peter. Although in friendship with the Pope, Albert made no exertion to defend him in his adversity: he was too much occupied with his own concerns. In 1305, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, died, and his only son, the nephew of Albert, the following year: two daughters remained; but as it had been agreed between Rodolph and Wenceslaus that, in the failure of male heirs, the kingdom should belong to the House of Hapsburg, Albert invested his eldest son Rodolph, duke of Austria, with this royal fief. But this young prince died almost immediately after, and the succession of his brother Frederic, duke of Austria, was prevented by the pretensions of Henry, duke of Carinthia, who had married the daughter of Wenceslaus. Albert was not able to secure Bohemia for his eldest son, because he was at the same time seeking principalities for his other children. On all sides he was disappointed. Thuringia had been sold to the crown by an old margrave who wished to disinherit his sons; but when Albert tried to take possession, he was defeated by the disinherited princes. He then determined to form a principality in the neighbourhood of his hereditary domains.

The country now called Switzerland consisted originally of a number of fiefs dependent on the German empire; but the natives possessed a spirit of freedom and simplicity to which the people who surrounded their mountainous country seemed strangers; and if any of their lords showed

a disposition to tyranny they expelled them, or restrained their power.

The Emperor Rodolph, himself a Swiss lord, acted indulgently towards his countrymen; and when the cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden threw off the yoke of their feudal lords, he placed them under the protection of the House of Austria, without pretending to any sovereignty over them.

Albert, however, wishing to form a principality for one of his sons, solicited these cantons to submit to Austrian rule, which he promised should be gentle; but the governors whom he sent to act in his name were tyrants; and one story current concerning Geisler, Albert's representative in Uri, seemed to prove that there was an intention to reduce the peasants to the lowest slavery. Not content with receiving, in person, the respect of men who had hitherto been almost as free as their own mountain air, Geisler caused his cap to be hung on a pole in the marketplace, and required that it should be saluted by every one who passed by, under pain of death. Passing over the romantic story of William Tell, connected with this circumstance, it appears probable that a peasant of that name refused to bow to the cap, which was a token of his country's slavery; being led to prison for his want of submission, he contrived to escape, and helped to arouse his countrymen to shake off the Austrian yoke.\* Furst of Uri, said to be the father-in-law of Tell, Melchthal of Unterwalden, and Stauffacher of Schweitz, were the most conspicuous in the struggle for independence at this era; and having prepared their respective cantons for united action, at a given signal—a bonfire lighted on a certain mountain—all the Austrian governors were seized at their several posts, and being conducted to the frontier, were obliged, as the condition of their own liberty, to swear that they would never again attempt to undermine that of the Swiss. Not a single life was sacrificed except that of Geisler, who is said to have

\* The familiar story of William Tell is not to be found in the authentic histories of this period; but the popular ballads in which it has been handed down are thought to be deserving of credit, the language and expression of them bearing evidence of a date as early as that of our history.

been shot by William Tell (1307). The Emperor Albert, was purposing to make another attempt to enslave the mountaineers, when his life was terminated in a violent manner.

Prince John, Albert's nephew, had been refused the investiture of some domains which by right belonged to him. It is said that he was a minor; but supposing that the emperor had reserved them for his own son, he was wrought up to such a pitch of indignation, that he resolved to murder him. To this end, with four servants who were in his confidence, he accompanied the emperor and his son Leopold, with a small suite, on their way to the castle of Hapsburg. Having to pass the Reuss in a ferry-boat, the emperor taking only one attendant, unsuspectingly crossed the stream with the conspirators, leaving the rest on the other side. As Albert, on leaving the boat, rode slowly onwards to his paternal mansion, Prince John wounded him in the neck, crying out, "Will you now give me my inheritance?" His murderous assistants finished the work of destruction. Albert's son, with several of his vassals, beheld the frightful scene, without power to help, and his sole attendant fled: a poor woman, who happened to be passing near, was the only person to offer support to the bleeding emperor: he died in her arms (May 1, 1308).

This dreadful event happened but a few months after the death of Edward I.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Times of Edward I. continued.*

THE GREEK EMPIRE UNDER MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS AND ANDRONICUS THE ELDER.—RISE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.—COTEMPORARY KHANS OF E. AND W. TARTARY.

THE EMPEROR MICHAEL, IN FEAR OF A CRUSADE, ATTEMPTS THE UNION OF THE GREEK CHURCH WITH ROME.—THE GREEK DEPUTIES ATTEND THE COUNCIL OF LYONS WITH LETTERS OF UNION.—FAILURE OF THE SCHEME.—MICHAEL IS EXCOMMUNICATED BY THE POPE.—HIS DEATH.—CHARACTER OF ANDRONICUS.—ORTHOGRUL AND HIS SON OTHMAN.—THE LATTER INVADES THE GREEK EMPIRE YEAR BY YEAR.—ABACA, THE KHAN OF W. TARTARY, SEEKS ALLIANCE WITH THE EUROPEAN PRINCES.—HIS PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY.—HIS SON ARGOU DIES AFTER FORMING AN ENGAGEMENT TO JOIN EDWARD I. IN A CRUSADE.—MISSIONS OF THE FRIARS.—CUBLAI KHAN COMPLETES THE CONQUEST OF CHINA, AND MAKES PEKIN HIS CAPITAL.—NICHOLAS IV. SENDS HIM A LETTER.—LABOURS OF THE FRANCISCAN FRIAR, JOHN OF CORVINO, IN CHINA.

DURING the first ten years of the reign of Edward I., the Emperor Michael Paleologus, the restorer of the Greek empire, still lived; and, in association with his son Andronicus, occupied the throne of Constantinople.

In 1274, Pope Clement IV. promised plenary indulgence to all who would join in a crusade against the schismatic Greeks, and replace the Latin emperor: in order, therefore, to prevent the threatened storm from bursting over his head, the wily Greek sent respectful letters to the Pope, expressing his desire for the union of the two Churches: in this manner Clement was pacified, but died without seeing any steps taken towards the accomplishment of his wish. His successor, Gregory X., pressed the Greek emperor so strongly, that he intimidated or per-

sueded the clergy to comply with a summons to attend a general council held at Lyons, chiefly for the purpose of healing the long existing division. The sittings of this council lasted during two months of the summer of 1274, and were attended by the Pope with 500 bishops, 70 abbots, and 1000 other ecclesiastics. Towards the close of the session a train of ministers and prelates arrived from Constantinople, carrying rich ornaments and perfumes for the altar at Rome, and letters of union signed by the two emperors and thirty-five archbishops, with their respective synods: they were charged, moreover, with secret orders from Michael, of unlimited compliance with the desires of the Pope. Gregory embraced the deputation with tears of joy; and, in token of the union, the Nicene Creed was chaunted in Latin and Greek, with the addition, in the latter, of the long-disputed article of belief—the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as the Father.

Believing the Greeks to be sincere in their intentions, the Pope next dispatched a legate to Constantinople, with directions to absolve the clergy from the anathemas so long laid upon them by the Latins; to this end requiring them to abjure their differences of opinion, and to establish the addition of *filioque* (“and the Son”) to their creed. But great was the disappointment of the legate on discovering that the majority of the Greeks abhorred the very idea of union with Rome. The emperor related to him the various punishments by which he had tried to enforce the promised union, and even showed him four princes of royal blood who were in chains for their obstinacy; but all the time he was acting the part of a political hypocrite; he had himself no desire for the religious alliance about which he appeared so zealous; and thus, in the end, he incurred the hatred and contempt of both the parties whom he pretended to join. Martin IV. sent out a sentence of excommunication against him, because of his insincerity: his death was the signal of the dissolution of the feigned union; and his son Andronicus, to conciliate the people, denied him the ceremonies of royal burial.

In the hope of the union of the rival Churches under his own headship, Gregory X. forbade Charles of Anjou to make an attack upon the empire, which he claimed in his

wife's right, at the death of Baldwin, her father ; and when the king's own friend, Martin IV., sanctioned his meditated attack upon Constantinople, as being the stronghold of obstinate schismatics, the Sicilian Vespers, and the events which followed, totally disappointed their ambitious scheme. The terrible blow that set Sicily free warded off the impending danger from the Greek empire ; and Michael Paleologus rejoiced at the tidings of his enemy's losses only a few days before his death (A. D. 1283). The reign of Andronicus II. (the Elder) stretches over a large space of time but offers nothing of interest : he was a credulous, timid, irresolute prince, and under a false report caused his own brother to be imprisoned in an iron cage, where he remained for sixteen years, when he died. Incapable of defending his empire, and yet unwilling to trust it to other hands, Andronicus bought peace with his enemies ; and both loaded his people with taxes, and debased the coin to meet his necessities.

In the reign of Andronicus the Elder, there arose a power which was destined to overthrow both the Greek and Tartar empires : occupying an intermediate space between them, it had at this time escaped from the crushing force of the Tartars, and was beginning its attacks on the Greeks.

We may remember that no nation was so successful in bold resistance of Tartar inroads as the Karismians : like certain herbs, they seemed to grow stronger for having been trodden under foot by the mighty. As soon as Zingis Khan retreated, the Sultan Gelalleddin returned to his paternal dominions, and in the course of eleven years fought twelve battles in defence of his kingdom against the Tartars : he was at last slain in the mountains of Kurdistan. At his death, his army, composed of many different tribes, dispersed, according to the will of their several chiefs : some entered Syria, others enlisted in the service of the Turkish Sultan of Iconium. Orthogrul, a Karismian chief, retained a camp of four hundred tents during fifty-two years ; and his son, the Emir Othman, who first came into notice at the close of the thirteenth century, fought in the battles of the Sultan of Iconium. The Koran, which was Othman's guide-book, made it lawful and even meritorious to attack the enemies of the doctrines it taught, and the weakness of the Greek empire seemed to invite such attack. The mountain passes had not been

fortified by Andronicus, and on a memorable summer day (July 27, 1299), Othman led his troops over the border of the empire, and invaded Nicomedia. The rise of the Ottoman power, so called from Othman its founder, may be reckoned from that day. After pillaging the towns and castles which he gained, Othman took care to occupy, and to fortify, every desirable position, and in this manner he and his followers gradually renounced a pastoral life for that of the city. In every campaign, the emir increased his forces by the addition of captives and volunteers; and, during twenty-seven years, even the gold of Constantinople did not prevent him from making continual inroads into the provinces. Although the conqueror never took any higher title than that of emir, his government was not the less despotic; and so high were his ideas of a ruler's power and dignity, that he knew how to persuade his subjects that a sovereign's authority ought to be absolute, "because," said he, "he is the image of God, who cannot be limited in his decrees."

The rapid growth of the Ottoman power belongs to our next period.

The Greek empire seems, in its feebleness, to have been sheltered from the destroying hand of the Tartars in a variety of ways: marriage alliance, and some kindredness of religious profession, contributed to the preservation of peace between the Paleologus family and the princes of Western Tartary, from whom they had most to fear. Abaca, the successor of Holagou, married a princess of the imperial house, and outwent his father in the profession of Christianity: this, however, did not prevent him from being a great warrior, and he almost annihilated the empire of the Turks in Asia. He wished probably to add Syria to his empire, but some fierce Turkish tribes held dominion there, and needing a convenient pretext for asking help, he proposed to Clement IV. to stir up the princes of Europe to a new crusade. The Pope, in his reply, regrets that the Tartar prince had not used the Latin instead of the Mogul language in his letter, and gives vent to expressions of joy that "God had opened his eyes." "See," said he, "the Kings of France and Navarre, with a multitude of their nobles, and an immense army, are all preparing to march against the enemies of the Christian faith, to set up the standard of the cross on the

tomb of the infidels! Persevere then, great prince, in thy salutary projects." Ambassadors from Abaca appeared at the Council of Lyons charged to make an alliance between the Tartars and the Latin princes; but all the aid furnished him did not prevent his being defeated in his Syrian campaign. Being obliged to raise the siege of Edessa, he retired to Hamadan, and celebrated the Easter festival with the Christians there. The following day he died, at the close of a repast to which he had been invited by his vizir, poisoned, it was supposed, by the treacherous minister, who probably hated Christianity (A. D. 1282). To the prejudice of Abaca's sons, his brother succeeded him. This prince had been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicholas, but he turned Mahometan on ascending the throne, and took the name of Ahmed Khan. His parents, though not professing Christianity, were astonished at his apostasy, and he gained no worldly advantage by it: he banished the Christians from his states, and threw down their churches; but the persecution was stayed at his dethronement, which took place in 1284, in favour of Argou, the son of Abaca. His first care was to restore all that his uncle had overthrown, and, breaking off the alliance that had been formed with the Sultan of Egypt, he entered into a treaty with the Christian king of Georgia and Armenia; he sent also to Rome, to propose a crusade, to describe the flourishing state of Christianity in his dominions, and to invite fresh teachers. The zealous Franciscans hastened into Asia at his call, and the Nestorians redoubled their zeal to outdo them: thus, it is said, preaching was universal from the palace to the cabin. Had the quality been equal to the quantity, what blessings might have followed!

A monk, named John of Corvino, having returned to Rome in the pontificate of Nicholas IV., to give an account of his labours in the dominions of Argou, the Pope sent him back with a letter to that prince. "Our dear son John," he writes, "has related your love for us and the Roman Church; as also how you show your benevolence to *other churches of Christians*. We recommend you to continue your labours for the conversion of your subjects, in order that they may be led to that faith which effaces all sins, penetrates the clouds of error, and forms the basis of all virtues—that

brilliant star which enlightens this life, and will be followed by the day of glory. Wherefore we pray your royal highness to think of the instability of human life, and for the glory of God, and your own salvation, not to defer longer to receive holy baptism." . . . In a subsequent letter the same Pope informs the khan that Edward I., king of England, was about to lead an army into Palestine, and exhorted him, also, to go thither on a crusade, but first to be baptized, reminding him that his son and *two* wives had already received baptism. Argou died in 1291, the year before Nicholas III., and without obeying the Pope's directions. He feared the Mahometans of his states too much to declare himself openly a Christian whilst among them, and he thought also that, after acquiring fame by driving the Saracens out of Jerusalem, he could be baptized in that city. He was on the point of entering into an agreement with Edward I. to join him in a crusade in the Holy Land, when he died. Whilst the crusades were on foot, several of the Mogul princes hesitated between Christianity and Mahometanism, inclining to the former; but when the struggle for Palestine ceased, Mahomet, in their eyes, triumphed, and they embraced the Koran; consequently, that which man had wrought in these Eastern regions, though called after the name of Christ, crumbled into dust. Several revolutions followed the death of Argou, and in 1296, a Mahometan khan was chosen; a furious persecution of the Christians followed; a great many persons, especially priests, were put to death at Arbela, Tauris, Mosul, Bagdad, and other chief towns of the empire of the Western Tartars: the churches also were demolished. Profiting by a counter-revolution in 1298, Boniface VIII. sent a multitude of Franciscans and Dominicans to renew the work: but the result of their mission is not known; it was probably fruitless.

In treating of Western Tartary we have to remember that it was but an empire dependent on that of the Great Khan; and it only occupies the foremost place in this chapter because of its closer connection with Christendom. Cublai Khan was the great emperor of these times, and though his nephew Abaca informed the Pope of his willingness to be baptized, and a great many Romish missionaries were despatched to his court in the far East, history

leads us to suppose that he was careless of making any religious profession.

Cublai Khan was born in the northern empire of China, and educated in the manners of the conquered people: this availed him much in completing the conquests of his ancestors. The Chinese seldom dared to meet the Mogul Tartars in the battle-field, but their immense numbers, and fortified towns, delayed the progress of the conquerors. In order to conduct the various sieges, Cublai invited both Franks and Mahometans into his service; and the scene must have been frightful indeed when the use of artillery, which seems to have been common in these wars, was mingled with the terrible engines of antiquity, and the Greek fire. After passing along the many canals formed by an industrious people, Cublai with his troops and artillery assaulted Kamchai, the royal residence of the emperors of the dynasty of Song, the rulers of Southern China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, gave himself up to the Tartar's mercy, and being brought before the khan and condemned to exile, instead of death, he touched the ground nine times with his forehead, in token of his thankfulness. The people of Kamchai held out, and proclaimed the infant son of the emperor, who had been preserved in one of their numerous vessels. When they could no longer resist, the guardian of the child jumped with him into the sea, and he was followed by a multitude of others who preferred death to slavery. Thus all China lay at the disposal of Cublai Khan, but not content with so vast an accession to his empire, he equipped a fleet, with which he intended to conquer the isles of Japan. Probably there was but little skill in marine affairs among the hosts of the great khan, for the armament twice suffered shipwreck, and 100,000 Chinese and Moguls are said to have perished in the rash enterprise. Having failed in his expedition against Japan, Cublai, with a thousand ships, explored the Indian ocean as far as Borneo. The Chinese, like the ancient Romans, were highly civilised, in comparison with their barbarian conquerors: thus their laws and fashions, and even their religion and language, were adopted by the victors; and thus the Moguls of China became almost entirely idolaters. The khan fixed his court at Peking, and displayed there all the magnificence of the greatest monarch

of Asia. In order to connect Nankin with his capital, a great canal was cut from one city to the other, five hundred miles in length.

Pekin had long been the residence of the chief of the Nestorians, and possessed a metropolitan church. In 1278, Jaballa became the head of the sect, and laboured a long time in China with great activity. The Romish missionaries entered in the days of Cublai Khan, and we subjoin an extract from the letter of Nicholas IV. to that prince, sent by the hand of his favourite, John of Corvino. "Above all, the aim of our evangelists is the salvation of the soul of each one; that is also the end after which the vicar of Jesus Christ sighs, after the example of Christ, who was fastened to the cross, that those who walk in darkness, and in the shadow of death, should find the salvation which the promises of the Gospel permit them to hope for. The Mother Church of Rome rejoiced with great joy when thy nephew Abaca, the celebrated king of the Western Tartars, informed us that thou hadst long resolved to quit the ways of error, and to join thyself by baptism to the company of believers." . . . Nicholas had been himself a friar minor, and had twice refused the popedom: from his conduct, as well as his letters, he appears to have been a superior person. His chosen device was, "Make thy face to shine upon thy servant."

From Pekin, John of Corvino wrote as follows, to his friends in Europe:—"I set out from Tauris in Persia, and went to India to the church of St. Thomas. There I stayed more than a year, and baptized in different places a hundred converts. There my travelling companion died, and I buried him myself. I then continued my voyage to the court of the great khan, gave him the Pope's letter, and invited him to a participation in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. This prince is too much attached to his ancient idolatry; nevertheless, he does much good to the Christians in his states. The Nestorians, it is true, bear in this country the name of Christians, but they are very far from the true Christian faith: they are in great numbers, and do not allow persons to join any other Church than theirs. They began to persecute me in the most cruel manner, accusing me as an impostor, who would betray the country. This lasted five years, during which I was often

brought before the tribunals and exposed to death. The khan, at last, learned my innocence, and drove away the wicked Nestorian priests with their wives and children. For eleven years I worked alone in this kingdom, till two years ago brother Arnold arrived from Cologne. I have baptized about 6000 people, and should have gained 30,000 to the Romish communion, had not the Nestorians prevented: many still come to demand baptism. I have now built at Cambalu (Pekin) a church which has three bells; and 150 young pagans whom I baptized, I have, according to our custom, instructed in the Latin and Greek languages, and composed for them some breviaries, and a book of hymns, so that the boys now sing at the altar during the worship: their singing much pleases the great khan. I have also begun a service with the children and sucklings, and we now sing the praises of the Lord." He then mentions a prince of the family of Prester John, who had come over to him from the Nestorians, and served him during the worship clad in royal robes; that he had also built a church twenty miles distant, called the Roman Temple; but that, as he had been dead some years, almost all his converts were drawn back by the Nestorians. He thus concludes:—"If I had only two or three more fellow-labourers, I am sure that the emperor himself would decide to receive baptism. I beg that they may be sent, only let them be men who may present themselves *as models*, who seek not their own glory. The road that crosses the country of the West Tartars is the shortest and safest: with guides the journey might be performed in six months: the voyage by sea is longer and more dangerous. It is twelve years since I received news from the court of Rome, from brethren of my order, or of the states of the West. A Lombard physician, who came here two years ago, spread many calumnies about Rome and my order. *I desire much to know the truth.* I beg my brethren to send me some ecclesiastical books, and holy legends, for I have only a small breviary with me. I now know the Tartar language perfectly, and I have translated into it already the whole of the New Testament and the Psalms. I have a very well-written copy of this translation, and I have begun public lectures on this holy law of Christ before the people." This early specimen of a missionary record

not only throws light on the history of the Tartar empire at this period, but is interesting in other points of view. It exhibits in a simple form the dangers that still attend missionary labours; sectarian rivalry, seen in the jealousy of two bodies calling themselves Christians, in a heathen land; the multiplication of nominal converts by baptism; anxiety to make a fair show in the flesh; contentedness with ceremonials, singing, &c. as pleasing *men*, without first being careful that God is pleased. The anxiety that the monk expresses about Rome and his own order seems a mark of the genuineness of the letter: probably this travelling doctor had heard of the many evil things that marked this period—the plots, and quarrels, and wars of popes and kings, and the cruelties and immoralities of the friars; and John of Corvino, in those distant regions, might indulge charitable hopes these were calumnies, though he desired, like an honest man, to know the truth. When we remember that China is but recently entered by Protestant missionaries, and that not a foot is set in the vast regions of Asia, so often traversed by the preaching friars of the thirteenth century, shame should be ours rather than boasting, that zeal is manifested in so little proportion to superior light.

Cublai Khan died in 1302. We subjoin an extract from a letter written by John of Corvino to the General of the Franciscans, in 1305, in the reign of Timur, the son of Cublai. "The empire of the great khan is without doubt the largest in the world. As a legate of the Pope, I can go to court at all seasons and sit beside the khan, who honours me more than all the prelates of other communions, and desires much to have new missionaries from the West. In this land there are many forms of idolatry, and many sects of priests who lead a *severer life* than our monks. In India, also, much might be done for the propagation of the faith; but men of firm character, who know how to resist the temptations of the flesh, must be sent here. These countries are exceedingly beautiful, full of spices and precious stones, but there are not so many fruits as with us. There is no need for tailors or shoemakers here, as the inhabitants are naked on account of the great heat. I have lately baptized more than 100 natives." . . . In the same letter the monk gives an account of his having built a

mission-house, and an adjoining house of prayer surmounted with a great red cross, about a stone's throw from the palace of the great khan, a piece of land having been bought for the purpose by a Christian merchant who gave it him "for the glory of God." This letter arrived during the pontificate of Clement V.; and he gave to John the title of archbishop of Peking, and sent a staff of more than a hundred monks to his aid, appointing some of them to be suffragan bishops. This Pope also wrote a letter to Timur, recommending him to listen to the preachers, and to favour the propagation of Christianity in his dominions: to John he sent a special bull making him ruler over all the Roman churches in Asia, on the sole condition that he and his successors should be subject to the see of Rome. But this great scheme for the extension of Rome's ecclesiastical influence failed; only three of the friars reached China, several died on the journey, and one returned to Italy. John, however, continued his labours for many years, and some Christian treatises were translated for the use of the Eastern Tartars, besides portions of the Holy Scriptures, which were allowed to them in the vernacular tongue. It is not for us to measure the amount of good thus effected, but surely the Lord does not let his own word fall to the ground.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

RUSSIA FROM THE DEATH OF THE FIRST CHRISTIAN  
CZAR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TARTAR  
DOMINION.

THE REVOLUTIONS THAT FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF  
VLADIMIR THE GREAT. — FREEDOM OF NOVOGOROD. —  
HISTORY OF VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS. — CIVIL WAR.  
— SANGUINARY CONTESTS FOR THE DIGNITY OF GRAND  
PRINCE. — VLADIMIR BECOMES THE CAPITAL CITY OF  
RUSSIA INSTEAD OF KIW. — ANARCHY MAKES RUSSIA  
AN EASY PREY TO THE TARTARS. — FEROCITY OF BATOU  
AND HIS FOLLOWERS. — SUBJECTION OF RUSSIA TO  
THE KHANS OF WESTERN TARTARY. — WEALTH AND  
WORLDLY HONOURS ALLOWED TO THE CHURCH OF  
RUSSIA BY TARTAR POLITICIANS.

VLADIMIR THE GREAT, the first Christian czar of Russia, died at the beginning of the eleventh century (1015); and as we have but incidentally noticed the affairs of Russia from the time of his son Yaroslav,\* we shall here resume the broken thread; the Tartar invasion obliges us to retrace the events that preceded it, and which, in great measure, led to its success.

The title of czar, which properly belongs only to the sovereign of Russia, must be at this point suspended, as Vladimir divided his government among his sons, thinking to hasten the spread of Christianity; making it, however, his dying request that his younger sons should be subordinate to the eldest, as grand-prince of Kiow. Vladimir had tasted many of the secondary benefits of Christianity, and he hoped that his people would retain them; but, though creeds were on their tongue, and church ceremonies were becoming familiar to them, their hearts were untouched; and when the respected name of Yaroslav could no longer awe the rebellious, Russia returned to a state of anarchy.

It was Isaslav I., Yaroslav's eldest son, who sought the help of Gregory VII., and the influence of the priests, to

\* Vol. II. p. 218.

maintain him on the throne of Kiow; but his reign was one unbroken scene of contentions; and when, at his death (1084), his brother Usevolod forced his way to the throne, and fixed the order of succession from brother to brother, revolution became the order of the day. It was probably at this time that a republican form of government obtained at Novgorod, one of the most ancient of the Russian states. Within one century, thirty-four princes had reigned there, or rather had been reigned over, for many of them were expelled for neglecting their duties, or for acting too despotically. A specimen of the freedom of popular address prevailing during this period has been transmitted to us by an ancient chronicle: "Why do you, Prince of Novgorod, act unjustly? You keep a great number of hawks and falcons, you keep a large pack of hounds, and you have deprived us of the rivers in which we used to fish. We can no longer submit to this tyranny: get away from us, therefore, in the name of God." The offending prince promised to reform; but it was too late. On another occasion the Bishop of Novgorod demanded pardon for a royal offender who had been expelled, and made himself responsible for his good behaviour on his being again received. The English, at that time, were groaning under the oppressions of their hunting-kings of the Norman line, but how little able were they to make a bold remonstrance; yet England has advanced to freedom, whilst Russia has declined into despotism. Usevolod reigned nine years; and, in 1093, resigned the grand principedom to his son Vladimir, surnamed Monomachus. This prince, the noblest Russian of his day, refused the dignity in favour of the son of Isaslav, insisting that his was the prior right; but throughout this feeble reign Vladimir's influence was predominant; and when the throne was again left vacant (1113), the refusal of the people of Kiow to have any other sovereign forced him, against his inclination, to take the place for which he was qualified. In token of esteem, and in recognition of equality, the Greek emperor, Manuel, sent to Vladimir a golden tiara set with gems, and surmounted with a cross, a sceptre of gold, and other costly gifts. Vladimir reigned twelve years. The following extracts from his deathbed address to his children are curious and interesting, and

throw much light on the condition of Russia at this time: — “My dear children, praise God and love men; for it is neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monastic vows, that can give you eternal life; it is *beneficence* alone.” If by beneficence the dying prince meant the pure grace of God, he was right; but we fear that he meant some works preferable in his sight to such as he rightly deemed incapable of giving eternal life. “Be fathers to the orphan,” continued Vladimir; “be yourselves judges for the widow; put to death neither the innocent nor the guilty; nothing is more sacred than the life and soul of a Christian.”

Capital punishments had been abolished by Vladimir the Great, on embracing Christianity; Yacoslav had returned to them; but under Isaslav they had again been abolished. To this admonition follow others relative to the honour to be paid to the priests, the sacredness of oaths, the duty of visiting their provinces, the occupation of war, the desirableness of industry and attention to domestic concerns, the avoidance of vice, the acquirement of knowledge, and of foreign languages as particularly advantageous. All these precepts exhibit a tone of morality, wisdom, and moderation, that belonged rather to the individual than to his semi-barbarous country. He thus proceeds: “If you find yourself affected by any ailment, make three prostrations to the ground before the Lord; and never let the sun find you in bed. At the dawn of day, my father, and the virtuous men by whom he was surrounded, did thus: they glorified the Lord; they then seated themselves to deliberate or to administer justice, or they went to the chase; and in the middle of the day they slept, which God permits to man as well as beast.” Some of Vladimir’s closing reminiscences of his own active life seem to furnish melancholy matter for deathbed reflection; but it appears that he rehearsed them *all* by way of example to his sons. Night and day, summer and winter, he had been on the move, doing what he might have ordered his servants to do, seeing everything with his own eyes, whether the churches and their ceremonies, or his own property, down to his vultures and hawks for hunting. He had made eighty-three campaigns and many expeditions, chiefly against the Polovtzy, a barbarous tribe on the borders of Russia, who gave their name to Poland.

With these people he had made nineteen treaties. History says, however, that he did not keep good faith with them because he found *them* treacherous: he himself confesses that he had put 200 of their chiefs to death by drowning, whilst he had set free 100, who had also been his captives. The vigorous prince then tells his children that no one had ever travelled so rapidly as himself: setting out from Tchernigov in the morning, he had reached Kiow before vespers. He then recalls the wonderful escapes that he had experienced from his youth upwards: "What falls did I not experience in my youth, wounding my feet and hands, and breaking my head against the trees; *but the Lord watched over me.* In hunting amidst the thickest forests, how many times have I caught wild horses and bound them together; how many times have I been thrown down by buffaloes, wounded by the antlers of stags, and trodden under the feet of elks! A furious wild boar rent my sword from my girdle, my saddle was torn to pieces by a bear: this terrible beast rushed upon my courser, whom he threw down upon me; *but the Lord protected me.* O my children, fear neither death nor wild beasts. Trust in providence; it far surpasses all human precautions." We long to know something more of the state of the prince who narrated in this devotional manner his wonderful preservations: we marvel, as we read them, that he died quietly in his bed.

At the death of Vladimir Monomachus, civil war burst forth with redoubled fury; and the grand principedom, which was the great object of contention, became a field of blood. In thirty-two years, eleven princes mounted the supreme throne, in turn; and, in the middle of the twelfth century, the contested prize was nearly reduced to the capital itself, the provinces around it being wasted by fire and sword. Among the chiefs who fought for the possession of the metropolis, and the supremacy connected with it, was Igor, prince of Suzdal (Central Russia) the largest division of the empire, and that which included the cities of Moscow and Vladimir: he descended on the capital, and obtained the throne, but soon became the victim of the sensual pleasures to which his elevation introduced him. Andrew, the son of Igor, left other princes to quarrel for the dangerous and tempting eminence, and

applied himself to the improvement of his father's kingdom. Having lessened the number of petty principalities which caused weakness to the whole, he increased the splendour of Moscow, a city founded by Igor, and embellished Vladimir, which he intended to be the capital of his dominions. Andrew built also some new cities; and, by encouraging commerce and peaceful arts, he drew within his limits much of the civilised population of the South. In order to make Vladimir more attractive, Andrew carried thither from Kiow a favourite image of the Virgin, and built for it a magnificent church.

In the meantime, Novogorod, from early times a commercial city, had become the chief mart of the North of Europe, and as a free city was received into the Hanseatic League. When the Prince of Suzdal turned his arms against it, he was repulsed from the gates, and venting his disappointment upon Kiow, he took the imperial city by storm, and degraded it into dependence upon Vladimir. Assisted by seventy-one princes of the blood royal, he made a second attack upon Novogorod, but on being compelled to retreat, his manifested weakness revived the passion for small governments: Kiow, and other principalities, declared their independence, and the aspiring Prince of Suzdal, with an army of 50,000 men, found it difficult even to preserve his hereditary dominions entire. His continued efforts to form a united empire were so unpopular, that he was at last assassinated. Under his successors, Russia fell into greater weakness than it had ever before known, and by its divisions became an easy prey to the Tartars. When Batou and his ferocious followers descended upon Russia, its many princes were absorbed in their own quarrels, or in frivolous and superstitious observances; and such was the terror occasioned by the appearance of the Tartars, that in Riazan, the first principality they entered, the inhabitants of many towns came out to surrender, begging for mercy. But mercy was a quality to which the barbarians were entire strangers, for no tinge of Christianity had then coloured their views of conquest: after butchering in cold blood all who were capable of bearing arms, they tortured or enslaved the rest, and razed their abodes to the ground. Yury (or George) the grand-prince reigning at Vladimir, was engaged in

celebrating a marriage-feast when the Tartars entered his territories; and, leaving his bride within the strongly fortified capital, he went out to collect his troops, expecting that the city would hold out till his return. But, in his absence, the panic-struck citizens neglected to guard the walls, and hid themselves in the chapels and monasteries, seeking their defence in bowing before the images of the saints. The ferocious Tartars rushed in, and slaughtered every person they met; and, after setting fire to the town in several places, revelled like demons amidst the ascending flames. The grand-princess and her ladies took refuge in a church, from which no promises would tempt them to issue, and they perished in the smoking ruins. It does not appear that a single Russian in the capital survived the sword and the fire.

The wandering tribes, having no homes of their own, seemed the natural enemies of settlements, and when they could not find deserts to their taste, they contrived to make them. It is said that an assembly of Mogul chiefs proposed to Zingis Khan, in 1223, to exterminate all the inhabitants of the conquered countries, and to turn the desolated regions into pasturage for their horses: we have, however, seen that the khans came to a very different determination before the close of the century.

Yury was driven to a mad resistance by the loss of his capital and family; he took the field with numbers utterly disproportioned to those of the enemy, and he, with all his followers, perished by the sword of the invaders. Moscow was taken in 1233, and in a single month fourteen large cities, with numberless towns and villages, were laid in ruins. Within sixty miles of Novogorod, the destroyers stopped and turned back, and the saved places resounded with thanksgivings, attributing their rescue, alas! to the Archangel Michael, and to a host of saints, whom they had called upon, together with God. In the next year, Kiow was attacked and fired, and an indiscriminate massacre having commenced, a great number of persons shut themselves up in the strong church of St. Sophia, with all the treasures and provisions that they could collect, but the chambers of the building gave way under the weight, and the refugees were crushed in the ruins, or cut to pieces by the Tartars.

The commander of the garrison of Kiow, holding out to the last, was spared by Batou on account of his valour; and this man advised the conqueror to turn aside from the exhausted provinces of Russia to satiate his hosts in more fruitful countries. Having fully complied with this counsel, the Tartar chief, as if weary of slaughter, settled himself on the banks of the Volga, a suitable spot for preserving the mastery over Russia. His successors, the khans of Kapschak, or Western Tartary, retained this position; and the royal residence was known by the name of the Golden Horde, either from a rich tent covered with cloth of gold presented to Zingis Khan by the Emperor of China, or from the treasures amassed by the Tartars in the path of conquest.

The Golden Horde was a term used by the Russians to signify the whole range of the Tartar empire lying along their confines, as well as the particular residence of the khan. Tartar warriors had terrified and subjected Russia, Tartar politicians knew how to retain the vast acquisition: they suffered no fortified places, they fomented the discords of the native princes, and they fostered a religion which was calculated to destroy warlike habits: this was the master-stroke in their policy, and the favours heaped on the Russian Church seem to have proceeded far less from the khan's respect for ceremonial observances, than from his conviction that they tended to enervate the people. Whilst the most oppressive taxes were levied on the princes, the Church was not only left untaxed but loaded with wealth; the petitions of prelates were heard when those of princes were disregarded; the monks were made a privileged class even in the way of commerce; and laws were enacted making sacrilege punishable with death, and any injury done to the monasteries to be followed with severe penalties. More churches and monasteries were built during the sway of the Tartars than at any other period of Russian history; and personages of the highest rank and finest talents, being attracted by the advantages held out to them in ecclesiastical stations, preferred the service of the Church to that of the State: most of the Russian grand-dukes entered the clerical or monastic orders at the close of their lives.

At the close of our present period, all Russia was

tributary to the Tartars, and every aspirant to the dignity of grand-prince had to seek it, in person, at the Golden Horde, with humble entreaty and costly gifts.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Christian Profession in the Thirteenth Century.*

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POPES, BECAUSE OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCRIPTURES.—SPLENDOUR OF THE CORONATION OF GREGORY IX.—THE POMP AND THE BLOODSHEDDING OF ROME ENABLE US TO FIND ITS LIKENESS IN THE APOCALYPTIC VISION.—SINGULAR HISTORY OF CELESTINE V.—THE JUBILEE INSTITUTED BY BONIFACE VIII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRUSADES IN THEIR POLITICAL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS ASPECT.—EXAMPLE OF THE PENANCE IMPOSED ON PERSONS RETURNING TO THE ROMISH CHURCH.—TORTURES INFLICTED BY THE DOMINICAN INQUISITORS.—THE FIRST AND LAST INQUISITORS IN GERMANY.—THE BRETHERN AND SISTERS OF THE FREE SPIRIT.—THEIR DOCTRINES AND SUFFERINGS.—PREDICTIONS CONCERNING THE AGE OF THE HOLY GHOST.—DELUSIONS CONSEQUENT ON THESE IMAGINATIONS.—TESTIMONY OF THE WALDENSES IN THEIR WRITINGS, LIVES, AND SUFFERINGS.—HISTORY OF GROSTESTE, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.—HIS BOLD WITNESS AGAINST THE CORRUPTIONS OF ROME.—HIS FRIEND ROGER BACON.—THOMAS AQUINAS AND BONAVENTURA.—CARRYING ABOUT OF THE HOST.—SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS ON THE CHARGE OF HAVING OUTRAGED THE HOST.—CONVERSION OF THE LIVONIANS, ESTHONIANS, AND PRUSSIANS.

PROBABLY there is no period more black with the crimes committed under the garb of a Christian profession, than the thirteenth century: it was not, however, unmarked by some of the distinguishing graces of Christianity.

Taking our stand at Rome, the centre of Christendom, the centre from which it was boasted that all earthly power, and heavenly illumination, were to proceed, let us look again at the Popes, the pretended vicars of Christ. We have seen much of their ways in passing, and at every turn we are struck with the fact that, having the Scriptures within their reach, they either ignorantly or wilfully darkened and denied the counsel of God by their deeds and their teaching: tremendous were the responsibilities that they assumed as the directors of the world.

Innocent the Third, whose powers of mind were unequalled by any man of his day, had most certainly studied the Bible, as his writings bear witness; but, instead of being himself wrought upon by its precious truths, he wrested them to serve his own purposes, and interwove them with deadly errors, whilst professing to be the conservator of the faith. His successor Honorius III., the patron of blood-stained crusaders, and persecuting Dominicans, was not ignorant that violence was inconsistent with the religion of Christ; for when he thought that mildness was his best policy, he wrote to his legate at Constantinople to use no means for the maintenance of the Christian faith but those by which it was *at first* established, viz. prayer, instruction, good example, and patience. This is not a solitary proof that the professed guides of Christendom acted contrary to the light that they possessed from the reading of the Scriptures; continually they were so acting, because of a hardened conscience.

It was at the installation of Gregory IX., 1227, that a degree of worldly pomp was introduced, such as had never been exhibited on previous occasions. After several days of magnificent ceremony, the Pope performed mass at St. Peter's, and returned to his palace wearing two crowns, his robes covered with precious stones, and seated on a horse richly caparisoned, which was led by the chief senator and the prefect of Rome; the cardinals robed in purple surrounded him; the judges and officers of the city followed in silk robes, embroidered with gold; and an innumerable crowd accompanied the procession, carrying palms, and singing hymns. Innocent IV., the next Pope, desired the cardinals to distinguish themselves by wearing red hats, as a sign that they should always be ready to

shed their blood for the faith. The mark seems to us more emblematic of the readiness of Rome to shed the blood of the saints; and it is scarcely possible for the reader of Scripture to consider the costly and pompous array of the heads of the Romish Church, and the murderous acts for which they are responsible, without remembering the apostle's vision of the woman arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, and drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.\*

Besides all the proofs of the pride and unreasonableness of the aged Gregory IX. given elsewhere, we may here add, in connection with his splendid coronation, that he sent ambassadors to some of the Moslem princes, threatening that if they would not be converted he would withdraw from them the obedience of their Christian subjects: these haughty messages had no other effect than to aggravate the sufferings of the Christians under Mahometan rule.

In a line of nineteen Popes, chosen, in succession, during the thirteenth century, we pause for a moment at the singular history of Celestine V., forming as it does a striking contrast with that of his fellows. The papal chair had been vacant two years and three months, when an humble-minded Neapolitan hermit, aged seventy-two, was unexpectedly visited by the cardinals, in his solitude, and to his grief and astonishment summoned by them to fill the vacancy. He at first tried to escape, but the entreaties of those who thronged around him, and particularly of Charles II., king of Naples, who visited him in person,

\* I desire humbly to remark that, whilst perceiving in that evil worldly system of which the Pope has been the avowed centre, the marks of the woman — the fit emblem of the false Church set up by Satan in enmity to the true Church, the Lamb's wife — I cannot see that *the beast* represents the Romish system, or a succession of Popes. In the thirteenth century, unquestionably held to be the time when the Popes were at the summit of power, it could not be said, "Who is able to make war with him?" Witness the opposition of such princes as Frederic II. and Philip the Fair. Neither at this period, *nor at any other*, do I feel satisfied that there were ten kings of one mind to give their power and strength to the Pope. I therefore believe that a blasphemous power, worse than that of the Popes, is yet to arise.

overcame his reluctance. Still, in accepting the papal dignity, he refused its pomp, and on the day of his coronation he chose to ride upon an ass, though Charles II. and his son insisted upon holding the bridle: doubtless Celestine desired to express the unsuitability of worldly grandeur for a professed servant of Christ. In one of his first acts, Celestine introduced the clause — in case the Pope should die or *abdicate*; and, utterly unfit for his position, he doubtless contemplated at once the possibility of escape. He distinguished his short reign by making peace between the Kings of Arragon and Sicily, and after holding his power with much uneasiness for six months, he resigned it by the advice or the artifices of Cardinal Cajetan (Boniface VIII.), who himself seized the vacant post.

The ambitious cardinal, aware of Celestine's perplexed state of mind, is said to have whispered to him in the night, through an aperture in his chamber, that his soul would be lost if he did not abdicate; and the next morning he persuaded the old man that it was a message from heaven.

Having procured his own elevation, Boniface imprisoned his predecessor in a castle dungeon, and had him guarded by six knights and thirty soldiers, night and day, lest he should change his mind, or the party that favoured his cause procure his restoration. The precaution was unnecessary as far as Celestine was concerned, for he sent this message to Boniface, "I desired a cell, and you have given me one:" at the end of ten months the prisoner died under the hardships that he had patiently endured.

Concerning Boniface VIII. we have another circumstance to relate, proving that he coveted money as well as power, and that he was utterly unscrupulous as to the manner in which it was obtained.

In the pagan days of Imperial Rome, the close of each century had been marked by games in honour of her gods; and in 1299, it was rumoured throughout Papal Rome that, from the remotest Christian times, certain privileges had been allowed to those who came on pilgrimage to make offerings in St. Peter's church, in the last year of the century. The rumour, if not originally set afloat by the Pope and his partisans, was the foundation of a bull

issued by Boniface, proclaiming full remission of sins to all who should visit Rome at the approaching jubilee: this was the name given to the era of extraordinary indulgences. A. D. 1300, was properly called *the golden year*, by the Romans, for we are assured that, during its course, they never had less than 200,000 pilgrims within their walls; and the total concourse was fixed at two millions. The highways were thronged with persons of all ranks and ages, and of either sex; and in the streets and churches many were trampled to death by reason of the crowds: every individual offered something, and two priests stood night and day before the altar of St. Peter's, to rake away the heaps of silver and gold that could not be counted. The Romans provided their visitors with bread, wine, meat, and fish, in sufficient quantity; but lodging was necessarily scarce, and so dear, that multitudes spent their nights in the churches and streets. At this period, the Holy Land had been for eight years abandoned to the Moslems, and the offer of the same advantages from a pilgrimage to Rome, which were formerly held out as the reward of visiting or fighting in Palestine, doubtless occasioned this immense throng of persons to Rome. Souls were equally deluded whether they looked for remission of sins from going to Jerusalem or to Rome; but it may be observed, that the same ferocious passions were not engendered, and humanity was not so much outraged in the jubilee as in the crusade.

We cannot review the Christian profession of a century which saw the close of the crusades, without referring again to the so-called Holy Wars, wars in which more than six millions of Europeans died fearful deaths, and in which two hundred millions of money were expended. What had been purchased by this vast expenditure of human life and treasure? Some will answer, "Much:" and as we ought thankfully to perceive any iota of good, arising out of events so teeming with evil, we will recall the advantages that are supposed to have been gained by the crusades. Partial emancipation from feudal tyranny had been procured, when cities, towns, and villages, by equipping their lord for a crusade, obtained, in return, charters of freedom: the poorer class, thus becoming independent, had motives to industry which they possessed not, when they could not eat the fruit of their own labours;

and the names of master and slave were gradually abolished. Private quarrels, too, were often suspended or terminated, by the disputants taking up arms in a common cause; and riddance was found from the more turbulent in the direction of their energies to a distant object. Again, kingly government became more stable; the number of petty tyrants was diminished; justice was more equally administered; while international intercourse furthered civilisation, and in some cases prepared the way for the establishment of friendly relationships, especially in the way of commerce.

Finally, Europe is supposed to have been saved from Saracen invasion at a time when, had it taken place, she might have fallen under Mahometan power; but to this it must be added, that the crusaders *provoked* those attacks of the Turks, which, in a subsequent age, placed all Christendom in peril.

But if we judge of the crusades simply by gospel principles, we cannot speak of them with too much abhorrence, whilst we may in charity believe that some men, for instance, St. Bernard and St. Louis, furthered them with upright intentions, having "a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge." But the masses who engaged in these wars showed in all their ways that they had no fear of God before their eyes. Instead of departing from iniquity, in naming the name of Christ, the maddened crusaders, abusing that holy name, made it a pretext for iniquity; superstition assumed a terrible form, and reached to a gigantic height, and the laws of nature and of nations were alike violated, in the criminal excesses rushed into by the crusaders while pursuing their schemes. Under the profession of defending Christianity, every Christian principle was abandoned; and the educated Moslem, or the untaught Pagan, was alike convinced, by the actings of the professed Christian in these cruel wars, that he might meet with a better soldier, but rarely a better man, than himself.

In 1291, Acre, the last military station possessed by the Christians in Palestine, fell into the hands of the Turks; and, at the close of the century, scarcely any traces were left of the vast emigration of Europeans into Asia: all who remained were the slaves of the Mahometans. Thus

ended the boasted glory of the crusades to the Holy Land—a land which, according to the prophetic word, was to be trodden down of the Gentiles for an appointed season.

The barbarities of the crusaders were followed and exceeded by the cruelties of the Dominican friars, into whose hands the management of heresy was wholly transferred. The penance imposed by Dominic himself on a certain heretic of whose conversion he boasted, is thus described:—On three Sundays he was to be led by a priest from the entrance of the town to the church, naked, except his drawers, and flogged all the way. He was to abstain always from meat, eggs, and cheese, except on three festivals; three days in the week to be denied fish, oil, and wine, and to keep three Lents in the year from fish. He was to wear a religious dress, with two small crosses on the breast, which, like those on houses in which the plague raged, were to show that he was infected. Every day he was to attend mass, and vespers on every holiday; to go through the service called the Hours wherever he was, night as well as day; seven times in the day to repeat the Paternoster ten times, and twenty times at midnight: these terms of reconciliation he was to show every month to the priest under whose inspection he was placed; if he failed in any part he was to be held as an excommunicated and perjured heretic. These were the *tenderest mercies* of the first inquisitor; and, taking as their authority, “every tree that beareth not fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire,” he and his followers, being constituted judges, sentenced to torture and fire those whom they judged to be fruitless trees. The public burnings of the Dominicans are too well known; the secret tortures which they practised would be too horrible to relate, had there not been men capable of performing them; men, too, who for ages were deemed the glory of the Roman Catholic Church. “Words,” says a Catholic writer, “can scarcely express the glory, the splendour, and the dignity of the Dominican order, for having the thrice holy office of inquisitor invented by St. Dominic, and so happily perpetuated by his friars.” With this glorying, let us compare the statement of the German author of “A Brief History of the Church of

Christ”\* “The first torture inflicted was that of drawing the accused person up a forked beam, one foot fastened to each fork and the head downwards; the superior Dominican then addressed him, ‘Confess, my son, confess.’ When this had no effect, he was suspended by the wrists tied together, with a heavy weight hanging to his feet, and kept in this posture till piteous groans were extorted, which the persecutors tried to drown with loud mockeries, calling him dog and heretic. The next step in the torture was to draw the victim up and down from the ceiling by the rope, till his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, after a short respite allowed to exhausted nature, he was laid on his back in a kind of trough with splinters crossing underneath, so as to pierce the back with severe wounds. While the sufferer lay in this position, the lower part of his face was covered with a piece of fine linen, to intercept his breathing, and on this a quantity of water was spouted, so as to force the middle part of the cloth down the throat; the linen was then suddenly tugged up with violence, and was followed by a stream of blood. When all these cruelties were ineffectual to make the accused confess things that he knew not, or to betray any of his brethren (and some were too faithful and loving to do this under any suffering), his feet were placed over an iron pan of red hot coals, and basted with grease, until they were thoroughly roasted.” It need scarcely be said that these revolting barbarities were practised in the secret cells and dark chambers of the inquisitors: in every sense they hated the light, because their deeds were evil. Their public proceedings, at the first, excited such great indignation, that from many cities they were driven away, and in others put to death. The excessive barbarity of the first German inquisitor, a commissioner of Gregory IX., made him, among others, a victim of popular vengeance. During three years, under the pretence of exterminating heresy, he committed to the flames, on the very day of accusation, an immense number of nobles, clergymen, monks, hermits, and lay persons of all ranks. After this terrible example, an end was put to the office of inquisitor in Germany. The inquisitors did not follow the customs

\* Rev. C. G. Barth; author, also, of a “Universal History on Christian Principles.”

of the common tribunals, but made laws of their own, contrary alike to justice and common sense: they also instituted a variety of awful forms and ceremonies to instil more terror into the minds of the people.

In Italy, France, and Germany the Dominicans gathered a multitude of victims from among a set of people calling themselves "the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit." They originated about the middle of this century, when a large number of monks and other devout persons of Suabia were persuaded to live without any rules, and to serve God in the liberty of the Spirit: by this they seem to have understood a freedom from the worship and laws of the Church as then established; and, considering what those laws were, we cannot be surprised that they should be abandoned by any enlightened persons. The purest of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit very nearly resembled, in principle, the modern Society of Friends; for having been, like these originally were, disgusted with various superstitions, they gave up the use of the sacraments and the common acts of worship: some, however, went much farther; and, totally unlike the modern "Friends," they laid aside the common decencies of behaviour, insisting that even the appearance of propriety was unnecessary for spiritual persons who could sin no more. Some, holding these wild and unscriptural opinions, still led a moral life; but a greater number made *their* professed liberty just what the apostle teaches us the liberty of the Spirit is *not* to be, "a cloke of licentiousness." We have often occasion to observe that sinful man, in avoiding one class of errors, is liable to run into another, and it was thus with these persons: having broken loose from the insufferable fetters bound around them when slaves of Rome, they did not submit to the easy yoke of Christ; being determined not to submit to teachers in whom they had detected many vices and superstitions, they, at the same time, disobeyed the teaching of the Spirit of God: thus they followed the devices of their own hearts as fully as those whose errors they detested. The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit are said to have borne their sufferings with cheerfulness; and many of them expired with the utmost serenity, and even with triumphant joy. That they were a praying people appears

in the name of Beghards given to them by the Germans and Flemings: it was a name they shared with others who were distinguished for extraordinary earnestness in prayer.

About the beginning of this century, a book, said to be written by Joachim, an abbot of Calabria, was handed about in Italy, and made a great noise in the world. It bore the title of "The Everlasting Gospel," and in it the corruptions of the Church of Rome were severely censured, and its destruction foretold. Dividing the world into three ages, those of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the abbot affirmed that the two first were past, and the third was at hand — an age when there would be a more perfect gospel set forth by poor men raised up by God. The book itself excited little condemnation, till a Franciscan monk put forth a work, which he entitled, "The Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel:" in this he asserted that the Mendicant Orders were the persons of whom Joachim had prophesied; that the age of the Holy Ghost had arrived; and that St. Francis was the angel mentioned in the Apocalypse (xiv. 6.) as flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. The book is said to have abounded with other extravagances and impieties, and it met with the severest condemnation. One of the painful consequences of the fanciful predictions concerning the age of the Holy Ghost is worthy of notice, because a similar delusion has occurred in our own days. A Bohemian woman, residing near Milan, whose name was Wilhelmina, being filled with strange notions about the so-called age of the Holy Ghost, at last deceived herself and others into the belief that the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians were to be saved, not by the blood of Jesus which saved *true* Christians, but through the Holy Ghost which dwelt in her; and, to that end, all that happened to the Son of God come in the flesh, viz. his birth, sufferings, death, and resurrection, was suffered in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost in her. This poor deluded woman was honoured with religious worship, both in public and private; and at her death, in 1281, a magnificent monument was erected to her memory. Her death did not, it seems, dissolve the snare; and in 1300,

the inquisitors, having discovered the sect, committed to the flames the chief leaders of it, both men and women, and disinterring the bones of Wilhelmina, burned them at the same time. The whole voice of Church History seems as an echo of the voice of Christ, "Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation:" it continually cries, "Beware."

To a Christian mind the point of greatest interest in this century, is the testimony of the Waldenses. Besides the positive doctrines which they held in common with enlightened believers of all ages, they held also doctrines contradictory of the particular errors which were all but universal in their days: it was on this account that they were accused of heresy.

The Church of the Waldenses was not of mushroom growth, or it might have been easily crushed: if even it had not preserved from apostolical times the simplicity of Christ, it was built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. The first answer in the catechism of the Waldenses (dated 1100) contains the words, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus:" the second was, "the Lord says, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life:" such was the faith in which the Christian martyrs of this century had been nurtured from their infancy. Even whilst assenting to the creeds which had for ages been held almost faultless in expression — creeds, on the whole, so near to Scripture, that Christians who prefer to have no human formula can agree to them — this same catechism notices even one word that seemed liable to mistake. After teaching that a dead faith is to believe that there is a God, and to believe those things which relate to God, and not to believe *in* him, the question is asked, "Dost thou believe *in* the Holy Catholic Church? No; for it is a creature; but I believe *that there is one.*" This Church it describes as consisting of "the elect of God, from the beginning to the end of the world, by the grace of God, through the merit of Christ, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and fore-ordained to eternal life." Nor were the Waldensian writings less clear as to the efficacy of the blood of Christ. The following is a statement bearing date 1120: — "In Eph. v. 26, 27, the apostle shows that Christ has so loved his Church that he

chose not to cleanse it by any other washing than his own blood, and that *not in an insufficient manner*, but so that there should not remain in it *any spot.*" . . . And this testimony of the cleansing of the Church of Christ in his blood is declared not only upon earth, but it is testified in heaven by those who have been thus cleansed, for it is said of them in the Apocalypse, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," &c.

A body of men to whom Christ was *all*, were likely to make great havock with the doctrines which made him nothing; and we may now proceed to the accusations brought against the Waldenses of the thirteenth century. The inquisitor Reinerius had been amongst them for seventeen years, and afterwards became their violent persecutor. His matter for condemnation may give us matter for praise to God, in behalf of these witnesses for the truth. "They maintained," says Reinerius, "that they were the Church of Christ, and held the Church of Rome to be the Babylon described in the Revelation, saying that all who obeyed her were damned, and that no true miracles were wrought in her. They rejected festivals, fasts, blessings, consecration of churches, and similar ordinances, declaring them to be the inventions of priests for their own gains. They believed the bread of the sacrament to be only called the body of Christ by a figure; they participated together in imitation of Christ's supper, no one among them believing that the bread was changed into the body of Christ. They held that a priest, being a sinner, could not absolve any one; that there is no purgatory; that the saints do not pray for us; and that it is sufficient to confess to God alone."

Reinerius accounted the Waldenses the *most dangerous* of all sects to the Romish Church, because they lived justly before men, believed all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles of the Creed; he says, they were temperate in meat and drink, abstained from taverns, dances, and other vanities, and from anger; they were known also by the precision and modesty of their words, and by avoiding scurrility, detraction, and lightness; they preferred manual labour to trade, to avoid, it was said, lies, oaths, and fraud; and instead of multiplying riches

they were content with necessaries; their composed manners, and their little care for dress, distinguished them from others. Other writers tell us that the Waldenses, interpreting the Sermon on the Mount in a literal manner, condemned in their society all wars, lawsuits, attempts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds. They recognised elders in their churches, but they did not think a learned education necessary for a teacher: some of their pastors were shoemakers, and all earned their living by their own labours: it is remarked that they considered every Christian, in a certain measure, qualified and authorised to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their Christian course. They were said, in fact, to teach and to learn day and night, and they had a number of schools; in their zeal, we are told that they would teach in the houses of *lepers*, and one of the accused heretics was said to have swum across a river at night during winter, in order to read to another the word of God. The use which the Waldenses made of opportunities for disseminating the knowledge of the book they so truly valued, is described in a lively manner by Reinerius.

Going from house to house with a box of wares, for the purpose, it is supposed, of gaining access to the higher classes, the Waldensian teacher thus introduced himself:—“Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs or pieces of needlework for veils: I can afford them cheap.” If, after a purchase, the company ask, “Have you anything more?” the salesman would reply, “O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them if you will protect me from the ecclesiastics.” Security being promised, he went on: “the inestimable jewel of which I spoke is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts to love him. In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth;” and so he would proceed to repeat the first chapter of Luke, or he would begin with the thirteenth of St. John, and read the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company seemed pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew; and, if one of the audience

inquired, "Against whom are these woes pronounced, think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy and the monks."

Can we wonder that carnal men, backed by all the powers of the devil, should endeavour to extirpate from the face of the earth the Christians that reflected most of the image of their Divine Master? "If they have persecuted me," said the Lord to his faithful disciples, "they will also persecute you."

About the year 1250, the Waldenses of Germany were oppressed with peculiar cruelty; but they held fast their profession. Their teachers publicly declared the Pope to be antichrist, and maintained that, if God had not sent them to preach the gospel, the very stones would have been awakened to do so in their stead. "We offer," said they, "no imaginary and Popish absolution; we preach the forgiveness of sins, as God hath set it forth in his holy word." In the first persecution, beginning with the Albigensian war, and lasting twenty years, it is computed that a million of heretics were cut off; and the stedfastness of some of the Waldensian martyrs under the severest torments was worthy of the first ages of the Church: it was the operation of the same Spirit that worketh all in all; there was the sustaining hand of the one God and Father; the all-powerful name and grace of one and the same Lord. A Waldensian, sixty years of age, having been bound to a bench by some barbarous Catholic soldiers, they tied his hands, and placed upon his body a large horned beetle confined by a small vessel, that the insect might penetrate to his vitals: thus was the agonised sufferer destroyed by a slow process of almost unexampled cruelty, but he did not deny his Lord. Before persecution began, because of dissent from the Romish Church, it is probable that those sectaries who were sound in their faith did not associate with the others except for the sake of bringing them out of their errors; but when war was declared against them all, it appears that they banded together for mutual defence, and in the horrors that followed, it is often difficult to separate between those who loved Christ and those who simply hated Rome. But to this subject we must return in the next century.

There were voices still lifted up for God within as well as

without the great circle of which Rome was the centre; and though less clear and loud, because of the evil influences around them, they are not to be despised. It is pleasant to know that the boldest ecclesiastical witness in this day spoke from our own country; and we shall enlarge upon his history, because there is none other of equal interest.

Robert surnamed Grosteste (Greathead), born about 1175, of obscure parents, is said to have been put to school by the mayor of Lincoln, at whose door he came to beg, and from the time that the path of knowledge was opened to him to the end of his life, he was emphatically *a student*. He learned all that could be learned in those days, and went so much beyond his cotemporaries, that magical powers were attributed to him: above all, he studied the Scriptures, which he knew also in their original language, having learned Hebrew from the Jews at Oxford, and Greek from a native teacher settled in the same place. Having obtained all the knowledge that could be gained in England, Robert went to Paris to complete his education; there he had opportunities for communication with learned men from all parts of the civilised world, and much increased his knowledge of books. On his return from the Continent, he gave public lectures at Oxford, and continually rose in fame, his high attainments being ornamented by a godly life. The learned languages, geometry, astronomy, geography, metaphysics, natural philosophy, and even astrology, by turns occupied his attention; medicine, mechanics, music, painting, and ecclesiastical law were also familiar studies: he was so fond of the harp that he kept a minstrel near his study, and composed many lyrical poems of a religious character to be sung for the instruction of others. The most celebrated of these were his "Manual of Sins" and "Castle of Love," both written in French: they are said to manifest his holy hatred of sin as opposed to the love of God; and his vivid sense of eternal realities. Grosteste's most famous controversial work was one addressed to the Jews, concerning the perpetuity of the law, and the spirit of gentle candour in which he addressed this persecuted race was as admirable and extraordinary as the work itself.

With all his learning, Grosteste, by grace, remained so humble, that he was pained at the praise bestowed upon

him by others ; he was more conscious of his ignorance than of his knowledge. The general slothfulness of the monks, and the almost universal worldliness of the clergy, caused Grosteste to rejoice at the first appearance of the Franciscan missionaries in England : he hoped that they were raised up by God to do the work of preaching, neglected by others ; and their leader, an Italian deacon named Agnellus, though an illiterate man, won the esteem of the learned Grosteste by his profession of piety. For ten years he lectured to large assemblies in the building raised by Agnellus at Oxford, and doubtless his exposition of the Scriptures proved a blessing to many. A fellow-student of his, named Adam, and known as the "Illustrious Doctor," often assisted him in his labours, and at length took the habit of the friars. In 1232, being brought to the point of death by fever, Grosteste devoted himself more solemnly to the service of God ; and, two years after, being raised to the bishopric of Lincoln, one of the largest dioceses of England, and including Oxford within his limits, he began a most energetic and devoted episcopal course, styling himself "Robert, by divine permission, the poor minister of the church of Lincoln." He was then sixty years of age, and his country, and the Church at large, never more needed the exertions of some firm and enlightened servant of God : it may be said of him, he did what he could. "I wish," said he, "to be considered a bishop and pastor of *souls*, and that the blood of the sheep be not required at my hand." His own feeling of responsibility led him to be very careful as to the persons on whom he conferred ordination : it was the crying evil of his day to make the pastoral office a mere matter of merchandise. "I dare not," said he, "confer the cure of souls on any one, unless he be willing to reside on his cure ; for it is not of moderate magnitude, but is very great, requiring the rector to be always present, vigilantly, prudently, diligently, and, according to his ability, attending to it ; who will preach the word of the Lord in season and out of season, showing himself as an example of good works ; and when he gives salutary monitions, and is not heard, will grieve and greatly weep ; who also shakes his hands from every gift, so evidently expending for pious uses the pecuniary penalties received from delinquents for the punishment of their faults,

that, for the reception of them, no one will be able to blacken him with the stigma of cupidity ; who, moreover, when he is able justly to acquit the accused, rejoices ; and when justice compels him to condemn, compassionately condoles ; whom also neither love nor hatred, fear nor hope, price nor reward, or any other thing, will bend from the truth of judgment, or cause to accept persons ; nor will he be deceived by the opinion of the many ; whose pleasures shall be sobriety and abstinence, whose rest shall be labour and watching, and whose sole desire shall be the *profit of souls*. Whoever will take this heavy burden only for the good of others, may he take it humbly, and bear it bravely."

Looking out for such men as he here pictured to himself, Grosteste extended his care beyond his own diocese ; and to one who had twice refused an election to the see of Durham, he wrote thus :—" I conjure you to undertake the burden, and to receive the honour, for the king, unless he be out of his senses, will never oppose your election. If you do not comply, he will impose some unworthy foreigner on the church !" The Lincoln diocese, then of vast extent, was one forest of churches and monastic houses ; in the city alone there were fifty-two churches and many monasteries. But the state of all these places as regards instruction for the soul's salvation was, in the days of Grosteste, as bad as it could be ; and he met with the greatest opposition in the city of Lincoln, and in journeying through his diocese. His investigations being complained of as new and unprecedented, he replied, " Every new thing which instructs, improves, and perfects a man, is a new blessing." In carrying out his plans of reform, Grosteste, after many struggles between conscience towards God and the authority of man, opposed in turn the king, the primate, the Pope's legate, and the Popes themselves : still more, he persevered in his course with unshaken integrity, when preached against in the cathedral of Lincoln, and when the canons publicly told him that they bitterly repented having chosen a bishop of mean birth.

The weakness of Henry III. probably prevented him from breaking with a man so powerful as Grosteste, and in many cases he fell under his influence : the bishop, moreover, acted towards him with Christian meekness and

prudence ; and his courtesy was so conspicuous, that it had won the king's admiration on their first acquaintance. It is related that Henry being at a feast in one of his six furnished palaces, probably the one of which the ruins remain at Lincoln, expressed his wonder at the elegance of Grosteste's manners, he being a student, and of low birth. The bishop replied that he had been educated amongst the brightest exemplars, and the principal characters of the world ; and on the king's demanding an explanation, he said that, in reading the Scriptures, he had found those who were able to instruct him no less than if he had seen and conversed with them, and that he had endeavoured to imitate those models of behaviour. Gregory IX. having sent forth his bulls demanding *provisions* for 300 Romans from the first vacant benefices, Grosteste cast them out of his hand saying, " If I should commit the care of souls to them, I should be the friend of Satan." The enraged Pope excommunicated him, and sent a foreign prelate to take his diocese, but the people drove the intruder away.

The legate Otho, by his extortions, and the insolence of his servants, found his life in danger when in Oxford from the attack of the students. The thousands then at the university sought him, with wild cries, saying, " Where is this robber? Come out, thou slave! thou fleecer of the land! thou gulf of Roman avarice!" The legate having escaped with his life, laid an interdict on Oxford, much of the property of the students was confiscated, and before they could resume their studies, they were obliged to solicit pardon in London, barefoot, and without their hoods and gowns. The Bishop of Lincoln saved them from farther trouble by reminding the legate of the cause of the quarrel. The university was never so populous after this affair, but Grosteste laboured to establish it on a better foundation, and affectionately exhorted the teachers of divinity to let their morning lectures be upon the New and Old Testaments *only*, and not on other matters, though compiled by worthy authors.

Innocent IV. being forbidden to send any legate to England, employed the mendicant friars to beg for him the contributions termed Benevolences. Two friars superbly dressed, mounted on fine horses and magnificently attended, rode over the country demanding charity for the Pope, and

threatening all who would not bestow the sums they asked. Grosteste boldly refused to give his quota till the sense of the kingdom was taken on the question. In his seventy-seventh year, being obliged, though ill and feeble, to appear before the Pope at Lyons, and finding his journey of no avail, he said in a low voice, in the very presence-chamber of Innocent, "O money! how great is thy power, especially at the court of Rome!" Nor did he leave Lyons without distributing to the Pope and cardinals copies of a sermon on the abominable vices of the papacy. In 1253, the last year of his life, Grosteste wrote a letter to the Pope, to excuse himself for not appointing an Italian youth to a canonry which he had been desired to reserve for him; and, on this occasion, he especially attacked a certain clause in the papal bulls of this period, which began with the words *non obstante* (notwithstanding), and was intended to nullify all previous laws and decrees, whether of Popes or others, that should be any obstacle to the fulfilment of the *present* command. "From my love of union with the apostolic see, in the body of Christ, filially, obediently, I obey not; I contradict and rebel. . . . This is the plenitude of its power, to be able to do all things *for edification*, and those things which they call *provisions* are not for edification, but to the destruction of souls. . . . The *non obstante* clause overflows with uncertainty, fraud, and deceit, and strikes at the root of all confidence between man and man. . . . No sin can be more adverse to the doctrine of the apostles, more abominable to Jesus Christ, than to rob souls of that instruction, which, by the Scriptures, they have a right to. . . . Such mandates ought not to be obeyed, though an angel from heaven should command," &c.

Innocent, on receiving this letter, furiously exclaimed, "Who is this old dotard who thus rashly presumes to judge of my actions? By Peter and Paul, if I were not restrained by the goodness of my own heart, I would make such an example of him as should astonish the world. Is not his king my vassal, my slave, and for a word speaking would throw him into prison, and cover him with infamy and disgrace?" Some of the cardinals said, "The bishop is true; and is superior to us all in piety, learning, and general character."

Before the Pope's sentence of excommunication could reach Grosteste, he had passed from this world. On his deathbed he said, "Many other Popes have afflicted the Church, but this Innocent has enslaved it more than they all." To prove the Pope a *heretic*, he said, that all prelates were heretics who, from an earthly and fleshly view, abused their trust of the care of souls.

Believing that De Montfort and his son were raised up providentially by God, to secure the freedom of his country from the tyranny of the king and the Pope, the good bishop said, shortly before his death, that the Church would never be delivered from this Egyptian bondage but by the edge of the sword: such mistakes do the children of God often make when meddling with this world's politics. "The holy bishop Robert," says his biographer, "departed from the state of this world which he never loved. In him God manifested that the corruption of the clergy was inexcusable, *for to one who loved and feared God, and studied and thought upon his word, power was given, so that his light shone before men, who saw his good works and glorified his Father in heaven.*" Although Grosteste was suffered to die in his bed, and not in a dungeon, or at the stake—to which greater light, if not greater faithfulness, might have conducted him—the Pope expressed his malice by writing to the king to have his bones taken up, and cast out of Lincoln Cathedral, where they had been honourably interred, in spite of the excommunication. Innocent himself died before his letter was despatched.

The enemies of Grosteste in his own diocese once attempted his life by poison; his hair and part of his skin came off, his nails and his teeth fell out, and he was brought to the brink of the grave.

England, in these days, from its tame submission to the burdens laid upon it, was styled in Italy, "the Pope's Ass:" it was not, therefore, a small thing for Grosteste to make so resolute a stand; but had he measured all the doings of Rome by the same standard—that of *edification*—he would have been a reformer on a much larger scale.

With Grosteste we must connect his pupil and friend, Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan, and the most remarkable genius of his age. Too little is known as to his religious history, but it is an interesting fact that he

wrote to Clement IV., urging him to advise the reading of the Scriptures by the laity, and that not only in their own tongues, but in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Latin, he having prepared what he called a universal grammar, to facilitate the study of those languages. Bacon was a doctor of theology at Oxford, but his superior knowledge of science caused him to be accused of having dealings with the devil: he was for some time confined to his monastery, forbidden to read lectures, or even to converse with his friends, and insufficiently supplied with food. The first suspicions having passed away, the student was liberated; but, through the malice of his enemies, he was again put into confinement in 1278, and was not released for ten years: he turned his solitude to account by continuing his studies and his experiments.

