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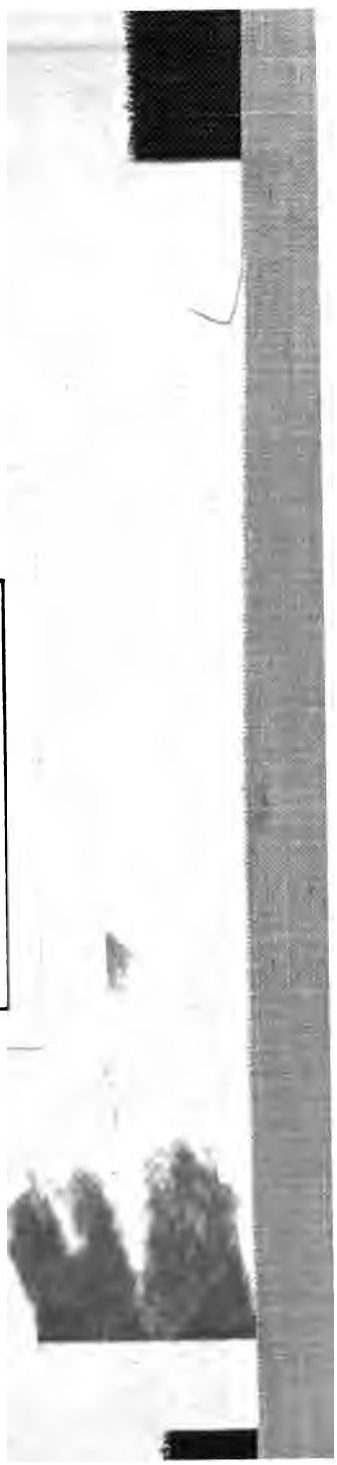
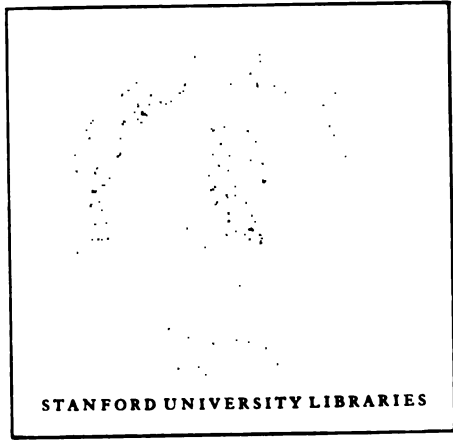
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ENGLAND
UNDER
THE ANGEVIN KINGS



ENGLAND
UNDER
THE ANGEVIN KINGS

BY
KATE NORGATE

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

WITH MAPS AND PLANS

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ERRATA

- Page 71, line 3, *for* "the two kings" *read* "they."
,, 81, ,, 3 from foot, *for* "Caen" *read* "Avranches."
,, 81, note 6, line 11, *for* "doubtless" *read* "probably."
,, 147, ,, 3, ,, 6, *for* "Châteauneuf" *read* "Neufchâtel."
,, 152, line 16, *for* "Robert" *read* "Roger."
,, 155, ,, 8, *dele* "in person."
,, 157, ,, 7, *for* "thousand" *read* "hundred."
,, 160, ,, 22, *for* "Robert" *read* "Roger."
,, 160, lines 22, 23, *dele* "had . . . now."
,, 163, line 5 from foot, *for* "Robert" *read* "Roger."

CHAPTER I.

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

1162-1164.

SOMEWHAT more than a year after the primate's death, Thomas the chancellor returned to England. He came, as we have seen, at the king's bidding, ostensibly for the purpose of securing the recognition of little Henry as heir to the crown. But this was not the sole nor even the chief object of his mission. On the eve of his departure—so the story was told by his friends in later days—Thomas had gone to take leave of the king at Falaise. Henry drew him aside: "You do not yet know to what you are going. I will have you to be archbishop of Canterbury." The chancellor took, or tried to take, the words for a jest. "A saintly figure indeed," he exclaimed with a smiling glance at his own gay attire, "you are choosing to sit in that holy seat and to head that venerable convent! No, no," he added with sudden earnestness, "I warn you that if such a thing should be, our friendship would soon turn to bitter hate. I know your plans concerning the Church; you will assert claims which I as archbishop must needs oppose; and the breach once made, jealous hands would take care that it should never be healed again." The words were prophetic; they sum up the whole history of the pontificate of Thomas Becket. Henry, however, in his turn passed them over as a mere jest, and at once proclaimed his intention to the chancellor's fellow-envoys, one of whom was the justiciar, Richard de Lucy. "Richard," said the king, "if I lay dead

in my shroud, would you earnestly strive to secure my first-born on my throne?" "Indeed I would, my lord, with all my might." "Then I charge you to strive no less earnestly to place my chancellor on the metropolitan chair of Canterbury."¹

Thomas was appalled. He could not be altogether taken by surprise; he knew what had been Theobald's wishes and hopes; he knew that from the moment of Theobald's death all eyes had turned instinctively upon himself with the belief that the future of the Church rested wholly in his all-powerful hands; he could not but suspect the king's own intentions,² although the very suspicion would keep him silent, and all the more so because those intentions ran counter to his own desires. For twelve months he had known that the primacy was within his reach; he had counted the cost, and he had no mind to pay it. He was incapable of undertaking any office without throwing his whole energies into the fulfilment of its duties; his conception of the duties of the primate of all Britain would involve the sacrifice not only of those secular pursuits which he so keenly enjoyed, but also of that personal friendship and political co-operation with the king which seemed almost an indispensable part of the life of both; and neither sacrifice was he disposed to make. He had said as much to an English friend who had been the first to hint at his coming promotion,³ and he repeated it now with passionate earnestness to Henry himself, but all in vain. The more he resisted, the more the king insisted—the very frankness of his warnings only strengthening Henry's confidence in him; and when the legate Cardinal Henry of Pisa urged his acceptance as a sacred duty, Thomas at last gave way.⁴

The council in London was no sooner ended than Richard de Lucy and three of the bishops⁵ hurried to Canterbury, by

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 180, 182. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 63-67.

² Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 180. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 14. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 63. ³ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 25, 26.

⁴ Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 7, 8. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 18. Anon.², II. (*ib.*), p. 86.

⁵ E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 366. The bishops were Exeter, Chichester and

the king's orders, to obtain from the cathedral chapter the election of a primate in accordance with his will. The monks of Christ Church were never very easy to manage; in the days of the elder King Henry they had firmly and successfully resisted the intrusion of a secular clerk into the monastic chair of S. Augustine; and a strong party among them now protested that to choose for pastor of the flock of Canterbury a man who was scarcely a clerk at all, who was wholly given to hawks and hounds and the worldly ways of the court, would be no better than setting a wolf to guard a sheepfold. But their scruples were silenced by the arguments of Richard de Lucy and by their dread of the royal wrath, and in the end Thomas was elected without a dissentient voice.¹ The election was repeated in the presence of a great council² held at Westminster on May 23,³ and ratified by the bishops and clergy there assembled.⁴ Only one voice was raised in protest; it was that of Gilbert Foliot,⁵ who, alluding doubtless to the great scutage, declared that Thomas was utterly unfit for the primacy, because he had persecuted the Church of God.⁶ The protest was answered by Henry of Winchester in words suggested by Gilbert's

Rochester; Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 16, 17, Anon. I. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), pp. 14-16, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 169; this last alone names Rochester, and adds another envoy—Abbot Walter of Battle, Chichester's old adversary and the justiciar's brother.

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 17. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), pp. 366, 367. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 183-185. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 16. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson, vol. i. p. 73) has quite a different version of the result.

² Anon. I. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 17. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 9. Garnier, as above. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 169. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 306.

³ The Wednesday before Pentecost. R. Diceto (as above), p. 307.

⁴ Garnier, Will. Cant., Anon. I., as above. R. Diceto (as above), p. 306. Gerv. Cant. (as above), p. 170. All these writers either say or imply that the council represented, or was meant to represent, the entire *clerus et populus* of all England; except R. Diceto, who says: "clero totius provincie Cantuariorum generaliter Lundoniae convocato" (p. 306). Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 73-77; Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 36; and Herb. Bosh. (*ib.*), p. 184.

⁵ Garnier, Will. Cant., Will. Fitz-Steph. and Anon. I., as above. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 367. Will. Cant., E. Grim and the Anon. call him "bishop of London" by anticipation.

⁶ "Destruite ad seinte Iglise." Garnier, as above.

own phrase: "My son," said the ex-legate, addressing Thomas, "if thou hast been hitherto as Saul the persecutor, be thou henceforth as Paul the Apostle."¹

The election was confirmed by the great officers of state and the boy-king in his father's name;² the consecration was fixed for the octave of Pentecost, and forthwith the bishops began to vie with each other for the honour of performing the ceremony. Roger of York, who till now had stood completely aloof, claimed it as a privilege due to the dignity of his see; but the primate-elect and the southern bishops declined to accept his services without a profession of canonical obedience to Canterbury, which he indignantly refused.³ The bishop of London, on whom as dean of the province the duty according to ancient precedent should have devolved, was just dead;⁴ Walter of Rochester momentarily put in a claim to supply his place,⁵ but withdrew it in deference to Henry of Winchester, who had lately returned from Cluny, and whose royal blood, venerable character, and unique dignity as father of the whole English episcopate, marked him out beyond all question as the most fitting person to undertake the office.⁶ By way of compensation, it was Walter who, on the Saturday in Whitsun-week, raised the newly-elected primate to the dignity of priesthood.⁷

Early next morning the consecration took place. Canterbury cathedral has been rebuilt from end to end since that day; it is only imagination which can picture the church of Lanfranc and Anselm and Theobald as it stood on that June morning, the scarce-risen sun gleaming faintly through its eastern windows upon the rich vestures of the

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 18.

² *Ibid.* Anon. I. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 17. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 9. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 367. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 185.

³ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 170.

⁴ He died on May 4. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 306.

⁵ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 188.

⁶ Gerv. Cant., R. Diceto and Herb. Bosh. as above. MS. Lansdown. II. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 155. Cf. Anon. I. (*ib.*), p. 19. There was another claimant, a Welsh bishop, who asserted priority of consecration over all his brother-prelates; so at least says Gerv. Cant., but one does not see who he can have been.

⁷ R. Diceto, as above.

fourteen bishops¹ and their attendant clergy and the dark robes of the monks who thronged the choir, while the nave was crowded with spectators, foremost among whom stood the group of ministers surrounding the little king.² From the vestry-door Thomas came forth, clad no longer in the brilliant attire at which he had been jesting a few weeks ago, but in the plain black cassock and white surplice of a clerk; through the lines of staring, wondering faces he passed into the choir, and there threw himself prostrate upon the altar-steps. Thence he was raised to go through a formality suggested by the prudence of his consecrator. To guard, as he hoped, against all risk of future difficulties which might arise from Thomas's connexion with the court, Henry of Winchester led him down to the entrance of the choir, and in the name of the Church called upon the king's representatives to deliver over the primate-elect fully and unreservedly to her holy service, freed from all secular obligations, actual or possible. A formal quit-claim was accordingly granted to Thomas by little Henry and the justiciars, in the king's name;³ after which the bishop of Winchester proceeded to consecrate him at once. A shout of applause rang through the church as the new primate of all Britain was led up to his patriarchal chair; but he mounted its steps with eyes downcast and full of tears.⁴ To him the day was one of melancholy foreboding; yet he made its memory joyful in the Church for ever. He began his archiepiscopal career by ordaining a new festival to be kept every year on that day—the octave of Pentecost—in honour of the most Holy Trinity;⁵ and in process of time the observance thus origin-

¹ See the list in *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 170.

² *Herb. Bosh.* (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 188.

³ *MS. Lansdown. II.* (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 154, 155. Cf. *Anon. I.* (*ib.*), pp. 17, 18; *Will. Cant.* (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 9; *E. Grim* (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 367; *Herb. Bosh.* (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 185; *Garnier* (Hippeau), p. 19; and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 81. All these place this scene in London, immediately after the consecration. The three first, however, seem to be only following Garnier; and the words of *Will. Fitz-Steph.* (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii. p. 36), though not very explicit, seem rather to agree with the *MS. Lansdown.* Garnier, *Grim* and the *Anon. I.* all expressly attribute the suggestion to Henry of Winchester.

⁴ *Anon. I.* (as above), p. 19.

⁵ *Gerv. Cant.* as above.

ated spread from Canterbury throughout the whole of Christendom, which thus owes to an English archbishop the institution of Trinity Sunday.

"The king has wrought a miracle," sneered the sarcastic bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot; "out of a soldier and man of the world he has made an archbishop."¹ The same royal power helped to smooth the new primate's path a little further before him. He was not, like most of his predecessors, obliged to go in person to fetch his pallium from Rome; an embassy which he despatched immediately after his consecration obtained it for him without difficulty from Alexander III., who had just been driven by the Emperor's hostility to seek a refuge in France, and was in no condition to venture upon any risk of thwarting King Henry's favourite minister.² The next messenger whom Thomas sent over sea met with a less pleasant reception. He was charged to deliver up the great seal into the king's hands with a request that Henry would provide himself with another chancellor, "as Thomas felt scarcely equal to the cares of one office, far less to those of two."³

Henry was both surprised and vexed. It was customary for the chancellor to resign his office on promotion to a bishopric; but this sudden step on the part of Thomas was quite unexpected, and upset a cherished scheme of the king's. He had planned to rival the Emperor by having an archbishop for his chancellor, as the archbishops of Mainz and Cöln were respectively arch-chancellors of Germany and Italy;⁴ he had certainly never intended, in raising his favourite to the primacy, to deprive himself of such a valuable assistant in secular administration; his aim had

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 36.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 24, 25. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.) p. 9. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 189. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 172. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 307. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 91-95.

³ Will. Cant. (as above), p. 12. Cf. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 29, and R. Diceto as above.

⁴ R. Diceto (as above), p. 308. The real work of the office in the Empire was, however, done by another chancellor, who at this time was a certain Reginald, of whom we shall hear again later on. "Cancellarius" plays almost as conspicuous and quite as unclerkly a part in the Italian wars of Barbarossa as in the French and Aquitanian wars of Henry.

rather been to secure the services of Thomas in two departments instead of one.¹ To take away all ground of scandal, he had even procured a papal dispensation to sanction the union of the two offices in a single person.² Thomas, however, persisted in his resignation; and as there was no one whom Henry cared to put in his place, the chancellorship remained vacant, while the king brooded over his friend's unexpected conduct and began to suspect that it was caused by weariness of his service.

Meanwhile Thomas had entered upon the second phase of his strangely varied career. He had "put off the deacon" for awhile; he was resolved now to "put off the old man" wholly and for ever. No sooner was he consecrated than he flung himself, body and soul, into his new life with an ardour more passionate, more absorbing, more exclusive than he had displayed in pursuit of the worldly tasks and pleasures of the court. On the morrow of his consecration, when some jongleurs came to him for the largesse which he had never been known to refuse, he gently but firmly dismissed them; he was no longer, he said, the chancellor whom they had known; his whole possessions were now a sacred trust, to be spent not on actors and jesters but in the service of the Church and the poor.³ Theobald had doubled the amount of regular alms-givings established by his predecessors; Thomas immediately doubled those of Theobald.⁴ To be diligent in providing for the sick and needy, to take care that no beggar should ever be sent empty away from his door,⁵ was indeed nothing new in the son of the good dame Rohesia of Caen. The lavish hospitality of the chancellor's household, too, was naturally transferred to that of the archbishop; but it took a different tone and colour. All and more than all the old grandeur and orderliness were there;

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 29. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 69-71.

² Garnier, as above.

³ MS. Lansdown. II. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 156.

⁴ Anon. I. (*ibid.*), p. 20. The Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 90, and Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 307, say that to this purpose he appropriated a *tithe* of all his revenues—a statement which reflects rather strangely upon the former archbishops.

⁵ Joh. Salisb. and Anon. I. as above. Anon. II. (as above), pp. 89, 90.

the palace still swarmed with men-at-arms, servants and retainers of all kinds, every one with his own appointed duty, whose fulfilment was still carefully watched by the master's eyes; the bevy of high-born children had only increased, for by an ancient custom the second son of a baron could be claimed by the primate for his service—as the eldest by the king—until the age of knighthood; a claim which Thomas was not slow to enforce, and which the barons were delighted to admit. The train of clerks was of course more numerous than ever. The tables were still laden with delicate viands, served with the utmost perfection, and crowded with guests of all ranks; Thomas was still the most courteous and gracious of hosts. But the banquet wore a graver aspect than in the chancellor's hall. The knights and other laymen occupied a table by themselves, where they talked and laughed as they listed; it was the clerks and religious who now sat nearest to Thomas. He himself was surrounded by a select group of clerks, his *eruditi*, his "learned men" as he called them: men versed in Scriptural and theological lore, his chosen companions in the study of Holy Writ into which he had plunged with characteristic energy; while instead of the minstrelsy which had been wont to accompany and inspire the gay talk at the chancellor's table, there was only heard, according to ecclesiastical custom, the voice of the archbishop's cross-bearer who sat close to his side reading from some holy book: the primate and his confidential companions meanwhile exchanging comments upon what was read, and discussing matters too deep and solemn to interest unlearned ears or to brook unlearned interruption.¹ Of the meal itself Thomas partook but sparingly;² its remainder was always given away;³ and every day twenty-six poor men were brought into the hall and served with a dinner of the best, before Thomas would sit down to his own midday meal.⁴

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 225-229. On the *eruditi* see *ib.* pp. 206, 207, 523-529.

² *ib.* pp. 231-236. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 37. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 308. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 89.

³ Joh. Salisb. (as above), p. 307. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 20, 21.

⁴ Anon. II. (*ib.*), p. 89.

The amount of work which he had got through by that time must have been quite as great as in the busiest days of his chancellorship. The day's occupations ostensibly began about the hour of tierce, when the archbishop came forth from his chamber and went either to hear or to celebrate mass,¹ while a breakfast was given at his expense to a hundred persons who were called his "poor prebendaries."² After mass he proceeded to his audience-chamber and there chiefly remained till the hour of nones, occupied in hearing suits and administering justice.³ Nones were followed by dinner,⁴ after which the primate shut himself up in his own apartments with his *eruditi*⁵ and spent the rest of the day with them in business or study, interrupted only by the religious duties of the canonical hours, and sometimes by a little needful repose,⁶ for his night's rest was of the briefest. At cock-crow he rose for prime; immediately afterwards there were brought in to him secretly, under cover of the darkness, thirteen poor persons whose feet he washed and to whom he ministered at table with the utmost devotion and humility,⁷ clad only in a hair-shirt which from the day of his consecration he always wore beneath the gorgeous robes in which he appeared in public.⁸ He then returned to his bed, but only for a very short time; long before any one else was astir he was again up and doing, in company with one specially favoured disciple—the one who tells the tale, Herbert of Bosham. In the calm silent hours of dawn, while twelve other poor persons received a secret meal and had their feet washed by the primate's almoner in his stead, the two friends sat eagerly searching the Scriptures together, till the archbishop chose to be left alone⁹ for meditation and confession,

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 208.

² *Ib.* p. 203.

³ *Ib.* p. 219.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 225.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 236, 237.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 238.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 199. Cf. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 38, and Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 307.

⁸ On the hair-shirt see MS. Lansdown. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 154; Anon. I. (*ibid.*), p. 20; Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 10; Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 196, 199; Garnier (Hippeau), p. 23. On Thomas's troubles about his dress and how he settled them see Garnier, pp. 19, 20, 23; Anon. I. (as above), p. 21; E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 368; Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 196. On his whole manner of life after consecration cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 95-111.

⁹ Herb. Bosh. (as above), pp. 202-205. ✓

scourging and prayer,¹ in which he remained absorbed until the hour of tierce called him forth to his duties in the world.²

He was feverishly anxious to lose no opportunity of making up for his long neglect of the Scriptural and theological studies befitting his sacred calling. He openly confessed his grievous inferiority in this respect to many of his own clerks, and put himself under their teaching with child-like simplicity and earnestness. The one whom he specially chose for monitor and guide, Herbert of Bosham, was a man in whom, despite his immeasurable inferiority, one can yet see something of a temper sufficiently akin to that of Thomas himself to account for their mutual attraction, and perhaps for some of their joint errors. As they rode from London to Canterbury on the morrow of the primate's election he had drawn Herbert aside and laid upon him a special charge to watch with careful eyes over his conduct as archbishop, and tell him without stint or scruple whatever he saw amiss in it or heard criticized by others.³ Herbert, though he worshipped his primate with a perfect hero-worship, never hesitated to fulfil this injunction to the letter as far as his lights would permit; but unluckily his zeal was even less tempered by discretion than that of Thomas himself. He was a far less safe guide in the practical affairs of life than in the intricate paths of abstract and mystical interpretation of Holy Writ in which he and Thomas delighted to roam together. Often, when no other quiet time could be found, the archbishop would turn his horse aside as they travelled along the road, beckon to his friend, draw out a book from its hiding-place in one of his wide sleeves, and plunge into an eager discussion of its contents as they ambled slowly on.⁴ When at Canterbury, his greatest pleasure was to betake himself to the cloister and sit reading like a lowly monk in one of its quiet nooks.⁵

But the *eruditi* of Thomas, like the disciples of Theobald, were the confidants and the sharers of far more than his

¹ Anon. II. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 88.

² Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 205.

³ *Ib.* p. 186.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 206.

⁵ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.*), pp. 38, 39.

literary and doctrinal studies. It was in those evening hours which he spent in their midst, secluded from all outside interruption, that the plans of Church reform and Church revival, sketched long ago by other hands in the *Curia Theobaldi*, assumed a shape which might perhaps have startled Theobald himself. As the weeks wore quickly away from Trinity to Ember-tide, the new primate set himself to grapple at once with the ecclesiastical abuses of the time in the persons of his first candidates for ordination. On his theory the remedy for these abuses lay in the hands of the bishops, and especially of the metropolitans, who fostered simony, worldliness and immorality among the clergy by the facility with which they admitted unqualified persons into high orders, thus filling the ranks of the priesthood with unworthy, ignorant and needy clerks, who either traded upon their sacred profession as a means to secular advancement, or disgraced it by the idle wanderings and unbecoming shifts to which the lack of fit employment drove them to resort for a living. He was determined that no favour or persuasion should ever induce him to ordain any man whom he did not know to be of saintly life and ample learning, and provided with a benefice sufficient to furnish him with occupation and maintenance; and he proclaimed and acted upon his determination with the zeal of one who, as he openly avowed, felt that he was himself the most glaring example of the evils resulting from a less stringent system of discipline.¹

His next undertaking was one which almost every new-made prelate in any degree alive to the rights and duties of his office found it needful to begin as soon as possible: the recovery of the alienated property of his see. Gilbert Foliot, the model English bishop of the day, had no sooner been consecrated than he wrote to beg the Pope's support in this important and troublesome matter.² It may well be that even fourteen years later the metropolitan see had not yet received full restitution for the spoliations of the anarchy. Thomas however set to work in the most sweeping fashion, boldly laying claim to every estate which he could find to

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 238-247.

² Gilb. Foliot, Ep. lxxxvii. (Giles, vol. i., p. 113).

have been granted away by his predecessors on grounds which did not satisfy his exalted ideas of ecclesiastical right, or on terms which he held detrimental to the interest and dignity of his church, and enforcing his claims without respect of persons; summarily turning out those who held the archiepiscopal manors in ferm,¹ disputing with the earl of Clare for jurisdiction over the castle and district of Tunbridge, and reclaiming, on the strength of a charter of the Conqueror, the custody of Rochester castle from the Crown itself. Such a course naturally stirred up for him a crowd of enemies, and increased the jealousy, suspicion and resentment which his new position and altered mode of life had already excited among the companions and rivals of his earlier days. The archbishop however was still, like the chancellor, protected against them by the shield of the royal favour; they could only work against him by working upon the mind of Henry. One by one they carried over sea their complaints of the wrongs which they had suffered, or with which they were threatened, at the primate's hands;² they reported all his daily doings and interpreted them in the worst sense:—his strictness of life was superstition, his zeal for justice was cruelty, his care for his church avarice, his pontifical splendour pride, his vigour rashness and self-conceit:³—if the king did not look to it speedily, he would find his laws and constitutions set at naught, his regal dignity trodden under foot, and himself and his heirs reduced to mere cyphers dependent on the will and pleasure of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

★ | At the close of the year Henry determined to go and see for himself the truth of these strange rumours.⁵ The negotiations concerning the papal question had detained him on the continent throughout the summer; in the end both

¹ E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.) pp. 371, 372. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.) pp. 250, 251. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 117-121.

² Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 252. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 121.

³ Joh. Salisb. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.) pp. 309, 310. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.) pp. 91, 92.

⁴ Joh. Salisb. (as above), p. 310. E. Grim (*ibid.*) p. 372. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 92. Cf. Arn. Lisieux, Ep. 34 (Giles, pp. 148, 149).

⁵ Anon. II. as above.

he and Louis gave a cordial welcome to Alexander, and a general pacification was effected in a meeting of the two kings and the Pope which took place late in the autumn at Chouzy on the Loire. Compelled by contrary winds to keep Christmas at Cherbourg instead of in England as he had hoped,¹ the king landed at Southampton on S. Paul's day.² Thomas, still accompanied by the little Henry, was waiting to receive him; the two friends met with demonstrations of the warmest affection, and travelled to London together in the old intimate association.³ One subject of disagreement indeed there was; Thomas had actually been holding for six months the archdeaconry of Canterbury together with the archbishopric, and this Henry, after several vain remonstrances, now compelled him to resign.⁴ They parted however in undisturbed harmony, the archbishop again taking his little pupil with him.⁵

Resign
of Henr
Ch. ix. c

The first joint work of king and primate was the translation of Gilbert Foliot from Hereford to London. Some of those who saw its consequences in after-days declared that Henry had devised the scheme for the special purpose of securing Gilbert's aid against the primate;⁶ but it is abundantly clear that no such thought had yet entered his mind, and that the suggestion of Gilbert's promotion really came from Thomas himself.⁷ Like every one else, he looked upon Gilbert as the greatest living light of the English Church; he expected to find in him his own most zealous and efficient fellow-worker in the task which lay before him as metropolitan, as well as his best helper in influencing the king for good. Gilbert was in fact the man who in the natural fitness of things had seemed marked out for the primacy;

¹ Rob. Torigni, a. 1162.

² Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 252. The date is given by R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 308.

³ Herb. Bosh. (as above), pp. 252, 253. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 92. R. Diceto (as above) tells a different tale; but Herbert is surely a better authority on these personal matters. Cf. also *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 121-123.

⁴ R. Diceto, as above.

⁵ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 253.

⁶ Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 46.

⁷ This is the statement of Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv. p. 98) and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 173), fully borne out by the letters of Thomas.

failing that, it was almost a matter of necessity that he should be placed in the see which stood next in dignity, and where both king and primate could benefit by his assistance ever at hand, instead of having to seek out their most useful adviser in the troubled depths of the Welsh marches. The chapter of London, to whom during the pecuniary troubles and long illness of their late bishop Gilbert had been an invaluable friend and protector, were only too glad to elect him; and his world-wide reputation combined with the pleadings of Henry to obtain the Pope's consent to his translation,¹ which was completed by his enthronement in S. Paul's cathedral on April 28, 1163.²

The king spent the early summer in subduing South-Wales; the primate, in attending a council held by Pope Alexander at Tours.³ From the day of his departure to that of his return Thomas's journey was one long triumphal progress; Pope and cardinals welcomed him with such honours as had never been given to any former archbishop of Canterbury, hardly even to S. Anselm himself;⁴ and the request which he made to the Pope for Anselm's canonization⁵ may indicate the effect which they produced on his mind—confirming his resolve to stand boldly upon his right of opposition to the secular power whenever it clashed with ecclesiastical theories of liberty and justice. The first opportunity for putting his resolve in practice arose upon a question of purely temporal administration at a council held by Henry at Woodstock on July 31, after his return from Wales. The Welsh princes came to swear fealty to Henry and his heir; Malcolm of Scotland came to confirm

¹ Epp. xvi.-xix. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 24-30). Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 255, 256. Cf. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 98.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 309.

³ According to Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 173, and Will. Newb., I. ii. c. 14 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 135), it opened on Trinity Sunday, May 19; according to R. Diceto (as above), p. 310, on May 21. The *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 123-127, makes out that Thomas's chief object in going there was to obtain confirmation of certain privileges of his see. Cf. also the account of this council in *Draco Norm.*, I. iii. cc. 13-15, vv. 949-1224 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. pp. 742-751).

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 253-255. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 129, 131.

⁵ Ep. xxiii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 35).

his alliance with the English Crown by doing homage in like manner to the little king.¹ Before the council broke up, however, Henry met the sharpest constitutional defeat which had befallen any English sovereign since the Norman conquest, and that at the hands of his own familiar friend.

The king had devised a new financial project for increasing his own revenue at the expense of the sheriffs. According to current practice, a sum of two shillings annually from every hide of land in the shire was paid to those officers for their services to the community in its administration and defence. This payment, although described as customary rather than legal,² and called the "sheriff's aid,"³ seems really to have been nothing else than the Danegeld, which still occasionally made its appearance in the treasury rolls, but in such small amount that it is evident the sheriffs, if they collected it in full, paid only a fixed composition to the Crown and kept the greater part as a remuneration for their own labours. Henry now, it seems, proposed to transfer the whole of these sums from the sheriff's income to his own, and have it enrolled in full among the royal dues. Whether he intended to make compensation to the sheriffs from some other source, or whether he already saw the need of curbing their influence and checking their avarice, we know not; but the archbishop of Canterbury started up to resist the proposed change as an injustice both to the receivers and to the payers of the aid. He seems to have looked upon it as an attempt to re-establish the Danegeld with all the odiousness attaching to its shameful origin and its unfair incidence, and to have held it his constitutional duty as representative and champion of the whole people to lift up his voice against it in their behalf. "My lord king," he said, "saving your good pleasure, we will not give you this money as revenue, for it is not yours. To your officers, who receive it as a matter of grace rather than of right, we will give it willingly so long as they do their duty; but on no other terms will

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 311.

² Garnier (Hippeau), p. 30. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 12. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 373. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 23.

³ "L'Aïde al Vescunte." Garnier, as above.

we be made to pay it at all."—"By God's Eyes!" swore the astonished and angry king, "what right have you to contradict me? I am doing no wrong to any man of yours. I say the moneys shall be enrolled among my royal revenues."—"Then by those same Eyes," swore Thomas in return, "not a penny shall you have from my lands, or from any lands of the Church!"¹

How the debate ended we are not told; but one thing we know: from that time forth the hated name of "Dane-geld" appeared in the Pipe Rolls no more. It seems therefore that, for the first time in English history since the Norman conquest, the right of the nation's representatives to oppose the financial demands of the Crown was asserted in the council of Woodstock, and asserted with such success that the king was obliged not merely to abandon his project, but to obliterate the last trace of the tradition on which it was founded. And it is well to remember, too, that the first stand made by Thomas of Canterbury against the royal will was made in behalf not of himself or his order but of his whole flock;—in the cause not of ecclesiastical privilege but of constitutional right. The king's policy may have been really sounder and wiser than the primate's; but the ground taken by Thomas at Woodstock entitles him none the less to a place in the line of patriot-archbishops of which Dunstan stands at the head.²

The next few weeks were occupied with litigation over the alienated lands of the metropolitan see. A crowd of claims put in by Thomas and left to await the king's return now came up for settlement, the most important case being that of Earl Roger of Clare, whom Thomas had summoned to perform his homage for Tunbridge at Westminster on July 22. Roger answered that he held the entire fief by knight-service, to be rendered in the shape of money-payment,³ of the king and not of the primate.⁴ As Roger was

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 30. Cf. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 12. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 374. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 23, 24.

² On the different account of this affair given in the *Thomas Saga*, and the view which has been founded on it, see note A at end of chapter.

³ "Publicis pensionibus persolvendis." R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 311.

⁴ *Ibid.*

connected with the noblest families in England,¹ king and barons were strongly on his side.² To settle the question, Henry ordered a general inquisition to be made throughout England to ascertain where the service of each landholder was lawfully due. The investigation was of course made by the royal justiciars; and when they came to the archiepiscopal estates, one at least of the most important fiefs in dispute was adjudged by them to the Crown alone.³

Meanwhile a dispute on a question of church patronage arose between the primate and a tenant-in-chief of the Crown, named William of Eynesford. Thomas excommunicated his opponent without observing the custom which required him to give notice to the king before inflicting spiritual penalties on one of his tenants-in-chief.⁴ Henry indignantly bade him withdraw the sentence; Thomas refused, saying "it was not for the king to dictate who should be bound or who loosed."⁵ The answer was indisputable in itself; but it pointed directly to the fatal subject on which the inevitable quarrel must turn: the relations and limits between the two powers of the keys and the sword.

Almost from his accession Henry seems to have been in some degree contemplating and preparing for those great schemes of legal reform which were to be the lasting glory of his reign. His earliest efforts in this direction were merely tentative; the young king was at once too inexperienced and too hard pressed with urgent business of all kinds, at home and abroad, to have either capacity or opportunity for great experiments in legislation. Throughout the past nine years, however, the projects which floated before his mind's eye had been gradually taking shape; and now that he was at last freed for a while from the

¹ And had moreover "the fairest sister in the whole kingdom," adds Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 43.

² *Ibid.*

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 311.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 311, 312. Will. Fitz-Steph. as above. The object of this rule—one of the *avita consuetudines*—was, as R. Diceto explains, to guard the king against the risk of unwittingly associating with excommunicates.

⁵ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

entanglements of politics and war, the time had come when he might begin to devote himself to that branch of his kingly duties for which he probably had the strongest inclination, as he certainly had the highest natural genius. He had by this time gained enough insight into the nature and causes of existing abuses to venture upon dealing with them systematically and in detail, and he had determined to begin with a question which was allowed on all hands to be one of the utmost gravity: the repression of crime in the clergy.