The formation of a brazen head, which was said to answer questions, was one article of accusation, or of wonder, concerning Grosteste and Bacon; and though we remain in the dark as to the concealed machinery whereby these ingenious men produced the effect of speech, we may suppose that it was a curious machine, particularly as we are told that the head, which had cost seven years of labour, fell to the ground one day after it had been set up, and was broken to pieces. To Roger Bacon belongs the credit of having invented the telescope, and he was so well acquainted with astronomy as to be able to discover the error in the existing calendar, he also proposed to Pope Clement the correction made so many years after. The properties of concave and convex glasses, of burning glasses, of the camera obscura, and even of gunpowder, seem to have been well known to this remarkable philosopher. He died at the age of eighty, 1294. Such doctors as Grosteste and Bacon were of the class called *Biblicists*, or *Bible-divines*, preferring the simple expositions of the Scriptures, as given by such men as Augustine, to modern subtleties; they did not fail to exhort their opponents, the philosophical divines, to return to the purity of the Scriptures. But there were two doctors of this age, both canonised by the Romish Church, who by their genius obtained so much popularity as to throw the *Bible-divines* into the shade: the one was Thomas Aquinas, commonly called the Angel of

the Schools, or *the Angelic doctor*; the other was Bonaventura, who obtained the appellation of *the Seraphic doctor*: both died in the year 1274. They were both preaching friars, and Bonaventura became general of the Franciscan Order. It is related that Aquinas once entered the chamber of Innocent IV., who was the very slave of avarice, whilst that pontiff was counting his treasures, and on his remarking, with much levity, "The Church, you see, is no longer in that condition in which she said, 'Silver and gold have I none;'" "True, father," replied the friar, "but neither can she say to the paralytic, 'Rise up and walk!'" Preferring study and religious exercises to ecclesiastical promotion, Aquinas refused the archbishopric of Naples, offered to him by Clement IV. Both Aquinas and Bonaventura, however lauded by the wise and learned, failed to expound the precious doctrines of the Scriptures to the edification of souls; and the Bible-divines of Oxford and Paris accused them of corrupting the Gospel both in public and private. One who has well studied their writings observes, that they pry into matters that surpass human comprehension, and frequently involve in greater obscurity that which they profess to place in the clearest light. They seem to have been serious triflers, carving out ancient truths into strange new-fashioned shapes, or painting certain errors so as to please themselves and others: good servants of the Church of Rome, they failed to be servants of the Church of Christ.

Among the ceremonies introduced in a period when religion is said to have been made a raree-show\*, we must

\* Though not peculiar to this century, we may here mention a widely celebrated Christmas festival, called *the Feast of Fools*. It seems to have originated in the old heathen festival of the January calends; and it was a time of licence for every species of foolery, and especially for turning into ridicule all ecclesiastical persons and ceremonies: the custom of the Christmas evergreen is said to be a relic of this festival, for this was denounced, with its accompanying profane sports, by many councils. The ecclesiastics did not seem to perceive that their ceremonials, so contrary to all Christian simplicity and spirituality, awakened this ridicule, though only in a season of allowed mirth it had courage to show itself. There was also a sort of interlude performed in some churches at Christmas, called *the Feast of the Ass*, because Balaam on his ass was represented in it. There was a strange mixture of personages, Jews and Gentiles; Moses, Aaron, the Prophets, Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, the Sybil, &c. Each had to sing or say something

especially mention that which stood in connection with the false doctrine of Transubstantiation. The consecrated bread, being deemed *divine*, was enclosed in a costly shrine called a pyx, and carried in solemn procession to the sick and dying; religious worship was required for this new idol; and it was called the Host, from *hostia*, a Latin word signifying sacrifice. The Jews, with the holy law of God in their hands, dared not respect idols in any form; and a charge frequently brought against them was that of outraging the Host. A book, which to this day all faithful Catholics are required to believe, contains the following instance of the alleged offence with its punishment:—A German Jew offered a poor priest sixty golden coins for the Host; and having obtained it, carried it into the synagogue at Brussels, on Good Friday. The assembled Jews, mocking and blaspheming, pierced the wafer with their knives; and though, says the legend, blood poured forth profusely, proving it to be the *real* body, the congregation, unmoved by the miracle, employed a poor woman to carry the treasure to Cologne, to be exposed to mockery in another synagogue. This woman, being secretly a Catholic, is said to have been the person who denounced the crime to the clergy. If we deduct the alleged miracle, the story is not improbable; for a zealous Jew might reasonably have felt desirous to expose the real nature of the Romish idol to his brethren. The book further states, with evident satisfaction, that the accused Jews were arrested, brought to confession under torture, torn with red-hot pincers, and burned alive. The clergy of Brussels still commemorate the alleged miracle by a solemn annual procession, with the elevation of the Host. We must devote a separate chapter to the subject of the general treatment of the Jews, during this century of Christian profession.

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#### APPENDIX.

THE conversion of the Pagan nations bordering on the E. and S. shores of the Baltic was completed in this

suitable to his character; and Balaam on his ass was the popular favourite, and thus gave the name to the whole. The whole of the directions for the performance were found in a MS. ordinal of the 15th century in a church at Rouen.

century, but in such a manner as to be for the shame, and not the praise, of Christendom. We have already taken a brief glance at this field of military missions,\* but it became an object of more vehement interest, the longer the sword was employed upon it. The missionaries of this day could not be compared to sowers or reapers, nor their sphere of toil to a cultivated field, rewarding the patient labourer by foreshowing an abundant harvest; they bore the sword in one hand, rites and forms of words in the other; their field was one of battle and fierce rivalry; the baptism or the blood of the pagans was their demand; and their hot zeal blushed at its ill-success. Here and there, however, was a man, who, having found a way to the pagans by the force of the sword, won their attention by giving them some elements of Christian truth, which had not lost all power, in spite of their dilution or corruption through human error.

Albert, appointed bishop of Livonia by Innocent III., is said to have received from that Pope a copy of the Bible written by the first Gregory's own hand; he was not, therefore, without the means of knowing the mind of God in the gospel, yet he took into his service the military company, called the Knights' Swordbearers, and again, and again, brought troops of soldiers to dragoon the pagans of his diocese into the Romish Church. Albert also introduced some German monks, who, being ignorant of the language of the people they wished to instruct, acted before them, by the help of the knights, some imitations of scenes in Scripture history, which they termed "Pieces of the Prophets." One of these appeared so frightful to the spectators that they all ran away trembling. Livonia experienced a transitory change when, during Albert's absence to procure fresh crusaders, a Danish archbishop wintered in Riga, being on his way to establish a bishopric at Revel for the conversion of Esthonia. Andrew, the Danish prelate, began to instruct the German priests themselves in theology and in the book of Psalms; and the poor Livonians, beginning to understand their preachers, rejoiced in even a glimmering of light: they also willingly received the lessons of civilisation, and the superior laws which their

\* Vol. III. pp. 437, 438.

instructors could furnish them. But at the end of six months, Albert returned with fresh troops, and resuming his former cry, "Baptism or death!" rekindled all the aversion of the pagans to the name of Christianity. A feeble garrison was left in Riga, his episcopal city, but when the irritated pagans assaulted it, both priests and women aided in the defence; and at length the sound of their alarm-bell frightened away the ignorant barbarians, for they thought it was the voice of the terrible God of the Christians, and that he would devour them. Waldemar I., king of Denmark, to whose vigorous career we have already alluded, landed at Revel in 1219, with 67,000 men. His object was to unite Esthonia to his own church and kingdom, and he said that he undertook the campaign in honour of the Virgin Mary, and for the expiation of his sins! The envoys of the pagans craved peace, and were baptized in token of their submission; but, only three days after, the Danish camp was surprised by the Esthonians at midnight, and a bishop, whom they supposed to be the king, was slain. In commemoration of his escape, Waldemar was persuaded by the Bishop of Aarhus to act with more leniency towards his subjects, and to observe the anniversary of the day as a fast. Albert's German troops having assisted the Danes to subdue the Esthonians, a rivalry ensued between the priests of the conquering nations, which increased the ill-savour of their religion to the vanquished. The Danish and German clergy were alike eager to baptize; and the former, not having enough priests to perform the ceremony everywhere, raised crosses wherever they came, and employed the peasants whom they could baptize to go through the whole country, and sprinkle it with water which they had blessed, in order to mark it as the property of the Danish Church: they also hung an old man who had allowed himself to be baptized by the Germans, and thus obliged the terrified natives to drive out the priests of that nation. Whilst Albert went to Rome to complain, the Danes re-baptized those who had been baptized by the Germans, and desolated the districts where their baptism was not received. The Pope tried to settle the affair by recognising a Danish bishopric of Revel and a German bishopric of Leal; but whilst the quarrel was at its height, the King of Sweden came to claim a portion

of the disputed territory, and was only driven out of Leal by the destruction of one of his dukes with 500 men. The pagans who had been so roughly treated continually revolted, and when they were triumphant, they tore out the hearts of the crusaders whom they slew, to roast and eat them, with the idea of gaining more strength in battle: they so determinately abjured the religion that had been forced upon them that they washed and swept their dwellings, and bathed themselves in the sea, thinking thus to get rid of the "holy water;" they took up their buried dead to burn them after their ancient manner, and returned to the wives from whom they were parted. Assisted by the Russians, they fortified Derpt; but it was at last taken by Albert and his knights, and the thousands of men and women within it were absolutely butchered. This was the last sad event of a war that had lasted forty years, and it completed the subjugation of the pagan regions between the Niemen and the Narva. William of Modena, a papal legate, who probably possessed some heavenly wisdom, on visiting the country, recommended the Germans to impose no yoke but that of Christ, and preached to the people a Saviour's sufferings. The chronicler says, that as the people began to understand the Christian faith, they confessed their belief in the Son of God with joy. Thus, it appears, the missionaries of this period ended just where they ought to have begun.

Prussia, one of the most interesting of European countries with respect to Christian profession now, was, in this century, cleared of its ancient paganism with the same barbarity as its northern neighbours. Pomerania, which is included in the modern kingdom of Prussia, was christianised in the twelfth century with some degree of gentleness; and Stettin, its capital, with Rugen, long the strongholds of paganism, had become missionary stations. The provinces called E. and W. Prussia, we allude to now as the last refuge of the ancient religion of the Goths. The great seat of idolatry, called St. Romowe, was in a wood on the peninsula between the Curisch Haff and the Frisch Haff, and had been regarded as a sacred place for more than 1000 years. The Griwe, or chief druid, resided there, and to have seen him once was regarded the happiest event of a Prussian's life. He was highpriest,

legislator, and supreme judge, but only spoke to the people by messengers who carried his sceptre, the symbol of unlimited power. This mysterious individual was always a man of age and experience, and in universal esteem before being chosen to this high office, and he was required to end his life by offering himself to the gods on a funeral pile. The Griwe was at first regarded as the only mediator with the gods, but by degrees a long chain of priests and priestesses was formed, descending to the lowest ranks of the people. The trinity of idols, supposed to be imported by the Goths from Asia, were the chief objects of Prussian worship; and their gigantic forms, cut out of a huge oak, stood in the wood of St. Romowe. *Perkunos* was represented with an angry countenance; a fire was kept constantly burning before the image; and as thunder was said to be his voice, his worshippers on hearing it prostrated themselves, crying, "Perkunos, have pity on us!" He was adored as the author of rain and fine weather, and men as well as animals were sacrificed to him. *Potrimpos* was represented as a fine looking young man, crowned with ears of corn; he was regarded as the preserver and fertiliser of all things; children were sacrificed to him, and a serpent was kept in an urn in his honour. *Perkullos* bore the appearance of a pale old man, with a long grey beard; he was held to be the author of death and all evil; three deaths' heads were his symbol; and his joy was said to be in the misfortunes of men.

Besides these terrible images, the Prussians adored a crowd of secondary deities — fays and demons. They were taught that they might burn alive their sick and old, or destroy themselves, if in suffering, because the servants of the gods ought to be joyful; and that they might offer themselves, or any part of their family, in sacrifice, because the fire would render them worthy of living joyfully with their gods. The female children of the family were frequently killed, with the exception of one, on the plea of their defencelessness; and every murder or suicide that was committed, on the ground of avoiding pain or misfortune, was justified by one of their religious maxims, "that the misery of men is a subject of sadness to the gods:" in this conclusion, *Perkullos* must have been an exception.

Such, in the fourteenth century, was the state of that

country which Adalbert, in the tenth century, had met his death in attempting to evangelise.\* Bruno, who attempted to labour in Prussia after the death of Adalbert, was murdered, with eighteen of his companions, in 1008: the town of Braunsberg was afterwards built in his honour. Two centuries elapsed before any one attempted to follow his steps. Godfrey, a Polish abbot, set out with another monk in 1207, and proceeded down the Vistula to preach the gospel; two princes, by their persuasions, were baptized; but when the missionaries attempted, by their means, to convert the people, the monk was slain, and the abbot was obliged to fly. The next year, Christian, a pious monk who lived near Dantzic, renewed the attempt; and with his career is associated for many years the history of the establishment of Christianity in Prussia.

He marred the simplicity and power of his work by taking the two converted chiefs to Rome, where they were baptized by the names of Philip and Paul in one of the principal churches (A. D. 1215). The chiefs gave up their lands to support a bishopric, and Innocent III. confirmed the donation: but Christian, at his return, found the hearts of the people entirely set against him; they regarded him as an enemy, who, under religious pretexts, wished to sell them and their country to a despot at Rome. A bull from Honorius III. provoked a crusade against the Prussians: Christian, however, restrained the violence of the soldiers, and dismissed them as soon as the territory of Culm was formed into a bishopric. When the crusaders retired, all that had been done seemed annihilated: it is said that 200 churches or chapels were destroyed by the pagans; the clergy and monks put to a cruel death, and the newly converted dragged as slaves into the deep forests of the interior. At this time, when Christian was again about to try a crusade, William of Modena, the Pope's legate, who had acted so wisely in Livonia, came to the help of the bishop; and having learned the Prussian language, translated some books for the use of the schools. At the same time he sanctioned Christian's plan of constituting a new order of monastic knights for the subjection of Prussia: *the Knights of Christ* were accordingly instituted,

\* Vol. III. p. 135.

but after fighting like lions, they were all killed but five ; and the violent conversion of the Prussians was left to others. The Teutonic Order of knights, originally founded in Germany for the relief of the Holy Land, now extended their views to the defence of the Church against all its enemies. Throughout Italy and Germany they possessed richly endowed houses ; and, under the patronage of emperors and popes, they had attained such greatness, that their grandmaster, Hermann, could shine as a prince of the empire at the side of Frederic II. That emperor gave him full power to lead his knights into Prussia, and to appropriate all they could conquer. At this point (1226) began the horrible war, which lasted with few interruptions, and with different success, for nearly sixty years, and ended in the extermination, rather than the conversion, of the Prussians. The first encampment of the Teutonic knights afterwards grew into the city of Thorn. In the intervals of peace, Hermann and some of his followers showed great moderation ; they took particular pains about the new converts, attending the poor and sick in hospitals founded for them, protecting the widows and orphans of the slain, and sending the young men of ability to study in Germany, in order to become teachers of their countrymen. William of Modena and Christian went on preaching ; and the Dominican friars taught the ten commandments, the creed, and some few words about the sacraments, conversion, and the forgiveness of sins. Hyacinthus, a Dominican, who is styled the Apostle of the North, began his labours at this period : he is said to have gone over 8000 leagues of country in his preaching expeditions through Prussia, Russia, and Lithuania : he also founded numerous convents for young people who embraced his order.

Ottacar, king of Bohemia, headed some of the crusades in Prussia, and was accompanied by Rodolph, afterwards emperor. Ottacar established a fortress, which was called Konigsberg (king's town) in honour of him : thus originated the city of that name. Ottacar had the credit of cutting down the celebrated oak of Romowe, and of destroying the ancient idols which surrounded it. Troops of the natives then came to be baptized, and the Bohemian king gave them precious garments, and welcomed them as brethren (1255).

But the contest did not end here. One of Ottacar's creatures was made bishop of the newly conquered district, but he lived at the court of Prague, where he was needed by his master; and the Prussians, receiving no instruction save from the ignorant, superstitious Dominicans, the Church of Rome fell into utter contempt. The pagan Prussians burst their bonds; and, allying themselves with the barbarous Lithuanians, maintained war for thirty years longer. New crusades were preached; and, after many repulses, the Germans renewed their destructive work, in the reign of the great Rodolph, and absolute butchery was carried on from 1277 to 1283. The last defender of the pagan cause, after burning his own inheritance and all that came within his reach, took refuge, with his remaining followers, in Lithuania. At the end of this century, Prussia was becoming settled; a great number of churches were built, and seminaries established, to which were attached libraries of such books as were deemed necessary for the instruction of the clergy.

Throughout this painful history we perceive the firmness with which man can believe a lie: witness millions of pagans, as well as Mahometans, ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their false creeds: we see also, on the side of the professing Christians, how far the human mind may wander from the mind of God, in seeking to propagatate such fragments of the truth as it possesses; and how much the movers in these scenes were impelled by the love of power, of plunder, and vain glory, to say nothing of the erroneous religious motives of the crusaders. But we see, also, the controlling hand of God, revealing his wrath against those who have changed the truth concerning his godhead into a lie (Rom. i. 18—25); chastising those who use wrong means for correcting the error; reproofing also, by ill-success, those who introduce a great mixture of error with his truth; crowning with his blessing all that, consistent with his holiness, he *can* bless; and continually manifesting his supreme power and love in overruling evil for ultimate good. It was just at the period when professing Christendom, by its long-continued sins and increasing corruptions, deserved to be darkened for ever, that God was preparing new agencies, and putting in motion fresh operations of his

Spirit, and his providence, in order to spread over it an illumination which could only issue from him who has declared himself to be "the LORD, the Lord God, *merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.*"

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## CHAPTER XX.

### *Treatment of the Jews in the Thirteenth Century.*

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE JEWS BY THE GENTILES.—SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES.—PECULIAR POSITION OF THE JEWS IN THE MIDST OF CHRISTENDOM.—THE SORROWS BROUGHT UPON THEM BY THEIR LOVE OF MONEY.—THEIR TREATMENT IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND SPAIN.—EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF WRONG THOUGHTS ABOUT THE JEWS.

THE primary and most specious reason assigned by nominal Christians for their persecution of the Jews was, that their fathers were the agents in the crucifixion of Christ. It is quite true that, since Christ came to his own people, the house of Israel, the sin of rejecting and crucifying him was *specially* theirs; and the curse invoked by those who cried, "his blood be upon us and on our children," came down in "wrath to the uttermost" upon the nation who continued to reject him, after the coming of the Holy Ghost. But we, "sinners of the Gentiles," should never forget that the actual nailing to the cross was the work of Gentile hands: thus the Jew and Gentile were joined together in that deed which proves beyond all others that the carnal mind is enmity against God. This fact was certainly lost sight of when the whole burden of the guilt was thrown by Gentiles on the Jews. Another fact, which would be enough to stay the hand of any Christian instructed in the Scriptures, was entirely overlooked by such as thought to please *God* by their persecution of the Jews. Without heaping Scripture on Scripture, let us notice this one touching appeal, addressed to the Babylonians, to whom the Lord had delivered his people for

temporary correction: — “I was wroth with my people; I have given them into thy hand; thou didst show them *no mercy*: upon the ancient hast thou *very heavily* laid the yoke.” (Isa. xlvii. 6.) Denunciations of judgment follow close upon this sin. (See also Obadiah; Amos i. 11; Ps. cxxxvii. 7—9; Ezek. xxv. xxvi.) And were they, we may inquire, the favoured of God to whom the chastening of the Jewish people fell? Let the history of Babylon, Egypt, Tyre, Moab, Ammon, and Edom answer as with one voice. Strange, therefore, was it that nations, calling themselves Christians, placed themselves on such a level, vying, as it were, with each other in offering insults to the Jews, and in becoming the executioners of God’s wrath upon them. Any effectual teaching from the Scriptures would also have checked the intense desire, and prevented the violent efforts of the nations of Christendom to possess themselves of the land of Israel. The word of prophecy runs thus: — “I will bring the *worst* of the heathen (*i. e.* Gentiles), and they shall possess their houses.” (Ezek. vii. 24.) “Thus saith the Lord against all mine *evil neighbours* that *touch* the inheritance which I have caused my people Israel to inherit,” &c. (Jer. xii. 14.) And this was spoken at the moment when he had *given* “the dearly beloved of his soul” into the hand of her enemies (v. 7). We cannot correctly estimate national sins without referring to these important principles; and they are of great present value, because the time is yet before us, we know not how close at hand, when Israel will be restored to God’s favour; and the nations will be judged according to their treatment of God’s Christ and of his ancient people, “of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.”

The Jews, who, according to the prophecy of Balaam, were “*not* to be reckoned among the nations,” have ever occupied that singularly marked position in the midst of Christendom; and it is only to-day that efforts are making for their amalgamation with the nations, infidelity disbelieving that any better lot or higher dignity is in store for them. In the feudal system, which so strongly cemented other classes of society, the Jews had no place, for they could not be lords, and they would not be vassals. The cultivators or tenants of the soil were bound to do military

service, and to this they either objected, or it was forbidden them as too *noble* an employment for their *vile* hands. "We have no king but Cæsar," was the wilful cry of the fathers, when refusing Christ to reign over them; and the children, still rejecting the King of Israel, were left to the jurisdiction of the Gentile emperors and kings in a very peculiar manner. *In the German empire*, they were considered to be the servants of the emperor only; he alone could make laws concerning them, or hear their appeals, though, in some cities, he was obliged to appoint officers to protect them from the violence of the populace. *In Italy*, the Jews were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope; and this, singularly enough, was more just and merciful than that under which they fell in other lands. From the middle of the twelfth century up to the present period, the Jews, at the accession of every new Pope, have been permitted to offer him their respects, and to present him with a copy of their law; and the form prescribed for the Pope, on such occasions, was to utter a desire that they might be enlightened as to the meaning of their own Scriptures. The toleration which the Jews have enjoyed at Rome, with but few exceptions, can scarcely be accounted for, except on the ground of the advantages derived from their industry. *In England*, by the laws of Edward the Confessor, the persons and goods of the Jews were made the property of the king; and this law continued in force under succeeding monarchs.

Besides the one grand and original cause of their calamities already mentioned, the sufferings of the Jews in different lands arose partly from their personal faults, and partly from those of others. One principal source of their miseries was their besetting sin, the love of money: this, it may be truly said, pierced them through with *many sorrows*. In the law, even the king of Israel was advised against the multiplication of silver and gold. (Deut. xvii. 17.) One ground of complaint against Judah was, "their land is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures." (Isa. ii. 7.) And by the mouth of another, the Lord distinctly says, concerning their silver and gold, "*it is the stumbling-block of their iniquity.*" (Ezek. vii. 19 and xiv. 3.) The privilege of lending unto many nations, which was to be one of their blessings, if in obedience to

the Lord (Deut. xxviii. 12), seemed to be turned into a special curse, when they pursued it without his blessing upon them. We will now glance at the treatment of the Jews in different countries, during the period through which we have been passing.

In the reign of William the Conqueror the number of the Jews in England much increased, and in London and Oxford they had particular quarters called Jewries. For some time, a great part of Oxford belonged to them; their schools were frequented by the members of the university, and a knowledge of Hebrew was extensively diffused.

King John not only tormented but imprisoned the Jews to get money; but at the accession of his son Henry III., the regent Pembroke released such as were in confinement, and appointed in every town, where there were resident Jews, twenty-four burgesses to protect their persons and property: they were, however, obliged to wear on their dress two stripes of white cloth, or parchment, to distinguish them from others; and this, like other distinctive marks imposed upon them in other countries, drew upon them contemptuous remark and cruel usage, which they might have escaped in common habiliments.

Stephen Langton, in so many respects a wise man, prohibited Christians even to sell necessaries to the Jews; and though this law was repealed by the king, he demanded a third of their moveable property on account of their being charged with clipping the coin. The ability which the Jews possessed to pay the several fines exacted by Henry III., led him, in his distress, to resort to the strange expedient of assembling a Jewish parliament, consisting of six representatives from the large towns in which they dwelt, and two from the smaller. When they came together, they were informed that a certain sum of money must be raised for the king; and, as it could not be immediately collected, they and their families were imprisoned. Except when he wanted money, Henry III. befriended the Jews; and the barons, looking upon them as royal property, frequently seized their goods, and even broke down their houses to repair the walls of London. In 1263, rioters broke into their houses in London, seized their wealth, and slew 400 persons; neither babes at the breast nor hoary head found mercy: the Earl of Leicester

received part of the plunder. The king then received all the Jews in the capital under his care, to protect them from violence. He also took some pains for their conversion, and built a house and church for converted Jews. When Richard, earl of Cornwall, went to the crusades, his royal brother furnished him with 6000 marks, raised from the Jews; and, at a subsequent period, Henry employed the earl to raise money for him. The chief rabbi said that his people would rather quit the country than suffer farther exactions; and the earl, being kindly disposed, represented the case to the king. Henry, in reply, laid before his brother the immense amount of his debts, and cried, "Money I must have from any place, from any person, or by any means:" he then *sold* all his rights over the Jews to the earl for 5000 marks; but when Richard went into Germany they returned again into the king's hands. Two extraordinary trials of the Jews took place in the reign of Henry III. The first was on the charge of a physician at Norwich, who complained that his young son had been taken away and forcibly circumcised: the trial took place four years after the alleged violence, and probably arose out of the common enmity to the Jews. In the second case (1256), seventy-one Jews of Lincoln were imprisoned, on the charge of having crucified a boy named Hugh, at the time of the passover: twenty-five knights, on oath, asserted that the Jews were guilty; but the Franciscans, by their intercessions, procured the liberation of the accused persons. The public said there had been bribery, and on this account refused their alms to the begging friars, who were just then rising into note: the child, also, was canonised, and crowds of pilgrims came to Lincoln Cathedral to visit its tomb, where miracles were said to have been wrought. Whether the Jews, so often accused of crucifying children, in derision of Christ, were ever guilty of such a crime, seems very uncertain: it is possible that private vengeance might have wrought them up to such an act; but we know that, with the law of God in their hands, they could not believe that a human sacrifice was required at their hands; and yet they were accused of holding this doctrine. In 1268, whilst Prince Edward was at Oxford, and the chancellor and the whole body of the University were carrying the relics of a certain

saint, in procession, a Jew, indignant probably at their superstition, rushed forwards and dashed to the ground the cross that was borne in the front, trampling it under his feet. The offender made his escape, and his brethren were made to suffer. They were imprisoned by a royal decree, and, as the price of their forgiveness, were compelled to erect, in the area of Merton College, a cross of white marble, surmounted with an image of the Virgin and Child richly gilt: they were also required to present to the University a silver cross, to be carried in their future processions: after much artful delay, they complied with these painful terms.

To avoid an appearance of wealth, which might bring fresh oppressions upon them, even the rich Jews of England lived in houses of mean appearance, with no display of luxury or comfort within: "a trembling heart" in all places prevented them from enjoying the treasures that they continually heaped together. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Derby, and other towns, paid a fine to the king for the privilege of being without any resident Jews: this may prove the dread that was entertained of them, because of their usurious practices.

The last statute of Henry III. disqualified the Jews from holding lands, taking away from them those which were theirs by mortgage: it forbade them, also, to possess houses, except those which they actually occupied. Just before his death, Henry ordered the Jews immediately to pay all charges, in arrear, on pain of imprisonment, and their resources had been so drained before, that their distress on this occasion expressed itself in outcries in their synagogues, disturbing, it is said, the congregations in the neighbouring churches. But the persecution of the Jews came to its height under Edward I. They were ordered not to erect new synagogues. Christians were forbidden to eat with them, to abide in their houses, or to have them for physicians. They were also ordered not to lend money on usury, but to live by the labour of their hands, or by commerce.

Edward, like his father, accounting the property that he had in the Jews transferable at his will, granted a Jew and his chattels "to the most dear consort of the king, Eleanor, queen of England:" a similar grant was made to his brother Edmund, thus forfeiting his own claim upon

the said persons and their goods. In 1289, Edward expelled all Jews from his dominions in Gascony; the following year he sentenced them all to banishment from England. As they had been previously forbidden to lend money, their chief mode of subsistence, and as all previous debts to them had been cancelled, on the payment of the principal, they seemed to have no hope of a subsistence in England: they departed, therefore, the less unwillingly, to the number of fifteen or sixteen thousand; all that they possessed was forfeited to the crown, except a sufficiency to carry them away. The banishment of the Jews was the most impolitic measure ever taken by Edward I., as it greatly diminished the revenue: it was also a most cruel and unscriptural proceeding, for when God cast his people out of their own land in ancient times, he had said to Moab, "Let mine outcasts dwell with thee." (Isa. xvi. 4.)

Passing over into France, we find that a story, in its main facts resembling that of Hugh of Lincoln, was made a pretext for the expulsion of the Jews, and the confiscation of their goods, in the early part of the reign of Philip Augustus (1181). But, as Hallam observes, he, like many other kings, used the Jews as a sponge to suck up the wealth of his subjects, which he afterwards squeezed out for his own advantage. In 1198, on the payment of a certain sum of money, they were permitted to re-enter France, and many streets of Paris were assigned to them. Towards the close of his reign, Philip issued several decrees regulating the interest of money which it was lawful for Jews to receive, and limiting them as to the parties to whom they might lend. Their excessive usury may be conceived, when we find the Kings of France and England forbidding them to ask more than 50 per cent. These sovereigns often put forth their power for the recovery of debts to the Jews, on condition of receiving a part for themselves. The Jews of Languedoc were protected by the Counts of Toulouse, and as it was a charge brought against Count Raymond that he had placed them in high offices, it was required, on his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers. At Toulouse, it had been an ancient custom for a Jew to appear in the court of justice every Easter, to receive a blow on his face, probably as a remembrance of the insult offered to Christ

by their forefathers : this mark of degradation was changed into a tribute in the twelfth century. Notwithstanding the general toleration in Languedoc, a sermon was annually preached by the Bishop of Beziers, exhorting the populace to attack the Jews' houses with stones : this violence was sanctioned from Palm Sunday to Easter, and blood was generally shed. The barbarous custom was at length abolished on the payment of a good sum of money. Louis VIII., during his short reign, assigned the Jews to the feudal lords, and annulled the interest due on the debts of the barons to the Jews. Louis IX. aimed still farther at diminishing the wealth of the Jews, seeing that it must be gained at a ruinous expense to his people. He twice banished them, and twice, as if his heart misgave him, permitted them to return. He hoped to break them of their usurious habits, and to make them honest and laborious artisans ; but they would not forego their profitable trade as money-lenders. In one of his edicts, Louis decreed the destruction of the Talmud, and four-and-twenty cart-loads of books, being all that could be found, were publicly burned at Paris. Many of the learned Jews fled, carrying away their treasured books. Louis himself did not sanction violence towards his Jewish subjects, but many frightful attacks upon them by the populace disgraced his reign ; and, only the year before he died, he exposed them to increased danger and disgrace, by decreeing that all Jews, of both sexes, should wear on their garments the badge instituted by Innocent III. at the Lateran Council : it was called the *Rouelle*, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth sewn on the front and back of the dress. Philip the Hardy increased the severity of the laws against the Jews ; and Philip the Fair, after vainly attempting to compel them to adopt commercial habits, determined on their total expulsion. On one day (July 22, 1306), the sentence took effect ; the synagogues were converted into churches, and even their gravestones torn up to be used in building : the goods of the wealthy were seized and sold, and their debts confiscated to the crown.

The thirteenth century witnessed repeated destructions of the Jews in Germany. The cruelties which marked the first outburst of the spirit of the crusaders, were renewed from time to time throughout their course ; and *Hep!* a

terrible cry, which was used to arouse the cities of the Rhine to massacre the resident Jews, at the end of the twelfth century, is said to have originated in the initial letters of the sentence, "*Hierosolyma est perdita;*" *i. e.* Jerusalem is lost. In 1221, there was a massacre of the Jews at Erfurt; in 1236, at Fulda; when, on an accusation of their killing Christian boys for the sake of their blood, the emperor, Frederic II., ordered a formal inquiry to be made, whether Christian blood was a *necessary* part of the passover: the official answer was, that nothing certain was known on the subject, so ignorant were they of the Scriptures. Frederic II. was accused of extending *un-christian* protection towards his Jewish subjects; it was one of the attempted proofs that he was an infidel. It appears, however, that his superior mind rose above the superstitious prejudices of his day, for once when the common story was brought him that Christian children had been found dead in the house of a Jew, at the time of the pass-over, he coolly replied, "Let them be buried then." Every occasion of religious excitement, or public calamity, brought fresh troubles on the Jews of Germany: in 1242, they suffered from fire and sword at Frankfort; in 1282, at Mentz and other places; in 1298, at Nuremberg and through all Franconia. As an instance of the absurd reports which brought upon them the popular indignation, it was said that when the Mogul Tartars threatened Europe, the Jews had held a meeting, in which they had recognised these wild men of the East as descendants from their own ancestors, and that they had promised them assistance in their meditated invasion. At a council held at Vienna, in 1267, the Jews were forbidden the use of the same baths and inns as Christians, and the employment of Christian servants; a pointed cap was to be worn by them, and they were enjoined to pay dues to the clergy, and to shew respect for ecclesiastical ceremonies.

Oppressed by the nobles, anathematised by the clergy, hated as rivals by the wealthy men of commerce, especially by their rivals in money-lending, the Lombards — despised also and hated by the populace, the Jews, in spite of banishment, robbery, and slaughter, were preserved as a standing miracle in the midst of Christendom: their resources seemed inexhaustible; their increase, and their

very existence unaccountable, but on the ground of their preservation by God for the fulfilment of his own purposes concerning them.

In Spain, probably the most flourishing country of Europe in this century, the golden age of the Jews still continued, notwithstanding some symptoms of a change of conduct towards them. They were among the possessors and cultivators of the soil, and perhaps the most learned and scientific class in Spain. Louis IX. had forbidden them to practise as physicians in France, for fear of their injuring their patients; but no such fear existed as yet in the Spanish peninsula: their fame as doctors was great, for they had the best books of ancient medical writers, either in Hebrew or Arabic; and their intercourse with the East enabled them, it is supposed, to obtain valuable drugs unknown by others. On the assembling of the crusaders against the Moors, the lives of 12,000 Jews, resident in Toledo, were endangered by their fanatical fury; but Alphonso X. protected them. In this century, several eminent Spanish Jews were converted to Christianity, and an open dispute was held in Barcelona between two of the most powerful advocates of the two religions. A book called "The Dagger of the Faith," which arose out of this controversy, is said to give no mean idea of the talents of the disputants. Happy would it have been had the Christians of Spain always confined themselves to the use of the bloodless dagger of Scriptural controversy, whether with their Moslem or Jewish antagonists. But the rejection of carnal weapons can only be expected from those who are acquainted with such as are "mighty *through God* to the pulling down of strongholds." "*The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword.*"

One of the reflex evils of wrong thoughts concerning the Jews was, that the professing Church justified its thrusting itself into the place of earthly power and glory, by interpreting in its own favour all the prophecies concerning God's future restoration and exaltation of his now banished and degraded people. The curses written in the Scriptures were, with all readiness, applied to the Jews; of the blessings and glories that follow, they were greedily robbed by the professed interpreters of prophecy. In

rightly dividing the word of truth, the heavenly hopes of the Church are as clearly seen as the earthly hopes of the Jewish people; God is praised for the perfectness of his love to both; and the believer, in walking through a world that has rejected his Lord, craves not its smiles or its honours, being contented to wait for his kingdom till the Lord takes to himself his great power and reigns.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III. A. D. 1307—1377.*

**EARLY LIFE OF EDWARD II.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH ISABELLA, DAUGHTER OF PHILIP THE FAIR OF FRANCE. —STORY OF PIERS DE GAVESTON. —AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND UNDER ROBERT BRUCE. —BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN. —INCREASING TROUBLES OF EDWARD II. —HIS WIFE'S CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. —HIS DEPOSITION AND MURDER. —ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. —AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. —EDWARD LAYS CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE. —HIS WARS. —BATTLE OF CRESSY. —BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS. —TAKING OF CALAIS. —LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BRADWARDINE, EDWARD'S CONFESSOR. —HISTORY OF DAVID BRUCE. —PRETENSIONS OF EDWARD BALIOL. —FAILURE OF ALL THE PLANS OF EDWARD II. FOR THE SUBJECTION OF SCOTLAND. —THE BLACK PRINCE GAINS THE BATTLE OF POICTIERS, AND TAKES THE KING OF FRANCE PRISONER. —CLOSE OF BRUCE'S REIGN. —ACCESSION OF THE FIRST STUART. —LAST ACTIONS AND DEATH OF THE BLACK PRINCE. —CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.**

**THE** reign of Edward II. occupied twenty, and that of his son, Edward III., fifty years: the former was one of the weakest, the latter one of the most powerful, of the kings of England. We place their reigns together, because the importance of the one makes up for the insignificance of the other; and this period of *seventy years* coincides very nearly with the times of the Popes at Avignon.

Edward I. had erred in surrounding his son with all the pomp of greatness, and with servile flattery, at a time when he needed instruction and discipline. At the age of thirteen, he was appointed regent of the kingdom, during his father's absence in Flanders; and after that time he despised every wholesome restraint, and grew up in the indulgence of self-will and dissolute habits. Piers de Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, whose services had pleased the king, was appointed page to the young Edward, and the prince formed such an attachment to him, as to prefer his society to that of all the youthful nobility. Gaveston possessed the art of pleasing his young master, but used his influence over him to no good purposes, and even brought him into disgrace with his father by leading him mischievously to break into the park of the king's treasurer and confidential counsellor. The irregular conduct of the prince induced the king and parliament to banish Gaveston from the kingdom, and before he departed, oaths were exacted from him never to return.

Edward I., in his dying hours, required of his son to promise that he would carry on the war in Scotland, and on pain of a father's curse, never to recall Gaveston: these promises, however, seemed only made to be broken.

A. D. 1307. Edward II. was in his twenty-third year at the time of his accession; he was of an agreeable appearance; the state of public affairs was flourishing; and everything seemed to promise him earthly glory and prosperity. His reign, however, proved one tissue of misfortunes; the ambition of the father proved the ruin of the son; and the younger Edward had not sufficient respect for his father's memory to obey him in things that were for his own advantage. Before the late king's body had reached London for interment, Edward II. had turned his face from Scotland; had imprisoned his father's first minister, the Bishop of Chester, a man of excellent character, simply for having restrained his youthful follies and expenses; and had also sent to Gascony for his banished favourite. Gaveston procured the Pope's absolution from his oaths, and with all speed returned to England. The king, on his arrival, fell on his neck, addressed him as brother, and gave him the earldom of Cornwall; a fief which had belonged to younger members of the royal family, till

at the death of Edmond, son of Richard, king of the Romans, it returned to the crown.

One of Edward's designs in so hastily leaving Scotland was, to complete his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, to whom he had long been betrothed; and during his absence from England for this purpose, he passed by all the nobles, and appointed Gaveston regent. On his return from his nuptials, the king rushed publicly into his favourite's arms, and kissed him with the familiarity of a brother: from that time he suffered him to rule as a second king, more than once observing that, if his power were equal to his affections, he should leave his throne to Gaveston. A king can never, without blame, indulge in that warm and familiar friendship which might be considered amiable in a private individual: a king, from his position, can have no equal in his own country; and nothing could be more weak and injudicious than the favouritism exhibited by Edward II.: besides, it is to be remembered, he had a wife on whom he might have lavished his affections and his gifts, whereas it appears that he neglected her for the sake of his early companion. Piers, on his side, gratified by the king's attentions, showed a ridiculous vanity, outdoing all the nobles of the kingdom in costly array, and in splendid extravagance. Loaded with treasures by his royal master, he sent a part of them out of the country to his foreign home, and the rest he expended on his own person, his followers, and a palace at Wallingford. There he proclaimed a tournament, and contriving to engage on his side, by various rewards, a number of strong young knights, he defeated the nobles of England, who prided themselves on their strength and feats of arms. Becoming daily more proud and insolent, the favourite, whose ready wit had always attracted the king, bestowed contemptuous names on the first men in the kingdom. The Earl of Lancaster he called "the stage-player," and an "old pig;" the Earl of Warwick, "our black dog of Arderne," because his complexion was sallow; the Earl of Pembroke, "Joseph the Jew," because he was pale and tall, &c. If any of the barons entered the king's chamber, they found that his smiles and his conversation wholly belonged to Gaveston, if present; no favour could be obtained, and no business transacted, except through him; nor would the king receive

presents unless an offering were made at the same time to his favourite. But, after all, Edward could not obtain for Gaveston the honour that he desired, and vainly required, that none should call him by his original name, but only the "Earl of Cornwall."

The torrent of general indignation at length burst forth, and, awed by the displeasure of nobles, people, and clergy, and threatened even by an excommunication from the archbishop, if he delayed to send away his favourite, Edward dismissed him, not in disgrace, but as his viceroy in Ireland. In this position, Gaveston continued to display a royal magnificence, and though he had no idea of rightly governing the island, he attracted many persons by his liberal gifts.

Edward pined in Gaveston's absence, and when he ventured to recall him, he married him to his own niece, the sister of the Earl of Gloucester, hoping that this alliance would induce the barons to overlook the meanness of his birth. On meeting again, the favourite and the king behaved as foolishly as before; yet weakness rather than crime distinguished them; and could the government have been directed by wise ministers instead of the king, he and Gaveston might have continued to caress each other, and to run their career of folly, with less injury to the public. As it was, matter was found for arraiging Gaveston before the bar of the parliament; and on various charges of treason against the public weal, he was condemned to perpetual exile. At the same time, measures were taken for curtailing the royal authority; measures that would have been impossible in the reign of Edward I., and which proved alike the weakness of the king, and the common judgment concerning him.

Gaveston withdrew to France, but finding himself unsafe in the dominions of a monarch whose sister he had often offended, he fled into Flanders. Accustomed to luxury, and to the smiles of royalty, the exile found obscurity and poverty insupportable; and, returning to England, he moved from place to place, concealing himself for some time, and often hiding in the king's palace, and even in his bedchamber. He then tried to obtain an asylum with Robert Bruce, but that king refused to shelter him, saying, "How can the king keep his treaty with me, if he does not

keep his oath with his own liege men?" At last, Gaveston determined to hide himself no longer, and, trusting to the king's fondness and power, he publicly appeared at court, and was received by Edward with transports of joy. Stronger measures against the obnoxious favourite were now to be taken; the primate excommunicated him; the barons, under pretence of a tournament, assembled their armed vassals, and making Thomas, earl of Lancaster, their leader, they moved to York. Lancaster was of the royal blood, and had married the heiress of the Earl of Lincoln. This nobleman said to his son-in-law on his deathbed: "God has blessed me with greater riches and power than any noble in England, for which I owe him the greater honour and service. I saw the Church of England formerly in a state of liberty, now it is reduced to servitude by the oppression of the Romans; and the people who had enjoyed many privileges, are brought to the same condition. . . . I adjure you, by God's blessing and my own, when you have opportunity, to deliver the Church and people. . . . Pay all due reverence and honour to the king, your lord, yet cause him to remove from his person all evil counsellors, and to observe Magna Charta," &c. Strengthened by this advice, and holding in his own right, and that of his wife, six earldoms, with estates and vassals in proportion, Lancaster sent to the king, then at York, demanding that Gaveston should be given into his hands, or banished. Edward would not hear, but went to Newcastle, taking with him his wife, then about to become a mother for the first time. The barons followed; and the royal party withdrew to Tynemouth. Soon the barons reached that town; and, heedless of his wife's tears, Edward left her to hurry with Gaveston on board a ship, and having placed his favourite under the care of the governor of Scarborough, he went into Worcestershire to raise troops. The Earl of Lancaster sent a kind message to the queen, telling her she had nothing to fear from them; but he did not wait on her, thinking he might offend the king.

Isabella was only thirteen when she married: she was styled the Fair, and considered one of the greatest beauties of the day: though jealous of Gaveston, because she found even the presents that she made to her husband

were transferred to him, she had acted as a peacemaker between the king and his dissatisfied lords, up to this unhappy moment: personal slight, at a time when she most needed her husband's attention, seems to have occasioned an enmity to arise in her mind, and the effects of the indulgence of this evil feeling were most disastrous. Her first son (afterwards King Edward III.) was born at this time (Nov. 1312). The barons found it easy to obtain possession of Gaveston's person, as the castle of Scarborough had no provisions to withstand a siege; and the Earl of Pembroke, on oath, promised the king to keep his favourite safe, till some negotiations could be made. On his way to Wallingford with his prisoner, Pembroke left him to rest a night at the village of Dadington, between Oxford and Warwick, having business to transact in the neighbourhood. The guard left with Gaveston was small; and at dawn the Earl of Warwick appeared with his retinue, and obliged the favourite to rise from his bed and follow him. He was placed on a mule, and carried in triumph into Warwick, amid the sound of horns and the shouts of the populace.

Pembroke, on hearing of Gaveston's seizure, made every effort to deliver him, because of his oath to the king; but none would help him to recover his charge. The Earl of Warwick told Piers that he must die that day. At his feet, the trembling prisoner exclaimed, "Generous earl, pity me." But it was the same man whom he had once ridiculed as the "black dog;" and the earl sternly cried to his attendants, "Take him away! Take him away!" He was led into Lancashire, that the most powerful of the English nobles might be made responsible for a deed which he could best defend himself against, should the king's wrath be great: two Welshmen were made the executioners, or rather the murderers, for there had been no legal trial, nor was any crime laid to Gaveston's charge that made him, according to the law of the land, worthy of death. The news of the favourite's death caused general exultation, and the king was far more tranquil than might have been expected; but he dissembled his feelings, meditating revenge. Taking Hugh de Spenser, one of the friends of Gaveston, for his counsellor, he called out all his military force, and summoned his barons to Parliament.

They came to London: Lancaster, with 1000 knights and 1500 foot; Warwick, with all the vassals from his estate of Arderne; and others, with all the power they could collect. They were too formidable to be attacked; and the Earl of Gloucester, as mediator, laid before them the king's complaint. They replied, "We have not offended in any point; but have deserved your royal favour for prosecuting the public enemy of the nation, who had so justly been banished by two kings." They also protested they had no intention of disrespect to the king. Edward at last desired to know their wishes; and, on their asking his pardon, he said he would grant it on condition that his late favourite was not adjudged to be a traitor. They replied, that this exception would leave them liable to legal prosecution for his death. The quarrel was at last terminated; the barons retired to their homes; and the king, as if his grief for the loss of Gaveston did not press very heavily upon him, went to France, on the invitation of its king, to see the King of Navarre knighted. The Monk of Malmesbury, who writes the history of these times, observes on this occasion, "May God bring him back safe! Lo, our king has now reigned six years, and yet has done nothing hitherto worthy of either praise or remembrance, except that he has married royally, and obtained an heir to his kingdom." Such events, however, as historians love most to notice were about to transpire.

When Edward II. retreated from Scotland in the beginning of his reign, John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, was left guardian, and having defeated Bruce, compelled him to retire. The Scottish king, however, soon returned to the contest; but fell ill of disease arising from the fatigue and want that he had endured. On Christmas Day, 1307, being held on his horse by a person on each side, he appeared at the head of his troops to confront the English army, and, near Old Meldrun, gained a decisive victory. The event proved a restorative to his health. Galloway (Wigtonshire), the southern extremity of Scotland, had long contended for independence, and therefore supported the English cause; the Earl of Buchan, who possessed the northern part of the county of Aberdeen, was also an ally of the English; Bruce, in revenge, ravaged his estates so frightfully that, fifty years after, their

desolate condition attracted the pity of passers-by. It was Bruce's custom to destroy the fortifications of almost all the castles that fell into his hands, that they might neither be used against him by the English, nor by his own discontented subjects: his brother Edward fought valiantly on his side. It appeared to be King Edward's intention to lead an army into Scotland in the second year of his reign, as he desired his chamberlain to provide 3000 salt salmon for his troops; \* but as he did not come at that time, and only made a fruitless excursion afterwards, Bruce continually gained ground. Edward Bruce completely subdued Galloway with a small force, though it was defended by the English, under Sir Ingram Umphraville, a knight who, on account of his military fame, had a red bonnet always carried before him on the point of a spear. The Scottish prince's perfect knowledge of the country enabled him unexpectedly to surprise the strangers, and by his superior bravery he defeated those whom he attacked.

King Edward's inability to manage the affairs of Scotland appears in his giving the power to eight guardians, in succession, in about two years.

Early in the year 1310, the estates of Scotland assembled, and solemnly recognised Robert Bruce as their sovereign, declaring, also, that his father ought to have been preferred to Baliol. The clergy, also, gave their allegiance to Bruce, though the Pope had taken the King of England's part. Having obtained undisputed possession of all the country north of the Frith of Forth, by driving out the English from every place of strength, Bruce aimed at the seizure of the castles which they still occupied in the south. In every perilous expedition, James, earl of Douglas, and Edward Bruce, distinguished themselves, and one Thomas Randolph was as bold as they were. The latter, with only thirty followers, by night clambered up the precipice on which Edinburgh Castle stood, scaled the wall in the lowest place — where, however, it was twelve feet high — and, narrowly escaping the

\* Some of the entries in the royal accounts seem to have been very curious: for instance, there was a private disbursement of a crown to one, for making the king laugh; twenty pounds to three knights for pulling the king out of bed on Easter Monday.

observation of the sentinels as they ascended, all got safely up, and by their vigorous and unexpected attack took the fortress. The strong castle of Roxburgh was surprised on the night of Shrove Tuesday, that time being chosen because it was known that the English garrison, expecting the commencement of Lent on the morrow, would be taking the opportunity to have a preparatory feast. The war-cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" told them that the enemy had entered; their dark cloaks thrown over their armour had caused the watchmen to mistake them for some stray cattle, as they silently crept on their hands down the moat. Emboldened by success, the Scots invaded Cumberland, and attempted, in vain, to take Carlisle; they, however, ravaged the borders, and, crossing the sea, took possession of the Isle of Man.

A short truce was agreed upon, during the troubles between King Edward and his barons; but it was soon followed by fresh hostilities; and Stirling Castle, a place of great importance, being vigorously besieged, the English governor agreed to give it up, unless relieved within a twelvemonth (A. D. 1313). The dread of losing this commanding fortress at length constrained the King of England to prepare for an expedition into Scotland; some of his barons would not join him, but only sent their forces; there were, at least, 100,000 men, including English, Irish, Welsh, and Gascon soldiers. To meet this great host, Robert Bruce could only muster about 40,000 men; but he made up for his want of numbers by taking an advantageous position, by his subtle contrivances, and by the superior bravery of his followers. They, it must be remembered, fought for their liberties; and a native poet describes Bruce as haranguing them, previous to the battle, on all the points most likely to fortify their courage.

"The first is, that we have the right,  
And for the right, even God will fight."

The second motive was the riches of the invading army:

"The third is, that we for our lives,  
And for our children, and for our wives,  
And for our freedom, and for our land,  
. . . . . in the battle stand."

Robert Bruce awaited the English on the banks of a

rivulet with steep sides, called Bannock-burn: it is about two miles from Stirling. A hill was on his right, a morass on his left, and in front of his centre a park of trees, proper to entangle the movements of the English cavalry. Not satisfied with the natural defences of his position, the Scottish king employed his men, during the night, in digging holes along the banks of the rivulet, knee deep and about three feet wide, in which they planted sharp stakes, and then covered the place of danger with the green sward, supported by hurdles which his own footmen might pass over, but which would break under a horse's weight: pieces of pointed iron were also thrown about to injure the English horse. The day happening to be a festival, the night was spent by the English in revelling: the next morning the experienced chiefs advised the king to delay the battle, on account of the general fatigue; the younger warriors were impatient; and when the Earl of Gloucester repeated the advice, the king upbraided him as a traitor. "You shall see to-day," he replied, "that I am neither a traitor nor a coward." The English army was divided into ten bodies, of ten thousand men each, and it was thought that no previous king had led forth such finely appointed forces. The battle, however, was not to the strong.

The Scots are described as burning with the love of liberty and their country; and when Bruce proclaimed that any who did not feel confident of victory might depart, not one left the ranks. Whilst he was riding in front of his army, on a small palfrey, charging them to stand steadfast, the English van began the attack without orders; and Sir Henry Bohun, a bold knight, singled out the Scottish king, and thrust at him with his lance; Bruce avoided the blow, and struck his enemy to the ground, breaking his own battle-axe. The English being repulsed, the battle was delayed to the next day; but a company of troops, sent out by Bruce, defeated a body of cavalry, despatched by King Edward to the succour of Stirling Castle. This day the Scots were more solemnly prepared. A neighbouring abbot, standing on an eminence, celebrated mass, and then passed barefoot along the ranks, holding out a crucifix, exhorting them to steadfastness, and pronouncing a benediction. As the troops knelt down,

King Edward, who beheld the movement from a distance, cried aloud, "They are begging for mercy." "Yes," Umphraville rejoined, "but not from man — from God. On that field they will win or die."

The space for action was so narrow that only one of the divisions of the English army could face the Scots. Early in the morning of the 25th June, 1314, King Edward's knights began the conflict, the summer sun shining full on their gilt shields and burnished helmets, and dazzling their eyes. The Earl of Gloucester, remembering the king's taunt, was the first to advance against Sir James Douglas, who headed the Scotch cavalry, and his horse falling into one of the covered pits he was thrown to the ground; not being able to rise unassisted, because of the weight of his armour, he was slain. Edward himself was in the front with a bodyguard of 500 men, having the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Giles Argentyne as the special protectors of his person. The latter was considered one of the three most famous knights in Europe, Robert Bruce being another: he had fought in Germany and in Palestine, and had thrice vanquished two Saracens at once. His time was now come; for when the Earl of Gloucester fell, the other knights hesitated to advance, and the king appeared about to retreat; Sir Giles then let go his bridle, saying that he was not used to fly, and rushing to assist the Earl of Gloucester, he was overpowered and killed. The enemy's horse stumbled, and were entangled, as Bruce had expected; the arrows of the second line fell on the backs of the struggling knights, and Douglas pushed all the English cavalry off the field with great loss. Edward, in a state of fury at his unexpected disasters, was ready to rush into the midst of the Scots, as if for a moment filled with all his father's spirit; but he was carried off by his knights, who saw that he was in danger of being taken.

The event that put the whole army to flight was the sudden appearing of the camp followers of the Scotch army, 1500 in number, on the adjacent hill; they were only waggoners and provision-bearers; but the subtle Bruce had given them military banners; and the English, already alarmed, thinking that a fresh army was about to descend upon them, threw down their arms and fled with the utmost haste. The Scots lost only two persons of distinc-

tion in this battle, the English very many; their king was hotly pursued, and felt his danger so strongly that he vowed to the Virgin, if he got away safely, he would build a convent for the poor Carmelites. Oriel College, at Oxford, was established in fulfilment of this vow. Such was the general panic that even the knights, throwing off their armour, fled half naked, and were pursued for fifty miles. The slaughter was great; many noble captives were taken, and to these Bruce behaved with great humanity. The baggage taken by the Scots was valued at £200,000, and this, with the ransoms of the prisoners, made the victors rich. Their king distributed the spoil with a liberal hand. Stirling Castle was surrendered the day after the battle; and the Scots, proud of their marvellous victory, invaded England, penetrating as far as Richmond, in Yorkshire. The scourge of famine followed that of war; heavy rains in the harvest-time of 1314, and in the following seed-time, diminished greatly the supply of food, and a great mortality among the cattle increased the distress. The people, hardened through hunger, are said, in some cases, to have killed and eaten their own children, or to have stolen and murdered those of others for food; horses, dogs, and men were stolen for the same purpose; and culprits, on entering the prisons, were torn to pieces, and eaten by those who were famishing within. An attempt was made in Parliament to alleviate the distress by setting fixed prices on articles of food; but as this led to their concealment, the law was soon repealed: the use of barley for malting was at this time forbidden, and this is supposed to have saved the lives of many. Bread could scarcely be found for the royal table. The king had not learned wisdom by his misfortunes, and again gave himself up entirely to the influence of new favourites: these were Hugh de Spenser and his father; the former, who had been in Gaveston's train, imitated his follies. He denied the nobles access to the king's person, and handed to them harsh answers to their requests. The Earl of Lancaster and other barons, with 11,000 men, revengefully ravaged the rich estates of the elder De Spenser, who bore a good character; they destroyed his woods, and plundered his moveables; and then threatened both father and son so fiercely that they fled. In parliament, the king was obliged to assent to the

banishment of his favourite. An apparently trivial circumstance changed the whole scene. The queen happening to pass by the castle of one of the confederated nobles, asked permission to lodge there for the night; the request was refused, and some of her attendants were killed at the gates: this act of disrespect to a royal lady aroused the chivalrous feelings of loyal knights, and they assembled round the king in great numbers. In the contest that followed, he was enabled to make the opposing barons his prisoners. It was thought that the Earl of Lancaster would have been spared, because he was of royal blood; but the king had never forgotten his treatment of Gaveston, and after eighteen of the earl's friends had been executed as traitors, and the rest banished or imprisoned, he was himself hurried to the scaffold with every mark of disrespect. A hill near his own castle of Pomfret was the place of his execution; his previous popularity, and his fame on account of the appearance of devotion, caused the people to resort to the spot as to some holy place, and, by report, miracles were wrought there. The chancellor sent thirteen armed Gascons to watch the hill for a certain time, to keep off the superstitious people. Edward seemed now determined to act as king; he recalled the De Spensers, and the father petitioned parliament for a compensation of his losses: the estimation showed the vastness of his property. He reckoned that the damage amounted to £46,000, and money was then three times as valuable as now. He mentioned the destruction of 28,000 sheep, 1000 oxen, 1200 cows, 560 cart horses, 2000 hogs, besides the immense store of salted carcasses in his larders, arms for 200 men, &c. The greater part of the confiscated estates of the deceased or banished barons, was granted by the king to his favourite, the young De Spenser; his own insolence, added to the general hatred, bringing the king himself into contempt; and the queen was so alienated from her husband, that she was glad of an excuse for visiting the French court, whither the king permitted her to go, to secure the peace of England from that quarter.

Roger Mortimer, a powerful but rebellious baron of the Welsh Marches, had with others been taken by the king, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. He contrived, however, to make his escape to France, and

there paid his court to the queen with such address, that he entirely gained her affections: thus her former indifference to her husband was turned into absolute hatred of him, and desire for his death. The exiled barons assembled round the queen, and she engaged her husband to send over the young prince Edward, then thirteen years of age, to do homage, in his stead, for Guienne. When Edward entreated Isabella to return with his son, she replied that she would never do so till the De Spensers were banished. The conspiracy grew daily stronger, the party abroad corresponded with the malcontents at home, and everything seemed tending to a speedy revolution; but Charles, king of France, ashamed openly to support his sister against her husband, desired her to leave the country. Removal only served to ripen her schemes; she went into Hainault, and there betrothed her son to Philippa, daughter of the count of that province: the rich dowry given with her was spent by the queen in enlisting troops for her service, and when at last she sailed for England, it was with 3000 men.

After the Prince of Wales had gone to France, the king, perceiving that he was likely to be detained by his mother, wrote to him some earnest and affecting letters, of which the following is a specimen:—

“Edward, fair son, you are of tender age, take our commandment tenderly to heart, and so rule your conduct with humility as you would escape our reproach, our grief, and our indignation, and advance your own interest and honour. Believe no counsel that is contrary to the will of your father, as the wise King Solomon instructs you. Understand, certainly, that if you now act contrary to our counsel, you will feel it all the days of your life, and all other sons will take advantage to be disobedient to their lords and fathers.”

Perhaps the king wrote under the painful consciousness that through his whole reign he had been suffering in consequence of his disobedience to his father.

The queen, on her landing, was joined by some of the barons, and by three of the bishops, with all their vassals; and even the officer sent by the king to oppose her, deserted to her with all his forces. Isabella, in order to make herself popular, declared that her whole purpose was to free the king of his evil advisers, and forbade her followers to plunder, on pain of losing life or limb. The

misery of the kingdom seemed to blind the people to the queen's unnatural conduct. She marched to Oxford, and there listened to a sermon from the Bishop of Hereford, from the words, "My head, my head!" Taking these words entirely out of their natural sense and context, he argued that when the head of a kingdom was diseased, there was no remedy but to take it off. Isabella did not reprove this treasonable preaching.

After vainly attempting to arouse the citizens of London in his defence, Edward fled to Bristol. The rage of the populace then burst forth; they plundered and murdered all whom they disliked; and, seizing the Bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, in the street, they cut off his head. Similar scenes occurred at Bristol. The garrison of the castle mutinied against the elder De Spenser, their governor, and that nobleman, in his ninetieth year, was, without trial or accusation, hung; and his body having been thrown to the dogs, his head was exposed on a pole. The king fled to Wales, and not returning when the queen issued a proclamation that, if he would conform to the laws, he should be restored, his young son was declared regent.

At Hereford, Isabella rested for a month, and whilst she was there, the king was seized in Neath Abbey, and the young De Spenser was discovered in another hiding-place. The favourite was executed as a traitor, and the king was taken to Kenilworth. A parliament was then summoned, wherein it was agreed that Edward should be obliged to resign his crown to his son. A deputation accordingly waited upon him, and the bishops, entering first, by threats and persuasions obtained his assent, promising him that he should still receive royal respect. Edward went forth from his apartment in a black gown to meet the other deputies, but, overcome with his feelings, fell senseless on the floor. On his reviving, the Bishop of Hereford told him, that if he refused to give the crown to his son, they would choose another king. With tears, Edward said, that he submitted with the more patience, because his crimes and offences had caused the misery which had fallen upon him; yet it was a most afflicting thought to him, that his people should have such hatred to him, that they would not endure him any longer as their sovereign. If he had any

consolation, it was from the kindness which they had shown his son, which he could not but gratefully acknowledge. He then gave up the ensigns of royalty; a judge formally deposed him; and the steward of his household broke his staff.

Before this scene at Kenilworth took place, the Archbishop of Canterbury had proposed the king's deposition in a public harangue from the proverbial saying, "The voice of the people is the voice of God!" The queen put on the semblance of grief, and the young prince swore that he would not accept the crown without his father's leave. But after the king's deposition, neither his wife nor son visited him; and his first keeper, the Earl of Lancaster, having shown him some respect and pity, the royal prisoner was thrown into other hands. Lord Berkely, with two knights, named Maltravers and Gournay, were each charged to guard him a month in turn. In Berkely's custody he was treated with some gentleness, but the other two seemed bent on wearing out his life by a series of petty cruelties. The hypocritical Isabella is said to have sent "delicate garments and soothing letters," pretending that the parliament would not let her visit him; but this was when the Earl of Lancaster conveyed to her ear her husband's bitter complaint of the neglect of his family; and there is little reason to doubt that Gournay and Maltravers were instructed by the queen and her party to get rid of the royal prisoner as quickly as possible. The king's patience under all his sufferings, contrasted with his temper in former days, has led to the supposition that he became a saint in his adversity. His cruel keepers tried at first to expose him to the attacks of disease, by making him ride thinly clad, with his head bare, in severe weather; they disturbed his sleep, gave him unsuitable food, and continually contradicted all his wishes. From Kenilworth they removed him to Corfe Castle, then to Bristol; but fearing that the citizens would liberate him, and send him abroad, they suddenly departed with him in the night to Berkely Castle. Having made him a crown of straw, these unfeeling men ironically saluted him, saying, "Fare forth, sir king." The road that they took to avoid meeting any of his friends was by the marshes of the Severn, and to disguise him they resolved to shave his

head and beard. Stopping at a small hillock, they brought for the purpose some dirty water out of a neighbouring ditch. The king, weeping abundantly, said, that he should have warm clean water, though from his own tears. These circumstances were mentioned some years after by one who had been in attendance on the king's tormentors. Notwithstanding all that Gournay and Maltravers had done, they received reproachful letters for behaving "too delicately;" and the Bishop of Hereford, the queen's accomplice, knowing that they would not destroy the king without an order, sent it to them in the following Latin sentence:— "*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*" The subtle prelate knew that this might be read in two ways:—"Fear not to kill Edward, it is a good thing;" or, "Do not kill Edward, it is good to fear it." From that time Lord Berkely was not allowed to visit the royal prisoner, and in disgust he left the castle. The keepers then shut up their king in a loathsome chamber, hoping in that manner to destroy him; but he reached a window, and by crying out to some carpenters who were working below, he got relief. Actual murder was then resolved upon, and the most diabolical plan was devised for preventing any appearance of outward violence. Whilst the unhappy Edward was sleeping, the assassins placed a table over his bed to hold him down, and thrust a red-hot plumber's iron into his bowels through a horn. The screams uttered by the king in his dying agonies were heard by some persons in the castle, who had pity enough to pray for his departing soul; but no one dared to attempt his relief.

Thus perished Edward II., the weakest, but very far from the worst, of the English kings.

One of the murderers was beheaded that he might not accuse his employers; the other, some years after, sought and obtained a pardon, after rendering some important service to Edward III.

The reign of Edward II. has been compared to a narrow barren isthmus between two continents of great produce and renown; but, whatever may be the judgment of the politician, the Christian feels more interest in a weak and suffering king, who through want of wisdom brings evil on his people, than in a strong, triumphant, fighting king, who, with great reputation for wisdom, wilfully

brings suffering on others, and is reckless of their woes, so that he may exalt himself. Edward II. seems to have belonged to the former class, his father and his son to the latter.

The suffering from famine endured in his reign probably induced Edward II. to encourage improvements in husbandry; for it is remarked that if he had given as much attention to military as to rural matters, his name would have been renowned throughout the world. He was also satirised for being so much on the seacoast, and delighting in ships and mariners. This king is also to be remembered for issuing an edict to restrain luxury, and especially the practice of persons living beyond their means to *counterfeit* the great.

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### *Edward III.* 1327—1377.

THE young king, Edward III., scarcely fourteen years of age, was not at all responsible for the deposition and murder of his father. The guilt of the queen and of her favourite Mortimer was heavy; and though they struggled for a time to maintain sovereign power, their career of wickedness soon came to an end. "I have seen," says the Psalmist, "the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree. Yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea I sought him, but he could not be found."

The first event in Edward's reign sufficiently foretold the martial character which he maintained for half a century.

Robert Bruce was now growing old, and the hand of death seemed upon him; but his warlike spirit was not broken, and, as he could not lead his army in person, he sent the Earls of Douglas and Murray to invade the northern counties of England. Their force consisted of 4000 knights and squires well-mounted, with 20,000 fierce and daring followers on little galloways, that rode sixty miles a day without halting, and with no other food than the heaths or meadows supplied. The men were satisfied with fresh water from the streams, and had no encumbrance but a bag of oatmeal fastened to their saddle, with an iron plate on which to bake their cakes. By the way

they seized upon cattle for food, and, after flaying them, made bags of the skin, which they slung up and filled with water, to form boilers for the flesh. With a very superior army, but one less accustomed to hardships, the young king marched northwards to meet these wild Scots. The smoke of destroyed villages guided them as to the place of the enemy's encampment; but, hurrying to one place after another, they found them gone, and their own difficulties continually increased. Northumberland was then described as wild, full of deserts and mountains, and very poor in everything but cattle. The English reached the Tyne at a barren spot nearly equidistant from Carlisle and Newcastle; and as no food could be procured nearer, they were almost starved. Four days they waited before they could find the encampment of the foe, and then they dared not cross the rapid stream of the Were, which ran at the foot of the hill on which they were stationed. The king sent heralds to invite the Scots to cross and fight in the plain, or to let the English pass over unmolested; but Douglas and his men had no idea of such knightly courtesies in battle; and, as they preserved their advantageous position, Edward and his army had to lie down among rocks and stones, and the men held their horses while they slept, as they could not tie them to anything. About midnight, in order to disturb their repose, the Scots made a great blowing of their horns. For three days the English remained in this miserable state; on the fourth, they found the Scots had decamped. Edward and his followers marched along the river, and encamped in another place; and in the dead of the night, Douglas, with only 200 men, surprised them whilst sleeping, shouting "Douglas for ever! Die, ye thieves of England!" They killed more than their own number, and reaching the royal tent cut some of the cords. Edward's attendants awaking, his chaplain and chamberlain fell in his defence, and the king resisting valorously escaped in the dark from the men who had hoped to take him prisoner. Douglas retreated with the loss of a great part of his followers; and the whole Scottish army, without noise, departed by favour of the night, and returned without farther injury to their own country. Their retreat was so sudden that they left 300 leathern cauldrons hung over the fires with meat for boil-

ing, 1000 spits had meat on them to roast, and 500 large cattle had been killed, because too slow to follow them. The English chiefs agreed that it was vain to pursue the Scots, and the young king showed his high and martial spirit, by weeping with vexation that they had escaped; it was suspected that Bruce had bribed Mortimer to allow his army to depart without an attack; and it is certain that the next year he negotiated a marriage between David, the heir of Robert Bruce, and Jane, sister of King Edward, and, on receiving a certain sum of money, acknowledged Robert as independent king of Scotland.

For ourselves, we rejoice in the comparative harmlessness of the young Edward's first campaign, and the conclusion of a peace between the sister countries. Mortimer, being created earl of March, began to display such excessive pride and pomp, that even his son called him "King of Folly." Edward seems to have been delighted by his grand entertainments, and doubtless imbibed from this source much of his chivalric taste for tournaments and warlike games. The conduct of Mortimer and the queen became so disgraceful and unpopular, that the princes of the blood united against them; and the Earl of Kent, the late king's brother, was sacrificed to their resentment. He was accused of treason, and condemned to be beheaded; and Mortimer and Isabella hurried the execution, lest the king should interfere to prevent it. Edward was now eighteen, and his great dissatisfaction at his uncle's death encouraged some to inform him that Mortimer was privy to his father's murder. From that moment he determined to make himself independent, and to punish the infamous favourite. Conscious of their unpopularity, the queen and the earl resided in the strong castle of Nottingham, guarded by their friends, and the keys were every night carried to Isabella. But Edward privately informed the governor of his designs, engaged his help, and with his associates obtained admission by a subterraneous and long-neglected passage. Mortimer and the queen were at supper together; she tried to screen him; and, when he was seized, exclaimed to her son, "Spare the gentle Mortimer." A knight who tried to defend the favourite was killed on the spot, and the king and his followers bore off their victim. He was shortly after con-

demned by the parliament, and hung on a gibbet in the neighbourhood of London (1331). Isabella, during the remaining twenty-seven years of her life, was confined to her own house at Risings, near London, and her former splendid fortune was reduced to £4000 a-year. As long as she lived, her son paid her a ceremonial visit once or twice a year; but it was impossible that he could respect her, and she never regained any credit or power in the kingdom.

Edward, on taking the government into his own hands, showed his ability for the difficult task which devolved upon him. Thieves, murderers, and criminals of every kind, had multiplied enormously during the late convulsions; the great barons openly protected such malefactors by hiring them to punish their enemies: the king, therefore, had first to engage his lords, in parliament, to break off such wicked connections, and to give up the evildoers to the hands of justice; he then, in person, dispersed some of the more numerous gangs of robbers; and, encouraged by his example, the magistrates began to correct the disorderly.

King Edward's sister Jane, at the age of seven years, was given into the care of Robert Bruce, to be united at a proper age to his son David, who was two years younger. By the articles ratified in a parliament at Northampton, in May 1328, this union was settled, and provision made for strict amity between the two nations. The King of England promised to use his influence at the court of Avignon, in procuring the recall of an interdict which had for many years hung over Scotland, and of the excommunication awarded against King Robert. The restoration of the coronation stone was promised, but the mob in London prevented it, and the stone remained at Westminster, for the fulfilment, as it was afterwards observed, of the tradition concerning it—a Scottish king (James VI.) at length occupying the throne underneath which it rested. The King of Scotland, increasingly afflicted with a kind of leprosy, did not long survive the treaty of peace. He retired to his castle of Cardross, near Dumbarton, where he amused himself with falconry, and in building vessels to sail on the Frith of Clyde. He entertained his nobles with rude hospitality; a fool was kept at his court for the

general amusement: a lion, too, adorned his palace: he was very liberal to the poor. He had vowed, when freed from English wars, to go in person to Palestine; but not being able to do so, he on his deathbed charged his friend Douglas to take his heart out of his body, and carry it thither. All who were present wept bitterly as the Bruce spoke these words, almost his last, to his best-beloved follower. On the 7th June, 1329, died Robert Bruce, at the age of fifty-five. He was far more humane than most conquerors: the murder with which he began his career was his foulest deed; and it is to be observed that his character greatly improved after he had known adversity; he used prosperity with the more moderation. To him belonged the reputation of having united the various Scottish tribes into one kingdom, and of delaying the union of Scotland with England till it could be accomplished on equal terms, and not in the way of conquest. After James Douglas set forth to fulfil his dying lord's command, Randolph became regent; and the young king and queen were crowned at Scone in the same year that Edward emancipated himself from the tutelage of Mortimer (1331). War soon broke out again between the two countries, and lasted six years. The non-restoration of some estates in Scotland, belonging to English nobles, was the reason alleged for resuming hostilities. It is not surprising that the Scottish nation were afraid of taking to their bosom those whom they feared as disturbers of their peace; but Edward, the son of that Baliol who was formerly vassal-king, determined to accompany the nobles who sought restoration to their lands, and with only 300 horse and a few foot boldly ventured into Scotland by the Frith of Forth, being forbidden by Edward to cross the land frontier. At this moment Randolph suddenly died, it was suspected of poison given him by a monk, and there seemed to be no one capable of undertaking the government. The Earl of Mar was made regent; but such was the weakness of the Scots without a directing head, that the young Edward Baliol, with scarcely 3000 men, defeated the whole army: more than four times the number of their assailants were either trodden down in their own disordered ranks, or slain by Baliol and his followers, whose swords, it is said, were blunted with slaughter.

By this remarkable battle all the malcontents throughout Scotland were aroused, and, crowding around Baliol, they led him to Scone, where he was crowned by a prelate whom Bruce had termed his *own* bishop. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable in this war than the frequent changing of sides, or the apparent changes; but it is remarked that this usurper, during his nominal reign, was mostly honoured with lip-homage: if a grown-up person were asked who was his king, he dared name no other than Edward Baliol; whilst children, who had not learned to dissemble, invariably answered, "David Bruce." Baliol's first agreement with Edward III. was to cede Berwick, and much valuable land, and to renew the feudal homage proffered by his father. But scarcely three months after his coronation, he was attacked in his camp by a body of the Bruce's adherents, and escaped to the English borders with great difficulty. The young king and queen were now removed to France for safety; and Sir Andrew Murray, who had married Bruce's sister Christina, with Sir William, son of James Douglas, took the command of the royal forces. Both were soon made prisoners in different conflicts; and Archibald Douglas, brother of Sir James, succeeded to the command.

In May, 1333, Edward III. with a large army arrived at Berwick; the garrison was obliged to surrender, and the Scottish forces were completely defeated near an eminence called Halidon Hill. So many persons of importance perished in this battle, that it was thought the war must end for want of Scottish generals to carry it on; but in Bruce's school sufficient men had been educated to re-assert and maintain the independence of their country, even after it appeared to be annihilated. Edward, for the time, seemed completely triumphant; and his vassal Baliol, who appears to have been weak-minded everywhere except in the battlefield, surrendered to the English king all the provinces south of the Forth and Clyde.

The Bruce party still exhibited such strong opposition, that in November, 1334, Edward III. again came into Scotland, in order to support his vassal, and to secure the parts ceded to him. He met with no opposing army, but want and stormy weather obliged him to retire. The next

summer, Edward invaded Scotland in the east, and Baliol, with a body of foreigners, in the west: both wasted the country with fire and sword; but the Scots only lurked in secret places, attacking the enemy as they could, and avoiding a battle. King Robert had left it as his last advice, that his people should confine themselves to defensive warfare, and burn everything in the way of an advancing enemy. In his next invasion, Edward III. wasted the country as far north as Inverness; but Sir Andrew Murray by his cool conduct baffled the valour of the English king. He remained with his forces in a wood at the foot of the Grampians, and when his scouts came to inform him of the approach of the foe, he was hearing mass in a chapel in the forest, and commanded silence till the service was finished. When, with hasty alarm, they gave their information, he replied, "No need of hurry," and slowly putting on his armour, he ordered his war-horse to be brought. In mounting, he perceived a girth had failed, and sitting down, he sent for a hide of leather from a certain coffer, cut a strap, and leisurely mended the girth with his own hands: the old warriors afterwards declared they had never passed such an anxious time as during this girth-mending. But Murray's composure taught them to rely on him, and he extricated them by passing from the very presence of Edward's army, through a defile which he had kept open in the rear. After doing as much harm as he could, and penetrating as far as the province of Murray, Edward marched back to England; and he had no sooner disappeared than the partisans of Bruce, gathering fresh strength, everywhere renewed the contest. Sir Andrew Murray, after all his dangers, died quietly in his own castle.

Though Edward retained his mother in confinement, he did not fail to take advantage of her earliest advice, by making pretensions to the crown of France, as soon as his military fame had been established by his Scottish wars. Isabella, the only daughter of Philip the Fair, and sister to the three kings his successors (see Chap. XXII.), saw the only child of her brother Louis shut out from the succession, as a female, and Philip of Valois, the son of her father's brother, preferred to the throne. To him, his cousin, Edward III., went to do homage, as we shall

hereafter more particularly relate, and but for Edward's ambition, the two countries might have remained on friendly terms. He argued, however, and others besides his mother supported the argument, that although she, as a female, might be excluded from the sovereignty, the exclusion could not extend to her son. Had this principle been just, Charles, king of Navarre, whose mother was the daughter of Louis, would have had a nearer claim to the French crown than Edward of England; and it was well known to be a principle opposed to the laws of all Europe, both as regarded public and private inheritances.

If, however, Edward had not *right* on his side, he had *might*; and he was determined to put it forth to the utmost. He began by engaging the help of his father-in-law, the Count of Hainault; then, with the sanction of the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, he bribed into an alliance the Archbishop of Cologne, the Duke of Brabant, and other minor princes: his final step was to gain over the Flemings to his side, by courting the powerful popular leader who had headed them in chasing away their count. This was Artaveldt, a brewer of metheglin, at Ghent, who, like many other demagogues, having attained sovereign power used it far more despotically than the lawful ruler whom he had branded with the name of tyrant. He affected a kind of princely pomp; was guarded in public by a troop of soldiers; employed assassins, who destroyed the objects of his dislike; and kept his adherents in good humour by paying them liberally from the count's revenues. Edward sent his ablest courtiers to flatter and bribe this man into co-operation with him, and thus gained permission to enter France by way of Flanders. Edward would not have left England with so much confidence, had not able generals remained to carry on the war with Scotland, and had not his own wife, Philippa, shared so much of his warlike spirit. It was on the 7th of October, 1337, that Edward III. first publicly asserted his claim to the throne of France; and from that unhappy day may be dated the commencement of a desolating war between the two nations, which lasted with few interruptions for more than a century, and left behind it a kind of national hatred, which, with repeatedly recurring provocations, could not afterwards be extinguished.

One circumstance that inclined the Flemings to an alliance with England was, that their manufacturers were supplied with materials from that country, and Edward, among other grants from parliament, obtained 20,000 sacks of wool, a good commodity wherewith to gain the favour of Flanders. On arriving at Antwerp, he wrote a long and respectful letter to the Pope, urging his claims in the ablest manner; but Avignon, it is known, was dependent on France; and the Pope, in answer, reproached Edward for having allied himself with an emperor under excommunication, who was a protector of heretics.

In his first campaign in France, Edward fared almost the same as in his first expedition against the Scots. In September, 1339, he first entered the district of Cambrai from Valenciennes, and in his letter to his son Edward, then a youth, he describes his own evil deeds with apparent satisfaction. "We began to burn in Cambresyn, and burnt there *all the following week*; so that this country is *very completely destroyed* as well in its corn as in cattle and other property." Having been joined by the Margrave of Brandenburg, the emperor's son, Edward sent away some cardinals who came to propose peace, proclaimed safety to all who should join him, and then ravaged the country for ten miles round, with fire. In the meantime the provisions of the army were exhausted, and winter was setting in; and though letters from the King of France announced his intention of giving them battle, he did not appear. The French were, however, very near; and Edward and his allies, drawing up their forces in order of battle, awaited the attack with such desire and impatience, that the Duke of Brabant offered a thousand florins to the man who should bring him a handbreadth of Philip's banner. At last, weary of waiting, explorers were sent out, and it was discovered that Philip had broken up his camp, and hastily retreated to the interior. The first disappointment only quickened Edward's desire for the conquest of France; and in the next year (1340) a battle was fought at sea near Sluys, in which the English with a very inferior force totally defeated the French and their Genoese allies, and captured the whole of their fleet: 30,000 men perished in this single action. Edward, on reaching the shore, knelt down to thank God for his success, and he sent letters to

England directing a national thanksgiving. The victors spent the night in making merry with all the noise that trumpets and shouts could produce.

Let us narrowly observe the course of this famous king, that we may see the basis on which his great reputation rests. Again, with 100,000 men, Edward entered France: for eleven weeks the main body besieged Tournay, which they could not take; and Philip being encamped near with a strong army, in a position which could not be attacked, Edward sent him a challenge to single combat: he replied by rebuking him for want of fidelity to his *liege lord*. After some wasteful excursions in the vicinity, Edward concluded a truce with Philip, and again retired.

In May, 1341, David Bruce and his queen left France for Scotland, and landed at the small port of Inverbervie: their party had become so strong, that it was considered safe for them to reside in their own country. David seems to have had his father's courage in battle, without his fortitude at other times, and without any of his wisdom, military skill, or nobleness of mind. Wishing to reward a knight named Alexander Ramsay for many services to his cause, and especially for taking the castle of Roxburg, the young king made him sheriff of the county. Sir William Douglas, commonly called the Knight of Liddisdale, jealous of a distinction which he thought his own due, as having large estates in Roxburghshire, attacked and wounded Sir Alexander, whilst administering justice, and carrying him on a horse to his solitary castle, called the Hermitage, he left him to die of hunger and thirst. David, through the weakness of his position, was obliged not only to pardon the assassin, but to give him the envied sheriffdom, with the castle of Roxburgh, which had been rendered vacant by his murderous act; and the Knight of Liddisdale retained his title of "The Flower of Chivalry," even after this shocking event.

The wretchedness of Scotland at this time was extreme: once cultivated lands were overgrown with briars; wolves and wild deer approached the dwellings of men; and famine compelled the starving to seek the most disgusting food. One wretched being called Christian Cleish, with his wife, fed on the flesh of children which they caught in traps; being detected, they were burned to death for their

cannibalism. Pestilence destroyed many who were enfeebled by want, and others forsook their country for France or Flanders. In these circumstances, a weak and rash prince, such as David Bruce, one who had imbibed at the French court an uncontrollable love of pleasure which made him narrowly selfish, filled up the cup of Scotland's miseries. Had Edward III. been a good and wise king, with what pleasure would he have shielded and assisted his young brother-in-law, in Scotland; caring for his kingdom in his minority: how also would he have rejoiced to preserve the friendship of his cousin Philip of France. These pleasures he never tasted: *his* glory consisted in killing the subjects, and ravaging the kingdoms, of both his relatives, to the utmost of his power; *his* pleasure was to make ceaseless efforts to hurl them from their thrones, and to exalt himself in their stead. Edward returned from his second unsuccessful invasion of France greatly harrassed by the foreigners who had advanced him money for the undertaking; and he vented his bad humour in severity towards his own officers of the revenue, and tax-gatherers. Two bishops, with Stratford the primate, fell under his displeasure. This occasioned a combination of the clergy against him, and the archbishop wrote a letter to the king, in which he told him that the royal, was subject to the apostolical dignity, that the priests had to answer to God for the conduct of kings, and, as their spiritual fathers, were entitled to direct their actions, and to censure their faults: he reminded Edward, also, that prelates had sat in judgment on emperors, and had anathematised them for their offences. Offended at this boldness, the king summoned a parliament without inviting the attendance of the primate. Stratford, however, appeared before the gates in his episcopal robes, with a pompous train of clergy, and required admittance as the highest peer in the realm. During two days, Edward rejected the demand, but at last his fears mastered his indignation, and he permitted the primate to take his usual seat. For the sake of fresh supplies, Edward was obliged to accord many privileges demanded by the parliament; and having by his concessions to a discontented people regained his influence at home, he soon found an opportunity of renewing the war in France.

A dispute as to the succession of the dukedom of

Bretagne had occurred, for though the duke, John III., who died without children, had before his death gained the assent of the states to the accession of his niece, the wife of Charles of Blois, nephew of the French king, the Count of Montfort, the duke's brother by a second marriage, disputed the title of the heiress, and engaged the King of England on his side, by the promise of doing him homage for the duchy. Edward was all the more inconsistent in taking up this quarrel, because his own claim upon France was founded upon female rights. But he saw a prospect of gaining entrance into France through Bretagne, and with all his heart espoused Montfort's cause. Montfort obtained temporary possession, and did homage to Edward, and when he was afterwards destroyed by his rival, his widowed countess carried on the war, assisted by an English force. Guienne also became a scene of warfare, and there, the Duke of Normandy, the eldest son of Philip of Valois, triumphed over the English generals. About this time, Artavelde the brewer was assassinated by the populace of Ghent, who had once made him their idol; and seeing all hope of assistance from Flanders at an end, and being twice driven back by contrary winds from Guienne, Edward disembarked his forces at La Hogue in Normandy (1346). His son Edward, prince of Wales, was with him, and he made him a knight on reaching the Norman shore. The English found plenty of provisions as they advanced to Caen, and their ships, which had skirted the coast, were loaded with plunder: they sailed up the Seine whilst the army ravaged along the river on both sides, burning even in the vicinity of Paris. But on hearing that Philip was in the capital, mustering his forces, and had given orders for the breaking down all the bridges to intercept the enemy's retreat, Edward tried to get safely back, and retired towards Amiens, burning and plundering on his way. Followed by the French king and his army, with the wide, deep river Somme before them, Edward and his forces became conscious of their perilous position. The king, bold as he was, appeared anxiously pensive when he heard that Philip had arrived at Amiens, with 100,000 men. He broke up his camp at Airaine in such haste, that the French on arriving at the spot found the meat of the retreating army on the spits, their bread and pastry in the

ovens, and some tables ready laid. Another day, the English vainly examined the Somme; they could find no place to cross, and they were glad when night fell, and granted them some repose from their fears. Having taken some prisoners, Edward promised them a reward, if they would point out a ford below Abbeville: they told him there was a spot where, when the tide ebbed, twelve men might cross abreast. When they arrived, the right time was passed, and they had to wait till the next ebb. Philip, in the meantime, sent 12,000 men forwards to oppose their crossing. The danger was great, but Edward gave the word of command, and his troops plunged into the water: a fierce contest took place; many on both sides were unhorsed in the waves; but the English were over before the main body of the French army came up, and then the returning tide made pursuit for that day impossible. Edward proceeded to the forest of Cressy, and encamped there to await the arrival of the enemy, for he saw that he could not hope to embark for England without a battle. The *religiousness* of the warriors of this day is especially noticed by historians, and the manner in which Edward prepared for this memorable battle is minutely related. On Friday, 24th of August, the English repaired and furbished their armour; the king gave a cheerful supper to his nobles; and when they withdrew to rest, he retired to pray that, on the morrow, if they should fight, he might come off with honour. At midnight he lay down to sleep, but arose early, and with the prince heard mass and communicated; and the larger party of the army made their confessions. The French king, on his side, entertained his lords, and heard mass at Abbeville. On arriving near Cressy, a distance of six leagues, Philip sent out officers to observe Edward's position. He had placed his baggage and horses in the wood behind him; all his soldiers were dismounted and in fine order, having just taken their refreshment. The French infantry, and especially the Genoese bowmen, who had marched in complete armour with their heavy cross-bows, were greatly fatigued, and as evening was coming on, the king wished to defer the battle. His marshals, riding in front of the advancing host, cried out, "Halt, for the love of God and St. Denis!" The van obeyed, but the rear, not hearing

the command, so pressed upon them that they were obliged to move on in great disorder. The confusion was indescribable; and the Genoese, who were desired to begin the attack, being wounded by the English arrows, fell back in such confusion, that the King of France called out to his men to kill them: the cruel order was obeyed. The English arrows brought similar confusion on the French cavalry; and a body of Welshmen, stationed in the rear, came with their large knives and killed many of the French nobles, before they could recover themselves.

The King of Bohemia, though blind, had desired to follow Philip; and hearing from his knights the disposition of the English forces, he said, "They are resolved to die or conquer; lead me near some noble warrior, that I may have a blow at him with my sword." Two of them tied his horse between theirs, and rushed into the thick of the battle: they were found thus linked together under a heap of slain. King Edward took no part in the battle; he wished that his son, so recently knighted, should have full opportunity for exhibiting all the military talent that he possessed; and he stationed himself, with a reserved battalion, near a neighbouring windmill. A knight rode off to ask his aid. "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or hurt?" "No, sire; but he is hardly pressed, and needs your help." "Return," replied the king, "and tell them not to expect me while my son is alive: tell them that I command that they let my boy win his spurs; that, if God has so ordained, the day be his own, and the honour rest with him and those under whose care I have placed him." Had the young prince fallen, this might have been deemed a hard and unfeeling speech; but as it was otherwise, it was transmitted to posterity for their admiration. In the way that the father trained up this child he assuredly went. The English, being so much fewer in number than the French, gave no quarter, and the slaughter was great. Philip was wounded, and carried off with difficulty; his army could not be rallied. When the battle was over, Edward went down and kissed his son, then scarcely sixteen years of age, saying that he was worthy to be a sovereign. The prince bowed very low, and answered that he owed his success to his father's skill and resolution. Great fires were made, and torches lighted in the camp;

but the king forbid all riot and noise, and we are told that the night was passed in grateful devotion: the escape was marvellous indeed. Thus ended the famous battle of Cressy, in which the French are said to have lost 30,000 common soldiers, 1200 knights, several lords and German barons, two archbishops, and eight counts, besides the Count of Flanders, the Count d'Alençon, the Duke of Lorraine, and the King of Bohemia. All this again was the result of the King of England's unprincipled ambition. Edward now marched to Calais; and resolving to starve the place into surrender, he built around it a little town of wooden houses for his soldiers, and sent to England for a supply of provisions. John of Vienne, the governor, in order to hold out longer, sent forth 1700 poor persons, and Edward let them pass in safety, after giving them a good dinner and a trifling sum to each individual. This act is much praised as compassionate: it was so; but it makes us the more lament that one, who had sufficient compassion in his nature to spare a few hundreds, could destroy thousands upon thousands in such a reckless manner. Whilst Edward was besieging Calais, strange events had occurred in England. David Bruce, excited, it is said, by the King of France—impelled, it is certain, by his own rash disposition—invaded the north of England, burning everything before him. The northern barons and bishops assembled their followers; the primate sent his vassals; 10,000 soldiers, about to be sent to Calais, were countermanded to join them; and Philippa, in person, went to Neville's Cross, near Newcastle, where the troops assembled, and waited upon the field till they were formed into order of battle. She then entreated them to do their duty, commended them to God and St. George, and retired. The Bishops of Durham, York, and Lincoln commanded three of the divisions; for the clergy of this age had imbibed the military spirit of their king in a remarkable manner, and were many of them eminent as warriors. The King of Scotland commanded the centre of his army in person; he was disadvantageously posted; and though he showed all the courage of his father, he exhibited no generalship; and after a struggle of three hours he was entirely defeated. Twice severely wounded with arrows, he fought to the last; and the Northumbrian knight who

made him prisoner, lost two of his front teeth by a blow from the king's gauntlet. Many Scottish nobles were killed at Neville's Cross, and about 15,000 of the lower orders; but as the Steward of Scotland, who was next heir to the crown, retired from the field with his division, having sustained little loss, the king felt as if he had been deserted. By this retreat, however, the independence of the kingdom was preserved. The captive king was conveyed to London, and afterwards, with a guard of 20,000 men, to the Tower, all the city companies attending in great pageantry. Several earls, the Knight of Liddisdale, and about fifty barons were taken with their king.

Philippa, having secured her royal prisoner, crossed the sea to Calais, with the report of the triumph, and was received in the English camp with great honour. She came there at an opportune moment for the besieged. Philip, with an immense army, in vain attempted to approach for the relief of his faithful town; he could only reach it by marching along the seashore, where Edward had planted his fleet with their engines of destruction, or through a boggy country, over one bridge, which was guarded by a powerful English force. The governor, who had held out for a year, seeing the banners of his king retreating, demanded a parley, and offered to surrender on terms; but Sir Walter Manny, one of the boldest of Edward's knights, was desired to inform him that he must submit unconditionally. The governor pleaded his own loyalty, and the knightly generosity of the English king; and the latter at last consented, that if six of the chief citizens would come out with the keys, and ropes round their necks, he would forgive the rest. It seemed doubtful whether six could be found who would sacrifice themselves for their fellow townsmen; but Eustace St. Pierre, one of the wealthiest, offered himself, and the number was soon completed. Their grateful and sympathising fellow-citizens parted with them amidst tears and blessings. When they entered the king's presence, he looked at them angrily; and, remembering all that his army had suffered during the siege, ordered their heads to be struck off. Sir Walter Manny pleaded for them in vain; and the executioner was about to be called, when the queen, then about to become the mother of another child, fell at her husband's feet, and begged their lives as

a gift of his love to *her*. He gazed at her for some time silently, and then said, "I give them to *you*. Do as you please with them." Philippa, with delight, set them free, courteously entertained them, and clothing them anew, sent them back to the town.

Edward left a garrison in Calais; and three years after, hearing that Philip was about to attempt to regain the town, he privately threw himself into it with his son. They sallied out on the French, and after an arduous conflict, in which the king was twice struck to the ground, in personal combat with Eustace de RibauMont, the French were defeated in their attempt, and many of them taken prisoners. The king entertained them with a supper, at which the Prince of Wales and his knights waited on their guests, before they partook themselves. The king also gave RibauMont a chaplet of fine pearls; so remarkable did he think it that any knight could gain superiority over him, even for a moment. Such anecdotes as these, which belong especially to the times of Edward III., prove, at least, that war was becoming less ferocious, and that it was often carried on without any personal hatred, and followed by no malicious feeling.

There was a priest in the army of Edward III. during his French wars, and very near his own person, who seems to have been a true saint. This was Thomas Bradwardine, the king's confessor. He was a man of very retired habits, and of most studious mind, and therefore little can be known of him save by his writings. Yet some of the writers of this period attribute Edward's victories rather to the virtues and holy character of his chaplain, Bradwardine, than to the bravery and prudence of the monarch, or the courage of his soldiers. The confessor made it his business to calm the fierceness of his master's temper, to mitigate his warlike rage, and to prevent his being puffed up with his success. He also preached often before the army, and by his meek and persuasive addresses restrained them from many excesses. Bradwardine's great work is entitled, "Concerning the Cause of God against Pelagius." It was so much esteemed that, though a folio of 900 pages, it soon found its way into all the libraries of Europe. We cannot but think that the righteous soul of Bradwardine, dwelling as he did in the midst of such scenes

as we have attempted to depict, must have been vexed from day to day ; but it is probable that he was so much alone, and so much absorbed in the desire of acquainting himself with God, that he lived abstracted from the scenes around him. This entire occupation of mind in one subject, and that the deepest of all, may also account for his not discovering, or at least not pointing out, the manifold evils of the Romish system, to which, by profession, he belonged. Even a few extracts from his work may suffice to convince any candid mind that his religion was experimental, and that if he did not cut off the branches of the corrupt tree, he actually laid the axe to the root of it, and thus more effectually prepared the way for its fall. Bradwardine felt himself, as it were, standing alone, like Elijah, when contending for the gratuitous saving grace of God, and overthrowing all human merit ; but his own enjoyment of the truth, his assurance of heart that the word of God was on his side, and his remembrance of the experience and pleadings of Augustine on the same subject in a former age, emboldened him to declare the precious doctrines of free, almighty grace. It is to be lamented that, owing to his habituation to mathematical studies, Bradwardine could only write in the argumentative style ; his want of plainness and conciseness greatly restricted his usefulness to persons in general.\*

\* In a very interesting manner Bradwardine confesses how his own mind had objected to the idea of free grace, till he was enlightened by God, and how much he afterwards rejoiced and gloried in it. He says, "My mind had been puffed up with worldly books, worldly wisdom, and worldly knowledge ; but after my heart was visited with the influence of divine grace, I grasped with the greatest eagerness the writings dictated by the Holy Spirit ; and, above the rest, those of the apostle Paul. Then fell to the ground all my objections, &c. Let others hope as they please, it is good for me, in every conflict, to hold fast by God. . . . Armed with his special assistance, helped by his *unconquerable* will, his tempted children get the better of every temptation ; destitute of this, they are constantly defeated. Besides, if a man could overcome by his own power, it would be vain and idle in him to pray to God for victory, or to give him thanks for victory obtained." Another extract from his meditations and prayers over the subject he discusses, proves the spirit in which he took up the arguments. Not only was his mind informed, his heart was full. "Most gracious Lord ! by thy love thou hast prevented (gone before) me, wretch that I am, who had no love for thee, but was at enmity with my Maker

We hope that the thoughtful reader will find this digression refreshing, nor is it without a most interesting bearing on the history of these times. Some even who fell at Cressy might have been saved through the gospel preached to them by Bradwardine. Edward himself, in having such a man at his side, was left without excuse. The king was so fond of his chaplain, that when the monks of Canterbury first chose him archbishop, he would not part with him; it was only when a second vacancy occurred that he allowed him to accept the office. Bradwardine, however, was not in his element among polished courtiers, and his manners and deportment excited their derision to such a degree, that when he was consecrated at Avignon, a cardinal, the Pope's nephew, ridiculed him by sending into the hall a person dressed as a peasant riding on an ass, petitioning the Pope to make him archbishop of Canterbury. The high talents of Bradwardine, and his great reputation for piety and integrity, caused the Pope and his cardinals to resent this insult, and to frown on the contriver of it. Not many weeks after, and only seven days after his return to England, Bradwardine died (A. D. 1349). Thus he who had so long meditated on the perfections of God, and the goodness of his will, experienced in a special manner the truths that he had taught, in being removed from a perilous place of exaltation upon earth to a place of perfect rest and safety, the bosom of Him whom he so truly loved. He had said, "This perfect confidence in

and Redeemer. Open thy liberal hand, that nothing may be easier, sweeter, or more delightful to me than to be employed in these things. What canst thou deny to him who loves thee, who is in need, and who supplicates thy aid? Thou only light of the eyes! open, I implore thee, the eyes of my heart, and of others my fellow-creatures. O human soul, low, abject, and miserable, whoever thou art, if thou be not fully replenished with the love of so great a good, why dost thou not open all thy doors, expand all thy folds, extend all thy capacity, that, by the sweetness of love so great thou mayest be wholly occupied and satiated; especially since, *little as thou art*, thou canst *not* be satisfied with the love of any good inferior to the One Supreme. . . . Why do we fear to preach the doctrine of the predestination of the saints, and of the genuine grace of God? Is there any cause to dread, lest man should be induced to despair, when his hope is demonstrated to be founded on God alone? Is there not much stronger reason for him to despair, if, in pride and unbelief, he founds his hope of salvation on himself."

God fortifies the mind of a good man in every species of adversity. He knows that God is most wise, just, and compassionate, and that *He* never falls into error; and he knows also that all things work together for good to them that love God."

In 1348, through the mediation of the Pope's legates, Edward III. concluded a truce with Philip of Valois, which lasted, with little interruption, till the end of that monarch's reign. Scotland, in fact, occupied Edward's chief attention, for the moment seemed to have arrived for taking possession of that kingdom. On his return from France, he caused two of his noble Scottish prisoners to be tried and executed as traitors, for having turned from Baliol's side to that of Bruce: this was the more unjust, when he had himself seduced so many who had sworn allegiance to Bruce; and when, also, he had no intention of using Edward Baliol save as a stepping-stone for his own ascent to the throne. His first act was to demand for himself the allegiance of the Scottish people; but this was peremptorily refused; and the steward, with other nobles who had escaped from the battle of Neville's Cross, put all the country north of the Forth in a state of defence, abandoning the southern provinces which they could not protect. If King Edward had been left to his own will he would have invaded Scotland again, but his previous wars, so expensive and so fruitless, induced the parliament to deny him farther supplies: he therefore tried to gain by artifice, what he could not obtain by force. Treating his royal brother-in-law with more kindness than at first, he allowed him to visit Scotland, on his promising to return within a limited time: the object was that he might induce his people to own the supremacy of the King of England, on condition of the liberation of their own monarch. David, however, was personally of too little value to obtain this agreement from his nation, and he was obliged to return to his captivity with a message to Edward, that the Scots would impoverish themselves to pay their king's ransom, but would not ransom him by the sacrifice of their independence. Failing in this plan, Edward restored the Knight of Liddisdale to his estates, on a secret understanding that he should keep a body of troops for the service of England, and at any time admit the English through

his possessions. The treacherous knight, on these conditions, returned to the castle of the Hermitage, the scene of his horrible murder of Sir A. Ramsay; but shortly after he was waylaid in hunting, and slain by his own relative, Lord William Douglas, on account of his crimes (1354). The prevalence of that dreadful plague which swept off nearly a third of the inhabitants in every country that it attacked, had served to prolong the peace between England and both France and Scotland; and shortly after the death of the Knight of Liddisdale, the Scottish nobles promised to ransom their king by paying annually ten thousand marks for nine years. In the meantime, a new king, John II., had ascended the throne of France; and in 1355, the truce being expired, the war was renewed both in Scotland and France. A body of French knights and squires, with a large sum of money, roused the Scots, and they defeated the English troops, and even surprised Berwick. Edward III. who was then at Calais, hearing of this event, immediately crossed the sea, and with 80,000 men procured the immediate surrender of Berwick, on giving permission to the Scottish garrison to evacuate the town. Believing that the moment was come for the fulfilment of all the ambitious schemes formed by his grandfather, and cherished during so many years by himself, Edward III. now proceeded to receive from the hands of the dependant Baliol the cession of all his presumed rights. With his own consent, he appeared before the King of England, in his royal attire, and laying his golden crown at his feet, formally yielded to him all his right and title to the kingdom of Scotland. He then retired into private life, with a gift in money, and an annual stipend of £2000: he is never again mentioned in history. He died childless in 1363.

Assured of final success, Edward led his fine army into Scotland; but great was his disappointment to find that it was impossible to remain there: every species of supply had been destroyed, or removed, by the Scottish government. The villages and farmyards were empty, and silent desolation reigned everywhere. Moreover, all the parties sent out on forage were overwhelmed by the Scots, lying in ambush in the glens, forests, or morasses. Edward vented his wrath in burning the villages and towns in every direc-

tion, not even sparing churches and monasteries. Amidst the ruins of a fine abbey church, which he had destroyed at Haddington, the king waited ten days, expecting the arrival of his ships with provisions; but the weather was so stormy that not one of them was able to enter the Frith of Forth. Being then forced to retreat, the Scots from all the mountains and forests watched, it is said, like birds of prey, to destroy any of the English who failed in the march; and as the king, to avoid the district he had wasted, took a path near the woods of Teviotdale and Ettrick, he suffered the most harrassing attacks from Douglas, and was once nearly taken prisoner. Edward's unfortunate expedition took place in February, 1356; it was the fifth, and last, time that he invaded Scotland with a powerful army; and it was all to no purpose, as far as the subjection of the kingdom was concerned. How little the event of invasion, or battle, can be reckoned according to human calculations appears, in contrasting King Edward's adventures in Scotland in the spring, with those of his son Edward in France, in the autumn of the same year. Ten years had passed away since the battle of Cressy, when Prince Edward (now usually called the Black Prince, because he wore black armour) with only 12,000 men, not a third of whom were English, invaded France by way of Guienne. His father's letters to him, on his first invasion, were outdone by his letters to his father on this occasion. In two months, in proceeding along the Garonne from Bourdeaux to Narbonne, he had taken 500 villages, with many cities and walled towns, and had laid the country waste by fire. The people of Montpellier fled to Avignon for safety, and the Pope himself had the gates of his palace covered with iron, for fear of an attack: he also offered the prince money to spare Perigord; but Edward replied that his father did not want money, and that he would do what he came to perform; that is, chastise those who were in rebellion against his right. Emboldened by success, the Black Prince entered Auvergne, and passed through the very centre of the kingdom into Berri, plundering, burning, and destroying all around; and by the time that the King of France had assembled his army, Edward had entered Touraine; and thinking that he had accomplished enough of daring deeds for this occasion, he

was preparing to lead his followers back through Poitou. On a Saturday, after marching the whole day, the prince halted within two leagues of Poitiers, and sent out a detachment to observe the French. Hearing that their numbers were immense, he exclaimed, "May God assist us!" and proceeded, by the disposition of his forces, to make up for the smallness of their number. The Sunday was spent in an attempt at negotiation between the two armies: it was conducted by a cardinal; but the prince absolutely refused the terms, which required him to surrender himself as prisoner, though he offered to relinquish all that he had gained by conquest, and to promise not to serve against France for seven years. The Sunday was passed by the French, in feasting; the English, on the contrary, were obliged to fast, as they could not procure supplies, on account of the ruinous mode of warfare they had pursued.

That the Black Prince obtained a complete victory over at least 54,000 men, with so small an army, will appear less wonderful when we understand that the English and their allies were entrenched within vineyards and hedges, and could only be approached by a narrow lane, behind the hedges of which were posted archers, who, from either side, could slay the advancing enemy with perfect safety to themselves. Of the French marshals, who led the first detachment through this dangerous way, one was slain, the other taken prisoner; and the prince, in person, attacking the remainder, they recoiled in terror and threw confusion into the body behind them. In the meantime Edward had sent round a body of troops, who charged the French in the rear; and the officers who had the care of all the king's sons, except Philip who fought at his side, carried them off the field in alarm, and gave the example of a flight, which soon extended to all but a body of 16,000 men commanded by the king in person. A fierce battle ensued; and John, seeing his best officers falling around him, his son wounded, and his ranks continually decreasing, at last surrendered himself prisoner. His life had been anxiously spared by the English, and some who might have taken it, only exhorted him to lay down his arms. He cried, "Where is the Prince of Wales, my cousin?" Being at last conducted to the tent

which had been pitched for the conqueror near the fatal field, he was received in the most courteous manner. The prince, with a low bow, comforted him for the event of the battle, applauding his bravery, and saying that only a blind chance, or rather divine providence, had given him the superiority. He then presented him with a cup of spiced wine; and when the supper was served, waited at the king's table, refusing to sit down, saying he knew too well the distance between a subject and a sovereign prince. He seemed to forget that the war which he had been carrying on, was on the alleged principle that the French king was an usurper, and that the crown was not his, by right: he assured his royal prisoner that his father would show him all friendship, and make reasonable arrangements with him. After spending the winter at Bourdeaux, the Black Prince embarked for England, and King John was placed in a ship by himself, for his greater ease. On landing, he was received with the humblest respect at Sandwich, and a white courser, with superb trappings, was given him whereon to enter London, whilst the Prince of Wales, on a small black horse, rode by his side. The citizens were in their richest decorations, the king himself received his captive rival with respect, and during John's residence at the Savoy Palace, which was at once given up to his use, Edward and his queen frequently visited him, and gave him the most sumptuous entertainments.

About this time, King David was restored to freedom: it was eleven years since he had been taken prisoner at Neville's Cross. His ransom was fixed at 100,000 marks, to be paid by yearly instalments; but it was thought too much for so useless a sovereign. Soon after his return, his people, desirous to see their long absent king, pressed too eagerly, or in too great crowds, into his presence; and he, foolishly preferring their dread to their affection, seized a mace from one of his servants, and laying about him violently, dispersed his numerous visitors. By keeping up an intimacy with David, Edward hoped to smooth the way for an alteration in the succession to the throne of Scotland; and after the death of his wife, in one of her visits to England, David, by Edward's persuasion, proposed as his successor, Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of the King of England. His plea was, that this ar-

rangement would secure peace between the two countries. The Scottish parliament were astonished at such a proposal from the son of Robert Bruce, and with one voice replied, they would never permit an Englishman to reign over them, and that, according to the will of King Robert, they would own, in default of David's heirs, no other than the Steward of Scotland, the grandson of Bruce by his daughter Marjory. This was Robert Fitz-Alan, the sixth of his family who had held the hereditary dignity of seneschal, or *steward*, of the king's household: hence he was commonly called Robert Stewart, the title being converted into a surname. This man, who was connected by the marriage of his six daughters with the mightiest of the Scottish chiefs, took up arms, with all his kindred, to prevent the alteration of the succession: on the king's promise to own him, peace was made, and he swore fealty to David, under the penalty of forfeiting his rights. This matter was scarcely settled when David again visited London, probably to acquaint the king with the failure of his scheme. Edward had another plan in reserve: the promised ransom had not been paid, and he desired David to tell his people that the debt should be forgiven, if they would declare the King of England the heir to their throne, and allow him to be crowned at Scone, whither he would remove the famous old stone for the purpose. This project was as fruitless as all others; and Edward's ambition, with regard to Scotland, was doomed to go unsatisfied. David, on his return (1364), fell in love with Margaret Logie, the daughter of a nobleman who had been executed for conspiring against Robert Bruce: he increased his unpopularity by marrying her: she was extravagant and jealous, and by her machinations the steward and his son were thrown into prison. The king, who had only married her for her beauty, growing tired of her, procured a divorce; and the unhappy Margaret, having gone to Avignon to appeal to the Pope, died abroad. The Scots made the greatest exertions to pay the ransom, and after, in vain, soliciting help from the courts of Avignon and Paris, they continued their yearly payments, by means of taxes, and completely discharged their debt seven years after the death of Edward III. King David died seven years before Edward, and Robert Stewart, then aged fifty-

five, at once succeeded to the throne. In his youth he had been a bold soldier, but on becoming king he only exercised pacific virtues, and was considered just, clement, and wise.

The victory of Poitiers caused such great exultation in England, that solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. The prince wrote from Bourdeaux a letter to the Bishop of Worcester, couched in the most humble and religious language. It began, "Reverend Father in God, and very dear friend: We thank you heartily for what we have heard of you, that you are so truly and entirely attached to us as to have prayed to heaven for us, and upon our exploit. We are certain that through such devout fathers as you and others, God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities. . . . May the Holy Spirit have you always in his keeping." The prince was, at this time, twenty-seven years of age. The much-boasted victory, as our account of France more fully proves, did not in the least further the desired conquest. Prince Edward's next expedition—into Spain—will be related in its proper place. The effect of these wars was his entire loss of health, and his last military exploit was of the most diabolical character. Hearing of the revolt of Limoges, he laid siege to that city, threatening to rase it, and to destroy all its inhabitants, unless they returned to their allegiance. Too weak to ride, he superintended the works in a litter; and when the place became his own, he ordered the whole garrison, and the three thousand inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be destroyed. They threw themselves on their knees before him, crying "Mercy;" but he would not hear them. Froissart, the chronicler, says:—"There was no heart so hard but wept tenderly at the great mischief done." Yet were there hearts hard enough to command and to execute the deed. It was after this horrible scene that the Black Prince (alas! how black does his name appear to a Christian) returned home, in the hope of restoration from his native air; and the command of his French dominions was left to John of Gaunt, his brother, the duke of Lancaster. Disaster followed disaster. In 1369 and 1370, nothing was effected by the English army; much was suffered. In 1372, the king went in person

with a large fleet, to relieve Rochelle, and was obliged to retire, in sight of the starved inhabitants, on account of contrary winds. In 1373, Lancaster led an army to the gates of Paris, which was consumed by disease and famine on its way back to Bourdeaux. The Black Prince expired, regretting without avail that his victories had been useless, for all Gascony, and the neighbouring parts, had revolted.

The reign of Edward III. closed in disaster and personal disgrace. In 1376, the parliament judged him so incompetent as to assign him a council, which, in fact, governed in his stead; and his grandson Richard, the son of the Black Prince, a mere child, was brought into parliament, and created Prince of Wales. The death of his good Queen Philippa, and bodily indisposition, increased the helplessness of the king's condition; and in these circumstances he turned to Alice Perrers, one of the queen's attendants, and disgraced himself by publicly making her his mistress. She presumed even to counteract official orders, to sit on the bench, and to dictate to the judges. Her follies obliged the king to consent to her dismissal, but he again recalled her, and proved on his deathbed what a miserable comforter he had chosen. The unworthy favourite shut him out from religious visits, hoping that he would recover; and when at last she saw him dying, she pulled the rings from his cold fingers and went away. A priest coming in found him still sensible, but speechless: he kissed the cross, wept, and then expired (June 21, 1377).

The obligations under which Edward III. lay to his parliament, from his continual need of supplies for his wars, was a means of helping forwards the formation of a free constitution, such as we at present enjoy. In this reign, too, an effectual resistance was offered to the Pope, and the seeds of a real reformation were widely scattered; there were no civil wars because of the engagement of all the fierce spirits abroad; the manners of the people were improved; and literature, especially poetry, arrived at an excellence unknown before.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## THE KINGS OF FRANCE, AND THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

LOUIS X., SURNAMED HUTIN. — PHILIP V., LE LONG. — CHARLES IV., THE FAIR. — THESE KINGS, THE THREE SONS OF PHILIP THE FAIR, SUCCEED EACH OTHER DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. — COTEMPORARY POPES, CLEMENT V. AND JOHN XXII. — PHILIP (VI.) OF VALOIS MAKES WAR WITH FLANDERS, AND RECEIVES THE HOMAGE OF EDWARD III. — SUFFERINGS OF FRANCE FROM WAR AND PESTILENCE. — HISTORY OF THE FLAGELLANTS. — POPES COTEMPORARY WITH PHILIP VI., BENEDICT XII., AND CLEMENT VI. — JOHN (II.) THE GOOD. — TROUBLES OF FRANCE DURING HIS CAPTIVITY. — PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT VI. — CHARLES (V.) THE WISE. — AFTER AN INTERVAL OF SEVENTY YEARS, ROME AGAIN BECOMES THE SEAT OF THE POPES.

THE three sons of Philip the Fair came to the throne of France, in turn, during the reign of Edward the Second; and it was the popular belief that the shortness of their lives, and the failure of male heirs, was a punishment for the crimes of Philip.

Louis X., the eldest son of Philip the Fair, ascended the throne at his father's death, being twenty-six years of age (A. D. 1314). Ten years before, on the occasion of the death of his mother, Jane, queen of Navarre, he had been consecrated King of Navarre, at Pampeluna. In 1305, he had married Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy; and that unhappy princess, being convicted of the crime of adultery, was imprisoned in the Chateau Gaillard, where, it is said, she was afterward privately strangled with a towel (1315). She left a daughter named Jane, who became queen of Navarre in her father's right, and married the Count of Evreux. Another affecting event followed shortly after in the public execution of Marigni, the administrator of the finances. Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, brought about the death of this excellent

minister, by accusing him of embezzling the public money, and he was not suffered to speak in his own defence. The king, being convinced of his innocence, when too late, caused the body to be taken down from the gibbet on which it had been exposed, and had it honourably interred : he also distributed alms to a great many persons, desiring every one of them to pray for him, *and for the soul of Marigni*. At the same time, Louis released the wife of Marigni, who had been thrown into prison on an accusation of having attempted his life by magic ; and he restored to her and her children the minister's confiscated property. Charles of Valois, on his deathbed, acknowledged the innocence of Marigni, and gave alms for his soul, after the king's example.

In order to repair the disordered state of his finances, Louis X. offered letters of enfranchisement to all the serfs in his domains, on consideration of a pecuniary compensation. The nobles followed his example. But there were no benevolent people then, as in our days, to pay the sum required to redeem a labouring class from slavery, and the serfs, through poverty, were slow in availing themselves of the proffered benefit. For the sake of supplies, Louis then invited the Jews, whom his father had banished, to return to France, allowing them twelve years' residence in the country for a fixed payment. The king entered into this agreement with the Jews, 28th of July, 1315 ; and three days after married Clementia, daughter of the King of Hungary, with whom he was again consecrated at Rheims. At the end of August, he set out with a large army for Flanders, that country being again in revolt ; but having laid siege to Courtray, the incessant rains which inundated his camp, and the scarcity of provisions, compelled him in a few days to give orders for a retreat ; part of the baggage was left in the mire of the roads, and part of it burned to prevent its falling into the hands of the Flemings. Happily no blood had been shed, but the Flemish people, alarmed by the king's threat, that he would return the following summer, obliged their count to conclude a peace with him. In June, 1316, Louis X. died of pleurisy, occasioned by a chill which he took after being violently heated in a game at ball. His wife mourned greatly, and a son to whom she gave birth in the following

November, was styled King John I. in the royal records of the time, though he only survived *four days*. Louis X. is usually surnamed Hutin, which in old French signifies headstrong or sullen; but whatever were his early dispositions, he evinced no such temper as king: he was very easily influenced by others. In permitting the return of the Jews, he restored to them their synagogues, their cemeteries, and their sacred books; they were also permitted to recover their debts, on condition of paying *two-thirds* into the royal treasury.

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(A. D. 1316.) Philip V. surnamed *le Long* (the Tall), because of his height, was the second son of Philip the Fair. He was at Lyons, pressing the election of a pope when his brother died; and on arriving at Paris, he was declared regent of the kingdom during the infancy of the late king's daughter, and governor of France till the expected heir, if a boy, should be born: at the death of the infant John, he was crowned king of France.

Two of the princes of the blood, who were personally opposed to Philip, insisted that Jane was the legitimate heiress of her father's throne, but the three orders of the State being assembled, it was declared an inviolable law that females should be excluded from the throne of France. It was entitled the *Salic law*, because it was said to have been derived from the code of the Sali, a nation of Gaul, conquered by the Emperor Julian. One of Philip's earliest acts was to issue letters commanding the serfs to purchase their freedom, declaring that he desired his kingdom to be really, and not only nominally, that of the Franks (freemen). During his whole reign, Philip was occupied in preparations or attempts at war in Flanders, but there was no particular result. At this time the inquisitors in Languedoc were hotly persecuting those dissidents from the Romish Church who went by the names of Albigenes, Waldenses, Beghards, or Apostolics. Many were burned in 1319, and in the following years.

In 1321, a rising of the French peasantry occurred, similar to that which had taken place during the absence of Louis IX. in Africa. A priest and a monk guided the tumultuous mob; they had at first neither arms nor dis-

cipline, and many of them were shoeless: the first company, professing an intention of setting out for the recovery of the Holy Land, went from city to city begging bread for the love of God: as their numbers increased they fell into order behind a banner with a white cross, and commenced their work of robbery and murder. One division marched northwards, even alarming Paris; the greater part proceeded into Languedoc. Everywhere they committed barbarities against the Jews, but only, when pressed by famine, robbed and destroyed others. In almost all the cities of Languedoc, frightful massacres took place. Five hundred having escaped to Verdun, the governor in pity gave them a tower in which to defend themselves; the peasants attacked it, and set fire to the gates; and the Jews within having thrown down their children, in the hope that they might find mercy, slew each other to a man, rather than fall alive into the hands of their enemies. The next year a famine was experienced, owing to the general abandonment of labour in the previous season; an epidemic disease followed; and the people, instead of reproaching themselves, suspected that the general sickness was occasioned by the poisoning of the fountains; and absurdly attributing the pretended crime to the Jews and lepers, they began a fresh series of barbarous assaults on these unhappy people. In many provinces, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction; the king received from their spoils vast sums; but in the midst of these horrors, which a wiser and stronger ruler might have prevented, he died from a fever under which he had languished for many months (January, 1322). It appears to have been from weakness, rather than ill-will, that Philip the Long suffered this terrible persecution of the Jews, for he began his reign by issuing an edict in their favour: from many trifling particulars, it appears that he was neither a thoughtless nor extravagant prince; in his will, he ordered compensation to be made for the injuries done by his deer and other animals of chase to the farms near his forests; and in his lifetime he regulated the expenses of his establishment in the strictest manner.\*

\* An extract from the ordinance for his own hotel furnishes us with a description of the royal household.

The king shall always have four valets de chambre and no more—the

Philip V. had one son who died in infancy, and four daughters; one of these took the veil, another married the Duke of Burgundy, the third the Count of Flanders, the fourth the Dauphin of Vienne. The law for the exclusion of females from the throne was now completely established.

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IN connection with the kings of France at this period, we must mention the Popes at Avignon.

Clement V., the French Pope, who removed the seat of power from Rome to Avignon, died in 1316; and under the influence of the royal family of France, John XXII., a native of Cahors, was elected in his room. He is said to have been a little man, but of great courage; and though he owed his election, in part, to Philip V., he soon afterwards wrote to him a letter of reproof. Philip was then only twenty-three years of age. "We have learned that when you are present at divine worship, particularly at the mass, you talk sometimes to one, sometimes to another, without paying the requisite attention to the prayers that are being made for you and your people. You ought also, since your consecration, to adopt graver manners, and to wear the royal mantle like your ancestors. It is said that in your State, the Sunday is profaned, and that, on this holy day, justice is administered, and people dress their hair and their beard: we warn you that we will not suffer these things." There were conspiracies formed against the life

barber, the grocer, the tailor, and another—eating at court . . . also a waiter and a shoemaker, who shall eat at court, and each of whom shall receive provender of hay and 10 pence wages for their servants who do not eat at court. Also there shall be six butlers in the king's hotel, who shall take care of his chamber, his armour, and his jewels, shall eat in the hall, and shall each have 100 pence for robes, and 40 pence for shoes . . . the king shall have three notaries, a secretary, and two others. The king's confessor shall eat in his own room, and shall have provision for himself, his companion, and his servant, viz. pottage and two sorts of meat, threepenny worth of bread, and seven quarts of wine: on fast-days, herrings with pottage, and two penny-worth of bread: he shall also have four horses kept in the stable. The almoner shall be always at court, and is to eat at the door of the hall, and shall be served on flesh days with one dish of roast meat, and one of boiled, and on fast days with one dish of fish. There shall be always one physician at court . . . three armed doorkeepers . . . three chamberlains, &c.

of John XXII. from the moment of his accession, and the Bishop of Cahors being found involved in the guilt, he was publicly exposed by order of the secular court, scorched in several parts of his body, and at last burned to death. No Pope ever accumulated such immense treasures as John XXII.; he is said to have left in his coffers twenty-five millions of florins. On his deathbed he revoked the system of *Reserves*, by which he had gained the greatest part of his riches. He had enacted that certain benefices throughout Christendom should be reserved for the advantage of the papal see; and whenever he promoted any ecclesiastic to a higher office, he required a certain payment. This Pope's worst vice was avarice; he had a love of study, and was much skilled in medicine. One effect of the removal of the Popes to France was felt during this period, for John XXII. erected Toulouse into an archbishopric, and formed fifteen new French bishoprics. In 1333, the Pope preached three sermons, which excited a great sensation among the French theologians: in them he asserted that the righteous did not enjoy the beatific vision, *i. e.* did not see God, till the day of resurrection. The doctors of the University of Paris contended in reply, that the souls of the saints were admitted into the presence of God at their death, and that the contrary opinion was heretical. John, on the eve of death, recalled his own opinions.

In 1319, the Pope ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out for Palestine, and, under pretence of a holy war, empowered his legates, throughout the countries subject to his jurisdiction, to raise money in exchange for indulgences: this was one of his plans for heaping up riches. Other particulars of the pontificate of John XXII. belong to the history of the empire (Chap. XXIV.).

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ACCORDING to the Salic law, the daughters of Philip V. were set aside, and his brother, Charles IV., came to the throne (A. D. 1322). He, like his father, was surnamed the Fair. He began his reign by releasing such of the Jews as had been imprisoned, and then requiring a large sum of money from those who had escaped the fires of persecution, he obliged them to gather up their remaining property and to leave the kingdom. Their banishment was pro-

bably owing to their usurious practices, for the king, at the same time, expelled all the Lombard money-lenders, and confiscated their goods. Charles sent upright commissioners into the provinces to punish evil judges, and to repress the excesses of the nobles, who had seized with impunity the goods of private persons. Jourdain de l'Isle, a Gascon baron, who had married the Pope's niece, was, on account of this high connection, one of the most incorrigible in his evil practices. The king pardoned him many times at the intercession of the Pope; but at last, on account of his atrocious conduct, gave him up to the parliament, who condemned him to be tied to a horse's tail, and afterwards hung. The day after the execution, a curé in the neighbourhood wrote to the Pope as follows:—

Most holy father, as soon as I knew that the husband of your niece was going to be executed, I assembled my chapter, and I represented to them that we should make use of this occasion in order to show you our very respectful attachment, and our profound veneration. Scarcely had your nephew been hung than we, with a great light, went to take him down from the gibbet, and we carried him into our church, where we have buried him honourably and freely. Holy father, we continue to entreat your holy and paternal benediction.—*J. Chenecier.*

Charles the Fair did not think it needful to apologise to the Pope for his treatment of the criminal; he said that *great* examples of justice were the most necessary. The same year (1323), he summoned Edward II. to come to Amiens to do him homage. That feeble king sent his ambassador to demand a delay, and to represent the attacks that had been made on his provinces by the French. Charles, indeed, had attempted to seize a district which he contended did not belong to the King of England. Whilst the negotiation was pending, he heard that some of Edward's subjects had hung one of his officers, who had fixed the arms of France against a disputed priory. One affront followed another, and after various ineffectual attempts at an accommodation, the king sent his uncle, the Count of Valois, with an army into Guienne. In less than seven weeks, he made himself master of the greater part of that province. Treaty was then attempted; the Pope offered his mediation; and Edward would have gone in person to France, had not his favourites prevented him. They knew that they had offended his queen, Isabella, and

they dared not trust themselves to her brother, the King of France, nor would they let their king go without them. Isabella was glad of an excuse for leaving England, and under pretence of simply mediating between the two crowns she went to France, and Edward stationed himself for the spring and summer on the nearest coast, to receive her despatches more quickly. Through the influence of Isabella, a treaty of peace was signed in May 1325; and in the September of the same year, at her request, the young prince Edward, then only fourteen, joined her in France, and did homage to his uncle for the provinces ceded to him by his father. Notwithstanding the commands and entreaties of Edward, Isabella and her son tarried in France, for the queen was then engaged in plotting her husband's ruin; at length the Pope's interference, English gold, and Edward's entreaties, induced Charles to desire his sister to leave his kingdom. Just before her departure she assisted at the marriage of the King of France to his third wife. His first wife, a princess of Burgundy, had been divorced by the Pope's command, on the plea of relationship; his second wife Maria, daughter of the Emperor Henry VII., died without children; his third wife Jane, daughter of the Count of Evreux, had only daughters, one of whom was born after the king's death.

Charles fell ill on the Christmas eve of 1327, and died the following February: thus he only survived Edward II. a few months. Charles of Valois died two years before: it was said of him, as of John of Gaunt, that he was the son, the brother, the uncle, and the father of a king, though never a king himself. His last disorder was mental, probably occasioned by remorse for his evil deeds; but his ignorant physicians attributed it to magic, the common and most convenient way of accounting for every unknown disease. His eldest son Philip, being the nearest male heir to the throne of France, was declared regent till the birth of the late king's posthumous child, and that proving to be a daughter, he was crowned with his wife at Rheims. The joy of the people was expressed by festivities which lasted fifteen days.

Two months after his accession, Philip VI. (commonly called Philip of Valois) took up the cause of his relative, Louis, count of Flanders, who had been suffering from the

rebellious spirit of his turbulent people, especially the citizens of Bruges and Yprès. The French king defeated the rebels at Cassel; and besides 13,000, who are calculated to have fallen in battle, 10,000 perished afterwards by the hands of the executioners. This severity probably led to the subsequent terrible outbreaks of popular spirit. In 1329, the young King of England, Edward III., after some delays, came to do homage to Philip for his French possessions. The ceremony was performed on the sixth of June, in the cathedral of Amiens. The King of France was seated on a superb throne, in a long robe of violet-coloured velvet, covered with golden fleurs de lis: he was crowned with a diadem enriched with precious stones, and held in his hand a gold sceptre. Around him stood the Kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca, with all the great dukes and counts, and officers of the crown; also a number of prelates. Edward appeared with a numerous suite, dressed in a long robe of crimson velvet covered with leopards in gold, having his crown on his head, his sword at his side, and wearing gilt spurs. As he approached the throne, the high chamberlain commanded him to take off his crown, sword, and spurs, and to kneel down before the king. He obeyed, but not without secret indignation. Then the same officer said to him, "Sire, you become, as duke of Guienne, *liege-man* of the king, my lord, here present, and promise loyalty and fidelity to him." Edward objected to the term liege-homage, pretending that he only owed simple homage. He demanded time to consult the archives, and promised to send letters which would explain what kind of homage he owed: this was agreed upon. Then Philip kissed on his mouth the King of England, whose hands he held between his own. At that moment, it is probable Edward nurtured in his heart the determination to dispute Philip's title to the crown.

At the commencement of his reign, Philip of Valois received from his subjects the surname of Fortunate; before the close of it, he became the object of their contempt or aversion. His need of money led him to debase the coin, and to oppress the people with odious taxes. His grandfather, Philip the Fair, had levied a tax upon salt, Philip the Long had increased it, but Philip of Valois was the first king who monopolised the manufacture and sale

of that necessary, forcing every family to take a certain quantity out of his storehouses at an exorbitant price. This tax was called the Gabelle; and being raised by the king's own ordinance, and not by the states-general, it occasioned universal discontent.

A French Cistercian abbot was chosen pope at the death of John XXII., and took the name of Benedict XII. He was crowned at Avignon, in January-1355. Either feeling himself to be unlike the courtly Popes who had preceded him, or in the mock humility so common to monks, he said to the cardinals, "You have elected an ass." He knew, however, how to make speeches; for when Philip of Valois came to visit him the following March, he said to him, that he had so much personal affection for him that if he had two souls he would willingly expose one of them to do him pleasure, but having only one, he wished to preserve it. The King of France took with him to the court of Avignon the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre, who usually were his companions either at home or abroad, because they loved his splendid way of living: a great number of lords attended them. One object of their visit was to dissuade the Pope from removing to Rome, a step which was greatly pressed upon him by the Italians. Benedict took the opportunity of persuading his noble guests to take the cross; and granted to the king the power of raising tithes throughout his states, to cover the expenses of an expedition to the Holy Land. Philip, in this manner, amassed great sums of money; but they were expended in a very different kind of war, even the war for the preservation of his own dominions from the ambitious King of England. The detail belongs to our history of England as long as that country had the advantage. It may here be said that Edward tauntingly called Philip "the king of the *Salic* law," because of his salt tax; Philip, in return, styled Edward "a *woollen* merchant," because the Flemings were his allies for the sake of English wool.

Neither a long and dreadful war, nor the unexampled pestilence that followed it, could correct the levity of the French people. Their own historian, Mezerai, expresses his wonder. They danced, as it were, says he, on the graves of their relations; sports, balls, tournaments, pageantries, were

always going on. The papal court was not more sober or serious. Nothing could exceed the pomp, luxury, and licentiousness that prevailed at Avignon during the pontificate of Clement VI. His predecessor, Benedict, had been zealous for good order; but Clement, though originally a monk, surrounded himself with worldly pleasures. He promised to Joan, queen of Naples, 80,000 florins for the city of Avignon and the adjoining territories. The situation was considered advantageous, being accessible by land, by sea, and by the Rhone; the climate was said to be as delightful as that of Italy; and the splendour of the ancient city was increased by the palaces newly built for the Pope and cardinals. The Romans gave to this seat of pomp and pleasure the name of Babylon; and the period of the Popes' residence there was called by them "the seventy years' captivity." Clement, however, did not forget Rome; and, in the year 1350, he proclaimed a jubilee similar to that which had been instituted by Boniface VIII. in 1300. There was, as before, an extraordinary concourse of pilgrims, and a great influx of money to the papal treasury. At this time Clement procured a truce between the Kings of France and England; but it was ill-observed.

In 1349, the plague having carried off his first wife, Jane, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip married Blanche, the daughter of the King of Navarre. In the same year, the Prince of Dauphiny (then a fief of the empire), being inconsolable for the loss of his only child, who was killed in falling from his arms out of a window, retired to a monastery, and left his dominions to the crown of France, on condition that the heir-apparent should take the name of Dauphin. About the same time, James, king of Arragon, sold the lordship of Montpellier, his portion of France, to the king.

It was in the last years of Philip's reign (1349 and 1350) that the plague, called the *Black Death*, which had previously desolated Asia and Africa, spread into Europe. France and England suffered in a special manner from the awful visitation. Five hundred bodies were daily carried out of the Hôtel Dieu, the hospital in Paris to which the sick were taken. It was during the prevalence of this public calamity that a set of fanatics arose, who were called Flagellants, from their practice of publicly scourging them-

selves, to avert, as they said, by their voluntary sufferings, the Divine wrath. It is difficult to say where their madness began; but France, Hungary, and Poland were the principal scenes of their disgusting exhibitions: Germany, Italy, and even England were partially infested with them. In France they indulged themselves in robbery, as well as other vices, whilst professing to be employed in expiating their own sins and those of the country. The first public procession of Flagellants was at Penesini, in Italy; it was preceded by priests carrying a crucifix, and the men who followed scourged themselves with great severity, loudly imploring the mercy of God. But soon, men, women, and children, of every rank, adopted the same practice, heedless of business or amusement; in dark nights, and during inclement weather, the streets were crowded with persons thus torturing themselves. As the mania increased, and spread from city to city, and from country to country, the Flagellants formed themselves into a regular association; and one of them went so far as to pretend that he had received a whip and a letter from heaven, and that the latter assured to those who would endure the discipline for thirty-four days successively, a complete pardon of all their sins. These wretched enthusiasts, thinking, perhaps, to make their title to forgiveness clear to all the world, went naked to the waist, to exhibit a part of the wounds caused by their repeated scourgings; they wore crosses on their lower garments, and caps falling over their eyes; twice a day, and once in the night, they used the whip, sometimes in churches, sometimes in burying-places, crying the whole time, "Mercy!" When organised into a regular sect, they sung together a hymn concerning the Saviour's sufferings, after completing the discipline; and having thrown themselves on the ground, wherever they happened to be, one of their priests, or preachers, passed from one to the other, saying, "God forgives thee thy sins."

In the year 1249, Clement VI. condemned the proceedings of the Flagellants as a *pernicious heresy*; but since the Popes had so long taught, in encouraging crusades, that remission of sins might be obtained by shedding the blood of others, many, in spite of the Pope, concluded that they might get forgiveness by shedding their own

blood. The madness lasted many years; and after popes and sovereigns had tried in vain to stop it, the enraged people put it down, finding that the Flagellants, whilst publicly torturing themselves, indulged, in secret, in the worst of crimes.

Philip of Valois died, after a few days' illness, in August 1350. He was in the 57th year of his age, and seemed worn out by his misfortunes. He left by his first wife four sons and a daughter: John, who succeeded him, and who had previously borne the title of duke of Normandy; Philip, duke of Orleans; and two who died young. His second wife gave birth to a posthumous child, a daughter. This queen, on account of her personal and mental attractions, was styled *La belle Sagesse*. Philip's reign was remarkable for *military* ladies. Margaret, countess of Montfort, whose husband was a pretender to Bretagne, and imprisoned by the king, went out to battle for the disputed province, clothed in armour and riding on a war-horse: she was said to be a perfect captain. The wife of the Count of Blois was a warrior, like Margaret, and her husband being taken prisoner in battle, she carried on a contest with the valiant Countess de Montfort for many years. Another warlike lady, renowned in these times, was the widow of De Clisson, a Breton noble.

We have no heart for the details of their exploits.

In the previous reign, the ladies of France had distinguished themselves in an absurd, but much more innocent, manner: they adopted a headdress, in shape and height like a sugar-loaf; and from the summit of it floated a load of lace: the fashion lasted for 200 years.

Clement VI. survived Philip of Valois about two years. He was a man of good natural understanding, and of cultivated mind; and he had so retentive a memory that he never could forget what he had once read, even if he wished to do so. He carried the system of *Reserves* to a greater length than his predecessors; but when this was represented to him, he replied, "They did not know how to be popes." Other particulars concerning Clement belong to our history of the German empire: we may here observe that he received the ambassadors of Andronicus the Elder with great honour, and sent his own to the court

of Constantinople; but he did not render the Greek prince the aid that he needed.

By his particular request, the body of Clement VI. was enveloped in a stag's skin, and buried at Chaise-Dieu, where he had been monk. It was preserved for no good purpose: two hundred years after, it was exhumed, and the skull made into a drinking-cup, by a body of men calling themselves Calvinists: they were, in fact, some of those ferocious persons whose protestantism led them to hate popery, without loving either God or man; and they were widely scattered, as emissaries of Satan, to throw disgrace on the truths brought out during the Reformation.

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(A. D. 1350.) John, the eldest son of Philip of Valois, came to the throne at the age of 40. He bore the desirable surname of *the Good*; but this was only gained towards the close of his reign, when adversity had greatly improved and altered his character. One of his first acts was that of a Turkish despot. On the suspicion of treason, he caused the Constable Raoul, count of Eu, to be arrested, and had his head cut off in the night, without even the form of trial. The king created the Spanish prince Charles de la Cerda, Constable; but he was assassinated in his bed (1354), by the order of Charles, king of Navarre, John's son-in-law, who was jealous of the power of the new officer. For this, and other similar acts, Charles was surnamed the Bad: he was one of the most prominent persons in the affairs of France during this period. He refused to appear before his peers to answer for the murder, and for a time the king was obliged to pass by the offence; but his son, the dauphin, having confessed that Charles had formed a plot to imprison his father, and to place him on the throne in his stead, the king determined, with his son's help, to secure so dangerous a person. The King of England had invaded the north of France, the Prince of Wales the south; but, in a convocation of the states-general, large supplies were voted, and great preparations were made for the defence of the country (1355). Having secured this relief, John bent his mind on the capture of the King of Navarre; and in April, 1356, learn-

ing that he was going to give a great feast in the castle of Rouen, the king and his son went thither with a number of armed men; and entering just as the company were sitting down to table, John seized Charles the Bad with his own hands, forbidding any person to stir on pain of death. Five others were singled out and arrested, and decapitated the same day in John's presence; the King of Navarre was confined in a strong castle.

In our history of England we have learned that John's first campaign against the English ended in his becoming the prisoner of the Black Prince, and that for four years he resided in London. During his absence, the dauphin Charles was at first called lieutenant of the kingdom, and when he came of age was created regent; but he had not then acquired the surname of Wise, which distinguished him when on the throne, and France was involved in severe troubles. Commotions being excited in the city by Marcel, the provost, the states-general were assembled, the King of Navarre released, and new magistrates appointed; but the confusion only increased. Marcel raised the standard of revolt: he gave to the seditious, by way of distinction, a cap partly green and partly red; and the streets were for the first time barricaded with chains thrown across them, to serve as entrenchments for the mob. Paris became a scene of horror and carnage. In January, 1358, a citizen of Paris assassinated in open day, in the street, the dauphin's treasurer, and made his escape to a church, which was regarded as a sacred asylum. But by the order of the dauphin, the Marshal of Normandy seized him there, and caused him to be hung. Upon this, the Bishop of Paris made complaint, and gave the corpse of the malefactor honourable interment in the church from which he had been torn. This circumstance emboldened Marcel and some of his followers to force their way into the dauphin's chamber, where they killed, before his face, the Marshals of Normandy and of Champagne. The dauphin, in fear of death, retired from the capital. The scenes that had occurred in Paris were outdone in the provinces. Probably the recently enfranchised serfs had not made good use of their freedom; probably, also, their covetous masters repented that they had been set at liberty. It is said that the nobles began by pillaging the peasants

and burning their dwellings: if it were so, the retaliation was fearful.

*Jacques*, or *Jacques bon-homme*, being a common name of contempt applied to the French peasant, this insurrection was called the *Jacquerie*. The peasants everywhere rose, and in Picardy, a great multitude, armed with pitchforks and knives, attacked all the gentry within their reach, set the country-seats on fire, and massacred all who fell in their way.

King Edward's Gascon knights united with the dauphin in quelling this dreadful disturbance, but horrible cruelties were committed on both sides. The imprisoned King of France had secured a truce to his country from the arms of the English, and the dauphin having attained the age of twenty-one, aimed at the supreme authority. Charles, king of Navarre, proved a violent opponent. His mother was the daughter of Louis X.; he was therefore a step nearer the crown of France than Edward III., whose mother was only a younger sister of the same king. But the Salic law was considered to exclude the male descendants of the monarch's daughter, as well as the daughter herself, and though the King of Navarre had a strong party; and the King of England one far stronger, the nation entirely rejected their claims.

An old French lawyer referring to Edward's having deferred the mention of his claims for so many years, and especially to the fact of his having previously done homage to the King of France, observes, that France was not such a *little* lordship that a person could be so long ignorant of his right to it, if he really had any.

The Parisians, groaning under the tyranny of the demagogue Marcel, invited the dauphin to re-enter the capital as regent; Marcel and some of his fellow conspirators were put to death, just as they were about to deliver up the city to the King of Navarre, and to the English with whom he had allied himself.