The origin of this difficulty was in the separation—needful perhaps, but none the less disastrous in some of its consequences—made by William the Conqueror between the temporal and ecclesiastical courts of justice. In William's intention the two sets of tribunals were to work side by side without mutual interference save when the secular power was called in to enforce the decisions of the spiritual judge. But in practice the scheme was soon found to involve a crowd of difficulties. The two jurisdictions were constantly coming into contact, and it was a perpetual question where to draw the line between them. The struggle for the investitures, the religious revival which followed it, the vast and rapid developement of the canon law, with the increase of knowledge brought to bear upon its interpretation through the revived study of the civil law of Rome, gave the clergy a new sense of corporate importance and strength, and a new position as a distinct order in the state; the breakdown of all secular administration under Stephen tended still further to exalt the influence of the canonical system which alone retained some vestige of legal authority, and to throw into the Church-courts a mass of business with which they had hitherto had only an indirect concern, but which they alone now seemed capable of treating. Their proceedings were conducted on the principles of the canon law, which admitted of none but spiritual penalties; they refused to allow any lay interference with the persons over whom they claimed sole jurisdiction; and as these comprised the whole clerical body in the widest possible sense, extending to all

who had received the lowest orders of the Church or who had taken monastic vows, the result was to place a considerable part of the population altogether outside the ordinary law of the land, and beyond the reach of adequate punishment for the most heinous crimes. Such crimes were only too common, and were necessarily fostered by this system of clerical immunities; for a man capable of staining his holy orders with theft or murder was not likely to be restrained by the fear of losing them, which a clerical criminal knew to be the worst punishment in store for him; and moreover, it was but too easy for the doers of such deeds to shelter themselves under the protection of a privilege to which often they had no real title. The king's justiciars declared that in the nine years since Henry's accession more than a hundred murders, besides innumerable robberies and lesser offences, had gone unpunished because they were committed by clerks, or men who represented themselves to be such.¹ The scandal was acknowledged on all hands; the spiritual party in the Church grieved over it quite as loudly and deeply as the lay reformers; but they hoped to remedy it in their own way, by a searching reformation and a stringent enforcement of spiritual discipline within the ranks of the clergy themselves. The subject had first come under Henry's direct notice in the summer of 1158, when he received at York a complaint from a citizen of Scarborough that a certain dean had extorted money from him by unjust means. The case was tried, in the king's presence, before the archbishop of the province, two bishops, and John of Canterbury the treasurer of York. The dean failed in his defence; and as it was proved that he had extorted the money by a libel, an offence against which Henry had made a special decree, some of the barons present were sent to see that the law had its course. John of Canterbury, however, rose and gave it as the decision of the spiritual judges that the money should be restored to the citizen and the criminal delivered over to the mercy of his metropolitan; and despite the justiciar's remonstrances, they refused to allow the king

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 16 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 140).

any rights in the matter. Henry indignantly ordered an appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury; but he was called over sea before it could be heard,¹ and had never returned to England until now, when another archbishop sat in Theobald's place.

That it was Thomas of London who sat there was far from being an indication that Henry had forgotten the incident. It was precisely because Henry in these last four years had thought over the question of the clerical immunities and determined how to deal with it that he had sought to place on S. Augustine's chair a man after his own heart. He aimed at reducing the position of the clergy, like all other doubtful matters, to the standard of his grandfather's time. He held that he had a right to whatever his ancestors had enjoyed; he saw therein nothing derogatory to either the Church or the primate, whom he rather intended to exalt by making him his own inseparable colleague in temporal administration and the supreme authority within the realm in purely spiritual matters—thus avoiding the appeals to Rome which had led to so much mischief, and securing for himself a representative to whom he could safely intrust the whole work of government in England as guardian of the little king,² while he himself would be free to devote his whole energies to the management of his continental affairs. He seems in fact to have hoped tacitly to repeal the severance of the temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and bring back the golden age of William and Lanfranc, if not that of Eadgar and Dunstan; and for this he, not unnaturally, counted unreservedly upon Thomas. By slow degrees he discovered his miscalculation. Thomas had given him one direct warning which had been unheeded; he had warned him again indirectly by resigning the chancellorship; now, when the king unfolded his plans, he did not at once contradict him; he merely answered all his arguments and persuasions with one set phrase:—"I will render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."³

A right to
an archbishopry
like Lanfranc's.

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*), vol. iii. pp. 43-45.

² Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 92-94.

³ *Ib.* pp. 94, 95.

In July occurred a typical case which brought matters to a crisis. A clerk named Philip de Broi had been tried in the bishop of Lincoln's court for murder, had cleared himself by a legal compurgation, and had been acquitted. The king, not satisfied, commanded or permitted the charge to be revived, and the accused to be summoned to take his trial at Dunstable before Simon Fitz-Peter, then acting as justice-in-eyre in Bedfordshire, where Philip dwelt. Philip indignantly refused to plead again in answer to a charge of which he had been acquitted, and overwhelmed the judge with abuse, of which Simon on his return to London made formal complaint to the king. Henry was furious, swore his wonted oath "by God's Eyes" that an insult to his minister was an insult to himself, and ordered the culprit to be brought to justice for the contempt of court and the homicide both at once. The primate insisted that the trial should take place in his own court at Canterbury, and to this Henry was compelled unwillingly to consent. The charge of homicide was quickly disposed of; Philip had been acquitted in a Church court, and his present judges had no wish to reverse its decision. On the charge of insulting a royal officer they sentenced him to undergo a public scourging at the hands of the offended person, and to forfeit the whole of his income for the next two years, to be distributed in alms according to the king's pleasure. Henry declared the punishment insufficient, and bitterly reproached the bishops with having perverted justice out of favour to their order.¹ They denied it; but a story which came up from the diocese of Salisbury² and another from that of Worcester³ tended still further to shew the helplessness of the royal justice against the ecclesiastical courts under the protection of the primate; and the latter's blundering attempts to satisfy the king only increased his irritation. Not only did Thomas venture beyond the

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 30-32. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), pp. 12, 13. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 374-376. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 45. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.*), pp. 265, 266. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 24, 25. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 313. There is another version in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 145.

² Herb. Bosh. (as above), pp. 264, 265. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 143.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

limits of punishment prescribed by the canon law by causing a clerk who had been convicted of theft to be branded as well as degraded,¹ but he actually took upon himself to condemn another to banishment.² He hoped by these severe sentences to appease the king's wrath;³ Henry, on the contrary, resented them as an interference with his rights; what he wanted was not severe punishment in isolated cases, but the power to inflict it in the regular course of his own royal justice. At last he laid the whole question before a great council which met at Westminster on October 1.⁴

The king's first proposition, that the bishops should confirm the old customs observed in his grandfather's days,⁵ opened a discussion which lasted far into the night. Henry himself proceeded to explain his meaning more fully; he required, first, that the bishops should be more strict in the pursuit of criminal clerks;⁶ secondly, that all such clerks, when convicted and degraded, should be handed over to the secular arm for temporal punishment like laymen, according to the practice usual under Henry I.;⁷ and finally, that the bishops should renounce their claim to inflict any temporal punishment whatever, such as exile or imprisonment in a monastery, which he declared to be an infringement of his regal rights over the territory of his whole realm and the persons of all his subjects.⁸ The primate, after vainly begging for an adjournment till the morrow, retired to consult with his suffragans.⁹ When he returned, it was to set forth his view of the "two swords"—the two jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal—in terms which put an end to all hope of

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 45, 46.

² Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 267.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 46.

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 266. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 95. *Summa Causæ* (*ibid.*), p. 201; this last gives the date.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 32. Anon. I. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), pp. 25, 26. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 376.

⁶ Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 96.

⁷ *Ibid.* Cf. *Summa Causæ* (*ib.*), p. 202, Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 266, and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 148, 149.

⁸ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 267.

⁹ *Summa Causæ* (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 202. Their discussion is given in *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 151.

agreement with the king. He declared the ministers of the Heavenly King exempt from all subjection to the judgement of an earthly sovereign; the utmost that he would concede was that a clerk once degraded should thenceforth be treated as a layman and punished as such if he offended again.¹ Henry, apparently too much astonished to argue further, simply repeated his first question—"Would the bishops obey the royal customs?" "Aye, saving our order," was the answer given by the primate in the name and with the consent of all.² When appealed to singly they all made the same answer.³ Henry bade them withdraw the qualifying phrase, and accept the customs unconditionally; they, through the mouth of their primate, refused;⁴ the king raged and swore, but all in vain. At last he strode suddenly out of the hall without taking leave of the assembly;⁵ and when morning broke they found that he had quitted London.⁶ Before the day was over, Thomas received a summons to surrender some honours which he had held as chancellor and still retained;⁷ and soon afterwards the little Henry was taken out of his care.⁸ ✕

The king's wrath presently cooled so far that he invited the primate to a conference at Northampton. They met on horseback in a field near the town; high words passed between them; the king again demanded, and the archbishop again refused, unconditional acceptance of the customs; and

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 268-272. Cf. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 22. The speech in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 151-153, is much more moderate in tone, but grants no more in substance.

² Garnier (Hippeau), p. 32. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 13. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 376. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 273. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 97. Cf. Ep. ccxxv. (*ib.* vol. v. p. 527).

³ For Hilary of Chichester's attempt at evasion see Herb. Bosh. (as above), pp. 273, 274, and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 155.

⁴ Garnier, E. Grim, Herb. Bosh., Anon. II., as above. For this scene the *Saga* (as above), pp. 153-155, substitutes a wrangle between king and primate, which however comes to the same result.

⁵ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 274.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 275. *Summa Causæ* (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 205. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 157.

⁷ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 275.

⁸ He was with his father at the council of Clarendon in January 1164. *Summa Causæ* (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 208.

in this determination they parted.¹ A private negotiation with some of the other prelates—suggested, it was said, by the diplomatist-bishop of Lisieux—was more successful; Roger of York and Robert of Lincoln met the king at Gloucester and agreed to accept his customs with no other qualification than a promise on his part to exact nothing contrary to the rights of their order. Hilary of Chichester not only did the same but undertook to persuade the primate himself. In this of course he failed.² Some time before Christmas, however, there came to the archbishop three commissioners who professed to be sent by the Pope to bid him withdraw his opposition; Henry having, according to their story, assured the Pope that he had no designs against the clergy or the Church, and required nothing beyond a verbal assent for the saving of his regal dignity.³ On the faith of their word Thomas met the king at Oxford,⁴ and there promised to accept the customs and obey the king “loyally and in good faith.” Henry then demanded that as the archbishop had withstood him publicly, so his submission should be repeated publicly too, in an assembly of barons and clergy to be convened for that purpose.⁵ This was more than Thomas had been led to expect; but he made no objection, and the Christmas season passed over in peace. Henry kept the feast at Berkhamstead,⁶ one of the castles lately taken from the archbishop; Thomas at Canterbury, where he had just been consecrating the great English scholar Robert of Melun—one of the three Papal commissioners—to succeed Gilbert Foliot as bishop of Hereford.⁷

¹ Anon. I. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), pp. 27-29.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 33, 34. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), pp. 14, 15. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 377, 378. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 30-31. Cf. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 276, and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 159.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 34, 35. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 15. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 378. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 31. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 161. All, except the Anon., seem to doubt the genuineness of the mission.

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 277. The Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 32, and Garnier (Hippeau), p. 35, say Woodstock.

⁵ Garnier, Will. Cant., Herb. Bosh. and *Thomas Saga*, as above. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 379. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 33, 34.

⁶ Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 66, from Pipe Roll a. 1164.

⁷ On December 22. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 176.

On S. Hilary's day the proposed council met at the royal hunting-seat of Clarendon near Salisbury.¹ Henry called upon the archbishop to fulfil the promise he had given at Oxford and publicly declare his assent to the customs. Thomas drew back. As he saw the mighty array of barons round the king—as he looked over the ranks of his own fellow-bishops—it flashed at last even upon his unsuspecting mind that all this anxiety to draw him into such a public repetition of a scene which he had thought to be final must cover something more than the supposed papal envoys had led him to expect, and that those "customs" which he had been assured were but a harmless word might yet become a terrible reality if he yielded another step. His hesitation threw the king into one of those paroxysms of Angevin fury which scared the English and Norman courtiers almost out of their senses. Thomas alone remained undaunted; the bishops stood "like a flock of sheep ready for slaughter," and the king's own ministers implored the primate to save them from the shame of having to lay violent hands upon him at their sovereign's command. For two days he stood firm; on the third two knights of the Temple brought him a solemn assurance, on the honour of their order and the salvation of their souls, that his fears were groundless and that a verbal submission to the king's will would end the quarrel and restore peace to the Church. He believed them; and though he still shrank from the formality, thus emptied of meaning, as little better than a lie, yet for the Church's sake he gave way. He publicly promised to obey the king's laws and customs loyally and in good faith, and made all the other bishops do likewise.²

The words were no sooner out of their mouths than Thomas learned how just his suspicions had been. A question was instantly raised—what were these customs? It was too late to discuss them that night; next morning the

¹ On the date see note B at end of chapter.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 20-22, 36. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), pp. 16, 17. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 380-382. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 278, 279. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 33-36. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 99. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 163-167, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

king bade the oldest and wisest of the barons go and make a recognition of the customs observed by his grandfather and bring up a written report of them for ratification by the council.¹ Nine days later² the report was presented. It comprised sixteen articles, known ever since as the Constitutions of Clarendon.³ Some of them merely re-affirmed, in a more stringent and technical manner, the rules of William the Conqueror forbidding bishops and beneficed clerks to quit the realm or excommunicate the king's tenants-in-chief without his leave, and the terms on which the temporal position of the bishops had been settled by the compromise between Henry I. and Anselm at the close of the struggle for the investitures. Another aimed at checking the abuse of appeals to Rome, by providing that no appeal should be carried further than the archbishop's court without the assent of the king. The remainder dealt with the settlement of disputes concerning presentations and advowsons, which were transferred from the ecclesiastical courts to that of the king; the treatment of excommunicate persons; the limits of the right of sanctuary as regarding the goods of persons who had incurred forfeiture to the Crown; the ordination of villeins; the jurisdiction over clerks accused of crime; the protection of laymen cited before the Church courts against episcopal and archidiaconal injustice; and the method of procedure in suits concerning the tenure of Church lands.

The two articles last mentioned are especially remarkable. The former provided that if a layman was accused before a bishop on insufficient testimony, the sheriff should at the bishop's request summon a jury of twelve lawful men of the neighbourhood to swear to the truth or falsehood of the charge.⁴ The other clause decreed that when an estate was claimed by a clerk in frank-almoign and by a layman as a secular fief the question should be settled by the chief

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 37. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 18. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 382. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 279. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 37. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 102. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 178.

² On the chronology see note B at end of chapter.

³ Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 18-23; Gerv. Cant. (as above), pp. 178-180; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 137-140.

⁴ Const. Clarend. c. 6 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 138, 139).

justiciar in like manner on the recognition of twelve jurors.¹ The way in which these provisions are introduced implies that the principle contained in them was already well known in the country; it indicates that some steps had already been taken towards a general remodelling of legal procedure, intended to embrace all branches of judicial administration and bring them all into orderly and harmonious working. In this view the Constitutions of Clarendon were only part of a great scheme in whose complete development they might have held an appropriate and useful place.² But the churchmen of the day, to whom they were thus suddenly presented as an isolated fragment, could hardly be expected to see in them anything but an engine of state tyranny for grinding down the Church. Almost every one of them assumed, in some way or other, the complete subordination of ecclesiastical to temporal authority; the right of lay jurisdiction over clerks was asserted in the most uncompromising terms; while the last clause of all, which forbade the ordination of villeins without the consent of their lords, stirred a nobler feeling than jealousy for mere class-privileges. Its real intention was probably not to hinder the enfranchisement of serfs, but simply to protect the landowners against the loss of services which, being attached to the soil, they had no means of replacing, and very possibly also to prevent the number of criminal clerks being further increased by the admission of villeins anxious to escape from the justice of their lords. But men who for ages had been trained to regard the Church as a divinely-appointed city of refuge for all the poor and needy, the oppressed and the enslaved, could only see the other side of the measure and feel their inmost hearts rise up in the cry of a contemporary poet—"Hath not God called us all, bond and free, to His service?"³

¹ Const. Clarend. c. 9 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 139).

² It should be noticed that this was clearly understood, and full justice was done to Henry's intentions, not only by the most impartial and philosophic historian of the time—William of Newburgh (l. ii. c. 16; Howlett, vol. i. p. 140)—but even by Thomas's most ardent follower, Herbert of Bosham (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii. pp. 272, 273, 278, 280).

³ "Et Deus à sun servise nus a tuz apelez !
Mielz valt filz à vilain qui est preuz et senez,

The discussion occupied six days ;¹ as each clause was read out to the assembly, Thomas rose and set forth his reasons for opposing it.² When at last the end was reached, Henry called upon him and all the bishops to affix their seals to the constitutions. "Never," burst out the primate—"never, while there is a breath left in my body!"³ The king was obliged to content himself with the former verbal assent, gained on false pretences as it had been ; a copy of the obnoxious document was handed to the primate, who took it, as he said, for a witness against its contrivers, and indignantly quitted the assembly.⁴ In an agony of remorse for the credulity which had led him into such a trap he withdrew to Winchester and suspended himself from all priestly functions till he had received absolution from the Pope.⁵

Que ne fet gentilz hum faillez et debutez !"

Garnier (Hippeau), p. 89. This, variously expressed, was the grand argument of the clerical-democratic party, and the true source of their strength. And they were not altogether wrong in attributing the action of their opponents, in part at least, to aristocratic contempt and exclusiveness—if we may trust Gervase of Canterbury's report of a complaint said to have been uttered at a later time by the king: "Hi quoque omnes" [*i.e.* the religious orders] "tales sibi fratres associant, pelliparios scilicet et sutores, quorum nec unus deberet instante necessitate in episcopum vel abbatem salvâ conscientia nostrâ promoveri." Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 540.

¹ See note B at end of chapter.

² Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 280-285. The answers to the Constitutions in Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 84-89, seem to be partly Thomas's and partly his own.

³ "L'arcevesques respunt : Fei que dei Deu le bel,
Ço n'ert, tant cum la vie me bate en cest vessel !"

Garnier (Hippeau), p. 37. Cf. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 383, and Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 37.

⁴ Garnier, as above. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 23. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 383. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 37. Cf. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 311 ; Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 288 ; Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 103, and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 167-169. Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 48, 49, says that Thomas did set his seal to the constitutions ; but his statement is at variance with those of all other authorities ; and he himself afterwards recites two speeches made at Northampton, one by Thomas and one by Hilary of Chichester, both distinctly affirming that none of the bishops sealed. *ib.* pp. 66, 67.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 38. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 24. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 312. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 383. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 49. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 289-292. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 37.

It was to the Pope that both parties looked for a settlement of their dispute ; but Alexander, ill acquainted both with the merits of the case and with the characters of the disputants, and beset on all sides with political difficulties, could only strive in vain to hold the balance evenly between them. Meanwhile the political quarrel of king and primate was embittered by an incident in which Henry's personal feelings were stirred. His brother William—the favourite young brother whom he had once planned to establish as sovereign in Ireland—had set his heart upon a marriage with the widowed countess of Warren ; the archbishop had forbidden the match on the ground of affinity, and his prohibition had put an end to the scheme.¹ Baffled and indignant, William returned to Normandy and poured the story of his grievance into the sympathizing ears first of his mother and then, as it seems, of the brotherhood at Bec.² On January 29, 1164—one day before the dissolution of the council of Clarendon—he died at Rouen ;³ and a writer who was himself at that time a monk at Bec not only implies his own belief that the young man actually died of disappointment, but declares that Henry shared that belief, and thenceforth looked upon the primate by whom the disappointment had been caused as little less than the murderer of his brother.⁴ The king's exasperation was at any rate plain to

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.) p. 142. Isabel de Warren was the widow of Stephen's son William, who of course was cousin in the third degree to William of Anjou.

² "Hic" [*i.e.* Thomas] "regis fratrem pertæsum semper habebat,
Ne consul foret hic, obvius ille fuit :
Cum nata comitis comitem Warena tulisset,
Nobilis hic præsul ne nocuisset ei.
Irâ permotus, nunquam rediturus, ab Anglis
Advenit is, matri nunciat ista pise.
Hinc Beccum veniens fratrum se tradit amori."

Draco Norm., l. ii. c. 8, vv. 441-447 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. p. 676).

³ Rob. Torigni, a. 1164. *Draco Norm.*, l. ii. c. 8, vv. 448-450 (as above). The date is from the first-named writer.

⁴ *Draco Norm.*, l. ii. c. 8, vv. 453-456 (as above). Considering the abundance—one might almost say superabundance—of unquestionably authentic information which we already possess as to the origin and grounds of Henry's quarrel with Thomas, I cannot attach so much importance as Mr. Howlett apparently does (*ib.* pref. pp. lxi-lxiii) to this new contribution from Stephen of Rouen. Stephen's work is quasi-romantic in character, and utterly unhistoric in style ; and his view

all eyes; and as the summer drew on Thomas found himself gradually deserted. His best friend, John of Salisbury, had already been taken from his side, and was soon driven into exile by the jealousy of the king;¹ another friend, John of Canterbury, had been removed out of the country early in 1163 by the ingenious device of making him bishop of Poitiers.² The old dispute concerning the relations between Canterbury and York had broken out afresh with intensified bitterness between Roger of Pont-l'Évêque and the former comrade of whom he had long been jealous, and who had now once again been promoted over his head; the king, hoping to turn it to account for his own purposes, was intriguing at the Papal court in Roger's behalf, and one of his confidential agents there was Thomas's own archdeacon, Geoffrey Ridel.³ The bishops as yet were passive; in the

of the whole Becket controversy is simply ludicrous, for he ignores the clerical immunities and the Constitutions of Clarendon altogether, and attributes the quarrel wholly to two other causes—this affair about William, and Thomas's supposed speculations while chancellor (*ib.* l. iii. c. 12, vv. 909-914, p. 741). That the domestic tragedy of which he gives such a highly-coloured account had some bearing upon the great political drama appears from the words of Richard le Breton to Thomas at his murder seven years later, "Hoc habeas pro amore domini mei Willelmi fratris regis" (Will. Fitz-Steph., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii. p. 142). But in these words there is no mention either of William's death or of Henry's feelings about it. Some allusion to either or both may have been in the speaker's mind; but what he actually said implies nothing more than that he had been in William's service, and had therefore resented the thwarting of his lord's interests, and through them, it may be, of his own. Will. Fitz-Steph., after explaining what William's grievance was, simply adds, "Unde Willelmus . . . inconsolabiliter doluit; et omnes sui archiepiscopo inimici facti sunt." *Ibid.*

¹ From a comparison of Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 46, with Ep. lv. (*ib.* vol. v. pp. 95-103), it appears that John was separated from Thomas before the council of Clarendon. After some months of wandering he found shelter at Reims, in the great abbey of S. Remigius of which his old friend Peter of Celle was now abbot, and there he chiefly dwelt during the next seven years.

² Will. Fitz-Steph., as above, says John was promoted for the purpose of getting him out of the way. He was consecrated by the Pope at the council of Tours; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 311. It must be remembered that Henry had already had experience of John's zeal for clerical immunities.

³ Epp. xiii., xxvii., xxxvi., xli.-xliii., l., li., liii., liv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 21, 22, 44-46, 59, 60, 67-69, 85, 87, 88, 91, 94); Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 24; E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 384; Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 38, 39; Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 39, 40; *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 179-181; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 181.

York controversy Gilbert Foliot strongly supported his own metropolitan;¹ but between him and Thomas there was already a question, amicable indeed at present but ominous nevertheless, as to whether or not the profession of obedience made to Theobald by the bishop of Hereford should be repeated by the same man as bishop of London to Theobald's successor.²

Thomas himself fully expected to meet the fate of Anselm; throughout the winter his friends had been endeavouring to secure him a refuge in France;³ and early in the summer of 1164, having been refused an interview with the king,⁴ he made two attempts to escape secretly from Romney. The first time he was repelled by a contrary wind; the second time the sailors put back ostensibly for the same reason, but really because they had recognized their passenger and dreaded the royal wrath;⁵ and a servant who went on the following night to shut the gates of the deserted palace at Canterbury found the primate, worn out with fatigue and disappointment, sitting alone in the darkness like a beggar upon his own door-step.⁶ Despairing of escape, he made another effort to see the king at Woodstock. Henry dreaded nothing so much as the archbishop's flight, for he felt that it would probably be followed by a Papal interdict on his dominions,⁷ and would certainly give an immense advantage against him to Louis of France, who was at that very moment threatening war in Auvergne.⁸ He therefore received Thomas courteously, though with somewhat less than the usual honours,⁹ and made no allusion

¹ Ep. xxviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 46, 47).

² Epp. xxxv., lxvii. (*ib.* pp. 56, 57, 130, 131).

³ Epp. xxxv., xxxvi., lv. (*ib.* pp. 57, 58, 97).

⁴ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.*), vol. iii. p. 49.

⁵ Cf. Will. Fitz-Steph. as above; Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 293; Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 104; and Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 325, with E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 389, 390; Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 29; Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 40; and Garnier (Hippeau), p. 49.

⁶ Alan Tewkesb. as above.

⁷ Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 29. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 390. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 40. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 50.

⁸ Ep. lx. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v., p. 115).

⁹ Ep. ccxxv. (*ib.* p. 530). Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 294.

to the past except by a playful question "whether the archbishop did not think the realm was wide enough to contain them both?" Thomas saw, however, that the old cordiality was gone; his enemies saw it too, and, as his biographer says, "they came about him like bees."¹ Foremost among them was John the king's marshal, who had a suit in the archbishop's court concerning the manor of Pageham.² It was provided by one of Henry's new rules of legal procedure that if a suitor saw no chance of obtaining justice in the court of his own lord he might, by taking an oath to that effect and bringing two witnesses to do the same, transfer the suit to a higher court.³ John by this method removed his case from the court of the archbishop to that of the king; and thither Thomas was cited to answer his claim on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. When that day came the primate was too ill to move; he sent essoiners to excuse his absence in legal form, and also a written protest against the removal of the suit, on the ground that it had been obtained by perjury—John having taken the oath not upon the Gospel, but upon an old song-book which he had surreptitiously brought into court for the purpose.⁴ Henry angrily refused to believe either Thomas or his essoiners,⁵ and immediately issued orders for a great council to be held at Northampton.⁶ It was customary to call the archbishops and the greater barons by a special writ addressed to each individually, while the lesser tenants-in-chief received a general summons through the sheriffs of the different counties. Roger of York was specially called in due form;⁷ the metropolitan of all Britain, who ought to have been in-

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 294, 295.

² Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 50.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 51. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 31. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 41. On this proceeding see Glanville, *De Legg. et Conss. Angl.*, l. xii. c. 7.

⁴ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 51-53. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 30. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 390. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 50. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 41. Ep. ccxxv. (*ib.* vol. v.), pp. 530, 531.

⁵ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

⁶ *ib.* p. 49. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 296. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 30. Ep. ccxxv. (*ib.* vol. v.), p. 531. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 50.

⁷ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

vited first and most honourably of all, merely received through the sheriff of Kent a peremptory citation to be ready on the first day of the council with his defence against the claim of John the marshal.¹

The council—an almost complete gathering of the tenants-in-chief, lay and spiritual, throughout the realm²—was summoned for Tuesday October 6.³ The king however lingered hawking by the river-side till late at night,⁴ and it was not till next morning after Mass that the archbishop could obtain an audience. He began by asking leave to go and consult the Pope on his dispute with Roger of York and divers other questions touching the interests of both Church and state; Henry angrily bade him be silent and retire to prepare his defence for his contempt of the royal summons in the matter of John the marshal.⁵ The trial took place next day. John himself did not appear, being detained in the king's service at the Michaelmas session of the Exchequer

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 51.

² Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*) p. 296. E. Grim (*ib.*, vol. ii.), p. 390. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 41. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 313. Only two bishops were absent: Nigel of Ely, disabled by paralysis, and William of Norwich, who made an excuse to avoid sharing in what he knew was to come. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 185. From Alan Tewkesb. however (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii. p. 331), it seems that Norwich came after all—only, like Rochester (Will. Fitz-Steph., *ib.* vol. iii. p. 52), somewhat late.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 50. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* p. 296), says "hebdomadæ feria quinta, sexta ante B. Calixti . . . diem"—a self-contradiction, for in 1164 October 9, the sixth day before the feast of S. Calixtus, was not Thursday but Friday. He makes, however, a similar confusion as to the last day of the council (*ib.* pp. 301, 304, 326); and as this was undoubtedly Tuesday October 13—not Wednesday 14, as he seems to make it in p. 304—it is plain that his mistake lies in placing the feast of S. Calixtus a day too early, and that the day to which he really means to assign the opening of the assembly is Thursday October 8. This really agrees with Will. Fitz-Steph., for, as will be seen, the council did not formally meet till a day after that for which it was summoned, and did not get to business till a day later still. William gives the date for which it had been summoned; Herbert, that of its practical beginning. R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 313) has substituted the closing day for that of opening; the author of *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson, vol. i. p. 241), has done the same, with a further confusion as to the days of the week; while Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 182) has a date which agrees with nothing, and which must be altogether wrong.

⁴ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.
⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 52. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 391. Cf. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 42, and Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 51.

in London ;¹ the charge of failure of justice was apparently withdrawn, but for the alleged contempt Thomas was sentenced to a fine of five hundred pounds.² Indignant as he was at the flagrant illegality of the trial, in which his own suffragans had been compelled to sit in judgement on their primate, Thomas was yet persuaded to submit, in the hope of avoiding further wrangling over what seemed now to have become a mere question of money.³ But there were other questions to follow. Henry now demanded from the archbishop a sum of three hundred pounds, representing the revenue due from the honours of Eye and Berkhamstead for the time during which he had held them since his resignation of the chancellorship.⁴ Thomas remarked that he had spent far more than that sum on the repair of the royal palaces, and protested against the unfairness of making such a demand without warning. Still, however, he disdained to resist for a matter of filthy lucre, and found sureties for the required amount.⁵ Next morning Henry made a further demand for the repayment of a loan made to Thomas in his chancellor days.⁶ In those days the two friends had virtually had but one purse as well as "one mind and one heart," and Thomas was deeply wounded by this evident proof that their friendship was at an end. Once more he submitted ; but this time it was no easy matter to

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 51.

² *Ibid.* Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 297. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 30. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 391. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 42. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 52. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 18. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 183. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 313. The actual sentence was forfeiture of all his moveable goods *ad misericordiam*—commuted according to custom ; cf. Herb. Bosh. and Gerv. Cant., as above, with Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 62. Garnier makes the sum three hundred pounds ; Will. Cant., fifty ; E. Grim, the Anon. I. and R. Diceto, five hundred.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 52. E. Grim (as above), p. 391. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 43.

⁴ This must be the meaning of Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 53, compared with R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

⁵ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

⁶ The demand is stated by Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*) as "de quingentis marcis ex causâ commodati in exercitu Tolosæ, et aliis quingentis marcis ex causâ fidejussionis regis pro eo erga quendam Judæum ibidem." This would make the total amount £666 : 3 : 8. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 298, and the *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 189, make it five hundred pounds.

find sureties ;¹ and then, late on the Friday evening, there was reached the last and most overwhelming count in the long indictment thus gradually unrolled before the eyes of the astonished primate. He was called upon to render a complete statement of all the revenues of vacant sees baronies and honours of which he had had the custody as chancellor—in short, of the whole accounts of the chancery during his tenure of office.²

At this crushing demand the archbishop's courage gave way, and he threw himself at the king's feet in despair. All the bishops did likewise, but in vain ; Henry swore "by God's Eyes" that he would have the accounts in full. He granted, however, a respite till the morrow,³ and Thomas spent the next morning in consultation with his suffragans.⁴ Gilbert of London advised unconditional surrender ;⁵ Henry of Winchester, who had already withstood the king to his face the night before,⁶ strongly opposed this view,⁷ and suggested that the matter should be compromised by an offer of two thousand marks. This the king rejected.⁸ After long deliberation⁹ it was decided—again at the suggestion

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 298, 299.

² Garnier (Hippeau), p. 53. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 31. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 312. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 392. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 54. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 299. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 43. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 104. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 314. The total sum due was assessed in the end at thirty thousand pounds, according to Garnier (p. 65), Will. Cant. (p. 38), E. Grim (p. 396) and Anon. I. (p. 49). Herb. Bosh., however (as above), makes it thirty thousand marks (*i.e.* twenty thousand pounds). The *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 191, says thirty thousand marks "of burnt silver," *i.e.* blanch ; while Gilbert Foliot, when reciting the story to the Pope's legates in 1167, is reported as stating it at forty-four thousand marks (L2933:6:8) ; Ep. cccxxxix. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi. p. 271). Herb. Bosh. (as above) places this demand on the Saturday morning, and the whole history of the three days, Friday–Sunday, October 9–11, is somewhat confused by the discordant notes of time given by the various biographers. I have followed Will. Fitz-Steph., who is the most self-consistent and apparently the most trustworthy.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 53, 54.

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 300.

⁵ Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 326, 327.

⁶ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 54.

⁷ Alan Tewkesb. (as above), p. 327.

⁸ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 54.

⁹ The speeches of the bishops—interesting for studies of character—are given at length by Alan Tewkesb. (as above), pp. 327, 328. Cf. the account in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 193-199.

of Bishop Henry—that Thomas should refuse to entertain the king's demands on the ground of the release from all secular obligations granted to him at his consecration. This answer was carried by the bishops in a body to the king. He refused to accept it, declaring that the release had been given without his authority; and all that the bishops could wring from him was a further adjournment till the Monday morning.¹ In the middle of Sunday night the highly-strung nervous organization of Thomas broke down under the long cruel strain; the morning found him lying in helpless agony, and with great difficulty he obtained from the king another day's delay.² Before it expired a warning reached him from the court that if he appeared there he must expect nothing short of imprisonment or death.³ A like rumour spread through the council, and at dawn the bishops in a body implored their primate to give up the hopeless struggle and throw himself on the mercy of the king. He refused to betray his Church by accepting a sentence which he believed to be illegal as well as unjust, forbade the bishops to take any further part in his trial, gave them notice of an appeal to Rome if they should do so, and charged them on their canonical obedience to excommunicate at once whatever laymen should dare to sit in judgement upon him.⁴ Against this last command the bishop of London instantly appealed.⁵

¹ Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 31. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 392. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 300. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 43. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), pp. 104, 105. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 328, 329, has a slightly different version; in this, and also in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 199-201, Gilbert Foliot wins the respite by a daring misrepresentation of Thomas's answer to the king. I have followed Herbert's reckoning of the days here, as it fits in with that of Will. Fitz-Steph., who seems the best guide in this matter.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 55, 56. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 32. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.) pp. 329, 330. E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 392, 393. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 56. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 300, 301. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 44. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 203. Here again I follow Will. Fitz-Steph. and Herbert as to the day.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 56. Will. Cant. as above. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 393. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 44. *Thomas Saga* as above.

⁴ Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 62. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 301-303. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 205-207.

⁵ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 303. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 207. Some of the other biographers place this scene later in the day, but we can hardly do otherwise than follow the two eye-witnesses, William and Herbert.

All then returned to the court, except Henry of Winchester and Jocelyn of Salisbury, who lingered for a last word of pleading or of sympathy.¹ When they too were gone, Thomas went to the chapel of the monastery in which he was lodging—a small Benedictine house dedicated to S. Andrew, just outside the walls of Northampton—and with the utmost solemnity celebrated the mass of S. Stephen with its significant introtit: "Princes have sat and spoken against me." The mass ended, he mounted his horse, and escorted no longer by a brilliant train of clerks and knights, but by a crowd of poor folk full of sympathy and admiration, he rode straight to the castle where the council awaited him.²

At the gate he took his cross from the attendant who usually bore it, and went forward alone to the hall where the bishops and barons were assembled. They fell back in amazement at the apparition of the tall solitary figure, robed in full pontificals, and carrying the crucifix like an uplifted banner prepared at once for defence and for defiance; friends and opponents were almost equally shocked, and it was not till he had passed through their midst and seated himself in a corner of the hall that the bishops recovered sufficiently to gather round him and intreat that he would give up his unbecoming burthen. Thomas refused; "he would not lay down his standard, he would not part with his shield." "A fool you ever were, a fool I see you are still and will be to the end," burst out Gilbert Foliot at last, as after a long argument he turned impatiently away.⁴ The others followed him, and the primate was left with only two companions,

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 303. Jocelyn's after-conduct shewed that his sympathy with the primate was not very deep.

² Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), pp. 32, 34. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 330. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 393. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 56, 57. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 304. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 45. Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 56-60. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 207-209.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 60. Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 57. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 304. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 330. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 209.

⁴ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 60, 61. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 34. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 330. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 394. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 57. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 305, 306. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 46, 47. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 211-213.

William Fitz-Stephen and his own especial friend, Herbert of Bosham.¹ The king had retired to an inner chamber and was there deliberating with his most intimate counsellors² when the story of the primate's entrance reached his ears. He took it as an unpardonable insult, and caused Thomas to be proclaimed a traitor. Warnings and threats ran confusedly through the hall. The archbishop bent over the disciple sitting at his feet:—"For thee I fear—yet fear not thou; even now mayest thou share my crown." The ardent encouragement with which Herbert answered him³ provoked one of the king's marshals to interfere and forbid that any one should speak to the "traitor." William Fitz-Stephen, who had been vainly striving to put in a gentle word, caught his primate's eyes and pointed to the crucifix, intrusting to its silent eloquence the lesson of patience and prayer which his lips were forbidden to utter. When he and Thomas, after long separation, met again in the land of exile, that speechless admonition seems to have been the first thing which recurred to the minds of both.⁴

In the chamber overhead, meanwhile, Henry had summoned the bishops to a conference.⁵ On receiving from them an account of their morning's interview with Thomas, he sent down to the latter his ultimatum, requiring him to withdraw his appeal to Rome and his commands to the bishops as contrary to the customs which he had sworn to observe, and to submit to the judgement of the king's court on the chancery accounts. Seated, with eyes fixed on the cross, Thomas quietly but firmly refused. His refusal was reported to the king, who grew fiery-red with rage, caught eagerly at the barons' proposal that the archbishop should be judged for contempt of his sovereign's jurisdiction in appealing from it to another tribunal, and called upon the

¹ Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 34. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 307. They only mention Herbert; William's presence appears in the sequel.

² Garnier (Hippeau), p. 61. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 35. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 394. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 305. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 47.

³ Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 306-308.

⁴ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 59.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 57. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 35. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 331. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 62.

bishops to join in his condemnation.¹ York, London and Chichester proposed that they should cite him before the Pope instead, on the grounds of perjury at Clarendon and unjust demands on their obedience.² To this Henry consented; the appeal was uttered by Hilary of Chichester in the name of all, and in most insulting terms;³ and the bishops sat down opposite their primate to await the sentence of the lay barons.⁴

What that sentence was no one outside the royal council-chamber ever really knew. It was one thing to determine it there and another to deliver it to its victim, sitting alone and unmoved with the sign of victory in his hand. With the utmost reluctance and hesitation the old justiciar, Earl Robert of Leicester, came to perform his odious task. At the word "judgement" Thomas started up, with uplifted crucifix and flashing eyes, forbade the speaker to proceed, and solemnly appealed to the protection of the court of Rome. The justiciar and his companions retired in silence.⁵ "I too will go, for the hour is past," said Thomas.⁶ Cross in hand he strode past the speechless group of bishops into the outer hall; the courtiers followed him with a torrent of insults, which were taken up by the squires and serving-men outside; as he stumbled against a pile of faggots set ready for the fire, Ralf de Broc rushed upon him with a

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 65, 66. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), pp. 36-38. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 62-65. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 213-217.

² Will. Cant. (as above), p. 37. In the versions of E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 396, Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 308, and the *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 217, they bluntly bargain to be let off from actually sitting in judgement on their primate in consideration of a promise to stand by the king against him for ever after.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 65, 66. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 331, 332. According to Alan, Thomas answered but one word—"I hear"; according to William, he condescended to make a long speech. Cf. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 49.

⁴ Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 332.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 67. Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 38, 39. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 332, 333. E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 397, 398. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 67, 68. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 309, 310. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 50, 51. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 221, where the altercation is longer, but comes to the same end.

⁶ Anon. I. (as above), p. 51.

shout of "Traitor! traitor!"¹ The king's half-brother, Count Hameline, echoed the cry;² but he shrank back at the primate's retort—"Were I a knight instead of a priest, this hand should prove thee a liar!"³ Amid a storm of abuse Thomas made his way into the court-yard and sprang upon his horse, taking up his faithful Herbert behind him.⁴ The outer gate was locked, but a squire of the archbishop managed to find the keys.⁵ Whether there was any real intention of stopping his egress it seems impossible to determine; the king and his counsellors were apparently too much puzzled to do anything but let matters take their course; Henry indeed sent down a herald to quell the disturbance and forbid all violence to the primate;⁶ but the precaution came too late. Once outside the gates, Thomas had no need of such protection. From the mob of hooting enemies within he passed into the midst of a crowd of poor folk who pressed upon him with every demonstration of rapturous affection; in every street as he rode along the people came out to throw themselves at his feet and beg his blessing.

It was with these poor folk that he supped that night, for his own household, all save a chosen few, now hastened to take leave of him.⁷ Through the bishops of Rochester, Hereford and Worcester he requested of the king a safe-conduct for his journey to Canterbury; the king declined

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 68. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 39. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 398. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 51, 52. Cf. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 68.

² Garnier and Will. Cant. as above. Anon. I. (as above), p. 52.

³ Anon. I. as above. Cf. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 310. There is a different version in Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 39, 40.

⁴ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above. Of his own escape William says nothing; but we know from a passage later in the same page that he soon rejoined his primate.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 69. Cf. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 40; Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 333; Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 52; and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 222.

⁶ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 70. Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 69. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 399.

⁷ Alan Tewkesb. (as above), p. 333. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 399. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 310. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 52. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 40. Garnier, as above.

to answer till the morrow.¹ The primate's suspicions were aroused. He caused his bed to be laid in the church, as if intending to spend the night in prayer.² At cock-crow the monks came and sang their matins in an under-tone for fear of disturbing their weary guest;³ but his chamberlain was watching over an empty couch. At dead of night Thomas had made his escape with two canons of Sempringham and a faithful squire of his own, named Roger of Brai. A violent storm of rain helped to cover their flight,⁴ and it was not till the middle of the next day that king and council discovered that the primate was gone.

"God's blessing go with him!" murmured with a sigh of relief the aged Bishop Henry of Winchester. "We have not done with him yet!" cried the king. He at once issued orders that all the ports should be watched to prevent Thomas from leaving the country,⁵ and that the temporalities of the metropolitan see should be left untouched pending an appeal to the Pope⁶ which he despatched the archbishop of York and the bishops of London, Worcester, Exeter and Chichester to prosecute without delay.⁷ They sailed from Dover on All Souls day;⁸ that very night Thomas, after three weeks of adventurous wanderings, guarded with the most devoted vigilance by the brethren of Sempringham, embarked in a little boat from Sandwich; next day he landed in Flanders;⁹ and after

¹ Alan Tewkesb. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 334. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 69. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 312.

² Alan Tewkesb. and Will. Fitz-Steph. as above. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 40. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 53. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 70. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 229. ³ Garnier, as above.

⁴ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 71. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 399. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 53, 54. Cf. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 40, Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 69, and Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*) p. 312.

⁵ Anon. I. (as above), p. 55.

⁶ Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 70. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 322.

⁷ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 79. Alan Tewkesb. (as above), p. 336. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 402. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 70. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 323. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 60, 61. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 261.

⁸ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

⁹ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 71-74. E. Grim (as above), pp. 399, 400. Alan Tewkesb. (*ibid.*), p. 335. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 70. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 323-325. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 54, 55. *Thomas*

another fortnight's hiding he made his way safe to Soissons, where the king of France, disregarding an embassy sent by Henry to prevent him, welcomed him with open arms. He hurried on to Sens, where the Pope was now dwelling; the appellant bishops had preceded him, but Alexander was deaf to their arguments.¹ Thomas laid at the Pope's feet his copy of the Constitutions of Clarendon; they were read, discussed and solemnly condemned in full consistory.² The exiled primate withdrew to a shelter which his friend Bishop John of Poitiers had secured for him in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy.³ On Christmas-eve, at Marlborough, Henry's envoys reported to him the failure of their mission. On S. Stephen's day Henry confiscated the whole possessions of the metropolitan see, of the primate himself and of all his clerks, and ordered all his kindred and dependents, clerical or lay, to be banished from the realm.⁴

Saga (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 245. Here again there is a confusion about the date.

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 74-81. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.). pp. 42-46. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 335-341. E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 400-403. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 70-74. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 325-340. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 57-61. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 265-289.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 82-84. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 46. Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 341, 342. E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 403, 404. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 340-342. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 61-64. The formal record of these proceedings is the edition of the Constitutions included among the collected letters of S. Thomas—Ep. xlv. (*ib.* vol. v. pp. 71-79), in which there is appended to each article the Pope's verdict—"Hoc toleravit" or "Hoc damnavit." The tolerated articles are 2, 6, 11, 13, 14 and 16. Alan of Tewkesbury, who first collected the letters of S. Thomas, was for some years a canon of Benevento, and probably got this annotated copy of the Constitutions from Lombard, who had been in Thomas's suite as one of his *eruditi* during this visit to Sens, and who was archbishop of Benevento at the time of Alan's residence there.

³ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 90. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 46. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 313. Alan Tewkesb. (*ibid.*), p. 345. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 404. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 76. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 357. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 64. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 109. Cf. Ep. lx. (*ib.* vol. v.), p. 114.

⁴ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 91. Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 46, 47. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 313, 314. E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 404. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 75. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 359. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 65. The dates are from Will. Fitz-Steph. The *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 347-349, puts this banishment too late in the story.

NOTE A.

THE COUNCIL OF WOODSTOCK.

The usual view of the council of Woodstock—a view founded on contemporary accounts and endorsed by Bishop Stubbs (*Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 462)—has been disputed on the authority of the Icelandic *Thomas Saga*. This Saga represents the subject of the quarrel as being, not a general levy of so much per hide throughout the country, but a special tax upon the Church lands—nothing else, in fact, than the “ungeld” which William Rufus had imposed on them to raise the money paid to Duke Robert for his temporary cession of Normandy, and which had been continued ever since. “We have read afore how King William levied a due on all churches in the land, in order to repay him all the costs at which his brother Robert did depart from the land. This money the king said he had disbursed for the freedom of Jewry, and therefore it behoved well the learned folk to repay it to their king. But because the king’s court hath a mouth that holdeth fast, this due continued from year to year. At first it was called Jerusalem tax, but afterwards Warfare-due, for the king to keep up an army for the common peace of the country. But at this time matters have gone so far, that this due was exacted, as a king’s tax, from every house” [“monastery,” editor’s note], “small and great, throughout England, under no other name than an ancient tax payable into the royal treasury without any reason being shown for it.” *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 139. Mr. Magnusson (*ib.* p. 138, note 7) thinks that this account “must be taken as representing the true history of” the tax in question. In his Preface (*ib.* vol. ii. pp. cvii-cviii) he argues that if the tax had been one upon the tax-payers in general, “evidently the primate had no right to interfere in such a matter, except so far as church lands were concerned;” and he concludes that the version in the Saga “gives a natural clue to the archbishop’s protest, which thus becomes a protest only on behalf of the Church.” This argument hardly takes sufficient account of the English primate’s constitutional position, which furnishes a perfectly “natural clue” to his protest, supposing that protest to have been made on behalf of the whole nation and not only of the Church:—or rather, to speak more accurately, in behalf of the Church in the true sense of that word—the sense which Theobald’s disciples were always striving to give to it—as representing the whole nation viewed in a spiritual aspect, and not only the clerical order. Mr. Magnusson adds: “We have no doubt that the source of the Icelandic Saga here is Robert of

Cricklade, or . . . Benedict of Peterborough, who has had a better information on the subject than the other authorities, which, it would seem, all have Garnier for a primary source; but he, a foreigner, might very well be supposed to have formed an erroneous view on a subject the history of which he did not know, except by hearsay evidence" (*ib.* pp. cviii, cix). It might be answered that the "hearsay evidence" on which Garnier founded his view must have been evidence which he heard in England, where he is known to have carefully collected the materials for his work (Garnier, ed. Hippeau, pp. 6, 205, 206), and that his view is entitled to just as much consideration as that of the Icelander, founded upon the evidence of Robert or Benedict;—that of the three writers who follow Garnier, two, William of Canterbury and Edward Grim, were English (William of Canterbury may have been Irish by birth, but he was English by education and domicile) and might therefore have been able to check any errors caused by the different nationality of their guide:—and that even if the case resolved itself into a question between the authority of Garnier and that of Benedict or Robert (which can hardly be admitted), they would be of at least equal weight, and the balance of intrinsic probability would be on Garnier's side. For his story points directly to the Danegeld; and we have the indisputable witness of the Pipe Rolls that the Danegeld, in some shape or other, was levied at intervals throughout the Norman reigns and until the year 1163, when it vanished for ever. On the other hand, the Red King's "ungeld" upon the Church lands, like all his other "ungelds," certainly died with him; and nothing can well be more unlikely than that Henry II. in the very midst of his early reforms should have reintroduced, entirely without excuse and without necessity, one of the most obnoxious and unjust of the measures which had been expressly abolished in "the time of his grandfather King Henry."

NOTE B.

THE COUNCIL OF CLARENDON.

There is some difficulty as to both the date and the duration of this council. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 176) gives the date of meeting as January 13; R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 312) as January 25; while the official copy of the Constitutions (*Summa Causæ*, Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv. p. 208; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 140) gives the closing day as January 30 ("*quartâ die ante Purificationem S. Mariæ*"). As to the duration of the council, we learn from Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii. p. 279) and Gerv. Cant.

(as above, p. 178) that there was an adjournment of at least one night; while Gilbert Foliot (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. Ep. ccxxv. pp. 527-529) says "Clarendonæ . . . continuato triduo id solum actum est ut observandarum regni consuetudinum et dignitatum a nobis fieret absoluta promissio;" and that "die vero tertio," after a most extraordinary scene, Thomas "antiquas regni consuetudines antiquorum memoriâ in commune propositas et scripto commendatas, de cætero domino nostro regi se fideliter observaturum in verbo veritatis absolute promittens, in vi nobis injunxit obedientiæ sponsione simili nos obligare." This looks at first glance as if meant to describe the closing scene of the council, in which case its whole duration would be limited to three days. But it seems possible to find another interpretation which would enable us to reconcile all the discordant dates, by understanding Gilbert's words as referring to the verbal discussion at the opening of the council, before the written Constitutions were produced at all. Gilbert does indeed expressly mention "customs committed to writing"; but this may very easily be a piece of confusion either accidental or intentional. On this supposition the chronology may be arranged as follows:—The council meets on January 13 (Gerv. Cant.). That day and the two following are spent in talking over the primate; towards evening of the third—which will be January 15—he yields, and the bishops with him (Gilb. Foliot). Then they begin to discuss what they have promised; the debate warms and lengthens; Thomas, worn out with his three days' struggle and seeing the rocks ahead, begs for a respite till the morrow (Herb. Bosh.). On that morrow—*i.e.* January 16—Henry issues his commission to the "elders," and the council remains in abeyance till they are ready with their report. None of our authorities tell us how long an interval elapsed between the issue of the royal commission and its report. Herbert, indeed, seems to imply that the discussion on the constitutions began one night and the written report was brought up next day. But this is only possible on the supposition that it had been prepared secretly beforehand, of which none of the other writers shew any suspicion. If the thing was not prepared beforehand, it must have taken some time to do; and even if it was, the king and the commissioners would surely, for the sake of appearances, make a few days' delay to give a shew of reality to their investigations. Nine days is not too much to allow for preparation of the report. On January 25, then, it is brought up, and the real business of the council begins in earnest on the day named by R. Diceto. And if Thomas fought over every one of the sixteen constitutions in the way of which Herbert gives us a specimen, six days more may very well have been spent in the discussion, which would thus end, as the *Summa Causæ* says, on January 30.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY AND ROME.

1164-1172.

WITH the archbishop's flight into France the struggle between him and the king entered upon a new phase. Its intrinsic importance was almost entirely lost, and it became simply an element in the wider questions of general European politics. In England Thomas's departure left Henry sole master of the field; the Constitutions of Clarendon were put in force without delay and without difficulty; a year later they were followed up by an Assize, significantly issued from the same place, which laid the foundations of the whole later English system of procedure in criminal causes; and thenceforth the work of legal and judicial reform went on almost without a break, totally unaffected by the strife which continued to rage between king and primate for the next five years. The social condition of the country was only indirectly affected by it. The causes which had ostensibly given rise to it—the principle involved in the acceptance or rejection of the Constitutions—did not appeal strongly to the national mind, and had already become obscured and subordinated to the personal aspect which the quarrel had assumed at Northampton. As in the case of Anselm, it was on this personal aspect alone that popular feeling really fastened; and in this point of view the advantage was strongly on the archbishop's side. Thomas, whose natural gifts had already made him a sort of popular idol, was set by the high-handed

proceedings of the council in the light of a victim of regal tyranny ; and the sweeping and cruel proscriptions inflicted upon all who were in the remotest way connected with him tended still further to excite popular sympathy for his wrongs and turn it away from his persecutor. But the sympathy was for the individual, not for the cause. The principle of the clerical immunities had no hold upon the minds of the people or even of the clergy at large. Even among the archbishop's own personal friends, almost the only men who claved to it with anything like the same ardour as himself were his two old comrades of the *Curia Theobaldi*, Bishop John of Poitiers and John of Salisbury ; and even the devotion of John of Salisbury, which is one of the brightest jewels in Becket's crown, was really the devotion of friend to friend, of Churchman to primate, of a generous, chivalrous soul to what seemed the oppressed and down-trodden side, rather than the devotion of a partizan to party principle. Herbert of Bosham, the primate's shadow and second self, who claved to his side through good report and evil report and looked upon him as a hero and a martyr from first to last, was nevertheless the author of the famous verdict which all the searching criticism of later times has never yet been able to amend : " Both parties had a zeal for God ; which zeal was according to knowledge, His judgement alone can determine." ¹

Cool, dispassionate thinkers like Gilbert Foliot, on the other hand, while inclining towards the cause which Thomas had at heart, recoiled from his mode of upholding it as little less than suicidal. In Gilbert's view it was Thomas who had betrayed those " rights of his order " which he proclaimed so loudly, by forsaking the attitude of passive resistance which the bishops had adopted at Westminster and in which they were practically unassailable, and staking everything upon the king's good faith, without security, in the meeting at Oxford and the council at Clarendon :—it was Thomas who by his subsequent conduct—his rash

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.) p. 273. The whole passage from " O rex et o pontifex " to " judicium " (pp. 272, 273) should be compared with the admirable commentary of Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 16 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 140-141).

attempts at flight, his rapid changes of front at Northampton in first admitting and then denying the royal jurisdiction, his final insult to the king in coming to the council cross in hand, and his undignified departure from the realm—had frustrated the efforts whereby wiser and cooler heads might have brought the king to a better mind and induced him to withdraw the Constitutions:—and it was not Thomas, but his suffragans, left to bear the brunt of a storm which they had neither deserved nor provoked, who were really in a fair way to become confessors and martyrs for a Church brought into jeopardy by its own primate.¹ Gilbert in fact saw clearly that the importance of the point at issue between king and archbishop was as nothing compared to the disastrous consequences which must result from their protracted strife. It threatened nothing less than ruin to the intellectual and religious revival which Theobald had fostered so carefully and so successfully. The best hopes of the movement were bound up with the alliance between Church and state which had been cemented at Henry's accession; that alliance was now destroyed; instead of the Church's most valuable fellow-worker, the king had been made her bitter foe; and the work of revival was left to be carried on—if it could be carried on at all—in the teeth of the royal opposition and without a leader, while the man who should have directed it was only a perpetual stumbling-block in the path of those who had to supply as best they could the place left deserted by his flight. It was upon Gilbert of London that this burthen chiefly fell; and it is in Gilbert's position that we may find a key to the subsequent direction of the controversy, as far as England was concerned.

For full twenty years before Becket's rise to the primacy Gilbert Foliot had been one of the most respected members of the reforming party in the English Church. While Thomas was a worldly young subdeacon in the household of Archbishop Theobald, while as chancellor he was outshining the king in luxurious splendour or riding in coat of mail at the head of his troops, Gilbert was setting the pattern of ecclesiastical discipline and furnishing the steady and most

¹ Ep. ccxxv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 526 *et seq.*

valued assistance to the primate's schemes of reform. Trained no less than Henry of Winchester in the old Cluniac traditions of ecclesiastical authority, his credit had never been shaken by rashness and inconsistency such as had marred Henry's labours; and it would have been neither strange nor blameworthy if he had cherished a hope of carrying on Theobald's work as Theobald's successor. Gilbert, however, solemnly denied that he had ever sought after or desired the primacy;¹ and his conduct does not seem to furnish any just ground for assuming the falsehood of the denial. His opposition to the election of Thomas was thoroughly consistent with his position and known views; equally so was the support and co-operation which Thomas, as soon as he was fairly launched into his new course of action, anxiously sought to obtain from him, and which he for a while steadily gave. He had begun to find such co-operation difficult even before the question of the clerical immunities arose at the council of Westminster. On that question, in itself, the primate and the bishop of London were at one; but they differed completely in their way of treating it. To the impulsive, short-sighted, downright Thomas it was the one, sole, all-absorbing question of life and death; to the calm, far-seeing, cautious Gilbert it was a provoking hindrance—raised up partly by the primate's own bad management—to the well-being of interests far too serious and too wide-reaching to be imperilled for a mere point of administrative detail. He took up his position definitely at the council of Northampton. The customs being once accepted, he held it the true Churchman's duty to obey them, to make the best and not the worst of them, while desiring and labouring for their abrogation, but only by pacific means. A temporary submission was the least of two evils. It was infinitely safer to bend to the storm and trust to the influences of time and conciliation for turning the mind of the king, than to run the risk of driving him into irreconcilable hostility to the Church. For hostility to the Church meant something far worse now than in the days when William Rufus and Henry I. had set up their regal

¹ Ep. ccxxv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 522, 523.

authority against primate and Pope. It meant a widening of the schism which was rending western Christendom in twain; it meant the accession of the whole Angevin dominions to the party of the Emperor and the anti-Pope, and the severance of all the ties between the English Church and her continental sisters which Theobald, Eugene and Adrian had laboured so diligently to secure.

The dread of this catastrophe explains also the attitude of the Pope. In the long dreary tale of negotiation and intrigue which has to be traced through the maze of the Becket correspondence, the most inconsistent and self-contradictory, the most undecided and undignified, the most unsatisfactory and disappointing part of all is that played by Alexander III. It is however only fair to remember that, in this and in all like cases, the Pope's part was also the most difficult one. No crown in Christendom pressed so sorely on its wearer's brow as the triple tiara:—"It may well look bright," Adrian IV. had been wont to say to his friend John of Salisbury, "for it is a crown of fire!" Adrian indeed, though his short reign was one of marked vigour and prosperity, declared that if he had had any idea of the thorns with which S. Peter's chair was filled, he would have begged his bread in England or remained buried in the cloisters of S. Rufus to the end of his days sooner than thrust himself into such a thicket of troubles.¹ For it was not only "the care of all the churches" that rested upon a medieval Pope, but the care of all the states as well. The court of Rome had grown into the final court of appeal for all Christendom; the Pope was expected to be the universal referee, arbitrator and peacemaker of Europe, to hold the balance between contending parties, to penetrate and disentangle the intricacies of political situations which baffled the skill of the most experienced diplomatists, to exercise a sort of equitable jurisdiction on a vast scale over the whole range of political as well as social life. Earlier and later pontiffs may have voluntarily brought this burthen upon themselves; most of the Popes of the twelfth century, at any rate, seem to have groaned under it as a weight too

¹ Joh. Salisb. *Polycrat.*, l. viii. c. 23 (Giles, vol. iv. p. 367).

heavy for any human strength to bear. Unprincipled as their policy often seemed, there was not a little justice in the view of John of Salisbury, that a position so exceptional could not be brought within the scope of ordinary rules of conduct, and that only those who had themselves felt its difficulties could be really competent to judge it at all.¹ Adrian's energetic spirit was worn out by it in four years;² yet his position was easy compared to that of Alexander III. Alexander was a pontiff without a throne, the head of a Church in captivity and exile; dependent on the support of the most selfish and untrustworthy of living sovereigns; with Italy and Germany arrayed against him under the rule of a schismatic Emperor, and with the fidelity of the Angevin house hanging upon a thread which the least strain, the lightest touch, might break at any moment. Moreover Alexander was no Englishman like his predecessor. He had no inborn comprehension and no experience of the ways and tempers of the north; he had no bosom-friend, no John of Salisbury, to stand as interpreter between him and the Angevin king or the English primate; he understood neither of them, and he was almost equally afraid of both. His chief anxiety was to have as little as possible to do with them and their quarrel, and the fugitive archbishop was to him anything but a welcome guest.

It was of course impossible for the Pope to withhold his sympathy and his support from a prelate who came to him as a confessor for the privileges of the Church. But it was equally impossible for him to run the risk of driving Henry and his dominions into schism by espousing Thomas's cause as decisively as Thomas himself desired. Placed thus in what Adrian had once declared to be the ordinary position of a Roman pontiff—"between hammer and anvil"—Alexander drifted into a policy of shifts and contradictions, tergiversations and double-dealings, which irritated Henry and which Thomas simply failed to comprehend. If Gilbert

¹ Joh. Salisb., *Polycrat.*, l. viii. c. 23 (Giles, vol. iv. p. 363).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 366, 367). "Licet nihil aliud lædat, necesse est ut citissime vel solo labore deficiat [sc. Papa]. . . . Dum superest, ipsum interroga." This was written early in 1159, and in August Adrian died.

Foliot and Arnulf of Lisieux could have succeeded in their efforts to induce the contending parties to accept a compromise, the Pope would have been only too glad to sanction it. But it was useless to talk of compromise where Thomas Becket was concerned. To all the remoter consequences, the ultimate bearings of the quarrel, he was totally blind. For him there was but one question in the world, the one directly before him ; it could have but two sides, right and wrong, between which all adjustment was impossible, and with which considerations of present expediency or future consequences had nothing to do. All Gilbert's arguments for surrender, his solemn warnings of the peril of schism, his pleadings that it was better for the English Church to become for a while a sickly member of the ecclesiastical body than to be cut off from it altogether,¹ Thomas looked upon, at best, as proposals for doing evil that good might come. After his humiliating experience at Clarendon he seems to have felt that he was no match for Henry's subtlety ; his flight was evidently caused chiefly by dread of being again entrapped into a betrayal of what he held to be his duty ; and once, in an agony of self-reproach and self-distrust, he laid his archiepiscopal ring at the Pope's feet and prayed to be released from the burthen of an office for which he felt himself unworthy and unfit.² Strong as was the temptation to pacify Henry thus easily, Alexander felt that the Church could not allow such a sacrifice of her champion ; and Thomas never again swerved from his determination to be satisfied with nothing short of complete surrender on the part of the king. For this one object he laboured, pleaded, argued, censured, during the next six years without ceasing ; his own suffragans, the monastic orders, Pope, cardinals, the Empress Matilda, the king of France, none of them had a moment's peace from his passionate endeavours to press them into a service which

¹ Ep. cviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), p. 207.

² Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 46 ; Alan Tewkesb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 342, 343 ; E. Grim (*ibid.*), p. 403 ; Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 76 ; *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 305-313. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 16 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 140), gives this scene as having occurred, "ut dicitur," at the council of Tours.

he seemed to expect them all to regard as a matter of life and death not merely for England but for all Christendom. Doubtless it was a sad waste of energy and a sad perversion of enthusiasm; yet the enthusiasm contrasts pathetically, almost heroically, with the spirit in which it was met. There was something noble, if there was also something exasperatingly unpractical, in a man who, absorbed in his devotion to one mistaken idea, never even saw that he and his cause were becoming the pretexts and the tools of half the political intrigues of Europe, and whom the experience of a lifetime failed to teach that all the world was not as single-hearted as himself. Intellectually, a mind thus constituted must needs provoke and deserve the impatient scorn of a cool clear brain such as Gilbert Foliot's; but its very intellectual weakness was the source of its true strength. It is this dogged adherence to one fixed idea, this simplicity of aim, which appeals to the average crowd of mankind far more strongly than the larger and more statesmanlike temper of men like Foliot, or like Henry himself. Whether or no the cause be worthy—whether or no the zeal be according to knowledge—it is the zealot, not the philosopher, who becomes the popular hero and martyr.

From the moment of Thomas's arrival in France, then, little though he perceived it himself, the direct question at issue between him and the king became in every point of view save his own entirely subordinate to the indirect consequences of their quarrel; the ecclesiastical interest became secondary to the political, which involved matters of grave importance to all Europe. The one person to whom the archbishop's flight was most thoroughly welcome was Louis of France. Louis and Henry were nominally at peace; but to Louis their alliance was simply a shield behind which he could plan without danger his schemes for undermining Henry's power on the continent, and no better tool for this purpose could possibly have fallen into his hands than the fugitive archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas had indeed just enough perception of the state of affairs between the two kings—of which he must have acquired considerable experience in his chancellor days—to choose going to live on his

own resources at Pontigny rather than accept the hospitality of his sovereign's enemy.¹ This arrangement probably delighted Louis, for it furnished him with a safe answer to Henry's complaints and remonstrances about harbouring the "traitor"—Thomas was in sanctuary in a Cistercian abbey in Burgundy, and France was not harbouring him at all; while the welcome which Louis gave to the primate's exiled friends and the sympathy which he displayed for their cause heightened his own reputation for devotion to the Church and served as a foil to set off more conspicuously the supposed hostility of Henry. To Louis in short the quarrel was something which might turn to his own advantage by helping to bring Henry into difficulties; and he used it accordingly with a skill peculiar to himself, making a great shew of disinterested zeal and friendly mediation, and all the while taking care that the breach should be kept open till its healing was required for his own interest.

With such an onlooker as this Henry knew that he must play his game with the utmost caution. He had been provoked by the personal opposition of his old friend into standing upon his regal dignity more stiffly than he would have thought it worth while to do so long as it remained unchallenged. On his side, too, there was a principle at stake, and he could not give it up unconditionally; but he might have been induced to accept a compromise, had not the obstinacy of Thomas forced him into a corresponding attitude of unbending determination. So keen was his sense of the danger attendant upon the fugitive archbishop's presence in France that it led him to postpone once more the work which he had been planning in England and cross over to Normandy again early in 1165.² Lent was passed in fruitless attempts to bring about a triple conference between the two kings and the Pope; Henry refused to allow Thomas to be present; Thomas begged the Pope not to expose himself to Henry's wiles without him who alone could help him to see through them; and Alexander, now busy with preparations for his return to Rome, was probably

¹ Anon. II. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 109.

² Rob. Torigni, a. 1165.

not sorry to escape by declaring that for a temporal prince to dictate who should or who should not form part of the Pope's suite was a claim which had never been heard of before and which he could not possibly admit.¹ Immediately after Easter he set out on his journey homewards.

The rival party saw their opportunity and seized it without delay. Their fortunes were now at a very low ebb ; the antipope Victor had died in April ; his chief supporter, Cardinal Guy of Crema, had succeeded him under the title of Paschal III. ; but Italy had cast him off, and even in Germany the tide was turning against him. The Emperor, however, clung with unwavering determination to his original policy ; and he at once saw in the English king's quarrel with the Church a means of gaining for Paschal's cause what would amply compensate for all that had been lost. Before Alexander was fairly out of the French kingdom an embassy from Germany came to Henry at Rouen, bringing proposals for an alliance to be secured by two marriages : one between the English princess Matilda, Henry's eldest daughter, and the Emperor's cousin Duke Henry of Saxony ; the other between Henry's second daughter and Frederic's own little son. The chief ambassador was Reginald, archbishop-elect of Cöln, who from the time of Frederic's accession—two years before that of Henry—had been his chancellor and confidential adviser, playing a part curiously like that of Thomas Becket, till in the very year of the English chancellor's removal to Canterbury he was appointed to the see of Cöln. There the parallel with Thomas ended ; for Reginald was the most extreme champion of the privileges not of the Church but of the Imperial Crown, and was even more closely identified with the schismatic party than Frederic himself. Henry sent him over to the queen, who had been left as regent in England, to receive from her a formal promise of her daughter's hand to the duke of Saxony, in a great council convened at Westminster for that purpose. The old justiciar Earl Robert of Leicester refused the kiss

¹ Alan Tewkesb. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), pp. 346, 347 ; evidently taken from the Pope's own letter, extant only in the Icelandic version, in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 329.

of peace to the schismatic and caused the altars at which he had celebrated to be thrown down,¹ thereby saving Henry from the fatal blunder of committing himself publicly to the cause of the anti-pope, and England from the dangers of open schism. But he could not prevent the king from sending two clerks to a council which met at Würzburg on Whit-Sunday to abjure Pope Alexander and acknowledge Paschal; and although the fact was strenuously denied, it seems impossible to doubt that they did take the oath at the Emperor's hands in their master's name;² indeed, Reginald of Cöln boasted that Henry had promised to make all the bishops in his dominions do the same.