The first treaty of peace proposed by Edward was brought to Paris in May, 1359, but the assembled states refused to agree to the resignation of the territories therein named, and objected to pay so great a ransom as three millions of gold crowns. On receiving their refusal, Edward shut up his royal prisoner in the Tower, and in-

vaded France at the head of 100,000 men. In traversing the country, he made no conquest, and was repulsed both from Rheims and Paris. In May, 1360, the second treaty was devised, and after it had been signed by the regent, King John was released. On his return home, his counsellors tried to persuade him, that engagements contracted in prison were not binding; but he nobly replied, "If good faith and truth had disappeared everywhere else, they ought to be found on the lips, and in the heart, of kings." In his anxiety to pay the promised ransom, John gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to John Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, that rich prince furnishing him with 600,000 florins.

Few princes seem to have profited more in the school of adversity than King John; on his return from his captivity, he appeared mild and moderate, anxious for good counsel, and sedulous in every way to win the affections of his subjects: they saluted him with the title of Good, during his lifetime. All the conditions of the treaty had not been performed when his son Louis, duke of Anjou, who had been detained in London among other hostages, secretly escaped to Paris with one of his companions. The high-minded king, anxious to make amends for his son's want of honour, set off for London, and surrendered himself again as a prisoner till the treaty should be entirely fulfilled. He fell ill shortly after his arrival in England, and died at the Savoy Palace, in April, 1364.

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IN 1352, another Frenchman had been elevated to the popedom, in the room of Clement VI. He was called Innocent, being the sixth Pope of that name. He was far more reputable than his predecessor; he revoked the iniquitous laws that had been in force for enriching the papal see; he ordered all ecclesiastics to reside on their benefices; and preferred the promotion of literary men, and persons of merit. One of the most singular events of his pontificate was the attack made upon Avignon by the bands of military robbers, who were styled the Free, or the Great Companies. They were composed of soldiers of Germany, England, Bretagne, Navarre, Gascony, and Flan

ders; and had either been disbanded after the wars, or had not arrived in time to take part in the actions of their fellow countrymen. Either preferring a military life, or having no means of subsistence but pillage, they roved about the country under chosen captains, and became very formidable. The popular alarm may be imagined from the report, that they roasted infants and old people alive, when no one would ransom them. Attracted by the riches of Avignon, some of these banditti entered the district in 1361, pillaged the churches and houses, burned what they could not carry away, and committed the most fearful outrages and murders. The Pope, finding his excommunications useless, caused a crusade to be published, and King John sent his chief nobility, with 10,000 men, to attack the brigands. The latter were victorious in a battle near Lyons, and boldly pursued their violent career to the very gates of the Pope's palace. In this extremity, the Marquis of Montferrat stepped forward, and offered to hire the Free Companies, to assist him in making war with the Duke of Milan. In the name of *his Holiness*, as the Pope was now termed, they received 60,000 florins *with* the absolution of their sins, and, consenting to spare Avignon, followed the marquis into Italy.

Innocent VI. did not long survive this alarm. He was succeeded by Urban V. (A. D. 1362). Besides those who had departed into Italy, there were other Great Companies who continued to desolate France, and whose history is nearly connected with that of the French king, and Pope.

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CHARLES V., the eldest son of John II., acquired the surname of Wise, from the skill with which he retrieved the ruinous state of public affairs; and the ability with which he governed his kingdom when it was restored to prosperity. Without ever going out to battle, he recovered from the English all that his predecessors, at the head of immense armies, had lost. Edward III. used to say of him, there was no one who armed himself so little, and gave himself so much to business. The plans devised by Charles in his cabinet were mainly executed in the field by Du Guesclin, a man as celebrated in France, as William Wallace in Scotland. He was, however, far less barbarous

than the Scottish chief; and on his deathbed he told his officers to recollect, that in whatever country they waged war, neither the clergy nor the women, children nor poor people, were their enemies. Yet it has truly been said of Du Guesclin, "War was his element and sole delight." The cotemporary histories of England and Spain furnish some account of his daring exploits; we will only here allude to his method of clearing France from the Free Companies. Seeing that they were dangerous to the country from their want of some outlet for their military spirit, he obtained the king's permission to engage their services; and having visited the chiefs at their encampment near Chalons, he invited them all to follow him into Spain, promising to obtain sufficient payment from the King of France, and absolution from the Pope. Du Guesclin's fame as a warrior gained him the confidence of these military banditti, and, after introducing their leader to the French king, who received them with courtesy, he led the formidable companies to Avignon.

The appearance of 30,000 men at the gates of the papal city was sufficient to cause alarm, and Urban sent out a cardinal to inquire who they were, and what they wanted. Du Guesclin replied that they were soldiers, enrolled for a crusade in Spain, and that they wanted the Pope's absolution, and 100,000 florins towards the expenses of the war. Urban was prompt in giving them the desired absolution, which, as he had no conscience towards God, cost him nothing; but he would not open his coffers, and the 100,000 *francs* which he gave them, were raised among the citizens of Avignon. Du Guesclin, on hearing from whence the money came, returned it, nor would he lead his army away till the Pope himself satisfied their whole demand (1366).

After such an event as this, it is not surprising that Urban was willing to try whether Rome would prove a more comfortable residence than Avignon; and, notwithstanding the entreaties of Charles V. that he would remain in France, he removed to Italy in 1367. At the Vatican palace he was visited by the King of Cyprus, the Queen of Naples, the Emperor of Germany, and the Emperor of Constantinople; but he was soon weary of a place in which he found it necessary to surround himself with a guard of

2000 horse; and under colour of labouring to procure peace between the Kings of France and England, he returned to Avignon in September, 1370. He died of illness a few weeks after.

Urban VI. is usually extolled as a mild and virtuous pope; and Romanists consider him to have been the model of a religious character, on account of his great attention to external services: he wore the monastic habit day and night. He was so great an encourager of learning, that he supported a thousand scholars in different academies. One of the famous acts attributed to him was the taking up of the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, which were said to have been deposited beneath an altar in the Lateran chapel, called the Holy of Holies: he placed the remains, to whomsoever they belonged, in silver reliquaries of great weight and costly workmanship.

At the death of Urban, the nephew of Clement VI. was elected pope under the name of Gregory XI. He was the last Frenchman who was elevated to the popedom. One of his first objects was the conclusion of a peace between France and England; and although at first his letters and his legates seemed to fail, he obtained a truce of fifteen months, in the fifth year of his pontificate. In 1376, Gregory determined to remove the papal court to Rome. To this step he was impelled, partly by the disturbed state of France, and partly by the threats of the Romans, that they would choose a resident bishop, unless the Pope would dwell among them: there was also a deluded woman, Catherine of Sienna, who professed to have received revelations of the divine will, touching the return of the Pope to Rome. A celebrated abbot pretended that Isaiah had prophesied of the return, when describing the termination of the seventy years' exile of the King of Tyre. This is but one of the many examples that prophecy may be said to mean anything when the literal interpretation of it is disregarded.

The cardinals, who were mostly Frenchmen, naturally looked to Rome as a place of banishment; the King of France, and the Pope's own father, a French nobleman, strove to prevent the removal of the papal court from Avignon; but Gregory was resolute, and having embarked at Marseilles with his pompous train, he entered Rome amidst the acclamations of the citizens, January, 1377.

From this time, the palace of the Lateran, which had fallen into decay, was abandoned for that of the Vatican, and Gregory's successors added to the buildings, till a space of ground measuring four miles was brought within the papal enclosure, and the whole became surpassingly magnificent. Rome proved no place of quietness to Gregory, and the turbulence of the citizens induced him to retire to Anagni, where he died in March, 1378. Edward III. had died the year before; Charles V. only lived till the autumn of 1380. With all his political wisdom, Charles was so weak as to be influenced by astrologers; and, in 1376, in favour of Gervais, whom he considered profoundly skilled in the intelligence of the stars, he founded a college of astronomy and medicine at Paris. Charles was fond of literature, and having commenced a royal library, he enriched it with 900 volumes.

It is an interesting fact that he employed Nicholas Oresme, headmaster of the college of Navarre, to translate the Bible into French; and he read it through for himself every year. He employed another learned man to make a French translation of Augustine's "City of God," and gave him 4000 gold francs every year for his labours.

Having visited the monastery of Clugni, Charles the Wise issued letters, saying, that the state of the monks actually surpassed report. "We therefore," he continued, "in honour and reverence for the Holy Trinity, &c., wish henceforth to be the brother and the son of the said religious persons, and we will hold ourselves, and our successors, ready to protect, defend, and assist them."

The only wife of Charles V. was Jane, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. Her husband called her *the sun of his kingdom*; and, besides her personal attractions, she had many excellent qualities of mind and heart. She was the mother of nine children, but only three survived their father. Charles, surnamed the Beloved, his successor; Louis, duke of Orleans, ancestor of the royal branch of that name; and Catherine, whose birth occasioned her mother's death.

It is an interesting circumstance that a bible-reading king was a wise and prosperous king, and peculiarly happy in his nearest connection.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## SPAIN.

MINORITY OF ALPHONSO XI., KING OF CASTILE. — HE ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT, AND A JEW IS TREASURER OF HIS KINGDOM. — CONTEST WITH THE MOORS. — ISMAEL, KING OF GRANADA. — HIS GREAT CHARACTER AND ACTS. — JAMES II., KING OF ARRAGON, OBTAINS THE SURNAME OF JUST. — HIS ABOLITION OF TORTURE. — HIS SON, ALPHONSO IV., BECOMES KING IN THE SAME YEAR AS EDWARD III. — PEACE BETWEEN CASTILE AND GRANADA. — PETER IV., THE CEREMONIOUS, KING OF ARRAGON. — VICTORIES OF ALPHONSO OF CASTILE AND PORTUGAL OVER THE MOORS NEAR TARIFA. — ALPHONSO XI. TAKES ALGEZIRAS, AND DIES OF THE PESTILENCE BEFORE GIBRALTAR. — HIS FRIENDSHIP FOR EDWARD III. — DISCOVERY OF THE CANARY ISLES. — HISTORY OF PETER IV. (THE CRUEL) OF CASTILE. — SIMILARITY BETWEEN HIM AND PETER IV. (THE JUST) OF PORTUGAL. — PETER THE CRUEL BEING DRIVEN OUT OF HIS KINGDOM, IS RE-INSTATED BY THE BLACK PRINCE. — HE IS AFTERWARDS DEFEATED, AND TREACHEROUSLY KILLED IN DU GUESCLIN'S TENT BY HENRY OF TRASTAMARE, WHO SUCCEEDS HIM. — CHARACTER OF THIS KING. — MOHAMMED V., KING OF GRANADA.

THE whole reign of Edward II. passed away before Alphonso XI., king of Castile, attained the age of seventeen. Being only two years old at the death of his parents, there was some contention for the possession of his person, but he at length fell under the care of his grandmother, Maria the Great, whose talents had been fully proved during the two preceding reigns, and who was looked upon by the people as a mother, rather than a queen. She died before her young charge reached his fourteenth year. Alphonso's uncle, Don Pedro, and his great uncle, Don John, disturbed his minority by their jealous quarrels about the regency ;

but shortly before the queen's death they were both slain in battle with the Moors. Emboldened by previous success, they had led their army within sight of the Alhambra, but Ismael, the reigning king of Granada, armed all his people in defence of his capital, and, after an obstinate battle, the Christian hosts were forced to retreat. In their haste, they left the body of Don John on the field of battle; and the Moors, having wrapped it in fine linen, enclosed it in a costly chest filled with perfumes, and sent it under a covering of scarlet and gold to the royal family at Cordova. The Moors burned their own dead in their garments and arms, but stripped off those of their enemies; they celebrated their victory with feasts and tournaments; and Ismael, through the weakness of the Castilians, recovered almost all that he had lost.

In 1324, the Cortes of Valladolid desired that their young king should assume the government; and Joseph, a wealthy and powerful Jew, who had lent money for the expenses of the royal household, supported the decision. As Alphonso was only fourteen, some of the highest nobles leagued together with solemn oaths, and attempted to obtain the power, but the king's party prevailed, and Joseph was made treasurer of the kingdom. In the following year, the Moors began to act on the offensive, and the King of Granada, in besieging the town of Baza, is said to have battered the walls with "engines which projected globes of fire with great explosions, in all respects like the thunder and lightning of the tempests:" he probably used cannon, which was at that time unknown in Christendom. Just after the town was taken by the Moors, Ismael was stabbed by his cousin, in revenge for his having deprived him of a beautiful captive. This king bore a high character for justice and benevolence; he had provided for the safety, the necessities, and even for the amusement of his people; his police was excellent, his storehouses sufficient, and he embellished the capital with magnificent buildings, fountains, and gardens.

We have now to mention some facts connected with James II., king of Arragon, who died in the same year that Edward II. was deposed. As soon as he allowed his brother Frederic to reign in peace, in Sicily, his own reign became prosperous and happy; he was much beloved by

his subjects, and respected by neighbouring monarchs, and his acts obtained for him the surname of Just. In 1325, he abolished the application of torture to accused persons, being persuaded that it was an unjust mode of conviction, seeing that a guilty person of a vigorous frame might deny his crimes, and a feeble person confess those of which he was innocent. Sardinia was added to the states of Arragon in the reign of James the Just, and Catalonia with Valencia became integral parts of the kingdom. James desired that his eldest son should marry the only sister of Alphonso XI. of Castile; but the young prince always deferred the alliance; and when, at last, by his father's entreaty, he had gone through the ceremony of marriage with the Princess Eleonora, he declared that he had made a religious vow which would not permit him to take her to wife; then he formally renounced his bride, and his right of succession to his brother Alphonso (1319). He afterwards became grandmaster of the Order of Calatrava.

Alphonso IV. succeeded his father in the kingdom of Arragon, in the same year that Edward III. was crowned king of England: they made a treaty with each other. The chief event of this reign was a naval war with the Genoese, the two nations in turn ravaging each other's coasts. The Pope endeavoured to mediate between them, but in vain. Alphonso IV. died in 1336, and was succeeded by his son Peter IV. He was surnamed the Ceremonious, because of his great attention to etiquette in all matters of state. Peter IV., like some of his predecessors, was jealous of the great assumptions of the clergy; and at his coronation, the Archbishop of Saragossa disputing the honour with another prelate, the king took the crown from the altar and placed it on his own head. Peter was the son of Alphonso by a first wife; and he had serious quarrels with his stepmother, Eleonora of Castile, because of the large possessions left to her by her husband. Pope Benedict XII. succeeded in reconciling the two parties; and the King of Arragon went in state to Avignon, to do homage for Sardinia, an island over which the papal see long claimed supremacy. Whilst entering the city of Avignon, Peter noticed that a squire belonging to the King of Majorca touched his horse with a whip in an insulting manner, and had he not been restrained by his

courtiers, he would have killed the offender on the spot. The circumstance inspired him with hatred for the King of Majorca, James II., a cousin of his own, and in the end he deprived him of all his possessions. James was slain in battle, and his son left a prisoner in the hands of the King of Arragon. Peter IV. is regarded by the Spaniards as the Tiberius of their nation. Ambitious, deceitful, and cruel, he joined to these vices, courage, firmness, intelligence, and activity.

During some years of the reign of Edward III. we may pursue the history of Spain under Alphonso XI. of Castile, and Peter IV. of Arragon: the latter outlived the English king.

About the time of the accession of Peter IV., Alphonso XI., after many painful struggles, had established tranquility in his own country, and was enjoying a truce with Granada. So rare a moment of quietness was celebrated by a solemn festival: it was only the prelude to another season of war. Occasions of offence and fighting had arisen between the three Christian kingdoms of Castile, Portugal, and Arragon; but the remarkable talents of a new king in Granada, and the threatening aspect of the Moors, obliged them all to unite, in order to face the common foe. Ismael had been succeeded by his young son, Muley Mohammed, a prince of fiery character; but he was soon cut off, on account of some offence offered to a body of African soldiers, and his brother Yusef was raised to the throne. Having made a truce of four years with Castile, Yusef employed himself diligently in the improvement of his kingdom; he reformed its laws and customs, caused directions to be written for all public offices and professions, especially for military service, and created new honours for the reward of faithful public servants. In the year 1333, Gibraltar had been lost to Castile; and the Moslems being in possession of that important place, 400,000 men came over from Africa, to join the forces of Yusef, and a fleet of 250 sail was kept to guard the coast, and to supply the army with provisions.

The Pope granted to Peter IV. a third of the ecclesiastical revenues of Arragon, in order to carry on war with the Moors; but, as he was not personally engaged in the important struggle we are about to mention, we may here

refer to the only remaining circumstances of importance connected with Arragon during this period. Peter had no sons. The grandees of Arragon put forward his brother James as the heir apparent; and obliged the king to sign a ratification of their right to regulate the succession. The king, however, gathering strength to oppose his nobles, defeated them in battle; and, in the cortes of Saragossa, the alleged privilege for which they contended was denied. The king called for the document that he had been forced to subscribe, and wounding his hand with a poniard held it over the parchment, saying that it was fit a deed so mischievous to the royal prerogative should be cancelled by the blood of a king. It should here be mentioned that the constitution of Arragon was more free than that of other kingdoms; and in the cortes, the citizens had a place, as well as the grandees and the clergy.

The first wife of Peter IV. was the daughter of the King of Navarre; the second was Eleanor, the infanta of Portugal: early in his reign he concluded a treaty with King Edward III.

In the autumn of 1340, the Kings of Castile and Portugal gathered their forces together near Seville: both of them bore the favourite name of Alphonso; the former being the eleventh, and the latter the fourth, of his name, in their respective countries. The kings of Portugal, up to this period, were chiefly famous for their battles with the Moors: the nation had as yet little influence in Europe, and their princes, but few relationships, save with Castile and Arragon. Alphonso IV. bore the surnames of the Brave and the Proud; and we shall have melancholy associations with his name. Whilst the Castilian and Portuguese troops marched towards Granada, their fleet, with the combined naval forces of Arragon and Genoa, assembled near San Lucas. It was on the morning of October 30, that the great battle was fought between the Christians and Moors: they met near Tarifa, and the little river Salado ran between the two camps, having from that spot but a short course ere it reached the sea. Spanish historians, who love the marvellous, and who especially glory over any destruction of the Moors, assert that the Christians amounted but to 14,000 foot, and 25,000 horse, and that out of these only twenty were killed, whilst they

butchered 200,000 of their enemies, and took a vast number of prisoners. There can be no doubt that it was a very complete and bloody victory. Yusef, king of Granada, fell back to Algeziras; and Hassan, the African chief, escaped to Gibraltar with the loss of his harem and treasures. The quantity of precious metals that fell into the hands of the victors, caused the gold throughout the country to sink to one-sixth its usual value. When the two kings returned to Seville, all the inhabitants, young and old, came out to salute them, calling them saviours of the country, and defenders of the faith; processions, illuminations, and feasts were general throughout the land, and distant countries participated in the rejoicing. In a solemn embassy to Avignon, Benedict XII. was presented with the horse that Alphonso rode in battle, the royal pennon, and a hundred horses richly caparisoned, with shields and swords hung at their saddle-bows; also twenty-four banners taken from the Moors. The cardinals came out of the city to receive the embassy, and Benedict himself sung mass, by way of thanksgiving, and bestowed the highest praises on the King of Castile. James Douglas, the companion of Robert Bruce, had come to Portugal with the intention of joining any knights who might be going to Palestine, wishing to carry thither the heart of the King of Scotland, according to his dying wish. With a thousand knights, he followed Alphonso the Proud to the battle of Tarifa, carrying Bruce's heart in a gold case in his bosom. In the midst of the combat, seeing the Moors gaining some advantage, he pushed into the thickest of the battle. It is said that he threw his treasure far before him, crying, "Pass forward, heart, as thou wert wont!" then, fighting his way to the spot, he reached it, and was slain by the Moslems. Such anecdotes as these are highly illustrative of the spirit of the times; but the Christian's heart sickens in the review.

Entertaining the hope of driving the Moors entirely out of Spain, Alphonso XI. set his mind upon obtaining the seaports. For two years, he lay encamped before Algeziras; and Yusef, who came from Granada to relieve the place, being unable to push his way through the Christian host, pitched his camp within sight. It was considered as meritorious to fight the Moslems in Spain as in Palestine;

and many knights entered Alphonso's service to do battle, as it was said, *for the good of their souls*. Among these were the English Earls of Derby and Salisbury, Philip, king of Navarre (father of Charles the Bad), and the Count of Foix: the two latter died of an epidemic fever which prevailed in the camp during the heavy rains of the winter of 1343. Towards the close of the next year, Algeziras was surrendered; and all parties being weary of the contest, a truce was agreed upon between the Kings of Castile and Granada. Yusef employed this interval in legislation, in establishing schools, and in beautifying his capital. He introduced a taste for the ornamental painting and mosaic work for which the Moors became so famous; and, after his example, his courtiers built palaces with costly halls and towers, surrounding them with courts shaded by fruit-trees and cooled by fountains: thus did Granada become one of the most luxuriant and tasteful cities of the world.

In 1350, Alphonso XI. died of the pestilence which was making such fearful ravages throughout the earth. He was at the time encamped before Gibraltar, seeking to drive out its African garrison. He was only thirty-eight years of age. So greatly was his bravery admired by his enemies, that, as soon as his death was known, the garrison made no sallies, that the corpse might be removed without annoyance. All the partisans of the King of Granada showed the same respect. Yusef and many of his courtiers wore mourning, as if for a friend; and the Moorish king observed, "We have lost the best prince in the world, one who knew how to honour the worthy, whether friend or foe." As a king, and as a knight, Yusef was equal to Alphonso: he died three years after by the hand of an assassin. Edward III. kept up the same friendly intercourse with Alphonso XI. as had subsisted between his grandfather and Alphonso the Learned; an excellent race of horses was introduced into England from the liberality of the King of Castile; and Edward's gift to Alphonso of a small flock of English sheep was the original stock whence the fine Spanish wool proceeded. Alphonso, like his renowned ancestor, was an author and a poet, and encouraged the cultivation of the Castilian tongue.

An astronomer, under the patronage of Yusef, constructed elaborate astronomical tables, and invented curious clocks, whilst the polarity of the magnet began now to be used for the direction of the Spanish navigators.

In an assembly held at Perpignan (A. D. 1350), Peter IV. decreed that the birth of Christ should be made the era from whence to compute time: up to that period the era of Cæsar (B. C. 38) had been used in the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula; and neither Castile nor Portugal adopted the vulgar era till many years afterwards. It was in the reign of Alphonso XI. that some Spanish and Portuguese vessels discovered the Canary Isles; and after an exterminating war against the savage inhabitants, Castilian colonists took possession, and Alphonso de la Cerda was crowned king of the Canaries by Clement VI., acknowledging himself a vassal of the papal see. These newly discovered islands, from their fertility and beauty, were called the Fortunate Isles; Canaria, the largest, afterwards gave its name to the rest: from hence the Canary birds originally came.

The wife of Peter IV. fell a victim to the same plague that carried off Alphonso XI. In Saragossa alone upwards of a hundred persons died daily, and a fearful depopulation took place throughout the country.

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IN continuing the history of Spain through the latter part of the reign of Edward III., we see Peter (IV.) the Ceremonious still occupying the throne of Arragon; and Peter, the fourth also of his name in Castile, succeeds his father Alphonso XI. His well-merited surname of Cruel may prepare us in some measure for the terrible events of his reign. Such characters are happily rare on the page of modern history.

To one of his father's wrong steps we must trace the commencement of the miseries that marked the reign of Peter IV. Alphonso's first wife was Maria, the daughter of Alphonso IV. of Portugal; her eldest son died, and the only child left to them was Peter. After his queen had brought him these two sons, Alphonso accidentally met with a beautiful young widow of eighteen, named Leonora de Guzman, and for her sake he forsook his own

wife, notwithstanding the admonitions of the clergy and of the Pope himself, and the remonstrances of Maria and her father. Leonora had several sons. The queen probably nurtured her own child in the hatred which she felt towards her rival, and this feeling was fully displayed after the death of Alphonso.

Leonora had greatly sinned in encouraging Alphonso's desertion of his wife; and her ambition for herself and her children was sorely punished. The virtues or beauties of such sufferers are too often painted so as to enlist one's sympathy on their side; but we cannot too strongly deprecate the breach of one of the first and simplest laws of God. Peter IV. was crowned king at Seville, when only sixteen years of age; and one of his first acts was to call Leonora from the town of Medina Sidonia, which had been appointed for her residence by his father. Under a pledge of safety from the king's chief ministers, Lara and Albuquerque, she went to do homage to the new sovereign; and was at once put under arrest. Her second son, Henry, count of Trastamare, only escaped imprisonment by immediately quitting the capital. A severe illness, which seemed to place the king's life in danger, prolonged the existence of the unhappy Leonora for some months; but on his recovery he put her into closer confinement; and the queen-mother, with his concurrence, in a few days issued orders for her death. After other acts of despotic violence, Peter accompanied his mother to Ciudad Rodrigo, to confer with his grandfather, the King of Portugal, on the interests of the two kingdoms; and Alphonso wisely urged on him moderation in his government, and the forgiveness of his half-brothers for the indignation that was natural to them at the death of their mother. Peter appeared to accept the advice; but in all his subsequent course he acted in opposition to it. His bursts of fury, where his own pleasure was concerned, are said to have been like fits of insanity; but, as his jealousy and cruelty chiefly affected the higher orders, and he acquired a great reputation for bravery, he was on the whole a popular king. He was of a large frame and ruddy complexion, with some hesitation in his speech, temperate in sleep and diet, and capable of great exertion either in hunting or war. Whilst the young king's ambassadors were gone

into France, to obtain as his wife Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, a beautiful princess of sixteen, Peter saw, at the house of his favourite Albuquerque, a lively young waiting girl, named Maria de Padilla, and contracted with her a secret marriage. He certainly loved her better than any other being; but he could not raise her to the throne, and the connection was a cause of many evils: she in the end died broken-hearted because of the violence of his conduct. Soon after Maria had given birth to a daughter, Blanche of Bourbon landed in Spain, and the Dowager Queens of Castile and Arragon conducted her in great state to court. Albuquerque's representation of the danger of offending the King of France, in the person of one of his relatives, induced Peter to go through the marriage ceremony; but he left his high-born bride the next day, saying that, fair as she was, Maria was still more beautiful: he never visited the queen again, except for two days, and then it was by the entreaty of his mother. Blanche was for some time under the care of her mother-in-law; but having once appeared at mass in the cathedral of Toledo, the feelings of the grandes and the archbishop were drawn forth in her behalf, and they entreated the king to take her to wife, and dismiss Maria de Padilla. Endangered by a league formed against him, and threatened with excommunication, Peter promised to do all that was required of him, and sent to Toledo for his queen; but instead of being conducted, as she expected, to a husband's arms, Blanche was treacherously placed in confinement; and after being removed from prison to prison during sixteen years, she was murdered by the king's orders, shortly before the close of his own desperate course. There is no alloy to our pity in the circumstances of this innocent queen. At the same time that he imprisoned Blanche, the king gained over a bishop to marry him to another lady, whose husband was living; but she was quickly deserted, and Maria de Padilla resumed her power, though she failed to control the fierce passions of her royal lover. Angry with the citizens of Toledo for their compassion towards the queen, Peter hastened thither in order to punish them. He caused about a thousand Jews to be massacred, for the sake of their wealth, and ordered to execution many other citizens. Among these was a

goldsmith aged eighty, whose son, a youth of eighteen, offered his own life in his stead. Peter consented to the exchange, and the young man suffered on the scaffold, the people with loud cries demanding, in vain, that he should not be the victim of his filial love.

The king, becoming more and more hardened in crime, caused his minister Albuquerque to be poisoned; and his own mother turning against him, he attacked the castle in which she had shut herself up, and several gentlemen who defended it were murdered before her eyes. Beginning to reap the bitter fruits of the evil dispositions she had cherished in her son, the queen-mother retired to the court of her father, the King of Portugal. About this time Alphonso IV. was guilty of a deed of the most atrocious character. His son Peter, the heir of his kingdom, had married Constance, a Castilian princess; but he became attached to Inez de Castro, a beautiful lady in her train; and after the death of the queen, which was probably hastened by sorrow, he privately married his favourite. Constance had left a son named Ferdinand; but Inez had three children; and thus the king's mind was filled with fears for the peace of the country, and all the more by seeing the troubles produced in Castile, through Leonora de Guzman and her children. On the unchangeably wrong principle of doing evil that good might come, Alphonso, after many qualms of conscience, resolved that Inez and her children must die. One day, whilst his son was hunting, he went to the castle where they resided with the intention of destroying them; but the sight of this beautiful young creature at his feet, asking mercy for herself and her innocent little ones, moved his heart to pity, and he left them unhurt. His counsellors, however, blamed his irresolution; then, at their persuasions, he despatched the ministers of death; and Peter, on his return from the chase, found himself bereft of his idol (A. D. 1355). His fury was ungovernable; but he became reconciled to his father on perceiving his remorse, the effects of which brought him to the grave.

In 1357, Peter I., being established on the throne of Portugal, tracked out all who had been privy to the murder of his wife, with unrelenting hatred: some of his cruelties equalled those of Peter the Cruel; and others of

his acts, which appear barbarous to us, gained for him the surname of Just. From his palace window, he beheld with savage delight the excruciating tortures of two knights who had been concerned in the murder of Inez, and when their living hearts had been torn from their bodies, he caused their remains to be burned, and their ashes to be scattered to the wind. Of all human passions, revenge seems to be the most fruitful of horrors.

Peter was unsparing in his punishment of others for vices in which he had himself indulged. With his own hands, he scourged the Bishop of Oporto with such violence, that he would have died, had not his servants interfered: he committed others to the flames for immorality of conduct. Other offences against the laws were punished more often according to his caprice, than in proportion to their magnitude. Having set the example of paying for everything the instant it was purchased, he made a law that whoever bought or sold on credit should be punished, on the first offence by stripes, on the second by death. Resolving to get rid of tedious and expensive lawsuits, he reduced all processes to a simple statement of the case by the parties concerned, and of the sentence by the judges, reserving to himself the privilege of deciding appeals. One day, an inferior officer of the law complained to the king that a gentleman on whom he had served a process had struck him, and plucked him by the beard; Peter, turning to the presiding judge, said to him, "I have been struck, and my beard has been plucked, by one of my subjects!" Seeing his royal master identified himself with his ministers, and meant the offender to be punished accordingly, the judge ordered him to be arrested and beheaded.

Surely there is little cause to complain of a tedious mode of administering justice, seeing we have been saved from the repetition of such scenes as these. It is said that this savage king was fond of music and dancing. He died in 1367, leaving the crown to his son Ferdinand.

In 1356, war broke out between Castile and Arragon, and it continued the longer, because Peter the Ceremonious refused to give up to his royal namesake, his natural brother, Henry of Trastamare. This prince had practised the art of war in the French army, and had formed a

particular friendship for Du Guesclin: of this he took advantage when the excesses of Peter the Cruel excited such indignation as to give him a prospect of obtaining the crown of Castile. We cannot venture to relate the number of murders committed by Peter, especially of his own relatives and other distinguished persons. He carried his hatred of the children of Leonora de Guzman so far, that he caused even the two youngest, aged respectively fourteen and ten, to be put to death in the castle to which he had confined them in early childhood: these boys, at least, had never wronged him. His brother Frederic, too, who had served him faithfully, provoked his jealousy by obtaining the praise of the people: sending for him under pretence of giving him some reward, he received him with deceitful kindness, and desired him to rest awhile after the fatigue of his journey. From the king's apartment, the prince turned to that of Maria de Padilla, and the tears which she shed, on seeing one whom she knew to be doomed to die, awakened his first suspicion. Frederic was grandmaster of the Order of Santiago, and had brought some of his military followers, but on reaching the courtyard of the palace he found his attendants gone, and every way of escape barred against him. Scarcely had he returned to the door of the royal apartment, when the unnatural Peter exclaimed, "Kill the grandmaster." Even his servants hesitated, but he again repeated the command; and Frederic, after defending himself in vain, fled to another apartment, and fell beneath repeated blows. Joy, instead of remorse, filled the devilish nature of Peter, and he chose to dine in the room where the bleeding corpse of Frederic was lying. His next act was to deprive his brother, Don Tello, of the lordship of Biscay; that prince escaped to Bayonne, to be under English protection, and the King of Castile invited his cousin, Don John of Arragon, to fill the vacant dignity. Having summoned the representatives of the province to meet at Bilboa, he mentioned the appointment that he had made, and afterwards sitting down in his dining apartment he summoned the prince into his presence. Whilst he was coolly conversing with him about his new government, some Biscayans in the court below became clamorous for a sight of their prince; the king immediately gave a signal to his attendants, and they fell

upon Don John, and threw his mutilated remains from the window. The widow and mother of Don John were the tyrant's next victims; and a poor priest, who had said that his brother Henry would assassinate him, was burned alive. A Jew, his chief treasurer, was put to the rack with all his family on some alleged crime, and others who had served him with fidelity died under torture. Mohammed V., son of Yusef, had succeeded his father on the throne of Granada; but a chief, called Abu Said, usurped the regal power. Against him the King of Castile sent an army under one of the Padilla family, but the Moors were victorious. Abu Said released the commander whom he had taken prisoner, knowing that he was a relative of the king's favourite; and Peter IV., professing to be well-pleased, invited the Moorish king to pay him a visit at Seville. He accordingly came with a grand retinue, and having been received in the most friendly manner by the treacherous Peter, was well lodged and entertained in the royal palace. But after a day of feasting and a tranquil night, the Moorish king and two hundred of the best knights of Granada were led out to execution on an elevated spot called the Tablada. Peter himself stabbed Abu Said, who died reproaching him with his unknighly conduct in destroying a brother king who had trusted in him. Some months after this terrible event, Maria de Padilla died, leaving a son, whom the king obliged the states to recognise as his successor, as he said that he had rejected Blanche of Bourbon because Maria was his true wife. Little faith was placed in his words, but the young Alphonso was acknowledged heir apparent; he died shortly after (1362).

The murder of the much injured Blanche brought the affairs of Peter to a crisis. Up to that time, Henry of Trastamare, though aided by the King of Arragon, had been repulsed in his attacks upon Castile; but now Du Guesclin brought the Free Companies to his aid, and numbers of knights were eager to avenge the death of the unhappy queen. Du Guesclin's followers assumed a white cross on their breast, and declared themselves engaged in a *holy war*, on the ground that Peter held commerce with the Jews. We have, however, observed that Jews, as well as other persons, suffered from his savage temper. In 1366, Henry and his forces arrived at Burgos, and he was

there crowned king of Castile. To this title he had no manner of right, for supposing Peter and his children had all been cut off, Ferdinand of Portugal was the next heir to the throne. Pursued from city to city, and despairing of the support of his people, Peter fled to Santiago, from thence intending to proceed to Corunna and embark for Bayonne. The archbishop and several Gallician lords had offered to aid him with forces, but he preferred seeking the aid of the famous Black Prince. Whilst in Santiago, Peter sustained his character for cruelty by contriving the murder of the archbishop: it cannot be said whether he hated him because he was a native of Toledo, or because he had exhorted him to amend his life: it is, however, certain that he wanted the fortresses and the money possessed by this prelate. At the church door, the king stood as if to receive the archbishop, but immediately he drew near, a number of lances pierced his body; the dean, his companion, met the same fate; and the robbery of the church followed the murders committed at the door. Carrying a table of gold, adorned with jewels and pearls, as a present to the prince, and taking with him his two daughters, Peter arrived at the English palace at Bayonne, and solicited an interview with the conqueror of the French armies. The prince sent a knight to conduct the fugitive to his presence, and, at his entrance, advanced half way to meet him.

Peter described his misfortunes in a pathetic manner, frequently interrupting his narrative with tears and sobs; he knew how to play his part before a person whose character was so well known to him, and in mentioning the invasion of his country by the French, he struck a sensitive chord in the breast of the Black Prince. Not even permitting him to finish his tale, Edward desired the king to re-cover his head, and rashly exclaimed, he was ready to sacrifice his life in battle, in order that the exile's head might be again covered with the crown as it then was with his hat. The princess was at her toilet during this interview, and when informed of its result, she warmly expressed her surprise that her husband should have been imposed upon by a man of so criminal a character. Understanding that she was displeased, and mistaking the cause, Edward exclaimed, "I see that she wants me to be always at her

side. But a prince who wishes to immortalise his name, must seek occasions to signalise himself in war. By St. George, I *will* restore Spain to its right inheritor." The ambitious warrior little thought that he was about to bring disgrace upon his name even before the world, and that his determination to restore Peter to Castile would be fatal to himself, and to the expectations of the English nation, who were looking to him as their future king.

Edward seems not to have known, or not to have believed, Peter's crimes. Having obtained his father's sanction for the enterprise, the prince and his followers entered Spain by way of Navarre; and Charles the Bad, who had just before received bribes to prevent their passing, was as easily bribed to allow them to pass, concealing his treachery by directing one of the English generals to make him prisoner as he was going out hunting.

Near Navarette the contending armies met, and the Black Prince diminished Du Guesclin's forces by recalling all the English who had enlisted under his banners. We have a record of the prayer offered by Edward just before this battle. "God of truth! the Father of Jesus Christ, who hast made and fashioned me! Condescend through thy divine grace, that the success of the battle this day may be for me, and my' army, for Thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it," &c. He also sent by a herald a letter, addressed "To the noble and powerful prince, Henry, count of Trastamare;" thus refusing him the title of king of Castile, explaining the cause of his arming in defence of Peter, and offering to mediate between the two parties. Henry received the epistle courteously, and in his reply referred to Peter's cruelties and oppressions, and expressed his intention to defend his rights, and those of the nation, by the sword.

Edward commanded about 30,000 men; his opponents were 70,000 strong. The English soldiers wore white crests, and had white shields with a crimson cross; Henry's soldiers wore ribands floating from their crest. The battle cry of the former was "Guienne and St. George!" that of the latter, "Castile and Santiago!" These cries were soon drowned by the fearful clash of arms, the groans of the dying, and the shouts of the victors. If any one could have withstood the Black Prince it was Du Guesclin, and

Peter the Cruel fought with as much courage as Henry of Trastamare; but Don Tello, the brother of the latter, from treachery or fear, was the first to flee, and his departure was followed by the total rout of the Castilians and French. In covering the retreat of Henry, Du Guesclin was taken prisoner. Only 8000 of Henry's men were slain, but a vast number were made prisoners, including the most distinguished prelates, nobles, and knights, with the grand-masters of the two military orders. The authority and the threats of the Prince of Wales alone prevented Peter the Cruel from ordering the massacre of all the prisoners, the following day. Disgusted with the cruel disposition of the man whom he had restored to the throne, and displeased also with his want of faithfulness to his engagements as to the reward of his allies, the Black Prince took his leave of the king, and quitted Spain. The climate had already wasted the strength of his army, and Edward himself carried away with him the disease which for eight years preyed upon his frame, and at last wore him out.

The revenge that Peter took on those who had favoured his rival was dreadful, but it only increased the number of Henry's partisans, and paved that prince's way to the throne. He had himself escaped to Avignon, where he was well received by Urban V.; his family were protected by Peter of Arragon, and the King of France re-assured him of his friendship. The following year, Henry returned to Spain with a fresh army, and being joined by large bodies of discontented Castilians, he daily gathered strength. When he first crossed the Ebro and set foot in the kingdom of Castile, he knelt down and drew a cross on the sand, swearing that he would not desist from his undertaking whilst life remained. The barons and clergy of Castile were for the most part on his side; the lower orders, who had felt less of Peter's tyranny, remained longer on the side of their king. Mohammed V. came to the aid of his ally, but the Black Prince would not again assist in the war.

Edward had detained Du Guesclin as his captive, thinking him too valuable for any ransom; but hearing that it was rumoured he kept him in prison because he feared him, he sent for him and told him he should have his liberty, and might fix his own ransom. The captive de-

clared that he had no money to offer ; but if released, on his word of honour, he knew that his friends would raise 60,000 florins. The prince was astonished at the sum, as he would have discharged him for one-sixth of its value. Du Guesclin knew full well that the King of France and Henry of Trastamare would give any price for his services, and as he would not assent to Edward's wish, that he should promise to serve neither the one nor the other, he made use of his liberty in another attempt to make Henry master of Castile. In this he was entirely successful, but not without the grossest treachery.

After the northern part of the kingdom had declared for the usurper, the cities of the south held out for Peter ; but his army being defeated near Seville, he was obliged to shut himself up in the little fortress of Montiel. In want of provisions and water, and daily deserted by his followers, the king sent one of his officers, who was an old friend of Du Guesclin, to communicate with that commander. On the part of his master he offered the French knight large rewards in lands and gold, to aid his escape ; and Du Guesclin, having secretly named these proposals to Henry, obeyed that prince's desire, that he should engage Peter by fair promises to come to his tent, and inform him immediately of his arrival. Trusting in Du Guesclin's honour, Peter came to him in the darkness of the evening, with only three knights, and, on dismounting, said to his supposed friend, "Let us away !" No reply was made, and he who had often acted treacherously to others, felt that he was betrayed. He was about to leave the tent when his brother entered, but the lapse of years had so altered the countenance of the unhappy Peter, that Henry did not know him, till an attendant said, "There is your enemy !" Whilst he yet doubted, Peter exclaimed, "I am, I am," and in an instant they were engaged in a deadly struggle, each panting for the destruction of the other. Peter, by his great strength, might have been the conqueror, but Henry was assisted by his servants, and the wretched monarch was soon deprived of life (A. D. 1369).

Henry, the second king of his name in Castile, was as cruel in character, and as depraved in his habits, as the king whom he had dethroned and murdered ; but as a usurper he did not dare to act with the same tyranny.

Had Ferdinand of Portugal possessed more character, resolution, or military talent, he might have united the crown of Castile to his own, and Portugal and Spain might then have formed one kingdom; but he spent his time in frivolous, and worse than frivolous, occupations. Henry had more formidable opponents in the Dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge; the former had married Constance, and the latter, Isabella—daughters of Peter IV.; and John of Gaunt pretended to the throne of Castile in his wife's right: the Kings of Navarre and of Arragon were also rivals, as being nearly related to the royal family of Castile. By force, or by bribes, Henry contrived to retain the crown, and he so won upon the people by his courtesy, and his truthful performance of his promises, that they familiarly called him "The Knight." Henry succeeded in saving his country from foreign invasion during his reign, and his death was bitterly lamented: it was probably occasioned by gout, beginning in his feet and reaching the vital parts, but the pain that he experienced was so little understood, that it was reported he had been injured by putting on a pair of embroidered buskins sent him by the King of Granada. A cotemporary Arab writer, referring to this rumour, indignantly says, "the noble Mohammed V. was no poisoner nor traitor." His character, indeed, for benevolence stood very high, for in his hospitals he received the sick and wounded of all religions, and supplied them with food and medical attendance. He added gardens to the hospital of Granada, with fountains and alcoves for the refreshment of invalids, and especially for such as had disorders of the mind. This same king made Cadiz a mart and storehouse for all nations. Henry of Trastamare died in 1379. In his reign the Corsairs of Biscay twice sailed up the channel, and alarmed the coasts of Hampshire and Sussex; but they were beaten in a sea-fight near the Isle of Wight, with considerable loss. The Biscayans were considered the most expert and hardy sailors of Spain, the roughness of their coast furnishing them with much experience of the dangers of the sea.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

THE FORGETFULNESS OF THE EMPERORS, AND THE ABSENCE OF THE POPES, ALTERS THE STATE OF ITALY.—ITS CULTIVATED AND POLISHED STATE.—VARIETY OF THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.—THE REPUBLIC OF FLORENCE.—THE ARISTOCRACY OF VENICE.—LIBERTY BECOMES LAWLESSNESS.—DIFFICULTIES IN ELECTING AN EMPEROR AFTER THE MURDER OF ALBERT.—ELEVATION OF HENRY VII.—HIS COURSE OF POLICY IN ITALY, AND SUSPICIOUS DEATH THERE.—THE PESTILENCE.—FREDERIC, DUKE OF AUSTRIA, AND LOUIS OF BAVARIA, RAISED TO THE EMPIRE AT THE SAME TIME BY DIFFERENT FACTIONS.—FREDERIC TAKEN PRISONER, AND GENEROUSLY TREATED BY LOUIS V.—LEOPOLD OF AUSTRIA ATTEMPTS IN VAIN TO ENSLAVE THE SWISS.—INTRIGUES OF JOHN XXII.—THE FIRST OF THE VISCONTI, TYRANTS OF MILAN.—LOUIS V. IS CROWNED AT MILAN IN THE YEAR THAT EDWARD II. DIED.—HIS TYRANNY IN ITALY.—HIS DEFIANCE OF THE POPE.—JOHN EXCOMMUNICATES HIM, AND CLEMENT VI. RENEWS THE ANATHEMA.—CHARLES (IV.) OF LUXEMBURG SUCCEEDS TO THE EMPIRE.—EVIL EFFECTS OF AN ELECTIVE MONARCHY.—REVOLUTIONS IN ITALY.—THE POET PETRARCH.—HISTORY OF RIENZI.—PETRARCH CROWNED WITH THE POET'S LAUREL AT THE CAPITOL.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOOD STATE AT ROME.—POWER OF RIENZI.—HIS PRIDE AND DOWNFALL.—AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.—THE QUEEN, ON ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF HER HUSBAND, IS ATTACKED BY HIS BROTHER LOUIS THE GREAT, KING OF HUNGARY.—RETREAT OF THIS PRINCE, AND RESTORATION OF JOAN.—MISERABLE STATE OF ITALY UNDER ITS MANY TYRANTS.—MURDER OF RIENZI.—CHARLES IV. IS CROWNED

AT ROME, BUT CLAIMS NO POWER IN THAT CITY. —  
THE GOLDEN BULL. — CHARLES INVADES ITALY. —  
THE FLORENTINES RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIBERTY.  
—SANGUINARY CHARACTER OF THE PAPAL AGENTS. —  
RETURN OF THE POPES TO ROME.

WE need some clue in entering the labyrinth which the history of the Empire presents to us during this period ; and it is necessary to consider both the political and geographical position of the States of which we have to speak, in order to form any clear idea of their history.

Four successive emperors seemed to have forgotten Italy, namely, Conrad IV., Rodolph I., Adolph of Nassau, and Albert of Austria. During the fifty-eight years in which they had not seen an emperor, almost all the cities had attempted to recover their liberties, and both Lombardy and Tuscany were filled with petty republics. At the departure of the Popes from Rome, in the commencement of the fourteenth century, neither imperial nor papal power was in exercise for the disturbance of Italy ; but human passions, the worst disturbers of society, remained in full force, and the condition of the country was one of extreme turbulence. In the absence of the emperors and the Popes, the distinction of Ghibelline and Guelph, which belonged to their respective partisans, still created universal discord ; and the lords or chiefs of the several factions, being frequently invested by their partisans with a dictatorial power, took the opportunity of making themselves tyrants of the chief cities. With the strong democratic spirit that was abroad, these petty despots could only support or increase their power, by taking into their service the wandering companies of soldiers, who, in these troubled ages, were always ready to fight in any cause for the sake of pay or plunder. In Lombardy, Milan was the most powerful and wealthy city ; in Tuscany, Florence was rising into the greatest distinction both in arts and arms ; and Pisa had long been famous for its maritime force, great riches, and republican freedom. Pisa, however, at last found a rival in Genoa ; and, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, held but the third place among the maritime powers of Italy. Venice was the first. Robert, surnamed the Good, the third king of the line of Anjou, at this

time occupied the throne of Naples : he was a prince who had little weight in the rest of Italy.

Whilst Europe, in general, wore an aspect of poverty and barbarism, Italy was in the most cultivated and prosperous state. The open country, called the *Contado*, belonging to each city, was enriched by the labour of an industrious peasantry, whose wealth was displayed in their dress, their cattle, and their instruments of husbandry. The proprietors, who resided in the towns, advanced the capital, shared the harvests, and paid the land-tax : they also undertook the immense labour which has given so much fertility to the Italian soil, that of making dykes to prevent injurious inundation from the beautiful rivers, and canals to derive from them the full advantages of irrigation. The artificial channels by which the clear waters of the Ticino are spread over the finest part of Lombardy, were constructed before the end of the thirteenth century ; and the scientific agriculture of both Lombardy and Tuscany became a model to other nations. The whole country was thickly studded with great cities, or populous towns ; and these were not only surrounded with thick walls, terraced, and guarded by towers, but were for the most part paved with broad flag-stones, at the time when the inhabitants of Paris could not stir out without being plunged in the mire. Stone bridges, aqueducts, and palaces, alike showed that the Italians had profited by the remains of elegant architecture in their country, whilst, in imitating, they added to the graces of the ancient style. The public monuments, and even the private dwellings in Italy, were made tasteful as well as substantial ; whilst the princes of France, England, and Germany, in building their castles, seemed to think only of shelter and defence. In the year 1300, sculpture in marble and bronze began to adorn the city of Florence ; and about the same time, Cimabue and Giotto revived the art of painting ; Casella improved the science of music ; and Dante gave forth a poem in the Italian language, which is still considered without an equal. History, too, was written with honesty, diligence, and simplicity ; and the study of morals and philosophy commenced. In the rich towns of Italy the arts of necessity and luxury were cultivated as successfully as the fine arts ; and in every street, warehouses and shops displayed rich stuffs, brilliant arms,

and other articles, which only Italy or Flanders could produce. The Pisans trusted their government to a single person; the Venetians, to a few chosen annually out of the general council; Milan, and other cities, had lords or prelates, who were aiming at supreme power; and the Florentines preferred a democratic form of government. The corporation of trades, which they called *arti*, were distinguished into major and minor: the seven greater consisting of lawyers and notaries, wholesale dealers in foreign cloth, bankers or money-changers, woollen drapers, physicians and druggists, dealers in silk, and furriers: the inferior *arti* were the butchers, smiths, shoemakers, builders, &c.: six of the major *arti* were eligible for the government, and six persons chosen from among them, called the *priori*, lived together during two months in the public palace, where a table was provided for them: on account of the turbulence of the nobles, they were excluded from all share in the government. In all the republics of Tuscany, and in the greater number of those in Lombardy, the same law was in force. The principal person in the republic of Florence was called the *gonfalonier*: he represented the military order, and, in battle, occupied the car, on which the gonfalon, or banner, was fixed; and which was, in fact, the rallying point of the army. When any of the noble families troubled the public peace by battle, or assassination, the gonfalonier had authority to attack them at the head of the militia, to rase their dwellings to the ground, and to deliver them up to the *podestà*, or chief magistrate, to be punished. If other families committed similar disorders, the *signoria*, or government for the time, had the power to *ennoble* them; a novel mode of punishment, but one that was deeply felt when every intelligent person was, as it were, within reach of some office in the government. The violence of the nobility may well be conceived when it led to the adoption of such precautions as these.

At the close of the thirteenth century, the mountainous territory belonging to the republic of Pistoia was covered with the castles of two noble families, distinguished by the names of *Bianchi* and *Neri* (whites and blacks); and their quarrels reached to such a height as to alarm all Tuscany. The Florentines advised the city of Pistoia to banish the disturbers, and received them within their own gates, in the

hope of effecting a reconciliation; but they, unhappily, became involved in the quarrel, the citizens espousing different sides. The Blacks included the ancient nobles, and the most violent of the Guelphs; the Whites were of the popular party, and sided with the Ghibellines. The quarrel spread throughout Tuscany; and Boniface VIII. charged Charles of Valois, with 800 horse, to go, in his name, to restore quietness at Florence. The citizens admitted him on certain terms, but these were broken; and, allying himself with the Neri, the French prince assisted them to pillage and burn the houses of their enemies, and left the city, having his cavalry loaded with precious things. By his help the Neri had killed the most odious of the Bianchi; had carried off the rich heiresses; and had exiled the poet Dante, with the father of Petrarch, and many hundreds of the distinguished citizens.

At the time that the rest of the nobles of Italy were excluding themselves from their proper place of influence by their violence, those of Venice arrived at the supreme power; and the doge, as well as the national council, became a mere cipher in the republic. Faliero, the successor of Dandolo, the conqueror of Constantinople, seeing that a young nobleman, who had insulted his wife, was not punished with the severity that he desired by the Council of Ten, the real governors of the state, joined with some plebeians in a conspiracy to cut off the whole aristocracy; but the plot being discovered, he was beheaded on the staircase of his own palace, and the aristocrats exhibited the bloody sword to the populace, telling them that justice had been done on a *great* criminal. The liberty of Italy so quickly degenerated into lawlessness, that city was armed against city, and almost every city was divided against itself: hence the accession of a German emperor, who was disposed to visit Italy, was hailed with delight by such as hoped that imperial authority might produce peace.

Seven troublous months elapsed after the murder of Albert before the electors could fix on a successor. Passing by his son Frederic, duke of Austria, who was fit for the throne; passing over, too, Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, whom the latter would have forced the Pope to support; they fixed upon Henry, count of Luxemburg, and brother to the Elector of Treves. Before he

was raised to the throne he was obliged to give the Archbishop of Mentz the rights of a sovereign in that city, and to promise to Clement VI. that the enemies of the Pope should be *his* enemies. Henry, the seventh emperor of his name, reigned only seven years (1308—1313). His first act was to procure the kingdom of Bohemia for his son John, by marrying that prince to a young daughter of the deceased Wenceslaus, taken from a convent for the purpose: his second act was an attempt to recover the imperial authority over Italy.

Henry, himself a Belgian, could only collect about 2000 horse from his own country, Franche Compté, and Savoy; and with this escort he entered Italy, by way of Piedmont, avowing himself to be the supporter of just rights and of order. It was an agreeable announcement to a people who had been accustomed to the name of liberty, and to the cry of "*Popolo! popolo!*" without attaining true freedom; and also to those who, through their weariness of anarchy, had thrown themselves on the mercy of some sovereign lord, but had experienced the hand of tyranny and not that of justice. The lords of all Lombardy and Piedmont presented themselves before Henry, and he received them with kindness, saying that he intended to carry out the agreement made between the cities of Lombardy and his predecessor, Frederic II., at the peace of Constance. Therein, the emperor acknowledged their right to exercise jurisdiction by their own magistrates; but sent a vicar into each town, to govern in concert with the public authorities. The cities were also allowed to use their fortifications, and to league together for the preservation of their rights; at the same time engaging to preserve the imperial rights; though they might be rid of these by paying annually 2000 marks of silver. Henry began his course exceedingly well, recalling the exiles to their respective cities, whether Guelphs or Ghibellines, and labouring for the establishment of peace. He was crowned at Milan, in January 1311, after exacting the recall of Matthew Visconti, the nephew of an archbishop of that name, who had governed with almost despotic power, and had made himself lord of several other cities. This act, with the banishment of the Guelphs from Milan, and the demand of 100,000 florins for his army, occasioned a violent sedi-

tion against the emperor, and excited the Guelphs of other places against him. But still pressing forwards, he took Brescia, and arrived with his little army at Genoa, in October. That powerful republic had its military and mercantile colonies at Acre, at Pera, opposite to Constantinople, and at Caffa, on the Black Sea; several islands in the Archipelago, amongst others that of Chios, belonged to Genoese families; and the palaces of Genoa were esteemed superb. The government of the city was purely democratic; but in the mountains of Liguria (the ancient name of the surrounding country) there were the castles of the nobles with their dependent peasantry, always ready to make war for them; and though the nobility were shut out from the magistracy, the Genoese had drawn from among them their greatest admirals, and the influence thus acquired often led to subsequent feuds. In order to oblige the nobles to keep the peace, the citizens of Genoa willingly conferred on Henry VII. absolute authority over the republic for twenty years. But the first use he made of his power caused such discontent, that he was glad to quit the city in safety. The King of Naples showed his distrust of the emperor; the Florentines refused his ambassadors, and took up arms against him; but the republic of Pisa was heartily in his interest. With an escort of Pisans, he entered Rome, being aided by the party of the Colonna family; but the brother of the King of Naples and the Ursini fought with them a long time in the streets, and a bishop of Liege was killed by Henry's side. Much blood was shed; but the ceremony of coronation was at last performed by three cardinals, who represented the absent Pope (29th June, 1312). Venice, as a token of respect, rather than of submission, sent to the emperor a sum of money, a crown enriched with diamonds, and a chain of curious workmanship. Henry's glory was of the most transitory character. Through some of the winter weeks he carried on an unsuccessful war with the Florentines, and after some months of repose made an attack upon Lucca; but, on hearing that the whole Guelph party were assembling to oppose him, he began his march towards Rome. At Buonavento he stopped to celebrate the feast of St. Bartholomew, and received the sacrament from the hands of a Dominican monk; a few hours afterwards, he expired.

(24th August, 1313). It was said that the monk had mixed some poisonous juice with the wine, but the charge was not proved; and twenty years after, the Dominicans, for the credit of their order, procured contradictory letters from John of Luxemburg, the son of the deceased emperor. It was said that Henry had a carbuncle forming below the knee, and a cold-bath, which he had taken to calm the irritation, might have occasioned his sudden death.

The pestilence was raging in Germany during the last year of Henry's life. Thousands died at Strasburg, Basle, and Colmar; and at some places not one escaped.

At the death of Henry VII. the electors could not agree upon the choice of an emperor; and, after a painful interregnum of fourteen months, their votes were divided between Frederic, duke of Austria, and Louis of Bavaria: the mother of the latter was a daughter of the Great Rodolph.

Louis, the fifth of his name, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Archbishop of Mentz; Frederic, at Bonn, by the Archbishop of Cologne. A war ensued, which was carried on with much violence for eight years. During this period, Leopold, the brother of Frederic of Austria, was seeking to increase the power of his house by the subjugation of the Swiss; and never did any people contend for liberty with greater valour. The three united cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, could only muster 1600 fighting men, while the enemy's force amounted to 20,000; but in the pass of Morgarten—which has been termed the Thermopylæ of Switzerland—a small band of peasant warriors assailed the Austrians; and after some, who were posted on the overhanging mountains, had rolled down large stones to put them to flight, others fell upon them, and with dreadful slaughter drove them out of the country. On this occasion, fifty men who had been banished from Schwitz on account of crime, came back entreating permission to fight in defence of the common freedom; and when the magistrates with Roman sternness forbade them to break the laws by remaining in the canton, they placed themselves on an eminence, just over the frontier, and contributed to the victory of those among whom they were not allowed to stand. In gratitude for their patriotism, they were then restored to their homes.

From this period may be dated the independence of Switzerland—the name given to the whole of the united cantons, because Schweitz was the first of the republics, and that with which all the rest successively leagued themselves.

After the contest between the rival emperors had been continued five years, both armies met near Muhldorf, and fifteen champions were chosen on either side to decide the dispute. The combat was so desperate and so equal that not one survived. A general battle followed, as if the two parties supposed they had received a licence from heaven to fight out the quarrel. Frederic, who appeared in splendid array, wearing a crown on the summit of his helmet, was in that manner distinguished, and taken prisoner. His rival treated him with knight-like courtesy, and gave him every indulgence consistent with safe custody, expressing high esteem for him. Leopold, duke of Austria, kept up the contest; and the Pope, to whom the matter was referred, declared that during a vacancy the government belonged to the papal see, and that such a vacancy had existed ever since the death of Henry VII. The Pope was that John XXII. who had been chosen by the influence of Philip le Long; he was the son of a cobbler. After vain efforts to conciliate the Pope, the emperor asserted his independence, and acted accordingly. Indignant at the support which Louis gave to the Ghibellines of Italy, the Pope issued a bull, in which he declared him “excommunicate and deposed, and deprived of all his goods, moveable and immoveable.” Charles of Valois was invited to fill the vacancy; but on arriving at the place where the Pope had proposed to the electors to meet their new sovereign, the French prince was mortified to meet none of them save Leopold of Austria.

John XXII. was a man of dissolute character, extremely avaricious, and fond of intrigue; and his darling object was to raise into power the Cardinal Bertrand, whom he called his nephew, but who was considered to be his son: he sent him as his legate into Lombardy, desiring him to crush the Guelphs, and to subdue all under papal authority. Matthew Visconti, whom the Italians called the Great, had at this time ruled Milan for twenty years; he was the most powerful of the Ghibelline chiefs; but in his old age,

awed by the excommunications of the legate, he abdicated in favour of his son, Galeazzo, and died shortly after (1322). Notwithstanding a brief exile, Galeazzo secured the sovereign power in Milan, and was the richest and most mighty of the Lombard lords. At this period the Ghibelline faction was that of tyranny, the Guelph that of liberty: the former displayed great military and political talents; the latter were considered the patriots and self-sacrificing heroes of their country. In a revolution that took place at Lucca, Castruccio, a noble Ghibelline, was released from a dungeon, and with the fetters still on his feet, was proclaimed lord of Lucca. At the age of thirty-two, he became the first of the Italian captains; he had learned the art of war in England; he was tall, fair-haired, and agreeable-looking; but, with his great talents, he possessed scarcely one virtue: he was faithless and cruel. He attacked the Florentines, defeated the Bolognese, and invited the Emperor Louis into Italy, to complete the destruction of the Guelphs. Louis had released his rival, Frederic, on his promise of renouncing all claim on the empire; and the Austrian prince, finding his family would not consent to this agreement, again surrendered himself prisoner. Louis received him as a friend; they ate at the same table, slept on the same couch; and Louis, in proposing to make Italy the seat of his government, seemed willing to leave Germany to the care of Frederic. The emperor entered Italy, with only 600 men; but the lords of Milan, Mantua, Verona, and Ferrara, met him with their mercenary troops, chiefly Germans, and he was soon at the head of a large army. He received the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan, in May, 1327, the year in which the unhappy Edward II. died.

In Germany, Louis had appeared a generous prince; in Italy, his real character was brought to light. On false pretences, he arrested Visconti, with his sons and brothers, in his own palace, threatening to put them to torture, if they did not deliver up their fortresses and treasures: he had seen and coveted their riches. After eight months, he liberated them from their dungeon, at the desire of Castruccio, and offered to sell them the sovereignty, after robbing them of the means to purchase it. When the Pisans sent ambassadors, Louis threatened to put them to

death by torture unless the republic obeyed his will: thus was Pisa forced to own him as sovereign. From the moment that Louis was joined by Castruccio, he was entirely guided by his advice; and he, having persuaded the emperor to go to Rome to demand the crown, procured high dignities for himself, and carried the imperial sword at the coronation. The ceremony was performed by some bishops who regarded not the papal excommunication. Adding insult to insult, the emperor caused a friar to cry through the streets of Rome, "Is there any one who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John?" No one venturing to come forwards, a process was begun, in which John was deposed, and sentenced to be burned as a heretic; and a friar, whom they called Nicholas V., was set up in his room. But just at this moment of his apparent triumph, Louis lost his counsellor, Castruccio: that chief was called from Rome by the tidings that the Florentines had taken Pistoia, and the fatigue which he underwent in recovering it occasioned his death. Louis, by his treachery and cruelty, made himself perfectly hateful to the Italians; and he left the Ghibelline party far weaker than he found them. Just before he departed, they lost another of their greatest chiefs, Can' Grande della Scala, one of the successors of the tyrant Eccelino in Verona. His reputation for generosity and uprightness was great, and he was the first Lombard prince who protected literature and the arts. Dante had found an asylum at his court. Can' Grande had reigned with great splendour, and had completed the conquest of Padua and Treviso, when he was attacked by a mortal disease in his camp. He desired that his couch might be carried into the great church of Treviso, and there he expired after four days. Disturbances in Germany called the emperor away, and the papal party regained so much influence at Rome, that the anti-pope was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope round his neck, he publicly asked the Pope's forgiveness, and was then led to a prison, where he ended his days.

After the death of the warlike Leopold of Austria, and of his brother Frederic, the Pope continued to excite fresh troubles, and, in addition to his personal attack on the emperor, threw an interdict over the kingdom: it was,

however, despised, and, after four years, Louis reversed it by his own authority. He was about, also, to assemble a general council to depose John XXII. a second time, when this troubler of his kingdom died. Benedict XII. confirmed the bulls of his predecessor, but they met with little attention; and, in 1338, a diet convened at Frankfort passed the famous decree which declared their liberty from papal control: it was called *the Golden Bull*, from the gold seal that was attached to it. This decree limited the number of electors to seven, making them equal to kings, and conspiracy against them, high treason: it was declared that they alone, without the consent of the Pope, conferred the imperial dignity, and that the person of their choice became king and emperor at the same moment. The Archbishop of Cologne was appointed to perform the ceremony of coronation, and the place of it was to be, as of old, Aix-la-Chapelle. At the accession of Clement VI., Louis sent ambassadors to Avignon, wishing for reconciliation with the papal see; but his advances were rejected; and, in 1346, this Pope issued a bull for the election of another emperor, denouncing fresh anathemas against Louis, in the following style:—“May the wrath of God, 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 foes, even in his sight!” Louis had boldly resisted two successive Popes, but his spirit seemed to sink under the attacks of the third. He humbly applied to Clement for absolution; but we may readily understand the reason of its being refused, if, as it appears, the emperor’s partisans returned the papal curses with usury. A letter was addressed to Clement and his cardinals, as if from Satan, rehearsing the favourite sins of each, and exhorting them to merit *the first places* in his kingdom. It ended by sending them the compliments of the seven capital sins, after the following manner:—“Your mother, Pride, salutes you; with your sisters, Avarice and Impurity; also, the others, who boast that, with your assistance, they shall prosper very greatly.”

John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII. king of Bohemia, though at first favouring Louis of Bavaria, had become his

enemy and opponent. Displeased by the barbarism of his own kingdom, John commonly resided in Luxemburg, or at Paris; but the emperor took up his abode at Prague, and embellished that city with public buildings. John was a handsome, eloquent, and agreeable prince; and by reading, or listening to French romances of chivalry, he had become ambitious of the fame of a complete knight. His conduct was far more noble than that of cotemporary princes; for he was not seeking anything for himself, but seemed to desire the public good, whether he acted as a warrior, or a peace-maker. After Louis left Italy he repaired thither; and many of the cities ceded to him the government, and thus enjoyed a short interval of peace. The Florentines, however, were jealous of his increasing power, and their dread of any one party acquiring an influence which might lead to the slavery of the rest, induced them to enter into a league with other states, in order to preserve among themselves such an equality of power, that Italy should be in no danger of being subjugated by one man. John soon became weary of his enterprise, and left Italy (1333). He died three years after, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who commenced a civil war with the Emperor Louis, being himself elected by a faction under the influence of Clement VI., after engaging to place both the empire and the church at the feet of that haughty Pope. Louis V. was removed from the scene of contention by death, in 1347, after a reign of ceaseless troubles, extending over thirty-three years. The electors felt some hesitation in confirming the title of Charles IV., because of his submissiveness to the Pope; and Edward III. was offered the vacant throne by four of the number. For a moment he seemed ambitious of accepting the honour, but in prudence he declined it. The opposing electors then set up Gunther, count of Schwartzburg, a friend of the deceased emperor, and celebrated as a warrior. He was soon removed by death, not without suspicion of poison administered by his rival; and Charles, by skilful management and bribery, was seated firmly on the throne.

The whole history of the German empire seems a witness against the multiplied evils of an elective monarchy. How much anarchy, and how many crimes, might have been avoided by an hereditary succession. We are arriving at

a period when the emperor of the West appears the weakest and the most degraded of public characters.

The year of the accession of Charles IV. was signalised by novel events at Rome, and to that city we must again turn our attention.

Honorius IV., Nicholas III., and Nicholas IV., by aggrandising their respective families, had created the great houses of the Savelli, the Ursini, and the Colonna; and these nobles, who divided amongst them almost all the castles in the papal patrimony, and the Campagna di Roma, were accustomed to hire themselves with a body of cavalry to such as would employ them in war: the peasants, also, their vassals, in the hope of plunder, abandoned agriculture to follow their lords; and thus the two provinces nearest Rome were the worst cultivated, and the least populous, in all Italy. At our present period the Ursini, who were of the Guelph or papal party, and the Colonna, who were Ghibellines, divided Rome; the one bore the keys on their banners, the other the imperial eagle: their hostilities desolated both city and country.

Minds which rise above the common level will naturally devise means for rescuing themselves, and others, from a state of degradation; and if ignorant of the sole method of procuring peace on earth, and good will towards men, they will set about obtaining it in their own way.

In this distracted age, there were, in Italy, two young men of very remarkable genius, musing, unknown to each other, on the sorrows and shame of their country; dreaming, too, of the introduction of some new order of things. Francis Petrarch was of a noble family of Arezzo, a city of the Florentines, born in 1304. His perusal of the ancient poets had awakened his desire for the restoration of Rome and Italy to their ancient dignity; and his own poetic genius enabled him to express the desire. At the same time, another of meaner rank was preparing to attempt the restoration that Petrarch desired. Nicholas Rienzi was the son of an innkeeper and a washerwoman, who resided in one of the lowest quarters of Rome. His natural endowments were great; and by diligent study he had become acquainted with Roman literature; and whilst his strong memory retained the language of the most celebrated authors, his ready genius enabled him to apply it to

the circumstances of the times. He searched the manuscripts, and deciphered the inscriptions, of the ancients; and often, at the foot of some admired monument, he explained its purpose to the crowd who attended his steps, recalling to them the grandeur and freedom of ancient Rome, and drawing forth proofs of her sovereignty over the whole world. "Where are now these Romans? Why was I not born in those happy times?" was the frequent language of Rienzi. His political lectures did not fail to inflame the multitude; but the nobles despised the influence of the plebeian orator, whilst they admired his classic taste; and even in the Colonna palace he was invited to amuse the company with an eloquence which was deemed as harmless as it was entertaining.

Petrarch and Rienzi first displayed to each other the congeniality of their minds when they were sent on a deputation from Rome to Avignon, to solicit the Pope's return. Rienzi made a speech before Clement VI., which so far assured the Pope of his talents that he was appointed apostolical notary at Rome. The graceful appearance and shining talents of Petrarch also attracted the Pope; and would he have taken orders, Clement might have made him a bishop: as it was, he appointed him apostolical (*i. e.* papal) secretary. In this situation, Petrarch had full opportunity of learning the vices of the court of Avignon, and these, in his writings, he lashed with severity; but he represented that same Clement, whom others painted in such dark colours, as a learned prelate, a generous prince, and an amiable man. But in the pontificate of Innocent VI. he left Avignon to lead a retired life at Vaucluse, and there composed a Latin poem, called *Africa*, which was so highly admired by the learned that he was, at the same time, invited both to Rome and to Paris, to receive the high honours that the literati of the day considered his due. His classical tastes, and his union with the schemes of Rienzi, led him to prefer Rome; and thither he went to receive the poetic crown which had been anciently bestowed upon Virgil and Horace (1341). Robert, king of Naples, and at that time senator of Rome, was to perform the ceremony of the poet's coronation. The king sat on a throne in the capitol, sur-

rounded by the nobles of Rome; twelve patrician youths dressed in scarlet, and six others in green robes, with garlands of flowers, led the poet in procession; and at the voice of a herald, Petrarch came before the throne and repeated a passage of Virgil, with his own desire for the prosperity of Rome, and then knelt down to receive the crown of laurel. It was placed around his brow with the words, "This is the reward of merit!" The people shouted, "Long life to the capitol and to Petrarch!" and the whole company in procession moved to the Vatican church, where the poet suspended his wreath before the altar. On this occasion he composed a celebrated sonnet in praise of Rome. The title of poet-laureate, invented by the ancient emperors, had not been used for thirteen centuries when it was bestowed on Petrarch. In virtue of it, he was permitted to wear the poetic habit, with a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle whenever he pleased; and to teach, dispute, interpret, and compose, in all places, and on all subjects of literature.