A crisis seemed imminent, but Henry managed to avoid it. From the Emperor's solicitations, from the Pope's remonstrances, from all the pleadings of friends and all the intrigues of foes, he suddenly made his escape by flying back to England and plunging into a Welsh war which kept him all the summer safe out of their reach,³ and furnished him with an excuse for postponing indefinitely the completion of his alliance with the schismatic party. Such an alliance would in fact have cost far more than it was worth. Alexander was once more safely seated upon S. Peter's chair, and was urging Thomas to throw himself wholly on the protection of the king of France; Louis was in the highest state of triumph, rejoicing over the birth of his long-desired son; while the whole Angevin dominions, which Eleanor was governing in her husband's absence, were full of suppressed disaffection and surrounded with threatening or intriguing foes.⁴ In Lent 1166 therefore Henry hurried back to Nor-

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 318. He mistakenly thinks that the *king* was at Westminster, and he also thinks the embassy came in 1167. Its true date, 1165, is shown by the letters referred to in next note.

² Epp. xcvi. - ci. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 184-195). Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 52, 53. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 331.

³ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 197) says Henry went into Wales in 1165, "quo facilius domini Papæ vel etiam Cantuariensis archiepiscopi . . . declinaret sententiam."

⁴ "Movetur enim [rex] Francorum invidiâ, calumniisque Flandrensium, Wallensium improbitate, Scottorum insidiis, temeritate Britonum, Pictavorumque foederibus, interioris Aquitanix sumptibus, Gasconum levitate, et (quod gravius est) similitate fere omnium quoscumque ditioni ejus constat esse subjectos." Ep. cxlii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 313, 314.

mandy to hold a conference with Louis, and, if possible, to free his own hands for the work which lay before him.

The work was in truth a vast and complex one. At the age of thirty-three Henry was already planning out an elaborate scheme for the future of his children and the distribution of his territories, in which the election of his eldest son as joint-king in England was but the first and least difficult step. Normandy and Anjou, as well as England, had to be secured for little Henry; Aquitaine was if possible to be settled upon Richard as his mother's heir; for Geoffrey Henry was bent upon acquiring the Breton duchy.¹ Conan IV., whom Henry had in 1158 established as duke of Brittany, had but one child, a daughter, whose hand, together with the reversion of her father's territories, the king was anxious to secure for his son. This however required the assent not only of Conan but of Louis of France, and also of the Breton barons, who bitterly resented the Norman interference which had set Conan as ruler over them, and were inclined to resist to the uttermost an arrangement which would bring them still more directly under the Norman yoke; while Louis was but too ready to encourage them in their resistance. A campaign in the summer of 1166, however, another in August 1167, and a third in the following spring so far broke their opposition² that in May

¹ Will. Newb. l. ii. c. 18 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 145, 146).

² On the Breton campaign of 1166 see R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 329, and Rob. Torigni *ad ann.* Henry was near Fougères on June 28 (Ep. ccix., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 421); he was besieging Fougères itself on July 13-14 (Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 96). On the campaigns of 1167 and 1168 see Rob. Torigni *ad ann.*, the meagre entries in a Breton chronicle, a. 1168-1169 (Morice, *Hist. Bret., preuves*, vol. i. col. 104; *Rer. Gall. Scriptt.*, vol. xii. p. 560), and Chron. S. Albin. a. 1167 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 40), which tells of Louis's share in the matter. See also the account of Henry's correspondence with King Arthur in *Draco Norm.*, l. ii. cc. 17-22, vv. 941-1282 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. pp. 695-707). According to this writer, one of the Breton leaders—"Arturi dapifer, Rollandus, consul et idem tunc Britonum" (Mr. Howlett suggests that this may be Roland of Dinan, *ib.* p. 696 note)—wrote a letter to Arthur imploring his aid for Brittany, and received a reassuring answer; Henry also received a long epistle from the blameless king, to which, "subridens sociis, nil pavefactus," (c. 21, v. 1218, p. 705) he returned a polite and diplomatic answer. Unluckily the good monk omits to say how the letters were conveyed, and gives us no light upon the postal arrangements between Brittany and Avalon—which by the way he places among "silvas . . . Cornubiæ, proxima castra loco," whatever that may mean

1169 Geoffrey was sent into Brittany to receive their homage as heir to the dukedom; three months later his father joined him,¹ and at Christmas they held their court together at Nantes,² whence they made a sort of triumphal progress through the duchy, receiving homage and fealty wherever they went.³

It had proved easier to subdue Brittany than to hold Aquitaine. The half independent princes of the south, so scornful of a king beyond the Loire, were at least equally scornful of a king from beyond the sea; in November 1166 Henry was obliged to summon them to a conference at Chinon,⁴ and to relieve Eleanor of her task of government by sending her to keep Christmas in England,⁵ while he himself took her place at Poitiers.⁶ His foes seized their opportunity to revive the vexed question of Toulouse; a meeting with Raymond at Grandmont and an attempt to assert Henry's ducal authority over the count of Auvergne led to a fresh rupture with Louis;⁷ and in the spring of 1168 the discontented barons of Aquitaine, secure of the French king's goodwill, broke into open revolt. In the midst of a negotiation with Louis, Henry hurried away to subdue them.⁸ Scarcely had he turned northward again when Earl Patrick of Salisbury, whom he had appointed to

(c. 20, vv. 1213, 1214, p. 705). It is quite possible that some of the Breton leaders did seek to rouse the spirit of their followers by publishing an imaginary correspondence with the mythic hero-king whose existence was to most of the common people in Brittany at that time almost as much an article of faith as any in the Creed; it is possible too that they were themselves so far carried away by the same illusion as to attempt to work upon Henry by similar means; and in that case it is extremely probable that Henry, with his Angevin tact and sense of humour, would meet the appeal pretty much as the Bec writer represents. But the letters given in the *Draco* must be the monk's own composition. Neither Roland nor Henry can have been capable of stringing together such a quantity of pseudo-history, ancient and modern, as is therein contained.

¹ Rob. Torigni, a. 1169.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 337. *Gesta Hen.* ["Benedict of Peterborough"] (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 3. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 3.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above. ⁴ Ep. ccliii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), p. 74.

⁵ Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 104, 108.

⁶ Rob. Torigni, a. 1167. Cf. Ep. cclxxvii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), p. 131.

⁷ Rob. Torigni, a. 1167. Cf. Chronn. S. Albin. and S. Serg. a. 1166 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, pp. 40, 149).

⁸ Rob. Torigni, a. 1168. Ep. cccix. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), p. 408.

assist Eleanor in the government of the duchy, was murdered by one of the rebel leaders,¹ and Eleanor was once more left to stand her ground alone in Poitou, while her husband was fighting the Bretons, staving off the ecclesiastical censures which threatened him, and vainly endeavouring to pacify Louis, who now openly shewed himself as the champion of all Henry's disaffected vassals, Breton, Poitevin, Scottish and Welsh,² as well as of the exiled archbishop.

Henry meanwhile was endeavouring to strengthen his political position by alliances in more remote quarters; the marriage of his eldest daughter with the duke of Saxony

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 205. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 331. Rob. Torigni, a. 1168. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 273, 274. This last writer states that the slayer was Guy of Lusignan, and that Guy fled to Jerusalem (of which he afterwards became king) to escape the punishment of this crime. This story has been generally adopted by modern historians. But its latter half is incompatible with the appearance of "Guy of Lusignan" among the rebels in Aquitaine in 1173, five years after the death of Patrick (*Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. i. p. 46); and the whole of it seems to rest solely on Roger's misunderstanding of the passage in the *Gesta* which he was copying. In that passage Guy is introduced as "Guido de Lezinan, frater Gaufridi de Lezinan, qui Patricium comitem Salesbiriensem tempore hostilitatis . . . occiderat. Erat enim prædictus Guido," etc.; then comes an account of his adventures in Palestine (*Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. i. p. 343). Roger of Howden chose to make *qui* refer to *Guido*; but it might just as well, or even better, refer to *Gaufridus*. Guy comes upon the historical scene for the first time in 1173. It seems pretty clear that Geoffrey was his elder brother, and took a leading part in southern politics and warfare long before Guy was of an age to join in them. If Patrick was slain by either of the brothers, therefore, it was by Geoffrey and not by Guy. Admitting this much, however, there is still no ground for looking upon even Geoffrey as a murderer who had committed such a crime as to be obliged to fly from justice. For "Geoffrey of Lusignan" stood by the side of Guy among the rebels of 1173 (*Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. i. p. 46); "Geoffrey of Lusignan" and his brothers claimed La Marche against King Henry between 1178 and 1180 (Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 70, Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 324); "Geoffrey of Lusignan" rose against Richard in 1188 (*Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 34; Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 339; R. Diceto, Stubbs, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55); and it was not till after he had in this revolt slain a special friend of Richard, that he betook himself to Palestine, where he arrived in the summer of the same year (*Itin. Reg. Ric.*, Stubbs, p. 26), and where, moreover, he and Richard afterwards became firm allies. Geoffrey may therefore enjoy the benefit of the plea which Bishop Stubbs (*Itin. Reg. Ric.*, introd. p. cxxiv, note) puts forward for Guy, that "there is nothing to show that Patrick was not killed in fair fight." But it seems pretty clear that for the heroic king of Jerusalem himself no such plea is needed at all.

² Rob. Torigni, a. 1168; Epp. ccccx., ccccxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), pp. 408, 455, 456.

had taken place early in 1168;¹ two years before, the hand of one of her sisters had been half promised to the marquis of Montferrat for his son, in return for his good offices with the Pope;² and a project was now on foot for the marriage of Henry's second daughter, Eleanor, with the king of Castille—a marriage which took place in 1169;³ while the infant Jane, who was scarcely four years old, was betrothed to the boy-king William of Sicily.⁴ For Richard his father was now endeavouring to gain the hand of Adela of France, the younger daughter of Louis and Constance, as a sort of security for the investiture of Aquitaine; while at the same time Henry was on the one hand making interest with the Emperor's Italian foes, the rising commonwealths of Lombardy and the jurisconsults of Bologna;⁵ and on the other, Frederic was endeavouring to regain his alliance by an embassy headed by his own cousin, Henry's new-made son-in-law, the duke of Saxony.⁶

— All this political, ecclesiastical and diplomatic coil Henry had to unravel almost single-handed. Of the group of counsellors who had stood around him in his early years, Arnulf of Lisieux on one side of the sea and Richard de Lucy on the other were almost the sole survivors. He had lost the services of his constable Henry of Essex under very painful circumstances a few months before that council at Woodstock which saw the beginning of his quarrel with Thomas. The constable was accused by Robert de Montfort of having

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 205. From the Pipe Roll of the year, with Mr. Eyton's comment (*Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 109), it seems that Matilda and her mother crossed the sea together in September 1167, and that Matilda went on to Germany, where she was married early next year, while Eleanor returned to England before Christmas. Rob. Torigni, a. 1167.

² Ep. cclii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), p. 68.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 334. The original scheme seems to have been for marrying both Eleanor and Jane to Spanish sovereigns, among whom, however, Castille is not named. In a letter written in the summer of 1168 John of Salisbury speaks of "regum, Navariensis aut Aragonensis scilicet, quibus filias suas dare disponit [rex]." Ep. ccccxxxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.) p. 457.

⁴ Ep. dxxviii. (*ib.* vol. vii.) p. 26. Jane was born at Angers in October 1165; Rob. Torigni, *ad ann.*

⁵ Epp. dxxviii., dxxxix. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 26, 30, 31.

⁶ Rob. Torigni, a. 1168. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 205. *Draco Norm.*, l. iii. cc. 4, 5, vv. 191-360 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. pp. 718-724).

committed high treason six years before by purposely letting fall the standard and falsely proclaiming the king's death at the battle of Consilt. Henry of Essex declared that he had dropped the standard in the paralysis of despair, really believing the king to be dead; and it is evident from the high commands which he held in the war of Toulouse and elsewhere that the king continued to treat him with undiminished confidence, and to regard him as one of his most valuable ministers and friends. The charge once made, however, could only be met by ordeal of battle. The encounter took place at Reading; Henry of Essex went down before his accuser's lance; and all that his sovereign could do for him was to save his life by letting the monks of the neighbouring abbey carry his body off the field as if for burial, and when he proved to be still alive, suffering him to remain as a brother of the house, while his property was confiscated to the Crown and his services were lost to the state.¹ The king's mother died in the autumn of 1167;² his old friend and adviser Earl Robert of Leicester passed away in 1168.³ A desperate attempt was even made to part him from his wife, in order to get rid of his rights over Aquitaine;⁴ while the man who had once been his most successful diplomatic agent and his unfailing helper against the wiles of all his enemies was now the most formidable tool in their hands.

It was for his children's sake that Henry at last bent his pride to do what he had vowed never to do again. At Montmirail, on the feast of Epiphany 1169, he renewed his

¹ Rob. Torigni, a. 1163. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 108). Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode, Camden Soc.), pp. 50-52. For date see Palgrave, *Eng. Commonwealth*, vol. ii. pp. xxii, xxiii.

² Rob. Torigni, a. 1167. *Draco Norm.*, l. iii. c. 1, vv. 1-12 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. p. 711). Chron. S. Serg., a. 1167 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 150).

³ Rob. Torigni, a. 1168. Ann. Waverl. a. 1168 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 239). Chron. Mailros, a. 1168.

⁴ See the *Gradus cognationis inter regem et reginam* (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi. p. 266). "Hanc computationem presentaverunt Pictavenses cardinalibus quando S. Thomas exsulabat, sed non sunt auditi." The "computation" as there stated is wrong; but the right one really does leave Henry and Eleanor within the forbidden degrees. (See above, vol. i. p. 393, note 2, and p. 445, note 11). They were cousins in the fifth degree, their common ancestress being Herleva of Falaise.

homage to Louis, made full submission to him, and promised compensation to the Breton and Poitevin barons for their losses in the recent wars.¹ Next day young Henry did homage to the French king for the counties of Anjou and Maine,² and, as it seems, of Brittany, which his brother Geoffrey was to hold under him.³ Richard did the like for Aquitaine, of which Louis granted him the investiture,⁴ together with a promise of Adela's hand.⁵ Three weeks later young Henry, in his new capacity of count of Anjou, officiated in Paris as seneschal to the king of France;⁶ he afterwards repeated his homage to Louis's son and heir, and received that of his own brother Geoffrey for the duchy of Brittany.⁷

One thing alone was now lacking to the completion of Henry's scheme: the crowning of his heir. There can be no doubt that when he sent Thomas and the child to England together—the one to be chosen king and the other to be made primate—he intended the coronation to take place as soon as he himself could rejoin them. Its performance, delayed by his own continued absence on the continent, had however been made impossible by his quarrel with Thomas. That the archbishop of Canterbury alone could lawfully crown a king of England was a constitutional as well as an ecclesiastical tradition so deeply rooted in the minds of Englishmen that nothing short of absolute necessity had induced Henry I. to set it aside in his own case; and still less could Henry II. venture to risk such an innovation in the case of his son.⁸ Yet the prospect of a reconciliation

¹ Ep. cccclxi. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), pp. 506, 507.

² *Ib.* p. 507. Rob. Torigni a. 1169. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 208.

³ Rob. Torigni, a. 1169, and Gerv. Cant. (as above) say that young Henry did homage to Louis for Brittany; Normandy was not mentioned, the homage done for it by young Henry in 1160 being counted sufficient (*ibid.*). The elder king himself kept Touraine on the old terms of homage to Theobald of Blois (Ep. cccclxi. as above).

⁴ Ep. cccclxi., Rob. Torigni and Gerv. Cant. as above.

⁵ Gerv. Cant. as above.

⁶ Rob. Torigni, a. 1169.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ The historical arguments on this subject may be seen in Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 110, and Ep. dclxxxiv. (*ib.* vol. vii.), pp. 328-330. Henry was once said to have projected getting the Pope himself to crown the child; Ep. lv. (*ib.* vol. v.), p. 100. Against this, of course, Canterbury could have had nothing to say.

with the primate seemed at this moment further off than ever.

Thomas's first impulse on entering Pontigny had been to give himself up to a course of study, devotion and self-discipline more severe than anything which he had yet attempted. He secretly assumed the habit of the "white monks,"¹ and nearly ruined his delicate constitution by a rash endeavour to practise the rigorous abstinence enjoined by the rules of the order.² He grew more diligent than ever in prayer, meditation, and study of Holy Scripture.³ But his restless, impetuous nature could not rise to the serene heights of more than worldly wisdom urged upon him by John of Salisbury, who truly insisted that such occupations alone were worthy of a true confessor.⁴ In spite of John's warnings and pleadings, he still kept all his friends—John himself included—ceaselessly at work in his behalf; and while he sought out in every church and convent in Gaul every rare and valuable book that he could hear of, to be copied for his cathedral library, he was also raking together for the same collection all the privileges, old or new, that could be disinterred from the Roman archives or extorted from the favour of the Pope.⁵ Until Easter 1166 Alexander restrained him from any direct measures against the king;⁶ then, unable to keep silence any longer, Thomas again took the matter into his own hands and wrote to Henry himself, earnestly imploring him to consider his ways and to grant his old friend a personal interview.⁷ Henry was inexorable; Thomas wrote again, this time a torrent of mingled warnings, intreaties and remonstrances,⁸ and with just as little effect. Then, towards the end of May, as the

¹ Alan Tewkesb. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 345. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 64. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 315.

² Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 126, 127. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), pp. 412, 413. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 376-379. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 317.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 77. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 379.

⁴ Ep. lxxxv. (*ib.* vol. v.), pp. 163, 164.

⁵ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

⁶ Ep. xcvi. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 179, 180.

⁷ Ep. clii. (*ib.* pp. 266-268).

⁸ Ep. cliii. (*ib.* pp. 269-278), translated by Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 100-106.

king was holding council with his barons at Chinon, a bare-footed monk came to him with a third letter from the primate.¹ Once again Thomas expressed his longing for a personal meeting; once again he set forth the doctrine of the divine rights and duties of kings, and charged Henry, by the solemn memory of his coronation-vows, to restore to the English Church her privileges and her chief pastor. Only in the last sentence came a significant warning: "If not, then know of a surety that you shall feel the severity of Divine vengeance!"² And there was no doubt about its meaning; for the Empress Matilda had already transmitted to her son a threat sent to her by Thomas in plain words, that unless she could bring him to acknowledge his error, "shortly, yea, very shortly" the "sword of the Spirit" should be drawn against his dominions and even against himself.³

Harassed by disaster and revolt, provoked by the primate's former letters, Henry, upon reading this one and hearing the messenger's comment upon it—for Thomas had charged him to say a good deal more than he wrote⁴—might well feel that he was standing on the brink of a volcano. He turned desperately upon the bishops around him, half imploring, half commanding them to help him out of his strait, abusing them for a pack of traitors who would not trouble themselves to rid him of this one unmanageable foe, and exclaiming with a burst of tears that the archbishop was destroying him soul and body together; for he naturally expected nothing less than an interdict on his dominions and an anathema against himself, and both sanctioned by the Pope. When Henry was thus at his wits' end, the only one among his continental advisers who was likely to have any counsel to offer him was Arnulf of Lisieux. Once

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 106. E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 419. Cf. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 383-385. Eyton (*Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 93) dates this council June 1, but this cannot be reconciled with Thomas's subsequent proceedings.

² Ep. cliv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 278-282), translated by Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 109-111.

³ Ep. clxxxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 361).

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 385.

more Arnulf proved equal to the occasion; he suggested that the primate's intended censures should be forestalled by an appeal to the Pope. The remedy was a desperate one, for, as John of Salisbury triumphantly remarked when he heard of it, the king was flying in the face of his own Constitutions and confirming that very right of appeal which he was so anxious to abolish, by thus having recourse to it for his own protection. But there was no other loophole of escape; so the appeal was made, a messenger was despatched to give notice of it in England, close the ports and cut off all communication with Thomas and with the Pope; while the bishops of Lisieux and Séz set out for Pontigny to bid the primate stay his hand till the octave of Easter next, which was fixed for the term of Henry's appeal.¹

They were too late. No sooner had the barefooted messenger returned with his tidings of the king's irreconcilable wrath than Thomas hurried to Soissons on a pilgrimage to its three famous shrines:—those of the Blessed Virgin, who had been the object of his special reverence ever since he learned the Ave Maria at his mother's knee; of S. Gregory the Great, the patron of the whole English Church and more particularly of Canterbury and its archbishops; and of S. Drausius, who was believed to have the power of rendering invincible any champion who spent a night in prayer before his relics. Before each of these shrines Thomas, like a warrior preparing for mortal combat, passed a night in solemn vigil, the last night being that of the festival of S. Drausius, and also of Ascension-day.² On the morrow he left Soissons;³ on Whitsun-eve⁴ he reached

¹ Ep. cxciv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 381, 382. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 393, confuses this appeal with a later one.

² It was also the anniversary of his own ordination to the priesthood—June 2.

³ Ep. cxciv. (Robertson, vol. v.), p. 382.

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 391, says "proximâ ante festum die," and he makes the festival that of S. Mary Magdalene, the patron of the place. Tempting, however, as his version is—for it would explain at once Thomas's otherwise rather unaccountable choice of Vézelay for the scene of his proceedings, and the great concourse of people who evidently were assembled there—it is quite irreconcilable with the minute chronological details of John of Salisbury's letter (Ep. cxciv. as above), written within a few weeks of the events, while Herbert's story

Vézelay, a little town distant only a day's journey from Pontigny, and made famous by its great abbey, which boasted of possessing the body of S. Mary Magdalene. Thomas found the place crowded with pilgrims assembled to keep the Whitsun feast on this venerated spot. He was invited by the abbot to celebrate High Mass and preach on the festival day;¹ his sermon ended, he solemnly anathematized the royal customs and all their upholders, and excommunicated by name seven persons whom he denounced as special enemies to the Church; the two first being Henry's confidential envoys John of Oxford and Richard of Ilchester, who had been the medium of his communications with the Emperor; while a third, Jocelyn de Bailleul, was one of his chief advisers, and a fourth was no less a personage than the justiciar, Richard de Lucy.² Thomas had set out from Soissons in the full determination to excommunicate Henry himself at the same time; but on his way he learned that the king was dangerously ill; he therefore contented himself with a solemn warning publicly addressed to him by name, calling him to repentance for the last time, and in default, threatening him with immediate excommunication.³

The news of these proceedings reached Henry when, sick and anxious, he was trying to gather up strength and energy for a campaign against the Bretons. He instantly despatched another messenger to England, bidding Richard de Lucy call an assembly of the bishops and clergy and compel them to make a general appeal to the Pope against the authority and jurisdiction of their primate.⁴ The meet-

was written from memory, many years after. On the other hand, R. Diceto's date (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 318), Ascension-day, is more impossible still.

¹ Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 391.

² The details of the sentence are in Thomas's own letters, Epp. cxcv., cxcvi., cxcviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 386-391, 392-397. Cf. Ep. cxciv. (*ibid.*), p. 383. The other excommunicated persons were Ralf de Broc, Hugh of S. Clare and Thomas Fitz-Bernard. Their crime was invasion of Church property. Richard of Ilchester and John of Oxford were condemned for their dealings with the schismatics; Richard de Lucy and Jocelyn de Bailleul, as being the authors of the Constitutions.

³ Epp. cxciv., cxcvi., cxcviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v.), pp. 382, 383, 391, 396. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 391, 392.

⁴ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 200.

ing was held in London¹ at midsummer.² The appeal was made and sent to the Pope in the name of all the bishops and clergy of England; but it is tolerably clear that the main body were merely passive followers, more or less willing, of Gilbert of London and Jocelyn of Salisbury, the former of whom was almost certainly the writer of the letter which conveyed the appeal to the Pope, as well as of that which announced it to the primate.³ The hand of Gilbert Foliot was indeed so plainly visible that Thomas's reply was addressed with equal plainness to him personally.⁴ The long and sarcastic letter with which he retorted⁵ was answered in a yet more startling fashion at the opening of the next year. As Gilbert stood before the high altar of his cathedral church on the feast of its patron saint a paper was thrust into his hand; to his dismay it proved to be a papal brief granting to Archbishop Thomas a commission as legate for all England, and commanding the bishops to render him unqualified obedience and to resign within two months whatever confiscated church property had been placed in their charge by the king. In an agony of distress Gilbert, who himself had the custody of the Canterbury estates, sent

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 200. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 56.

² Ep. ccix. (*ib.* vol. v.), p. 421.

³ Epp. cciv., ccv. (*ib.* vol. v.), pp. 403-413. Cf. Ep. ccix. (*ibid.*), p. 241, and Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 56, 57. The bishop of Exeter consented to appeal, but in a fashion of his own, of which however there is no trace in the letter actually sent to the Pope. Two prelates were absent: Walter of Rochester, who pleaded illness, and Henry of Winchester, who wrote in excuse: "Vocatus a summo Pontifice, nec appello nec appellare volo." The others thought he meant that the Pope had cited him; "ipse vero summum Pontificem, summum Judicem intelligebat, ad cujus tribunal jamjam trahebatur examinandus, tanquam qui in multis diebus processerat et vitæ mētis appropinquaret." So says Will. Cant.; but John of Salisbury says distinctly that the letter of appeal was sealed by London, Winchester and Hereford (Ep. cclii., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi. p. 65). Can William have founded his pretty story on the old confusion (which is perpetually breaking out in his favourite authority, Garnier, and in other writers who have less excuse for it) between *Wincestre* and *Wirecestre*—and was Roger of Worcester the real absentee? He certainly did not share in the obloquy which this appeal brought upon Robert of Hereford, with whom hitherto he had usually been coupled by Thomas; on the contrary, he and Bartholomew of Exeter are henceforth always coupled together as fellow-sufferers for their loyalty to the primate.

⁴ Epp. ccxiii., ccxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 490-520).

⁵ The famous "Multiplicem nobis et diffusam." Ep. ccxxv. (*ib.* pp. 521-544).

this news to the king, imploring him to grant permission that the Pope's mandate might be obeyed, at least till some method could be devised for escaping from a dilemma which now looked well-nigh hopeless.¹ Henry, absorbed in a struggle with the Bretons, had already been provoked into a vengeance as impolitic as it was mean. He threatened the Cistercian abbots assembled on Holy Cross day at the general chapter of their order that if Thomas were not immediately expelled from Pontigny, he would send all the White Monks in his dominions to share the primate's exile.² When the abbot of Pontigny carried this message home, Thomas could only bid him farewell and betake himself to the sole protection left him—that of the king of France. He left Pontigny on S. Martin's day³ 1166, and took up his abode as the guest of Louis in the abbey of S. Columba at Sens.⁴

Henry saw his own blunder as soon as it was made, and endeavoured to neutralize its effects by despatching an embassy to the Pope, requesting that he would send a legatine commission to settle the controversy. One of his envoys was the excommunicate John of Oxford; to the horror of Thomas and the indignation of Louis, John came

¹ Ep. ccviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 417, 418). The Pope's brief is Ep. clxxii. (*ib.* pp. 328, 329); it is dated "Anagniz, vii. Idus Octobris," but its true date is Easter-day, April 24 (see editor's note, p. 329)—the actual date of the letter whereby Alexander notified his act to the English bishops; Ep. clxxiii. (Robertson, as above, pp. 229-231). The diocese (not the province) of York was exempted from Thomas's legatine jurisdiction—the reason being that Roger of York was legate for Scotland (Ep. cclxx., *ib.* vol. vi. p. 119). Thomas sent the brief over to his friends Robert of Hereford and Roger of Worcester, bidding them communicate it to their brethren, beginning with London (Ep. clxxix., *ib.* vol. v. pp. 344-346). Canon Robertson supposes this brief to have been delivered to Gilbert on the feast of the Commemoration of S. Paul, *i.e.* June 30, 1166. Gilbert himself says merely "die beati Pauli"; and his letter has no date. But it mentions "legatos qui diriguntur ad nos"; and there is no hint elsewhere of any talk about sending legates till late in the autumn, or even winter. There really seems to be no reason why we should not adopt a more obvious rendering of the date, as representing the greater and better-known festival of S. Paul's Conversion. In that case, of course, the year must be 1167.

² Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 50. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 414. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 83. Herb. Bosh (*ibid.*), p. 397. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 65. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 371.

³ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 201, 202.

⁴ E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), p. 415. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 403, 404; etc.

back in triumph, boasting not only that he had been absolved by the Pope, but that two cardinals, William and Otto—the former of whom was a determined opponent of Thomas—were coming with full powers to sit in judgement on the case between primate and king and decide it without appeal.¹ The first half of the boast was true, but not the second; the cautious Pope instructed his envoys to do nothing more than arbitrate between the contending parties, if they could.² They did not reach Normandy till the autumn of 1167; Thomas came to meet them on the French border on November 18; he refused to enter upon any negotiations till the property of the metropolitan see was restored;³ the legates carried their report to the king at Argentan, and were dismissed with an exclamation of disappointment and disgust—"I wish I may never set eyes upon a cardinal again!"⁴ Five of the English bishops whom Henry had summoned to advise him renewed their appeal,⁵ its original term having expired six months ago; and the legates insisting that Thomas should respect the appeal,⁶ another year's delay was gained.

At last, when the two kings made their treaty at Montmirail at Epiphany 1169, Thomas, who had come to the spot under the protection of Louis, suddenly entered the royal presence and fell at Henry's feet, offering to place himself unreservedly in his hands. All parties thought the struggle was over, till the archbishop added once again the words which had so exasperated Henry at Oxford and at Clarendon: "Saving God's honour and my order." The king burst into a fury, and the meeting broke up in confusion.⁷ Three months later, on Palm Sunday, from the

¹ Epp. cclxxx., cclxxxiii., cclxxxv., ccxcii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), pp. 140, 146, 147, 151-153, 170, 171.

² Ep. ccvii. (*ibid.*), p. 201. Cf. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 65, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 202, 203.

³ Epp. cccxxxi., cccxxxii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), pp. 247-251, 256-258.

⁴ Ep. cccxxxix. (*ibid.*), pp. 269, 270.

⁵ Epp. cccxxxix., cccxli.-cccxlvi. (*ibid.*), pp. 270-272, 276, 277, 283-288.

⁶ Ep. cccxliii. (*ibid.*), pp. 284, 285.

⁷ Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 418-427. Epp. cccli., ccclxi. (*ib.* vol. vi.), pp. 488, 489, 507-509. Cf. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 73, 74, and *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i: pp. 427-433.

high altar of Clairvaux, Thomas excommunicated ten of his opponents, first among whom was Gilbert Foliot.¹ Gilbert, who knew that the sentence had been hanging over him for more than a year, had appealed against it before it was uttered;² the king, too, was forewarned, and at every sea-port guards were set to catch and punish with the utmost rigour any messenger from the primate. It was not till Ascension-day that a young layman named Berengar made his way up to the altar of Gilbert's cathedral church in the middle of High Mass and thrust into the hand of the celebrant the archbishop's letter proclaiming the excommunication of the bishop.³ On that very day Thomas issued another string of excommunications.⁴ Gilbert, driven to extremity, renewed his appeal two days later; and he added to it a formal refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a metropolitan to whom he had made no profession, and a declaration—so at least it was reported in Gaul—of his intention to claim the metropolitanical dignity for his own see, as an ancient right of which it had been unjustly defrauded by Canterbury.⁵ A storm of indignant protest and vehement denunciation arose from the archbishop's party; and the terrified Pope checked further proceedings by despatching another pair of envoys, who as usual failed to agree either with the king, with the archbishop, or even with each other, and after wasting the summer in misunderstandings and recriminations left the case just

¹ Ep. cccclxxxviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi. pp. 558, 559). See also Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 87, and for date, R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 333.

² Ep. dxiii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi.), p. 614.

³ Compare the account given by "Magister Willelmus" in Ep. dviii. (*ibid.*), pp. 603, 604, with that of Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 89, 90. They are clearly from the same hand.

⁴ Epp. dii., dvii. (*ib.* vol. vi.), pp. 594, 601-603. For date cf. Ep. cccclxxxviii. (*ib.* pp. 558, 559).

⁵ Ep. dviii. (*ibid.*), pp. 604-606—a very circumstantial account, yet one can scarcely understand how a man so wise and so learned as Gilbert can really have made such an utterly unhistorical claim. He must have known that it had no shadow of foundation, the nearest approach to such a thing being S. Gregory's abortive scheme for fixing the two archbishoprics at London and York. Gilbert's opponents, on the other hand, declared that he derived his claim from the archpriests of Jupiter who had their seat in the Roman Londinium, and denounced him as their would-be representative and successor. Epp. dxxxv., dxlvi. (*ib.* vol. vii.), pp. 10, 41.

where they had found it.¹ By this time king and primate were both weary of their quarrel, and still more weary of mediation. In November the two kings had another personal interview at Montmartre, and the archbishop's unconditional restoration was all but decided.² Thomas, however, rashly attempted to hasten the completion of the settlement by a threat of interdict;³ and the threat stung Henry into an act of far greater rashness. He had met Louis, as well as Thomas, at Montmartre, and had gained his immediate object of restraining the French king yet a little longer from direct hostilities; the settlement of Brittany was completed at Christmas, that of Aquitaine was so far secure that its conclusion might safely be left to Eleanor's care; in March 1170 Henry went to England⁴ with the fixed determination of seeing his eldest son crowned there before he left it again.

Three years before, he had wrung from the Pope—then blockaded in Rome by the Imperial troops, and in the last extremity of peril—a brief authorizing young Henry's coronation by the archbishop of York, in default of the absent primate of all England.⁵ In face of a mass of earlier and later rescripts from Alexander's predecessors and Alexander himself, all strenuously confirming the exclusive privileges of Canterbury, Henry had never yet ventured to make use of this document; like Adrian's bull for the conquest of Ireland, it had been kept in reserve for a future day; and that day had now come. In vain did Thomas proclaim his threatened interdict;⁶ in vain did the Pope

¹ On this legation of Gratian and Vivian see R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 335; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 212, 213; Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 441-445; Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 72, 73; Epp. cccxcxi., cccxcxii. (*ib.* vol. vi.), pp. 563, 564, 567; dlx., dlxi., dlxiii.-dlxviii., dlxxxi., dlxxxiv., dcii., dciii. (*ib.* vol. vii.), pp. 70-76, 78-92, 115, 116, 124, 125, 151-154, etc.

² Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 97, 98; Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 445-451; Epp. dciv.-dcvii. (*ib.* vol. vii. pp. 158-168). *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 447. R. Diceto as above, pp. 335-337. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 213.

³ Epp. dlxxiii.-dlxxvii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 97-109), etc.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 3. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 3. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 216.

⁵ Ep. cccx. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vi. pp. 206, 207). See the editor's note as to the date.

⁶ Epp. dclxxviii.-dclxxxiii. (*ib.* vol. vii. pp. 320-325).

ratify it ;¹ in vain did both alike issue prohibitions to all the English bishops against the act which they knew to be in contemplation.² The vigilance of the justiciars, quickened by a fresh set of stringent injunctions sent over by the king in the previous autumn,³ made the delivery of letters from either primate or Pope so difficult that Thomas at last could intrust it to no one but a nun, Idonea, whom he solemnly charged with the duty of presenting to Roger of York the papal brief in which the coronation was forbidden.⁴ The ceremony was fixed for Sunday, June 14. A week before that date young Henry, who with his girl-bride Margaret of France had been left at Caen under the care of his mother and Richard of Hommet the constable of Normandy, was summoned to join his father in England.⁵ On S. Barnabas's day the bishops and barons assembled at Westminster in obedience to the royal summons ;⁶ on Saturday, the 13th, the Pope's letter was at last forced upon the archbishop of York ;⁷ but none the less did he on the following morning crown and anoint young Henry in Westminster abbey ; while Gilbert of London, who had managed to extort conditional absolution in the Pope's name from Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen,⁸ once more stood openly by his side in the foremost rank of the English bishops.⁹

The elder king only waited to see the tenants-in-chief, with the king of Scots at their head, swear fealty to his new-made colleague ere he hurried back to Normandy to

¹ Epp. dcxxviii.-dcxxx. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 210-214).

² Epp. dcxxxii., dcxxxiii., dcxlviii.-dcli. (*ib.* pp. 216, 217, 256-264). Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 462, puts this interdict too late.

³ The "ten ordinances" ; Ep. dxcix. (*ib.* vol. vii. pp. 147-149) ; Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 53-55 ; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 214-216 ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 231-236 ; on the date see Bishop Stubbs's note at last reference.

⁴ Ep. dclxxii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 307-309). See the editor's note.

⁵ Ep. dclxxiii. (*ibid.*), pp. 309, 312.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 5.

⁷ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 103.

⁸ *Ibid.* Epp. dclviii.-dclx. (*ib.* vol. vii. pp. 275-277).

⁹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 103 ; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 5 ; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs) vol. i. p. 219. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 338, Chron. Mailros, a. 1170, Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 4, Chron. S. Serg. a. 1169 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 150), all give different dates, and all wrong.

meet the fast-gathering storm.¹ Louis, incensed that his daughter's husband should have been crowned without her, was already threatening war ;² Thomas, seeing in the king's action nothing but the climax of Canterbury's wrongs, was overwhelming the Pope with complaints, reproaches, and intreaties for summary vengeance upon all who had taken part in the coronation ; and the majority of the cardinals strongly supported his demands.³ Henry saw that he must make peace at any price. Two days before the feast of S. Mary Magdalene he held a conference with Louis near Fréteval, on the borders of the Vendômois and the county of Chartres ;⁴ they were reconciled, and as they parted Henry said jestingly to the French king : " That rascal of yours, too, shall have his peace to-morrow ; and a right good peace shall it be."⁵ At dawn on S. Mary Magdalene's day⁶ he met Thomas in the " Traitor's Meadow,"⁷ close to Fréteval ; they rode apart together, and remained in conference so long that the patience of their followers was all but exhausted, when at last Thomas was seen to dismount and throw himself at the king's feet. Henry sprang from his horse, raised the archbishop from the ground, held his stirrup while he remounted, and rode back to tell his followers that peace was made, on terms which practically amounted to a complete mutual amnesty and a return to the state of affairs which had existed before the quarrel.⁸

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 6. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 220. *Will. Cant.* (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 83. Henry landed at Barfleur about Midsummer ; *Gesta Hen.* as above. ² *Gesta Hen.* as above.

³ Ep. dccvii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 373, 374).

⁴ " In limitibus suis inter Firmitatem, oppidum scilicet in pago Carnotensi, et Fretivalle, castrum videlicet in territorio Turonensi." Ep. dclxxxv. (*ibid.*), p. 339. This *Firmitas* must be La Ferté-Villeneuve, and *Turonensi* should be *Vindocinensi*. Herb. Bosh., who lays the scene " in confinio Carnotusie et *Cenomannia*, inter duo castella quorum unum nominatur Viefui" [Viévy-le-Rayé] " et alterum Fretival" (*ib.* vol. iii. p. 466), is no nearer to the true geography.

⁵ " Et crastinâ die habebit pacem suam latro vester ; et quidem bonam habebit." Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 108.

⁶ Ep. dclxxxv. (*ib.* vol. vii.), p. 340.

⁷ Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 466. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 461.

⁸ Epp. dclxxxiv., dclxxxv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 326-334, 340-342. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 108-111. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 466. Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 150, 151. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 461-465.

Henry had no sooner returned to Normandy than he fell sick almost to death; on his recovery he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of our Lady at Rocamadour in the Quercy,¹ and it was not until October that Thomas again saw him at Tours, on his way to a conference with Count Theobald of Blois at Amboise.² A difficulty had arisen about the restitution of the confiscated Church property and the absolution of the persons whom Thomas had excommunicated, each party insisting that the other should make the first step in conciliation.³ There was also a difficulty about the kiss of peace, which Thomas required as pledge of Henry's sincerity, but which Henry seemed desirous of postponing indefinitely.⁴ Nevertheless, a letter from Henry to his son, announcing the reconciliation and bidding the young king enforce the restoration of the archiepiscopal estates, was drawn up in Thomas's presence at Amboise and sent over to England by the hands of two of his clerks,⁵ who presented it at Westminster on October 5.⁶ The restoration was, however, not effected until Martinmas, and then it comprised little more than empty garners and ruined houses.⁷ Thomas saw the king once more, at Chaumont,⁸

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

² Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.) pp. 468, 469. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 114. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 154. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 469. The writer of the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 8) gives the date of this meeting as Tuesday, October 12. But this must be quite ten days too late, for we shall see that a letter drawn up after the meeting was received in England on October 5.

³ Ep. dclxxxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 333-337.

⁴ Henry alleged that he had publicly sworn never to give Thomas the kiss of peace, and could not face the shame of breaking his oath. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 150; Herb. Bosh. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 450; Ep. dcxxiii. (*ib.* vol. vii.) pp. 198, 199; *Thomas Saga*, as above, p. 449. See in Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 469, Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ibid.*), p. 115, and *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 469, the contrivance by which he avoided it at Tours—or Amboise, in William's version.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 156, 157. The letter, of which Garnier gives a translation, is Ep. dcxc. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.) pp. 346, 347; also in Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), p. 85; Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 112; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 221; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 339.

⁶ Ep. dccxv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), p. 389.

⁷ Ep. dccxxiii. (*ibid.*), p. 402.

⁸ Chaumont on the Loire, seemingly. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 470. Cf. *Thomas Saga*, as above, pp. 471-473.

and Henry promised to meet him again at Rouen, thence to proceed with him to England in person.¹ Before the appointed time came, however, fresh complications had arisen with the king of France; Henry was obliged to give up all thought of going not only to England but even to Normandy, and delegated the archbishop of Rouen and the dean of Salisbury to escort Thomas in his stead.

The duty finally devolved solely upon the dean, who was no other than Thomas's old opponent John of Oxford.² Naturally enough, the primate was deeply hurt at being thus sent back to his see under the protection of a man who, as he truly said, ought to have been thankful for the privilege of travelling in his suite.³ Thomas, however, was in haste to be gone, although fully persuaded that he was going to his death. He seems indeed to have been weary of life; the tone of his letters and of his parting words to the friends whom he was leaving in France indicates not so much a morbid presentiment of his fate as a passionate longing for it. Yet it can hardly have been from him alone that the foreboding communicated itself to so many other minds. Warnings came to him from all quarters; one voice after another, from the king of France⁴ down to the very pilot of the ship in which he took his passage, implored him not to go; Herbert of Bosham alone upheld his resolution to the end.⁵

We may put aside at once all the wild talk of the archbishop's biographers about plots against his life in which the king had a share. Even if Henry's sudden willingness for his return was really suggested by words said to have been uttered by one of his counsellors—"Why keep the archbishop out of England? It would be far better to keep him in it"—there is no need to assume that those words bore even in the speaker's mind, far less in that of the king, the horrible meaning which they were afterwards supposed to have covered;⁶ for they were true in the most literal sense.

¹ Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), pp. 115, 116.

² *Ib.* p. 116. Epp. dccxxii., dccxxiii. (*ib.* vol. vii.), pp. 400, 403. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 160.

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 113.

⁵ Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 472-476.

⁶ Will. Fitz-Steph. as above, pp. 106, 107.

The quarrel of king and primate would have mattered little had it been fought out on English ground; it was the archbishop's exile which rendered him so dangerous. Thomas had dealt his most fatal blow at Henry by flying from him, and Henry, as he now perceived, had made his worst blunder in driving Thomas into France. Of the infinitely greater blunder involved in the archbishop's murder—setting the criminal aspect of the deed altogether aside—it is enough to say that Henry was wholly incapable. The same may be said of Roger of York and Gilbert of London, although, like the king himself, they were urged by dread of the archbishop into making common cause with men of a very different stamp:—men who hated the primate with a far more intense personal hatred, and who were restrained by no considerations either of policy or of morality:—men such as Ralf de Broc, a ruffian adventurer who had served as the tool of Henry's vengeance upon the archbishop's kinsfolk, had resumed the custody of the archiepiscopal estates when it was resigned by Gilbert Foliot, had been for the last four years at once fattening upon the property of Thomas and smarting under his excommunication, and was ready to commit any crime rather than disgorge his ill-gotten gains.¹ It was known that Thomas had letters from the Pope suspending all those bishops who had taken part in the coronation of the young king, and replacing Gilbert of London, Jocelyn of Salisbury, and all whom Thomas had excommunicated under the sentences from which they had been irregularly released by some of the Papal envoys.² Gilbert, Jocelyn and Roger of York now hurried to Canterbury, intending to proceed to

¹ On Ralf de Broc see Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 75; Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 360; Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.) p. 65; E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 404; Epp. lxxviii. (*ib.* vol. v. p. 152), cccxli., cccxcviii. (*ib.* vol. vi. pp. 278, 582), dccxviii., dccxxiii. (*ib.* vol. vii. pp. 394, 402). In the last place Thomas says that Ralf "in ecclesiam Dei . . . per septem annos licentius debacchatus est"; and the writer of the *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 321, seems to have understood this as meaning that Ralf had had the stewardship of the Canterbury property throughout the archbishop's exile. This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Ralf certainly had the stewardship for a short time at first; but it was, as we have seen, soon transferred to Gilbert Foliot, and only restored to Ralf when Gilbert resigned it early in 1167.

² Epp. dccxx., dccxxii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 397-399).

Normandy as soon as Thomas set foot in England ; while Ralf de Broc, Reginald de Warren and Gervase of Cornhill the sheriff of Kent undertook to catch him at the moment of landing, ransack his baggage, search his person, and seize any Papal letters which he might bring with him. Thomas, however was warned ; he sent the letters over before him, and the three prelates at Canterbury read their condemnation before their judge quitted Gaul.¹ Next day he sailed from Wissant, and on the morning of December 1 he landed at Sandwich.² His enemies were ready to receive him ; but at the sight of John of Oxford they stopped short, and John in the king's name forbade all interference with the primate.³ Amid the rapturous greetings of the people who thronged to welcome their chief pastor, he rode on to Canterbury ; there some of the royal officials came to him in the king's name, demanding the absolution of the suspended and excommunicate bishops. Thomas at first answered that he could not annul a Papal sentence ; but he afterwards offered to take the risk of doing so, if the culprits would abjure their errors in the form prescribed by the Church. Gilbert and Jocelyn were inclined to yield ; but Roger refused, and they ended by despatching Geoffrey Ridel to enlist the sympathies of the young king in their behalf, while they themselves carried their protest to his father in Normandy.⁴

¹ Ep. dcccxiii., dcccxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 403, 410. Cf. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 87-89 ; Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 117 ; Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 471, 472 ; Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 68 ; Anon. II. (*ibid.*), p. 123 ; Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 161, 163. The version in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 483, seems founded on a confusion between the delivery of these Papal letters and that which Berengar delivered in S. Paul's on the Ascension-day of the previous year.

² Will. Fitz-Steph. (as above), p. 118. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*) p. 476. Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 68. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 164. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 339. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 222. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 489-491. The date is from Will. Fitz-Steph., R. Diceto and the *Saga* ; Gervase makes it November 30, and Herbert "two or three days after the feast of S. Andrew."

³ Will. Fitz-Steph. and Garnier, as above. Ep. dcccxiii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 403, 404. *Thomas Saga* (as above), p. 491.

⁴ Ep. dcccxiii., dcccxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), pp. 404-406, 411, 412. Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.), pp. 102-105. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 120, 121. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 480. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 497-501. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 172, erroneously thinks the censures on the bishops were not issued till Christmas-day.

The young king was preparing to hold his Christmas court at Winchester.¹ Thomas proposed to join it, but was stopped in London by a peremptory command to "go back and mind his own business at Canterbury."² He obeyed under protest, and on Christmas-day again excommunicated the De Brocs and their fellow-robbers.³ The elder king was keeping the feast at his hunting-seat of Bures near Bayeux.⁴ There the three bishops threw themselves at his feet; Roger of York spoke in the name of all, and presented the Papal letters;⁵ the courtiers burst into a confused storm of indignation, but not one had any counsel to offer. In his impatience and disappointment Henry uttered the fatal words which he was to rue all his life: "What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house, that none of them can be found to avenge me of this one upstart clerk!"⁶

The words were hardly more than he had used at Chinon four years before, but they fell now upon other ears. Four knights—Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse and Richard le Breton⁷—took them as a warrant for the primate's death. That night—it was Christmas-eve⁸—they vowed to slay him, no matter how or where;⁹ they

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 166. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 106. Anon. II. (*ib.* vol. iv.), p. 126. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 342, says the young king was at Woodstock when Thomas sought for an interview; he was, however, certainly at Winchester at Christmas.

² "Fère vostre mestier à Cantorbire alez." Garnier (Hippeau), p. 171. Cf. Ep. dccxxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), p. 412; Will. Cant. (*ib.* vol. i.) pp. 106-113; Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 121-123; Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 482, 483; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 13; *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. pp. 505-507.

³ Will. Cant. (as above), p. 120. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 428. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 130. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 484, 485. R. Diceto (as above), p. 342. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 511-513.

⁴ Herb. Bosh. (as above), p. 481. Garnier (Hippeau), p. 175. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 11. Rob. Torigni, a. 1171.

⁵ Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 175-177. Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 122, 123. Cf. *Thomas Saga* (as above), pp. 501-503.

⁶ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 175. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 121. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.), p. 429. Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 487.

⁷ In Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 128, 129, is a "descriptio spiculatorum," in which the only point of interest is the English speech of Hugh de Morville's mother.

⁸ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 177. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 123.

⁹ Garnier, as above. Will. Cant. (as above), p. 124. E. Grim (*ib.* vol. ii.),

left the court in secret, crossed to England by different routes,¹ and met again at Saltwood, a castle which the archbishop had been vainly endeavouring to recover from the clutches of Ralf de Broc, and where Ralf himself was dwelling amid a crowd of his kinsfolk and dependents. There the final plot was laid.² How it was executed is a tale which has been told so often that its details may well be spared here. On the evening of December 29, after a scene in his own hall scarcely less disgraceful than the last scene in the king's hall at Northampton, the primate of all England was butchered at the altar's foot in his own cathedral church.³

The ill news travelled fast. It fell like a thunderbolt upon the Norman court still gathered round the king at Argentan,⁴ whither the assembly had adjourned after the Christmas feast at Bures. Henry stood for a moment speechless with horror, then burst into a frenzy of despair, and shut himself up in his own rooms, refusing to eat or drink or to see any one.⁵ In a few days more, as he anticipated, all Christendom was ringing with execration of the murder and clamouring for vengeance upon the king who was universally regarded as its instigator. The Pope ordered an interdict upon Henry's continental dominions, excommunicated the murderers and all who had given or should henceforth give them aid, shelter or support, and was only restrained from pronouncing a like sentence upon the king himself by a promise that he would make compurgation and

p. 429. Will. Fitz-Steph. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii.), p. 128. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), p. 487. *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. i. p. 517.

¹ Garnier (Hippeau), p. 177. Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.) p. 124. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), p. 130. *Thomas Saga* as above.

² Will. Fitz-Steph. as above; cf. *ib.* p. 126. *Thomas Saga*, as above, pp. 517-519. Saltwood was mentioned, as a special subject for inquiry and restitution, in the king's letter commending Thomas to his son.

³ Will. Cant. (as above), pp. 131-135. Joh. Salisb. (*ib.* vol. ii.), pp. 319, 320. E. Grim (*ibid.*), pp. 430-438. Will. Fitz-Steph. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 132-142. Herb. Bosh. (*ibid.*), pp. 488 *et seq.* Anon. I. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 70-77. Anon. II. (*ibid.*), pp. 128-132. Garnier (Hippeau), pp. 179-195. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 343, 344. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 224-227. *Thomas Saga* as above, pp. 523-549.

⁴ R. Diceto (as above), p. 345. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 14.

⁵ Ep. dcccxxviii. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii.), p. 438. Cf. MS. Lansdown. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 159, 160, and *Gesta Hen.* as above.

submit to penance.¹ Two cardinal-legates charged with the enforcement of these decrees were at once despatched to Normandy;² but when they arrived there, Henry was out of their reach. The death of Duke Conan in February had thrown Brittany completely into his hands; he only stayed to secure Geoffrey's final establishment there as duke³ before he called a council at Argentan and announced that he was going to Ireland.⁴ He quitted Normandy just as the legates reached it,⁵ leaving strict orders that the ports should be closed to all clerks and papal envoys, and that no one should dare to follow him without special permission.⁶ Landing at Portsmouth in the first days of August,⁷ he hurried to Winchester for a last interview with the dying Bishop Henry,⁸ closed the English ports as he had closed those of Normandy,⁹ then plunged once more into the depths of South Wales, and on October 16 sailed from Milford Haven for Waterford.¹⁰

The elements favoured his escape; for five months a persistent contrary wind hindered all communication to

¹ Epp. dccli., dccli. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 471-478).

² Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 233. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 346. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 24.

³ Rob. Torigni, a. 1171. Conan died February 20; Chron. Kemperleg. *ad ann.* (*Rer. Gall. Scriptt.*, vol. xii. p. 563). The Chron. S. Serg. a. 1169 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 150), places the event two years too early. Cf. Chron. Britann. a. 1170, 1171 (*Rer. Gall. Scriptt.*, vol. xii. p. 560; Morice, *Hist. Bretagne, preuves*, vol. i. col. 104).

⁴ Rob. Torigni, a. 1171.

⁵ MS. Lansdown. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv.), p. 169. Gerv. Cant. (as above), pp. 233, 234. The *Gesta Hen.* (as above), and Rog. Howden (Stubbs, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29) seem to imply that they arrived just before Henry left; but they are rather confused about these legates. They make two pairs of them come to Normandy this summer—first, Vivian and Gratian, who come with hostile intent, and from whom Henry runs away (*Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. i. p. 24; Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 29); and secondly, Albert and Theodwine, who apparently supersede them later in the year, and whom Henry hurries to meet (*Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 29; Rog. Howden as above, p. 34). But the MS. Lansdown. (which is the fullest account of all), Gerv. Cant. and R. Diceto distinctly make only one pair of legates, Albert and Theodwine. The confusion in *Thomas Saga* (Magnusson), vol. ii. pp. 31-33, is greater still.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 24. Cf. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 29.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 234, say August 3; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 347, says August 6.

⁸ R. Diceto as above. Bishop Henry died on August 8; *ibid.*

⁹ Gerv. Cant., *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden, as above.

¹⁰ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 25.

Ireland from any part of his dominions.¹ The bishops and the ministers were left to fight their own battles and make their own peace with the legates in Normandy until May 1172, when the king suddenly reappeared² to claim the papal absolution and offer in return not only his own spiritual obedience and that of his English and continental realms, but also that of Ireland, which he had secured for Rome as her share in the spoils of a conquest won with Adrian's bull in his hand.³ The bargain was soon struck. On Sunday May 21 Henry met the legates at Avranches, made his purgation for the primate's death, promised the required expiation, and abjured his obnoxious "customs," his eldest son joining in the abjuration.⁴ To pacify Louis, young Henry and Margaret were sent over sea with the archbishop of Rouen and by him crowned together at Winchester on August 27;⁵ and the Norman primate returned to join a great council of the Norman clergy assembled at Caen to witness there, two days before Michaelmas, a public repetition of their sovereign's purgation and his final absolution by the legates.⁶

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 350. Gir. Cambr., *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 36 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 284).

² R. Diceto (as above), p. 351.

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 28.

⁴ Ep. dclxxi.-dclxxiv. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 513-522). MS. Lansdown. (*ib.* vol. iv.), pp. 173, 174.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 31; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 237. R. Diceto (as above), p. 352, makes it August 21.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 32, 33. Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 35-37. Gerv. Cant. (as above), p. 238. These three are the only writers who mention this purgation in September, and they say nothing of the one in May. That it took place is however clear from the letter of the legates themselves (Ep. dclxxiv. Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. p. 521), giving its date, "*Vocem jucunditatis*," i.e. Rogation-Sunday. On the other hand, the MS. Lansdown. (*ib.* vol. iv. pp. 173, 174) mentions only one purgation, and this clearly is the earlier one, for it is placed before the re-crowning of young Henry. The explanation seems to be that this was a private ceremony between the king and the legates, with a few chosen witnesses; the legates say in their letter that Henry promised to repeat it publicly at Caen; he doubtless did so at Avranches instead. On the other hand, Rob. Torigni (a. 1172) says: "*Locutus est cum eis primo Savigneii, postea Abrincis, tercio Cadomi, ubi causa illa finita est*;" and seems to make the Michaelmas council at Avranches a mere ordinary Church synod, where moreover "*obsistente regis infirmitate parum profecerunt*." To add to the confusion, Gir. Cambr. (*Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 39; Dimock, vol. v. p. 289) says the purgation was made at Coutances.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

795-1172.

IT is in the history of the settlements formed on the Irish coast by the northern pirates in the ninth century that we must seek for the origin of those relations between England and Ireland which led to an English invasion of the latter country in the reign of Henry II. The earliest intercourse between the two islands had been of a wholly peaceful character; but it had come utterly to an end when Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne sailed back to his old home at Iona after the synod of Whitby in 664. From the hour when her missionary work was done, Ireland sank more and more into the isolation which was a natural consequence of her geographical position, and from which she was only roused at the opening of the ninth century by the coming of the vikings. In the early days of the northmen's attack upon the British isles it was the tradition of Ireland's material prosperity and wealth, and the fame of the treasures stored in her religious houses, that chiefly tempted the "white strangers" from the Norwegian fiords across the unknown perils of the western sea; and the settlement of Thorgils in Ulster and those of his fellow-wikings along the eastern and southern coasts of Ireland formed a chief basis for the operations of the northmen upon Britain itself. The desperate fighting of the Irish succeeded in freeing Ulster after Thorgils's death; but by the middle of the ninth century the vikings were firmly established at four points on the Irish

IRELAND

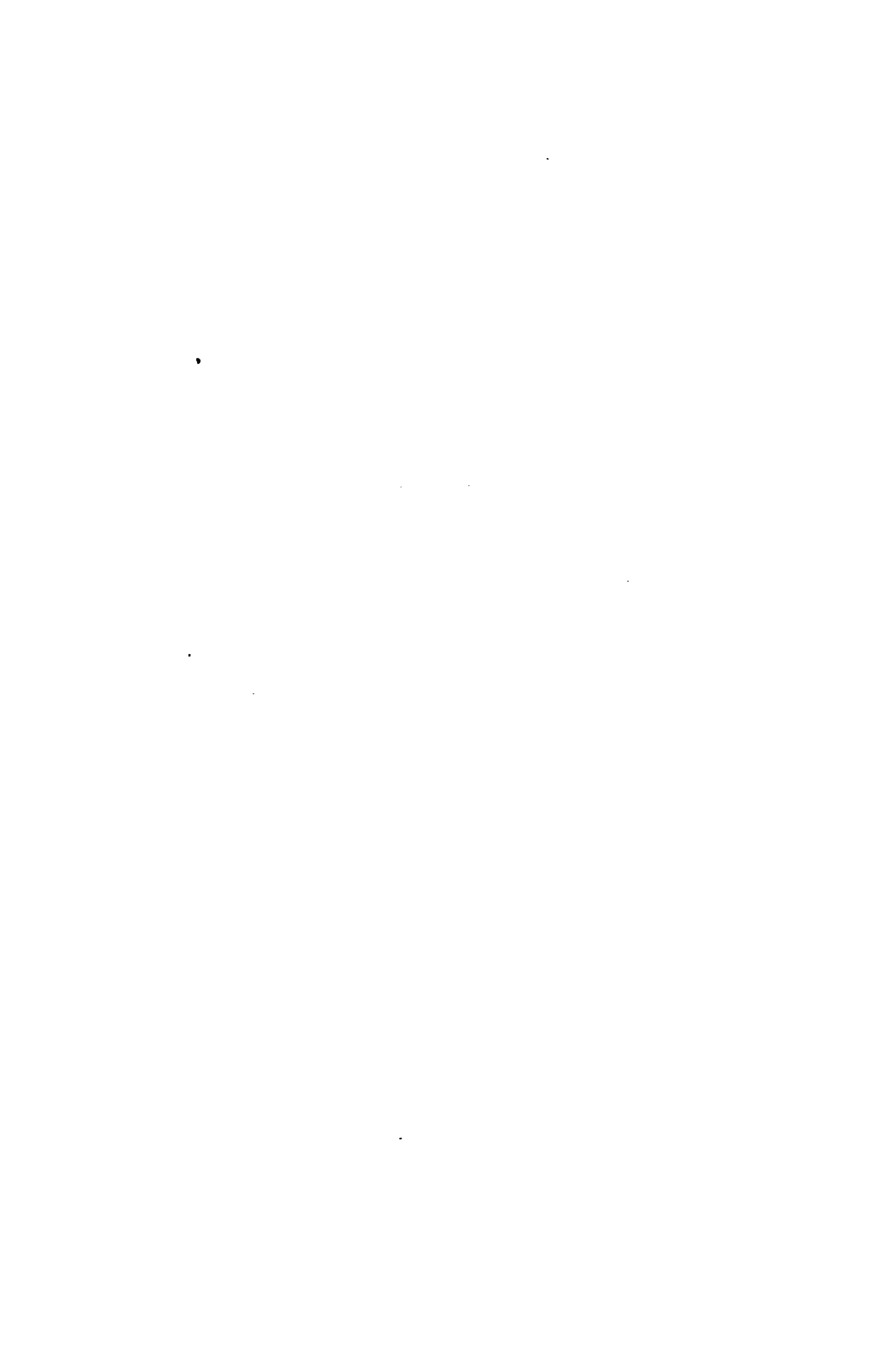
A. D. 1172.

Ostmen's settlements marked thus: Dublin.



Wagner & Debes' Geog. Instab. Leipzig.

London, Macmillan & Co.



coast, Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick.¹ Under the leadership of Olaf the Fair, Dublin became the head of a confederacy which served as a starting-point and furnished a constant supply of forces for the Danish conquests in England ;² and for a hundred years afterwards, throughout the struggle of the house of Ælfred for the recovery of the Danes-law, the support given by the Ostmen or wiking of Ireland to their brethren across the channel was at once the main strength of the Northumbrian Danes and the standing difficulty of the English kings.³

To Ireland itself the results of the wiking invasions were far more disastrous than either to Britain or to Gaul. Owing to the peculiar physical character of their country, to their geographical remoteness from the rest of Europe, and to the political and social isolation which was a consequence of these, the Irish people had never advanced beyond the primitive tribal mode of life which had once been common to the whole Aryan race, but which every European branch of that race, except the Irish, had long since outgrown. In the time of Ecgberht and of Charles the Great Ireland was still, as at the very dawn of history, peopled by a number of separate tribes or septs whose sole bond of internal cohesion was formed by community of blood ;—whose social and political institutions had remained purely patriarchal in character, unaffected by local and external influences such as had helped to mould the life of England or of Gaul :—who had never yet coalesced into any definite territorial organization, far less risen into national unity under a national sovereign. The provincial kings of Ulster, Connaught, Leinster and Munster were merely the foremost chieftains among the various groups of tribes over whom they exercised an ever-shifting sway ; while the supremacy of the *Ard-Righ* or chief monarch, to whom in theory was assigned the overlordship of the whole island, was practically little more than a sort of honorary pre-eminence attached

¹ On Thorgils and the wiking settlements in Ireland see *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Todd), and Green, *Conquest of England*, pp. 66, 67, 74, 76.

² Green, *Conquest of England*, pp. 90, 91, 107.

³ *Ib.* pp. 213, 242, 252-254, 270-272.

to certain chosen descendants of an early hero-king, Niall "of the Nine Hostages"; it carried with it little effective authority, and no territorial power; for the monarch's traditional seat at Tara had long been a heap of ruins, and a tribal under-king had ousted him from the plain of Meath which in legal theory formed his royal domain.¹ Neither in the monarch himself nor in the provincial chieftains of a state thus constituted could there be found, when the storm-cloud from the north burst upon Ireland, a centre of unity even such as the peoples of Gaul found in their Karolingian sovereigns, far less such as the West-Franks found in the dukes of the French, or such as the English found in their kings of the house of Ecgberht. The stress of the northmen's attack, which elsewhere gave a fresh impulse to the upgrowth of national life, crushed out all hope of its development in Ireland. The learning and the civilization of ages perished when Columba's Bangor, Bridget's Kildare, Ciaran's Clonmacnoise, Patrick's own Armagh, shared the fate of Bæda's Jarrow and Hild's Streoneshealh, of Cuthbert's Melrose and Aidan's Lindisfarne; and in Ireland there was no Wessex and no Ælfred.

On the other hand, the concentration of the wiking forces upon Britain had given to the Irish an advantage which enabled them to check the spread of wiking settlements in their country; and the failure of all attempts to establish a Scandinavian dominion in Britain destroyed all chance of a Scandinavian conquest of Ireland. The Ostmen never even gained such a footing in Ireland as the followers of Hrolf gained in Frankland: their presence never received the sanction of any Ard-Righ; they were not a compact body occupying the whole of an extensive and well-defined territory, but a number of separate groups settled here and there along the coast, and holding their ground only by sheer hard fighting against a ring of implacable foes. The long struggle may be said to have ended in a defeat of both parties. The Irish kings of Munster succeeded in establish-

¹ Maine, *Early Hist. of Institutions*, lect. i.-x.; O'Donovan, *Introd. to Book of Rights*; Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, with Mr. Kelly's notes; O'Donovan, notes to *Four Masters*, vols. i. and ii.

ing a more or less effective overlordship over the Scandinavian communities of Limerick and Waterford; and in 989 Malachi II., supreme monarch of Ireland, reaped his reward for nine years of desperate fighting in the submission of the Ostmen of Dublin. The city was blockaded and starved into surrender, and a yearly tribute was promised to Malachi and his successors.¹ Six years later "the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carl"—two heathen relics probably of ancient heroes, which seem to have been treasured as sacred emblems of sovereignty by the Ostmen²—were carried off by Malachi as trophies of another victory;³ and in 999 or 1000 a renewal of the strife ended in a rout of the Ostmen and a great slaughter of their leaders, and Dublin was sacked and burnt by the victorious Irish.⁴

Malachi's triumph, however, was gained at the cost of a disruption of the monarchy. Malachi himself was displaced by a king of the rival house of Munster, his colleague in the sack of Dublin, the famous Brian Boróimhe;⁵ Brian's career of conquest ended in 1014 on the field of Clontarf, where he was slain in battle with the men of Leinster and the Ostmen;⁶ and when Malachi, who now resumed his place, died in 1022,⁷ the downfall of the Irish monarchy was complete.⁸ The tradition which had so long linked it to the house of Niall had been shattered by Brian's successes; and

¹ Tighernach, a. 989 (O'Connor, *Rer. Hibern. Scriptt.*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265).

² See O'Donovan's introduction to the *Book of Rights*, pp. xxxviii, xxxix.

³ Tighernach, a. 995 (as above, p. 267).

⁴ *Ib.* a. 998, 999 (p. 268). *Wars of Gaedhil with Gaill* (Todd), pp. 109-117.

⁵ Tighernach, a. 1000, 1001 (as above, pp. 269, 270). *Wars of Gaedhil with Gaill* (Todd), p. 119. Brian's victory was won by the help of the Ostmen, with whom he stooped to ally himself for the sake of overcoming his rival; but the alliance was only momentary. On Brian's reign see *Wars of Gaedhil with Gaill*, pp. 119-155.

⁶ *Wars of Gaedhil with Gaill* (Todd), pp. 155-211. *Four Masters*, a. 1013 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 773-781). *Ann. Loch Cé*, a. 1014 (Hennessy, vol. i. pp. 1-13).

⁷ Tighernach, a. 1022 (as above, p. 274). *Four Masters*, a. 1022 (as above, p. 800). *Ann. Loch Cé*, a. 1022 (as above, p. 23).

⁸ "From the death of Maelseachlainn II. the legitimate monarchy of all Ireland departed from all families during seventy-two years, until the joint reigns of Muircheartach O'Briain and Domhnall MacLochlainn; during that time no Feis or general assembly, so agreeable to the people, was held, because Ireland had no supreme king." Quoted by Mr. Kelly, note to *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii. p. 38, from Gilla-Modud, an Irish poet of the twelfth century.