We have turned aside and rested longer on this peaceful scene, as if it were a species of relief from the battlefields, and political snares, and dark tragedies, through which the path of history so constantly leads us; but the exaltation of Petrarch in the capitol was as much of this world as the more odious acts of man. The Great Teacher, "the Lord from heaven," gained nothing but a crown of thorns from the world's hand, with the cries of "Crucify him, crucify him!" What was the character of the teaching that gained for Petrarch Rome's laurel crown, and the plaudits of those who claimed the sovereignty of the world? Petrarch's poems, however beautifully worded, and however melodious their rhythm — the poems on which his fame mainly rests — were chiefly descriptive of his absorbing admiration of an idol whom he calls Laura. From these poems it appears, that this passion endured for twenty years of her lifetime; and after her death she was almost adored by him. Laura was a married woman, whom Petrarch had accidentally met in his youth, and from his own testimony it is happily evident that she did not return his love. It is supposed that her virtues, as the mother of a large family, attracted even in her old age a respect which was far more creditable to the poet than his early partiality.

We now turn to the momentary realisation of Petrarch's wishes for the restoration of the liberty of Rome.

In May, 1347, Rienzi supposed that his long-agitated scheme for the restoration of what he called the *good state* might be carried into effect. Thé Colonnas had quitted Rome with a body of troops; the Bishop of Orvieto, the Pope's vicar, was gained over by Rienzi; and having assembled around him a large body of partisans, he summoned the citizens, by a trumpet sounded at midnight, to assemble the next morning before the church of St. Angelo. After passing the night in hearing masses, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, appeared with his companions before the assembled multitude, and after explaining to them his intentions, offered to lead them to the capitol. The procession, accordingly, moved thither, headed by the banners prepared for the occasion: on one was the inscription "*Justice*," with a figure of St. Paul, sword in hand; on another, the words "*Concord and Peace*," with a painting of St. Peter holding the keys. At the capitol, Rienzi made a fresh harangue, and obtained the confirmation of the Constitution, which he termed the *good state*: he desired to make the voice of the people, as of old, the great authority; and, in doing so, he subjected himself, as well as others, to its perilous changes. At this exciting moment of his first popularity, it is probable the Romans would have given him any title he chose; but he was pleased only to be called a Tribune of the people, and this appellation was also bestowed on the Bishop of Orvieto. The revolution had taken place in the absence of Stephen Colonna, the head of his family; and, on his return to his palace, being waited upon by the messengers of Rienzi, he replied that, at his leisure, he would throw those madmen from the windows of the capitol. The alarm-bell of that strong building was immediately rung, and the assembled people, being informed of the insult offered to their tribune, issued an order that all the nobles should retire to their country seats: they only saved their lives by immediate obedience.

It appeared as if a golden age had now dawned on Rome. The nobles ceased to be tyrants, and became subject to the laws, like the meanest of the people; those who returned to the city took an oath of allegiance to the

new government. One of the Colonna family tried to shield a criminal, but in vain; another was arrested for debt; one of the Ursini was fined for not guarding his highway, whereon a robbery had been committed; another, convicted of having pillaged a wreck, was publicly hung: all fared alike before the tribunal of Rienzi, and many conscious of guilt fled from Rome.

Now, we are told, "the woods began to rejoice that they were no more infested by robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were filled with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed in the highway." Encouraged by his rapid restoration of the *good state* at Rome, Rienzi sent messengers on foot throughout Italy, bearing white wands, and carrying letters which invited all the states to become one great republic. In return, ambassadors from all parts arrived in the capital with friendly answers, and all the inhabitants of the peninsula were declared free citizens of Rome. Petrarch helped to spread the popular enthusiasm, and in one of his sonnets described the city, from all her seven hills, tearfully imploring Rienzi's aid; and he, having afforded it, was entitled "the saviour of his country."

Dazzled by prosperity, pride, vanity, and intemperance soon disgraced the much-applauded tribune. Liberty, justice, peace, and concord, had no stability in such keeping. The simplicity of his style, manners, and appearance, soon disappeared: his decrees ran, "Nicholas, severe and merciful deliverer of Rome, defender of Italy, friend of all mankind, lover of liberty, peace, and justice, tribune august." The bearer of these boastful names, in his frequent processions, rode on a white horse, a dove and an olive branch displayed over his head; a banner painted with the sun and a circle of stars floating near him; and a troop of horse and fifty guards around his person: trumpets of massive silver were sounded before him, and gold and silver were scattered among the populace as he passed along. At length Rienzi resolved on receiving knighthood, and the pomp and haughtiness displayed on this occasion were the immediate cause of his fall. Previous to the ceremony, he used for a bath a porphyry vase, in which Constantine was said to have been baptized, and when he

appeared in the crowded capitol with a purple robe, and the gilt spurs which he had received from an aged knight, he uttered the following words:—"We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, desiring him to reside in his diocese of Rome; we summon also the cardinals. We again summon the two pretenders, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Bohemia, who style themselves emperors; also all the electors of Germany, that they may tell us on what pretence they have usurped the right of the Roman people to choose their own emperor." Then, unsheathing his sword, the triumphant Rienzi brandished it three times, exclaiming, "This, too, is mine." Probably at that moment his heart beat high with the hope that he might become the master of the world. A magnificent procession attended him to the Lateran palace, and there, he, with the Pope's vicar, sat at the table where the Popes had been wont to dine. Tables for all classes filled the hall, and a stream of wine was made to flow from the nostrils of a brazen horse at the entrance. On another occasion of state, Rienzi had seven crowns, some of leaves, and some of metals, of different kinds, placed on his head by the chief of the Roman clergy: these were blasphemously said to represent the gifts of the Spirit. The barons of Rome, bareheaded and with downcast looks, stood with their hands crossed on their breasts, in the presence of the magnificent Rienzi.

At length the Ursini and Colonna forgot their rivalry in a conspiracy against their common oppressor, but the assassin whom they engaged to murder him, being put to the torture, accused several of the nobles by name. Rienzi invited these, his known enemies, to a banquet at the capitol, and on going thither they were made prisoners. The great bell summoned the people, who condemned them to death; but Rienzi was either too merciful, or too fearful, to carry out the sentence; and when, after a restless night, they were brought from their prison chamber as if for execution, he, in an eloquent address, asked their pardon from the people, and, having readily obtained it, dismissed them with fresh honours and titles. They had partaken of the sacrament with Rienzi, and in fear of death had given their consent to the *good state*; but, a few weeks after, they joined the standard of the nobles who had been banished from the city, and Rienzi, with 20,000 Romans,

attempted to disperse them in vain. The tribune now became cruel, and having shut all the city gates, except one, every noble that entered was massacred. Seven of the Colonna family were thus destroyed, and on the spot where they fell, Rienzi with savage joy knighted his son. Another month witnessed Rienzi's fall; the Pope excommunicated him; the nobles obtained possession of one part of the city; although he sounded the tocsin, the people would not obey its call, and he only saved his life by escaping in the dress of a monk.

After seven months of almost despotic power, Rienzi was for seven years a wanderer, and exposed to perpetual dangers. He sought the friendship of the King of Hungary and of others; he revisited Rome as a pilgrim; he sojourned among the Appenines as a hermit, and then again traversed Italy, Bohemia, and Germany. As a noble stranger he was introduced to Charles IV., astonished the court by his eloquent speech, and at length made himself known. At the Pope's request, the emperor sent him to Avignon, where he was mildly treated, and allowed the use of books: there was a purpose in detaining him at the papal court. The tumults of Rome during Rienzi's absence were greater than ever; the cities in the states of the Church were usurped, like the capital, by petty tyrants; and all Italy was in a state of convulsion. Naples was the scene of most melancholy events. Robert the Good died in 1343, leaving the throne to his granddaughter Joan, whom he had married at the age of eighteen, to her cousin Andrew, son of the King of Hungary. The King of Hungary was the son of the eldest son of Charles II.; Robert was the son of a younger son; therefore the Hungarian had the best right to the throne; and the dying king hoped to unite the two interests by the union of these young people. Andrew, however, who was a year older than his bride, wished to be proclaimed king of Naples in his own right; and Joan would only allow his claim as her consort. Andrew and his courtiers were considered little better than barbarians by the polished Neapolitans; Joan, though of elegant manners, seemed wholly careless of all moral claims. Only two years after her marriage, she consented to the assassination of her husband, and, in her antechamber, he was smothered between two mattresses;

the body was thrown from the windows into the street of Aversa, and remained unburied for three days. Two years after, Joan married her cousin Louis, prince of Tarento, who was probably the instigator of the murder of Andrew. In the meantime, Louis, the brother of the unfortunate prince, had succeeded to the throne of their father in Hungary; his own rights to the crown of Naples, and the shocking death of his brother, furnished him with a double motive for attacking Joan; and, on his way to Naples, he visited Rome, and accused the queen before the tribunal of Rienzi. Joan, on her part, sent ambassadors to the tribune, and as he would not interfere in so difficult a case, the King of Hungary pursued his course, causing a black standard to be carried before him, on which was a painting of the murder he went to avenge. The guilty queen fled with her husband to Provence, and whilst there, abandoned the sovereignty of Avignon to Clement VI., to obtain his favour.

In 1348, Louis took possession of Naples. Just at this time, the plague entered Italy, and, in every place that it visited, carried off, in seven or eight months, one-third of the population. It was called the plague of Florence, as it destroyed nearly 100,000 persons in that city, the most distinguished in all Italy for learning and civilisation. The terror of the plague for a time put an end to all wars and political hatreds; and Louis, in the midst of his success, seeing his army nearly swept away by sickness, made peace with Joan, in 1351. Before that time, in the court of Avignon, the queen had been declared innocent, and the Pope wrote to the King of Hungary, that if he would quit Naples, Joan would give him 300,000 florins. Louis replied, that he had not come thither to sell his brother's blood. This king was much beloved by his own subjects, who bestowed on him the title of Great; and he was so much admired by the Poles, that they elected him as their king. By his wise laws, he civilised the people; he abolished trial by ordeal; and he cultivated geometry, astronomy, and literature.

Joan and her husband, on their return to the kingdom of Naples, gave themselves up to all the pleasures of sin, careless what became of their country, or their people; they paid no attention to their government, or defence.

The Free Companies, who were the scourge of Italy, desolated their kingdom in a special manner. The character of these roving soldiers may be conceived, when we find that one of their chiefs, a German called Werner, wore on his breast the inscription, "Enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy."

There remained six independent princes in Lombardy: the Visconti held Milan, and all the central part; the Della Scala, lords of Verona, the eastern part; and the western was held by the Marquis of Montferrat: Carrara of Padua, Este of Ferrara, and Gonzaga of Mantua, were lesser princes.

The power of the Visconti induced the Marquis of Montferrat, and the other princes, to take the Great Company into their service to oppose them; but these hired ruffians committed greater evils than those they were invited to remedy. In 1349, the Visconti, who was then lord of Milan, was poisoned by his wife; and his brother John, archbishop of Milan, succeeded to his power. He found himself master of sixteen of the largest cities of Lombardy, which in the century before had been free republics: these possessions only made him crave still more. In 1350, Bologna was ceded to him; but the Pope, pretending to claim that city, summoned Visconti to his court. His reply, that he would come with 12,000 horse and 6000 foot, compelled the terrified Pope to give up Bologna for a small annual tribute.

A furious war was at this time carried on between the Venetians and Genoese about their foreign possessions. The Florentines, unaided, still preserved their liberties against the grasping lords of Milan. In 1354, the archbishop Visconti died, and was succeeded by his three nephews; but the eldest being poisoned by his brothers, Barnabas and Galeazzo divided the government between them. They had at their disposal immense wealth and numerous armies; every tyrant in Italy was under their protection, and their own cruelties were frightful. They were not ashamed to publish an edict which described the particular tortures to be inflicted on state criminals, day by day, and the different members to be mutilated, so as to prolong their execution for forty days.

It was into this family that John the Good, of France, had married his daughter; and, some years later, Lionel,

duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., came to Milan to wed the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti. The English prince was to have possessed a part of his father-in-law's dominions; but, at the end of four months, he died, it was suspected of poison. The magnificence of the wedding feast gives us some idea of the wealth of these Italian princes. Between each of the thirty sumptuous courses brought to table, there were as many costly presents offered to Lionel—such as horses, with silk and silver furniture, silver vessels, richly decorated armour, gems set in gold, purple, and cloth of gold. The English chronicler says, that the meals brought from table would have served 10,000 men. Petrarch was at the feast. John Hawkwood, an English leader of one of the Free Companies, hired himself and his men to the Visconti: he was considered the first captain of his age; but England had no cause to boast of his military talents: in one city (Faenza) he caused 4000 persons to be massacred; it was just before the death of Edward III.

Innocent VI., at his accession, appointed Cardinal Albornoz, a Spaniard, as his legate, and sent Rienzi with him into Italy, hoping, by the influence of the latter, to make some impression on Rome.

In July, 1354, the tribune re-entered the scene of his former triumphs, with papal authority, and the title of senator, and for a short time his popularity returned. But he had not learned wisdom by experience; and his intemperance and cruelty led to his final ruin. At the end of four months, the capitol was surrounded with a multitude, clamorous for his abdication. In this hour of peril, his fortitude and talents came into exercise. Appearing on a balcony, with the banner of liberty in his hand, he used all his eloquence to persuade the Romans that the republic must fall with him; and only when he was assailed with stones and curses, and an arrow pierced his hand, did he retire to an inner chamber. After a day's siege, the doors of the capitol were broken or burned; and, in attempting to escape in a plebeian dress, Rienzi was arrested and dragged to the place of his frequent executions—the porphyry lion at the foot of the capitol stairs. A whole hour he stood firm, though speechless, half dead with his previous sufferings; the former respect, and the present pity of the

crowd might have saved him, but when one, bolder than the rest, plunged a dagger in his breast, a thousand enemies rushed forwards to repeat the blow, and the disfigured body was then abandoned to the dogs (October 8, 1354). On the 14th of the same month, Charles IV. entered Italy with an army; "appearing," it was said, "with his disarmed knights on travelling palfreys, rather as a merchant going to a fair, than as an emperor." The Ghibellines were now in such power that he had no need of arms. He was crowned at Milan; and there Petrarch waited on him with a medal of Augustus Cæsar, which he presented with a fine address. Charles, in reply, promised to imitate the first of the emperors; but he had neither power nor disposition to do so. He interrupted the designs of the Visconti against Florence; but he obliged that republic to pay him 100,000 florins for his promise to surrender all rights over the city, and for refraining to enter their territory. Charles's avarice and injustice, both at Pisa and Sienna, caused insurrections which obliged him to leave those cities, and he retained no influence in either republic. On his arrival at Rome, he was crowned without the walls; and when the citizens offered him the government, on condition of his restoring their liberties, he replied that he would deliberate on the subject. But the next day, either through fear of treachery, or from having promised the Pope that he would not remain, he left the capital, as if he had been going hunting, and never returned to it.

Petrarch, who had seen his hopes for the *republican* glory of Rome vanish in the death of Rienzi, had desired that it might become the seat of *imperial* splendour, as of old; and he addressed the emperor, after his retreat, in an animated letter:—"You have sworn, then, never to return to Rome. What a shame for an emperor to be compelled by a priest to content himself with a bare title, and to exclude himself for ever from the habitation of the Cæsars—to be crowned, and yet to be forbidden to reign or act as emperor! What an insult! One who ought to command the world is to be no longer master of himself, but is to be subject to his vassal!" Although reproached by the enthusiastic poet, Charles was flattered by the Pope in the warmest manner; but, notwithstanding his concessions

with regard to Italy, he yielded nothing as to the independence of the empire; and, in his reign, the Golden Bull, with some additions, was ratified at Nuremberg.

This curious document begins with an apostrophe to Satan, pride, and avarice; and, in the bad religious taste of the time, insists on the necessity of seven electors, as representing the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse, and as opposed to the seven mortal sins. The Triune God, and the three Christian graces, faith, hope, and charity, are also set forth as the bases of government; and, mixing together sacred and profane history, allusions are made to paradise, the fall of the angels, Cæsar, and Pompey. The seven electors, established by the Golden Bull, were the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The princes, archbishops, and abbots, with the deputies of the imperial cities, gave their consent to the Golden Bull; and after it was ratified, the imperial dignity was made to appear as pompous as possible, though in fact conveying little power.

At the banquet which followed, the Count Palatine served up the victuals in golden dishes, all the great officers being present; the Representative of Bohemia poured the wine from a golden flagon into a golden cup; the Elector of Brandenburg presented the emperor and empress with water to wash their hands in golden vessels; and the Duke of Saxony, as grand marshal, held a silver measure, full of oats.

Charles IV. was so anxious that his son Wenceslaus should succeed him, that he *purchased* a vote from each elector, it is said, at the cost of 100,000 florins: in order to raise the money, he was willing to surrender the domains and revenues of the crown, and even some of the imperial cities. It will appear, in our next period, how utterly unqualified was the Prince Wenceslaus for the place which his father so greedily coveted for him.

Of his own dominions—the kingdom of Bohemia—Charles was ever careful, but he was utterly regardless of the prosperity of the rest of the empire; cowardly, avaricious, and faithless, without either justice or humanity, he was ready to use any means to attain the end he had in view.

In 1367, Urban V., moved by the entreaties and com-

plaints of the chief friends of the papacy, declared it to be his duty to reside at Rome. Petrarch exhorted five Popes, in succession, to return to the land which he so much extolled; he described Avignon not only as a barbarous city, but as the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption; Rome alone, he said, of all the cities of Christendom, was without a bishop, and her altars in poverty and decay; eternal fame and the peace of Italy would reward the Pope who should accomplish the return. Petrarch died at the age of seventy, after seeing Urban V. in vain attempt, and Gregory about to follow his often-repeated advice: the results, however, were not beneficial. In the year after the return of Urban, Charles IV. again entered Italy, but not without an army: he declared that he would deliver his Roman empire from all adventurers and tyrants; and that he treated the enemies of the Church as his enemies. The Visconti, in terror, gave him large sums of money for the sake of peace; and he marched on through the peninsula, as if he had been only a collector of tribute. At Sienna, a sedition broke out against him; barricades were raised on all sides; his guards were separated from him; his palace was broken into: for several hours he was left, without a friend, in the public square, in vain entreating a passage from the silent troops who guarded every way of escape. He was at last permitted to leave the town, but not till he had felt the pains of hunger. At Lucca, where his father had once resided, and where he was known in early life, he was received with much kindness; but he had no gratitude; and would not afterwards remove a German garrison, till the Lucchese had paid him 300,000 florins for the restoration of the republic. He returned to Germany, followed by the hatred and contempt of the Italians. Emboldened by his retreat, the two Visconti rendered themselves more powerful than the Pope, even in his own states; and when he sent to them an excommunication by the hands of two legates, the tyrants forced the bearers, in their presence, to eat the parchment on which the bull was written, together with the leaden seals and strings. This was one of the circumstances which frightened Urban back to Avignon. He died in 1370; and his successor, Gregory XI., sent legates to the cities of the papal states, who acted in the most

treacherous manner, in order to obtain absolute power. The Florentines, with other republicans, formed a great army, having colours whereon was inscribed, in gold letters, the word "Liberty." Their object was to drive out the French legates, with the soldiers in their pay, and to assist the oppressed, without reward. In ten days, eighty cities and towns threw off the yoke of the legates; and they, maddened with rage, attempted to establish a reign of terror. The terrible John Hawkwood was one of their agents; and Gregory sent, as cardinal legate, Robert of Geneva, with a company of Breton adventurers, the most ferocious of all who had been engaged in the wars of France. Robert himself (afterwards Pope Clement VII.), acted with the greatest barbarity. During a massacre at Cesena, in February 1377, he was heard to call out, "I will have more blood!—kill all!—blood, blood!" Gregory XI. had returned to Rome in the preceding month, though the Florentines had sent the standard of liberty to the citizens, representing to them the danger of receiving the Pope within their walls.

In the following spring, Gregory died; and the important revolutions which followed that event must be deferred to our next period.

Charles IV. died in the same year (1378) leaving the empire, with Bohemia and Silesia, in the hands of his son Wenceslaus; to Sigismund, his second son, he left the march of Brandenburg, with its accompanying electoral dignity; and to his youngest son some smaller provinces.

We cannot better wind up a chapter so illustrative of man's sinful restlessness, than by recalling the prophet's language:—"The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." (Isa. lvii. 20, 21.)

## CHAPTER XXV.

*Times of Edward II. and Edward III.*

## THE GREEK EMPIRE.

CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF ANDRONICUS THE ELDER.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE RULING PATRIARCHS.—THE CATALAN MERCENARIES ASSIST, AND THEN RAVAGE, THE EMPIRE.—THEY RETREAT INTO GREECE AND TAKE ATHENS.—CHARACTER OF ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER.—HE IS MADE EMPEROR, AND HIS GRANDFATHER RETIRES TO A MONASTERY.—ORCHAN, THE SUCCESSOR OF OTHMAN, BECOMES VERY FORMIDABLE TO THE EMPIRE, TAKES THE TITLE OF SULTAN, AND MAKES BURSA THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.—RHODES SAVED BY THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.—ANDRONICUS TREATS, IN VAIN, OF UNION WITH ROME.—NOVEL TENETS OF THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS, SANCTIONED BY THE EMPEROR.—JOHN CANTACUZENE MAKES HIMSELF THE RIVAL, AND AFTERWARDS THE COLLEAGUE, OF JOHN PALEOLOGUS.—DISGRACEFUL ALLIANCE WITH THE OTTOMANS.—CHARACTER OF THE SULTAN ORCHAN.—POWER OF HIS SON AMURATH I.—ORIGIN OF THE JANIZZARIES.—AMURATH'S WARS AND DEATH.—JOHN PALEOLOGUS VISITS THE POPE, AND PROFESSES THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.—TROUBLES OF HIS REIGN.

FROM the affairs of the Roman empire in the West, we pass by an easy step to those of the broken and still decaying empire in the East. During the reign of Edward II., Andronicus the Elder finished his feeble and inglorious course. The emperors and the patriarchs in the East agreed little better than the emperors and the popes in the West: their quarrels, however, were of a more domestic nature, because the sphere of action was less extensive. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a patriarch, named John XII., had succeeded to Athanasius, who had been driven out because of his severity. In 1294, he crowned Michael, the eldest son of Andronicus, as the associate of his father in the empire. At the end of the

ceremony, Andronicus desired the prelate, and assisting clergy, to issue the most terrible curses, without hope of absolution, to any who should dare to revolt against the new emperor. They refused the request, saying, "It is enough that the laws inflict such rigorous punishments against rebels as to render life more intolerable than death; it belongs not to us, who ought to be full of compassion, to add to these penalties, separation from Christ." Displeased at this reply, the emperor published a law forbidding the presents commonly made at ordinations, saying that it was a simoniacal custom. The chief clergy readily subscribed to an edict which only affected the lower orders, and the latter protested against it in vain. John XII. had many enemies because of the severity of his discipline; and being accused of a black crime, he appeared before a council to clear himself from the accusation; and then, retiring to a monastery, sent his resignation to the emperor. In this closing act he styled himself, "the head of the Church universal."

About this time some youths, who were searching for pigeons' nests, found in an earthen pot, on one of the pillars of St. Sophia, a terrible anathema written by the former patriarch, Athanasius, previous to his retirement. As it was generally supposed that none but the author of an anathema could properly absolve those at whom it was levelled, Andronicus, in person, led some bishops and monks to the cell of Athanasius, and invited him to resume the patriarchal power. He returned, therefore, to his seat, and absolved the authors of his disgrace. He had previously acted with so little prudence, or so little fear, that he had been insulted even in the church; stones had been thrown at him, with threats that he would be torn in pieces unless he quitted the throne. It appears, however, that the emperor had even then protected him, and was again willing to receive him as a guide. After his re-establishment, Athanasius did not conciliate his enemies; and one night, in order to bring him into disgrace with the king, they removed the footcloth of his throne, and placed in its stead a painting of Andronicus, with a bridle in his mouth, held by the patriarch, in order to conduct him to a centre figure intended to represent Christ. The satirical picture would have caused sorrow rather than

offence towards the authors of it, if the patriarch had been sincerely desiring to lead an ignorant prince to the Saviour; but, as it was, Athanasius complained to the emperor, and because he only banished the offenders, instead of punishing them more severely, the resentful prelate retired again to his cell (1311). After a vacancy of two years, Niphon was elected, an ignorant man, who knew not how to write, but who loved good cheer, and coveted riches and honours. It was he who put an end to the faction of the Arsenites, by satisfying their claims, and then absolving both prince and people. Niphon was deposed by a council, on account of his crimes (1315). His successor, John XIII., said to be learned and virtuous, abdicated on account of ill health at the end of four years; and the next patriarch, who was very ignorant, died of old age, and the burden of his affairs, the year after his elevation.

During this period, the emperor was chiefly supported on his throne by the aid of mercenaries from Catalonia, the chief province of the kingdom of Arragon. The Catalans were a hardy race; and a fleet of warriors, disbanded from the Sicilian service, under Roger, their commander, were glad to embrace an invitation to make war for the Greek emperor.

Andronicus received them with great honour, and giving his niece in marriage to Roger, he appointed him to the command of an army about to proceed into Asia Minor. The Catalan chief defeated the Turks in three pitched battles, one of which, fought at a place called the Iron Gates of Mount Taurus, was most destructive to the Moslems. Roger returned with an immense booty, and received the title of grandduke of Romania. Encouraged by the success of their countrymen, another band of Catalans, consisting of 300 horse and 1000 foot, arrived at Constantinople under a commander named Berenger. But these mercenaries, like those scattered through France and Italy, occasioned great mischiefs in the country they came to protect; and as soon as they had ceased to fight with the Turks, the two chiefs permitted their soldiers to ravage the rescued provinces. Andronicus sent to offer the title of Cæsar to Roger, on condition that he would dismiss his troops; but when the Catalan chief waited on him at

Adrianople, the emperor's guards killed him in their master's presence. Andronicus tried to excuse the deed as an act of jealousy on the part of his attendants, but Berenger and the Catalans resolved to revenge the treacherous murder. Michael, the emperor's son and associate, was sent with a fleet and army to overwhelm them, but without success; their forces were increased by the desertion of 3000 Turks who had been brought up in the imperial service, and they assumed the name of the Great Company. As they intercepted the trade of Constantinople, and wasted the country on both sides of the Hellespont, peace with them was sought by the emperors four times: at last, for want of food on the Asiatic shore, they retired upon Greece. This unhappy country, during two centuries and a half, was contended for by a number of petty tyrants; and from the first conquest of Constantinople by the Latins till its taking by the Turks, Greece was never under the rule of one master. At this period, the Duke of Athens was Walter of Brienne; he defended that city with great valour, till the Catalans inundated the meadows on which they had encamped, and the French cavalry sallying forth, their horses' feet stuck in the boggy ground, and they were cut to pieces. But after the duke was in the power of the Catalans, quarrels among their chiefs led to skirmishes among them which wasted their army; and they at length entered into the service of Walter. At his death, in 1312, the Catalans continued to hold Athens and some neighbouring places, and thus the title of duke of Athens and Neopatria was borne by their sovereigns, the kings of Arragon. Walter, however, left a son of his own name, who was born in Greece: he retained the title of duke of Athens, but he only possessed a small territory in the kingdom of Naples, till the Florentines, hearing of his military fame, gave him the command of their armies. Perfidious, cunning, and reckless of human life, like the generality of eastern despots, ten months' experience of his character wearied the Florentines, and the cruel tyrant was banished in a general insurrection of the citizens, just as he was preparing to massacre three hundred of the most distinguished among them.

From this digression, we must return to the closing scenes in the life of Andronicus the Elder. In 1323, he

raised to the patriarchate, Isaiah, a man of seventy, who scarcely knew his letters. Two years after, he was employed to crown the younger Andronicus, the son of Michael, whose name was associated with those of his father and grandfather in the oaths taken by their subjects. The early wit and beauty of this youth had made him the favourite of the old emperor, and he was probably injured by indulgence. On reaching manhood, he expressed his desire for some fertile island where he might reign independently: his vices frequently disturbed the capital. One dusky night, the guards who attended him fatally wounded his younger brother, whom he pointed out to them by mistake for another, whom he wished to sacrifice to his jealous passions. Michael, the father, was previously in declining health, and he sank upon hearing of the death of the prince Manuel. The younger Andronicus, although the sole heir of the empire, was called to answer before the throne for the death of his brother; but he left the city on pretence of going hunting, and assembled a great army at Adrianople. John Cantacuzene, the great domestic of the palace, sided with the young prince, as did also the patriarch. The latter formed a secret conspiracy in his own palace, and afterwards assembling the lower orders, by the sound of the bell, he threatened with excommunication all who should suppress the young emperor's name in the public prayers: he also menaced in the same manner all the bishops who should take the opposite side. The bishops having assembled, excommunicated the patriarch as the author of the sedition, and the old emperor caused him to be shut up in a monastery. But the elder Andronicus had reigned so long, and so ill, that any change was thought desirable, and the gates of Constantinople were quickly opened to his grandson (May, 1328).

The younger Andronicus, on ascending the throne, left to his grandfather the imperial ornaments and title, and a room in the palace, from which, however, he was forbidden to issue: in these circumstances he was glad to exchange the purple for the monastic tunic, and he retired to a monastery, where he bore the name of Anthony during the remaining four years of his life.

The founder of the Ottoman empire died in 1326, during the contentions between the elder and younger

Andronicus, having just before heard of the taking of Bursa (anciently Prusa), in Bithynia, by his son Orchan. The town had been surrendered after a long siege, on condition that the inhabitants might be permitted to depart with all their effects; but when the conqueror entered, he first refused to let the children go, saying that it was unjust to take them away from their native place without their consent: he then required that the property should be left for their use: in this adroit manner, Orchan retained nearly all the people, as they would not leave behind them their children, and their wealth. The Ottoman chief made Bursa the capital of his empire, and assumed the title of sultan. The next year he made himself master of Nicomedia; and, in 1333, Nice was surrendered to him, after an obstinate and bloody siege, in which the younger Andronicus was himself wounded. The Venetians, alarmed at the progress of the Turks, entered into a league with the emperor, the kings of France, of Naples, and of Cyprus, and the grandmaster of the Knights of St. John, who, since the loss of Palestine, had entrenched themselves in the island of Rhodes, which was looked upon as the bulwark of Christendom. The confederate fleet gained a victory on the coasts of Greece, but it had no effect in checking the progress of the enemy; all Bithynia, and the islands, with the exception of Rhodes, fell into the hands of Orchan, before the end of the reign of Andronicus the younger: his troops, also, incessantly ravaged the sea-coast.

In 1339, Andronicus sent ambassadors to Benedict XII., to treat of the union so frequently contemplated, but the attempt was fruitless. Barlaam, the emperor's envoy to the court of Avignon, on returning through Greece, visited the monks of Mount Athos, and found them imbued with such strange and extravagant notions that, on his return, he denounced them to John of Apri, a Thracian, recently chosen patriarch. The favourite tenet of these Grecian monks was, that there existed a heavenly light in the human mind, and that by sitting for hours with their eyes immoveably fixed on the centre of their own persons, they obtained the enjoyment of this divine illumination: some absolutely contended that they saw a portion of the same radiance which surrounded the Lord on the Mount of Transfiguration. The

emperor, with Anne his wife, a sister of the Count of Savoy, were much delighted with the doctrines of the Quietists — the name given to these fanatical monks. A council being assembled at Constantinople, the patriarch condemned this “new thing” brought from Greece; but Andronicus contended so vehemently in its favour, that Barlaam’s effort to bring disgrace on the sect was defeated. The emperor’s health was previously declining, and his earnest harangue in favour of *Quietism* affected him so much, that he died four days after. It was the habit of the Greek emperors to mix in theological quarrels, and to arbitrate in those curious questions which were continually perplexing the minds of persons in their nation, pretending to be wise overmuch. There is no end to the vagaries of human thought about divine things, when permitted to wander beyond that which is written by inspiration of God. It is in the Epistle to the Corinthians, who were surrounded with all the subtle imaginings, and haughty reasonings of Greece, that we learn the only method of breaking through these snares of the enemy: the apostle had a jealous fear, lest the Greek Christians should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. (See 2 Cor. x. 5; xi. 3.) After those days, we perceive that the old serpent by his subtlety *did* beguile and overpower the Greek mind.

One historian asserts that Andronicus had abandoned himself to intemperance, resigning the care of the government to John Cantacuzene; another tells us that he died sincerely regretted by his subjects, whose love and respect his great qualities had deserved: the facts handed down to us, however, go entirely against him. He died at the age of forty-five (A. D. 1340).

John, the only son of Andronicus, was nine years old at his father’s death; and Cantacuzene, his appointed guardian, sent out five hundred letters, in the first month of his power, informing all the provincial governors of the emperor’s death, and of their duties to him as regent. At the same time, Apocaucus, the first admiral, united with the Empress Anne, and the patriarch, John of Apri, to claim the regency; and having produced an old letter in which Andronicus named him as a guardian of the young prince, John of Apri assumed the imperial style, subscribing

his letters with purple ink, and wearing red buskins, and a mitre of silk and gold : he, however, crowned the young prince as emperor. These measures were taken whilst Cantacuzene was absent on business, and in his memoirs of his own life he asserts that the false accusation of treason, and the confiscation of his estates, drove him into rebellion. In the strong city of Demotica, his own territory, he was proclaimed emperor ; but, to save appearance, the names of Anne and John Paleologus were mentioned before his own. This was the beginning of a civil war which, for six years, still farther wasted the fast decreasing resources of the Greek empire. The Quietist controversy brought division into the party of the empress, for the patriarch, persisting in his opposition to the fancies of the monks of Mount Athos, was deposed, and ten months afterwards thrown into prison. This new class of enthusiasts, called Palamites, from Palamas, their chief teacher, now attained the highest ecclesiastical dignities ; and the succeeding patriarchs were of the number. The first of these pretended to have revelations, which he made the rule of his conduct ; and disappointment at the failure of his prophecies threw him into an illness of which he died. The second was a monk, direct from Mount Athos, who, in spite of all opposition, secured the approval of his doctrines in a council held at Constantinople in 1351.

Whilst these strange discussions were going on in the capital, Cantacuzene was strengthening his hands by an alliance with the worst enemy of the empire. Orchan, from his camp at Selybria, sent to the pretender asking his daughter in marriage, promising, in return, to assist him against his rivals. Cantacuzene's own pen describes the circumstances of the nuptials ; he gloried in his shame ; he was throwing his daughter into the hands of a sultan with many wives ; and by so close a union between even a nominally Christian princess and a Mahometan sovereign sealed the ruin of his country. Theodora and her mother were dismissed by the ambitious Cantacuzene, with an escort of Greek and Turkish cavalry filling thirty vessels. In the Ottoman camp, a throne was prepared for the bride beneath a pavilion of silk and gold ; flutes and trumpets mingled their sounds ; and poets celebrated the splendour and happiness of the marriage. The father stipulated that

Theodora should be allowed to retain her Christian profession; and he celebrates her charity and devotion as an Ottoman queen.

About the time of Theodora's nuptials, Apocaucus, the main support of the young emperor's cause, was suddenly killed. A number of persons had been thrown into confinement by his orders, and he went to the prison to superintend some alterations, whereby he intended to make their captivity more sure, and more rigorous. But as he passed from one apartment to another, two prisoners of the imperial house of Paleologus rushed out upon him, and struck him to the ground. The other captives, having broken their fetters, cut off the admiral's head and exposed it to public view, believing that the people would rejoice in the destruction of a tyrant. But the widow of Apocaucus incited them to revenge her husband's murder, and though the captives took refuge in a neighbouring church, they were slaughtered without mercy.

When Cantacuzene had gained everything besides, the capital was betrayed to him by an Italian who was in command, and the empress was obliged to consent to the marriage of her son with Helen, the second daughter of Cantacuzene, and to the sole guardianship of the latter during ten years. Such was the poverty of the imperial palace at this season, that the nuptial feast was served in earthen and pewter vessels, whilst glass ornaments and gilt leather supplied the place of jewels and gold. Cantacuzene, on taking possession of Constantinople, was again crowned with Irene his wife. A good understanding did not long subsist between the elder and the younger emperor, and the former having made a campaign against the Servians, in which he pretended to instruct his imperial pupil in the art of war, left him at Thessalonica, and returned to reign alone in the capital. Orchan's great object was to weaken the Greeks, and whilst he professed to employ his forces in behalf of his father-in-law, 10,000 Turks were engaged in the service of the Empress Anne and her son.

Cantacuzene marked his first triumph by associating his son Matthew with him in the empire; but again he paid dearly for the aid afforded him by the sultan, as it was only given on condition of his permitting a slave-market to

be held in Constantinople, where the Moslems might sell their prisoners. Soliman, also, the son of Orchan, was transported across the Hellespont with 10,000 horse, on the plea of lending assistance to Cantacuzene; but the real object was to establish a Turkish colony in the Chersonesus, and to fill the fortresses of Thrace with Ottoman garrisons.

As soon as the wily Orchan had obtained from his father-in-law all these advantages, he turned round and embraced the party of John Paleologus, to whom the Genoese had offered their assistance; but, in making a treaty with him, he took care to insert a clause for the permission of a slave-market.

In 1355, John Paleologus was established on the throne of his ancestors, and the aspiring Cantacuzene ended his days in a monastery, as the monk Joseph, continuing to bear the name of "the father of the emperor," but only interfering with his sons-in-law, in their political affairs, as a minister of peace. His busy mind found occupation in writing the history of his life, in opposing the opinions of both Jews and Mahometans, and in defending the absurd mysticism of the light of Mount Tabor. It was, perhaps, the consciousness that his own course had furthered the advance of the Moslem power which made him write against their religion; but it was his last advice to his countrymen not to contend with the Mahometans in arms. At the conclusion of the treaty between Orchan and the emperor, the Turkish troops were withdrawn from the European side of the Hellespont; but the Ottoman power was now firmly established on the very border of the Asiatic shore. In 1360, Soliman died from a fall from his horse, and the aged Orchan survived an event which caused him great sorrow only two months. Orchan was cruel, deceitful, and unjust, but his policy strengthened the foundations of the empire. He set over every province a *pasha*, or governor, and over every city, a *cadhi*, answering to the provincial judge. He allowed a daily payment to the troops who had hitherto subsisted by pillage, and gave them a military uniform. He built hospitals, founded moschs, favoured letters, and erected schools. To Orchan also may be traced the foundation of the celebrated Turkish militia, called the Janizaries, as he selected from among his captives all the well-made young people, and formed them

into classes, under the instruction of his most experienced captains.

Amurath I., the second son of Orchan, succeeded to his father's kingdom at the age of forty-one, with disposition and ability to carry out the projects of his predecessors. His grand vizir, or chief minister, subdued the whole province of Thrace; and the taking of Adrianople, after a long resistance, was a special source of triumph: the seat of the Ottoman government was at once removed thither.

Amurath did not attempt to take possession of Constantinople, but John Paleologus paid him tribute, and, with his four sons, was often compelled to attend the Ottoman court or camp.

Many of the provinces of modern Turkey still bear the names of the great nations attacked or conquered by Amurath. His armies encountered in turn the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, all at this time professedly Christian nations, and noted for their hardihood and strength. As the Mahometan law allowed to the commander the fifth part of the captives, and of the spoil taken in battle, Amurath's officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to single out for his service the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youths, seized in the frequent inroads of the Ottomans into the neighbouring countries. Thus many thousands of Europeans were put under the military and religious training of the Turks, and learned at the same time to wield the sword, and to obey the koran as to the direction of it; turning their arms against their countrymen with the fiery zeal of young proselytes to a religion so congenial to human passions. The preparation of these troops for service was completed by the following ceremony:—A Mahometan devotee, called a dervish, answering in part to the Christian monk, was placed in front of the newly trained company, and stretching the sleeve of his gown over the foremost soldier, he exclaimed, "Let them be called janizzaries (*yenge cheri*, i. e. new soldiers, Turkish). May their countenances be ever bright, their hand victorious, their sword keen! May their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and wheresoever they go, may they return with white faces!"

The King of Armenia, when at the French court, related, that Amurath, in order to terrify the Servians into sub-

mission, sent his ambassadors to their despot, with a mule carrying a sack of millet, signifying that his hosts were in number as the grains of corn. The Servian prince demanded three days to consider of his answer, and having kept all the fowls of his poultry-yard without food during that time, he caused them, in the presence of the sultan's envoys, to descend upon the bag of corn, and the whole was speedily devoured. Then said the despot, "Just as these fowls have eaten all this corn, and would have eaten more had it been here, so will your master's hosts be swallowed up in this country, whatever be their numbers."

It is added, that the first army of 60,000 men sent by Amurath into Servia lost the whole of their van, through an ambuscade prepared by the despot. The Servians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, and other tribes of Sclavonian origin, leagued together to oppose the progress of the Ottoman Turks; but in the plains of Cassovia they were defeated by Amurath, and Lazarus, king of the Servians, was slain. At the close of a dreadful battle, Amurath, with his vizir, traversed the field, and the sultan remarked, that the greatest part of the slain were beardless youths. "Age and wisdom," replied his flattering minister, "would have taught them not to oppose your irresistible arms." But just at the moment when the conqueror was thus led to glory in his own might, a soldier who was dying, rallying all his strength at the sight of his enemy, started up from among the dead, and with one stroke of his dagger terminated the life of Amurath.

Amurath was in the midst of his victories at the death of Edward III., and, according to the Turkish annals, he died four years after that king (A. D. 1381): others place his death in 1389, and say that he was seventy years of age. In order to attach his soldiers to him, Amurath distributed among them the conquered lands, each one being bound to furnish a horse and men, in time of war, in proportion to his tenure. These military benefices were called *Timars*, and the holders of them *Timariots*; but though inherited from generation to generation, the sultan might at any moment deprive the possessor of the fief, according to his own will.

In his alarm at the progress of the Turks, John Paleologus went into the West to solicit assistance. At Rome, he

waited upon Urban V., who was just attempting the re-establishment of the papal power in that city. The Greek prince, in the church of St. Peter's, made a public profession of the Roman Catholic faith, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Four cardinals led him to the foot of Urban's throne, and after making three genuflexions he kissed the feet, the hands, and the mouth of the Pope. After Urban had celebrated mass, the Greek emperor led his mule by the bridle from the church to the palace, and was there entertained at a sumptuous banquet: he gained nothing from this visit but vain promises; Urban V. had not the power, if he had the disposition, to help him.

In 1373, Andronicus, the son of the emperor, and Cuntuza, son of the sultan Amurath, having met together, conspired against the lives of their parents. The plot being discovered, Amurath put out the eyes of his son, and required the emperor to do the same to Andronicus: the latter, however, was only deprived of one eye, but he was imprisoned with his wife and his son John: an attempt was made on the sight of the young prince, but either in pity, or mistake, only a slight injury was inflicted, producing a squint. At the end of two years, the Genoese, established in the suburb of Galata, delivered Andronicus and his son from confinement, and placed the emperor and his son Manuel in irons in the same prison. At the expiration of two more years, and just at the close of our present period of history (1377), the emperor escaped, and took refuge with the sultan, who furnished him assistance in recovering the throne. Andronicus retired to Selybria, where he ended his days; his son John survived him. These circumstances threw the Greeks more completely into the power of the Turks. Little more than Constantinople remained to John Paleologus, and when he attempted to fortify the city, he received a command from the Ottoman prince to demolish the work, with a threat that if he did not immediately obey, his son Manuel, who was at the court of Adrianople, would be deprived of his eyes.

John Paleologus dragged on his miserable existence till the year 1391: he had neither talents nor virtues: addicted to drunkenness and other vices, amusing himself in hunting and gaming, he seemed to lose sight of the miseries with which he was surrounded. The empire appeared like a

lamp on the very eve of extinction; but its resources were not utterly spent, and the last half century of its existence forms the memorable historical era with which we must commence some subsequent sketches of Universal History.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *Richard II. and his Times.*

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SCOTLAND, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.

A. D. 1377—1400.

ACCESSION OF RICHARD II.—HIS CORONATION.—POWER OF HIS THREE UNCLES DURING HIS MINORITY.—CHARLES VI., ALSO A MINOR, FALLS UNDER THE POWER OF HIS THREE UNCLES.—INSURRECTION OF WAT TYLER.—RICHARD'S COURAGE AND PRESENCE OF MIND.—DANGERS OF JOHN OF GAUNT.—THE GOOD QUEEN ANNE.—WARLIKE SPIRIT OF CHARLES VI.—INSURRECTION AT PARIS.—ENGLAND THREATENED WITH INVASION FROM FRANCE.—A JUDICIAL COMBAT.—FUNERAL ORATION.—DERANGEMENT OF CHARLES VI.—MISFORTUNES OF RICHARD.—HIS EXTERNAL MAGNIFICENCE.—HIS CRIMES AND CONSEQUENT TERROR.—BANISHMENT OF HIS COUSIN HENRY OF LANCASTER.—EXPEDITION INTO IRELAND.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF RICHARD'S DEPOSITION.—CORONATION OF HENRY IV.—RICHARD'S MYSTERIOUS DEATH.—AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND UNDER ROBERT III.—AFFAIRS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—CONNECTION OF THE FAMILY OF LANCASTER WITH THE KINGS OF CASTILE AND PORTUGAL.

RICHARD II., the only child of the celebrated Black Prince, succeeded to the throne of his grandfather Edward III. at the age of eleven. He was a handsome youth, with engaging manners, and all the popularity of his father seemed for a time to descend upon his person. When he entered London for the first time in royal pomp, with the sound of clarions and trumpets, he was hailed from one end

of the city to the other with the most vociferous joy; and every street was filled with decorations or pageants, in honour of the occasion; the public aqueducts were made to flow with wine during three hours and a half, the time occupied in the procession to the palace at Westminster. At his coronation, the following year, a column was raised in the middle of his palace, supporting a great gilt eagle; and, from under its feet, four sorts of wine were made to flow the whole day, the poorest person being allowed to partake. The form of oath, used by Richard II. at his coronation, has been adopted, with little alteration, on all such occasions subsequently: the import of it was, that he would permit the Church to enjoy all her liberties; that he would reverence her ministers, and maintain the true faith; that he would restrain violence and oppression in all sorts of men, and cause good laws to be everywhere observed, especially those of St. Edward, king and confessor; and would cause all evil laws and customs to be abrogated: lastly, that he would be no respecter of persons, but would give right judgment between man and man, and would chiefly observe mercy in all his decrees and judgments, as God should show mercy to him. After the young king had thus sworn, the primate, as if to keep up the appearance of popular election, turned himself to all the sides of the church, the marshal of England preceding him, and asked the people if they would be subject to such a prince, and obey his commands. Loud acclamations expressed a ready obedience.

The king's three uncles were naturally the most conspicuous persons in the kingdom during his minority. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the eldest, attended Richard's first parliament, with his title of "King of Castile and Leon;" and kneeling before the king, complained that he had been spoken ill of, and treason imputed to him, but that he was as ready to defend the king's honour with his body, as if he had been the poorest of his subjects. He was acquitted of all blame, and chosen one of the protectors of the youthful sovereign; but when he prayed that the most upright and virtuous persons might be put about the king, he was answered that it was too hard to request the monarch to have any but those whom he liked. This reply was very unwise, as Richard was

too young to choose the fittest companions ; and the selection of unworthy favourites soon involved him in the deepest troubles. Edmond, earl of Cambridge, and then duke of York, the king's second uncle, was of an effeminate and indolent disposition, and occasioned little trouble in the State ; but Thomas of Woodstock, the king's youngest uncle, who was entitled duke of Gloucester, was a bold and turbulent prince.

In the third year of Richard's reign (1380), Charles V., king of France, was succeeded by his son, Charles VI., then twelve years of age. He, like the King of England, on account of his youth, fell under the government of his three uncles : these were the Dukes of Anjou, of Berri, and of Burgundy. At the feast which followed the young king's coronation, the great barons, seated on high horses, covered with cloth of gold, served the dishes. A cardinal, who was a Benedictine by profession, had been the tutor of Charles VI., and had acted towards him with so little kindness that the prince, on hearing of his father's death, was heard to exclaim, "Thank God ! we are delivered from the tyranny of this wretched priest." In fact, he was dismissed on the day of the coronation ; and with the immense riches that he had unjustly acquired, retired to the court of Avignon. The Duke of Anjou, however, who took the management of the imposts in his stead, acted still more oppressively. His object was to obtain the means of taking possession of the kingdom of Naples left to him by Queen Joan ; but he failed in the enterprise, notwithstanding the expenditure of immense treasures, and at last died in Italy, extremely poor. One of the edicts passed by this prince, during his administration in France, deserves our notice : it was to repeal the ancient custom of confiscating the goods of every Jew that was converted to Christianity. This absurd law had been founded on the notion that the Jew was the especial property of the lord of the soil ; and that as he ceased to be so, if converted, his goods were required to indemnify the sovereign for his loss. The war between France and England continued in a languid manner during the minority of the young sovereigns ; but the expense to the English government arising out of this, and other wars in Spain and Scotland, with the extravagance of the royal expenditure, occasioned the parliament

to impose a tax which was very odious to the people. The poll-tax, as it was called, was the sum of twelve-pence, required from every person, male or female, above fifteen years of age: it was, however, understood that the rich were to help the poor. The tyrannical and improper behaviour of the collectors became still more odious than the tax itself; and, in the county of Kent, the greatest excitement prevailed. A man at Dartford, called Wat Tyler, a tiler by trade, set the first example of open violence, by beating out the brains of a tax-gatherer who had insulted his daughter. The exasperated populace were glad to make this man their leader; and, having first collected near Maidstone, they attacked the palace of the primate at that place, and released from prison John Balle, a priest who had been confined for teaching doctrines similar to those of Wickliffe. Him they compelled to accompany them, and to him was attributed the revolutionary sentiment embodied in the lines,

“When Adam delved, and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentle man?”

By the time Wat Tyler reached Blackheath, his followers had swelled to 100,000 persons; and as they declared their wish to speak with the king, Richard consented to give them a hearing; and, in order to pacify them, signed a charter declaring that every one in England should be free. Jack Straw, a priest of Essex, was the leader of another mob from that county; and it is said that he and Wat Tyler demanded to be made respectively dukes of Essex and Kent. For seven days, the most dreadful riots prevailed; and the ferocious mob, becoming intoxicated with the liquors which they found in the cellars of the city, acted with the utmost madness. They beheaded the primate, and several of the king's ministers, burned down the superb palace of the Duke of Lancaster, insulted the king's mother, stroked the beards of the noblest knights with their dirty hands, and even rushed into Richard's private chamber, and placed themselves on his bed. After destroying many houses and slaying some of the citizens, the infuriated multitude began to attack and murder one another. It appears that one of their plans was to kill the king and his nobles, and to set fire to the metropolis, that

they might plunder it while burning. Wat Tyler, the boldest of the ruffian multitude, demanded that all the lawyers should be beheaded. Three times the king gave the charters that were demanded; but, still dissatisfied, the leader became more and more outrageous; and in a personal conference with the king, as he held the royal bridle with one hand, and with the other kept playing with his dagger, it was supposed he meant to kill his sovereign; and Waltham, the mayor of London, who was near, pierced the rebel's throat; another dispatched him; but as he expired, a thousand bows were raised to avenge him. At this critical moment, the king, with a courage beyond his years, and with more wisdom than he showed at any other time, rode fearlessly round the insurgents, asking if they meant to kill their king; and telling them that they need not lament the loss of their leader, for if they would follow him, he would grant all they could ask. Pleased with his manners and countenance, and softened by his gentleness, the whole multitude quietly followed their young sovereign into the fields; and while he was parleying with them, the mayor came up with an armed force, which so alarmed them, that they threw down their own weapons and fled in every direction. Richard forbade pursuit. Similar disturbances occurred in other parts of the country; but the only determined movement was that against the Duke of Lancaster. The duke had been engaged in warfare with the Scottish borderers, who were constantly making plundering excursions into the north of England; sometimes driving off 40,000 head of cattle and swine at one time. Their ferocity was so great that it was reported they amused themselves in playing at football with the heads of the slain. One of their leaders, who was called "The Black Douglas," by way of terrible distinction, became so formidable, that English mothers in the North adopted his name as a word of terror to their naughty children. John of Gaunt had procured a year's truce with Scotland, once and again, and a treaty was pending, when, finding his own life endangered in England, he determined to trust to the generosity of the Scots, and to seek a shelter from them. His confidence was not misplaced. Robert II. then reigned, a pacific and benignant prince; and the royal duke, with his followers, was allowed to reside at

Edinburgh Castle, as a place of safety, till he could return to his own country (1383). When, through the bribery of France, Scotland was induced to renew her hostilities against England, John of Gaunt again led an army into the country; but, though he plundered as far as Edinburgh, he spared the friendly city that had lately sheltered him.

As John of Gaunt had been a protector of Wickliffe, it cannot be supposed that the spirit of insurrection in England was excited by the followers of the reformed doctrines: the use made of priest Balle seems to be the only colour for such a supposition, as regards the riots in London.

As soon as all apprehensions of farther tumult were over, a proclamation was issued annulling all the charters and promises of forgiveness, obtained during the rebellion; and a judge, named Tresilian, was appointed to try the rioters. He appears to have been a sanguinary person, who confounded the innocent with the guilty, and above 1500 were beheaded or hung. A general pardon was at last obtained, on the occasion of the queen's coronation, and at her intercession: this circumstance first obtained for her the name of "Good Queen Anne." This lady, the first wife of Richard II., was the sister of Wenceslaus, emperor, and king of Bohemia, and the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. Her marriage with Richard took place when he was scarcely sixteen (1381), and they lived together till her death in 1394. She had no children. At her funeral, Arundel, the archbishop of York, related that the queen had in her possession the Gospels in English, with learned commentaries upon them; that she had sent the translations to him, and he had found them true and faithful. He expressed himself much surprised that so great a lady, and a foreigner, should humbly study such excellent books; and he ended by declaring that he never knew a woman of such extraordinary piety. This testimony to the benefits derived from the queen's reading the Scriptures deserves the more credit, as the same prelate, shortly after her death, stirred up the king to harass every person who should dare to read the Gospels in his native tongue.\* "Good Queen Anne," as long as she

\* The prelates of this period, who were concerned in state affairs,

lived, appears to have had sufficient influence with her husband to prevent the persecution of the followers of Wickliffe; and it appears that the doctor's writings were read and valued by some of her household. Richard's crimes and worst misfortunes did not occur till after the death of his good queen, who, it appears, he much lamented.\* On account of the warlike aspect of France, it was necessary to procure a safe-conduct for Anne, when she came to be wedded to Richard II.; she would otherwise have been taken prisoner by some of the French ships.

Charles VI. exhibited his martial spirit, when, at the age of fourteen, he accompanied an army, headed by the Constable Clisson, for the purpose of restoring his vassal,

had singular advantages for carrying out their intolerant schemes. The famous statute, commonly known as the 5th of Richard II., which sanctioned the burning of heretics, and was so extensively acted upon, never obtained the assent of the commons. Sir E. Coke says, "By colour of this *supposed* act, certain persons, that held that images ought not to be worshipped, were held in strong prison until they (to redeem their vexation) miserably yielded before these masters in divinity to take an oath, and did swear to worship images, which was against the moral and eternal law of Almighty God." The commons were very angry that the statute was placed on the rolls of parliament without their assent; and in the next parliament protested against it, and desired that it might be declared void. The royal assent was given to their protest in these words—"Leist au Roy."

Before the introduction of printing, acts of parliament were engrossed, and sent in bundles to the sheriffs, in the king's name, to be proclaimed. The Bishop of London, then lord chancellor, caused the first statute to be included, and the second, which declared it null, to be left out. The statutes concerning heresy did not, with some few exceptions (in 25th of Henry VIII. and 1st of Elizabeth), define the nature of that terrible crime, leaving it to the clergy to determine what it was. Sir Matthew Hale says, "which wild and unbounded jurisdiction they had . . ." This was their power at common law, and the temporal judge was to give credence to their sentence; but might grant or withhold writs *de heretico comburendo* (*i. e.* for the burning of a heretic). But, it is to be observed, papal laws forbade their doing so, under pain of excommunication.

\* Anne of Bohemia introduced into England the first side-saddles, which were, however, only occasionally used by ladies in processions, as they had only a band to support both feet, and were not suitable for fast riding. The same queen is said to have introduced the use of pins; and as she wore a very high, broad cap, to conceal a defect in her forehead, that fashion came into vogue for a time.

the Count of Flanders, who had been expelled in one of the frequent insurrections of the unruly Flemings. Boucicault, afterwards famous as a marshal of the French army, was about the same age as his royal master, and served in this campaign. A Flemish knight, who turned with contempt from the young warrior, taunting him as fit for the nursery rather than the field of battle, received from the sword of Boucicault his death-wound. In the conflict, tremendous indeed if even the boys of France had this spirit, from 25,000 to 40,000 Flemings were killed. During this war, insurrection burst forth at Paris very similar to that which disturbed London at the same time. The insurgents were called *Maillotins*, because of the mallets wherewith they knocked down the tax-gatherers, broke open the prisons, &c. In 1383, Charles entered Flanders a second time, at the head of 200,000 men: the Flemings were assisted by a body of English, under the Bishop of Norwich. The French were entirely successful; and the Duke of Burgundy soon afterwards inherited the rich province of Flanders, by the death of the count. In 1385, at the age of seventeen, Charles VI. married Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; it was a union fraught with misery to himself and his people. In 1386, the martial king resolved to invade England; and, at Sluys, a fleet of 1287 vessels assembled for the purpose. "There were enough," says Froissart, "to make a bridge from Calais to Dover." The undertaking was purposely delayed by the Duke of Berri, till the season was too far advanced to attempt it that year; and before the spring arrived a part of the fleet was burned, and the rest taken by the English. During the early part of Richard's reign, the French attacked many of the ports on the southern coast of England; they also burned several towns in the Isle of Wight, but were repulsed from Carisbrooke Castle. In 1386, in spite of the existence of the edict of St. Louis against judicial combats, the parliament of Paris permitted a duel to be fought in the king's presence, in order to decide as to the guilt of an accused person. The party who was killed, being judged guilty, his body was dragged on a hurdle, and delivered to the executioner: he was, nevertheless, innocent; for a criminal, who was sentenced to death some time after, confessed that he had committed the violence

of which the other had been unjustly accused. This circumstance probably strengthened the public in the opinion that judicial combats were not the means of discerning between the innocent and the guilty. In 1389, during a short truce with England, Charles VI. caused a solemn service to be performed at St. Denis, in honour of the deceased constable, Du Guesclin. Four horses from the royal stable, richly caparisoned, were presented at the offertory by four princes; and the Bishop of Auxerre afterwards mounted the pulpit, and made a discourse in praise of the departed captain. It was the first funeral oration pronounced in France, if we except a short discourse uttered over the grave of William the Conqueror. The princes, we are told, melted into tears at the pathetic words of the bishop. At the close of the same year, the King of France determined to visit his southern provinces, because of the reports that had reached him of the corrupt administration of the agents of his uncle, the Duke of Berri. Charles took the opportunity of saluting Clement VII. at Avignon; and the day after his arrival at the papal court, assisted at the consecration of Louis II., king of Naples. At Beziers, Charles convicted his uncle's secretary of the crimes laid to his charge; and the wretched man was burned alive before the eyes of the king. Whilst in Languedoc, Charles visited the Count of Foix, who gave him the most sumptuous reception. On returning to Paris, the king deprived his uncle of the trust which he had abused; but, three years after, restored him to the government of Languedoc.

About this time, the Constable Clisson was attacked in the streets of Paris by a wicked man, who wished to have killed him; and, thinking he had done so, fled to the protection of the Duke of Bretagne. The duke, when required to give up the criminal, refused to do so; and the king determined to march in person to punish his rebellious vassal. But excitement brought on fever; and as he would not yield to the advice of his physicians, and continued his march in very hot weather, he was seized with sudden phrenzy by the way; and having attempted in his madness to wound his own attendants, they secured him with ropes in a car drawn by oxen, and conveyed him to Mans, from which place he had set forth. The king

was so sincerely loved by his people, that extraordinary rejoicings followed his recovery in 1392; but, just as he appeared capable of again taking the management of public affairs, a dangerous relapse occurred under the following circumstances:—On January 31, 1393, on the occasion of the marriage of one of the queen's attendants, a masquerade was given, or, as the English then termed it, a *disguisement*. The king and four of his nobles appeared disguised as savages, wearing dresses of coarse cloth, upon which pieces of flax were fastened in abundance, with some resinous composition. The Duke of Orleans, who was present at this rude entertainment, was curious to examine the strange disguise; and having seized a flambeau from one of the torch-bearers stationed round the room (lamps or chandeliers were not then in use), he approached so near to one of the savages as to set him on fire. Chains, unfortunately, bound them together; and the king alone escaped death through the presence of mind of the Duchess of Berri, who was standing near, and who stifled the flames by wrapping around his person the train of her robe. The accident, however, was so frightful, that the balance of his mind was again destroyed, and from that time till his death he had but occasional intervals of reason. In 1394, an edict passed in France, which sentenced the Jews to perpetual banishment. This act has never been revoked; but it is plain that the king was not responsible for it.

In 1395, a treaty was concluded between France and England; and Richard II., being now a widower, was permitted to marry Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. During our present period, we need only notice farther, regarding France, that it was in the following year the flower of her nobility perished in battle with the Turks at Nicopolis. We may also mention that, in 1397, Charles, compassionating criminals doomed to death, who had always hitherto been refused the attentions of a priest, caused an ordinance to be passed, securing to them the services of that class of monks called Cordeliers.

We must now give our attention to the unfortunate events of the reign of Richard II.\* The king, even in his

\* The detail of the events of these times we chiefly owe to the

youth, displayed evil tempers and vices, which caused the poet Gower, who was his faithful friend, to address to him a Latin poem full of warnings and exhortations. But it is probable that all the king's wrong dispositions were cherished by the unworthy young favourites with whom he surrounded himself. The popular satire fell upon him because of the youth and inexperience of his ministers; and it was said of one of them, who was called "the king's *doll*," on account of his fondling him in the most foolish manner, "he has seen nothing, he has learnt nothing, and never been in battle." This very person, Robert de Vere, was created by the king duke of Ireland, with the sovereignty of that island for life. De Vere was a nobleman of attractive manners, but his habits were most dissolute; and the king's attachment to him led to a combination of the princes, which ended in the defeat and banishment of the duke. He died abroad; and when his corpse was brought to England for interment, the king insisted on having the coffin opened, that he might gaze upon the remains of one whom he had so greatly loved. This circumstance, pardonable as it was, increased Richard's unpopularity; and, in 1388, the discontented nobles, demanding a conference with him, reproached their sovereign in such a manner that he melted into tears. His weakness emboldened the malcontents; and, in a parliament held the next year, which has been well termed *the pitiless*, Richard was deprived of all his favourite ministers. Burley, the king's tutor, whose greatest crime was his attachment to his royal master, was condemned to death; and even the tears of the queen could not save him from the hands of the executioner. In 1389, Richard having reached the age of twenty-three, expressed his determination to rule independently; and, for some years, he acted with tolerable prudence, and showed no resentment to the princes and lords who had so deeply distressed him. The Duke of Lancaster returned from his Spanish campaign to

Chronicles of Froissart, a native of Hainault, who was made clerk of the chamber, or secretary, to his country-woman, Queen Philippa, the wife of Edward III. This royal lady was the friend and protectress of literary men; she founded Queen's College, at Oxford.

Froissart was familiar with the courts of England, France, and Burgundy, during a long and eventful period.

the enjoyment of his own rank, without aspiring farther; but the Duke of Gloucester raised a clamour against the king, because he did not pursue his grandfather's course respecting France, but was inclined to peace, and spent the public revenues in personal magnificence, instead of in the wars which it was supposed would increase the glory of the nation. Gloucester had some cause to complain of his royal nephew's wasteful magnificence, for 10,000 followers feasted daily in his household; 300 servants waited in his kitchen; and all his other servants, who were in proportionate number, appeared in the most costly array. Yeomen and grooms were clothed in green and scarlet silk, satin, or damask; some changed their apparel many times a day, and had their gowns and doublets embroidered and trimmed with fur, or ornamented with gold; moreover, these fine clothes were not *paid* for; and those who wore them were ruined by the grossest sensual indulgences. The expensive splendour of the court introduced a taste for magnificence into the whole country; and the poet Occleve, who wrote in these days, describes some who spent their whole property on their dress. He wisely thought that it was a great abuse to see a man walking in a scarlet gown twelve yards wide, with sleeves hanging down to the ground, and their fur trimmings worth more than twenty pounds; when the wearer, even if he could pay for such a robe, had not money enough left to buy a hood! The poet earnestly desired that the nobles would forbid their men from such array as left no distinction between them and their lords. The poet Gower satirised the vices and errors of all orders of the state in a Latin poem, which he called *Vox Clamantis* (the voice of one who clamours): it was intended to set forth all the occasions of agitation that prevailed through the country.

It appears that Richard, when about to be married to the sister of the French king, wished to emulate the magnificent entertainments which were common at Paris. To this end, in the autumn of 1396, he proclaimed a grand tournament to be held in London; and many foreign knights accepted the invitation to attend it. The ceremony began at three o'clock on the *Sunday* afternoon: the appointed place was Smithfield. Sixty ladies of rank,

dressed in the richest style of the day, rode on palfreys, one after the other, each leading by a silver chain a knight completely armed for tilting. When they reached the course, the ladies dismounted and took their places among the spectators, and the knights pursued their warlike sport till it was dark. All then adjourned to a sumptuous banquet, and then passed the night in dancing. The same amusements continued two more days and nights. Not long after these festivities, the king was guilty of a most dreadful crime—the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. There had been many quarrels between them; but it appears that Richard had grown more and more jealous of his uncle's popularity, and knew that he was despised by him for not being warlike: there was, however, no recent, or particular cause of offence, at the time that the king, in the most deliberate manner, contrived the death of this near relation. He went with his retinue to the duke's residence at Pleshy, near London, and was honourably received by his uncle, with the duchess and her children. They had taken their supper; but they spread a table for the king, and he took a little. He then said, "Fair uncle! have your horses saddled, but not all; only five or six; you must accompany me to London; we shall find there my uncles Lancaster and York; and I mean to be governed by your advice, on a request they intend to make to me." The unsuspecting duke readily assented; and, in the king's presence, took leave of his wife and children whom he was never to see again, and, with only eight attendants, rode off with the royal party. The king rode fast, conversing with the duke on various subjects, and at last pushed on before him. An officer then came up to Gloucester, with a large body of horsemen, and said, "I arrest you in the king's name." The duke cried out to the king; but, his object being accomplished, he was probably out of hearing. The unhappy victim of treachery was carried to Calais; and, in an inn of that city, was suffocated under a feather-bed, by the king's command. About the same time, the king chose to be present at the execution of the Earl of Arundel, whom he had got into his hands by artifice. But, after this event, conscience so disturbed him that, when he attempted to sleep, he thought that the deceased nobleman stood

before him with a threatening aspect. Hearing that the people deemed Arundel a martyr, as having resisted royal oppression, and that they made pilgrimages to his grave, he caused the body to be dug up, to see if the head had absolutely rejoined the neck, which was the miracle reported, and then levelled the place of burial that no one might find it. Afraid of every one around him, Richard procured a guard of 200 men from Cheshire: they attended him wherever he was, night or day, always armed in defence of his life: the violent conduct of his guards increased the dissatisfaction against the king.