Brian had not lived to consolidate in his own house the forces which had begun to gather around himself. Thenceforth the Scandinavian colonies simply furnished an additional element to the strife of the Irish chieftains, and to the rivalry between the O'Briens of Munster and the O'Neills of Ulster for the possession of a shadowy supremacy, claimed by the one house as descendants of Brian Boraimhe and by the other as heirs of Malachi II. and of his great ancestor Niall.

The social and political system of Ireland was powerless either to expel or to absorb the foreign element thus introduced within its borders. Not only was such an union of the two peoples as had at last been effected in England simply impossible in Ireland; the Irish Danelaw was parted from its Celtic surroundings by barriers of race and speech, of law and custom and institutions, far more insuperable than those which parted the settlers in the "northman's land" at the mouth of Seine from their West-Frankish neighbours. Even the Irish Church, which three hundred years before had won half England—one might add half Europe—to the Faith, had as yet failed to convert these pagans seated at her door. At the close of the tenth century the Ostmen were still for the most part heathens in fact if not in name, aliens from whatever culture or civilization might still remain in the nation around them. Meanwhile their relations with England had wholly altered in character. The final submission of the English Danelaw to Eadred carried with it the alliance of the Irish Danelaw; it seems that the Ostmen in their turn endeavoured to strengthen themselves against the attacks of the Irish princes by securing a good understanding with the English king, if not actually by putting themselves under his protection; for the fact that Eadgar coined money in Dublin¹ indicates that his authority must have been in some way or other acknowledged there. The years of the Ostmen's struggle with Malachi and Brian Boraimhe were the years of England's struggle with Swein and Cnut; but the two strifes seem to have been wholly unconnected; and throughout the long peace which lasted from Cnut's final triumph until the coming of the Normans,

¹ Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 323.

new ties sprang up between the Ostmen and the sister-isle. Owing to their position on the sea-coast and to the spirit of merchant enterprise which was, quite as much as the spirit of military enterprise, a part of the wiking-heritage of their inhabitants, the towns of the Irish Danelaw rose fast into importance as seats of a flourishing trade with northern Europe, and above all with England through its chief sea-ports in the west, Bristol and Chester. The traffic was chiefly in slaves, bought or kidnapped in England to be sold to the merchants of Dublin or Waterford, and by these again to their Irish neighbours or to traders from yet more distant lands.¹ Horrible as this traffic was, however, even while filling the Irish coast-towns with English slaves it helped to foster a more frequent intercourse and a closer relation between Ostmen and Englishmen; and the shelter and aid given to Harold and Leofwine in 1151 by Dermot Mac-Maelnambo,² a prince of the royal house of Leinster who had acquired the sovereignty over both Leinstermen and Danes, shews that the political alliance established in Eadgar's day had been carefully renewed by Godwine.

To these commercial and political relations was added soon afterwards an ecclesiastical tie. The conversion of the Ostmen to Christianity, completed in the early years of the eleventh century, was probably due to intercourse with their Christianized brethren in England rather than to the influence of the Irish clergy, whose very speech was strange to them; and their adoption of their neighbours' creed, instead of drawing together the hostile races, soon introduced a fresh element into their strife. About the year 1040 the Ostmen of Dublin set up a bishopric of their own. Their first bishop, Donatus, was probably Irish by consecration if not by birth.³ But when he died, in 1074,⁴ the Ostmen turned

¹ Green, *Conquest of England*, pp. 440, 443, 444.

² See Freeman, *Norm. Cong.*, vol. ii. pp. 154.

³ That is, he was certainly not consecrated in England; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iii. pp. 433-436. But might he not have been consecrated by some of the bishops in Scotland and the Isles, with which the Ostmen were in constant intercourse and alliance?

⁴ Tighernach, a. 1074 (*O'Conor, Rer. Hibern. Scriptt.*), vol. ii. p. 309. Four Masters, a. 1074 (*O'Donovan*, vol. ii. p. 907).

instinctively towards the neighbouring island with which they had long been on peaceful terms, where the fruits of the warfare waged by generation after generation of wiking upon the shores of Britain were being reaped at last by Norman hands, where William of Normandy was entering upon the inheritance alike of Ælfred and of Cnut, and where Lanfranc was infusing a new spirit of discipline and activity into the Church of Odo and Dunstan. The last wiking-fleet that ever sailed from Dublin to attack the English coast—a fleet which Dermot Mac-Maelnambo, true to his alliance with their father, had furnished to the sons of Harold—had been beaten back six years before.¹ Since then Dermot himself was dead;² the Ostmen were once more free, subject to no ruler save one of their own choice and their own blood; with the consent of their king, Godred,³ they chose a priest named Patrick to fill Donatus's place, and sent him to be consecrated in England by the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴ No scruples about infringing the rights of the Irish bishops were likely to make Lanfranc withhold his hand. At the very moment when the Ostmen's request reached him, he had just been putting forth against the archbishop of York a claim to metropolitanical jurisdiction over the whole of the

¹ Eng. Chron. (Worc.) a. 1067, 1068; Flor. Worc. (Thorpe), vol. ii. p. 2; Ord. Vit. (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*), p. 513; Will. Jumièges, l. vii. c. 41 (*ib.* p. 290); Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, vol. iv. pp. 225-227, 243-245, 788-790.

² He fell in battle with the king of Meath in 1072, according to the Four Masters *ad ann.* (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 901-903), and the Ann. Loch Cé (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 67). The Chron. Scot. (Hennessy, p. 291) places his death in 1069; Mr. Freeman (as above, p. 245) adopts this date.

³ At the time of Donatus's appointment in 1040, one Sihtric ruled in Dublin (see Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iii. pp. 434, 435)—doubtless under the overlordship of Dermot. On Dermot's death the Ostmen flung off the Irish supremacy and took for their king, first a jarl named Godred, who died in 1072, and then another of the same name, who seems to have been already king of Man. (Freeman, as above, p. 528 and note 5). Lanfranc addresses this Godred as "King of Ireland" (Lanfranc, Ep. 43, Giles, vol. i. p. 61); and no other prince is mentioned in connexion with Patrick's consecration. But it is plain from Lanfranc's correspondence, if from nothing else, that Terence O'Brien was acknowledged overlord of Dublin for some time before his death (see Lanfranc, Ep. 44, *ib.* p. 62; and Lanigan, as above, p. 474 *et seq.*); and he died in 1086.

⁴ Lanfranc, Ep. 43 (as above, p. 61). Eng. Chron. Winch., Appendix (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 387). Cf. Lanigan, as above, pp. 457, 458.

British isles, founded on the words of S. Gregory committing "all the bishops of the Britains" to S. Augustine's charge.¹ He therefore gladly welcomed an opportunity of securing for the authority of his see a footing in the neighbour-isle. He consecrated Patrick of Dublin and received his profession of obedience;² and for the next seventy-eight years the bishops of Dublin were suffragans not of Armagh but of Canterbury. When in 1096 the Ostmen of Waterford also chose for themselves a bishop, they too sought him beyond the sea; an Irishman, or more probably an Ostman by birth, a monk of Winchester by profession, Malchus by name, he was consecrated by S. Anselm and professed obedience to him as metropolitan.³

Through the medium of these Irish suffragans the archbishops of Canterbury endeavoured to gain a hold upon the Irish Church by cultivating the friendship of the different Irish princes who from time to time succeeded in winning from the Ostmen an acknowledgement of their overlordship. In the struggles of the provincial kings for the supreme monarchy of Ireland it was always the Ostmen who turned the scale; their submission was the real test of sovereignty. The power which had been wielded by Dermot Mac-Maelnambo passed after his death first to Terence or Turlogh O'Brien, king of Munster,⁴ a grandson of Brian Boromhe, and then to Terence's son Murtoth.⁵ Both were in correspondence with the successive English primates, Lanfranc and Anselm,⁶ and both were recognized as protectors and patrons, in ecclesiastical matters at least, by the Ostmen,⁷

¹ Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iii. pp. 464-466.

² *Ib.* p. 458. Eng. Chron. Winch., Appendix (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 387).

³ Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rule), pp. 76, 77. Cf. Lanigan, as above, vol. iv. pp. 15, 16.

⁴ *Four Masters*, a. 1073-1086 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 905-927).

⁵ *Ib.* a. 1087-1119 (pp. 929-1009).

⁶ Lanfranc, Ep. 44 (Giles, vol. i. pp. 62-64); Anselm, Epp. l. iii., Epp. cxlii., cxlvii. (Migne, *Patrol.*, vol. clix., cols. 173, 174, 178-180); Lanigan, as above, vol. iii. pp. 474 *et seq.*, vol. iv. pp. 15, 19, 20.

⁷ Samuel of Dublin in 1095 and Malchus of Waterford in 1096 were both elected under Murtoth's sanction and sent to England for consecration with letters of commendation from him. Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rule), pp. 73-76; Lanigan, above, vol. iv. pp. 12-15.

whose adherence during these years enabled the O'Briens to hold their ground against the advancing power of Donnell O'Lochlainn, king of Aileach or western Ulster,¹ a representative of the old royal house of the O'Neills which had fallen with Malachi II. On Murtogh's death in 1119² a new aspirant to the monarchy appeared in the person of the young king of Connaught, Terence or Turlogh O'Conor. A year before, Terence had won the submission of the Ostmen of Dublin;³ in 1120 he celebrated the fair of Telltown,⁴ a special prerogative of the Irish monarchs; and from the death of Donnell O'Lochlainn next year⁵ Terence was undisputed monarch till 1127, when a joint rising of Ostmen and Leinstermen enabled both to throw off his yoke.⁶ Meanwhile Murtogh O'Lochlainn, a grandson of Donnell, was again building up a formidable power in Ulster; at last, in 1150, all the provincial kings, including Terence, gave him hostages for peace;⁷ and Terence's throne seems to have been only saved by a sudden change in the policy of the Ostmen, whose independent action enabled them for a moment to hold the balance and act as arbitrators between northern and southern Ireland.⁸ Four years later, however, they accepted Murtogh as their king,⁹ and two years later

¹ Four Masters, a. 1083-1119 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 921-1009). Cf. Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1083-1119 (Hennessy, vol. i. pp. 73-111).

² Four Masters, a. 1119 (as above, p. 1009). Ann. Loch. Cé, a. 1119 (as above, p. 111).

³ Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 48, says: "The Annals of Innisfallen have at A. 1118, 'Turlogh O'Conor became king of the Danes of Dublin.'" (This passage does not occur in either of the two editions of Ann. Inisfal. printed by O'Conor.) The Four Masters, a. 1118 (as above, p. 1007), say that Terence took hostages from the Ostmen in that year. He was, at any rate, acknowledged as their overlord by 1121, for it was he who in that year sent Gregory, bishop-elect of Dublin, to England for consecration. Lanigan, as above, p. 47.

⁴ Four Masters *ad ann.* (as above, p. 1011).

⁵ *Ib.* a. 1121 (p. 1013). Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1121 (as above, p. 113).

⁶ Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1127 (p. 123).

⁷ Four Masters, a. 1150 (as above, p. 1093).

⁸ Something of this kind must be meant by the phrase of the Four Masters (*ib.* p. 1095): "The foreigners made a year's peace between Leath-Chuinn and Leath-Mhogha." This is in 1150, after Murtogh's appearance as "King of Ireland" and the Ostmen's submission to Terence (II.) O'Brien, whom his name-sake of Connaught had set up as king in Munster.

⁹ Four Masters, a. 1154 (as above, p. 1113).

still he was left sole monarch by the death of Terence O'Conor.¹

The anarchy of the Irish state was reflected in that of the Church. If Lanfranc, when he consecrated Patrick of Dublin, knew anything at all of the ecclesiastical condition of Ireland, he may well have thought that it stood in far greater need of his reforming care than England itself. The Irish Church had never felt the organizing hand of a Theodore; its diocesan and párochial system was quite undeveloped; it had in fact scarcely advanced beyond the primitive missionary stage. Six centuries after S. Patrick's death, the Irish clergy were still nothing but a band of mission-priests scattered over the country or gathered together in vast monastic establishments like Bangor or Duro or Clonmacnoise; the bishops were for the most part merely heads of ever-shifting mission-stations, to whose number there was no limit; destitute of political rank, they were almost equally destitute of ecclesiastical authority, and differed from the ordinary priesthood by little else than their power of ordination. At the head of the whole hierarchy stood, as successor and representative of S. Patrick, the archbishop of Armagh. But since the death of Archbishop Maelbrigid in 927 the see of Armagh had been in the hands of a family of local chieftains who occupied its estate, usurped its revenues, handed on its title from father to son, and were bishops only in name.² The inferior members of the ecclesiastical body could not escape the evil which paralyzed their head. The bishops and priests of the Irish Church furnished a long roll of names to the catalogue of saints; but they contributed little or nothing to the political development of the nation, and scarcely more to its social development. The growth of a class of lay-impropriators ousted them from the management and the revenues of their church-lands, reduced them to subsist almost wholly upon the fees which they received for the performance of their spiritual functions, stripped them of all political influence,

¹ Four Masters, a. 1156 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1119).

² S. Bernard, *Vita S. Malach.*, c. 10 (Mabillon, vol. i. col. 667). Cf. Langan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 382.

and left them dependent solely upon their spiritual powers and their personal holiness for whatever share of social influence they might still contrive to retain.¹ The Irish Church, in fact, while stedfastly adhering in doctrinal matters to the rest of the Latin Church, had fallen far behind it in discipline; to the monastic reforms of the tenth century, to the struggle for clerical celibacy and for freedom of investiture in the eleventh, she had remained an utter stranger. The long-continued stress of the northern invasions had cut off the lonely island in the west from all intercourse with the world at large, so completely that even the tie which bound her to Rome had sunk into a mere vague tradition of spiritual loyalty, and Rome herself knew nothing of the actual condition of a Church which had once been her most illustrious daughter.

But it was the northmen, too, who were now to become the means of knitting up again the ties which had been severed by their fathers' swords. The state of things in Ireland, as reported to Canterbury from Dublin and Waterford, might well seem to reforming churchmen like Lanfranc and Anselm too grievous to be endured. Lanfranc had urged upon Terence O'Brien the removal of two of its worst scandals, the neglect of canonical restraints upon marriage and the existence of a crowd of titular bishops without fixed sees;² Anselm used all his influence with Murtoth O'Brien for the same end;³ at last, finding his efforts unavailing, he seems to have laid his complaints before the Pope. The result was that, for the first time, a papal legate was appointed for Ireland. The person chosen was Gilbert, who some two or three years before Anselm's death became the first bishop of the Ostmen of Limerick. Gilbert seems, like the first Donatus of Dublin, to have been himself an Irish prelate; he lost no time, however, in putting himself in com-

¹ On these lay impropiators, "comorbas" and "erenachs," see Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 79-86.

² Lanfranc, Ep. 44 (Giles, vol. i. p. 63).

³ Anselm, Epp. l. iii., Epp. cxlii., cxlvii. (Migne, *Patrol.*, vol. clix., cols. 173, 174, 178-180).

munication with Canterbury,¹ and displayed an almost exaggerated zeal for the Roman discipline and ritual.² In 1118 he presided over a synod held at Rathbreasil, where an attempt was made to map out the dioceses of Ireland on a definite plan.³ Little, however, could be done till the metropolitan see was delivered from the usurpers who had so long held it in bondage; and it was not until 1134 that the evil tradition was broken by the election of S. Malachi.

Malachi was the wisest and most enlightened as well as the most saintly Irish prelate of his time; he had already been labouring for nearly ten years at the reform of the diocese of Connor; in that of Armagh itself he had earlier still, as vicar to Archbishop Celsus, laid the foundations of a similar work which he now took up again as primate.⁴ After a successful pontificate of three years he again retired to the humbler position of a diocesan bishop at Down;⁵ but he still continued to watch over the interests of the whole Irish Church; and in 1139 he went to Rome specially to lay its necessities before the Pope, and if possible to obtain from him the gift of a pallium for the archbishop of Armagh, and another for the bishop of Cashel as metropolitan of southern Ireland.⁶ The pallium was now generally regarded as an indispensable note of metropolitanical rank, but it had never been possessed by the successors of S. Patrick.⁷ Innocent II. refused to grant it save at the request of the Irish clergy and people in council assembled; he sanctioned, however, the recognition of Cashel as metropolis of southern Ireland, and moreover he transferred to Malachi himself the legatine commission which Gilbert of Limerick had just resigned.⁸ Gilbert seems to have died shortly afterwards: his successor in the see of Limerick went to Theobald of

¹ On Gilbert's relations with Anselm see Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 23-26. ² *Ib.* pp. 26-29. ³ *Ib.* pp. 38, 40-43.

⁴ For S. Malachi see his *Life* by S. Bernard, and Lanigan, as above, pp. 59 *et seq.*

⁵ S. Bern., *Vita S. Malach.*, c. 14 (Mabillon, vol. i. cols. 671-672).

⁶ *Ib.* c. 15 (col. 672).

⁷ *Ibid.* Cf. Lanigan's note, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 110, 111.

⁸ S. Bern., *Vita S. Malach.*, c. 16 (as above, col. 674). Lanigan, as above, p. 112.

Canterbury for consecration ; but his profession of obedience was the last ever made by an Irish bishop to an English metropolitan.¹ In 1148 a synod held at Inispatrick by Archbishop Gelasius of Armagh, with Malachi as papal legate, decided upon sending Malachi himself to the Pope once more, charged with a formal request for the two palls, in the name of the whole Irish Church. Malachi died on the way, at Clairvaux ;² but he left his commission in safe hands. Nine years before, when on his first journey to Rome he had passed through the "bright valley," its abbot had recognized in him a kindred spirit.³ From that moment S. Bernard's care of all the churches extended itself even to the far-off Church of Ireland ; and if it was not he who actually forwarded his dying friend's petition to Eugene III., there can be little doubt that Eugene's favourable reception of it was chiefly owing to his influence. The result was the mission of John Paparo as special legate to Ireland. Stephen's refusal to let John pass through his dominions caused another year's delay ;⁴ but at the close of 1151 John made his way through Scotland safe to his destination.⁵ In March 1152 he held a synod at Kells, in which the diocesan and provincial system of the Irish Church was organized upon lines which remained unaltered till the sixteenth century. The episcopal sees were definitely fixed, and grouped under not two but four archbishoprics. The primacy of all Ireland, with metropolitical authority over Ulster and Meath, was assigned to Armagh ; Tuam became the metropolis of Connaught, Cashel of Munster ; while the rivalry of Armagh and Canterbury for the spiritual obedience of the Ostmen was settled by the grant of a fourth pallium, with metropolitical jurisdiction over the whole of Leinster, to Bishop Gregory of Dublin himself.⁶

¹ Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 114, 115, 116.

² S. Bern., *Vita S. Malach.*, cc. 30, 31 (Mabillon, vol. i. cols. 687-692). Lanigan, as above, pp. 129, 130.

³ S. Bern., *Vita S. Malach.*, c. 16 (as above, cols. 673, 674).

⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 380.

⁵ *Four Masters*, a. 1151 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1095).

⁶ On the synod of Kells see *Four Masters*, a. 1152 (as above, p. 1101) ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 212 ; and Lanigan, as above, pp. 139-151.

It is plain that Bernard and Eugene aimed at applying to Ireland's troubles the same remedy which they were at that very time applying to those of England. They hoped to build up an united nation and a strong national government on the basis of a free and united national Church. But the foundation-stone of their work for Ireland was scarcely laid at Kells when both the wise master-builders were called away. On the other hand, their labours for England were crowned by the accession of the young Angevin king, whose restless temper, before he had been nine months on his throne, was already seeking for another sphere of activity still further beyond the sea; overwhelming the newly-crowned, English-born Pope with suggestions of work and offers of co-operation in every quarter of Christendom,¹ and proposing to begin at once with the reduction of Ireland to political, ecclesiastical and social order after the pattern of England and Normandy.² Adrian IV. would have needed a wisdom and a foresight greater than those of S. Bernard himself to enable him to resist the attractions of such an offer. The so-called "Donation of Constantine"—a donation which is now known to be forged, but whose genuineness no one in Adrian's day had ever thought of doubting—vested the ultimate sovereignty of all islands in the Papacy.³ The best and greatest Popes, from S. Gregory down to Adrian himself, seem to have interpreted this as making them in a special way responsible for the welfare of such outlying portions of Christendom, and bound to leave no means untried for providing them with a secure and orderly Christian government.⁴ The action of Alexander II.

¹ Pet. Blois, Ep. clxviii. (Giles, vol. ii. pp. 116-118). See above, vol. i. p. 497.

² "Significasti siquidem nobis, fili in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria inde exstirpanda, velle intrare; et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare." Bull of Adrian IV. to Henry ("Laudabiliter"), in Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 5 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 317), etc.

³ "Nam omnes insulæ, de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere." Joh. Salisb. *Metalog.*, l. iv. c. 42 (Giles, vol. v. p. 206).

⁴ "Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere.

in sanctioning the Norman conquest of England was a logical outcome of this principle, applied, however unwisely or unjustly, to a particular case. But there was infinitely greater justification for applying the same principle, in the same manner, to the case of Ireland. Neither the labours of S. Malachi, nor the brief visit of John Paparo, nor the stringent decrees passed at the synod of Kells, could suffice to reform the inveterate evils of Ireland's ecclesiastical system, the yet more inveterate evils of her political system, or the intellectual and moral decay which was the unavoidable consequence of both. On the Pope, according to the view of the time, lay the responsibility of bringing order out of this chaos—a chaos of whose very existence he had but just become fully conscious, and which no doubt looked to him far more hopeless than it really was. In such circumstances Henry's proposal must have sounded to Adrian like an offer to relieve him of a great weight of care—to cut at one stroke a knot which he was powerless to untie—to clear a path for him through a jungle-growth of difficulties which he himself saw no way to penetrate or overcome. John of Salisbury set forth the plan at Rome, in Henry's name, in the summer of 1155; he carried back a bull which satisfied all Henry's demands. Adrian bade the king go forth to his conquest “for the enlargement of the Church's borders, for the restraint of vice, the correction of morals and the planting of virtue, the increase of the Christian religion, and whatsoever may tend to God's glory and the well-being of that land;”¹ and he sent with the bull a gold ring, adorned with an emerald of great price, as a symbol of investiture with the government of Ireland.²

Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et germen gratum Deo inserimus quanto id a nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum.” Bull “Laudabiliter,” Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 5 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 317).

¹ Bull “Laudabiliter,” Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 5 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 317, 318); R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 300, 301; Pet. Blois, Ep. ccxxxi. (Giles, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202); Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 19; etc. Its authenticity has been fiercely disputed, but is now admitted by all Irish scholars. See proofs in Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 165, 166, and O'Callaghan's edition of *Macaria Excidium* (Irish Archæol. Soc.), pp. 242, 245, where it is reprinted from Baronius's copy, found by him in the Vatican archives.

² Joh. Salisb. *Metalog.*, l. iv. c. 42 (Giles, vol. v. p. 206).

This strange crusade was postponed for the moment, as we have seen, in deference to objections made by the Empress Matilda.¹ Adrian's bull and ring were stored up in the English chancery, and there, long after Adrian was dead, they still lay,² unused and, as it seemed, forgotten amid an ever-increasing throng of more urgent cares and labours which even Henry found to be quite as much as he was capable of sustaining. At last, however, the course of political events in Ireland itself took a turn which led almost irresistibly to a revival of his long-forsaken project. Two years before Henry's accession Dermot Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, had made a raid upon the district of Breffny in Connaught, on the borders of Ulster and Meath, and carried off Dervorgil, the wife of its chieftain Tighernan O'Ruark.³ From that hour Tighernan's vengeance never slept. During the next fourteen years, while Murtoth O'Lochlainn was striving for the mastery first against the veteran Terence O'Conor and after Terence's death with his son Rory or Roderic, the swords of the men of Breffny were thrown alternately into either scale, as their chieftain saw a hope of securing the aid of either monarch to avenge him of his enemy.⁴

¹ Rob. Torigni, a. 1155. See above, vol. i. p. 431.

² Joh. Salisb. *Metalog.*, l. iv. c. 42 (Giles, vol. v. p. 206).

³ *Four Masters*, a. 1152 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1103). Cf. Gir. Cambr., *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 1 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 225, 226), and the elaborately romantic account in the Anglo-Norman Poem on the Conquest of Ireland, edited by M. Francisque Michel, pp. 2-6. The two last-named authorities represent this affair as the *immediate* cause of Dermot's overthrow, and of all the consequent troubles. Chronology shews this to be mere romance; yet, notwithstanding the criticisms of some modern writers, there still seems to be some ground for the earlier view which looked upon Dervorgil as a sort of Irish Helen. If we follow carefully the thread of the story in the *Four Masters* from 1153 to 1166 we can hardly avoid the conclusion that throughout those years the most important personage in Irish politics, the man whose action turned the scale in nearly all the ups and downs of fortune between Murtoth of Ulster and the kings of Connaught, was the border-chieftain whose position made him the most dangerous of foes and the most indispensable of allies—Tighernan O'Ruark; and we can hardly help seeing in Dermot's banishment the vengeance less of Roderic O'Conor himself than of a supporter whom Roderic could not afford to leave unsatisfied. On the other hand, it is perfectly true that the opportunity for executing that vengeance was given by the disaffection of Dermot's own subjects—and, as usual, more especially by the rising of the Ostmen of Dublin.

⁴ See *Four Masters*, a. 1153-1166 (as above, pp. 1107-1159).

In 1166 the crisis came. Murtoth drew upon himself the wrath of his people by blinding the king of Uladh, for whose safety he was pledged to the archbishop of Armagh; Ulster, Meath, Leinster and Dublin rose against him all at once; he was defeated and slain in a great battle at the Fews; the Ostmen of Dublin acknowledged Roderic as their king, and all the princes of southern Ireland followed their example. Dermot's submission, however, was in vain; the first act of the new monarch was to banish him from the realm.¹ The Leinstermen forsook him at once, for their loyalty had long been alienated by his harsh government and evil deeds.² Left alone to the justice of Roderic and the vengeance of O'Ruarck, he fled to Cork and thence took ship to Bristol. Here he found shelter for a while in the priory of S. Augustine, under the protection of its founder Robert Fitz-Harding;³ at the close of the year he made his way to Normandy, and thence, with some difficulty, tracked Henry's restless movements into the depths of Aquitaine,⁴ where he at last laid his appeal for succour at the feet of the English king.

At the crisis of his struggles with Thomas of Canterbury, with Louis of France and with the rebel barons of Poitou, all that Henry could do was to accept Dermot's offer of

¹ Four Masters, a. 1166 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1159-1163).

² Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 1 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 225, 226). For specimens of his misdeeds see Four Masters, a. 1141 (as above, p. 1065), and Ann. Clonmacnoise, a. 1135 (*ib.* p. 1051, note *f*).

³ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 12.

⁴ "In remotis et transmarinis Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus." Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 227). Henry was in Aquitaine from December 1166 till May 1167; see Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 103-106. The chase which he characteristically led the Irish king is amusingly described in the Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 13:

" Bien est, seignurs, ke jo vus die
 Cum Dermod va par Normandie ;
 Li rei Henri va dunc quere,
 A munt, à val, avant, arere ;
 Tant ad mandé et enquis
 Que trové ad li rei Henris,
 A une cité l'ad trové,
 Que seignur esteit clamé."

On the last line the editor (notes, p. 168) remarks: "*Seignur* (seign, MS.)? Is it not: of which he was called lord?" One feels tempted to suggest that it might be meant for the name of the place; but if so, what can it be? Saintes?

homage and fealty,¹ promise to send him help as soon as possible,² and furnish him with a letter authorizing any loyal English, Norman, Welsh, Scottish or Angevin subjects who might be so disposed to join the standard of the Irish prince, as of a faithful vassal of their sovereign.³ Another stay of some weeks in Bristol⁴ convinced Dermot that his best chance of aid lay beyond the Severn. Wales was still in the main a Celtic land, ruled in primeval Celtic fashion by native princes under little more than nominal subjection to the king of England. The Norman conquest of Wales, so far as Wales could be said to have been conquered at all, had been effected not by the royal power but by the daring and prowess of individual adventurers who did, indeed, seek the royal sanction for their tenure of the lands which they had won, but who were scarcely more amenable to the royal authority than their Welsh neighbours, with whom they not unfrequently made common cause against it. It was Robert of Bellême's connexion with Wales, through his border-earldom of Shrewsbury and his brother's lordship of Pembroke, which had made him so formidable to Henry I.; it was Robert of Gloucester's tenure of the great Welsh lordship of Glamorgan, even more than his English honours, which had enabled him to act as an independent potentate against Stephen. Another border-chieftain who played some part in the civil war was Gilbert de Clare, whose father had received a grant of Cardigan from Henry I. in 1107,⁵ and upon whom Stephen in 1138 conferred the title of earl of Pembroke.⁶ His son Richard appears under the same title among the witnesses to Stephen's proclamation of the treaty of Wallingford in 1153;⁷ the writers of the time, however,

¹ *Gir. Cambr. Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 1 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 227). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 15. ² Anglo-Norm. Poem, as above.

³ *Gir. Cambr.* as above (pp. 227, 228).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 2 (p. 228). He was at Bristol "quinzein u un meins"; Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 16. ⁵ *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1107 (Williams, p. 105).

⁶ *Ord. Vit.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*), p. 917.

⁷ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 18. Richard de Clare became known to later generations by the nickname of "Strongbow." Its use is convenient, as helping to avoid confusion with the other Richards of the period; but it seems to have no contemporary authority. See Mr. Dimock's note, *Gir. Cambr.*, vol. v. p. 228, note 4.

usually describe him as earl of Striguil, a fortress which seems to have occupied the site whence the ruins of Chepstow castle now look down upon the Wye. His earldom of Pembroke, indeed, as one of Stephen's fictitious creations, must have been forfeited on Henry's accession; but the lord of Striguil was still a mighty man on the South-Welsh border when in the spring of 1167 he promised to bring all the forces which he could muster to aid in restoring Dermot, who in return offered him his daughter's hand, together with the succession to his kingdom.¹ A promise of the town of Wexford and its adjoining territory won a like assurance of aid from two half-brothers in whose veins the blood of Norman adventurers was mingled with the ancient royal blood of South-Wales: Maurice Fitz-Gerald, a son of Gerald constable of Pembroke by his marriage with Nest, aunt of the reigning prince Rees Ap-Griffith, and Robert Fitz-Stephen, son of the same Nest by her second husband, Stephen constable of Cardigan.² Another Pembrokeshire knight, Richard Fitz-Godoberd, volunteered to accompany Dermot at once with a little band of Norman-Welsh followers.³ With these Dermot returned to Ireland in August 1167;⁴ he was defeated in a pitched battle with Roderic O'Connor and Tighernan O'Ruark;⁵ but in his own

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 2 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 228). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 17.

² Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 229). The circumstances of Fitz-Stephen's enlistment illustrate the condition of South-Wales at this time. He had been cast into prison three years before by his cousin Rees, and at the moment of Dermot's arrival had just been released on condition of joining Rees in an attack upon England. His Norman blood, however, was loyal enough to revolt against the fulfilment of the condition; and Rees, who had warmly espoused Dermot's interest, was persuaded to allow its exchange for service in Ireland. *Ibid.*; cf. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 19, 20. For pedigree of Nest's descendants see Mr. Dimock's edition of *Gir. Cambr. Opp.*, vol. v. App. B. to pref., pp. c, ci.

³ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 21.

⁴ About August 1, according to Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 2 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 229).

⁵ Four Masters, a. 1167 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 1165-1167). Among the slain they mention "the son of the king of Britain, who was the battle-prop of the island of Britain, who had come across the sea in the army of Mac Murchadha." This can only mean a son or brother of Rees; but neither Gerald nor the Welsh chronicles make any mention of such a person in Ireland.

hereditary principality of Kinsellagh¹ he was safe; there throughout the winter he lay hid at Ferns,² and thence, when spring returned, he sent his bard Maurice Regan to claim from his Welsh allies the fulfilment of their promises.³

In the first days of May⁴ Robert Fitz-Stephen landed at Bannow, between Wexford and Waterford, with thirty picked knights of his own immediate following, and a body of auxiliaries to the number of sixty men-at-arms and three hundred archers.⁵ With him came three of his nephews, Meiler Fitz-Henry, Miles Fitz-David⁶ and Robert de Barri;⁷ and also a ruined knight called Hervey of Mountmorris, uncle of Richard de Clare.⁸ Next day an independent ad-

¹ The modern county of Wexford, or rather the diocese of Ferns. The Four Masters (as above, p. 1165) say that Dermot "returned from England with a force of Galls, and he took the kingdom of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh."

² Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 2 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 230).

³ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 21.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 3 (as above). All the later Irish historians, as well as Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Dimock (*ib.* margin) date the arrival of Fitz-Stephen in May 1169. The reason apparently is that, as far as Dermot and his English auxiliaries are concerned, the year 1168 is a blank in the Four Masters, while under 1169 they say: "The fleet of the Flemings came from England in the army of Mac Murchadha, *i.e.* Diarmaid, to contest the kingdom of Leinster for him; they were seventy heroes clad in coats of mail." But seeing that in the following year, 1170, they for the first time mention Robert Fitz-Stephen, and represent him as coming over with Richard of Striguil (O'Donovan, vol. ii. pp. 1173-1175), it is by no means evident that the foregoing entry has any reference to him. It may just as well apply to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who certainly followed him after an interval of some months at least. Gerald (as above, c. 2, p. 229) says that Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald both promised, in the summer of 1167, to join Dermot "cum zephyris et hirundine primâ." Maurice undoubtedly made a long delay; but there is not a word to shew that Robert did otherwise than fulfil his engagement to the letter. Nay, Gerald pointedly introduces him (*ib.* c. 3, p. 230) as "nec promissionis immemor nec fidei contemptor." He also tells us (c. 2, *ibid.*) that Dermot had *wintered* at Ferns. Why then are we to assume that by "wintered" he means "wintered, summered, and wintered again"? What could Dermot possibly have been doing there for more than twenty months?

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 3 (p. 230). For account of Fitz-Stephen himself see *ib.* c. 26 (pp. 271, 272).

⁶ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 22. On Meiler see Gir. Cambr. as above, l. ii. c. 9 (pp. 324, 325); and for pedigree, Mr. Dimock's App. B. to pref. (*ib.* pp. c., ci.).

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above, l. i. c. 3 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 232). Cf. App. B. to pref., *ib.* p. c.