It was at this crisis that Henry, then earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, stated in parliament that the Duke of Norfolk, when riding by his side in a friendly journey, had revealed to him that the king plotted the destruction of themselves, Lancaster, and many others, on account of offences, for which long before he had sworn to pardon them. He affected to consider Norfolk's communications slanders against the king, but he had committed the whole conversation to writing, and read it to the house. Norfolk, who had been privy to Gloucester's murder, and to other of the king's cruel acts, probably little expected this frank behaviour from the Earl of Derby, and as it endangered himself with the king, he rose up and denied that he had given such a report. Henry, thereupon, challenged him to a trial of truth, in battle; and the day for the judicial combat, after being often postponed by the king, was at last fixed for September 16, at Coventry. The adversaries appeared in the most splendid array, and Richard with all his peers, and 10,000 armed men, came to the appointed place. Henry of Lancaster sat in a chair of green velvet, his opponent, in one of crimson, curtained with damask; both swore on the gospels that their quarrel was true and just; the Marshal of England then measured their spears, to see if they were of equal length, and a herald proclaimed that the chairs should be removed, and the combatants mount their horses. Henry had a white courser, barbed with blue and green velvet, embroidered with swans and antelopes of goldsmith's work; Norfolk's horse was adorned with crimson velvet, embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry trees. Just as the trumpet sounded, and the combatants were approaching each other,

the herald, by the king's command, called out to halt, and their spears were taken from them. Richard was probably more afraid of the results of the combat than the warriors who were prepared for it: if Henry had conquered, Norfolk's dying words might have confirmed his statements: he wished also to get rid of both; and he had devised a plan, which was a sentence of banishment, to Henry for ten years, to Norfolk for life. Shortly after Lancaster had departed, the king made his banishment perpetual, and began in good earnest to act the tyrant: he threatened seventeen courtiers with punishment for offences against his favourites committed eleven years before, and banished the popular Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Percy, his son, and confiscated their estates, because they excused themselves from attending him, understanding that he meditated their destruction. Having thus alienated the affections of the English, he went to Ireland with his army to quell a rebellion, raised by one Mac More, who had assumed the title of "Excelling king and lord of Ireland the Great!" In this campaign, Richard proved that he was not destitute of martial spirit and vigour; the Irish were still in a very wild and savage state, and their shouts might be heard a league off, but, as Richard and his soldiers advanced, they retired, and, by sudden assaults in the narrow passes, did much mischief. Through the want of provisions, the king was obliged to lead his army to Dublin, and there he remained for six weeks, sending out parties in quest of Mac More, and, because of bad weather, hearing no news from England. During his absence, measures had been taken for a revolution; Henry of Lancaster was fixed upon as king; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the disguise of a pilgrim, was the messenger who waited upon him at Paris, to invite him to England. His father had died, and he was now duke. At first he gave the primate no answer, but carelessly leaned out of a window looking into some gardens: at length he agreed to consult his friends, and upon farther advice he forsook the French court, where he could not openly reveal his designs, the king's sister being queen of England. It was from Bretagne that he sailed with only three ships, but on landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, he was soon joined by the Percys, and other dissatisfied lords, and shortly after found himself at the

head of 60,000 men. The wind which had prevented the sailing of a vessel to Ireland had now changed, and Richard, to his surprise, heard of his rival's progress, and that the archbishop had exhorted the people to insurrection, saying he had received a papal bull promising remission of sins to all who should engage in it. The Earl of Salisbury, a firm friend to Richard, proposed to cross the sea before him, and to collect the Welsh; and he set out for that purpose, the king promising to follow in a few days. Salisbury gathered from Wales and Cheshire about 40,000 men; but, the king not arriving, the greater part of them dispersed, on hearing of Lancaster's superior force. Salisbury entreated them in vain to wait, and wept at the idea that he should be suspected of treason to his king; not a hundred men remained with him; some withdrew to Henry, the rest to their homes. Richard, on landing at Milford Haven, perceived the state of public feeling, and in the habit of a friar minor, he departed thence with a few attendants at midnight. They reached Conway Castle at break of day, and there the loyal Salisbury awaited them. They wept and lamented together, and the earl greatly blamed those who had detained his lord in Ireland. Richard earnestly implored the mercy of God in his misery, and at the same time vindicated his whole previous course, and asserted that he had never brought evil upon any one who did not deserve it. At this melancholy meeting, it was agreed that the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, who had been the king's faithful companions, should go to Henry of Lancaster; and when they had set off, Richard departed to Beaumaris Castle, but not thinking it sufficiently secure, soon left it for the impregnable fortress of Carnarvon. It was, however, without garrison or provisions, and there was nothing but straw for him to lie upon, and, after enduring great privations for six days, he returned to Conway. The king's lamentations at this time were most bitter; much did he regret that he had left Ireland; he often called upon the Virgin Mary for help, and expressed his hopes of succour from his father-in-law, the king of France. Above all, he regretted his separation from Isabella, his beloved wife. His language was, "My mistress, my consort, my fair sister, my lady, my sole desire! Alas! Isabel! you were wont to be my joy, my hope, my consolation, robbed

of the pleasure of beholding thee, pain and affliction oppresses my heart. . . . From such a height to have fallen so low, and to lose my solace and my consort," &c.\* Richard's messengers were detained, and the Earl of Northumberland was employed by Henry to get the king into his power. He set off with 1400 men, promising to bring him either by reason or subtlety. Treachery was in both hearts. Northumberland, having concealed his followers beneath the cliffs near Rhydlan, gained admission to the king's presence, and swearing that he would only speak the truth, he said that Henry was ready to come on his knees to ask pardon, if the king would make him grand justiciary of the kingdom, punish those who had put his uncle to death, and be in future a good and true judge. The king retired to consult with his friends, and said to them his case was desperate, and he saw no other way but to grant these requests ; but, at the same time, he swore to them, that, whatever he might promise to Henry, he was determined he should die a bitter death, and that there were others whom he would flay alive, and whom all the gold in the land should not ransom. Richard then called for the earl, swore as solemnly as he had done to perform his part of the agreement, adding, " The man who perjures himself, knows that he must live in disgrace, and at last die from it in great sorrow." Both then devoutly heard mass, and set out together to meet Henry at Chester. The king desired the earl to go to Rhydlan, to get dinner prepared, and he immediately rejoined his armed men, and putting on his coat of mail, waited behind the rock till the royal party approached ; they did not exceed twenty-two, and were soon surrounded. Richard, seeing himself betrayed, burst forth into passionate lamentations, mingled with cries to the Virgin. Northumberland perfidiously apologised for the appearance of the armed men, as being necessary in the disturbed state of the country : the king

\* In the autumn of 1396, Richard had gone to Calais to meet Charles VI. and his daughter Isabella, a child in years, but of interesting appearance ; the two kings advanced to meet each other between two lines of English and French knights, 400 on each side ; as Richard and Charles with uncovered heads saluted, and took each other by the hand, the 800 knights fell on their knees and wept for joy ; the feasting on the occasion were splendid, and the marriage took place at Calais.

said he did not want them, and would return to Conway, but he was obliged to proceed. At Rhyddlan, there was a sumptuous dinner; at Flint, where they passed the night, the king was heard expressing his love for his queen, and lamenting that he should never see her more, desiring that her father might take revenge, cursing his enemies, and praying the Lord to guide his soul safe to heaven. Henry arrived at Flint with above 100,000 men, with Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, at their head, having floating banners, shining arms, and martial music. The host wound along between the sea and the lofty rocks, and the leaders arrived at the castle gates. Richard was at dinner, and four loyal followers, Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and two knights, stood to wait upon him: as if feeling he was no longer a king, he begged them to sit down with him, saying their kindness placed them in the same peril as himself. They sat at table to prolong the time, as Henry was not to enter till after they had dined. At last he appeared, and bent low in the usual style. The king then uncovered his head, and said, "Fair cousin of Lancaster, welcome." The duke again bowed nearly to the ground, and said, "My lord! I am come back sooner than you ordered me; I will tell you why. The common report of your people is, that for twenty or twenty-two years you have very badly and rigorously governed them, so that they are quite discontented. But, if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern better than you have done." The king replied, "Fair cousin! since it pleases you, it pleases us." The duke spoke to all the rest but Salisbury, and then cried out, "Bring the king's horses." Two miserable animals were led out. Richard was mounted on one, Salisbury on the other. As they issued from the castle, a peal of military music burst forth. In this state they entered Chester, the common people, with pretended reverence, mocking their fallen king. The duke gave him into the care of Gloucester and Arundel, who most hated him, because of the loss of their fathers. From the tower at Lichfield, wherein he slept, he tried to escape by the window; but he was, with much ill-treatment, brought back, and afterwards guarded night and day.

When Henry entered London, the cry of the populace was, "The good Duke of Lancaster for ever!" Flattery

and praise were heaped upon him; the acclamations with which he was received could not have been greater. At St. Paul's, he knelt to pray at the great altar, and then, for the first time, seeing his father's tomb at the side, wept much over it. Richard, whilst confined in the Tower, was waited upon by Henry, and the archbishop, and, in their presence, signed an act of cession of the crown to his cousin, absolving his people from their allegiance. It was said that he did it with a cheerful countenance, and that he took his golden ring from his finger and put it on the duke's, as a mark of his good-will.

The objections to Richard's reign were stated in a full parliament; and when Henry rose up and claimed the crown, all immediately assented, and the archbishop led him to the throne. He knelt and prayed awhile before it, and allowed himself to be seated on it amidst the shouts of the people. A deputation then went to Richard, renouncing all future obedience to him. He replied, "That he looked not thereafter; but he hoped that his cousin would be a good lord to him."

Henry was crowned with the usual solemnity, and the parliament adjudged Richard to a perpetual prison, to remain there secretly, in safe custody.

As soon as the revolution was complete, many murmured because of Henry's forbearing mercy towards Richard's adherents; he allowed Salisbury and others to live unmolested. Some of these conspired to assassinate the new king, but he heard of the plot, and eluded the attempt. They had dressed up an impostor to personate Richard,\* and were joined by many; but, finding Henry prepared to meet them with 20,000 men, they retreated towards Wales. At Cirencester they were defeated by the citizens, by whom Salisbury was taken and put to death: many were afterwards executed.

On Feb. 14, 1400, the death of Richard was announced. It took place at Pomfret Castle; but, under what circumstances, cannot be clearly known. Some believed that he died of hunger, either by voluntary abstinence, or through being left without food: it is possible the sufferings

\* It is not improbable that this was the person afterwards detained in Scotland under the name of Richard II.

of his mind had worn out his body. The royal corpse was exposed to public view in the metropolis, and then buried at Langley. It was afterwards removed by Henry V., and interred with great honour in Westminster Abbey: the tomb having been, in late years, accidentally opened, the skull was examined, and there was no mark of the violence which some persons, at the time, believed to have been used.

The Percys who had helped to raise Henry to the throne, in their subsequent quarrel with him, charged him thus:—"Thou didst cause our lord, the king, to be killed by hunger, thirst, and cold, for fifteen days and nights: horrible to be heard!" The Archbishop of York repeated the charge, but prefaced it by saying it was the vulgar report. Froissart mentions, that above 20,000 persons came to see the king's corpse, and that his head lay on a black cushion, with the face uncovered from the lower part of the forehead to the throat. The truth cannot now be known; but the whole history is full of mournful instruction, and convinces us at every turn, "Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth." "The good Queen Anne," in mercy, had been taken away from the evil to come.

In the sixteenth year of Richard II. was passed the famous statute called *Præmunire* (Lat. to provide for). It provided effectually against the usurpations of the Pope, and restrained many abuses, forbidding appeals to Rome, &c. under pain of banishment and forfeiture.

Leo, king of Armenia, visited England in this reign, and received from Richard the present of 1000 marks of gold in a gilt ship, with a grant of the same sum yearly. The poet Chaucer was patronised by King Richard, and received a pitcher of wine daily; but he was obliged to go abroad on account of the resentment of the clergy against his writings, and when he privately returned, he was taken and put in prison, and only released on making his submission. He died in 1400.

Robert II., king of Scotland, died in 1389, leaving the throne to his eldest son John, earl of Carrick. This prince had been lamed by the kick of a horse, and was so weak in mind that the power remained in the hands of his brother, the Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany.

John, at his accession, assumed the title of Robert III., as the people remembered that the monarchs of his name, whether in England, France, or Scotland, had all been unfortunate, and the name of Robert was endeared to them by the memory of Robert Bruce. For eight years after Robert III. ascended the throne, Scotland was preserved in peace with England, though remaining firmly leagued with France: the country was, however, constantly disquieted by the deadly feuds of contending chiefs, and it is said that every one did what was right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king. The government had so little ability to punish disorders, that when two clans were at variance with each other, the king could only settle the matter, by allowing, in his presence, a fight between thirty on each side. It took place in a beautiful meadow by the side of the Tay, and ended in the entire destruction of one party, and terrible injury to the other.

Some remarkable events connecting the affairs of Spain and Portugal with those of England, belong to the history of the times of Richard II.

John, the son of Henry of Trastamare, was crowned with his wife Leonora of Arragon, at Burgos, two years after the accession of the young King of England (1379). The Castilians were then acting in conjunction with the French, and a fleet, commanded by the Spanish admiral De Tover, crossed the Straits of Dover, and sailed up the Thames, to the great alarm of the Londoners. The enemy was soon driven away, but their spoil was considerable. The death of King John's first wife led him to seek in marriage Beatrice, the Infanta of Portugal, and he had scarcely wedded her, when Ferdinand, her father, died: thus a prospect was opened for the union of two countries, so closely connected by natural position. But the Portuguese were determined to have a native sovereign, and chose as their king, John, grandmaster of the Order of Avis, an illegitimate son of Peter I. In order to remove any doubt that might arise, it was affirmed that a miracle had established their right to alter the succession—that a babe, eight months old, had sat up in its cradle and exclaimed, "Don John, king of Portugal."

John of Castile determined to assert his wife's rights by force of arms, and assembled a large army: he met John

of Avis with a great and patriotic host at Aljubarotta; and the complete victory gained by the Portuguese confirmed Portugal as a separate kingdom: at no subsequent period has there been a similar opening for uniting it with Spain (1384). John of Avis was proclaimed anew on the field of victory, and his soldiers, as they raised him on their shields, hailed him as the father of his country, a title which he deservedly retained during his whole reign.

The long reign of Peter IV. (the Ceremonious) ended in 1386, and his son John succeeded to the kingdom of Arragon. Both the father and son were poets, and their court was the resort of all that was elegant and polite at this period. John was killed in 1401, in hunting a wolf. John in Castile, John in Portugal, and John in Arragon, were the kings cotemporary with Richard II.; and his uncle John of Gaunt, in right of his wife Constance, the daughter of Peter the Cruel, pretended to the title of king of Castile and Leon, and tried to enforce his claim. He seemed the more likely to be successful, because Philippa, his daughter by a first marriage, had become the wife of John of Portugal. The young Richard was probably glad to part with his uncle of Lancaster, and so much favoured his pretensions that, on his going to Spain, he gave him a golden crown. This crown, however, was never worn by the Duke of Lancaster, and continuance of war with the rival King of Castile was prevented by an amicable arrangement between them. Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster by Constance, was married to Henry, the heir of Castile and Leon; and the duke, satisfied with the throne being secured to his daughter, presented to the king the crown that he had intended to wear himself (1388). In 1390, John of Castile died from a fall in galloping over some ploughed fields, whilst reviewing some soldiers, and his son, Henry III., succeeded him at the age of eleven. He was called the Invalid, on account of his delicate health. At the age of sixteen, he evinced some spirit in taking the government into his own hands, and till the end of the century the whole of Spain enjoyed a peace which it rarely tasted.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Times of Richard II.*

## GERMANY AND ITALY.

WENCESLAUS, EMPEROR. — HIS IDLE, WICKED CHARACTER. — HIS IMPRISONMENT AND ESCAPE. — ELECTION OF AN ITALIAN POPE, URBAN VI. — THE FRENCH CARDINALS, BEING DISPLEASED WITH HIM, ELECT ANOTHER, CLEMENT VII. — DIVISION OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS BETWEEN THE RIVAL POPES, ONE AT ROME, THE OTHER AT AVIGNON. — UNHAPPY END OF JOAN, QUEEN OF NAPLES. — EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM OF DOUBLE POPES. — STATE OF ITALY. — DEMOCRACY ASSUMES A MODIFIED FORM IN FLORENCE AND OTHER REPUBLICS. — USURPATION AND HORRIBLE CRUELITIES OF THE TYRANT OF MILAN. — THE MISCONDUCT AND SLOTH OF WENCESLAUS LEAD TO GREAT TROUBLES, AND END IN HIS DEPOSITION — CHARACTER AND DEATH OF CLEMENT VII. — HE IS SUCCEEDED AT AVIGNON BY BENEDICT XIII. — THE JUBILEE OF 1400. — BONIFACE IX. DIES, LIKE HIS RIVAL, CLEMENT, FROM THE EFFECTS OF PASSION.

WENCESLAUS, eldest son of Charles IV., succeeded his father as king of Bohemia, in 1378, and held the title of emperor during the reign of Richard II., who, as we have seen, became his brother-in-law.

A pleasing connection may be traced between England and Bohemia in these days, inasmuch as Jerome Faulfisch, a gentleman of Bohemia, returning home after a sojourn in Oxford, carried with him the doctrines of Wickliffe; and the good seed falling into prepared ground brought forth abundant fruit. It is even probable that the gospel reached Sophia of Bavaria, the wife of the emperor. The celebrated John Huss was appointed her confessor, in the year 1400, and she highly esteemed him. The empress greatly needed heavenly consolation under the bitterness of her trials as the partner of Wenceslaus: no man could be more degraded in personal character.

Wenceslaus preferred a residence in Prague; because he possessed kingly power in Bohemia, whilst his authority in Germany was only titular: when summoned by the German princes to attend a diet, in which important public business was to be transacted, he replied with indolent contempt, he had done all that could be expected from a king of the Romans in accepting the crown; but that if the princes required his aid, it was more fit they should come to him, than that he should go to them. Always eating and drinking to excess, it was seldom that Wenceslaus could speak with reason, and he never spoke wisely. When reprov'd by his queen for frequenting the lowest places of resort, he threatened that if she ever complained again, he would take her as his companion. To all his sensual vices he soon added the crime of murder. Sending for his wife's confessor, he insisted on knowing what disclosures the queen had made to him; and when neither promises, threats, nor imprisonment, would move the faithful priest to repeat confidential communications, Wenceslaus caused him to be thrown from the bridge of Prague into the river. After such an event, it must have required some courage to accept the office of confessor to the queen. This murder was followed by others; and the wanton destruction of two nobles, and two citizens, caused an insurrection of the inhabitants of the capital, and the emperor was seized, and thrown into one of the public dungeons. During four months, he was kept on bread and water, and not allowed a change of dress, or any other indulgence denied to common malefactors; but this severity produced no change in the heart of the sufferer. Having with some difficulty obtained leave to wash in the public bath, he was conducted thither by four guards, who watched on the margin of the water. It was the custom of the Bohemians for men and women to bathe together, and at this moment a woman happened to be in the bath. It was Susan, one of his former low acquaintances, and, after exchanging a few words, they stepped together into a fisherman's boat, which was on the bank of the river near the bath, and rowed to a fortress on the other side, originally constructed by the emperor as a place of refuge against the fury of the mob. Being welcomed by the garrison, Wenceslaus and his companion rejoiced in an escape which had probably

been previously arranged; they removed to a fortress still farther from the capital; but, whilst the emperor was one day diverting himself in the neighbourhood, he was retaken, and thrown again into the dungeon of the citadel of Prague. Being shortly afterwards transferred, for greater security, to a prison in Austria, he was again successful in making his escape: his enlargement was an occasion of added misery to himself, and his subjects, and he took ample revenge for the treatment that he had received.

The season of the accession of Wenceslaus to the empire was marked by a violent contest concerning the election of a pope. At the death of Gregory XI. (March 1377), the Romans being fearful of losing the gain accruing to their city, from its again becoming the residence of a bishop, tumultuously surrounded the conclave of cardinals, and threatened them with death if they did not choose an Italian pope. Six of the twenty-two, then forming the chapter of cardinals, still remained at Avignon; and of those who took counsel together at Rome, eleven were French, one a Spaniard, and only the remaining four Italians. Notwithstanding their wish to choose another Frenchman, dread of popular violence disposed them to name an Italian; and the Archbishop of Bari was elevated to the papal chair, with the usual formalities, under the name of Urban VI. This pontiff, though an Italian, had long resided in France; and it was hoped he might please both parties. He was solemnly crowned on the 18th April, 1378, in the presence of the cardinals residing at Rome; and they wrote on the morrow to their colleagues at Avignon, to engage them to acknowledge Urban, saying that he was freely elected by them, "under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost." In an inferior situation, Urban had appeared gentle and modest; but, on being raised to the rank of pope, all the evil of his nature was drawn forth: he became so violent, and so contemptuous of others, that he soon quarrelled with all the cardinals; and, under pretence of leaving Rome, because of the summer heats, they all departed to Fondi; and, on the 9th of August, declared the papal see vacant, avowing that their former election had been made under fear of the Romans. On the 20th of September, they proceeded to the election of Robert of

Geneva, the sanguinary cardinal who had presided at the massacre of the people of Cesena: he took the name of Clement VII.; and in establishing himself at Naples, came under the protection of Queen Joan, a woman of as barbarous a disposition as himself. This kingdom, however, was in so disorderly a state, that he was obliged to quit it in the following year; and, with his cardinals, he took up his abode at Avignon. Urban VII., being deserted by all the cardinals, denounced them as schismatics, and elected in their room a new and more powerful body. But he agreed no better with the second college than the first; and having accused them of conspiracy, he caused many to be put to the torture in his presence, and others, by his orders, were thrown into the sea in sacks, and drowned. In the midst of all this, Urban kept up a profession of devotion; and he recited aloud in his garden the prayers from his breviary, whilst six of the cardinals, within his hearing, were groaning on the rack. Only one of them, in the violence of his torments, owned to the truth of the accusation laid against them, namely, that they had intended to seize upon the Pope's person, and to judge and condemn him as a heretic. In character, there seemed nothing to choose between the rival Popes; and, indeed, Christendom had been so long used to hear of the crimes of its ecclesiastical chiefs, that character was rarely a point in question. Urban VI. had been elected according to existing laws, and those who supported him called themselves the orthodox. The nations, however, were so equally divided in their obedience between Urban and his successors at Rome, and Clement and his successors at Avignon, that both alike rejected the name of anti-popes; and during forty years there was a succession of *double* Popes. This division of interests in the Latin Church is usually denominated *the great schism of the West*. Rome, with the chief Italian states, Germany, and the Netherlands, the northern kingdoms, England, and Portugal, adhered to the Roman Popes; those of Avignon were obeyed by Scotland, France, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, Savoy, Sicily, and Cyprus.

The Romans were disappointed in the loss of the honour and tribute which they expected to be paid by the important kingdoms of France and Spain; and though Urban

proclaimed two jubilees in the course of ten years, to satisfy their avarice, the greatest excitement prevailed.

Wenceslaus commissioned his vicar-general in Italy to inquire into the causes of the schism, and to protect the Pope who had been duly elected. He was present at diets, held both at Nuremberg and at Frankfort, to inquire into the matter; for common as anti-popes had been, and difficult as it had sometimes been to decide among so many pretenders who should be the true Pope, two Popes had never till now been acknowledged in Christendom: it seemed an entire contradiction to the assumption of a supreme headship in the Church, as no body could properly have two heads. At Frankfort, Urban VI. was acknowledged by all the German princes; and they consequently agreed to protect him. After the dissolution of the diet, the emperor would not return to Bohemia, where the plague was raging, but went to reside at Aix-la-Chapelle: there he continued to indulge in the grossest pleasures, and so far neglected public affairs, that the princes and the towns of the empire leagued together, as they pleased, for mutual defence. It was during the emperor's sojourn in Germany that the unhappy Queen of Naples came to the end of her wicked career. Urban VI. excommunicated and deposed her for taking part with his rival, and named as her successor, her cousin, Charles of Durazzo, who had been educated at the court of Louis the Great of Hungary. Louis, ever preserving in his memory the murder of his brother, was glad to furnish the means for carrying out the Pope's sentence. He entrusted Charles of Durazzo with an army; and the young prince, entering Naples without opposition, in July, 1381, proclaimed himself king, under the name of Charles III. The queen was not sufficiently beloved to have a single defender; and she surrendered five weeks afterwards. After detaining her nine months in prison, Charles caused her to be smothered under a bed, understanding that she had permitted her husband to be murdered in a similar way. Louis of Hungary died in 1382, leaving his dominions to a daughter, who, though a minor, was saluted as *King* Mary, out of respect for her father. Urban VI., through his violent temper, made the Romans his enemies, and quarrelled with the new sovereign of Naples, who had been named

by himself. In a tumult of the people, he was obliged to leave the Vatican; and after exhibiting his weakness and rage through all Italy, he fixed his court at Perugia, intending, with the troops in his pay, to make war upon Naples. Being greatly pressed to return to Rome, he set out for that city; but he never recovered from the effects of a fall from his mule during the journey. He died in October, 1389, and his memory was justly odious. One author says, no man could be found that would shed a tear for him.

In the furious contests between Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rival Popes were brought more fully to light: and many, probably, were strengthened by existing facts to bear testimony against the whole ungodly system. It was this schism, also, which caused the decay of papal authority in the minds of multitudes, who did not see the extent of the evil with which they were associated. The fourteen cardinals in the obedience of Urban VI. gave his vacant seat to a Neapolitan among them, who was crowned under the name of Boniface IX. The eighth Boniface was in power at the close of the thirteenth century, the ninth Boniface, at the end of the fourteenth century: the latter was the first of the Popes whose monuments, in his own day, had the tiara surmounted with a triple crown.

It is difficult to represent the state of Italy during the reign of the feeble Wenceslaus; but some few particulars may furnish us with an idea of its wretched condition. This fair land seems to have been made the scene of every variety of experiment in the art of governing. Despotism in its worst, and in its mildest, forms; simple monarchy; aristocracy; republicanism in every shape; with the peculiar influence of the papal power—all were struggling at once, either to obtain the pre-eminence, or to preserve an existence in the ever-changing scene. The year 1378 was distinguished by other events besides the accession of Wenceslaus, and the schism of double Popes: it was then that a dreadful naval war began between the republics of Venice and Genoa—a war in which both were greatly exhausted, and which left them at its close, in 1381, much in the same relations with each other as before it began.

In 1378, also, violent discord broke out at Florence, the

lower artisans being discontented that the magistrates were only chosen from among the higher orders of tradesmen: the families of some of the *greater arts*, as they were called, being enriched by commerce, began to rival princes in their magnificence, and thus obtained the new appellation of *nobles of the people*. But the workmen, dyers, weavers, and fullers, belonging to the *woollen art*, complained that they had no share in the government; and finding the *signoria* would not yield to their demands, the working population laid siege to the palace, and made themselves masters of the government, and of the city. It happened that a wool-carder named Lando, in a short waistcoat and barefooted, walked at the head of the people, carrying the *gonfalon* of the state which he had taken from the palace; the crowd, from this accidental circumstance, proclaimed him gonfalonier. Lando had talents and firmness sufficient for the restoration of order, but he did not long retain his power; and one of the aristocrats who succeeded him in the government belonged to a family just then rising into notice—that of the Medici. He, and his assistants, succeeded in reconstituting the previous order of things; and the *nobles of the people* supplied magistrates to the republic from that time forwards. It was found by experience that education, and the leisure which gives time for reflection, are two conditions essential to the formation of characters fitted to take the direction of public affairs. Persons whose fortune gave them the means of intellectual improvement, and those who were obliged to devote their whole time to labour for the sake of a livelihood, were naturally distinguished from each other at Florence, as elsewhere. Similar revolutions to that which shook the republic of Florence, took place in the other Italian republics about the same time: they ended, too, much in the same way: those who had put aside the aristocracy of birth, were forced to acknowledge an aristocracy of wealth, or of talent; and thus some plebeian families were always exalted above the rest. In the history of these times, republicanism ever appears in a favourable light by the side of despotism, and it was between these opposite forms of government that the struggle lay; all the energies of the human mind were cramped by the latter, if sometimes unduly excited by the former. Of the

two Visconti, who had excited such terror by their tyrannical sway over the Milanese territory, Galeazzo died in 1378; and his brother Barnabas, growing old, divided his cities amongst his children. Galeazzo left a son named John, who married a sister of Charles V. of France. Barnabas wished to deprive this nephew of his paternal inheritance, to divide it among his children; and John Galeazzo, knowing the plots that were formed against him, shut himself up with a strong guard in his castle of Pavia. In this situation, he affected the greatest devotion; was always at prayers, with a rosary in his hand, or surrounded by monks: his conversation was about pilgrimages and ceremonies. In all this, he was acting a deeply hypocritical part, impressing his uncle with the idea that he was neither desirous, nor capable, of reigning. In May, 1385, John Galeazzo sent to his uncle, informing him that being on a pilgrimage to a shrine near Milan, he would see him by the way. Barnabas was put off his guard, and came out with his two sons to salute the supposed pilgrim. He came with a number of armed horsemen, and pretending that he alone had cause to fear, started at every sudden motion near him. On meeting his uncle, he dismounted and embraced him; but, whilst he held the aged tyrant in his arms, he gave the command to his guards in German, and Barnabas with his sons were arrested and thrown into prison. John Galeazzo made many attempts to poison his uncle; but he lingered in his dungeon till the close of the year: no one had loved or respected him, and all over whom he had reigned were soon at the feet of John Galeazzo, though they gained nothing by the exchange of masters. As if conscious that he was the enemy of the whole world, the new tyrant of Milan took the most remarkable precautions to defend himself from the attacks which he expected. Surrounded with guards, possessed of immense wealth, and unlimited power, he was himself the prey of nervous terror. One method in which he obtained power over all the other tyrants of Italy, was by involving them in crimes, which made them hateful to their own kindred and people, and left them dependent on him alone. But the chief strength of the tyrant of Milan lay in the companies of adventurers which he was able to hire for military service, and particularly in the engagement of

a newly trained Italian corps, which went under the name of St. George. This latter company, being in the service of Urban VI., defeated the foreign troops hired by Clement VII. to support his cause in Italy. The Germans, perceiving with jealousy the increasing power of John Galeazzo Visconti, pressed Wenceslaus to make war upon a man who was depriving him of all his imperial rights in Italy. But the emperor, after some vain menaces, gave the tyrant to understand that, for the sake of gold, he would willingly sanction his usurpations; and, in fact, for the sum of 100,000 florins, he granted him an imperial bull, whereby he was installed as duke of Milan and count of Pavia: twenty-six cities and their territory were included in the investiture (May 1, 1395).

After making himself master of all Lombardy, and of the chief cities of Tuscany, exclusive of Florence, John Galeazzo cut off that city from all communications with the sea. The ruin of the republic seemed at hand, when the plague, which seemed to increase all its calamities, carried off its worst enemy. John Galeazzo had shut himself up in a castle, to avoid all communication with man; but the hand of God found him, and he fell under the pestilence, in 1402.

The conduct of Wenceslaus with respect to the tyrant of Milan, was one of the causes that conduced to the entire downfall of his imperial power. Germany was at this period in such a condition, that the most powerful of emperors might have found it difficult to rule: for him it was impossible. The spirit of confederation among the cities on the one hand, and among the nobles on the other, occasioned two opposite interests in the empire: the defenders of the former issued from their walls from time to time and rased the castles of the nobles, without regard to the representation that many of them were not the strongholds of robbers: they also encouraged the peasantry to flee from their feudal lords, and settle in the towns. Wenceslaus favoured one party, or the other, according to his own caprice at the moment; but, at length, he engaged the deputies of both confederations to meet; and, for the public good, they swore to maintain peace for a certain period. It was at this time that the members of the Germanic confederation were divided into

four circles:—1. Saxony, Upper and Lower; 2. the Rhenish provinces from Basle to Holland; 3. Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia; 4. Thuringia and Franconia. In one year the peace was broken by the Duke of Bavaria, who took prisoner the Archbishop of Salsburg, a member of the municipal league. Wenceslaus then encouraged the cities to take up arms, and the war became general: the military classes combining, the cities of the league were at length forced to purchase peace. Wenceslaus, the unwilling tool of the princes, was then obliged to pronounce the dissolution of the confederacy; and it was agreed that, for six years, four deputies sent by the nobles, and four by the cities, should, with a president named by the emperor, form a lasting tribunal for the decision of all disputes. As soon as he was released from his attendance at a diet, Wenceslaus eagerly returned to his low habits; and the nation, believing him incorrigible, willingly consented to his deposition. Both the Popes, moreover, were hostile to Wenceslaus, as he had suggested that a new election would be the best way of terminating the schism. In 1400, a diet of princes cited the emperor before them, and on his non-appearance declared the throne vacant.

Wenceslaus is said to have expressed no displeasure at the act; but true to his own degrading propensities, he begged that the imperial cities, as a last mark of their fidelity, would send him some butts of their best wine. In his own kingdom of Bohemia, Wenceslaus reigned, or rather revelled, for nineteen years after his deposition from the empire: that event took place the year after the dethronement of his brother-in-law, Richard II.

We need only add a few particulars concerning the double Popes to the end of this century. Clement VII., after his settlement at Avignon, was chiefly distinguished by his excessive rapaciousness. The University of Paris struggled for many years to defend the Gallican Church from the consequences of papal avarice, and at last composed a memorial on the subject, which excited the Pope to such a degree that his anger brought on a fit of apoplexy, which caused his death: he left in his coffers 300,000 gold crowns (A. D. 1394).

Peter de Luna, a Spanish cardinal of illustrious family, who had assisted in the election of Clement VII., was ap-

pointed to succeed him : he took the name of Benedict XIII. Before his elevation, he was required to take an oath that he would do everything in his power to promote a reunion in the Romish Church ; even to abdicate, if it should be judged necessary : he was, however, little disposed to fulfil this solemn promise.

In the year 1400, Boniface IX. from Rome, and Benedict XIII. from Avignon, sent out their bulls, promising indulgences to all who should celebrate the jubilee. The adherents of both the Popes quickly thronged the roads leading to Rome ; but Boniface, with as little policy as humanity, suffered his troops to maltreat and insult the pilgrims who did not acknowledge his supremacy ; he also allowed the sick of Benedict's party to die in the streets without assistance. In 1404, some ambassadors sent from Benedict disputed with Boniface in the consistory ; and he died from the effects of passion, as Clement VII. had done before him. Boniface, like his cotemporary at Avignon, is charged with avarice ; but his ruling desire was the advancement of his family.

The Popes were seldom without children ; but, because of the Romish system, they dared not acknowledge them : a marriage, lawful in God's sight, would have been accounted an entire disqualification for the popedom. But the love of their offspring was common to the Popes as to other parents ; and it often happened, that when they wished to lavish their favours on their illegitimate children, they brought them forwards under pretence of other relationship. Some of the Popes, indeed, had nephews, whom they desired to enrich and exalt ; but the so-called nephews were sometimes their sons. *Nepotism*, which literally means the love of nephews, is charged upon many of the Popes as a particular vice ; and it appears that their fondness for their own heirs led to the iniquitous accumulation of treasure, and often to other crimes. Boniface IX. was distinguished for nepotism ; he was more of a warrior than a bishop, and reconquered all the states which his predecessor had lost : at Rome, he established his power by the execution of those who resisted it.

When we remember, that men steeped in such crimes and vices as the Popes assumed to be the representatives of God upon earth, and that the common style of address

adopted towards them was "*Your Holiness*," we seem to realise the excessive blindness that had happened to the upholders of the papal system; and how fruitful in evil were its leading principles. The idea of official holiness, connected with the very name of pope, seemed, as it were, to release them from all feeling of responsibility to God or man; and the many ways in which it was imagined that a pope could cover the sins of others, gave greater licence to human iniquity; and, unless God in his sovereign grace interfered, completely deadened the conscience.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *Sketch of Poland to the end of the Times of Richard II.*

REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF POLAND. — BOLESLAUS THE GREAT. — MIECSLAUS THE IDLE. — CASIMIR THE RESTORER. — BOLESLAUS THE BOLD. — HIS MURDER OF THE BISHOP OF CRACOW LEADS TO HIS DETHRONEMENT, AND THE RULERS OF POLAND FOR MORE THAN 200 YEARS LOSE THE TITLE OF KING. — HISTORY OF BOLESLAUS WRYMOUTH. — HIS PILGRIMAGES AND BATTLES. — CASIMIR THE JUST. — LESKO THE WHITE. — RAVAGES OF THE TARTARS IN THE REIGN OF BOLESLAUS THE CHASTE. — LESKO THE BLACK. — POLAND SAVED FROM ANARCHY IN THE REVIVAL OF THE ROYAL DIGNITY IN PREMIZLAUS, WHO IS CROWNED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF GNESEN. — REIGN OF CASIMIR THE GREAT. — THROUGH HIS JEWISH WIFE, ESTHER, THE JEWS BECOME A PRIVILEGED PEOPLE IN POLAND. — LOUIS THE GREAT OF HUNGARY BECOMES KING OF POLAND. — HIS UNPOPULARITY LEADS HIM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE NOBILITY, WHICH STILL FARTHER LIMIT THE ROYAL POWER. — REIGN OF HEDWIG, THE DAUGHTER OF LOUIS. — SHE MARRIES JAGELLO, THE PAGAN DUKE OF LITHUANIA, WHO IS BAPTIZED BY THE NAME OF LADISLAUS, AND ATTEMPTS THE CONVERSION OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.

THE history of Poland begins, at this period, to be so closely interwoven with that of the Germanic states, and of

Italy, that it is necessary to take a review of the revolutions it had undergone up to the close of the fourteenth century. It was in A. D. 1000, that the Emperor Otho III. gave to Boleslaus, duke of Poland, the regal title.\* Historians give to this first king the title of Great; his own subjects called him "Father," the most honourable name that can be bestowed on any monarch. In the latter years of his reign he looked back on his ambitious wars with regret, and by the most vigilant care tried to repair the mischiefs they had occasioned. In 1025, he died, after exhorting his son to love God, and to govern his subjects by love rather than fear. This son was Miecslaus II., surnamed the Idle. He was a Sardanapalus in character, and died from the effects of his own sensual habits, becoming deranged before the close of his life (1034). His young son, Casimir, was left to the care of Rixa, his mother; but the Poles despised her as a woman, and a German. Dreadful anarchy ensued, during which the queen and her son fled to the court of their kinsman, the Emperor Conrad II. Poland then became a prey to the Bohemians, the Russians, and her own disorderly peasants; thousands on thousands were massacred; and the nation seemed about to be blotted out, when the Archbishop of Gnesen† convened an assembly, wherein it was agreed that Casimir should be placed on his father's throne. A deputation of Poles waited on Rixa, at the imperial court; but, having no confidence in a nation so barbarous, she was with difficulty persuaded to mention the place of her son's retreat: it was the quiet abbey of Clugni. The deputies repaired thither; and, with tears, entreated the monk of royal birth to save his country from ruin. "We come to thee, dearest prince," they said, "in the name of all the bishops and nobles of the kingdom, since thou alone canst restore our country, and thy rightful heritage."

The young prince's heart was touched by their address, and having permitted them to apply to the Pope, he obtained freedom from his monastic vows, and quitting his cell for the throne of his fathers, he was received with enthusiastic expressions of joy. Casimir I., surnamed the Restorer, reigned from 1041 to 1058. He began by con-

\* See Vol. II. p. 135.

† Now called Gnesna.

ciliating the Russian sovereign Yaroslav, whose sister he married, but the obstinate rebellion carried on in one of his chief provinces made him regret that he had left his quiet cell. He, however, took the field, fought like the meanest soldier, and in exposing his life was only saved by the attachment of his followers. At last he was entirely successful: Pomerania was tranquilised; Silesia rendered obedience; Prussia paid him tribute; Hungary sought his alliance; and the continued enmity of Bohemia was restrained by Henry III., Casimir's imperial ally. Being freed from war, Casimir set himself to reform the manners of the people, and in his plans he was assisted by twelve monks, whom he had brought from Clugni. He built for them two monasteries, one near Cracow, the other on the banks of the Oder, in Silesia; and through their efforts, and those of the king, paganism, which still lingered in many parts of Poland, was finally abolished. The memory of Casimir is still dear to the Poles. The son and successor of Casimir was Boleslaus II., surnamed the Bold. In losing his father at the age of sixteen, he was left without a useful guide, and his whole subsequent life was most unfortunate. It is this king to whom we referred in our account of Russia,\* as also in the times of Gregory VII.† The chief events of his reign were the Russian war, and some violent acts towards the clergy. No man or woman was safe in the presence of this wicked king, unless they would participate in his evil doings; and knowing his practices, Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, mildly urged him to amend. Finding exhortation ineffectual, the prelate first excommunicated the king, and then, rashly throwing an interdict over the city, he retired beyond the Vistula. Thither Boleslaus followed him with an armed force; and, with his own weapon, he dashed out the brains of the zealous bishop, just as he had finished the performance of the mass. This act brought upon the king and his people an interdict from the Pope, and, in fear of assassination, Boleslaus fled from his country; and, on the refusal of protection from the King of Hungary, he sank into such complete obscurity, that historians are not agreed as to how and where he ended his days. One year after the departure of Boleslaus, his brother Ladislaus assumed the

\* Vol. II. p. 217.

† Vol. II. p. 263.

government, and on his humble application to Rome for the removal of the interdict, the church ceremonial was restored to Poland: Gregory VII., however, refused to anoint Ladislaus the royal title; and, as no Polish bishop dared to anoint him king, he ruled with the name of duke. From this era (1082), the title of king was lost in Poland for more than two hundred years; and it appears that the ducal sovereigns did not command so much respect, either at home or abroad, as their predecessors the kings. We will glance at the history of some of the more distinguished.

Ladislaus was surnamed the Careless, probably because of his weakness and misfortune in public affairs, and especially in war; but he was remarkable, beyond any prince of his time, for humanity and benevolence. He divided the duchy between his two sons; Boleslaus III., surnamed Wrymouth, and Sbignew. The ambition of the latter occasioned civil war, and though in the course of it the elder often behaved with generosity towards the younger, he was at last prevailed upon to consent to his being put to death. He then began to occupy himself in attempts to atone for the act, in all the ways prescribed in this ignorant age. He undertook to convert the pagans of Pomerania, both by the sword, and by sending them ecclesiastics; he underwent severe penance, built churches and monasteries, and made pilgrimages. One of the most remarkable of these was to the shrine of a certain St. Gilles, revered in Languedoc, through whose intercession Boleslaus was told that his mother had given him birth. The journey was long, but the whole way the duke practised various austerities, standing daily barefoot in the churches near which he passed, in order to go through the appointed prayers, and to offer gifts: by night also he watched and prayed, and, on reaching the tomb of the saint, he lay prostrate before it fifteen successive days. But all these ceremonies and superstitions did not break the spirit of the duke; he was accounted the most warlike prince of his age, and in battle he is said to have fought with the fury of a demon. The Bohemians, the Pomeranians, the Hungarians, the Russians, and even the imperial forces, suffered defeat from the Poles under the command of Boleslaus Wrymouth; in forty-seven battles he was the victor. But in the last four years of his life he was less successful, and at length, when fight-

ing with an army of Russians and Hungarians, much more numerous than his own forces, the sudden retreat of one of his generals caused a complete defeat. The duke's first impulse was to pronounce sentence of death upon the cowardly officer; but, after a little reflection, he resolved to reprove him by sending him the present of a hare's skin, a spindle, and a distaff: probably he meant to express that one who had fled like a timorous hare was more fit to spin with women, than to handle the sword again. The insult was so intolerable to the noble spirit of the Pole, that he hung himself; and Boleslaus was so much affected by the unwonted defeat, that he only survived it a year. From the death of Boleslaus III. (1139), till the restoration of the monarchy, there is little in the history of Poland worthy of note.

Casimir II. was entitled the Just, because of his reformation of abuses, his wise laws, and mild administration. His son Lesko, called the White, because of his fair complexion, was a prince of good character, but he had so little energy, that morals sunk to the lowest point in his reign. It was said of him, that had he never reigned, he would have been thought eminently worthy of reigning. It was in the reign of his son, Boleslaus V., surnamed the Chaste, that the Tartars commenced their ravages in Poland. Fire and blood marked their whole course, and Boleslaus, with thousands of his subjects, fled before them. When the enemy retired, the king came forth from the monastery in which he had taken refuge, but, of the twenty-four vassal chiefs who shared the country among them, scarcely one would obey him. At length, however, he overcame his enemies, and died in peace, celebrated for his devotion and charity: his moral habits were very different to those of the generality of Polish rulers. As he left no children, Lesko, surnamed the Black, a duke of the royal family, succeeded him; but, through the contests of other princes of the blood, Poland was reduced to such a state of anarchy, that its very existence as a nation was endangered. A king was then the object of desire, and, among the various pretenders, Premislaus was chosen to bear the long-lost title. He would not condescend to ask the Pope to confer the royal dignity, but he was crowned by the Archbishop of Gnesen (A. D. 1295). The office of

crowning the succeeding monarchs was thenceforth attached to the see of Gnesen. After a reign of seven years, occupied in restoring national prosperity, Premislaus was murdered in his bed by his cousin, the Margrave of Anhalt: it was remarked as a divine judgment, that, within twenty years, the assassin's house, though it had consisted of twelve nobles, ceased to exist.

Ladislaus, the next king, was surnamed the Short; he reigned from 1306 to 1333, but was once deposed on account of his tyranny. His military expeditions were conducted more as a captain of banditti than a knight; they were very murderous, and women were treated in a dreadful manner. The Teutonic knights, who, after long fighting with the pagans, settled in Pomerania, were the chief persons with whom Ladislaus contended; and, in dying, he exhorted his son rather to bury himself under the ruins of the throne, than to suffer those knights to keep that territory. His son was Casimir the Third, surnamed the Great, and his father having procured for him in marriage the daughter of the Duke of Lithuania, the bride brought as her dowry 24,000 Polish captives, who had been languishing in cruel bondage. Casimir reigned from 1333 to 1370, and as he only engaged in war when it was forced upon him, he had abundant time to carry out his designs for his country's benefit. Industry and commerce were so much encouraged by this great king, that the useful arts began to flourish among his people; he changed the rude dwellings of wood for brick edifices; built colleges, hospitals, churches, and other public places. But, like some other sovereigns who have done great things, Casimir was vile in his private habits; his drunkenness and other vices were notorious. After the death of his first wife, he divorced a second, and a third, and then married Esther, a Jewess. Through her influence with the king, the Jews became a privileged class, and it was at this time that this persecuted race began to throng into Poland. The laws which Casimir promulgated in their favour continued in force long afterwards. Esther, however, shared the king's love with so many other favourites, that his court resembled an eastern seraglio. A priest of Cracow, who dared to be a reprovcr, was thrown into the Vistula, others became afraid to interfere, and even the Pope remonstrated in vain. Notwithstanding the vices of

his private life, Casimir is still extolled among the Poles as the greatest prince of their second royal line. He abolished the most barbarous of the ancient laws, raised the serfs out of a condition little better than slavery, and divided the Poles into three great classes—the nobles, the burghers, and the peasants. The clergy were taken out of these three classes, and formed a fourth body, subject to the same laws, except in matters of church discipline.

Casimir increased the power of the national assembly; and by allowing them the privilege of making, changing, or annulling laws, of controlling the taxes, and even of electing kings, he prepared the way for a state of things which has at last terminated in the destruction of the ancient kingdom of Poland. It was in the reign of Casimir that the Flagellants spread through Poland, and exhibited their wild extravagances.

Casimir III. died from the effects of a fall in hunting, and, according to his last wish, his sister's son, Louis the Great of Hungary, was elected king of Poland. Louis was much beloved in his own country, but he was ignorant even of the language of his new subjects, and in speaking to them through an interpreter, he failed to win their affections. Preferring to dwell among his own people, he left Poland, shortly after he had accepted the crown, and deputed his mother to govern in his stead, leaving with her a body of Hungarians. Although this princess was the sister of a popular king, she was not at all liked, and many of her foreign guards being massacred, she fled to her son in terror. The Polish diet then sent messengers to the king in his own city of Buda, informing him that they should choose another sovereign unless he granted certain requests. These were, not to give government offices to foreigners, and to confirm all the privileges of the equestrian order, that is, of the nobles, who were so called because they always appeared on horseback: the privileges referred to were, exemption from taxes, and the support of their retinues, when called to attend the king on military expeditions. This was the first example of a *pacta conventa*, or agreement between the Polish diet and the king of their choice; and Louis, by consenting to these demands, exalted the nobles to the injury alike of king and peasantry. Poland also became settled into an elective monarchy.

Louis of Hungary, having no son, wished to procure the election of his daughter Mary, and at great cost he obtained oaths of allegiance to her and Sigismund, her husband; both, however, were excluded at his death in 1382, and, after some disturbances, his youngest daughter Hedwig was crowned at Cracow, being only fourteen years of age.

Young as she was, the princess had been long betrothed to William, duke of Austria, and his pleasing person, with the affection he had shown her from early childhood, gave her a strong preference for him. But on her elevation to the throne of Poland, Hedwig was required to marry Jagello, the heir of Lithuania, who, for her sake, offered to relinquish paganism, to add his hereditary dominions to Poland, and to reconquer Silesia and other territories that had been separated from the kingdom. This alliance was so greatly for the advantage of the nation, that the nobles intercepted the queen's letters to the Duke of Austria, and when he arrived in Cracow they kept her confined in her own palace. One day she seized a hatchet, saying she would break open the gates, but her attendants tranquilised her; and at last, being convinced that her union with Jagello was for the nation's benefit, she consented to see the dreaded barbarian. His appearance did not displease her: he was baptized by the name of Ladislaus, and his marriage and coronation followed.

The Duke of Austria had concealed himself in Cracow, and even hid one day in a chimney, to avoid those who would have driven him away; but, when the queen was married to another, he departed indignantly to Austria, leaving behind him his treasures, as if they had no farther value in his eyes.

Ladislaus IV. (Jagello) reigned from 1386 to 1434; and the period of history at which we have now arrived — the close of the fourteenth century — was marked by his honest efforts to turn the Lithuanians from paganism. In a national assembly at Wilna, it was declared that idolatry must be put down, and, accordingly, the fire which had been accounted sacred was extinguished, the deified reptiles slain, and the consecrated woods cut down. The king himself accompanied the priests through his native land, translating their instructions into the Lithuanian

tongue : he also established a bishopric at Wilna, and formed the neighbourhood into seven parishes, each with a well-endowed benefice. But the progress of Ladislaus was interrupted through the ambition of his brothers, who attempted to keep Lithuania independent of Poland ; he was not successful against them, nor could he drive out the Teutonic knights from the provinces they had seized.

Ladislaus was not a generous husband, and though Hedwig had given up so much, and behaved with the utmost tenderness towards him, he listened to the accusation that she received the visits of the Duke of Austria. The queen demanded a strict inquiry into her conduct, and being acquitted of all wrong, her accuser was punished by being obliged to lie prostrate under a table, declaring he had lied like a dog, barking three times in imitation of that animal : this curious punishment for false accusation was continued in Poland until the last century.

Hedwig, who is called by a native historian, *the Star of Poland*, died in 1399, greatly lamented by her husband and people. One instance of her feeling for the oppressed is thus related :—Some cattle had been unjustly seized by the king's authority, and at her intercession they were restored to the poor owner ; but, grieved that even temporary distress had been inflicted, Hedwig exclaimed, "The cattle are restored, but who will restore the tears ?"

Hedwig made the first attempt to translate the Scriptures into the Polish language. Immediately after the queen's funeral, Ladislaus retired into Russia, as if indifferent to the throne, through the loss of his partner ; but he was persuaded to return : he afterwards married a niece of Casimir the Great. A jealous disposition, however, embittered his domestic happiness again and again ; and he had other faults which occasioned sorrow to his subjects. Excess at table made him slothful ; and it is especially recorded that, through late rising, he lost time for the administration of justice.

We must mention this king again, as we proceed in the history of Germany ; and a farther account of the Lithuanians belongs to our chapter on Christian Profession.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

SKETCH OF THE THREE NORTHERN KINGDOMS (NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK), FROM THE TIME OF THEIR FIRST PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARGARET, UNDER WHOM THEY WERE UNITED IN THE TIMES OF RICHARD II.

KINGS OF DENMARK — MAGNUS THE GOOD. — SWEYN II. — HAROLD THE GENTLE. — CANUTE (IV.) THE HUNGRY. — ERIC (III.) THE GOOD. — HIS PILGRIMAGE. — ERIC (V.) THE LAMB. — WALDEMAR (I.) THE GREAT. — HIS PRELATE ABSALOM. — WALDEMAR (II.) THE VICTORIOUS. — HIS IMPRISONMENT. — ERIC (VI.) PLOUGH-PENNY. — HE IS MURDERED BY HIS BROTHER ABEL, WHO BECOMES KING. — TRADITION CONCERNING HIM. — DENMARK LAID UNDER AN INTERDICT IN THE REIGN OF CHRISTOPHER. — ERIC (VII.) GLIPPING. — ERIC (VIII.) MOENVED. — CHRISTOPHER II. — POVERTY AND WEAKNESS OF DENMARK. — ITS REVIVAL UNDER WALDEMAR III. — HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET IS ESPOUSED TO HACO, KING OF NORWAY. — SKETCH OF SOME OF THE PRECEDING KINGS OF NORWAY. — OLAVE III. — MAGNUS BAREFOOT. — SIGURD. — HIS ADVENTURES ABROAD. — SUERO, A PRIEST, USURPS THE THRONE. — HACO IV. LISTENS TO THE BIBLE. — ICELAND, IN THIS REIGN, BECOMES TRIBUTARY TO NORWAY. — STATE OF ICELAND AND GREENLAND. — SKETCH OF SOME OF THE KINGS OF SWEDEN. — ERIC THE SAINT. — MAGNUS I. UNITES THE SWEDES AND THE GOTHs. — HIS SON BERGEN. — MAGNUS II. — HIS DOWNFALL. — HIS SON HACO OF NORWAY MARRIES MARGARET OF DENMARK. — MARGARET, BY HER TALENTS AND ARTIFICES, UNITES THE THREE KINGDOMS UNDER HER SWAY. — UNION OF CALMAR. — TROUBLES OF QUEEN MARGARET. — HER PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARACTER. — SHE IS CALLED THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH.

The history of the three northern kingdoms has possessed little *relative* interest, since it ceased to bear upon that of England; but we must prefix to the history of the queen

who united them all under her sway at the close of the fourteenth century, some account of their monarchs during the preceding three hundred years.

We have already noticed the rude efforts of the Olaves in Norway and Sweden, and those of Sweyn and Canute in Denmark to introduce a general profession of Christianity;\* we will now refer to the characters and acts of some of their successors.

Denmark was governed by Hardicanute after he came to the throne of England; and that king was regarded as the last of the royal line descended from Odin.

Magnus, a natural son of the famous Olave the Saint, succeeded Hardicanute, as king of Denmark: he bore the reputation of a good king; and Harold, the cotemporary king of Norway, was surnamed the Good. Sweyn II., a nephew of Canute the Great, succeeded Magnus in 1057—a man whose talents attracted the notice of Gregory VII.: his descendants occupied the Danish throne till the present dynasty of Oldenburg began, in the person of Waldemar IV. Harold III., son of Sweyn II., was surnamed the Gentle, probably because of his aversion to bloodshed either in war, or by the hand of the executioner: his reign seems to have been a happy period, but his gentleness caused him to be little esteemed. The Northmen of this day still retained so much of their ancient ferocity, that they thought it unbecoming to shed tears for the death of nearest relatives; and the punishment of stripes was in their eyes worse than death. Canute IV., the brother of Harold, obtained the surname of Saint, because he sought the wealth of the clergy, and was killed for their sakes. His people thought him despotic and severe, and, becoming indignant at a heavy tax imposed upon them for ecclesiastical uses, they slew the king and his brother, who were in a church together. The next king of Denmark, Olave II., was surnamed the Hungry, because of a dreadful famine which occurred in his reign: it was viewed by the clergy as a judgment from God on the nation for the murder of Canute. Olave is said to have cried to God under the scourge, after the manner of David, saying, “O Lord, if thou art wroth with my people, spare them, and

\* Vol. III. Chaps. XVI. and XVIII.

let me alone suffer." Eric III., brother to St. Canute, on being exalted to the throne, obtained the surname of Good, and left behind him the reputation of having been one of the best of the Danish kings. It is said that he lived with his people like a father with his children, and that no one left his presence dissatisfied. Sensible, however, of his own sins, and desirous of expiating them in the way proposed by man, he set out for the Holy Land, contrary to the wishes of his people. At Constantinople, he was hospitably received by Alexius Comnenus, that emperor probably feeling no jealousy towards a distant and unambitious prince: he gave to Eric provisions and presents, with vessels for his voyage; but the Danish king having landed at Cyprus, died there of pestilence in 1103. In passing onwards through the history of the kings of Denmark, we perceive that Eric V., surnamed the Lamb, ascended the throne in 1137. After ten years, his peaceful disposition constrained him to resign the crown, and to retire to a monastery.

Waldemar I., surnamed the Great, began his reign in 1157; and, during twenty-five years, his fame as a king spread throughout Europe.

Absalom, the primate of Denmark, and the chief minister of the king, defended the coasts against pirates; and a fortress, erected by him as a place of defence, near a fishing village, was the commencement of the buildings of the city afterwards called Copenhagen. This warlike prelate persuaded the king to compel the payment of tithes even with the sword. Waldemar's laws, written in the Danish language, were useful in restraining the violence of his people; and his final conquest of the island strongholds of the northern pirates, and the strong hand with which he kept down those troublesome sea rovers, won for him the gratitude of more civilised nations.

Waldemar II., the second son of Waldemar the Great that occupied the Danish throne, was surnamed the Victorious, because of his victories over the pagans of Livonia and Esthonia. Under his reign, Denmark rose to its highest fame; and Innocent III. was very friendly to a king who so much enlarged the sphere for the dominion of the Romish Church in the North. The details belong to our history of Christian Profession.

In the course of his conquests, the victorious Waldemar had unjustly seized on some domains belonging to the Count of Schwerin; and this daring nobleman determined on a mode of revenge. He went to court, and behaved in such a manner as to win the confidence of the king; being on friendly terms they went together to the chase; and at the end of a fatiguing day's sport, encamped in the woods. The count chose this opportunity to command his attendants to seize Waldemar and his son, and to carry them to the sea-coast. There, a ship awaited them, in which they were conveyed to a strong castle in the count's estates on the coast of Mecklenburg. Thus did an obscure individual seize on the greatest monarch of the North; and so strong was the position chosen by the count, that Waldemar had to endure three years of miserable captivity; and the menaces of the Pope, and the bribes of the Danish people, were required to procure his release. On obtaining his freedom, Waldemar did what he could for the improvement of his country; but he never regained his previous strength. One of his acts was the subdivision of the eight Danish bishoprics into parishes, each of which was obliged to furnish a certain number of ships and men for the public service. It will be seen from the insular nature of a great part of the Danish realms, that they could only be defended by a maritime force. Zealand and Funen, with the smaller isles about them, were more easily retained under one sovereign than the province of Jutland, which, as its name indicates, juttet out from the mainland, of which it formed a part. This peninsula, with the adjacent territory, was the scene of many of the struggles of the Danish kings; they were as anxious to increase their continental possessions as the petty potentates, their neighbours, were, to prevent their progress.

In 1241, Eric VI. succeeded to the throne of his father, Waldemar the Victorious. In order to cover the expenses of an expedition into Livonia, he levied a tax of a silver penny on every plough in his kingdom: hence he obtained the curious surname of Plough-penny. Eric had a brother named Abel, who was truly a Cain in disposition: they had fiercely quarrelled; but having met and sworn friendship, the king, on his return from a battle with the Count of Holstein, accepted Abel's invitation to visit him at his

castle near Sleswic. By night, the treacherous prince obliged his royal brother to enter a boat which conveyed him down the Sley; and on a solitary bank of that river, the king was landed, invited to make his confession to an attendant priest, and then beheaded: heavy chains were fastened to the corpse, and it was thrown into the deepest part of the water. Abel caused it to be reported that his brother had perished by accident; but the monks, who had attended, gave evidence of the murder, and the body was discovered by some fishermen. The monks, who interred it in their monastery, affirmed that miracles were wrought at the tomb; and, some years after, Eric was canonised, being the fifth Danish king who received that empty honour from the Romish Church. Abel procured twenty-four nobles, who swore that, to the best of their belief, he was innocent of his brother's murder; he was, therefore, allowed to ascend the throne (A. D. 1250). Only two years after, he was slain in a morass in the western part of Sleswic, whither he had led his troops, in order to chastise the inhabitants for not paying certain taxes. Not satisfied with the plain lesson of righteous retribution taught in Abel's death, the people reported that his spirit wandered restlessly over the earth—a tradition current to this day. In the reign of Christopher, Abel's younger brother, Denmark was laid under an interdict, because the king, in several instances, claimed the supremacy instead of leaving it to the Pope. Christopher shut up the primate in a fortress, because he desired to be ranked above a king. Christopher's death was sudden and mysterious, and not without suspicion that he had been poisoned by a monk (A. D. 1259). Margaret, the king's widow, took the guardianship of her son Eric (VII.) Glipping. His reign was a period of trouble; and, after violent contests with the archbishop, a reconciliation was effected in a national council held in 1275. Eric was murdered by personal enemies, one night after hunting, whilst sleeping at a village in Jutland (1286). His son Eric VIII. was surnamed Moenved, because of his frequent use of the word *moen*, which, in his native tongue, signified *certainly*. He reigned till 1319; but war with his neighbours, or his ecclesiastics, made it a time of trouble.

The ancient kingdom of Denmark included that part of

Sweden, which, through the connection between lakes Wener and Wetter and the adjoining rivers, may be almost considered an island. This province bore the name of Scania; and Lund, its most ancient town, was in these days a place of importance as a bishop's see. Scania was a fertile and populous province; large forests and rugged mountains separated it from Gothland.

It happened, in the reign of Eric Moenved, that one Grandt was elected bishop of Lund; but the king would not acquiesce in his elevation; and he went to Rome, to make an appeal to the Pope. On his return, Eric caused him to be arrested, and confiscated his property. Grandt was fastened to a worn-out horse, clothed in the meanest rags, instead of episcopal robes, and, amidst the jeers of the king's servants, led to the fortress of Helsingburg; he and another bishop, who had been treated with equal severity, at length escaped to Avignon, where they were welcomed by Boniface VIII. This Pope observed, that many called saints had suffered less than they had done. Eric, by way of penance, was forced to pay a large sum of money; Grandt was raised to the see of Bremen; and the Pope sent a legate of his own to occupy Lund. Continued wars had reduced the states of Denmark to such extreme poverty, that Christopher II., the brother of Eric, found himself obliged to part with one portion after another, to raise money for the defence of his capital. He pledged Scania to the King of Sweden, Jutland to the Counts of Holstein, and other territories were given up to the tyranny of the feudal lords, who only paid tribute and homage to the king.

After seven years of great disorder, Waldemar II., the son of Christopher, succeeded to the poor fragments of the kingdom left him by his father, and set himself to the restoration of the monarchy (1340). For weeks and months together, he presided at the tribunals, both in cities and rural towns, in order to make the laws respected; he recovered the dominions lost to the crown, either by conquest or treaty, increasing his revenues by finally agreeing to cede Scania to Sweden. That territory, however, was not lost to this politic monarch; for when Magnus, the reigning king of the Swedes, becoming unpopular, applied to Waldemar for help, the latter would

only become his ally, on condition of the restoration of Scania. He also required Magnus to allow his son Haco, who was king of Norway in his mother's right, to be affianced to Margaret, a child of six years old, the heiress of the throne of Denmark. This treaty was concluded in 1359; and, the next year, Waldemar led his fleet to Wisby, the chief town of Gothland, under pretence of punishing the inhabitants for not having paid the taxes required by their own king. Wisby is seated on a rock, on the shores of the Baltic, but is now so damaged by the sea that it is but an insignificant place; it was then one of the greatest ports in Europe, being the chief magazine on this sea. In his attack, Waldemar seized an immense booty for his own use; and much of the plundered merchandise belonged to Lubeck, and other German towns of the Hanseatic League. These trading towns, having bound themselves together for mutual defence, readily collected their ships; they were joined by the Count of Holstein and the Duke of Mecklenburg, who were naturally opposed to their ambitious neighbour, the Danish king; and the Swedes shut up their king in a fortress, and joined the forces arrayed against Waldemar. Copenhagen was reduced by the allied fleet; but Waldemar defeated them, with great loss, at Helsinburg, and a short truce was concluded, in 1363. The Hanseatic towns, then above seventy in number, took counsel, through their assembly of deputies; and it was agreed that, unless the powerful Dane were restrained in his practice of demanding tolls from all the vessels trading on the Baltic, there would be an end to their commerce in that sea. Consequently, they again assembled their ships of war; and Waldemar was compelled to allow the safe transit of their merchandise, and to grant them other privileges.

Waldemar had given such offence to the Swedes, by his attack upon Wisby, that when they crowned Haco as their king (1362), they wished him to break his contract with the Princess Margaret, although it was written, sealed, and confirmed by oaths. At the same time, they sent an ambassador to Holstein; and as Haco could not go there in person, Elizabeth, daughter of the ruling count, was married to him by proxy. But Elizabeth, the elect queen of Norway and Sweden, was cast on the shore of Zealand

by a tempest, when on her way to the promised throne. Anxious to prevent the consummation of a marriage which would shut out his own daughter from two kingdoms, Waldemar gladly detained the shipwrecked bride. For many weeks he deceived her by feasts and entertainments; but she soon perceived she was no better than a captive, though held in silken chains; and when Haco was at last persuaded to visit the Danish court, he took back Margaret, and not Elizabeth, as his wife. The latter entered a Swedish monastery; the former was the celebrated queen whose reign over three kingdoms lies before us. Waldemar III. died, it is said, from the effect of medicines given him by a quack doctor, in whose skill he had confided (1375). It was two years before the accession of the unfortunate Richard II.

We have now to mention some of the more remarkable sovereigns of Norway, previous to the union of that kingdom with Denmark.

Magnus, the son of St. Olave, reigned over Norway as well as Denmark; and, if his character may be judged of by his last dream handed down in popular tradition, he was as great and good a prince as he is said to have been. We are told that Magnus dreamed, that his father appeared to him, saying that he might choose between two things, namely, to die and go to heaven, or to live as the most powerful of monarchs, and commit some crime which would almost shut out the hope of God's forgiveness. Having declared that he chose rather to die than to live and do wickedly, Magnus soon after sank under a disease which then lay upon him.

Olave III. was the son of that Harold, king of Norway, who was slain in battle with our king of the same name (A. D. 1066). Sickened, perhaps, at the results of that unfortunate expedition, Olave, on his return home, spent his strength among his own people, and not in war. At Drontheim, he began to build a cathedral of stone: the relics of St. Olave were there deposited. Mercantile corporations were sanctioned by Olave: by his efforts Bergen became a great mart, and chimneys and glass windows were first introduced into Norway. At this time, there were bishops who preached from place to place throughout the country, having liberty to build churches in any dis-

trict for the use of their converts, and to take the oversight of them as long as they lived. Magnus (III.) Barefoot, the son of Olave, instead of following his father's peaceful example, made several warlike expeditions to the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. After obtaining possession of the Hebrides and the Orkney islands, he descended on the coast of Ulster for the sake of plunder. The natives lay in ambush; and having discerned the king by his shining armour, and especially by a golden lion on a red shield (the device of the Norwegian sovereigns), they seized him as he passed by, and slew him. The men of Norway were obliged to fly to their vessels, leaving the royal corpse on a foreign shore. Magnus Barefoot was not popular, because of the taxes which his wars made necessary; but he was admired by the warriors of his nation, as having all the courage of their ancient heroes. When one of his courtiers blamed him for exposing himself continually to danger, Magnus replied it was better for a people to have a brave than an old king. At the death of Magnus III., the kingdom was divided between his three sons, the most famous of whom was Sigurd, the survivor of the others. In 1107, he set out for the Holy Land, allured by the hope of acquiring riches and fame; perhaps, also, by the expectation of the eternal glory which the Popes so vainly placed before the crusaders. With sixty ships, Sigurd sailed for England, not as a foe, but as a friend; and the first winter he was hospitably entertained by our Henry I. The second winter was passed in Spain; and there the Norwegian adventurers found employment in attacking the Moors, and putting to the sword all the prisoners who would not be baptized. In their onward course, the armed mariners of Norway are said to have defeated Mahometan fleets several times. Having arrived at Jerusalem, Sigurd engaged in the service of Baldwin, the king, and received from him a fragment of the "true cross," to be placed in the shrine of St. Olave. Half the booty seized at the taking of Sidon was given to the King of Norway, for the assistance which he rendered in the siege. The story of the adventures of Sigurd ends with a relation of his magnificent entertainment at the Greek court. The only thing that is certain is, that the King of Norway, after an absence of four years, returned home

with a reputation which gained him exceeding praise in the North: he built a fine Gothic church, and adorned it with pictures which he had brought from the East. The fanatical zeal which had sustained Sigurd in his foreign tour, led him to treat with merciless severity the pagans still found in his own country. Liberal in his gifts to the clergy, he could not brook any opposition from them; and when a certain bishop reproved him for putting away his wife to marry another, he drew his sword, as if he would have killed him. Some time after, the king fell ill, and the lady whom he had taken, regarding his sickness as the judgment of God, left him in spite of his earnest entreaties. He died within a few days of her departure (A. D. 1130).

The twelfth century was a period of disorder and bloodshed in Norway, on account of the struggles of various pretenders to the throne. One of the most remarkable of these was Suero, a priest, a native of the Faro islands, the son of a smith—a business of high repute in a country where arms were so constantly needed. Suero's mother made him believe that he was the son of Sigurd II., and that he had a claim to the throne of Norway; and after a series of strange adventures, he obtained the object of her ambition and his own (A. D. 1186). Suero is said to have been a man of great genius, and one of the most extraordinary characters of the middle ages; but he made use of unjustifiable means to gain his ends, and did not scruple to commit any fraud or violence which helped his purpose of exalting himself. He was excommunicated by Innocent III.: he died in 1202. His son Haco IV. was the cotemporary of our King John; and, after an active and most warlike career, he died at a great age in 1263. In his last illness he caused the Bible to be read to him, and the ancient Sagas, which are historical narratives, embellished with fables, by the Icelandic poets. Till the days of Haco IV., the Icelanders had preserved the republican form of government adopted by the first settlers in that remarkable island; they were mostly voluntary exiles from Norway, because of the tyranny of the ruling prince. In 1261, the liberty of Iceland was abridged, by its becoming tributary to the mother-country; but the natives expressly stipulated that they should be allowed to retain their ancient

laws and privileges, and that they should be exempt from all taxes. The spirit and principle of the laws composed by the early legislators of Iceland, remain in force to the present day. The cultivation of letters, which have followed wealth and luxury in other nations, flourished in the midst of poverty in Iceland, and at a period when the darkest ignorance was spread over the European world. Liberty without lawlessness, freedom from foreign wars, and a purer Christianity than prevailed elsewhere; probably, also, the few incitements to sensual pleasures to be found in so barren a country, favoured the mental improvement of the nation: they were happy in being contented with their own allotment, and in possessing so little that could be coveted by their neighbours. Convents, and studious monks, soon began to abound in a soil so favourable for the austere practices, and the privations, required by the various orders. Baptism was objected to by the Icelanders, at first, on account of the coldness of their country; but immersion in their hot springs being proposed, the difficulty was overcome. The thirteenth century was distinguished by the visits of many a Norwegian to Greenland, all anxious to verify the tales related by travellers to those regions. The remarkable vividness of the Aurora Borealis in a spot where one of the electric poles of the globe is situated, is supposed to have been the origin of many marvellous stories; and a work, called the *Speculum Regale*, compiled in the beginning of the thirteenth century, details the wonders to be seen amidst the polar ice; and asserts that there are more marvels there than in all the world besides. "The shafts and flickering beams of ethereal light run from the North, darting across the heavens with incredible swiftness; the entire sky glitters and sparkles with ruby, and sapphire, and golden fire. The appearance is accompanied with loud hissing and crackling noises, resembling the discharge of the loudest fireworks. The wild beasts are alarmed, the dogs howl and crouch on the ground, and the hunter exclaims, 'The spirits of the air are rushing by.'" Such phenomena led to the belief that these regions were the home of the gods, whilst the remains of monstrous animals found there so abundantly, gave the idea of a gigantic race of men having been once the lords of a former crea-

tion. The fantastic shapes and brilliant colours assumed by the ice gave rise to fables of palaces of gems and diamonds; and the singular noises, occasioned by echoes, led to other romantic stories of the North. Greenland, as we have already related, was first peopled by settlers from Iceland in the tenth century, and received its name from possessing superior verdure to their own island. Yet Iceland, when first peopled, is said to have been covered with woods, and many places still bear the name of forest, in which all attempts to raise a tree of any kind have been for ages unavailing: the large logs of wood still dug out of bogs prove, however, the truth of Iceland's ancient condition, and the vast increase of floating ice is the only explanation that can be given for so great an alteration of climate. In Greenland, numerous churches and convents were built, and a succession of bishops and priests sent thither from Norway. In the fourteenth century it consisted of twelve parishes, and contained 190 villages, one bishop's see, and two convents. It was in the year 1406, when the seventeenth bishop was proceeding from Norway to take possession of his see in Greenland, that the ice had so closed in the coast as to render it inaccessible. From that period till 1817, all communication was impossible. The colonists in the eastern district of Greenland are supposed to have flourished for a century and a half after all commerce and navigation ceased between them and Norway: the change of the government in Queen Margaret's reign, and the continual wars which ensued between the Danes and the Swedes, probably led to a long neglect of efforts to reach the Greenland colonists; and when, at last, the kings of the North sent out their best seamen to inquire for their unfortunate subjects, their imprisonment in the ice was complete.