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above, l. i. c. 3 (p. 230). See also l. ii. c. 11 (pp. 327, 328).

venturer, Maurice de Prendergast, arrived from Milford with ten more knights and a band of archers.¹ Dermot himself came to meet them with some five hundred Irishmen. The united force marched upon Wexford, and took it in two days;² they then established their head-quarters at Ferns,³ and thence made an expedition into Ossory, whose chieftain was specially hostile to Dermot. In spite of overwhelming odds, through all the difficulties of an unknown country full of woods and marshes, and traps laid against them by their skilful foes, the Norman-Welsh knights and archers made their way into the heart of Ossory; and a great battle ended in the rout of the Irish and the bringing of two hundred heads to Dermot's feet in his camp on the banks of the Barrow.⁴ A successful raid upon Offaly was followed by one upon Glendalough, and a third upon Ossory again,⁵ till in the following year the state of affairs in Leinster had become threatening enough to drive all the Irish princes and the Ostmen of Dublin into a confederacy under Roderic O'Connor for the expulsion of the intruders.⁶ Dermot pledged himself to acknowledge Roderic as monarch of Ireland, and was in his turn acknowledged by Roderic as king of Leinster on condition that he should dismiss his foreign allies.⁷ The agreement was however scarcely made when Maurice Fitz-Gerald landed at Wexford with some hundred and forty men;⁸ these at once joined Dermot in an expedition against Dublin, and harried the surrounding country till the citizens were reduced to promise obedience.⁹ Early in the next year Dermot's son-in-law Donell

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 3 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 232).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 232, 233). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 24, 25.

³ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 25, 26.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 4 (p. 234). Cf. the long account in Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 27-33. ⁵ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 42-51.

⁶ Roderic, in 1169, met the northern chieftains at Tara, thence marched to Dublin, and afterwards proceeded into Leinster; and Tighernan O'Ruark, Dermot king of Meath, and the Ostmen of Dublin "went to meet the men of Munster, Leinster and Osraigh" [Ossory], "and they set nothing by the Flemings." *Four Masters*, a. 1169 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1173).

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 10 (p. 244).

⁸ Ten knights, thirty "arcarii" or mounted archers, and about a hundred "sagittarii pedestres." *Ib.* c. 11 (pp. 244, 245). ⁹ *Ibid.* (p. 245).

O'Brien, king of Limerick or Northern Munster, succeeded by the help of Robert Fitz-Stephen in throwing off the authority of Roderick O'Conor.¹ Encouraged by these successes, Dermot now began to aspire in his turn to the monarchy of all Ireland;² but his auxiliaries were numerically insufficient; and the one from whom he had expected most had as yet failed to appear at all.

The history of Richard of Striguil is far from clear. From the number of troops which eventually accompanied him to Ireland it is evident that he had been during these two years actively preparing for his expedition; and it may even be that the extent of his preparations had drawn upon him the suspicions of King Henry. We only know that, for some cause or other, he was now a ruined man; his lands were forfeited to the Crown;³ and he seems to have lingered on, absorbed in a desperate effort to regain Henry's favour, and clinging to his lost home with a feeling that if he once turned his back upon it, he would never be allowed to see it again. A letter from Dermot, telling of the successes of his party in Leinster and renewing his former offers, forced him into action.⁴ He made a last appeal to the king, intreating either for restoration of his lands or for the royal license to go and repair his fortunes elsewhere. Henry ironically bade him go, and he went.⁵ On S. Bartholomew's eve, 1170, he landed at Waterford with twelve

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 11 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 245). The date, 1170, comes from the Four Masters (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1175), who however do not mention Fitz-Stephen's share in the matter.

² Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 12 (p. 246).

³ The cause of Richard's disgrace seems to be nowhere stated, except by William of Newburgh. He has (l. ii. c. 26; Howlett, vol. i. pp. 167, 168), as usual, an independent version of the whole affair. According to him, Richard's chief motive for going to Ireland was to escape from his creditors, he being deep in debt; he went in defiance of an express prohibition from Henry, and it was on hearing of his victories—*i.e.* some time in the latter part of 1170—that Henry confiscated his estates. Dugdale (*Baronage*, vol. i. p. 208) gives 1170 as the date of the forfeiture, on the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian library. But this is irreconcilable with the very circumstantial story of Gerald. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 234, dates the forfeiture three years before Henry's visit to Ireland, *i.e.* 1168.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 12 (as above, pp. 246, 247).

⁵ *Ib.* cc. 12, 13 (pp. 247, 248). Cf. Gerv. Cant. as above.

hundred men;¹ next day he was joined by Raymond "the Fat," a young warrior whom he had sent over three months before² with ten knights and seventy archers, and who with this small force had contrived to beat back an assault of three thousand Irishmen of Decies and Ostmen of Waterford upon his camp of wattle and thatch, hastily thrown up on the rocky promontory of Dundonulf.³ On August 25 Richard and Raymond attacked Waterford; three assaults in one day carried both town and citadel;⁴ seven hundred citizens were slaughtered,⁵ and the officers of the fortress, whose names tell of northern blood, were made prisoners.⁶ A few days later Richard was married at Waterford to Dermot's daughter Eva.⁷ He then joined his father-in-law in a circuitous march across the hills and through Glendalough,⁸ whereby they avoided a great host which Roderic had gathered at Clondalkin to intercept them, and arrived in safety on S. Matthew's day beneath the walls of Dublin.⁹ Dermot sent his bard to demand

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 16 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 254). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 72. The latter gives the number of troops as fifteen hundred; Gerald makes them two hundred knights and a thousand foot-men.

² So says Gerald, as above, c. 13 (p. 248); but Mr. Dimock (*ib.* note 2) thinks this too early.

³ *Ibid.* (pp. 248, 249). There is however a less heroic version of this affair in the Anglo-Norman Poem (Michel), pp. 68-70. We are there told that Raymond and his men had provided themselves with food by "lifting" all the cattle in the neighbourhood and penning them within the camp. At the sound of arms these creatures rushed out in a wild stampede, and it was this which put the assailants to flight. On the site of Dundonulf see Mr. Dimock's *Glossary* to Gir. Cambr., vol. v. p. 421.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 16 (*ib.* pp. 254, 255).

⁵ Four Masters, a. 1170 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1177).

⁶ Ragnald and "the two Sihtrics"; Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 255). The Four Masters (as above) give to the commandant of the citadel—which Gerald calls "Ragnald's tower"—the name of Gillemaire. In the Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 72, we read that "les plus poanz de la cité" were Regenald and "Smorch."

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 73. Four Masters, a. 1170 (as above).

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 17 (p. 256).

⁹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 75-78. Cf. Gir. Cambr. and Four Masters as above. The latter say that "there was a challenge of battle between them" (*i.e.* between Roderic and the foreigners) "for three days, until lightning burned Ath-Cliath" [Dublin].

the instant surrender of the town, with thirty hostages for its fidelity. A dispute arose, probably between the Irish and Danish inhabitants, as to the selection of the hostages;¹ Archbishop Laurence was endeavouring to compose the difficulty,² and Hasculf Thorgils' son, a chieftain of northern blood who commanded the citadel, had actually promised to surrender it on the morrow,³ when a sudden attack made by Raymond the Fat on one side and by a knight called Miles Cogan on the other carried the town before the leaders of either party knew what had happened.⁴ A second rush won the citadel; Hasculf escaped by sea and took refuge in the Orkneys;⁵ Dublin was sacked,⁶ and left throughout the winter under the command of Miles Cogan,⁷ while Richard of Striguil was guarding Waterford against the men of Munster,⁸ and Dermot, from his old head-quarters at Ferns,⁹ was making raid after raid upon Meath and Breffny.¹⁰

In vain did the Irish clergy meet in synod at Armagh and strive to avert the wrath which seemed to have been revealed against their country by a solemn decree for the liberation of the English slaves with whom, even yet, the houses of the Irish chieftains were filled.¹¹ One sentence from an Irish record of the next year may serve to illustrate the condition of the country: "Seven predatory excursions

¹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 79, 80.

² Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 17 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 256).

³ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 80. He is there called "Hesculf"; in p. 79, "Mac Turkil Esculf." In the *Four Masters*, a. 1170 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1177), he is "Asgall, son of Raghnaill, son of Turcaill." Gir. Cambr. (as above) calls him simply "Hasculphus."

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 256, 257). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 80, 81.

⁵ *Four Masters*, as above. Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 257).

⁶ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 81, 82.

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 82.

⁸ "A victory was gained by the son of Cormac, grandson of Carthach, and the people of Desmond, over the knights who were left to defend Port Lairge" [*i.e.* Waterford]. *Four Masters*, as above. Earl Richard returned thither early in October; Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 82.

⁹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 83.

¹⁰ *Four Masters*, a. 1170 (as above, pp. 1177, 1179).

¹¹ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 18 (p. 258).

were made by the Ui-Maine into Ormond from Palm Sunday till Low Sunday."¹ It made but little difference when at Whitsuntide Dermot, "by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland," died at Ferns "of an insufferable and unknown disease—without a will, without penance, without the Body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved."² At that very moment a wiking fleet gathered from all the lands where the old sea-rovers' life still lingered—Norway, the Hebrides, Orkney, Man—appeared in Dublin bay under the command of Hasculf, the exiled leader of the Ostmen, and of a northern chief whose desperate valour won him the title of "John the Furious"—in the English speech of that day, John the Wode.³ Something of the spirit of the old northern sagas breathes again in the story of this, the last wiking-fight ever fought upon the soil of the British isles. Bard and historian alike tell of the mighty strokes dealt by the battle-axes of John and his comrades,⁴ and how they had almost hewed their way into Dublin once more, when a well-timed sally of the besieged caught them at unawares in the rear;⁵—how an Irish chief named Gillamochmog, whom Miles Cogan had posted on a neighbouring hill, chivalrously bidding him watch the course of the battle and join the winning side, rushed down with his followers at the critical moment and helped to complete the rout of the Ostmen;⁶—how John the Wode fell by the hand of Miles Cogan;⁷—how Hasculf was taken prisoner by Miles's brother Richard and brought back to be reserved for ransom, and how his hot wiking-blood spoke in words of

¹ Four Masters, a. 1171 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1185). The Ui-Maine were a tribe in south-eastern Connaught.

² *Ibid.* (p. 1183). Cf. Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1171 (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 145). The date, "circa Kalendas Maie," is given by Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 20 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 263).

³ "Duce Johanne agnomine the Wode," Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 21 (p. 264). "Johan le Devé," Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 108. It is there added that, "solum les Yrreis," he was a nephew of the king of "Norwiche," *i.e.* Norway. The Four Masters, a. 1171 (as above, p. 1185) describe him as "Eoan, a Dane from the Orkney Islands."

⁴ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 116. Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁵ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 111-114. Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁶ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 109-111, 115. ⁷ *Ib.* p. 117.

defiance which goaded his captors to strike off his head.¹ Fifteen hundred northmen fell upon the field ; five hundred more were drowned in trying to regain their ships.² From the shores of Ireland, as from those of England, the last northern fleet was driven away by Norman swords.

The garrison of Dublin fought in truth even more desperately than their assailants ; for they were fighting for their all. A remonstrance addressed by some of the Irish princes to the king of England against the aggressions of his subjects³ can hardly have been needed to open Henry's eyes to the danger gathering for him and his realm beyond the western sea. This little band of adventurers, almost all bound together by the closest ties of kindred,⁴ were conquering Leinster neither for its native sovereign nor for their own, but were setting up a new feudal state independent of all royal control, under the leadership of a disgraced English baron. Such a state, if suffered to grow unhindered, would soon be far more dangerous to England than to Ireland, for it would be certain to play in every struggle of the feudal principle against the royal authority in England the part which the Ostmen had played of old in the struggles of the Danelaw. At the beginning of the year 1171 therefore Henry issued an edict prohibiting all further intermeddling

¹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 117, 118. (On his captor cf. *ib.* p. 111). Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 21 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 264, 265).

² Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 116, 118. The date of this siege is given by Gir. Cambr. (as above, p. 263) as "eâdem fere tempestate" (*i.e.* about the time of Dermot's death), "circa Pentecosten." This would be at the beginning of May. In the Poem it comes much later in the year. There seems however no reason to upset Gerald's arrangement of events. See Mr. Dimock's remarks, Gir. Cambr. as above, note 2.

³ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

⁴ The close kindred of these Norman-Welsh settlers in Ireland is a very remarkable feature of their settlement. Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald were half-brothers (Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 2, p. 229); the two Fitz-Henrys, Raymond the Fat, Miles Fitz-David and Robert de Barri were their nephews (*ib.* cc. 4, 13, and l. ii. c. 10, pp. 234, 248, 335); Richard of Striguil was nephew to Hervey of Mountmorris (*ib.* l. i. c. 3, p. 230), who afterwards married a daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, while Maurice's eldest son married Richard's daughter Alina (*ib.* l. ii. c. 4, p. 314); another daughter of Richard married his constable Robert de Quincy (Anglo-Norm. Poem, Michel, p. 130); and his sister Basilea became the wife of Raymond the Fat (*ib.* p. 145, and Gir. Cambr. as above, l. ii. c. 3, pp. 312, 313).

of his subjects in Ireland, and bidding those who were already there either return before Easter or consider themselves banished for life.¹ Not a man went back; Richard of Striguil sent Raymond over to Normandy with a written protest to the king, pleading that his conquests had been undertaken with the royal sanction and that he was ready to place them at the king's disposal;² but the "Geraldines," as the kindred of Maurice Fitz-Gerald called themselves, seem to have at once accepted their sentence of exile and resolved to hold by their swords alone the lands which those swords had won.³

The hostility of the Ostmen had apparently ended with Hasculf's defeat; thenceforth they seem to have made common cause with the new-comers in whom they were perhaps already beginning to recognize the stirrings of kindred blood. But, on the other hand, the position of Earl Richard and his comrades had been seriously weakened by Dermot's death. The king of Leinster's devise of his kingdom to his son-in-law was, like the grants which he had made to the Geraldines and like his own homage to King Henry, void in Irish law. In Irish eyes his death removed the last shadow of excuse for the presence of the strangers on Irish soil; their allies rapidly fell away;⁴ and by mid-summer the whole country rose against them as one man. Roderic O'Connor mustered the forces of the north; Archbishop Laurence of Dublin, whose family occupied an influential position in Leinster, called up the tribes of the south; while a squadron of thirty ships was hired from Jarl Godred of Man.⁵ The aim of the expedition was to

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 19 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 259).

² *Ibid.* Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 235. Raymond was back again in time to share in the defence of Dublin against Roderic O'Connor—*i.e.* by the end of May or beginning of June. Gerald says he had to seek the king in "Aquitanic Gaul," but this time the phrase cannot be taken literally. Eyton's *Itinerary* shews plainly that throughout 1171 Henry never was further south than the Norman, or, at the utmost, the Breton border.

³ This seems to be the key-note of a speech which Gerald puts into Maurice's mouth; *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 23 (as above, pp. 266, 267).

⁴ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 83.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, cc. 22, 24 (pp. 265, 266, 269). This is the archbishop afterwards canonized as S. Laurence O'Toole.

blockade Dublin, whither Earl Richard had now returned, and where almost all the leaders of the invasion, except Robert Fitz-Stephen and Hervey of Mountmorris, were now gathered together. The whole Irish land-force amounted to sixty thousand men; half of these were under the immediate command of Roderic, encamped at Castle-Knock;¹ Mac-Dunlevy, the chieftain of Uladh, planted his banner on the old battle-field of Clontarf;² Donell O'Brien, the king of North Munster, posted himself at Kilmainham; and Murtoth Mac-Murrough, a brother of Dermot, whom Roderic had set up as king of Leinster in 1167, took up his position at Dalkey.³ To these were added, for the northern division, the men of Breffny and of East Meath under Tighernan O'Ruark, those of Oiriel or southern Ulster under Murtoth O'Carroll,⁴ and those of West Meath under Murtoth O'Melaghlin; while the archbishop's call had brought up the whole strength of Leinster except the men of Wexford and Kinsellagh;⁵ and even these, as the sequel proved, were preparing to fight the same battle on other ground.

For nearly two months⁶ the English knights were thus blockaded in Dublin. Their sole hope of relief was in Robert Fitz-Stephen, who had been left in command at Wexford. They were all but starving when Donell Kavanagh, a half-brother of Eva Mac-Murrough and a devoted adherent of her husband, slipped into the city with tidings that Wexford had risen; Robert Fitz-Stephen was blockaded in the little fort of Carrick by the townsfolk and the men of Kinsellagh, to the number of three thousand; unless he could be succoured within three days, all would be over with him and his men.⁷ Earl Richard at once called

¹ Cf. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 84, with Gerald's reckoning of Roderic's own forces at thirty thousand. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 24 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 268).

² "A Clontarf ficha sa banere." Anglo-Norm. Poem, as above. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Four Masters, a. 1171 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1185). Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 24 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 269).

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁶ *Ib.* c. 22 (p. 266). This would bring the beginning of the siege to Midsummer at latest, for it was certainly over by the middle of August. The Four Masters (as above) make it last only a fortnight.

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above. The Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 85, 86, gives a very hasty and confused sketch of this Wexford affair.

a council of war. It comprised nearly all the leaders of the English and Welsh forces in Ireland:—Richard of Striguil himself; Maurice Fitz-Gerald with three of his gallant nephews, Meiler Fitz-Henry, Miles Fitz-David and Raymond the Fat; Miles Cogan, the captor of Dublin and its chief defender in the recent siege; Maurice de Prendergast,¹ who two years before had thrown up the adventure and gone home in disgust at the faithlessness of his allies,² but had returned, it seems, in Earl Richard's train, and was yet to leave, alone of all the invading band, an honoured memory among the Irish people;³ and some fourteen others.⁴ They decided upon sending Maurice de Prendergast and Archbishop Laurence to Roderic with an offer of surrender on condition that Richard of Striguil should hold the kingdom of Leinster under Roderic as overlord. Roderic rejected the proposal with scorn; the knights might hold what the earlier pirates had held—Dublin, Waterford and Wexford; not another rood of Irish land should be granted to the earl and his company; and if they refused these terms, Dublin should be stormed on the morrow.⁵ That afternoon the little garrison—scarce six hundred in all⁶—sallied forth and surprized Roderic's camp while he and his men were bathing; Roderic himself escaped with great difficulty; fifteen hundred Irishmen were slain, many of them perishing in the water;

¹ Earl Richard, Meiler, the two Mileses and Maurice Prendergast are mentioned in the Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 86, 87. Raymond is named by Gerald, *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 22 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 266), as "a curiâ jam reversus"; his presence also appears later in the Poem. Gerald alone mentions the presence of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, whom the Poem never names throughout the siege; while Gerald never names Maurice de Prendergast. Is it possible that he has transferred to his own uncle the exploits of his namesake? But if so, where can Fitz-Gerald have been?

² Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 51-67.

³ *Ib.* pp. 97-103.

⁴ The Poem (as above), p. 87, reckons them at twenty in all, and names four besides those already mentioned, viz., Robert de Quincy, Walter de Riddlesford, Richard de Marreis and Walter Bluet.

⁵ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 87-90.

⁶ The Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 90, 91, describes the force as composed of three divisions, each consisting of forty knights, sixty archers and a hundred "serjanz." Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 24 (p. 268), makes the three bands of knights contain respectively twenty, thirty and forty, each accompanied by as many archers and citizens as could be spared from guarding the walls.

while at sunset the victors returned, after a long pursuit, with scarcely a man missing, and laden with provisions enough to supply all Dublin for a year.¹ The rest of the besieging army dispersed at once, and the very next morning Earl Richard was free to set out for the relief of Robert Fitz-Stephen.²

He was however already too late. Three thousand men of Wexford and Kinsellagh, finding that they could make no impression by fair means upon Robert Fitz-Stephen shut up in the fort of Carrick with five knights and a handful of archers, at length had recourse to fraud. Two bishops and some monks were made to stand under the walls of the fort and swear upon relics brought for the purpose that Dublin was taken, the earl and his comrades slain, and Roderic on the march to Wexford at the head of his victorious host. On a promise of liberty to escape to Wales³ Robert in his despair surrendered, only to see his little band of humbler followers slaughtered to a man, and himself and his five knights cast into chains. The men of Wexford then fired their town and took refuge with their captives on the neighbouring island of Beg-Erin,⁴ whence they sent word to Richard of Striguil that if he dared to approach them he should immediately receive the heads of his six friends.⁵ Notwithstanding this disaster at Wexford, and the failure of a plot to entrap the chief of Ossory—a well-deserved failure, due to the loyalty of Maurice de Prendergast⁶—the invaders were rapidly gaining ground. The king of North Munster, who was married to Eva's sister, again forsook Roderic and made alliance with his English brother-in-law;⁷ an attempt made by Tighernan O'Ruark to renew the siege of Dublin ended in failure;⁸ and at last Murtogh of Kinsellagh

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 24 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 268, 269). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 90-94. Cf. the brief account in *Four Masters*, a. 1171 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1185).

² Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 269, 270). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 95.

³ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 25 (pp. 270, 271).

⁴ *Ibid.* (p. 271). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 85, 97.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 28 (p. 273).

⁶ See the story in Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 97-103.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 97, 98.

⁸ *Four Masters*, a. 1171 (as above, pp. 1185-1187). Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 29 (p. 274).

was reduced to make a surrender of his principality into Richard's hands and accept a re-grant of it from him as overlord, while Donell Kavanagh was invested on like terms with the remaining portion of Leinster.¹

The earl's triumphs, however, met with an abrupt check from over sea. His uncle Hervey of Mountmorris, who had gone to plead his cause with the king after the failure of Raymond's mission, returned to Waterford² with tidings that Henry himself was on his way to Ireland and required the self-styled earl of Leinster to go and speak with him without delay. Richard hurried over to Wales,³ met Henry on the border,⁴ and was forgiven on condition that he should surrender Dublin and the other coast towns absolutely into the king's hands and do him homage and fealty for the rest of Leinster;⁵ he then accompanied Henry into Pembrokeshire;⁶ where the royal fleet was assembling in Milford Haven. It consisted of four hundred ships,⁷ carrying a force of about four thousand men, of whom some five hundred were knights and the rest archers, mounted and unmounted.⁸ The king

¹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 103.

² Gir. Camb. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 28 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 273). Hervey must have gone before Midsummer; he was clearly not in Dublin during the second siege, and returned shortly after its conclusion.

³ *Ibid.* Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 105, 106.

⁴ At Newnham in Gloucestershire, according to Gerald (as above). The Anglo-Norm. Poem (p. 106), however, says they met at Pembroke. This would make a difference of at least ten days in the date. From the account of Henry's movements in the *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1171 (William, pp. 211-213), it seems that he crossed the border about September 8 and reached Pembroke on September 20.

⁵ Gir. Camb. as above. Cf. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 26 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 168, 169).

⁶ *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1171 (Williams, p. 215).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 25; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 29; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 235. The Four Masters, a. 1171 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1187), and Ann. Loch. Cé, a. 1171 (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 145), give the number as two hundred and forty.

⁸ Gerald (*Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 30, Dimock, vol. v. p. 275) reckons five hundred knights, with "arcariis [scilicet] satellitibus equestribus] quoque et sagittariis multis." The Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 123, makes the knights four hundred, and a few lines later sums up the whole force as "quatre mil Engleis." Mr. W. Lynch (*View of Legal Inst. in Ireland under Hen. II.*, p. 2) argues from the payments for arms, provisions, shipping, etc. recorded in the Pipe-Rolls for 1171, that the army must have numerically "far exceeded the force described in our printed historians." He gives a few details of these payments, extracted from

embarked on the evening of Saturday, October 16, and landed next day at Croch, eight miles from Waterford.¹ On the morrow, S. Luke's day, he entered the town of Waterford;² there he was met by his seneschal William Fitz-Aldhelm, his constable Humfrey de Bohun, Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and some other officers of his household whom he had sent over to prepare for his coming.³ The Irish of the district and the Ostmen of the town, in the person of their chieftain Ragnald, made submission to him as their sovereign;⁴ while Richard of Striguil formally surrendered the place into the king's hands and did homage to him for the earldom of Leinster.⁵ The men of Wexford now, according to an agreement which they had made with Henry while he was waiting for a wind at Pembroke,⁶ brought their captive Robert Fitz-Stephen to his sovereign's feet, to be by him dealt with as a rebel and a traitor. Henry loaded him with reproaches and imprisoned him afresh, but his anger was more assumed than real, and the captive was

the Pipe-Roll in question (17 Hen. II., a. 1171); some more, from this and the next year's roll, may be seen in Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 161, 163. The host was no doubt composed almost wholly of English tenants-in-chivalry; but whatever may have been its numbers, there was a large proportion of these tenants who had nothing to do with it except by paying its expenses next year with a great scutage. See in Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 629-632, the extracts from Pipe Roll 18 Hen. II. "de scutagio militum qui nec abierunt in Hyberniam nec denarios" (in some cases "nec milites nec denarios") "illuc miserunt."

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 25; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 29. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 348, makes October 16 the day of Henry's arrival in Ireland; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 235, makes it "about S. Calixtus's day" (October 16 would be two days after). Gerald, *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 30 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 275) makes him reach Waterford "circa kalendas Novembris, die videlicet S. Lucæ." The Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel, p. 123) turns this into "à la Tusseinz"; the Four Masters, a. 1171 (O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1187) record his coming without any date at all; and the *Brut y Tywys.* a. 1171 (Williams, p. 217), absurdly says he sailed on Sunday, November 16. The Anglo-Norman poet seems to have taken Croch—"à la Croiz" as he calls it—for the place of embarkation.

² *Gesta Hen.*, Rog. Howden and Gir. Cambr. as above.

³ *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden, as above. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 124.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 30.

⁵ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 124.

⁶ See the curious story of their envoy's arrival and reception at Pembroke, *ib.* pp. 119-123.

soon released.¹ The submission of the English adventurers was followed by that of the Irish princes. Dermot MacCarthy, king of Cork or South Munster, was the first of them who came to Henry's feet at Waterford, swore him fealty, gave hostages and promised tribute.² On November 1³ Henry advanced to Lismore, and thence, two days later, to Cashel, where at the passage of the Suir he was met by the king of Limerick or of Northern Munster, Donell O'Brien, with offers of tribute and obedience. The lesser chieftains of southern Ireland followed the example of the two kings; in three weeks from his arrival all Munster was at his feet, and its coast-towns, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick and Cork, were all in the custody of his own officers.⁴ At Martinmas he reached Dublin;⁵ before Christmas he received hostages from all the princes of Leinster and Meath, from Tighernan O'Ruark of Breffny, from O'Carroll of Oiriel, and from the king of Uladh or eastern Ulster;⁶ his new vassals built him

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. cc. 31, 32 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 276, 277, 278). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 125, 126.

² Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 31 (p. 277).

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 30, says he stayed at Waterford fifteen days.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above, cc. 31, 32 (pp. 277, 278). He adds that Henry returned to Waterford, where he released Robert Fitz-Stephen, and thence proceeded to Dublin. The Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 126, 127, places this progress through Cashel and Lismore in inverse order, after Henry's first visit to Dublin, and says nothing of a second visit to Waterford. Its account is however much less circumstantial than Gerald's. The *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden only name two places where Henry stayed—Waterford and Dublin; and as they both say he reached the latter at Martinmas, while Roger says he left Waterford when he had been there a fortnight (i.e. on November 1), Gerald's story fills up the interval very well.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 28. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 32.

⁶ Gerald (as above, c. 33, p. 278) enumerates the princes who submitted at Dublin as follows: "Machelanus Ophelan [O'Phelan], Machtalewi, Otnetheli [O'Toole], Gillemobolmoch [Gillamocholmog of Fingal by Dublin—see above, p. 106], Ocathesi [O'Casey], Ocaruel Urielensis [O'Carroll of Oiriel], et Ororicus Medensis" [O'Ruark]. He then relates the half-submission of Roderic of Connaught (of which more later), and adds: "sic itaque, præter solos Ultonienses, subditi per se singuli." (*It.* p. 279.) He need not however have excepted the Ulstermen; for the Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1171 (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 145)—copying, it seems, the old Annals of Ulster (see Four Masters, O'Donovan, vol. ii. p. 1187, note c, and O'Kelly's note to Lynch's *Cambr. Evant.*, vol. ii. p. 472, note d)—say that Henry while at Dublin received hostages from "Leinster, Meath, Breffny, Oiriel and Uladh." This leaves only Connaught and Aileach

a dwelling of wattle or wicker-work, after the manner of their country, outside the walls of Dublin, and there in their midst he held his Christmas court.¹

Early in November two royal chaplains had been despatched to summon the Irish bishops to a council and claim their submission.² We hear not a word of Pope Adrian's bull; but we can hardly doubt that its existence and its contents were in some way or other certified to the Irish prelates before, in response to the royal mandate, they met in council at Cashel in the first weeks of 1172.³ The archbishop of Armagh absented himself on the plea of extreme age and infirmity;⁴ all his episcopal brethren, however, made full submission to Henry, pledged themselves to conform in all things to the pattern of the English Church,⁵ gave written promises to support the English king and his heirs as lawful sovereigns of Ireland,⁶ and joined with him

unsubdued. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 235) and the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 25) lump all these submissions together, and the latter seems to place them all, as well as the submission of the bishops, during Henry's stay in Waterford. Rog. Howden (Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 30) not only does the same still more distinctly, but he does worse; he places the submission of the bishops first, and then says that the lay princes submitted "exemplo clericorum." It is he, not Gerald or any one else, who is responsible for this misrepresentation, which the champions of the Irish Church have been justly denouncing ever since Dr. Lynch's time.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 28, 29. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 32. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 236. Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 33 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 279).

² *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 28. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 31. The messengers were Nicolas, a chaplain of the king, and Ralf archdeacon of Landaff. They were sent out "circa festum S. Leonardi" (November 6). *Gesta Hen.* as above.

³ The *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden as above, both place this council before Christmas 1171. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 35 (p. 281), and R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 351, date it 1172. It seems better to follow them, for though Gerald is certainly no chronologist, he is the only writer who gives a detailed and rational account of this synod; and the summary given by R. Diceto also shews a fair knowledge of the subject, though he makes the synod meet at Lismore instead of Cashel.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 283). He adds that the primate afterwards went to Dublin and there submitted to Henry; but see Dr. Lanigan's comment, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 205, 206.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above. R. Diceto (as above), pp. 350, 351.

⁶ They sent him "litteras suas in modum cartæ extra sigillum pendentes:" *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 26. Cf. Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 30, 31. This is however placed by both writers some time before the council. See above, p. 114, note 6.

in sending to Rome a report of his proceedings and their own.¹

In all Ireland the king of Connaught was now the only ruler, spiritual or temporal, who had not submitted to Henry.² Trusting to the inaccessible nature of his country,³ Roderic had at first refused all dealings with the invader, declaring that he himself was the sole rightful monarch of Ireland.⁴ It seems however that he afterwards came to a meeting with William Fitz-Aldhelm and Hugh de Lacy by the banks of the Shannon, on the frontier of Connaught and Meath, and there promised tribute and fealty like his fellow-kings.⁵ The promise was however worthless until confirmed by his personal homage; and this Henry soon perceived was only to be extorted at the sword's point. The impossibility of fighting to any advantage in the wet Irish winter compelled him to postpone the attempt until the spring,⁶ and when spring came he found that his intended campaign must be abandoned altogether. From the day when he left Milford he had received not one word of tidings from any part of his dominions.⁷ This total isolation, welcome at first as a relief from the load of cares

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 31, says that Henry sent copies of the bishops' letters of submission to Rome. Dr. Lanigan (*Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 217, 218) objects that this can only have been done some time later, as Henry's communications were cut off by the weather. But this is not borne out either by the words of R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 350) or by those of Gerald (*Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 36, Dimock, vol. v. p. 284). They both say distinctly that a persistent contrary wind hindered all communication from England to Ireland. For communication in the opposite direction such a wind would surely be most favourable. Moreover, it is quite certain that the Pope did, some time before September 20, 1172, receive reports of Henry's proceedings in Ireland both from Henry himself and from the Irish bishops, for he says so in three letters—one addressed to Henry, another to the kings and bishops of Ireland, and the third to the legate, Christian bishop of Lismore—all dated Tusculum, September 20, and all printed in Hearne's *Liber Niger*, vol. i. pp. 42-48, as well as in the notes to *Macaria Excidium* (O'Callaghan), pp. 255-262.

² Perhaps we should add the chief of Aileach; see above, p. 114, note 6.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 348.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 25, 26. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 235.

⁵ *Gir. Cambr. Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 33 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 279). See Dr. Lanigan's refutation of Gerald's comment on the legal effect of this transaction, *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 203, 204.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 26, 29.

⁷ *Gir. Cambr.* as above, c. 36 (p. 284). R. Diceto as above, p. 350.

which indeed he had purposely left behind him,¹ became at the end of nineteen weeks a source of almost unbearable anxiety. On March 1 he removed from Dublin to Wexford;² there for nearly a month he remained eagerly watching for a ship from England; none came until after Mid-Lent,³ and then it was laden with such ill news that he could only take such hasty measures as were possible at the moment for maintaining his hold upon Ireland, and prepare to hurry out of it as soon as the wind would carry him.⁴ Richard of Striguil was suffered to remain at Kildare⁵ as earl of Leinster; the general direction of government and administration throughout the king's Irish domains was intrusted to Hugh de Lacy,⁶ who had already received a grant of Meath in fee,⁷ and who was also left in command of the citadel of Dublin,⁸ with a garrison of twenty knights, among whom were Maurice Fitz-Gerald⁹ and Robert Fitz-Stephen.¹⁰ The grants of territory made by Dermot to the half-brothers were of course annulled; Waterford and Wexford were both garrisoned and placed in charge of an officer appointed by the king,¹¹ and in each of these towns a fortress was either erected or repaired by his orders.¹²

A better mode of securing his authority in Dublin was probably suggested to him by the ravages which war and

¹ See Gervase of Canterbury's account of his motives for going to Ireland (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 235).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 29; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 33.

³ *Gir. Cambr. Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 37 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 285).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 37 (pp. 285, 286). In the Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 128, 129, Henry is made to receive the bad news before leaving Dublin, which is obviously too soon. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, and Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 33, 34.

⁵ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 132.

⁶ "Constituit eum justitiarium Hybernæ." Rog. Howden (as above), p. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 30. *Gir. Cambr.* (as above), c. 38 (p. 286). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 130. See the charter of donation in Lyttelton, *Hen. II.*, vol. iv. p. 295.

⁸ *Gir. Cambr.*, *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden, as above. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 129.