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It was not until the time of Eric, surnamed the Saint, who died in 1160, that Christianity became the established religion of Sweden. The fiery zeal of this monarch procured him canonisation; his laws for the suppression of paganism, and for the restraint of the licentious, were of a sanguinary character; and offences against the Christian religion were visited by him with most unchristian modes

of punishment. Those whom "St. Eric's Lag" was intended to reform, rose against the legislature, and he, after performing prodigies of valour, was slain. For more than a hundred years after, the succession to the crown of Sweden varied between the descendants of St. Eric and those of Swerker, his predecessor, either party mounting the throne over the dead bodies of their rivals. The race of the former died out with Eric the Lisper, in 1250; to him succeeded Waldemar, his sister's son; and to him, Magnus I., in 1279. Up to this period, contests between the Swedes and Goths, who remained distinct nations, had constantly desolated the country; but Magnus took the title of king of the Swedes and Goths, and Gothland then became merely a province of Sweden. The name of Magnus is mentioned with praise. He was the protector of the peasants, and decreed severe penalties against such as took anything from a poor man's hut, without paying the value of it. Magnus appointed a wise man named Thorkill to be regent in the minority of his son Berger, and he was the author of all the good effected in the reign of this prince. He passed a law against the sale of slaves, on the ground of its being criminal for Christians to sell those whom Christ had redeemed. After every effort to make the people happy, Thorkill was publicly executed at Stockholm, through the malice of the king's brothers, whom he had opposed as rebels against the royal authority. The princes afterwards seized upon Berger and imprisoned him; but, upon his escape, he revenged himself by the murder of both (1317). This crime was not visited upon the king in person; but, by way of punishment, his son was beheaded by the order of the national council, and a child only three years of age, the son of one of the deceased princes, was appointed heir. Berger died of grief (1320). Magnus II., who was proclaimed king in his infancy, was the sovereign to whom we have referred in the history of Denmark. He was a man of wild ambition, and having inherited Norway in his mother's right, he aspired also to the crown of Denmark, but was defeated by the superior talents of Waldemar. Displeased with their king, the Swedish council required that he should resign Norway to his son Haco, and Sweden to his son Eric; but, after consenting to the proposal, he sought help of the King of Denmark, to

drive Eric from the throne. That prince at length died, it was suspected of poison administered by the queen his mother, and Magnus was for a time restored; but the sack of Wisby, and the marriage of his son Haco with Margaret of Denmark, so alienated the Swedes from the royal house, that they excluded them both, and placed on the throne Albert, son of the Duke of Mecklenburg (1386). Albert reigned for many years, but he was not popular in Sweden because of his partiality to his German followers, and his attempts to enrich his own family.

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WE must now observe the steps whereby the talented Margaret, daughter of Waldemar III. of Denmark, and wife of Haco, king of Norway, became the mistress of the three kingdoms. Waldemar had six children, but only two of them survived him — Ingeburga, who married the Duke of Mecklenburg, and Margaret. The proud and warlike spirits of the North had never yet acknowledged a female sovereign, and it was not surprising that they should shrink from the perilous experiment of entrusting the sceptre to the weaker sex: it was, however, alleged, that if the daughters of Waldemar might not reign over Denmark, their sons had a claim to the throne. Margaret was more ambitious, more powerful, and more crafty, than her elder sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, and she procured the election of her young son Olave, in preference to his cousin Albert of Mecklenburg, by representing to the nation that Olave was already heir to the crown of Norway. Olave III. was proclaimed king of the Danes, but he was immediately opposed by the House of Mecklenburg, into which the Emperor Charles IV. had married, and whose cause he was ready to assist. Margaret, on her part, prepared the Norwegians and Swedes to support her son's cause, and procured the alliance of the Duke of Pomerania. A formidable Germanic fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and arbitration being proposed instead of war, the throne of Denmark was secured to Olave. In 1380, his father Haco, who was greatly the queen's senior, died, and Olave was made the king of Norway also. Remembering that, in his father's right, he had likewise a claim on the throne of Sweden, Margaret made attempts to gain a third crown for her son; but

his health was declining, and he expired in the seventeenth year of his age (1387), shortly after Albert was made king of the Swedes. Margaret's talents for war and government had now been so thoroughly proved, that she found it easy to retain the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark; thenceforth the two crowns were inseparably united. Some of the queen's enemies falsely accused her of having poisoned her son; and others, who wished to support a pretender to the throne, produced some years afterwards an impostor, who personated the deceased prince, for it was asserted, he had not died, but had been concealed from public view. The Franciscans had another tale, namely, that the young monarch relinquished two thrones in order to join their order, and that he died in Italy a complete saint.

The Danes said that they permitted Margaret to be their queen, because she was the mother of Olave, and the daughter of Waldemar, and because they were pleased with her mild administration. The Norwegians, however, tried to conceal the fact that they bowed to a woman, by obliging her to appoint, as her colleague and successor, Eric, her nephew, son of the Duke of Pomerania; but, as he was only five years old, the whole power was for many years in her hands.

The Swedes, being dissatisfied with their monarch, asked the help of Queen Margaret, but she would only grant it on condition of being acknowledged as their sovereign. This being promised, an army of Danes marched into Sweden, and were joined by the malcontents, including the chief nobles and clergy. Albert was supported, partly by Swedes, and partly by Germans and hired adventurers, and meeting his enemies at Falkoping, in West Gothland, he fought desperately for his kingdom; but he was defeated and taken prisoner together with his son (1394). Both of them were confined for six years in a fortress, and only released, on making a solemn renunciation of all claim upon the throne of Sweden.

The young Eric was proclaimed king of Sweden, to satisfy the Goths, who thought it a dishonour to acknowledge a female sovereign; but, whatever was the form adopted, all knew full well that Margaret was the ruler, and rejoiced in the blessings of her good government. At a diet held at Nykoping, the Swedes agreed to give her the revenues

of four provinces with 10,000 marks a year to support her dignity. Eric was crowned with great magnificence at the Mora Stone near Upsal, which was then the metropolis of Sweden: it was the spot that had been chosen for the consecration of the Swedish kings from the remotest times. In June, 1397, Margaret assembled the deputies of the three countries at Calmar, a seaport 150 miles S. W. of Stockholm: Eric was again crowned king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, though merely the puppet of his adopted mother, and 133 knights were created to add to the pomp of the occasion. The queen then prevailed upon the deputies to agree to an act of union, whereby it was provided that, although each of the three realms should be governed by its own laws, the enemies of one should be the enemies of all; that criminals banished from one of the kingdoms should find no refuge in the others; and that one part of the united monarchy should not make war on the other. It must have been a goodly sight to behold the representatives of three nations, once the most ferocious in Europe, and for centuries almost perpetually at war with each other, consenting to this peaceful arrangement, under female influence. It was called *the union of Calmar*, and subsisted for more than a century.

Margaret had not obtained her objects without many concessions to the clergy and people, but these, for the most part, were just and wise, and rendered the nation at large freer, and more prosperous. According to Queen Margaret's arrangements, no priest was to hold any temporal employment; but, in shutting out the clergy from honours they might have previously enjoyed, great privileges were allowed them by way of compensation; no benefice could be held by a layman, priests were made subject to their own tribunals, and dependent on no others but their ecclesiastical superiors. The nobles were to receive the fines levied in criminal cases occurring within their district, up to a certain amount; the overplus went to the crown. The sovereign was not to undertake any war without the consent of the senators, prelates, and some of the nobles; never to build on the domain of another without consent; nor to compel the peasants to repair the royal palaces without payment; nor to confiscate any man's property, unless he had been convicted of high treason. No man was to be executed, unless justly con-

victed, and after sentence had been passed, one month and a day were allowed him to flee from the kingdom: this provision, we think, must have made capital punishment very rare; and, in Iceland, it became so unfrequent, that when a criminal there was condemned to die, he was sent to Denmark, because no executioner could be found in the island.

Queen Margaret frequently made the tour of her three kingdoms, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by Eric, administering justice from place to place. By her great prudence, she won the favour of her subjects, conciliating even the Swedes, who had before been hostile to everything Danish. A saying of Margaret's, "That she would rather negotiate than fight," is in our eyes no small praise, and that which best became a female sovereign: it appears, however, that she sent out her adopted son to battle. The Counts of Holstein, as vassals of Denmark, did homage for the duchy of Sleswic, but they spared no pains to make themselves masters of that province. One of them fell in an attempt to gain possession (1404). The children of the deceased count were left under the care of their widowed mother, Elizabeth; but their uncle, the Bishop of Osnaburg, resigned his see, in order to govern Holstein in person during the minority of the heir. Elizabeth, regarding him as an usurper, gave the children into the keeping of Queen Margaret, but, becoming afterwards jealous lest Holstein should be swallowed up by the Danes, she joined her brother-in-law in his attempt to increase its power by the addition of Sleswic. Eric, by Margaret's permission, took the field against the bishop and the countess, but he met with a complete defeat; and his cruelty and caprice towards the inhabitants of the province that he pretended to defend and govern, shut their hearts against him.

About this time, the impostor who personated the deceased Olave was brought forwards: many of the Norwegians and Danes believed his story; but when he was brought to trial by the queen, it was proved that he was the son of Olave's nurse, a circumstance which had enabled him to give a good account of the early days of the prince, and to imitate him in such a manner as to gain credit. In her treatment of this criminal, Margaret acted like a tyrant; she allowed him to be burned to death. Some of the queen's worst troubles arose from the conduct

of Eric, to whom she had been blindly partial. In 1406, she procured him, in marriage, Philippa, the daughter of Henry IV. of England, with a large dowry ; but this, added to all the favours with which she had loaded him, failed to secure his gratitude : incapable as he was of reigning, he tried to seize the government, and, failing in the attempt, he harassed his royal colleague in a thousand ways. The queen, unhappily, laid herself open to his attacks by her own vicious conduct. Unwilling to lose or divide her power, she had refrained from marrying again ; but there were several favourites to whom she was criminally attached : one of these, whom she had loaded with wealth and honours, was beheaded as a traitor, by the command of the jealous Eric, on purpose to distress the queen. We may safely say, that of all the troubles which this great queen had to endure, those which her own passions brought upon her were the heaviest. Few reigns have been more remarkable ; but the greatest of female sovereigns was still a weak and sinful woman ; her distinguished public character could form no apology for her private vices. Margaret did not succeed by means of armies, but by the powers of her mind : cool, steady perseverance, and skilful management, enabled her to carry out her vast designs, and to secure the peace and prosperity of three kingdoms. She died in her sixtieth year (1412). She had shown great respect for the clergy during her life, but she knew nothing of peace with God ; and, at the last, fearful of the flames of purgatory, she left large sums for the celebration of masses, for the repose of her soul. Miserable woman ! At the end of all her worldly prosperity, having obtained the things which her soul lusted after, she found them of no profit to her soul ; and vainly hoped to purchase rest, by hiring the formal services and ceremonies of men, after her poor body was committed to the grave. Infinitely better then is the very meanest station in this world with God for our salvation and our portion, than to be in one of the highest places " without God."

The title gained by Margaret was, the Semiramis of the North : it sounded very grandly, but let us look back at the character, as well as the deeds, of that ancient queen, before we conclude that, to be compared with her, was highly honourable.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Times of Richard II.*

TAMERLANE, THE GREAT KHAN, IN ASIA.—BAJAZET THE OTTOMAN SULTAN.—EARLY LIFE OF TAMERLANE.—HIS PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.—HIS FIRST DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS.—HIS AMBITION IS SHARPENED BY MAHOMETAN FANATICISM.—HE IS PROCLAIMED AT SAMARCAND, LORD OF THE WORLD.—HIS RAPID CONQUESTS IN TARTARY, PERSIA, ARABIA, AND GEORGIA.—HE EXTENDS HIS EMPIRE FROM THE ARCHIPELAGO TO THE GANGES, AND FROM THE PERSIAN GULF TO SIBERIA.—HIS CONQUEST OF HINDOSTAN.—HE BURSTS INTO SYRIA, AND INVADES ASIA MINOR.—HORRIBLE DESTRUCTION.—HISTORY OF BAJAZET UP TO THE TIME OF HIS BATTLE WITH TAMERLANE.—HIS WARS AND CONQUESTS.—HIS DEFEAT OF SIGISMUND AND THE CHRISTIAN ARMIES NEAR NICOPOLIS.—HIS FRENCH CAPTIVES.—THEIR RANSOM AND RELEASE.—AN ATTACK OF GOUT HINDERS THE EXECUTION OF BAJAZET'S PROJECTS IN EUROPE.—BLOCKADE OF CONSTANTINOPLE RAISED BY THE OTTOMAN TURKS, AT THE APPROACH OF THE TARTARS.—AT THE BATTLE OF ANGORA, BAJAZET IS TAKEN PRISONER BY TAMERLANE.—HIS TREATMENT AND DEATH.—HIS FAMILY.—TAMERLANE, FOR WANT OF SHIPS, CANNOT PURSUE HIS CONQUESTS FARTHER THAN THE SEA OF MARMORA.—AT SAMARCAND HE DISPLAYS HIS GLORY AND RICHES, AND RECEIVES FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.—TAMERLANE DIES AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST A NATIVE CHINESE EMPEROR.—AWFUL DESOLATION OCCASIONED BY TAMERLANE'S CAREER.—HIS TALENTS.—HIS DESCENDANTS.

IN the year 1335, in a tent of the desert to the south of Samarcand, a child was born, who, before the close of the century, became the mightiest monarch on the earth. His father was the hereditary chief of the district around the city of Kasch, having 10,000 wild warriors under his command; his mother was descended from Zingis Khan. The

name given to this child was Timour, i. e. *iron*; and, as he grew up, the title of Beg was added, signifying lord or prince. Timour Beg was, however, better known under his familiar name of Timour Lenc, that is, Timour the Lame, a surname given him because he was lame of a hand and a foot; and his name is commonly written *Tamerlane*. Notwithstanding the defects which gave Timour his surname, he was of majestic form and stature; and his health and vigour were maintained, even to old age, by temperance and active exercise.

Tamerlane was an author as well as a warrior. His "Civil and Military Institutes," written in the Mogul language, and translated into English from a Persian manuscript, supposed to be the only copy extant in Europe, throw much light upon his mind as well as his history. "From the twelfth year of my age," he says, "I suffered distresses, combated difficulties, formed enterprises, and vanquished armies . . . I hazarded my person in the hour of danger, until, in the end, I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established *the glory of my name*." From first to last, this is the end that man, untaught of God, proposes to himself. "Let us make us a name," said the builders of Babel. In how many hearts has the same thought circulated in every succeeding age, and to what fearful results has it led. Let us not fail to compare them with the blessed consequences flowing from the opposite line of thought, into which the Spirit of the Lord conducts the obedient soul: "Hallowed be Thy name." "Let Thy name be exalted."

Glorying in his descent from Zingis Khan, Tamerlane made that prince his model. Let us remember that, according to the Scriptures, Satan has his "principalities and powers," and under his direction are "the rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. vi. 12.); he is "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4.), or the one whom this world worships and obeys, as if he were God; and he works in *all* the children of disobedience. But some of his servants are more able than others; and whilst the ungodly, generally, exhibit his ordinary workmanship, some appear to be his masterpieces: of this class was Tamerlane. From his youth, he seems to have perceived that Islamism would be a means of furthering his

ambitious designs; and never had Mahomet a disciple of more talent, subtlety, and valour. A fanatic named Seid, calling himself the descendant of "the Apostle of God," encouraged the aspiring young warrior by presenting him with a standard, as a token of his future greatness; but dangers lay in his path over which no common mind would have risen.

Zagatai, which included Samarcand, was nominally under the rule of a khan descended from Zingis; yet being five hundred miles long, and as many broad, a prince of feeble powers could ill-retain the sway; and the territory was, in fact, in the hands of many chiefs. At the age of twenty-five, Tamerlane headed an expedition against the Khan of Cashgar, the district bordering on India, that prince having invaded Transoxiana with an army of Calmuck Tartars. The young chief found his followers falling away in the hour of danger; and, with only sixty horsemen around him, he fought as he retired before a thousand pursuing enemies. The slaughter on their side so astonished the Tartars, that they suffered Tamerlane to escape; but having at last discovered him in a desert, with his wife and seven companions, they made him their prisoner, and for sixty-two days, the future conqueror of Asia languished in confinement. His guards, however, knew not the importance of their charge; and Tamerlane, contriving to escape from them, swam across the Oxus to a place of safety. During some months he roved about, collecting parties of his countrymen, and training them for more successful adventures. His own pen describes a meeting with three chiefs and seventy horsemen, who had gone out to seek him:—"When their eyes fell on me they were overwhelmed with joy, alighted from their horses, kneeled and kissed my stirrup. I also alighted, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first; and my girdle, rich with jewels and wrought with gold, I bound around the loins of the second; and the third I clothed with my own robe. And they wept, and I wept also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses and came to my dwelling; and I collected my people and made a feast." The bravest of his tribe soon thronged around a chief, who had, as he himself expresses it, a way of gaining their

hearts. The Calmucks were finally driven out, and Tamerlane was formally proclaimed at Samarcand as *the lord of the world*. He was then thirty-four (A. D. 1369). Before his death, the conqueror reckoned Zagatai as one of the twenty-seven kingdoms which he had won. The countries bordering on the Oxus were his earliest conquests; and, after taking possession of Carizme and Candahar, he overran all Kaptshak, *i. e.* Western Tartary, and made his favourite Toctamish, a fugitive prince, its king (1376). Chorasán, with Balk, its chief city, and the equally fertile province of Herat, were the conquests of Tamerlane, in 1379; and he then turned his eyes towards Persia. The last descendant of Holagou, the Tartar conqueror of Persia, died in the year that Tamerlane was born; and, for forty years, the kingdom had been oppressed by many petty tyrants. One of these was Ibrahim, prince of Albania, who saved himself from destruction by prompt submission. As the devastator approached his dominions he sent out peace-offerings, and, after the Tartar fashion, his presents were nine of each sort. It was observed, however, that he only presented eight slaves, "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim; and thus secured the favour of the khan. Passing on to Fars, or Persia Proper, Tamerlane with 30,000 men attacked Shah Mansour, the native prince, in Shiraz, his capital. The shah had only 4000 men; but they fought with such boldness, that even Tamerlane's life was endangered. Two heavy strokes of a Persian scimitar fell on his helmet; he stood, however, unmoved; and his soldiers having rallied round him, the head of Mansour was soon laid at his feet. The conqueror slew all the males of the bold race who had placed his life in peril.

From Shiraz, Tamerlane led his army to Ormuz; and, having exacted an immense tribute from that wealthy city, he took possession of Bagdad, and reduced the whole country from the mouth, to the sources, of the Tigris and Euphrates. Intoxicated by success, he then marched northward, and invaded Georgia; but it was only after three expeditions that he vanquished its Christian princes, and forced upon the province the Mahometan profession (A. D. 1386). That Tamerlane regarded his conquests as highly meritorious appears from his own words:— "The

first rule which I established for the support of *my* glory and empire was this—that I promoted the worship of Almighty God, and propagated the religion of Mahomet throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, supported the true faith.”

Whilst Tamerlane was occupied in the western parts of Asia, Toctamish, whom he had appointed khan of Western Tartary, rebelled against him, entered Persia with 90,000 horse, and even threatened Samarcand. In great fury, Tamerlane assembled all his forces, which were now so numerous, that we are told the army measured thirteen miles from its right to its left wing. In a march of five months they had to traverse solitudes rarely penetrated by the foot of man, and to subsist almost entirely by the chase. After fifteen battles with his lord, Toctamish fled, and perished in the wilds of Siberia. Some of the conqueror's bands crossed the Irtysh, and set up rude memorials of their exploits in the forests of Siberia. It was when in pursuit of Toctamish that Tamerlane first reached the borders of Russia; and his sparing Moscow was attributed, by the superstitious citizens, to an image of the Virgin, said to possess miraculous powers. The desolator, however, had other countries in view. Seven times he marched into the heart of Eastern Tartary, pitching his most distant camp two months' journey N. E. of Samarcand, and returning to that city occasionally, for a short repose. In 1395, he again entered Georgia, completely ravaged the country, and burnt the cities of Azoph and Astracan—places of commerce and civilisation. The following year, the lion of the desert was again in his den at Samarcand; but, as if scenting the prey afar off, he soon rushed forth with redoubled energy. His spies had discovered the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan; and, with 92,000 horsemen, he set out for its conquest. In crossing a ridge of mountains, between the Jihon and the Indus, great numbers perished in the snow; but Tamerlane cared nothing for the sacrifice of human life in the accomplishment of his designs, nor was he dismayed by any difficulties. He was himself let down a precipice on a scaffold, the ropes of which measured 150 cubits; and this operation was repeated five times, from one mountain ledge to another, till he reached the bottom.

Zingis Khan had only subdued the northern provinces of India, Tamerlane made himself master of almost the whole country. Delhi, the capital, was at this time a great city; but the reigning sultan, Mahmoud, was a weak prince; and notwithstanding his array of elephants, hitherto the terror of the Mogul horsemen, his large army was vanquished, and 100,000 corpses strewed the plains of Delhi! (1397). After admiring the city, and its stately mosch, and satiating his troops with massacre and pillage, Tamerlane pursued his career till all the provinces between the Indus and the Ganges fell within his power: the multitude of idolaters that he sacrificed formed a ground for his glorying as the disciple of Mahomet. On the banks of the Ganges, the news of a revolt of the Georgian Christians induced the conqueror to retrace his steps, and, at Samarcand, he rested, to make preparations for a fresh campaign. In A. D. 1400, Georgia again submitted to tribute, or the Koran; but the prisoners of war preferred death to the alternative of embracing Mahometanism. The beginning of a new century was signalised by the commencement of a quarrel between Tamerlane and the only Asiatic sovereign who seemed capable of opposing him: this was Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, the Ottoman sultan. The Greek emperor, having in vain solicited aid against the Turks from the princes of Christendom, addressed himself to Tamerlane; and, at the same time, five Mahometan princes, who had been driven from their dominions on the shores of the Euxine, came to entreat assistance against the powerful Bajazet. With this incitement, Tamerlane sent ambassadors to Bajazet, requiring him to do justice to the Moslem princes, and expressing by letter, that his waging war against the infidels, in obedience to the Koran, had alone prevented his destruction hitherto; but if the pismire provoked the elephant, he would trample it under his feet. Bajazet, in contemptuous rage, addressed the Tartar as the thief, and rebel, of the desert, recapitulated his own victories, and dared him to try the Tartar arrows against the scimitars of the janizzaries.

Two years were spent in hostile correspondence, and preparations for war, between these two mighty men; and, in the meantime, Tamerlane burst into Syria. He took and destroyed Sebaste, burying alive 4000 Armenians,

who fought for the sultan. Aleppo next fell into his hands; and, on taking that city, Tamerlane summoned the Turkish doctors of the law to a personal conference. One of the questions that he put to them was, which were the true martyrs in this war between Moslems. They hesitated, till one more prudent or clever than the rest replied, that the motive, and not the ensign under which a man fought, made the martyr; and that Moslems on either side, fighting only for the glory of God, might deserve the name. To these doctors, Tamerlane is said to have addressed himself thus:—"You see me here, a poor, lame, decrepit mortal; yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue kingdoms. *I am not a man of blood*, and God is my witness, that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor." Whilst he spoke, the streets of Aleppo were streaming with blood, and re-echoing with the shrieks of injured women; and though the rich plunder might usually incite the soldiers to acts of barbarity, it is certain that Tamerlane was so completely a man of blood, that he always required a certain number of heads to be piled together as monuments of his victories. Hearing that Bagdad was trying to throw off his yoke, he returned thither, caused above 800,000 inhabitants to be put to the sword, and on the ruins of the city erected a monument of 90,000 heads! In these countries, the houses, being built only of bricks dried in the sun, were easily razed to the foundations, and quickly rebuilt. The destroyer of the ancient residence of the caliphs was the man whom the Moslem doctors flattered as the propagator of the true faith, and whom they styled, "the restorer of the religion of Mahomet."

In an attack upon Damascus, Tamerlane was nearly defeated by the Sultan of Egypt, who came to its rescue; but the report of a revolt among his Mamelukes obliged the prince to return to Cairo, and the chief city of Syria fell into the hands of the Tartar. The fact that the ancestors of these Syrians, seven hundred years before, had killed Hosein, the grandson of Mahomet, or consented to his murder, was the ground alleged by Tamerlane for a general massacre in the capital. None were saved, except the family whose forefathers had buried the head of

Hosein, and some artificers whose labours were needed at Samarcand. Damascus was reduced to ashes.

On his way northwards into Asia Minor, the conqueror burned Aleppo, and, on the banks of the Araxes, he proclaimed his resolution of attacking the Ottoman sultan.

In order to finish the history of Tamerlane, we must pass over the exact limits of our present period; and at this point it is necessary to take a review of the deeds of his rival, Bajazet, and the position of the Greek empire up to the moment of that attack upon its Ottoman enemies which delayed its entire destruction.

Bajazet I. began his reign in 1389; and, during the course of fourteen years, he was incessantly in motion at the head of his armies. He moved in a smaller orbit than Tamerlane; but his career was almost as resistless, and for its proportionate length little less destructive. Bajazet was preferred to his elder brother on account of his warlike spirit, and the act by which he mounted the throne was an order, that the rightful heir should be strangled. Careless whom he attacked, so that he could only conquer, Bajazet made war with equal indifference upon Moslem and Christian princes. His first expedition was against the Sultan of Phrygia, whose daughter he had married; and within two months he reduced the whole province. The next year he attacked Stephen, prince of Moldavia, who had previously beaten the generals of Amurath. Stephen was at first obliged to fly; but, re-animated by his mother's reproaches, he returned to the charge, and made a great slaughter of the Turks. Wallachia at this time belonged to the Ottoman empire; and, on hearing that it was ravaged by the Hungarians, Bajazet sent out his troops, and cut the invaders in pieces near Nicopolis, in Bulgaria (A. D. 1393). Sigismund, already king of Bohemia, possessed for a time the title of king of Hungary, by his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Louis the Great. His reputation was so great that he was able to assemble the bravest soldiers of Christendom under his banner, and 100,000 men gathered round him: they were ready to boast, that if the sky itself should fall they could uphold it on their lances. They hastened with the greatest ardour to the scene of the defeat of the Hungarians, and

encamped near Nicopolis, on the banks of the Danube (September, 1396).

Bajazet had just been honoured with the title of sultan by the nominal successor of Mahomet, the Caliph of Egypt: he possessed, by right of his father's conquests and his own, Anatolia, Kerman, Karamania, and almost all the rest of Asia Minor; Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly were in his hands; and his fleet was stationed at Gallipoli, to shut out all succour from Constantinople. But there were knights in Sigismund's army who seemed ignorant or incredulous of the power of the Ottoman prince; for, on the very eve of battle, the Count of Nevers with four of his noble companions, all of them cousins to Charles VI. of France, discoursed together of the expected fall of Bajazet, of paying a visit to Constantinople, and of the deliverance of Palestine, as if all these events were sure to come to pass. The Sire de Coucy, one of the oldest French captains, was charged with the guidance of the inexperienced young princes, and they were attended by knights and squires about a thousand in number. Many skirmishes had preceded the decisive engagement, and hearing of the advance of Bajazet with all his forces, the French put their Turkish prisoners to the sword.

The young princes, already heated with wine, were conversing together in their tent of all that they meant to accomplish, when the enemy came in sight. Hastily clasping their armour, and mounting their horses, they rushed forwards with their followers to the van, although Sigismund had desired that they would not commence the attack. The Turkish line of battle was broken by the impetuosity of the French, who even faced the Janizzaries around the sultan's person; but these formidable soldiers overwhelmed them, and the subsequent defeat of the whole Christian army was attributed to their precipitancy. The far greater part of Sigismund's forces were slain, or driven into the Danube: Bajazet, in revenge for the treatment of the Turkish prisoners, ordered a general massacre of his prisoners, in the presence of the Count of Nevers, and twenty-four others of the highest rank, who were reserved for the sake of their ransoms. After the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet expressed his determination to proceed to Buda, to conquer Germany, and to feed his horse with a measure of

oats, on the altar of St. Peter at Rome ; but a long and painful fit of the gout held him back, and, by this slight providential check, Europe was again saved from Mahometan dominion. One of the French nobles was sent to Paris to seek a ransom for the rest, and Bajazet, after dragging them about with him in his various marches, and thus delaying their release, accepted 200,000 ducats for his surviving captives. The Count of Nevers was eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, then also count of Flanders, and the greater part of the money came from that wealthy country, the people being bound by feudal law to redeem from captivity the eldest son of their lord. Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and Charles VI. of France, interceded for the prisoners, and helped to procure their release: the former sent to the sultan a gold salt-cellar worth 10,000 ducats, and the King of France dispatched, by way of Hungary, a cast of Norwegian hawks, six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, fine linen of Rheims, and Arras tapestry representing the battles of Alexander.

At a parting entertainment given to the French princes at Bursa, Bajazet displayed all his magnificence, and gave a specimen of his despotism. The guests not only saw his train of 7000 huntsmen, and as many falconers, but beheld one of the sultan's officers cut in pieces at his command, because a poor woman had complained of his drinking her goat's milk without making any payment. Bajazet, like Tamerlane, though unbounded in his own passions, enforced the strictest discipline in his army: both of them were most rigid as legislators, and most severe as judges.

On releasing the Count of Nevers, Bajazet would not oblige him to swear, according to the common custom, never again to bear arms against him; he told him that he despised alike his oaths and his arms, and that if he wished to efface the first stain upon his chivalry, he would rejoice to meet him again on the field of battle. But although the sultan despised his ransomed prisoners, one of them subsequently caused him much annoyance. It was the Marshal Boucicault. With French ships and soldiers, he came to the aid of the emperor, Manuel Paleologus, when besieged in his capital soon after his accession to the throne (1399). The emperor and the marshal fought side by side, the blockade was raised, and the

French afterwards took by storm several of the Turkish castles both in Europe and Asia. But after carrying on the struggle for a year, Boucicault felt that it was impossible to succeed without farther help; and Manuel, by his advice, accompanied him to the French court to solicit aid, leaving his cousin John, the blind prince of Selybria, to defend the capital: during this period it was again besieged by the Turks, and might have fallen into their hands, had not Bajazet recalled all his troops to oppose the advancing Tartars.

The Ottoman camp contained 400,000 men, horse and foot; but Tamerlane had twice that number written on his military roll; and the hundreds of thousands of fleet Tartar horsemen reached Angora, in the very heart of Bajazet's kingdom, whilst the sultan was watching for them on the borders. In great wrath, he turned back to the relief of his city, and in the plains near Angora (anciently Ancyra), the two armies carried on a deadly conflict for three days. The Ottoman prince had the gout in his hands and feet, and his army being overwhelmed by superior numbers, he was taken prisoner by the Tartars. The whole of Anatolia was then exposed to the conqueror, and, sending his grandson to take Bursa, Tamerlane, in person, proceeded to Smyrna. This city was defended by the knights of Rhodes, but it was taken by storm, and all that breathed put to the sword: the savage Tartar threw the severed heads of the knights who were his prisoners from the engines which he used to besiege the place. Of such deeds as these we read with less horror when perpetrated in the name of Mahomet, than when the name of Christ is profaned by them: shocking as they are, they do not insult his cross.

Soliman, the eldest son of Bajazet, escaped into Europe with great treasures, before Bursa was taken, yet the spoil of the city was immense. The sultana and her daughter being found there, were restored to Bajazet, on condition that he should oblige the former, who, as a Servian princess, professed Christianity, to renounce her religion. Notwithstanding the insulting language used by Bajazet in his first conference with Tamerlane, he was treated with clemency, and his son Mousa was given him, from among a herd of captives, to be his companion in a splendid pavilion. At the feast of victory, Tamerlane entertained

his royal captives, placed a crown on Bajazet's head, and even promised to restore him to the throne : in fact, it appears that he behaved with as much courtesy as the Black Prince on a similar occasion ; but Bajazet's unbroken spirit, or the complaints of the Mahometan emirs whom he had displaced, induced the conqueror to conduct his prisoner towards Samarcand. His attempt to escape, by digging a passage under his tent, increased the harshness of his treatment ; and, in order to secure him on the march ; or, as some say, in insulting triumph, he was afterwards confined in an iron cage, which was placed on a waggon.

The proud spirit and infirm body of Bajazet quickly sank, and he died whilst the camp was at Antioch in Pisidia, only nine months after his defeat (A. D. 1403). It is said that Tamerlane wept over his victim, and that he sent the body with great pomp to Bursa for interment ; still more, he presented Mousa with gold, jewels, horses, and arms, and made him governor of Anatolia. But it was a poor principality, as the greater part of the province was soon regained by the Greek emperor, and the wooden houses of Bursa were in ruins. Soliman afterwards implored the clemency of the dreaded Tartar, and was empowered to continue in possession of Roumelia (Thrace). The Greek emperor submitted to pay tribute, and the Sultan of Egypt sent gifts to propitiate the conqueror. The vast empire of Tamerlane extended from the Irtysh and the Volga to the Persian Gulph, and from Mongolia and the Ganges to the Archipelago. The Sea of Marmora (the Propontis) ; narrow as it was, proved an impassable barrier to his destroying squadrons ; for they had no fleet, and the passage of the Bosphorus being in the hands of the Greeks, and that of the Hellespont guarded by Turks, both were alike desirous to prevent such enemies as the Tartars from crossing into Europe : their artifices and their presents had compelled Tamerlane to retreat. After a campaign of five years and nine months, the Tartar khan rested in Samarcand, but it was only for two months, and during this time he distributed rewards and punishments, according to the deserts of the crimes of his soldiers, and displayed his glory and riches. There, also, he was visited by ambassadors from Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, and Russia, as well as by the envoys of Henry III., king of Castile. At this time,

Tamerlane celebrated the nuptials of six of his grandsons; with such entertainments as were given of old by the kings of Persia. The palace gardens were adorned with innumerable pavilions; whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for cooking; pyramids of meat, and vases filled with every kind of liquor, were set before thousands of invited guests; and even the European ambassadors, says the Persian narrator, were not excluded, as the *smallest* fish find their place in the ocean. Nine times, the bridegrooms and the brides changed their dresses, and each time that fresh apparel was given them, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and left on the ground to be gathered by the attendants. Illuminations, masquerades, processions of all the orders of the state, and each of the trades displaying some marvellous pageant connected with their respective arts, closed the brilliant scene. But Tamerlane, even in his old age, could not be satisfied with splendid vanities, harmless indeed when compared with his own tastes: he had sent out colonies to form magazines, and to found cities for his entertainment in the deserts between Samarcand and China; and he prepared himself for an attack upon that vast empire.

The Chinese had borne the Mogul yoke with patience, till an opportunity occurred for setting themselves free, and then the revolution was sudden and complete. Tschuyen-Tschang was the native warrior to whose talents they owed the recovery of their independence: he laid his plans, armed the whole country, and the Mogul troops were everywhere beaten: the last of the Tartar khans was driven from the empire, and the church in China, which depended upon his help, was abolished in an instant. He who had delivered China from a foreign power was proclaimed emperor by his countrymen in 1368; it was therefore against a native prince that Tamerlane proposed to direct his efforts. Two hundred thousand veteran troops were prepared for the enterprise; their baggage and provisions were carried by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and a toilsome march was expected, as even trading caravans were six months in travelling from Samarcand to Peking.

In the seventieth year of his age, Tamerlane, on horseback, crossed the frozen waters of the Sihon, and began

his march ; but, in his camp, three hundred miles from his capital, he was attacked by fever, the consequence of excessive fatigue, and he died on April the 1st, 1405.

China was thus saved from another change of masters, and, fourteen years after, one of Tamerlane's sons sent an embassy, for the promotion of commerce, to the court of Peking, and presented the emperor, in token of his friendship, with an old horse on which his father had ridden.

Tamerlane either wrote, as Cæsar did, the history of his own wars and policy, or caused his secretaries to write for him. His "Institutes," addressed to his children, would make him appear a merciful conqueror, and an excellent ruler ; but the wise saying, "Let another man's lips praise thee and not thy own," might well be addressed to such a writer. The benevolent ideas contained in these Institutes make Tamerlane's *practice* still more condemnatory. He boasts that whereas Asia, before his time, had been a prey to anarchy and rapine, under his rule, a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse from east to west. But, if the terror of his name kept his subjects from stealing, he himself taught them to commit greater crimes : it was his leading principle that the will of the prince should never be altered or disputed, whatever it might be. And what was *his* will ? Destructive wars, the sacking and burning of cities, and the erection of columns or pyramids of human heads ; in one place, we are told, 300,000 skulls were piled up together. These murders and desolations being accomplished, the conqueror left neither troops to guard, nor magistrates to govern, his possessions, and thus it may be almost said that his empire perished with him. His sons and grandsons, thirty-six in number, had been kept under his iron rod, as well as the meanest of his subjects, and none dared to rebel against him ; but, after his decease, the country was soon portioned among many chiefs. It is said that Tamerlane spoke the Persian and Turkish languages with ease and elegance ; he had confidence in astrology ; he liked to converse with the learned on history and science, and amused his leisure with making improvements in the game of chess. He took care to have his grandsons instructed in the sciences, and Ouloug Beg, who succeeded him in his dominions beyond the Oxus, founded in Samarcand the first academy. This prince, also, caused

the measure of the earth to be taken, and helped to compose the astronomical tables which bore his name.

The race of sovereigns called the Great Moguls have been the most distinguished of Tamerlane's descendants. Tartary was seized by Usbek, a governor who gave his name to a race of Tartars still existing. One branch of Tamerlane's family reigned in Persia till they were driven away by another race of Tartarian princes, called the White Sheep.

When we consider the tremendous energy displayed by Tamerlane, the extent of the mischief which he effected, and the capability he possessed of directing, at his will, myriads of his fellow-creatures, we must acknowledge a superhuman power — even the power of the devil. In a prophecy concerning the worst desolator of this fallen earth, it is written, “The dragon, *i. e.* the devil, gave him *his* power, and *his* seat, and *great authority.*” (Rev. xiii. 2.) We may therefore justly conclude that all who use “great authority” for evil, are enabled to do so by the especial power of Satan. And, however mysterious this fact may appear, the believer rejoices in “God over all, blessed for ever;” and as, in the prophecy referred to, the very *days* and *months* of the blasphemer's murderous course are numbered, so is it in all cases; and He who has every agency at his disposal sent a fever to carry off Tamerlane, as soon as he had reached the determined bounds of his career.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA UNDER TARTAR DOMINION TO THE  
CLOSE OF THE TIMES OF RICHARD II.

THE GRAND-PRINCE ALEXANDER NEVSKY — HE OBTAINS THAT SURNAME ON ACCOUNT OF HIS DEFEAT OF THE DANES AND THEIR ALLIES NEAR THE NEVA. — HE IS MURDERED AT THE GOLDEN HORDE, AND CANONISED BY THE GREEK CHURCH. — THE POWERFUL KHAN USBEK, FROM WHOM KAPTSCHAK RECEIVES THE NAME OF USBEK TARTARY. — STRUGGLES FOR THE GRAND PRINCEDOM. — EXECUTION OF THE GRAND-PRINCE MICHAEL AT THE HORDE. — BOSNAI SERAI. — DIVISION OF THE TARTAR EMPIRE INTO THE KHAN-NATS OF THE DON AND THE VOLGA. — THE GRAND-PRINCE IVAN (I.) KALITA. — HIS TALENTS FOR GOVERNMENT. — HIS LOVE OF GAIN. — INCREASED COMMERCE OF RUSSIA. — THE LITHUANIANS. — THE DON COSSACKS. — THE GRAND-PRINCE DEMETRIUS OBTAINS THE SURNAME OF DONSKY, FROM HIS DEFEAT OF THE TARTARS OF THE DON. — HIS SON VASSILY ATTEMPTS TO MAKE HIMSELF INDEPENDENT OF THE TARTARS, BUT FAILS. — POWER AND WEALTH OF THE GREEK CLERGY AND MONKS. — PRINCELY POMP OF THE PRIMATE. — MONEY A PROMINENT FEATURE IN THE GREEK, AS WELL AS THE ROMAN, CATHOLIC RELIGION.

THE troubled page of Russian history is so closely connected with that of the Tartars, that, as we last took a view of Russia, in and after the time of its first subjection by the lieutenants of Zingis Khan, we must again look at its condition, in connection with Tartar dominion, during another period. Yaroslav, brother of the grand-prince who was defeated by Batou, bribed that chieftain to grant him the throne in 1227, leaving his own principality of Novgorod to his two sons, Theodore and Alexander. Five years after, Theodore died, and Alexander, being left to his own resources, proved himself superior to all the princes of Russia. The free people of Novgorod, alarmed at his resolute conduct,

expelled him ; but finding that no other commander could keep their enemies in awe, they sent to the court of Yaroslav, whither their prince had retired, entreating him to return. Alexander indignantly refused ; but on receiving a second embassy, with the archbishop at its head, he was persuaded to resume his government, and began to act with greater vigour than before. About 1239, he married a princess of Polotzk, and began to strengthen his principality against the incursions of his neighbours. These drew to their interest Waldemar II., king of Denmark, with the Swedes and the Teutonic knights of Livonia ; but Alexander, nothing daunted, collected all his forces, and, advancing against the hostile army, engaged them near Lake Peipus, on the banks of the Neva. The battle began at six in the morning, and lasted the whole day ; and a complete victory being gained by Alexander, he received, on account of it, the surname of Nevsky (A. D. 1245). On the death of Yaroslav, Alexander was among the princes who waited on the khan to obtain the vacant dignity ; but though he met with distinction on account of his military fame, and gained the admiration of the Golden Horde, it was not till his second visit that he was created grand-prince, so carefully did the Tartar sovereigns show that the honour was not hereditary, but dependent on their will. Alexander Nevsky entertained the hope of uniting all Russia under his sway ; and the khan seemed at first to favour his views, and even transferred to him the territories of two princes, because they preferred the Latin to the Greek ritual. But the Tartar sovereign at length grew jealous of his powerful vassal ; and being no longer content to receive the tribute of the country at his hands, appointed officers in all the towns to collect such sums as he pleased to demand. At Novgorod, these new claims were resisted ; and Alexander went thither, in person, to check a rebellion which he knew there was not strength to sustain : in the other towns, however, similar discontent broke forth, and many of the Tartar tax-gatherers were slain. Upon this, the khan sent messengers to all the Russian princes, desiring them to appear before him at the head of their troops, saying that he needed their aid in a distant campaign ; but Alexander, feeling sure that the sole intention of the summons was to deprive the country of its

defenders, and to leave it exposed to Tartar vengeance, resolved to go alone to the horde, to excuse disobedience to the despotic message, and to seek reconciliation. He acted nobly in thus exposing himself for the safety of his country. The grand-prince met with contemptuous treatment from the rude chieftains of Kaptschak; but, after suffering from their coarse manners a whole year, he gained a hearing from the khan, and his excuses were graciously accepted. But it appears that poison was administered to the successful petitioner on the eve of his departure for his kingdom, for he died suddenly on the road, soon after he left the Golden Horde. Many of the Russian princes died in the same suspicious manner, on being dismissed from the Tartar court; and probably the murder of the objects of their jealousy might have been open instead of secret, had not the waning power of the Golden Horde, through its intestine divisions, occasioned the fear of retaliation on the part of the Russians. Alexander Nevsky was canonised by the Greek Church, not so much on account of his living fame, as for the miracles reported after his death. It was said that the event was notified to the distant primate of Russia by a voice from heaven; and that when absolution was pronounced over the deceased prince, he opened one of his hands. Peter the Great erected a monastery on the spot where Alexander gained his fame; and thither, in 1723, he caused the relics of the royal saint to be transported with great pomp. He also instituted, in honour of this celebrated prince, the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky, in which several European monarchs have been enrolled. The shrine of St. Alexander is of massive silver, and, in the monastery which contains it, the late empress, Catherine the Great, built a superb church, with a mausoleum for herself and her descendants.

To the end of the century distinguished by the reign of Alexander Nevsky, the struggles for the grand-princedom were as violent as ever, and the princes more feeble than before: none of them acquired historic fame. The reports of the successes of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Kaptschak were at this time very brilliant; but they were sparks of human kindling, and soon disappeared. Chodabenda, who was khan from 1308 to 1317, had been

baptized in his youth by the desire of his mother, an avowed Christian; and though he preferred Mahometanism, he, at his outset, proposed a crusade; and the Pope promised to assist him with a hundred thousand knights: they mutually deceived each other. Chodabenda left his son Abu Said a minor; and the throne of the young khan was usurped by Usbek, a provincial governor, who was a zealous Mahometan. In honour of this powerful prince, the kingdom of Kaptshak took the name of Usbek Tартary. Seeing the ecclesiastical system established in Russia was the most powerful machine for working upon the public mind, Usbek issued a decree that the church should be the sole judge of the church, and of all who dwelt on its domains; that the clergy should be free from all kinds of tribute; and that whosoever plundered the church, or censured the Greek religion, should be punished with death.

About this time the princes of Twer had obtained the chief sovereignty of Russia; but as they chose to reside in their own principality, and not at Vladimir, Yury, an ambitious prince of Moscow, whose town and territories lay between Twer and Vladimir, determined to seize the capital, and to obtain the supreme rank. Having engaged the help of Novgorod, he shut up the princes of Twer within their own limits; and, by rich bribes, he obtained from the khan the title of grand-prince, and the hand of his sister in marriage: this latter favour had never before been bestowed on a vassal-prince of Russia; and Usbek sent with the princess one of his generals, at the head of a troop of Tartars, to establish Yury on the chief throne. But the rightful grand-prince, Michael of Twer, collected an army, repulsed his rival, and gained, amongst other prisoners, both the Tartar general and the princess. The latter died at Twer shortly after; and the defeated Yury vented his rage against Michael, by accusing him of having poisoned her. Of this crime there was no proof; but the prince was summoned to the Golden Horde to answer the charge. His sons, fearing that evil would befall him, offered to go in his place; but Michael would not consent that they should be sacrificed on account of their filial love; and making his will, as if death awaited him, he set out for the horde. One of his sons preceded him, to ex-

plain all the artifices used by Yury to supplant and ruin him; but that prince was himself at the court of Usbek, and the explanation availed nothing. Some rays of civilisation had now darted into Kaptshak; secret assassination, at least, seemed discountenanced; and, for the first time, a Russian prince was brought to formal trial: nothing, however, could be more unjust than the proceedings, for the defeated Tartar general was made the president of the court of justice, and the jealous Yury was the sole accuser: Michael was condemned to die. Usbek Khan, as if doubting the competency of the court, assembled another, but the sentence was the same; and Michael, after remaining in chains twenty-five days, during which time he was visited by his sons and his confessor, was beheaded in Bosnai Serai, the Tartar encampment. The coldness with which Yury gazed on the bleeding corpse aroused even the Tartar general to express astonishment at his insensibility; and, in order to conceal his satisfaction, he ordered the remains to be conveyed in state to Russia. The eldest son of Michael left no means untried to bring Yury into disgrace with the khan; and, having at last procured for him a summons to the dreaded horde, he killed him with his own sword, before he could be brought to trial for the crimes laid to his charge. The khan punished this act of revenge by the immediate execution of the prince; but Alexander, his brother, was raised to the chief throne. This prince had scarcely reigned a year, when Ivan, prince of Moscow, and brother of Yury, alarmed him by a report that the Tartars resident in his city plotted against his life. Alexander, accordingly, put to death all the Tartars within his dominions, except such as consented to embrace Christianity; and one of Usbek Khan's relatives being among the victims, the grand-prince was driven from his throne, and outlawed by the Tartar sovereign. After a time, he capriciously restored him; but being anew stirred up by Ivan, he invited the grand-prince and his son to the horde, and caused them to be put to death. Usbek was of a most subtle character; and whilst he slew the Russian princes, and enslaved thousands of their subjects, he supported the Greek Church on the one hand, and on the other flattered the Pope with the favourite project of a new crusade: he also allowed the Dominicans to

form the town of Sultana, in Persia, into an archbishopric, having six bishoprics within its control, and permitted a Romish archbishop to come to Caffa, in the Crimea.

At the death of Usbek, a new era commenced for Russia. The Tartar empire bordering upon it was broken into two khannats, those of the Volga and the Don; and Ivan, the prince of Moscow, who gained the supreme dignity in Russia, prevailed on the primate to remove from Vladimir to Moscow, and thus made his native city the capital of the Russian empire. He reigned from 1328 to 1340. Ivan (John) I. was in fact the exact representative of the khan in Russia; and, having power to collect the tribute, he raised far larger sums than he forwarded to the Tartar treasury. He obtained the surname of Kalita, *i. e.* the Purse, either from his great wealth, or from having a purse full of money for the poor carried before him through the streets: in this manner he did his alms to be seen of men, whilst secretly he wrung money from his people in an unjust manner. Possibly, Ivan encouraged commerce to gratify his own love of gain: it is certain that in his day the trade of Russia greatly increased, and all kinds of luxuries from foreign lands were displayed in the markets, and fairs, established in different parts of the country. An old chronicle states, that there were seventy inns in the Sclavonian suburb of Mologa, on the Volga, the great mart of Asiatic and European commerce at this period; and that the duties paid to the grand-prince from that place amounted to 7200 lbs. weight of silver. Ivan played the Russians against the Tartars, and the Tartars against the Russians, with remarkable skill. In the name of the khan, he subjected the inferior princes, and consolidated the empire; and, with the gold drained from Russia, he preserved the favour of the Tartar monarch. From first to last, Ivan was a ferocious, treacherous, and avaricious prince; but, by his firmness, he raised Russia in the scale of nations, and prepared the way for its emancipation from Tartar dominion. In the confusion occasioned by the Tartar invasion, the Lithuanians had freed themselves from the Russian yoke, and one of their leaders possessed himself of Kiow and the adjacent principalities. The Poles and Hungarians afterwards wrested these conquests from the dukes of Lithuania; and the wretched inha-

bitants, driven to despair by repeated disasters, fled into new regions, and offered their services to Ivan I. With one body of these immigrants commenced the republic of the Don Cossacks; and, being joined by the discontented of all nations, they formed so powerful a colony in the regions lying between the dominions of the Turks and Tartars, that they made the communication of these co-religionists difficult, and thus made head against them both.

The treasures left by Ivan the Purse enabled his eldest son Simeon, surnamed the Proud, to purchase from the khan the right of succession; he reigned thirteen years, carrying on, with more gentleness, the plans of his father. At his death, in 1353, his brother Ivan II. purchased the great principedom, and, throughout his reign, helped on its aggrandisement. In 1362, he was succeeded by Dmitry (Demetrius), the son of Ivan II., a man of equal ambition and judgment, who succeeded in establishing the principle of succession from father to son, and in forming a bulwark to the throne by raising the boyars throughout the country into the condition of nobles, transmitting their rank to their descendants: he also made all the dignities about the court hereditary in the great families, in order to secure their attachment to the imperial line. The divisions of the Tartar empire made the inferior Russian princes uncertain as to which of the rival khans they ought to apply; and, turning to the grand-prince as the arbiter of their differences, they became gradually dependent upon him.

Mamai, the khan of the Tartars bordering on the Don, at this time claimed the supremacy in Russia; and seeing the growing power of Dmitry, he assembled all his forces, with the intention of crushing him. Dmitry urged upon the Russians the recollection of all the cruelties of their barbarian masters, with the dread of the subversion of their religion by a khan indisposed towards it; and as he led his army from Moscow to the banks of the Don, every man capable of bearing arms joined his standard: they amounted to 300,000, but the Tartars were said to be treble that number. Having transported his troops across the Don, Dmitry turned the vessels adrift, that they might have no means of turning back; and when he brought

them to face the enemy, they fought with tremendous fury. The ferocity and multitudes of the Tartars seemed likely to gain the day; but the grand-prince had reserved a part of his army, which fell upon the victors in the moment of triumph, and turned the event of the battle. The Tartars fled, with Mamai at their head, leaving multitudes of dead on the field of battle, who were never interred. The Russians were occupied for eight days in burying their own dead. On account of this terrible victory over the Tartars of the Don, Dmitry received the surname of Donsky (A. D. 1379). Two years after, the hordes of the Don and the Volga united, in order to avenge this extraordinary defeat; and whilst Dmitry was engaged in collecting his forces, they attacked Moscow. The primate and a great number of citizens fled at the approach of the enemy, and the city was surrendered, on the promise of mercy. But as soon as the Tartars entered, they massacred every person they met, and set the houses on fire. Satisfied with this demonstration of power, they retired, and Dmitry Donsky was obliged to humble himself to the khan, and to obtain his permission to reascend the throne. With this one check, through the destruction of Moscow, Dmitry, during a reign of twenty-seven years, was steadily increasing his own power and that of the empire. His son Vassily (Basil), from childhood, had received the allegiance of the princes; and, on succeeding to his father's throne, kept together the petty principdoms in such a manner as to withstand enemies who might otherwise have torn the empire in pieces. Vassily married the daughter of Vitovt, the duke of Lithuania, in order to propitiate that powerful chief; but he passed the Russian frontier, and, plundering the trembling people as he advanced, penetrated as far as Novgorod. This attack was less alarming than the approach of Tamerlane, who, with four hundred thousand men, reached the very gates of Moscow, plundering and destroying as he came. Russia, however, suffered far less from the power of Tamerlane than her Tartar masters and her Lithuanian enemies: both these powers were defeated by the great khan and his generals. Vassily became so hopeful of independence that he had himself crowned in the capital, with imperial pomp; but he was obliged to make his apologies at the horde for this act of presump-

tion, and only retained the throne by acknowledging himself, as before, a vassal of the Tartars. His reign of thirty-six years extended to the year 1425.

With regard to the church establishment in Russia during this period, the primate's court was superior in magnificence to that of the grand-prince; surrounded by boyars and guards, and revelling in all the luxuries of the East, the head of this grand religious system possessed almost unlimited power over the lives of the people. He was the first person consulted on all difficult questions; and, in public processions, princes were obliged to hold the bridle of the ass on which he rode. The monks, too, loaded with riches, lived in fortified places, like the nobles of other lands, and were defended by formidable retinues. Money formed as prominent a feature in the Greek, as in the Roman Catholic, religion. It was taught that all kinds of ills, whether physical, moral, or spiritual, might be remedied by gifts to the clergy and monks; in fact, it was asserted that the favour of God might be obtained on much the same terms as that of their earthly lords—the Tartar khans! Yet the men who perpetuated these deadly errors were continually reciting the Psalms; no part of Scripture was so often on their lips; and, unless their consciences had been utterly seared, would they not have amended their doctrines under the power of such words as these:—“*Hear this, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world: both low and high, rich and poor together. They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches; none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him, that he should still live for ever, and not see corruption . . . for the redemption of their soul is precious?*”

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*General Sketch of Manners in the 13th and 14th Centuries.*

ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.—DWELLINGS.—LANGUAGE.—DRESS.—MEALS.—HALLS.—CASTLES.—CHURCHES.—ABBEYS.—COLLEGES.—DESCRIPTION OF LONDON.—PUBLIC FESTIVALS.—DIVERSIONS.—MINSTRELS.—MYSTERIES AND MIRACLE PLAYS.—FEAST OF FOOLS.—FEAST OF THE ASS.—THE BOY-BISHOP.—ARTS.—MANUFACTURES.—MEDICINE AND SURGERY.—LITERATURE.

NOTHING can tend to make us so familiar with the times through which this volume has conducted us, as some miscellaneous particulars respecting the things that continually presented themselves to the minds or the senses of persons living in those times. This chapter contains such particulars; but, for the sake of brevity, they are chiefly confined to that which concerns our own country. If, by historical intelligence, we transport ourselves back into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, England itself will appear more like a foreign country than our own native land. Its natural features, indeed, are nearly the same; some of the buildings which now greet our eye were raised by the men of that age; but the people, in their manner of life, dress, habits, language, and thoughts, were so different from the English of our own days, as to appear in our review like a foreign people. Woods, and marshes, and wastes abounded; there was scarcely a road in town or country which we should deem passable; chimneys and glass windows, even stone walls and tiled roofs, were, in common dwellings, almost unknown; and we must picture to ourselves the majority of our countrymen with no other than a wooden, straw-roofed home, with little thought of cleanliness, or what we call comfort, in their smoky houses, or even in their own persons. War, famine, and plague, as we have read in our history, God's sore judgments on men who will walk in their own ways, mowed down thousands after thousands; but others grew up in their places, and, as we shall mark in our next

period, learned little wisdom from the history of those that went before them. In 1316, after the Scottish wars, famine and disease prevailed to such an extent, that the living were hardly able to bury the dead: in the general pestilence of 1349, which necessitated the cessation of war in many countries, some historians affirm that one half, and others, a much larger proportion, of the people died.

To some, these judgments appear to have been for spiritual or moral blessing; but, in the majority of cases, the survivors finding themselves more alone in the world, and often inheriting great riches from the many dead, plunged more deeply into vice than before.

A confusion of tongues prevailed in England for many centuries after the Norman Conquest; and, even in the former part of the fourteenth century, public speakers were sometimes obliged to pronounce the same discourse in Latin, in French, and in English, to make themselves intelligible to their whole audience. Norman French was the language of the court, of the upper classes, and of all who aimed at gentility; so much so that it was a common proverb, "Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French." After *the great death*, as the last named pestilence was called, English began to prevail; and Chaucer, the father of English poetry, who died in 1400, helped to establish the use of the language by writing in it so much and so well. The earliest existing specimen of epistolary correspondence in English, from a private hand, the first specimen too of an English lady's penmanship, is a letter dated 1400, written by Lady Pelham to her husband. The grammar is not good, but the language is perfectly intelligible to us. Not so the vulgar English, as seen in the charter of Henry III., A. D. 1258. Let us take the commencement. "*Henry, thurg Godes fultome, king on Engleneloande, lhoaeurd on Yrloand, duk on Normand, on Acquitain, eorl on Angou, send I greting, to alle hise holde, ilaerde and ilewede on Huntindonnschiere.*" "Henry, through God's support, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy, of Aquitain, earl of Angou, sends greeting, to all his subjects, learned and unlearned of Huntingdonshire," &c. Chaucer, his friend and cotemporary, the poet Gower, and the much-esteemed Wickliffe, who all composed voluminously in English, being men of learning, borrowed

many words and idioms from the French and Italian, Greek and Latin, and thus adorned and enriched, as well as altered, the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The mode of spelling, however, remained long unsettled, and these old writers seemed to delight in introducing an abundance of vowels. The various dialects which prevailed throughout England, even in the latter half year of the fourteenth century, were far more distinct and disagreeable than they are now. A cotemporary writer thus complains:—"Some use straunge wlassing, chytryng, harring, garryng, and grysbyting. The langages of the Northumbres, and specyally at Yorke, is so sharpe, slytting, frotyng, and unshape, that we sothern men maye unneth (scarcely) understande that langage." In 1362, English had so much gained ground, that an act of parliament was passed, that all pleadings in the courts should be in that language, because French was then so much unknown; and it was just that people should understand what was said for and against them. Yet this same act was in French, and so were its successors long after; a proof how much the higher ranks preferred that language. Edward I. and his nobility appear to have understood little of English.

We have alluded to the subject of dress in passing: throughout this whole period, in all its varieties, it was ridiculously extravagant. When Henry III. attended the marriage of his daughter to Alexander III., he was accompanied by a thousand knights, all dressed alike in silk robes, and the next day they appeared in new dresses equally expensive. The fantastical ornaments worn on the occasion seem to have surpassed the astonished annalist's powers of description. The top of the fashion for a complete beau in the reign of Edward III. must excite a smile in its remembrance. The pointed shoes, so long condemned in vain, were still worn, with the upper part like a church window, and fastened to the knee with gold or silver chains; the stockings were of different colours, often blue on one leg, and red on another; the coat was one half white, and the other half black or blue; the beard was worn long; and a silk hood was buttoned under the chin, embroidered with grotesque figures, and sometimes ornamented with gold and jewels. The constant changes of clothing, their absurdities and indecorousness,

were subjects of vehement complaint to the more serious and sober-minded. One good monk declares, "They weren more lyke to turmentours and deviles in their clothingge, and also in their schoying (shoeing), than they seemed to be lyke men; and thette the wemmenne passed the menne in alle maner of araies and curious clothing." Chaucer was quite as severe in his criticisms. Petrarch thought good to write a letter to the Pope on the subject (1366); therefore it appears England rather borrowed from strangers, than invented these strange modes of apparel. He says, "Who can see with patience the monstrous fantastical fashions which the people of our times have invented to deform, rather than adorn, their persons? their long-pointed shoes; their caps with feathers; their hair twisted and hanging down like tails; the foreheads of young men, as well as women, formed into a kind of furrow with ivory-headed pins; their forms so cruelly squeezed with cords, that they suffer as much pain from vanity, as the martyrs suffered for their religion." He adds, that much of the common style of dress was extremely offensive to every modest eye, and thus sums up the matter:—"I know not if our posterity will believe, that it was possible for the wit of this vain generation to invent so many base, barbarous, horrid, ridiculous, fashions to disfigure and disgrace itself, as we have the mortification to see every day." To this general description, we need only add, that the English ladies adopted head-dresses, three feet high, in the shape of sugar-loaves, with streamers of fine silk flowing from the top of them to the ground; they also dressed in parti-coloured tunics, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another. This was in 1348.

In our present period, people of all ranks made only two stated meals a-day, dinner in the forenoon, supper in the afternoon. Kings, however, and all of high rank and great fortune, commonly took some refreshment just before they went to bed: it consisted of wine, warmed and mixed with spices, and delicate cakes: hence it was called *the wines*. But though the meals of our ancestors were less frequent than our own, "the outrageous and excessive multitude of meats and dishes," used not only by the great, but by persons of inferior rank, occasioned a proclamation from Edward II. with the view of restraining the

evil. It was enacted, also, in the reign of Edward III., that gentlemen's servants should have only one meal of flesh or fish in the day, and that their other meal should consist of milk, butter, cheese, and such other things as were suitable to their station. But these laws are said to have had no effect in restraining extravagance, though they were issued in time of severe famine.

In the fourteenth century of the Christian era, the arts and luxuries of life were for the most part much below the point attained 1400 years before that era; yet an Italian writer of this period complains, that in his time frugality and simplicity had given way to extravagance and luxury. The examples are as follows:—"In the times of Frederic I. and II., they ate hot meat only three times a week, in Milan; wine was a rarity; candles were luxurious ornaments, and tapers were unknown; the lights were pieces of wood kindled at the fire. All, except people of the highest class, wore shirts of serge, but now they wear linen in common; the women also dress in silken stuffs, some even mixed with gold and silver, and adorn their ears with gold pendants." Yet, even at this time, silver forks, spoons, and cups were regarded, in Lombardy, as very extravagant articles, and could have been little known elsewhere. It was long, indeed, before any kind of forks came into use; a knife, with the assistance of the fingers, was deemed sufficient; and only kings and great people enjoyed the luxury of washing their hands after meals.

The expenses of feasts, in these days, were very great, because of the number of guests entertained on grand occasions. Edward the Third's coronation dinner cost a sum equal to £40,000 of our money. The installation dinner of the Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, in 1309, cost £4300; six thousand guests partaking of the feast. At the nuptials of Richard, earl of Cornwall, 30,000 dishes were served up. At the nuptials of Alexander III., sixty fat oxen, the present of the Archbishop of York to the King of England, were entirely consumed, forming only one article of the immense provisions.

The *intermeats* used at royal feasts were the most expensive and singular part of the entertainment: the French excelled in such ingenuities. They were representations of battles, sieges, legends, or Scripture stories, introduced

between the courses, for the pleasure of the guests. Intermeats at common banquets were only delicate dishes, often highly ornamental, to please the taste, rather than to satisfy the hunger, of the guests. Ale and cyder were the common drinks in England, and women were the only brewers; a brewhouse being a necessary office in every great house. The variety of wines, either imported or made in England, bore such curious names, that we are at a loss to determine either their origin or description.\* Some were compounded of wine, honey, and spices, according to approved receipts. For the sake of holding such great feasts as were common in these times, the ancient palaces, the monasteries, and even the manor-houses, always contained one vast hall, or very spacious apartment. It was there that the feudal lord dined with the whole host of his retainers. These halls were either paved with freestone, or had a floor of earth, hardened by continual treading; at the upper end was a raised floor of planks, called the dais: at public royal entertainments, there were several of these dais, one above the other, that the more distinguished guests, or the lord with his family, might, if they desired, dine at separate tables from the common crowd. On ordinary occasions, all who were fed at their lord's expense sat down in the same hall at one long table, in the centre of which a large salt-cellar was placed, as a boundary between the higher and lower classes. The finer sort of bread, and the choice drinks, were never passed "below the salt," and the servants, or guests of low degree, were supplied with food when their superiors were satisfied. The tables were planks placed upon tressels, removeable at pleasure; the seats were long benches; and table-linen was never seen, except occasionally at an upper table on the dais. The floor was spread with straw and rushes, which, when not often changed, became very offensive, as it was filled with offal thrown from the table, and made unclean by the dogs that were allowed to range there at pleasure. At the lower end of the great hall there was usually a screen-work, to hide the door of entrance, and

\* Rumney, maespine, ypocrasse, vernage, mountrese, wyne of Greke, algrade, despice, antioche, bastarde, pyment, garnarde, clare and rochelle, are all enumerated by an English poet of the fourteenth century.

the passages to the offices, from persons at the table : over the screen was a gallery for the minstrels, who were personages of importance in these ancient entertainments. The passage to the kitchen was by a continual descent, with a hatchway in the middle : it contained vast fire-places, with irons for a prodigious number of spits, which were turned by the lowest menials : there were also stoves, great double ranges of dressers, large chopping-blocks, and a massy table hollowed into basins, to serve as kneading troughs. The walls of dining halls, as well as chapels, and even the bedrooms of the higher class, were now, it appears, very generally adorned with paintings. In perspective and colouring, these pictures were little superior to those of the ancient Assyrians, Egyptians, and Etruscans : in durability very inferior ; oil-painting being scarcely introduced yet into England : in one respect, however, that is, in their subjects, our ancestors, having the Bible, excelled.

In Henry the Third's Winchester Palace, there was one chamber painted green, with stars of gold, and covered with the whole history of the Old and New Testament. In 1322, a chamber in Westminster Palace had its walls painted with all the warlike histories in the Bible, with a regular series of texts, written in French over each battle : on the walls of another chamber was a representation of the expedition of Richard I. to the Holy Land. In 1800, when alterations were made for enlarging the lower house of parliament, to admit the Irish members, a discovery was made of paintings and gilding on the walls, executed by artists at the order of Edward III. One scriptural subject was the Nativity, another the destruction of Job's family ; the king and queen were painted as large as life ; and there was a great variety of small figures, some of a comic character, with many inscriptions. This apartment was the royal chapel of Edward III., and called St. Stephen's : in his zeal to have it fully decorated, he issued a writ to certain knights to procure competent artists, either in England, or from abroad, and to imprison them, if refractory, till they should put forth their utmost skill.

The architectural art of this period was chiefly displayed in castles, and in religious edifices : while the necessities of

the times led to the many inventions for security, their superstitions gave birth to the multiplication and ornament of convents, abbeys, and churches.

The castle\* had been brought to such perfection, the art of defence being superior to that of assault, that, before the use of cannon, a thoroughly fortified and well-provisioned castle might be deemed a place of entire security. The favourite site of the ancient castle was a rising ground near a river. The chosen spot was surrounded by a wall ten or twelve feet high, flanked with towers, and with a narrow projection near the top on the inside, where the defenders might stand either to look out, or to use their weapons. The deep ditch, called the moat, surrounded the walls, and was filled, if possible, with water. The moat was crossed by a drawbridge, which was let down at pleasure, or traversed by an immovable bridge, at the foot of which stood the barbican, or watch-tower. Around many castles there was a second wall, considerably smaller in circuit than the first, and defended in like manner: in this case, barracks, a well, a chapel, and sometimes a monastery, occupied the space between the two walls.

If all the outworks were taken by the enemy, the strongest place of defence was left for the retreat of the garrison. This was properly called *the keep*. In form, it was commonly square, with walls ten or twelve feet thick. When the situation afforded no natural rock, it was often built on an artificial mount, so steep, that its summit, except in one point, was very difficult of access. A thick partition-wall divided the whole building into two equal parts, and at the foundation of this wall lay the well, a pipe from which, carried up through the middle of the wall, supplied every floor with water, whilst the source remained concealed from view. In the outer walls a circular staircase was sometimes contrived, in order to raise materials for making, or repairing, military machines, in time of siege; these machines were kept on the leads at the top of the castle, which was surrounded by turrets. The lowest story of the keep, beneath the ground, formed the dungeon, of course a dark and miserable place. The ground-floor was

\* Castellum, from which the word castle is derived, signified a little camp: the plan of the building and outworks corresponded with this idea.

used for stores ; the second story, for the garrison, whose only beds were trusses of straw, and their only light from the narrow chinks in the thick wall ; the third story was divided into two state-rooms, or formed one spacious apartment for the lord of the castle, his family, or guests ; the medium size of the rooms being fifty feet in length by twenty in breadth ; often there was but one window in each room, and that a considerable height from the floor : the highest story was used for bed-chambers. One great art in castle-building was to give the appearance of weakness to the strongest places, and thus to invite attack where it could be best resisted. It was considered safest to have no place of entrance on a level with the ground ; the portal was in the second or third story, and the way of access most ingeniously defended. If the enemy began to ascend the spacious stone staircase which frequently went in part round two sides of the building, they found at the end of a few steps an interval, of which the garrison could make a landing-place by letting down a drawbridge ; beyond this was a strong gate, perhaps only the entrance to a small tower, the vestibule of the keep. The portal itself, besides its strong gates, was defended by the portcullis, a machine in the form of a harrow, extremely heavy, being composed of strong beams crossing each other, with iron spikes projecting from every point of intersection, and other spikes in a perpendicular direction, which, when it was let down by a windlass from within, fastened it securely in the floor beneath, and effectually impeded the advance of the foe. But, besides this difficult way of egress or ingress, the castle was frequently provided with a subterraneous passage, beginning in the keep itself, and terminating at some distance without the walls. This might be used as a way of escape, or as a sallyport from whence the issuing garrison might annoy its besiegers. By such a passage as this, Edward III. and his attendants were admitted into Nottingham Castle, on the night of the capture of Roger Mortimer : by such a passage, the inhabitants of Carcassonne made their escape, when so closely besieged by the papal army.

The ancient Greeks and Romans attained to great excellence in the art of fortifying cities ; but they had no private dwellings such as we have been describing. Castles

however, as we have observed, were of very early origin, and told painful tales of man's fear of his fellow-man, or his own designs of violence. The many passages of the Psalms, wherein David, in the confidence of faith, claims the Lord as his fortress and his high tower, must be familiar to the attentive reader.

Except in very ferocious wars, religious edifices were usually respected; the strength of their architecture was, therefore, only with a view to durability; and decorative art could be displayed in them, such as was out of character for buildings of defence.

The earliest churches of Britain were of a simple quadrangular form, a little rounded at the east end; they consisted of a nave and two side aisles, divided from the nave by columns. In the age of Alfred, the transept, or cross-building, was added; also a tower or belfry, for the bells, which then first came into use. The design of these Saxon churches was not altered by the Normans, but they rebuilt the greater part of them, on a much larger scale, within a century after the Conquest. The style of these buildings is termed the Roman, or elder Gothic: our ancestors called it the Roman, because the priests from Rome instructed them in the erection of their early churches: the term Gothic was afterwards added, in contempt, by persons who, having seen the best styles of Roman architecture, deemed this to be wholly barbarous, and such as could only have been tolerated in the degeneracy of the empire, after the invasion of the Goths.

The elder Gothic, of which Durham Cathedral is considered the finest specimen, was chiefly distinguished by its massive pillars, and the circular form of its arches. The later Gothic took its rise about the middle of the twelfth century, reached its greatest magnificence during the thirteenth, and was the ruling style down to the Reformation. The originators of it are unknown, but it has been surmised that it was a native Anglo-Norman improvement on the ancient style, the earliest specimens of it being seen in England. Its novelty was in the pointed arch, the slender pillars, the vaultings of the roofs, formed by a succession of curves, and the prominent buttresses outside the walls. The windows were at first long and narrow, but, in the reign of Edward II., the large east and west windows were

introduced, with painted glass: at the same time, spires, pinnacles, and other ornamental additions were made on the outside of churches.

Bishop Warburton imagined, that the whole style of the complete Gothic building was designed to imitate the Druidic grove: the columns, a regular avenue of well-grown trees; the curious curves of the roof, the intermingling of the branches over-head; the arches pointed, to represent the curve of intersecting branches; the distinct shafts of the columns, and their light appearance, to copy the stems of a group of trees; the ramification of the stonework of the windows, the branching twigs; and the coloured glass in the interstices, the sunny leaves of an opening grove. However fanciful this may be, it is less far-fetched, and more innocent, than much that is now written on the subject of church-architecture. The bishop aptly concludes, that the intention was "to preserve that gloomy light which inspires religious horror." If, indeed, the buildings admitted with jealousy the light of heaven, if a gloomy light were alone suffered to pervade them, much more did the devices of man keep the crowds that thronged these edifices in a system of doctrine and forms which were darkness visible, and calculated to inspire the worshipper with the spirit of fear and bondage, and not of love and a sound mind. Solomon's temple, ever unsurpassed in costliness and skilful workmanship, was distinguished, among other points, by its radiant purity. All was either overlaid with gold within, or made of pure gold, or of bright brass; and, as if to mark the typical character of all this brilliance, which was, be it remembered, illumined with the visible glory, that golden floor was only passed over by the newly washed feet of the anointed and prepared priest. Every whit of the temple uttered God's glory. All seemed to proclaim this truth, in characters the dullest might read, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." The Spirit of the Lord was the author of the whole design. (1 Chron. xxviii. 11—19.) That Spirit always *enlightens*.

Next to the cathedrals, in the scale of religious architecture, were the abbeys of Great Britain. All of these, before the Norman Conquest, belonged, in England, to the Benedictines; and when other monastic orders were intro-

duced, all the mitred abbots, who sat in parliament, were, with one exception, of the Benedictine Order. The very ruins of their abbeys are still the ornaments of the places where they are found. The abbey may be described as the highest form of monastic church, the convent or dwelling-house of the monks was placed around it, or under its shadow. That the monks were planted in the most fertile parts of England, and had the good taste to choose the most picturesque sites, has been a common subject of remark. The spaciousness required in their buildings gave much exercise for architectural contrivance, and great skill was used in order to chain popular veneration around their edifices. The abbey was made the place of sanctuary for oppressed innocence, and even for criminal violence; and afforded some irregular relief to the poor, for whom the laws of the land did not then provide. The monks, being persons of leisure, cultivated many arts that were neglected by rougher or more busy hands. Their practice of illuminating manuscripts came to perfection in the period under review. The titlepage, and the capital letters at the commencement of certain paragraphs, were often adorned with a profusion of gilding, and elaborately minute paintings. From among these has been formed a collection of miniature portraits of all the kings, several of the queens, and many of the eminent men of England, from the time of Edward the Confessor to that of Henry VII. The likenesses are, of course, uncertain. The ridicule which was engendered by the solemn mockeries of these times crept even into the exercise of these curious arts. Many a waggish monk chose to adorn the missal with a fox in the dress of his order, telling his beads, or similar caricatures: these drolleries sometimes took a more solid form in the ornamental carving, and even the stonework of religious edifices. The English monks were so skilful in workmanship in silver and gold, that the most curious mode of decorating reliquaries, mitres, candlesticks, &c. was styled Anglican work (*opus Anglicum*). It is worthy of remark that Spina, a Dominican monk of Pisa, in the thirteenth century, became a manufacturer of spectacles: he had seen some made by a person who was unwilling to communicate the art, and he kindly betrayed the useful secret himself; for he

knew how to do anything which he had seen, or of which he had heard. In remembering the architecture of this period, we must not omit the colleges and halls erected for the students of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities. They at first studied in private houses and halls, rented from the townsmen; but this gave occasion to frequent quarrels; and though Henry III. appointed two respectable citizens, and two masters of arts, to be chosen annually, with authority to settle all disputes, peace could not be maintained; and, at length, some generous friends of learning built and endowed the public colleges and halls. Some of the finest of these buildings were erected between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries. The colleges for the study of the law, called inns of court, became very numerous and flourishing before the end of the fourteenth century. The Temple, after the suppression of the Knights Templars, being turned to the use of the students of law, the name has ever since been retained. London, in the fourteenth century, was a rich, busy, commercial city, numbering about 200,000 inhabitants, who resided mostly within the space called the city, the ancient limits formed by the Roman walls. But Cheapside was then "a faire large place called Crown-field," in which, as we have noticed, tournaments were held; and the *villages* of Strand, Charing, and Holborn, are described as in the environs of London. The houses, therefore, were much crowded together, with only narrow, dirty lanes running between them: there were no wide streets, or well-paved ways. There were three small palaces, and various monasteries, in the city; but the Tower and the Westminster Palace were the chief residences of the kings of this period. One of the most remarkable features in London was the solitary stone bridge, called, by way of dignity, London Bridge, long after others were built. The London merchants, in these days, were very rich: we read of a vintner, or wine-merchant, who, after the battle of Poitiers, entertained in his hall the four kings, of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, and gave them many rich gifts. Another, by loans of money, materially assisted Edward III. in his French wars: a third sent a thousand soldiers to sea at his own expense, to defend the coast.

The show at the installation of the mayor of London was, in the fourteenth century, an occasion of great pomp. The houses before which the new magistrate passed were hung with tapestry, or cloth of gold: giants, dragons, buffoons, and persons dressed up to imitate historical personages, having to act or say their several parts, formed a succession of curious pageants.\* May-day was a fresh occasion of pageantry in London, and of rude sports elsewhere. The chief magistrates attended the setting-up of the principal maypole in Cornhill. The favourite pageant of the day was Robin Hood, the famous robber, with a retinue clothed in green, to represent his band of outlaws: the various pastimes were closed by stage-plays, and bonfires in the streets. The July festival was called, the setting of the midsummer watch. After sunset, bonfires were lighted in the streets, near which the wealthier citizens set out tables with plenty of meat and drink, to which they invited all passengers to sit down and praise God. It was regarded as a time of reconciliation for the bitterest enemies. The watch consisted of two thousand men as a standing watch, dressed in their gayest clothes, and dispersed through the whole city and suburbs, each with a torch. The marching watch was a procession of two thousand, and more, torch-bearers, attended by the mayor, constables, and sheriffs, not forgetting the usual accompaniments of giants, dragons, &c. In 1363, Edward III. published a proclamation, prohibiting many new diversions in which the people began to spend their hours of recreation, to the neglect of archery. The sports proscribed, on this account, were throwing stones, wood, or iron; throwing the hand-ball, foot-ball, and club-ball; bull-baiting and cock-fighting; "or more useless and dishonest games;" by which, probably, games of chance were signified. Wrestling was also a common diversion. But, perhaps, of all entertainments, those furnished by the minstrels were the most popular. Thoroughly accomplished minstrels could not only sing to a musical instrument long

\* The Nine Worthies were very favourite personages in speech-making. The nine probably varied at different times; but our ancestors often associated together the following: Joshua, Hector, David, Alexander the Great, Judas Maccabeus, Julius Cæsar, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Guy of Warwick.

poems, which were as intelligible as if spoken, but they could dance to their own music; throw themselves into various postures; amuse their audience with jests; or turn jugglers. Some minstrels did such marvellous things that they were called sorcerers. The malignant and demoralising influence exercised by the minstrels, probably first suggested to the monks and clergy to introduce some amusements which they hoped might be for profit. The earliest play of the kind, entitled "Miracles," was one from the legend of St. Catherine, acted in Dunstable Abbey, about 1110. The author was the Abbot of St. Alban's.

The opinion that the clergy entertained of the minstrels may be gathered from the fact, that they denied them Christian communion or burial; and they never rested till, by their own sacred plays, they nearly pushed the minstrels off the field. The Fourth Lateran Council forbade priests to be present at secular plays; but, in 1287, we find the Synod of Exeter forbidding the performance of profane plays in churches and churchyards, on vigils and festivals, which shows that a fondness for such entertainments was creeping in.

The plays called "Mysteries," the subjects of which were taken from the Bible, were introduced at the close of the thirteenth, and in full esteem in the fourteenth, century, being considered a great improvement on the earlier miracle-play, which was taken from the history of some canonised saint, whose legend was often ridiculous enough. The subjects of the Chester Mysteries, performed in that city in 1347, were the Fall of Lucifer; the Creation, in which a man and woman were introduced naked; the Deluge, in which the chief scene was a violent altercation between Noah and his wife, on account of her refusing to go into the ark, and which ended with his giving her a blow on the ear; Abraham, Melchisedec, and Lot; Moses, Balaam, and Balak; the Salutation and Nativity; the Massacre of the Innocents, &c. The Coventry Mysteries are about the same date; and the Mystery of "the Children of Israel" was performed at Cambridge, in 1355.

So much were these mysteries approved by the higher powers, that the Pope offered an indulgence of 100 days, to which the bishop of the diocese added 40, to all who

would attend the Chester Mysteries peaceably, at Whitsuntide, threatening anathemas against all who should disturb the performance. Richard III. and his court were spectators of certain mysteries for three days successively; and a petition was presented to that king, praying him to prohibit some inexpert people from representing the history of the Old and New Testament, as the clergy had been at great expense to prepare it for the public eye against Christmas. However ridiculous, and even blasphemous, some of these "Mysteries" may appear to a more enlightened age—however grievous it was that any man should undertake to personate Christ in his agony, and even this was done—there seems to have been no intentional irreverence in these performances. But there were festivals during this period, in which everything that God and man have rendered sacred, was made matter of ridicule.

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, were the seasons formally set aside in remembrance of the birth of Christ, his resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost; and these are unquestionably three of the most precious facts treasured up in a believer's memory,—facts of which he needs far more than an annual remembrance, for they are the foundation of his daily spiritual life. These seasons, alas! were disgraced too soon after their institution by association with heathenish, or worse than heathenish, folly. The December Liberty (*Libertas Decembrica*), as it was called, lasted twelve days, and thus extended into January. From time to time, voices were lifted up against the practices common at such seasons. St. Eloi, in a homily, dated 640, says, "Let none on the calends of January join in the wicked and ridiculous things—the dressing like old women, or like stags, or other fooleries; nor make feasts lasting all night, nor keep up the custom of gifts, and intemperate drinking. Let no one, on the festivals, join in dances, or leaping, or diabolical songs, or caraulas, (carols?) &c." These practices, however, were not abolished. To unlearn is more difficult than to learn such follies. In 1182, we are informed that it was customary for the bishops and archbishops to join in the Christmas games, which went on in the monasteries of their dioceses, and even so far to relax as to play at ball.

This, however, was innocent, in comparison with later practices; and it is a singular fact that, through the resistance presented by councils, or individual ecclesiastics, the fooleries attendant on the festivals were not permitted, in their most barefaced form, during the period called the Dark Ages; but revived and flourished during that impetus given to the human mind by the commencement of the revival of learning, so as to be among the many evils with which the Protestant Reformation had to struggle. Our English kings were noted for their observance of the Christmas festival. It was truly, in the royal mansion, December Liberty; freedom for folly. On the wardrobe-roll of Edward III., 1348, the following are among the dresses enumerated as prepared for the Christmas sports at Guildford Castle:—14 visors representing women's faces; 14, men with beards; 14, angels; 14 mantles embroidered with peacocks' eyes; 14, with dragons' heads; 14, with stars of gold and silver, &c. An officer, styled the abbot or lord of misrule, was appointed to direct the frolics practised on such occasions; and, for the time being, the actors in these scenes seemed to have taken leave of their sober senses. It was, indeed, a painful parody of Satan on that time of holy joy it professed to commemorate; a time, indeed, when angels became visible to men as harbingers of, and even partakers of, their happiness in the birth of a Saviour. (See Luke i. 11, 19, 26, and ii. 13, 15.) The licence permitted in the royal mansion was fully imitated elsewhere. A lord of misrule, whom an ancient writer terms "a graund captaine of mischiefe," was chosen by the rabble of several parishes, and crowned by them as their king. He selected his guards or companions, often to the number of a hundred, all of whom were dressed in some light colour, with bells round their legs, flying ribbons, and other trappings, some of which are retained by Whitsuntide morris-dancers in our own times. But in the period we are retracing, these dancers and singers, with pipes and drums, dragging along the wooden forms, termed dragons, hobby-horses, &c., entered the churches, interrupting whatever services were going forwards; and thus passed the Sunday. Such as would not give them money, or frowned on their devices, were shamefully handled. The Feast of Fools,

some relics of which still linger among the modern mummers and morris-dancers, though now fast fading away, was of a still more disgraceful character. The annual ceremony began by choosing a bishop of fools, with a number of fool-attendants. They wore masks, or had their faces painted in a hideous manner; some had female attire, or dresses made as ridiculous as possible; and they adopted manners and gestures grossly indecorous. All ranks and orders joined the procession to the principal church in the place; and there the fool-bishop, in clerical dress, said mass, and pronounced the common benediction, the attendants interlarding it with indecent songs; dirt, and the bodies of dead animals were thrown about among the audience, to increase the general riot; some played dice, or celebrated a mock-sacrament on the altar; and one, called the precentor of fools, shaved another, in imitation of the tonsure, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, making grimaces and jests throughout the operation.

Concerning the Feast of the Ass, a modern writer says, that "the ass was the pet of the laity, and kept his ground against the clergy, who would have turned him out of the church." It appears to have been called, "the Feast of the Ass," because Balaam and his ass formed a favourite part of the pageant. A wooden ass enclosed the speaker; a man, ridiculously equipped, bestrode it, with a huge pair of spurs, and beat the ass, till the man within spoke; and one, who acted the angel, came forwards with a long reproving speech. The ass was then led in triumph to the church, the attendants, representing six Jews and six Gentiles, of whom Virgil was one, chaunting their parts, in character, or out of character, according to the wit of the composer. When mass was said, either the man inside the ass was required to bray, or the audience did so, in the place of the usual responses. The performance peculiar to Innocents' Day was common in all the cathedral churches of England and France, and retained its ground later than any similar folly: some relics of it are supposed to have been preserved in the Eton Montem. One of the choristers was chosen bishop for the time, and arrayed according to his office, his companions assuming all the other clerical orders, and performing the offices and ceremonies attached to them. They sung mass, preached

from the pulpit, blessed the people, and went in public procession through the streets. They also acted miracle-plays or moralities, which were interludes wherein different virtues were personified, and speeches made by them, having some moral point. Persons of the first character went to hear the boy-bishop's sermon, and gave their offering to him. Church music was diligently cultivated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so that in great churches the public offices were frequented as musical entertainments, nothing like it being heard elsewhere. Singing in parts was now first introduced, and excellent organs became common in cathedrals. The art of sculpture was now again brought into the service of superstition, being considered an incentive to Christian devotion, as formerly to that of the pagans. Besides the images and crosses, which, as works of art, might be deemed beautiful, sculptors found more innocent employment in decorating tombs. Many of these works remain, as interesting memorials of the dead; whilst happily, in our country, the great majority of the objects of sinful veneration, were destroyed, or covered up, at the Reformation.

One of the new arts of the period before us was that of making fire-arms. Roger Bacon, as we have mentioned, knew the secret of the composition of gunpowder, which he had doubtless discovered by accident in the course of his experiments; but he seems to have determined to keep his secret, probably from motives of humanity. In his works he described the nature and effects of gunpowder, and its three component parts; but he wrote in Latin, and instead of expressing charcoal in an intelligible way, under its Latin name, *carbonum pulvere*, he transposed the letters of those words thus — *luru mope con vbre*. Thus it was left for another to introduce the dangerous invention, which Bacon had the credit both of knowing and ingeniously concealing. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Schwartz, a German monk, accidentally made the discovery whilst he was pounding saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, in a mortar, for some chemical purpose. The invention did not for a long time produce any remarkable change in the character of war, as it was only made fully available for destructive purposes after many experiments. Fire-arms, which the Scottish poet terms "crakys of war,"

seem to have been heard for the first time by the Scots at the battle of Bannockburn, and probably they were very awkwardly used. The more useful art of clock-making was now introduced into England. The first clock mentioned in Britain was placed in a tower opposite the gate of Westminster Hall, in 1288. Clocks were not uncommon in great churches at the close of the fourteenth century; and the art of making them was brought to a wonderful perfection, if we may judge from the account of a famous clock made by the Abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Richard II. It represented the revolutions of the sun and moon, the fixed stars, the ebbing and flowing of the tides, &c. A watch bearing the name of Robert Bruce, king of the Scots, has been found accidentally, in the present century, in an old castle in Scotland. It is of the same size as watches now in use, but has over it a transparent horn, instead of a glass. Jewellers, copper-smiths, and goldsmiths were now become very numerous in London, and were highly ingenious. Edward III., at the petition of the London goldsmiths, allowed them to endow an hospital for the sake of their workmen, many of whom, it was said, had become blind, paralytic, or infirm, from the nature of their work. That king was a great encourager of arts and manufactures, and especially that of woollen cloth: by one of his statutes, it was made felony for any to wear foreign cloth, except the royal family. There were no great improvements in agriculture in this period; and it is a curious fact, that not only were all treatises on the subject written in Latin, but even farming accounts were kept in that language, or rather in a curious mixture of Latin and English, such words as cart-saddle, cart-body, dung-cart, &c., being left untranslated. Latin, though so much used, does not appear to have been known correctly during this period, as it was matter of serious complaint from a visiting archbishop, that Oxford students persisted in grammatical errors, *Ego currit* (I runs) being adduced as a specimen.

Edward I. and Edward III. were great believers in the art of alchemy, and hired famous alchemists into their services. There can be no doubt that the experiments made with an unattainable object in view, led to great improvements in the useful art of chemistry; and this occasioned

some progress in the practice of medicine. The distinction between physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries was now well understood: the former were still for the most part of the clerical order.

A curious book, entitled "The Medical Rose," written by an English doctor of the fourteenth century, shows the state of the science in that period: many superstitions were connected with it. For instance, a patient in the smallpox, after the eruption was out, was to be wrapped in red cloth, and everything about the bed made red. The author asserts that he had cured one of the royal princes in that way. The cure for epileptic patients, or lunatics, who could not take medicines, was after certain fastings and confessions, if practicable, to go to hear mass Friday and Saturday, and on Sunday to have a good religious priest read over his head the gospel, containing the words, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." After this, the priest was to write the same devoutly, and let the patient wear it about his neck, and he would be cured. The reputation of the royal touch for the cure of the scrofula now began to be so great, that even Bradwardine, in his great work already mentioned, alludes to it as a standing miracle. A treatise on surgery, dated 1363, divides those who practised it into five sects:—1. They who apply poultices to all wounds and abscesses; 2. They who use wine only; 3. They who treat wounds with ointments and soft plaisters; 4. They who attend in the armies, chiefly Germans, and promiscuously use charms, potions, oil, and wool; 5. Old women and ignorant people, who have recourse to the saints in all cases. The treatment of wounds was necessarily a most important art in these fighting times. Apothecaries, perhaps, had the hardest work, if we may judge from the amazing variety of drugs in the ancient receipts, and the strange compositions often used. Instances will be adduced as we proceed.

At the close of the fourteenth century, there was a popular national literature in seven of the modern European languages; three belonging to the Spanish peninsula; the others, Italian, German, French, and English: in the latter may be included the writings of the Scottish poet, Barbour, as he wrote in English which is even more intelligible to us than that of Chaucer. It does not come

into the design of this little work to treat of literature except in its inseparable connection with particular historical eras, or in its relation to religion. In the latter character it must connect itself with our next chapter.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### *Christian Profession in the Fourteenth Century.*

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER, THROUGH REMOVAL FROM ROME, ITS SUBSEQUENT DIVISIONS AND VICES, AND THE EXPOSURE OF ITS CORRUPTIONS BY MEN OF TALENT. — DANTE AND HIS DIVINA COMEDIA. — BOCCACCIO. — PETRARCH. — OCCAM. — WICKLIFFE. — HIS EXPOSURE OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS. — HIS PERSECUTIONS, TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, AND GENERAL TESTIMONY. — LANGLAND'S ALLEGORY, THE VISIONS OF PIERCE PLOWMAN. — CHAUCER AND HIS WRITINGS. — WORSHIP OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. — THE DUTCH LOLLARDS. — THE WALDENSES. — THEIR SUFFERINGS AND PRACTICAL GODLINESS. — THE MISSIONARY FIELD IN RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA.

THE decline of the papal power was one of the most remarkable features of the fourteenth century. Boniface VIII. at its commencement, having exalted himself above all his predecessors, fell from the giddy height; and the days then came when the Popes submitted to kingly influence, instead of trampling the royal power under their feet. The submission of a succession of French Popes to the Kings of France, their residence at Avignon, their excessive avarice, and their gross immoralities, greatly decreased the power of the papacy; and when, at last, after the return to Rome, a succession of rival Popes established themselves at Avignon, it began to be a question whether this kingdom, being divided against itself, could stand. Of the restoration of unity, and the consequent increase of power, our next century must speak; but here we have only to mention, as one of the marvels of the "mystery of in-

iquity," that Popery did continue to exist, and even raised itself from the dust, after being brought so low. It is one of many proofs that, as the everlasting arms are underneath the Church of God, so the whole power of Satan is put forth to support the false church. (See Rev. xvii. 7, 8, and xii. 3, 9.) One way in which it pleased God to weaken the power of the Romish system, during this period, was by allowing a great variety of the original talent now beginning to display itself, to be used for the exposure of ecclesiastical evils.

Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the trio of famous Italian writers who enjoyed an extensive popularity in this century, all of them Roman Catholics, and Petrarch, a priest, did, either intentionally or otherwise, bring into broad light the hitherto half-concealed corruptions of the Romish Church. Serious reformers suffered bonds, imprisonment, and death, whilst these writers, through their attractive literary talents, and beneath the veil of poetry or pleasantry, were suffered to reprove, without even a reproof from the higher powers.

Dante died in 1321, when Petrarch was only seventeen, and Boccaccio in his ninth year. The former is considered the father of Italian poetry, and the last-named, of its prose; but Petrarch, in his own days, as we have already observed, had the greatest reputation. Dante was by birth a Florentine, and having opposed the entrance of Charles of Valois into Florence, he was exiled by the partisans of that prince when they came into power. This circumstance probably furthered his poetical compositions, for he had been previously engaged in fighting his country's battles, or as an ambassador, and a sharer in the government. His taste for harmony of sound had been formed through a certain disposition to melancholy, which had led him to seek relief in music and singing, and thus made him the friend of all the musicians and singers of Florence then rising into note. Dante translated into Italian verse the penitential psalms, the creed, and the Lord's prayer; but his great work was entitled the "Divine Comedy." It is a poem containing a highly imaginative description of hell, purgatory, and heaven. Some of its leading ideas seem to have been borrowed from a work, well-known in Italy at that time—"The Visions of Alberic." One of

man's favourite follies is the "intruding into those things which he hath not seen," seeking to go farther than the revelation of God will guide him. It is always vain, and must be very mischievous when an agreement with the principles of the word of God is not retained. Dante doubtless strove at such agreement, as far as his knowledge went; but the fables of the heathens, the inventions of his church, and the imaginations of his own mind, mixed themselves with his slender thread of Scripture truth, till such an intricate web was woven, that it is difficult to perceive even one golden line. Respecting that part of Dante's poem which is styled *l'Inferno* (Hell), it may be observed, that the very brevity of description in the written word of God is calculated to leave its own holy and healthful awe on the sinner's mind; the worm that never dies; the fire that never shall be quenched; the tongue that cannot be cooled; the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth; the lake of fire; and, still more, the curse of Christ; the wrath of the Lamb; the everlasting destruction from his presence; the company of the devil and his angels; the cup of the wrath of God without mixture: if these solemn and fearful facts, presented by the God of truth, fail to urge the sinner to flee from the wrath to come, what shall the weak amplifications of human genius effect!

But Dante's "*Inferno*" had one remarkable bearing on the public mind of his day, seeing he dared to describe therein, priests, monks, cardinals, and even popes, suffering eternal punishment. In the poet's journey through the infernal regions, in which he represents Virgil as his conductor, he sees Nicholas III., who, it appears, is expecting to be joined by Boniface VIII. The manner in which he addresses the Pope is worthy of notice, because it proves that even an acute natural mind could not fail to see the likeness between the corrupt church and the apocalyptic vision of the woman, "*Babylon the Great.*" The following translation will tolerably convey the poet's meaning:—

How does your avarice the world make sad,  
 Crushing the good, and raising up the bad!  
 Of such as you the evangelist foretold,  
 Describing her in filthy crimes grown bold.  
 By kings in costly decoration clad.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ah! Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,  
 Not thy conversion, but the tract of earth;  
 The gift, thou had'st the first rich father hold.\*

Of Boccaccio, we need say but little. His popular work was the Decameron, a collection of novels in *ten parts* (hence its name), each being related, it is pretended, in turn, by certain gentlemen and ladies, who had retreated from Florence during the prevalence of the Great Death. The gross character of this book renders it unfit for our perusal; and it is sufficient to know that, with the most biting satire, it exposed the prevailing corruption of morals among the clergy and monks; and the "old wives' fables" and idle tales, invented by priests, friars, and others, about false miracles and false relics.

Petrarch, by his letters rather than his poems, exposed the corrupt state of the ecclesiastical powers. Writing to a friend, from Avignon, he says "What I tell you is not from hearsay, but from my own knowledge and experience. In this city, there is no piety, no reverence or fear of God, no faith or charity, nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane. Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of popes and cardinals, but the very earth and air, seem to teem with lies? A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment are openly turned into ridicule, as childish fables. Good men have of late been treated with so much contempt and scorn, that there is not one left amongst them to be an object of their laughter." Petrarch's anecdotes of the highest dignitaries fully confirmed his general description, but they are no more fit for repetition than the stories of Boccaccio. Petrarch applied the descriptions of Babylon in the Revelation to the city of Avignon. The vices of the clergy seem to have been the chief subject of satire in every country of Europe which had popular writers in this century. Those of England deserve particular notice. Occam, a great English doctor, the only schoolman whom Luther valued, bore a conspicuous part in the disputes as

\* When Constantine removed the imperial seat to Constantinople, he is said to have made a donation of Rome, and the surrounding territory, to Pope Silvester. (L'Inferno, canto xix. with the notes.) The above metrical version is my own, being more literal than the ordinary translation, and imitating the frequent rhyme of the original.

to the Pope's temporal power in the first half of this century. Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, at whose court he found shelter, felt his value so strongly, that Occam could familiarly say to him:—"If you will defend me by your sword, I will defend you by my pen." He was honoured by the pompous title of "The Singular and Invincible Doctor;" but after the emperor's death, in 1347, he could no longer brave the repeated anathemas of Popes; and, in order to obtain reconciliation, renounced his opinions, and swore implicit obedience to every papal decision for the future: he did not long survive this unhappy submission. One of Occam's works is a sarcastic dialogue between a knight and an ecclesiastic, wherein the former attacks, and the latter defends, the position of the Church. The knight argues that the ministers of God should have everything necessary, but not temporal kingdoms and lordships; that the Scripture compares them to workmen, and to labouring oxen, and these are not lords of things. He says to the ecclesiastic:—"You are the only lords. The kings and princes are but your servants." Whilst Occam was earning a great reputation abroad, John Wickliffe, deservedly styled the Morning Star of the Reformation, was labouring far more usefully at home. This eminent man was born about 1324, at a village in Yorkshire, and, on becoming a student at Oxford, attained that excellence in the school-divinity then in vogue, which enabled him afterwards to defeat his opponents with their favourite weapons. From the study of Grosteste's writings, Wickliffe seems to have caught his first idea of attaching the name of Antichrist to the Pope. From the works of Bradwardine, he derived his first views of the freeness of God's grace, and the worthlessness of all human merit in the matter of salvation; to which, if he heard any contrary opinion, he was wont to give emphatic testimony by uttering this short prayer:—"Heal us *gratis*, O Lord!" The first circumstance that brought Wickliffe into notice was his attack upon the Mendicant Orders, who had strongly entrenched themselves in Oxford, and drew so many youths into their convents, that parents became afraid to send their children to the university. Thirty thousand youths had at one time studied at Oxford, but, in 1357, the number was reduced to six thousand. Through the week, Wickliffe argued before the

learned; on the Sundays, he addressed the common order; the great subject of his lectures being the religious abuses of the day, and the vices of the friars. Against the latter, he also composed several spirited tracts, entitled, "Against Able Beggary," "Against Idle Beggary," "The Poverty of Christ," &c. Next to the declension of the papal power, so apparent in this century, we may mark that of the Mendicant Orders, partly through their own divisions and disorders, and partly through the attacks of such men as Wickliffe, who discerned the hollowness of their pretensions. The Franciscans, though blasphemously placing their founder on a par with Christ, for the most part found his rule so inconvenient to follow, that they gradually relinquished the reality, though not the profession, of poverty. They associated together in handsome and comfortable convents, which, by means of begging, they stored with wealth. The haircloth next the skin, the coarse woollen tunic, the rope-girdle, &c. prescribed by their founder, were exchanged for garments of the finest wool, delicately dyed, fastened with a silken cord; and, instead of walking barefoot, they wore sandals embroidered with variegated silk needlework; the work, it was said, of friendly nuns. The Popes were mostly disposed to sanction these changes, because the rich Franciscans, with their fine mansions, jewels, and bags of money, professed still to have *nothing*; all these things belonging, they alleged, to the papal see, and being theirs only to *use*, and not to possess. Some, however, of the Franciscan Order, more honest, or more fanatical, than the rest, contended for *real* poverty, and *absolute* beggary. The dispute ran so high, that even the decrees of Popes could not settle it; and, at length, the company, called the "Spiritual Franciscans," assumed the meanest possible dress, and began to persecute all who would not be as obedient to the original rule as themselves. But they, in their turn, were persecuted even to death. John XXII., after trying in vain to make them renounce their opinions, allowed the inquisitors to proceed against them as heretics; and two thousand are said to have suffered death in different places. The emperor, Louis of Bavaria, protected the Spiritual Franciscans as long as he lived, and even accused the Pope of heresy in denying their doctrines. Almost every province and city of

his dominions swarmed with these religious beggars; but, at the accession of Charles IV., they lost all protection, and were thinned by the Inquisition. Whilst one portion of the Franciscans was treated in this manner, the other began to lord it over the regular clergy, taking their place as preachers and confessors to the people, and assuming superior holiness. The following is a specimen of Wickliffe's complaints against them:—"They draw children from Christ's religion by hypocrisy; they tell them that men of their order shall never go to hell. They praise their own rotten habit more than the worshipful body of our Lord Jesus Christ. They teach lords and ladies that if they die in Francis's habit, the virtue of it will preserve them from hell. St. Paul laboured with his own hands; and it is the commandment of Christ to give alms to poor, feeble, crooked, blind, and bed-ridden men; but it is leaving this commandment to give alms to such hypocrites as these begging friars, who feign themselves holy and needy, when in fact they are strong in body, and possess overmuch riches, as well as great houses, precious clothes, jewels, and other valuable things." The Mendicants were mad with rage against Wickliffe, on account of such statements; they assailed him, in turn, with the greatest violence; and when, subsequently, he was labouring under a serious illness, which was thought to be mortal, they sent a deputation to him, desiring him, as a true penitent, to recall all that he had said against them. The sufferer seemed at once to gather strength, on hearing this appeal, and cried aloud, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars."

As Wickliffe increased in knowledge and zeal, and began to attack not merely the external evils, but the very foundations of the dominant church system, the number of his enemies increased; but multitudes received his opinions, so that one of his hottest opponents, a historian who lavished upon him every evil name that he could frame, declared that one half of England followed Wickliffe's doctrine: this, however, was probably the exaggeration of fear and indignation. In 1370, he was ejected from his offices in the university, and the friars thought they had triumphed. It was far otherwise. Wickliffe was withdrawn, in the providence of God, into a scene of more

quietness, where he carried through his best work, the translation of the Bible into English.\* Lutterworth, of which he was appointed rector by Edward III., in 1374, was the place of this useful labour; and from thence, too, issued some of the reformer's most powerful writings against the Church of Rome. Five papal bulls were hurled against him in vain. John of Gaunt, both before and after he became regent of the kingdom, protected the reformer; and when a council was assembled against him, the king's mother, the widow of the favourite Black Prince, sent a message to forbid his condemnation. Thus, observes Fox, "the person of this John Wickliffe was saved, as was once the doctrine of his godly namesake: 'They feared the people, for all men counted John that he was a prophet indeed.'" On the subject of transubstantiation, about which Wickliffe's own mind seems to have been far from clear, he made some concessions, at the entreaty of the Duke of Lancaster.

Wickliffe plainly taught the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of every one to search them for himself; and, as doctrines gathered therefrom, he preached the election of grace, describing the Church as "an assembly of predestinated persons, for whom Christ shed his blood;" the meritorious sacrifice of Christ; and justification by faith. He attacked the gross ideas regarding transubstantiation, the worship of images and deceased saints, and, above all, the doctrine of human merits and satisfactions. But, great as was the flood of light poured into Wickliffe's mind, the dark clouds in which the traditions of his fathers had involved him were not entirely dispersed. We cannot help observing that the Waldenses had superior illumination. They had received the truth from their forefathers, and he had to grope his way out of educational errors. It is true, both had the Bible; but they had it with truthful comments, if any; he had it, confused with those which were erroneous or obscure. God can bless and enlighten in an

\* Wickliffe and his assistants first collected all the copies of the Latin Vulgate that they could find, and after diligently collating and correcting them, they studied the text, with such helps as they could find, and then began translating, not literally, but so as to express the meaning as clearly as they could. This interesting translation may be seen in Bagster's Hexapla.

extraordinary manner whomsoever he will; but it is the ordinary principle of his dealings, that "the generation of the upright shall be blessed." As in temporal, so in spiritual things, "the hand of the diligent maketh rich;" but, if we may use a simple illustration, he who is accustomed to labour in a gold mine will be more apt in finding the precious metal, and less likely to value worthless ore, than he who for the first time enters on the search. It is not wonderful, then, that Wickliffe, confused by the abundant writings of the learned, which he consulted with the Scriptures, should have missed some truths, and treasured some errors. Though he asserted that the Popes for 300 years had been heretics, he retained a great respect for the ideal, which he termed *the holy see*: though he once wrote that all things said concerning purgatory were only by way of threatening, and should be deemed pious falsehoods, he speaks elsewhere of "the dreadful pains of purgatory." It appears, also, that he prayed to the Virgin, though with what ideas it is hard to say, when the following strong passage against praying to saints is found in his writings:—"Our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, is very God, as well as very man; and therefore, on account of his divinity, must infinitely exceed any other man. And this induces many to think that it would be expedient to worship no other being among men . . . and that when this was the practice of the Church, it prospered much better than now . . . What folly to apply to any other to be our intercessor!" In 1384, Wickliffe was for a second time struck with palsy, whilst in his church at Lutterworth, and never spoke again till his death. His adversaries rejoiced in his death, and gloried in the manner of it, describing the natural effects of the disease as so many marks of the wrath of God; noticing, also, that he had prepared a sermon to preach on the morrow, against the observance of St. Thomas's Day (the day appointed in honour of Thomas à Becket). Forty-four years after the burial of Wickliffe's body, his bones were taken up and burned, in pursuance of a papal bull.

A poem, supposed to be composed by Langland, a priest of Oriel College, Oxford, in the period between the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, aided Wickliffe's labours for Church reformation, and was very popular with his fol-

lowers. It is entitled "The Visions of Pierce Plowman," and is an allegory intended to reprove the vices of all orders of men, and especially those of the clergy. The poem was in imitation of the Anglo-Saxon style of repeating the same initial letter three times, or more, in every line; but without rhyme or measure. After a fatiguing walk, on a May morning, Pierce Plowman, being, as it is supposed, a devout person, sits down at the foot of the Malvern Hills, to tell his beads; and, whilst engaged in that monotonous employment, falls asleep and dreams. The multitude of persons who, in turn, appear before him, are not connected together by a narrative, as in the Pilgrim's Progress, but are presented alone, or in detached scenes; and are, for the most part, allegorical personages representing the different passions or actings of the human mind. In one scene, *Thought* appears, and introduces the dreamer to *Wit*, who conducts him to a house, representing, in figure, the human soul. *In-wit* is the manager of affairs, and has several sons, such as *Hear-well*, *See-well*, *Say-well*, &c. Other persons in the house are *Do-well*, *Do-better*, and *Do-best*, the latter of whom is to control the two former. Another scene represents Antichrist (*i. e.* the Pope) coming in state to the gate of a monastery, where he is welcomed with the ringing of bells. In another, *Conscience* is described, attended by all the various diseases and deaths that usually stir up a sinner's anxieties. This same Conscience is set upon by seven giants (the seven deadly sins), under the command of a terrible enemy, Sloth. In one of the sarcastic scenes, *Envy* is represented as confessing himself to a priest, accurately describing the malevolent feelings resulting from that sin. *Venality* then comes to confess; and on the priest promising her absolution, at the cost of glazing a church-window, she promises to do that, and so much more that all men shall say she is an own sister to their order. The range of serious literature being then very narrow, it is not surprising that such a poem as this should become popular, and be often on the lips of persons who appreciated the singular talents it displayed, or the truths it enforced. The Plowman, in various shapes (though it does not appear that Langland's dreamer was a ploughman), long took the lead, or gave a

name to productions that had a similar end in view. One of the most remarkable of these is entitled, "The Plowman's Creed," the work of some unknown author, which appeared about 1390, and has been attributed, though falsely, to Chaucer. It is a severe satire on the four orders of Mendicant Friars.

It remains for us briefly to notice the writings of Chaucer, in their bearing on the Christian Profession of this period. He was born about a year after Wickliffe: he studied at both the Universities, visited the Continent, and became acquainted with the writings of the celebrated Italians already named. For a little time, he became a student of law in the Middle Temple; and then, by means of his elegant manners, handsome person, and many talents, he obtained the favour of the court, and became page to Edward III., in the time of his highest worldly prosperity. Chaucer married a lady, whose sister afterwards became the wife of the king's third son, John of Gaunt; and this prince was the patron and friend of Chaucer, as well as Wickliffe. In 1382, in consequence of the persecution of the party opposed to Wickliffe, Chaucer, with some others, escaped to the Continent, where he lived privately for some years, and only returned to England when he had spent his fortune. Soon after his return, he was seized and imprisoned; and only obtained his liberty by disclosing the secrets of his party, which was rather that of the political than the religious reformers. Chaucer then went to live in retirement at Woodstock, and gave himself more diligently than before to literary composition. Towards the close of his life, John of Gaunt having regained his influence at court, Chaucer received several royal grants, which again restored him to affluence. He died at the age of seventy-three (A. D. 1400), soon after the accession of Henry IV., the son of his patron. Among other high commendations bestowed on him, we read that he was "a pious Christian." Some have even desired to place him among the reformers who were dissidents from Rome; but it appears that he died a Roman Catholic. One interesting point about his latter days is, that he wrote, on his death-bed, and in great anguish, a little poem, which to a Christian contains the most pleasing of his multitudinous verses: it is entitled "Good Counsel of Chaucer." One of the

three verses, with some trifling alterations of the spelling and obsolete expression, runs thus :—

That which is sent thee take with thankfulness,  
 Wrestling for this world but precedes a fall ;  
 Here is no home ; here's but a wilderness ;  
 Forth, pilgrim ! forth, beast, out of thy stall !  
 Look up on high, and thank the God of all.  
 Wave all thy lusts, and let thy spirit lead,  
 And dread not : through the truth thou shalt be freed.

To the last hour of his life, Chaucer did not repent of the reflections against the clergy and monks contained in his writings ; but he did lament sources of moral defilement to be found in them. As he perceived death approaching, he often cried out, "Woe is me, woe is me that I cannot recall and annul those things which I have written!" Could the dying poet have looked onward to a time when so much of his language would become obsolete, and these writings consequently fall into obscurity, he would probably have rejoiced. The careful Christian will avoid familiarity with evil, even in description ; and ought to shrink from the company of persons, or authors, who treat vice with levity ; knowing that it is the fool's characteristic to "make a mock at sin." We need not, then, allude to the Tales, however full of wit and vivid description, in which Chaucer painted from life the hideous features of hypocrisy, avarice, licentiousness, and fraud, which his keen eye had discerned in the priests, friars, and others, among whom he had dwelt.

We will, however, refer to a curious religious poem written by Chaucer, it is supposed at the request of the Duchess of Lancaster, and as a prayer for her daily use. It is a hymn addressed to the Blessed Virgin, and is entitled the A. B. C., because the verses begin with the letters of the alphabet, in regular succession. The poem is a very painful one, if, as it is to be supposed, the most popular writer of the day fairly represented the mind of the devout—the class for whom the A. B. C. was composed—persons, too, who must have come within some of the rays of light thrown abroad by Wickliffe's testimony. A due consideration of this little poem will furnish us with a vivid idea of the unhappy confusion of one of the finest minds of this period, striving, as it

were, to feel after God, through the dark clouds of error, which His pure word could alone disperse. It was a deep stroke of Satan's cunning, when, after the full revelation of God's "*tender mercy*," he suggested to his ministers to teach that *the Father* was less pitiful than a poor woman, and that the heart of Christ was not loving enough to present the persons and the prayers of believers before God, without being urged to remember them by her who was only his mother after the flesh; who, when he was in the flesh, was not suffered to dictate to him about his Father's business (Luke ii. 49.), or about any part of his service (John ii. 4. Mark iii. 33—35.): nor should it ever be forgotten, that the cross terminated for him every fleshly relationship (John xix. 26, 27.); and, when risen and ascended, he was no more to be known after the flesh. (See 2 Cor. v. 16.) But in the A. B. C. the Mother of Jesus is desired to remind Him of his perfect work:—

He vouchsaf'd, *tell him*, as was his will,  
 Become a man as for our alliance,  
 And with his blood he wrote that blissful bill  
 Upon the cross, as full acquittance  
 For every penitent.

If we only omit the words "*tell him*," which sound so strangely, this is a beautiful fragment of gospel truth. What shall we say of other sentiments in the same poem? The penitent confesses his lost estate, abounding iniquity, and desert of damnation; confesses, too, that Christ had poured out his heart's blood to accomplish salvation; but under the feeling of having been "*false to him*," he now looks only to Mary to procure his deliverance from damnation; he begs her to chastise him, for he *dare* not abide *the Father's* chastening; prays her, also, to be his "*advocate*," his "*soul's physician*," his "*judge*," assuming that God had made her his "*vicar*," and "*mistress of all the world*," and "*governess of heaven*," so that he forgave none but those whom *she* pleased, and repressed his justice according to *her* will. Mary, in short, is looked upon as the sinner's "*target from the vengeance of God*." We know, alas! that thousands, yes, millions, of our fellow-creatures retain such thoughts to this day; we cannot, therefore, be too anxious that the light of the gospel of God should *shine into them*, so as to manifest the darkness.

Through the want of this, it is to be feared, many influential persons, in our own day, are falling back into the worship of the Virgin, and similar errors of an apostate Church; and will, if the gospel hinder not, drag into these baleful superstitions, the multitude they wish to carry in their train.

Satan's original enmity against the woman was, indeed, glaringly manifested in setting up the woman, of whom Christ was born, to be an idol, who should rival in men's minds, if not actually displace, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent.

The name of Lollards, which now began to be applied to the followers of Wickliffe, in England, is supposed to have been borrowed from the name of a fraternity at Antwerp, which excited much notice in the early part of this century. The clergy of these times, it appears, being for the most part immersed in luxury and sloth, if not in grosser vices, paid so little attention to the sick and dying, and especially to those with infectious disorders, that a number of kind-hearted people formed themselves into a society to do this service: they were of both sexes; and as monastic orders, and not simple benevolent societies, were the fashion of their day, they associated under a kind of religious rule, and called themselves Cellites. During the prevalence of the Great Death, their value became more publicly known, as they waited upon and buried those who were forsaken by all besides. As the word Beghard was a term of derision applied to those who prayed much (beg hard), that of Lollard was a name of ridicule, to express the work of those who nursed the sick, and sung hymns to them, or lamented over the dead; the most probable derivation of the word Lollard being from a Dutch word, *lullen*, to lull to sleep or sing. The first Lollards were supported partly by the labour of their own hands, and partly by the donations of the charitable, who wished to have fellowship with their works of benevolence; and when the Mendicant Friars, in jealousy, accused them wrongfully, the magistrates of the places in which they dwelt pleaded for them, and protected them from the inquisitors. The Cellites were, at last, placed among the Religious Orders, by a bull obtained from Sixtus IV. The Beghards, Beguines, and Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, were persecuted with unrelenting severity throughout this century; but as

we know nothing concerning them that is creditable to Christian profession, we will again turn to the testimony of the Waldenses.

Echard, a Dominican inquisitor, who had grievously tormented the Waldensian saints, at length bethought himself of ceasing from brute force, and inquiring into the nature of the faith so obstinately maintained. In so doing (1330) he was converted. He afterwards became a preacher of the gospel, and ended his course by suffering martyrdom at Heidelberg. Lolhard, a Franciscan enemy, converted in a similar manner, became also eminent as a preacher in Guienne. By this means, some of the Waldensian doctrines were carried into England, Guienne being a part of the English dominions. This fact has led to some doubt as to the derivation of the term Lollards, which might have been derived from the teaching of Lolhard. He was himself, at last, burned at Cologne. About 1370, a settlement of Waldenses was formed in Calabria. Some youths, who had emigrated because their own valleys were too narrow to afford them subsistence, were allowed, on reasonable terms, to cultivate some land belonging to the Calabrian lords; and, on account of their industry and practical piety, they were protected by these nobles from persecuting priests. In 1380, an inquisitor was appointed by Clement VII. to search out the heretics in the valleys of Piedmont; and, within thirteen years, 150 Waldenses were burned at Grenoble, and 80 around Frassinère. There seems to have been a double motive for persecution, as a law was made that half the goods of the condemned should go to the inquisitors' court, and the other half to their temporal lords. These burnings, however, proved too few, and were too slow, to gratify Rome's thirst for blood; and the winter of 1400 was marked by massacre to a larger extent. The first attack of the papal troops was on the Waldenses of the valley of Pragela; and when they saw the caves to which they had been wont to retreat, in times of danger, occupied by their enemies, they fled over the Alps. But the coldness of the heights, at that season, proved fatal to almost all who escaped the hand of slaughter: many were starved to death. One hundred and eighty babes died in the arms of their mothers, who, for the most part, expired shortly after. Had these

infants lived, they might have been seized by the agents of Rome, and educated in the destructive doctrines to escape from which their martyr parents fled: thus it was far better for them to perish as they did. Alluding to scenes like the foregoing, which were followed even 250 years after by such as were still worse, the noblest of our poets composed a sonnet, which is more worthy of remembrance for the truth it contains than even for its beautiful versification.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;  
Ev'n them *who kept thy truth so pure of old*,  
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,  
Forget not: in thy book record their groans,  
Who were *thy sheep*, and in their ancient fold  
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
To heav'n. Their martyred blood and ashes sow  
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway  
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow  
A hundred-fold, who, having learn'd thy way,  
Early may flee the Babylonish woe.—*Milton.*

It was in the Revelation that the Waldenses discerned God's estimate of the character sustained by the Church of Rome: it was from the same precious book that they drew the truths with which they were girt about, and strengthened to resist unto blood. It was their bold and close application of those prophecies that touched to the quick the consciences of their enemies, and drew out the deadly bitterness of that enmity. They who heard Stephen, be it remembered, were *cut to the heart*; and then they gnashed on him with their teeth, and stoned him. The benefit that the Waldenses, as a body, derived from the fires amidst which they might be said to live, were doubtless very great; they were kept on the watch, in helpless dependence on the living God, and thus kept from declension. Their enemies, throughout this century, bore the same witness to them, as at first; their truthfulness, moderation, temperance, and sobriety were frequent subjects of remark. It is said that they shunned taverns and ale-houses, as well as balls and other vanities. According to one of their own manuscripts, they believed that "those

who frequent dances follow the devil: he is in the beginning, middle, and end, on such occasions. A Bohemian inquisitor thus speaks of the Waldenses of this age: "Their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of words." And, again, "They are not only careful to abstain from lies and swearing, but avoid such common asseverations as 'for certain.' They reverently pray in silence, three times a day and oftener, kneeling down for as long a time as it might take to repeat thirty or forty paternosters."

The missionary field in this century, barren as it is, presents us with two interesting scenes. That great district of Russia, skirting the Ouralian mountains, now chiefly comprehended in the province of Perm, was in these days called Biarmia, and had been left in the darkest paganism. The people of Novgorod had rendered the country tributary, but, like more civilised and enlightened professors of Christianity, in modern times, alas! they took no pains to evangelise their heathen subjects: they were satisfied in receiving from them furs for their pelisses, and silver for their purses, and did not care to return more solid advantages. But, at last, Stephen Charp, a young Russian monk, thought of the poor Biarmians with pity; he learned their language, and invented its first written characters, for the sake of transcribing some ecclesiastical books for their use. Having visited Moscow to beg the blessing of the archbishop, recently transferred to the new capital, he joyfully set out on his missionary journey. The Biarmian priests, jealous for the honour of their own idols, Woipel, and Baba, his *golden wife*, soon began to reason thus with the people:—"Who is this man, who comes from Moscow to impose his faith upon us? Have not we been long crushed under Russian taxation? Shall we abandon the gods who have done us so much good, and who send us animals with such fine furs, in order to worship an unknown God?" Stephen, in spite of opposition, went forward, using only persuasion, till his success induced him to set fire to some of the most famous altars. He was in the region made famous by Russian fable; the scenes in which the native poets laid their descriptions of witchcraft; and when a sorcerer came to him offering to pass through the fires that he had kindled, if Charp would do the

same, the missionary replied, "I cannot command the elements, but the God of the Christians is great: come." The sorcerer who had not expected the acceptance of his defiance, relinquished it on the spot; and the credit of Charp being thus confirmed, a great number of people allowed themselves to be baptized by him, and then accompanied him through the country, to overturn the idols. The Greek missionary and his assistants continued to work in good earnest; they built two churches, founded schools, and translated some portions of the Scriptures into the Biarmian tongue. In 1383, Charp, having gone to Moscow to ask for a bishop, was himself chosen to that office, and went back to Biarmia to continue his instructions, to build more churches, and to establish preachers. He acted like a father among the people, directing them wisely even in their temporal affairs: he died in 1396, and was remembered with love and gratitude.

Lithuania, a far larger country than Biarmia, which had once been tributary to Russia, but during its wars and oppressions became independent, and, in return, the oppressor, was not nominally christianised till the close of the fourteenth century. In order to understand the benefits of the lowest form of Christianity to the Lithuanians, we must consider their previous state. Few savages could have sunk lower in barbarism and moral degradation. Their own chiefs, or dukes, oppressed them cruelly; and the most unnatural crimes prevailed among them. Being a kindred nation with the Prussians, their idolatry was of the same shocking character. Every family kept a serpent, the domestic god, which they carefully fed and worshipped, giving it the best of the milk, and at times sacrificing to it a cock. The employment of the greater part of the people was war and robbery, and the few who cultivated the ground, did so with difficulty, as their implements were only of wood. The cabins were of the most wretched description, enclosing the domestic animals as well as the family; they lived chiefly by the chase, and had no salt, except from Russia; they drank out of the horns of their oxen; and their only clothing was a grey cloth, which they made for themselves; they used the skins of animals for their feet. They believed in a future state; but to what did it lead them? The women often hung themselves on

the trees, when their husbands were slain in battle, with the idea, it appears, of rejoining them; and there were certain retired places in their forests, where they preserved the bodies of the dead, sometimes carrying them food, by way of feasting the departed in another world. It was among these people that Jagello, their chief, tried to introduce some knowledge of Christianity, after he was baptized, and married to the Queen of Poland. At first he provided linen dresses for those who were willing to be baptized, but there were few candidates; afterwards he offered beautiful robes of white woollen, and these were so attractive that, in a few days, 30,000 underwent the baptismal ceremony. The river at which this took place was thenceforth called the Swienta, *i. e.* sacred river. Through the opposition of his brother Vitovt, the pagan duke of Lithuania, Jagello's labours were stopped; and Vitovt assembled all the warriors of his nation to invade Russia, just as Tamerlane was threatening it from the opposite quarter. They met together in the south, and turned their arms against each other. The Tartar is reported to have said, "Why dost thou march against me? I have not attacked thee." The proud answer of the Lithuanian savage was, "God prepares me to reign over all the earth: be my son, and pay me tribute, or thou shalt be my slave." If any such thoughts possessed the mind of Vitovt, he little knew with whom he had to do: his army was almost annihilated. This event seems to have so far lessened his pride, that he listened to the counsel of the Russian primate, and no longer hindered the instruction of his people. The Samogitians were the most ferocious of all the Lithuanian tribes. They worshipped fire; and forbade any stranger to touch their sacred woods, or the animals contained in them. But the King of Poland, with an armed troop, cut down these melancholy forests; and, as there were no priests who understood the language, he began himself to teach these savages the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Some time afterwards, when a Benedictine monk was lecturing on the creation of the world,\* one of the Samo-

\* This century was marked by the introduction of a novel mode of preaching—in our days, the most common—that of taking a single text. The recent division of the Bible into chapters and verses, and the method common in the argumentative writings of the schoolmen, led

gitations came up to the king, in the pride of infidel ignorance, and cried out, "He lies; for we have amongst us men who have lived more than a hundred years, and they do not know that anything of the kind ever happened: on the contrary, they say that the sun, the moon, and the stars, have always shone as they do now." When it was explained that the creation was of far more ancient date, the simple savage was content.

Lithuania did not wholly escape from paganism till the close of the next century; and thus it may be said, that full fifteen hundred years of the Christian dispensation had rolled away, before the horrible form of idolatry which prescribed human sacrifices, and descended to the worship of serpents, vanished even from the face of Europe. And at this day, though Christendom be of vast extent, the world beyond is yet more extensive; and all its dark places seem to reproach the languid obedience of Christians to *the last* of the divine commands, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

to the first adoption of this plan; and it was long warmly opposed. The older methods of preaching were those termed Declaring and Lecturing. In the former, the preacher began by declaring the subject on which he intended to discourse, something in this manner:—"To-day I shall address you on the holiness of God;" in the latter, it was more in the style of exposition, being a kind of running commentary on some book of the Bible. The preachers from texts were at first greatly complained of as wordy triflers, whose almost interminable divisions of their subject perplexed, instead of edified, the hearers. Chrysostom was referred to as a model-preacher, who had never confined himself to a text.

END OF VOL. IV.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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As it has been found that the concluding portion of the Middle Ages would swell this volume to an inconvenient size, it is considered best to close Vol. IV. at the end of this period, namely, the last year of the fourteenth century; and to print THE HISTORY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION, in a distinct volume (Vol. V.), which will follow this as quickly as possible.

So many have expressed their desire that the work should be larger instead of smaller, that it has been thought better to publish another Volume, than to attempt farther condensation of the materials.



# INDEX TO VOL. IV.

---

	Page		Page
Abaca Khan.....	204	Boccaccio .....	491
Abbeys.....	478	Bokhara .....	126
Africans in Spain .....	181	Bonaventura, S. ....	240
Age of the Holy Ghost ..	228	Boniface, Marquis....	59, 61, 64
Alarcos, Battle of.....	52	Bouvines, Battle of.....	89
Albert, Bishop.....	242	Bradwardine .....	292
Albigensian War .....	33	Bretagne .....	18, 287
Alchemy .....	176, 478	Brethren of the Free Spirit	227
Alexandrine Measure ....	90	Bruce, Robert....	158, 265, 280
Amurath I. ....	380	— David ....	279, 285, 299
Anne, Good Queen .....	388	Bulgaria .....	57, 63
Aquinas, St. Thomas ....	239	Bull, Golden .....	354, 367
Architecture .....	474	Bulls, Papal..	82, 167—169, 236
Aragon, Kings of:		Calais, Siege of .....	291
Peter II.....	35, 51,	Caliphs, Last of the.....	133
James I... 56, 107, 112,	185	Calmar, Union of.....	440
Peter III. ....	185	Canary Isles.....	331
James II.....	190, 325	Carpini.....	135
Alphonso IV., Peter		Castile, Kings of:	
IV. ....	326, 404	Alphonso the Noble .	51
Arsenius .....	122, 372	Henry I. ....	55
Artaveldt .....	283	Ferdinand III....	106
Arthur of Bretagne ....	14, 17	Alphonso X.....	111, 175
Arts of the 14th Century..	486	Sancho IV., Ferdi-	
Assassins, Sect of the ..	133, 140	nand IV. ....	183
Avignon.....	92, 313, 491	Alphonso XI. ....	184, 324
— Popes at.....	307, 320	Peter IV., the Cruel..	331
Bajazet, Ilderim .....	448	Henry II.....	341
Baliol, John.....	150	John.....	403
— Edward .....	280	Henry III.....	404
Bannockburn, Battle of ..	268	Castles .....	474
Baptisms 206, 243, 247, 435,	506	Catalans .....	372
Bards, Welsh .....	144	Chaucer .....	498
Batou .....	130	China, Conquest of . . .	126, 207
Beast, The .....	40, 221	— Independence of ..	455
Beghards.....	228, 501	Christmas Festival .....	483
Bible Divines .....	239	Church Music.....	485
Black Death 313, 330, 350, 363,	413, 468	Churches, Architecture of	476
Black Prince 289, 297, 301, 338		Clugni .....	323
		Colleges .....	479

	Page		Page
Commerce of England....	77	Emperors of the East :	
Conradin .....	103	Baldwin II.....	116
Constantinople taken ....	60	Michael Paleologus	120, 203
Cordova, Taking of.....	108	Andronicus the Elder	124, 201, 370
Cornwall, Earl of ....	72, 86, 95	Cantacuzene .....	376
Courtenay Family ....	114, 121	John Paleologus ..	379, 382
Cressy, Battle of.....	288	Emperors of the West :	
Crusade against the Albi- genses .....	33	Henry VI.....	4
Crusade, 4th .....	39	Philip of Suabia ....	5
— 5th .....	40, 58	Otho IV.....	6
— Child's .....	41	Frederic II. . . . .	6, 78, 85, 132
— 6th.....	41, 79, 95	William of Holland .	85
— against the Moors .	53	Rodolph .....	112, 192
— 7th.....	96, 103	Adolph.....	196
— against Manfred .	102	Albert .....	197
— against the Prus- sians .....	246	Henry VII. ....	348
— against Peter the Cruel .....	337	Louis V.....	350
Crusades, Remarks on the..	42, 223	Charles IV.....	355, 366
Cublai Khan ....	130, 133, 206	Wenceslaus .....	405, 413
Cyprus.....	57, 97	England, Kings of :	
Czar Vladimir I. ....	212	John .....	14—29
— Monomachus	213	Henry III.....	65—76
Damietta, Siege of .....	80, 97	Edward I. 75, 112, 138—161	
Dante .....	489	— II. ....	260, 275
Denmark .....	438	— III.....	272, 276
Despensers .....	270	Richard II. ....	383, 401
Divorce .....	32, 50	Henry IV. ....	396, 401
Dmitry Donsky .....	465	Epirus, Empire of.....	63, 115
Doge of Venice .....	58, 63	Eric, King of the North ..	440
Dominic, St. ....	43	Esthonians .....	243
Douglas .....	266, 277, 329	Evesham, Battle of.....	76
Dress .....	469	Excommunication of Kings	23, 122
Du Guesclin .....	321, 340	Falkirk, Battle of.....	154
Eccelino, the Tyrant ....	87	Famines .....	270, 285
Emperors of the East :		Fashions .....	315
Isaac Angelus .....	57	Feast of Fools .....	240
Alexius the Tyrant ..	58	— of the Ass .....	484
— the Younger..	60	Feasts .....	471
Mourzoufle .....	61	Flagellants .....	314
Baldwin .....	62	Flanders 165, 173, 283, 304, 311	
Henry I. ....	63	Florence .....	346, 411
Peter of Courtenay ..	114	France .....	18, 163
Robert.....	115	France, Kings of :	
		Philip Augustus	24, 32, 89
		Louis VIII. ....	29, 65, 91

	Page		Page
France, Kings of :		Isabella the Fair, Queen ..	263,
Louis IX.....	73, 92—105		272, 310
Philip III.....	162, 189	Italy .....	344
— IV.....	164, 173	Jacobins.....	45, 101
Louis X.....	303	Jacquerie .....	318
John I.....	304	Janizzaries .....	379
Philip V.....	305	Jerusalem, Kingdom of ..	40, 81
Charles IV.....	305	Jews, Position of the ....	250
Philip of Valois....	310	— Favour to the ..	192, 258,
John II.....	316		304, 325
Charles V.....	320	— Persecution of the	30, 146,
— VI.....	385, 389		252, 257, 306, 308, 385
Francis, St. ....	47	— Causes of Persecution	249,
Free Companies .....	319, 364		251
Friars Minor .....	47, 493	Joan I. of Naples.....	362, 409
Froissart.....	393	John of Brienne .....	187
Gabelle, The.....	312	— Corvino .....	205, 208
Genoa .....	349	— Gaunt.....	342, 384
Georgia.....	446	— Luxemburg.....	354
Golden Horde .....	218	— Procida .....	187
Gothic Architecture....	466	Jubilee.....	223, 415
Granada .....	109, 327	Karismians .....	127, 203
— Alahmar, King of .	178	Knighthood.....	159
— Mohammed the		Knights Hospitallers....	96
Blind .....	191	— of Christ.....	246
Greek Empire .....	57, 63	— Sword-bearers ...	242
— Church .....	202, 466	— Templars..	96, 171, 184
Greenland .....	435	— Teutonic..	131, 247, 421
Groteste.....	69, 233	Langland's Poems .....	497
Gunpowder .....	179, 325, 485	Language, English .....	468
Halls for dining .....	472	Lascaris, Theodore .....	120
— study.....	479	— John.....	122
Halidon Hill, Battle of ...	281	Lateran Council, 4th.....	8, 41
Hanseatic League .....	87	Laws of Arragon .....	191
Heresy, Treatment of ..	10, 389	— Castile .....	111, 175
Hindustan .....	128, 447	— England.....	237
Holagou .....	133	— Hungary .....	363
Homage of Edward III. 146,	311	— Iceland .....	435
Host, The.....	241	— St. Louis .....	101
Hugh of Lincoln .....	253	— Philip III.....	163
Hungary, Kings of ....	131, 363	— Wales .....	145
Iceland.....	435	Leicester, Earl of....	71, 76, 238
Inquisition.....	47, 225	Leon joined to Castile....	107
Interdicts ..	21, 31, 50, 167, 169	Leprosy .....	15
Ireland .....	30	Lewes, Battle of .....	74
Isabella, Queen .....	30, 95	Literature.....	487

	Page		Page
Lithuania.....	248, 505	Norway, Kings of.....	433, 434
Liveries.....	97	Novgorod.....	213
Livonians.....	242	Occam.....	491
Llewellyn.....	143	Octai Khan.....	129
Lords.....	501	Ottacar, King of Bohemia.....	192, 247
Lombards.....	146	Ottoman Power, Rise of.....	204, 375
Lombardy.....	364	Padua.....	87
London.....	479	Painted Rooms.....	473
Magna Charta.....	26, 72	Papal Power.....	2, 488
Maid of Norway.....	148	Parliaments.....	74, 145
Marco Polo.....	137	Patriarchs.....	370
Margaret of Denmark.....	438—442	Penance.....	34, 225
— Queen of Edward I.....	155	Persia.....	446
Maria the Great.....	184	Petrarch.....	356, 366, 491
Manners.....	467	Poitiers, Battle of.....	298
May Day.....	480	Poland.....	416
Meals.....	470	Popes, Position of the.....	220
Medicine.....	487	Pope Innocent III.....	3, 12, 220
Mendicant Orders.....	45	Honorius III.....	79, 114, 220
Midsummer Watch.....	480	Gregory IX.....	81, 220
Milan.....	364	Innocent IV.....	70, 84, 220, 236
— Tyrants of.....	412	Celestine IV.....	84
Military Ladies.....	315	Clement IV.....	201
— Missions.....	242, 248	Celestine V.....	221
Miracle Plays.....	481	Boniface VIII.....	166, 222
Missions.....	48, 205, 211, 504	Benedict XI.....	170
Moguls.....	125, 129	Clement V.....	170, 307
Monasticism.....	42	John XXII.....	307, 351
Monks of Mount Athos ..	375	Benedict XII.....	312
— Handiworks of the.....	478	Martin IV.....	188, 202
Moors of Spain.....	52, 108, 328	Gregory X.....	201
Mortmain, Statute of.....	145	Nicholas III.....	205
Mother, applied to the		Clement VI.....	313, 354
Church.....	12	Innocent VI.....	319
Mysteries.....	174, 481	Urban V.....	320, 368
Naval Victory, England's		Gregory XI.....	322
first.....	66	Clement VII.....	369
Navarre.....	51, 107, 185	Double Popes:	
— Jane, Queen of.....	165, 186	{ Urban VI.....	407, 409
— Charles, King of.....	316	{ Clement VII.....	408, 414
Navarette, Battle of.....	339	{ Boniface IX.....	410
Nepotism.....	415	{ Benedict XIII.....	415
Nestorians.....	208	Portugal, Kings of.....	334, 403
Neville's Cross.....	290	Pragmatic Sanction.....	102
Nice, Empire of.....	62, 115	Prester John.....	125
Normandy lost to England	19,	Prophetic Scriptures.....	128
	151	Prussia.....	244

	Page		Page
Quietists .....	376	Surgery.....	487
Relics, Remarks on .....	117	Sweden.....	436
Religious Errors.....	22, 227	Switzerland.....	198, 350
Rienzi.....	356, 362, 365	Tamerlane.....	443
Roger Bacon.....	238, 485	Tartar Empire.....	204, 446
— Mortimer .....	271, 278	Tartars.....	125, 129
Romance of the Rose ....	164	— Description of the..	130
Rome .....	356	— in Russia .....	216
Rosary .....	46	Tolosa, Battle of .....	54
Rubruquis.....	136	Torture .....	226
Russia .....	212, 219, 447	Toulouse, Counts of ..	33, 39, 92
Russian Church.....	218	Traitor, Death of a .....	144
Salado, Battle of .....	328	Translation of the Scriptures	13,
Salic Law.....	305		175, 209, 323, 495
Savoy .....	141	Transubstantiation ....	9, 38, 73
Schism of the West.....	408	Trebizond, Empire of ....	63
Scotland.....	147	Tunis.....	103, 180
Scotland, Kings of:		Usbek Tartars .....	129
William the Lion....	16, 31	Valencia.....	109
Alexander II.....	66, 148	Vataces.....	115, 119
— III.....	77, 141, 147	Venetians .....	58, 137, 347
Robert Stewart ....	300	Virgin-Worship .....	500
— II.....	387	Waldemar I.....	243
— III.....	403	Waldenses....	13, 229, 495, 502
Scripture Reading .....	13, 323	Wales .....	141
Servia .....	381	War, Remarks on.....	99
Seville .....	110	Wat Tyler.....	386
Show, Lord Mayor's.....	480	Whitsuntide.....	483
Siberia .....	132	Wickliffe .....	492
Sicilian Vespers.....	187	Wilhelmina .....	228
Sicily .....	4, 79, 80	William Wallace .....	153
— Charles, King of	102, 140,	— Tell.....	199
	186, 189	Worthies, Nine.....	480
Simon de Montfort .....	35, 39	Ximenes, Archbishop ....	56
Sleswic-Holstein .....	441	Zingis Khan.....	125
Spain.....	50		
Sports .....	480		
States General, Assembly of	167		
States of the Church ....	193		
Stephen Langton	20, 25, 65, 67		

**ERRATA.**

For *Peter III.* read *Peter II.*, p. 35.

For *Gironna* read *Gerona*, p. 113.

6 For *Nicholas IV.* read *Nicholas III.*, p. 205.

2114