⁹ *Gir. Cambr.* as above.

¹⁰ Anglo-Norm. Poem, as above—adding Meiler Fitz-Henry and Miles Fitz-David.

¹¹ *Gesta Hen.*, Rog. Howden and *Gir. Cambr.* as above.

¹² *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden, as above. If we may believe the Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel, p. 130) Henry furthermore made a grant of Ulster to John de Courcy—"si à force la peust conquere."

famine had made among its population. Eight years before he had taken the burghers of Bristol, so long the medium of trading intercourse between England and Ireland, under his especial patronage and protection.¹ He now granted to them the city of Dublin, to colonize and to hold of him and his heirs by the same free customs which they enjoyed in their own town of Bristol.² It is plain that Henry was already aiming at something far other than a mere military conquest of Ireland; and the long and varied list of English names, from all parts of the country, which is found in a roll of the Dublin citizens only a few years later,³ shews how willingly his plans were taken up, not only at Bristol but throughout his realm, by the class to which he chiefly and rightly trusted for aid in their execution. Unluckily, they were scarcely formed when he was obliged to leave their development to other hands; and the consequence was a half success which proved in the end to be far worse than total failure. On Easter night⁴ he sailed from Wexford;⁵ next day he landed at Portfinnan, hard by S. David's;⁶ before the octave was out he had hurried through South

¹ In January 1164 "he granted a short charter of privileges to the burghers of Bristol, whom as sovereign lord he calls *his* burgesses, although they were then under the lordship of the earl of Gloucester. This charter contains only an exemption from toll and passage and other customary payments for themselves and their goods through the king's own lands, with a confirmation of their existing privileges and liberties" (Seyer, *Mem. of Bristol*, vol. i. p. 494, with a reference to "Charters of Bristol, No. 1").

² Charter printed in Gilbert, *Hist. and Munic. Documents of Ireland*, p. 1.

³ *Ib.* p. 3 *et seq.*

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 351, says at sunset on Easter day (April 16); the Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1172 (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 147), say on Easter day "after Mass." Gerald, *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 38 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 286), the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 30, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34, say he sailed early on the Monday morning, the two latter adding a reason—he would not travel on the feast-day, though he had suffered his household to do so. Most probably he sailed at midnight, as seems to have been often done. The *Brut y Tywys.* a. 1172 (Williams, p. 217), makes him reach Pembroke on Good Friday, but this is impossible.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 30. Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 131. The household had sailed from Croch to Milford; *ibid.* Cf. Rog. Howden as above, p. 34.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden, as above. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 351. The name of the place, Portfinnan, is given only in the Anglo-Norm. Poem (as above).

Wales to Newport;¹ in a few days more he was at Portsmouth;² and before Rogation-tide he was once more in Normandy, ready to face the bursting of a storm whose consequences were to overshadow all his remaining years and to preclude all chance of his return to complete his conquest of Ireland.

¹ See the itinerary in Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. cc. 38-40 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 286-291), compared with *Brut y Tywys.* a. 1172 (Williams, pp. 217-219).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 30. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34. It is Porchester in R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 351.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY AND THE BARONS.

1166-1175.

FOR the last eight years Henry had been literally, throughout his English realm, over all persons and all causes supreme. From the hour of Thomas's flight, not a hand, not a voice was lifted to oppose or to question his will; England lay passive before him; the time seemed to have come when he might work out at leisure and without fear of check his long-cherished plans of legal, judicial and administrative reform. In the execution of those plans, however, he was seriously hampered by the indirect consequences of the ecclesiastical quarrel. One of these was his own prolonged absence from England, which was made necessary by the hostility of France, and which compelled him to be content with setting his reforms in operation and then leave their working to other hands and other heads, without the power of superintending it and watching its effects with his own eyes, during nearly six years. He had now to learn that the enemy with whom he had been striving throughout those years was after all not the most serious obstacle in his way;—that the most threatening danger to his scheme of government still lay, as it had lain at his accession, in that temper of the baronage which it had been his first kingly task to bring under subjection. The victory which he had gained over Hugh Bigod in 1156 was real, but it was not final. The spirit of feudal insubordination was checked, not crushed; it was only waiting an opportunity to lift its

head once more ; and with the strife that raged around S. Thomas of Canterbury the opportunity came.

Henry's attitude towards the barons during these years had been of necessity a somewhat inconsistent one. He never lost sight of the main thread of policy which he had inherited from his grandfather: a policy which may be defined as the consolidation of kingly power in his own hands, through the repression of the feudal nobles and the raising of the people at large into a condition of greater security and prosperity, and of closer connexion with and dependence upon the Crown, as a check and counterpoise to the territorial influence of the feudataries. On the other hand, his quarrel with the primate had driven him to throw himself on the support of those very feudataries whom it was his true policy to repress, and had brought him into hostility with the ecclesiastical interest which ought to have been, and which actually had been until now, his surest and most powerful aid. If it was what we may perhaps venture to call the feudal side of the ecclesiastical movement—its introduction of a separate system of law and jurisdiction, traversing and impeding the course of his own uniform regal administration—which roused the suspicions of the king, it was its anti-feudal side, its championship of the universal rights and liberties of men in the highest and widest sense, that provoked the jealousy of the nobles. This was a point which Henry, blinded for the moment by his natural instinct of imperiousness, seems to have overlooked when at the council of Northampton he stooped to avail himself of the assistance of the barons to crush the primate. They doubtless saw what he failed to see, that he was crushing not so much his own rival as theirs. The cause of the Church was bound up with that of the people, and both alike were closely knit to that of the Crown. Sceptre and crozier once parted, the barons might strive with the former at an advantage such as they had never had while Lanfranc stood beside William and Anselm beside Henry I., such as they never could have had if Thomas had remained standing by the side of Henry II.¹

¹ "The government party was made up of two elements—the higher order of

As yet, however, there was no token of the strife to come. In February 1166, two years after the publication of the Constitutions of Clarendon, Henry assembled another council at the same place and thence issued an ordinance¹ for carrying out a reform in the method of bringing to justice criminals in general, similar to that which he had in the Constitutions sought to apply to criminals of one particular class. By the Assize of Clarendon it was enacted that the king's justices and the sheriffs should in every shire throughout the kingdom make inquiry concerning all crimes therein committed "since our lord the king was king."² The method of their investigations was that of inquest by sworn recognitors chosen from among the "lawful men" of each hundred and township, and bound by oath to speak the truth according to their knowledge of the fact in question. This mode of legal inquiry had been introduced into England by William the Conqueror for fiscal purposes, such as the taking of the Domesday survey, and its employment for similar objects was continued by his successors. Henry II. had in the early years of his reign applied the same principle to the uses of civil litigation by an ordinance known as the "Great Assize," whereby disputes concerning the possession of land might, if the litigants chose, be settled before the justices of the king's court by the unanimous oath of twelve lawful knights chosen according to a prescribed form from among those dwelling in the district where the land lay, and therefore competent to swear to the truth or falsehood of the claim.³ This proceeding seems to

the Clergy, who joined the king out of cowardice, having more at stake than they could make up their minds to lose; and the higher order of the Laity, who in this instance sided with the king against the Church, that when they had removed this obstacle they might afterwards fight him single-handed." (R. H. Froude, *Remains*, vol. iv. p. 30). Which is just what Arnulf of Lisieux saw from the first (Ep. clxii., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. pp. 309, 310), and what Henry learned to his cost in 1173.

¹ On the date see Bishop Stubbs' preface to *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pp. lix.-lxi. The Assize is printed in an appendix to same preface, pp. cxlix-cliv, and in *Select Charters*, pp. 143-146.

² Assize of Clarendon, c. 1 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 143).

³ Glanville, *De legibus Anglia*, l. ii. c. 7 (*ib.* p. 161). Cf. Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 616.

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be assumed as already in use by the ninth Constitution of Clarendon, which ordains its application to disputes concerning Church lands.¹ The Assize of Clarendon aimed at bringing criminals to justice by the help of the same machinery. It decreed that in every hundred of every shire inquest should be made by means of twelve lawful men of the hundred and four from each township, who should be sworn to denounce every man known in their district as a robber, thief or murderer, or a harbourer of such; on their presentment the accused persons were to be arrested by the sheriff, and kept by him in safe custody till they could be brought before the itinerant justices, to undergo the ordeal of water and receive legal punishment according to its results.² The inquest was to be taken and the session of the justices held in full shire-court; no personal privileges of any kind were to exempt any qualified member of the court from his duty of attendance and of service on the jury of recognitors if required;³ and no territorial franchise or private jurisdiction, whether of chartered town or feudal "honour," was to shelter a criminal thus accused from the pursuit of the sheriffs on the authority of the justices.⁴

As was the case with most of Henry's reforms, none of the methods of procedure adopted in this Assize were new inventions. Not only had the inquest by sworn recognitors been in use for civil purposes ever since the Norman conquest; it may even be that the germ of a jury of presentment in criminal cases, which in its modern shape appears for the first time in the Assize of Clarendon, is to be traced yet further back, to an ordinance of Æthelred II., whereby the twelve senior thegns in every wapentake were made to swear that they would "accuse no innocent man nor conceal any guilty one."⁵ The mission of itinerant justices—derived in principle from the early days of English kingship, when the sovereign himself perambulated his whole realm,

¹ Constit. Clar. c. 9 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 139). See above, pp. 26, 27.

² Assize Clar. cc. 1, 2, 4, 6 (as above, pp. 143, 144).

³ *Ib.* c. 8 (p. 144).

⁴ *Ib.* cc. 9-11 (as above).

⁵ Laws of Æthelred II., l. iii. c. 3 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 72). See Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 103, 115, 396, 611, 614.

hearing and deciding whatever cause came before him as he passed along—had been employed by Henry I., and revived by Henry II. immediately after his accession. A visitation of the greater part of England had been made by two of the chief officers of the Curia Regis in the first year of his reign, and again in the second; another circuit seems to have been made in 1159 by William Fitz-John; and in 1163 Alan de Neville held pleas of the forest in Oxfordshire, while the justiciar himself, Richard de Lucy, made a journey into Cumberland to hold the pleas of the Crown there, for the first time since the district had passed into the hands of the king of Scots.¹ From the date of the Assize of Clarendon, however, these journeys became regular and general,² and the work of the judges employed on them became far more extensive and important.

The first visitation under the assize was at once begun by Richard de Lucy and Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex;³ and the Pipe Roll of the year furnishes some indications of its immediate results. The sums credited to the treasury for the pleas of the Crown reach a far greater amount than in the earlier rolls, and its receipts are further swelled by the goods and chattels of criminals condemned under the assize,⁴ which were explicitly declared forfeit to the king.⁵ The clause binding all qualified persons to be ready to serve on the juries was strictly enforced; one attempt to evade it was punished with a fine of five marks.⁶ Another clause, enjoining upon the sheriffs the construction and repair of gaols for the detention of criminals, was carried into effect with equal vigour.⁷ The work of the two justiciars was apparently not completed till the summer of 1167.⁸ In that year pleas of the forest were held throughout the

¹ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. p. lxiv. ² *Ib.* pp. lxiii, lxiv.

³ Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 470. *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. pp. lxiv, lxv.

⁴ See Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 471.

⁵ Ass. Clar., c. 5 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 143, 144).

⁶ "Homines de Tichesoura debent v marcas quia noluerunt jurare assisam regis." Pipe Roll a. 1166, quoted in Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 470, note 1.

⁷ "The expenses of gaols at Canterbury, Rochester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Sarum, Malmesbury, Aylesbury and Oxford are accounted for in the Roll of 1166." *Ib.* p. 471, note 5.

⁸ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. pp. lxiv, lxv and note 1.

country by Alan de Neville; and in 1168 seven barons of the Exchequer made a general visitation of the shires for the collection of an aid on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter.¹ This last was primarily a fiscal journey; the aid itself was a strictly feudal impost, assessed at one mark on every knight's fee.² It was however levied in a remarkable manner. The Domesday survey, which by a few modifications in practice had been made to serve as the rate-book of the whole kingdom for eighty years, was at last found inadequate for the present purpose. A royal writ was therefore addressed to all the tenants-in-chief, requiring from them an account of the knights' fees which they held and the services due upon them, whether under the "old infeoffment" of the time of Henry I., or under the "new infeoffment" since the resettlement of the country by his grandson.³ The answers were enrolled in what is known as the *Black Book of the Exchequer*⁴ and the aid was levied in accordance with their contents. The whole process occupied a considerable time; the preparations seem to have begun shortly after Matilda's betrothal, for we hear of the purchase of "a hutch for keeping the barons' letters concerning their knights" as early as 1166,⁵ yet the collection of the money was not finished till the summer of 1169,⁶ a year and a half after her marriage. The labours of the barons employed in it were however not confined to this one end; as usual, their travels were turned to account for judicial purposes,⁷ and the system begun by the assize of Clarendon was by no means suffered to fall into disuse.

¹ Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 471 and note 6.

² *Ib.* p. 472. Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 572.

³ The tenour of the king's writ is shewn by a typical answer, printed by Bishop Stubbs in his *Select Charters*, p. 146, from Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (2d. ed.), vol. i. pp. 148, 149.

⁴ *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, edited by Hearne. A roll of the Norman tenants-in-chivalry was compiled in the same manner in 1172; see Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannia*, vol. i., *Observations*, p. xxxiv.

⁵ Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 576, and Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, p. 471, note 7, from Pipe Roll a. 1166.

⁶ Stubbs, as above, p. 472, and *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxv and note 2. Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 117.

⁷ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. p. lxxv, note 2.

It was too soon as yet for the beneficial results of these measures to become evident to the people at large ; but it was not too soon for them to excite the resentment of the barons. The stringency with which in the assize of Clarendon every claim of personal exemption or special jurisdiction was made to give way before the all-embracing authority of the king's supreme justice shewed plainly that Henry still clave to the policy which had led him to insist upon the restoration of alienated lands and the surrender of unlicensed castles in England, to lose no opportunity of exercising his ducal right to seize and garrison the castles of his vassals in Normandy¹—in a word, to check and thwart in every possible way the development of the feudal principle. The assessment of the aid for his daughter's marriage seems indeed at first glance to have been based on a principle wholly favourable to the barons, for it apparently left the determination of each landowner's liabilities wholly in his own hands. But the commissioners who spent nearly two years in collecting the aid had ample power and ample opportunity to check any irregularities which might have occurred in the returns ; and the impost undoubtedly pressed very heavily upon the feudal tenants as a body. Its proceeds seem, however, not to have come up to Henry's expectations, and the unsatisfactory reports which reached him from England of the general results of his legal measures led him to suspect some failure in duty on the part of those who were charged with their execution.

A large share of responsibility rested with the sheriffs ; and the sheriffs were still for the most part, as they had been in his grandfather's days, the chief landowners in their respective shires, men of great local importance, and only too likely to have at once the will and the power to defeat the ends of the very measures which by their official position they were called upon to administer. Henry therefore on his return to England at Easter 1170 summarily deposed all sheriffs of counties and bailiffs of royal demesnes, pending an inquisition into all the details of their official conduct since his own departure over sea four years ago. The in-

¹ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pref. p. xlvii, note.

quiry was intrusted not to any of the usual members of the King's Court and Exchequer, but to a large body of commissioners specially chosen for the purpose from the higher ranks of both clergy and laity.¹ These were to take pledges of all the sheriffs and bailiffs that they would be ready to appear before the king and make redress on an appointed day; an oath was also to be exacted from all barons, knights and freemen in every shire that they would answer truthfully and without respect of persons to all questions put to them by the commissioners in the king's name.²

The subject-matter of these inquiries, as laid down in the king's instructions, embraced far more than the conduct of the sheriffs. Not only were the commissioners to examine into all particulars of the sums received by the sheriffs and bailiffs in the discharge of their functions, and the manner and grounds of their acquisition,³ and into the disposal of all chattels and goods forfeited under the assize of Clarendon; they were also to ascertain whether the collection of the aid *pour fille marier* had been honestly conducted; they were at the same time to investigate the administration of the forests⁴ and the condition of the royal demesnes;⁵ to find out and report any persons who had failed to do homage to the king or his son;⁶ and they were moreover to make inquiry into the proceedings of all the special courts of the various franchises, whether held by archbishop or bishop, abbot, earl or baron, as fully and minutely as into those of the ordinary hundreds.⁷ Only two months were allowed to the commissioners for their work, which nothing but their great number can have enabled them to execute in the time. Unhappily, the report which they brought up to the king on S. Barnabas's day is lost, and we have no record of its

¹ The list of commissioners for seven of the southern shires is in Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 216. See also Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 473 and note 2.

² Inquest of sheriffs, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 148. Gerv. Cant. (as above), p. 217.

³ Inquest of sheriffs, cc. 1, 4, 9, 10 (as above, pp. 148-150).

⁴ *Ib.* cc. 5, 6, 7 (p. 149).

⁵ *Ib.* c. 12 (p. 150).

⁶ *Ib.* c. 11 (p. 150).

⁷ *Ib.* cc. 2, 3 (pp. 148, 149).

results save in relation to one point: out of twenty-seven sheriffs, only seven were allowed to retain their offices. The rest, who were mostly local magnates owing their importance rather to their territorial and family influence than to their connexion with the court, were replaced by men of inferior rank, and of whom all but four were officials of the Exchequer.¹

This significant proof of Henry's determination to pursue his anti-feudal policy was followed up next year by the last step in that resumption of alienated demesnes which in England had been virtually completed thirteen years ago, but which had been enforced only by slower degrees on the other side of the channel. In 1171 Henry ordered a general inquisition into the extent and condition of the demesne lands and forests held by his grandfather in Normandy, and into the encroachments since made upon them by the barons; and we are told that the restitution which resulted from the inquiry almost doubled his ducal revenue.² The endurance of the barons was now almost at an end; and moreover, their opportunity had now come. From that same council at Westminster whence the decree had gone forth for the inquest of sheriffs, there had gone forth also the summons for the crowning of the young king; that other assembly which on S. Barnabas's day saw the deposition of the delinquent officers saw also, three days later, the new and dangerously suggestive spectacle of two kings at once in the land. When, six months later still, the first consequences of that coronation appeared in the murder of S. Thomas, the barons could not but feel that their hour was at hand. His regal dignity no longer all his own, but voluntarily shared with another—his regal unction washed out in that stream of martyr's blood which cut him off from the support of the Church—Henry seemed to be left alone and defenceless in the face of his foes. The year which he spent in conquering Ireland was a breathing-space for them as well as for him. They used it to adapt to their purposes the weapon which he had so lately forged for his own defence; they found a

¹ See the list, and Bishop Stubbs's analysis of it, in his preface to *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. p. lxvii, note 3.

² Rob. Torigni, a. 1171.

rallying-point and a pretext for their designs against him in the very son whom he had left to cover his retreat and supply his place at home.

The younger Henry had passed over to Normandy just before his father quitted it, in July 1171.¹ There he apparently stayed with his mother and her younger children till the opening of the next year, when he and his wife went to England, and there remained as titular king and queen until his father's return from Ireland.² The youth's kingship, however, was scarcely more than nominal; in his presence no less than in his absence, the real work of government in England was done by the justiciars; and his own personal interests lay chiefly beyond the sea. The influences which surrounded him there were those of his father's open or secret foes:—of his wife's father, King Louis of France, of his own mother, Queen Eleanor, her kindred and her people; and Eleanor had ceased to be a loyal vice-gerent for the husband who had by this time forfeited his claims to wifely affection from her. She seems to have taken for her political confidant her uncle, Ralf of Faye³—one of the many faithless barons of Poitou; and it is said to have been at her instigation that Ralf and an Angevin baron, Hugh of Ste.-Maure, profited by Henry's absence in Ireland to whisper to her eldest son that a crown was worthless without the reality of kingly power, and that it was time for him to assert his claim to the substance of which his father had given him only the shadow.⁴ Young Henry, now seventeen years old, listened but too readily to such suggestions; and it was a rumour of his undutiful temper, coupled significantly with a rumour of growing discontent among the barons, that called Henry back from Ireland⁵ and made him carry his son with him to Normandy⁶ in the spring of 1172. After the elder king's reconciliation with the Church, however, and

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 24, note 2.

² Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 162, 166. He kept Christmas at Bures; Rob. Torigni, a 1172 (*i.e.* 1171).

³ Ep. ciii., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 197. Cf. Ep. cclxxvii., *ib.* vol. vi. p. 131.

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 350.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 37 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 285). Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 128, 129.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 30.

the second coronation of the younger one, the danger seemed to have subsided ; and in November Henry, to complete the pacification, allowed his son to accompany his girl-wife on a visit to her father, the king of France.¹ When they returned,² the young king at once confronted his father with a demand to be put in possession of his heritage, or at least of some portion of it—England, Normandy, or Anjou—where he might dwell as an independent sovereign with his queen.³ The father refused.⁴ He had never intended to make his sons independent rulers of the territories allotted to them ; Richard and Geoffrey indeed were too young for such an arrangement to be possible in their cases ; and the object of the eldest son's crowning had been simply to give him such an inchoate royalty as would enable his father to employ him as a colleague and representative in case of need, and to feel assured of his ultimate succession to the English throne. The king's plans for the distribution of his territories and for the establishment of his children had succeeded well thus far. He had secured Brittany in Geoffrey's name before he quitted Gaul in 1171 ; and a month after his return, on Trinity Sunday (June 10) 1172, Richard was enthroned as duke of Aquitaine according to ancient custom in the abbot's chair in the church of S. Hilary at Poitiers.⁵ One child, indeed, the youngest of all, was still what his father had called him at his birth—"John Lackland."⁶ Even for John, however, though he was scarcely five years old,⁷ a politic marriage was already in view.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 34. This writer says they went over—young Henry much against his will—about All Saints' day, and were sent to the king of France both together. Rob. Torigni, a. 1172, says they crossed at Martinmas, and paid their visits to Louis separately, Henry at Gisors, Margaret at Chaumont.

² Summoned, it seems, by Henry, "timens fraudem et malitiam regis Franciæ, quas sæpe expertus fuerat." *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 35.

³ *Ib.* p. 41. Cf. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 242. The *Gesta* say the demand was made "per consilium regis Francorum, et per consilium comitum et baronum Angliæ et Normanniæ, qui patrem suum odio habebant."

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* and *Gerv. Cant.* as above.

⁵ Geoff. Vigéois, l. i. c. 67 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 318).

⁶ "Quartum natu minimum Johannem Sine Terrâ agnominans." Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 18 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 146).

⁷ There is some doubt as to the date of John's birth. Rob. Torigni (*ad ann.*) places it in 1167 ; R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 325) in 1166. The prose addition

One of the many branches of Henry's continental policy was the cultivation of an alliance with those small but important states which lay on the border-land between Italy, Germany, and that old Aquitanic Gaul over which he claimed dominion in his wife's name. The most important of these was the county of Maurienne, a name which in strictness represents only a small mountainous region encircled to east and south by the Graian and Cottian Alps, and to west and north by another chain of mountains bordering the outermost edges of two river-valleys, those of the Isère and the Arc, which again are severed from each other by a line of lesser heights running through the heart of the district. In the southern valley, that of the Arc, stood the capital of the county, S. Jean-de-Maurienne, the seat of a bishopric from the dedication of whose cathedral church the town itself took its name. In the northern valley, at the foot of the Little S. Bernard, some few miles above the source of the Isère, the counts of Maurienne were advocates of the abbey of S. Maurice, which long treasured the sacred symbol of the old Burgundian royalty, the spear of its patron saint. The power of the counts of Maurienne, however, was not bounded by the narrow circle of hills which stood like an impregnable rampart round about their native land. On the shore of the lake of Bourget they held Chambéry, guarding the pass of Les Echelles, through which southern Gaul communicated with the German lands around the lake of Geneva; the county of Geneva itself was almost surrounded by their territories, for on its western side their sway extended from Chambéry across the valley of the Rhône northward as far as Belley, while eastward they held the whole southern shore of the lake. To north-east of Maurienne, again, the great highway which led from Geneva and from the German lands beyond it into Italy, through the vale of Aosta by the passes of the Pennine Alps or up the valley of the Isère by S. Maurice under the foot of the Little S. Bernard, was in

to Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (Hearne, vol. ii. p. 484) says that he was born at Oxford on Christmas Eve. As Eleanor seems to have been in England at Christmas-tide in both years, this gives us no help. Bishop Stubbs (Intro. to *W. Coventry*, vol. ii. p. xvii, note 3) adopts the later date.

their hands; for Aosta itself and the whole land as far as Castiglione on the Dora Baltea belonged to them. Across the Graian Alps, their possession of the extreme outposts of the Italian border, Susa and Turin, gave them the title of "Marquises of Italy,"¹ and the command of the great highway between Italy and southern Gaul by the valley of the Durance and through the gap which parts the Cottian from the Maritime Alps beneath the foot of the Mont Genève; while yet further south, on either side of the Maritime Alps where they curve eastward towards the Gulf of Genoa, Chiusa, Rochetta and Aspromonte all formed part of their territories.² In one word, they held the keys of every pass between Italy and north-western Europe, from the Great S. Bernard to the Col di Tenda. Nominally subject to the Emperor in his character of king of Burgundy, they really possessed the control over his most direct lines of communication with his Imperial capital; while the intercourse of western Europe with Rome lay almost wholly at their mercy;³ and far away at the opposite extremity of Aquitania the present count Humbert of Maurienne seems to have claimed, though he did not actually hold, one of the keys of another great mountain-barrier, in the Pyrenean county of Roussillon on the Spanish March.⁴

In 1171⁵ Henry's diplomatic relations with the Alpine princes bore fruit in a proposal from Humbert of Maurienne for the marriage of his eldest daughter with the king's youngest son. Humbert himself had no son, and by the terms of the marriage-contract his territories, Alpine and Pyrenean, were to be settled upon his daughter and her

¹ "Comes Maurianensis et Marchio Italiae" is Count Humbert's style in the marriage-contract of his daughter with John: *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 36.

² All these places are named in the marriage-contract of John and Alice of Maurienne; *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 36-40.

³ As says Rob. Torigni, a. 1171: "Nec aliquis potest adire Italiam, nisi per terram ipsius" [sc. comitis].

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 37. Humbert "concedit eis" [*i.e.* to John and Alice, in case he himself should have a son who must oust them from Maurienne] "in perpetuum et hæredibus eorum Russillon cum toto mandato suo sive pertinentiis suis omnibus," as if he actually had it in his own hands. I have however failed to discover any connexion between Roussillon and Maurienne.

⁵ Rob. Torigni *ad ann.*

future husband,¹ in return for five thousand marks of English silver.² The contract was signed and ratified before Christmas 1172,³ and soon afterwards Henry summoned his eldest son to join him in a journey into Auvergne for a personal meeting with Humbert. They reached Montferrand before Candlemas, and were there met not only by Humbert and his daughter but also by the count of Vienne,⁴ the count of Toulouse and the king of Aragon.⁵ How high the English king's influence had now risen in these southern lands may be judged by the fact that not only King Alfonso of Aragon, a son of his old ally Raymond-Berengar, but also his former enemy Raymond of Toulouse, could agree to choose him as arbiter in a quarrel between themselves.⁶ Raymond in truth saw in Henry's alliances with Aragon and Maurienne a death-blow to his own hopes of maintaining the independence of Toulouse. Hemmed in alike to south and east by close allies of the English king whose own duchy of Aquitaine surrounded almost the whole of its north-western border, the house of St.-Gilles felt that it was no longer possible to resist his claim to overlordship over its territories. Henry carried his guests back with him to Limoges; there he settled the dispute between Raymond and Alfonso; and there Raymond did homage to the two Henrys for Toulouse,⁷ promising to do the like at Whitsuntide to Richard as duke of Aquitaine, and pledging himself to military service and yearly tribute.⁸

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 36-40.

² *Ib.* p. 36.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 44), in copying from the *Gesta Hen.* (as above, p. 40) an account of the ratification of the contract, heads the paragraph "De adventu nunciorum comitis Mauriensis in Angliam." If he is right, it must have taken place in April; but he may mean only "to the king of England."

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 353.

⁵ *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 35, 36.

⁶ This seems to be the meaning of *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 36: "Venerunt etiam illuc ad regem rex Arragoniæ et comes de S. Ægidio, qui inimici erant ad invicem, et rex duxit eos secum usque Limoges, et ibi pacem fecit inter eos."

⁷ *Ibid.* Rog. Howden (as above), p. 45. R. Diceto, as above, says only "fecit homagium regi Anglorum Henrico patri regis Henrici." Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 67 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 319), gives the date, the first Sunday in Lent, February 25.

⁸ *Gesta Hen.* as above. "Sed quia Ricardus dux Aquitanix, cui facturus esset homagium comes S. Egidii, præsens non erat, usque ad octavas Pentecostes negotii

The infant heiress of Maurienne was now placed under the care of her intended father-in-law;¹ Henry's political schemes seemed to have all but reached their fulfilment, when suddenly Count Humbert asked what provision Henry intended to make for the little landless bridegroom to whom he himself was giving such a well-dowered bride.² That question stirred up a trouble which was never again to be laid wholly to rest till the child who was its as yet innocent cause had broken his father's heart. Henry proposed to endow John with the castles and territories of Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau.³ But the Angevin lands, with which the younger Henry had been formally invested, could not be dismembered without his consent; and this he angrily refused.⁴ The mere request, however, kindled his smouldering discontent into a flame⁵ which seems to have been fanned rather than quenched by the suggestions of Eleanor; yet so blind was the indulgent father that, if we may venture to believe the tale, nothing but a warning from Raymond of Toulouse opened his eyes to the danger which threatened him from the plots of his own wife and children. Then, by Raymond's advice, he started off at once with a small escort, under pretence of a hunting-party,⁶ and carried his son back towards Normandy with the utmost possible speed. They reached Chinon about Mid-Lent; thence young Henry slipped away secretly by night to Alençon; his father flew after him, but when he reached Alençon on the next evening the son was already at Argentan; and thence before cock-crow he fled again over the French border, to the court of his father-in-law King Louis.⁷ Henry in vain sent messengers

complementum dilationem accepit," says R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. i. pp. 353, 354). The *Gesta* and Rog. Howden make Raymond do homage to the two Henrys and to Richard all at once. They alone give full details of the services promised.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 36.

² *Ib.* p. 41.

³ *Ibid.* Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 242, turns these into "tria castella in Normanniâ."

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ According to Rob. Torigni, a. 1173, the young king was further offended because his father removed from him some of his favourite counsellors and friends, Hasculf of St. Hilaire and some other young knights.

⁶ Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 67 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 319).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 41, 42. R. Diceto (as above), p. 355. The chronology is here in great confusion. The *Gesta* tell us that the two kings

to recall him: "Your master is king no longer—here stands the king of the English!" was the reply of Louis to the envoys.¹

Henry at once made a circuit of his Norman fortresses, especially those which lay along the French border, put them in a state of defence, and issued orders to all his castellans in Anjou, Brittany, Aquitaine and England, to do the like.² Before Lent had closed the old prophecy which Henry's enemies were never weary of casting in his teeth was fulfilled: his own "lion-cubs" were all openly seeking to make him their prey.³ Whether sent by their mother, with whom they had been left behind in Aquitaine, or secretly fetched by their eldest brother in person,⁴ both Richard and Geoffrey now joined him at the French court.⁵ Eleanor herself was caught trying to follow them disguised as a man, and was by her husband's order placed in strict confinement.⁶ Louis meanwhile openly espoused the cause of the rebels; in a great council at Paris he and his nobles publicly swore to help the young king and his brothers against their

reached Chinon just before Mid-Lent (which in 1173 was on March 16), that young Henry was next day at Alençon, the day after that at Argentan, and that on the third night, "circa gallicantum," he went off again, "octavâ Idus Martii, feriâ quintâ ante mediam Quadragesimam." (In the printed edition by Bishop Stubbs—vol. i. p. 42—the word *mediam* has been accidentally omitted; see note to his edition of R. Diceto, vol. ii. pref. p. xxxvi, note 6). It is of course impossible to make anything of such a contradiction as this. On the other hand, R. Diceto gives only one date, that of the young king's flight from Argentan, which he places on March 23. Now in 1173 March 23 was the Friday after Mid-Lent Sunday. Reckoning backwards from this—*i.e.* from the night of Thursday-Friday, March 22-23, for it is plain that the flight took place before daybreak—we should find the young king at Alençon on Wednesday, March 21, and at Chinon on Tuesday, March 20; that is, four days after Mid-Lent. It looks very much as if the author or the scribe of the *Gesta* had written "ante" instead of "post" twice over. †

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 27 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 170).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 42.

³ See the quotation from Merlin's prophecy, and the comment on it, *ib.* pp. 42, 43.

⁴ The first is the version of the *Gesta Hen.* (as above); the second that of Will. Newb. as above, pp. 170, 171).

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 42. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 355. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 242.

⁶ Gerv. Cant. as above. He adds a comment: "Erat enim prudens femina valde, nobilibus orta natalibus, sed instabilis."

father to the utmost of their power, while the three brothers on their part pledged themselves to be faithful to Louis, and to make no terms with their father save through his mediation and with his consent.¹ Young Henry at once began to purchase allies among the French feudataries and supporters among the English and Norman barons, by making grants of pensions and territories on both sides of the sea: grants for which the recipients did him homage and fealty,² and which he caused to be put in writing and sealed with a new seal made for him by order of Louis³—his own chancellor, Richard Barre, having loyally carried back the original one to the elder king who had first intrusted it to his keeping.⁴

Nearly three months passed away before war actually broke out; but when the outburst came, the list of those who were engaged in it shews that the whole Angevin empire had become a vast hotbed of treason; though, on the other hand, it shews also that the treason was almost entirely confined to one especial class. Its local distribution, too, is significant. The restless barons of Aquitaine, still smarting under their defeat of 1169, were but too eager, at the instigation of their duchess and their newly-crowned duke, to renew their struggle against the king. Foremost among them were, as before, the count of Angoulême,⁵ the nobles of Saintonge, and Geoffrey of Lusignan, beside whom there stood this time his young brother Guy, now to begin in this ignoble strife a career destined to strange vicissitudes in far-off Palestine.⁶ The heart of the old Angevin lands, Anjou itself, was in the main loyal; we find there the names of only five traitors; and three of these, Hugh, William and Jocelyn of Ste.-Maure, came of a rebellious house, and

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 44.

² See the list, *ib.* pp. 44, 45; and cf. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 243.

³ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 43 and 45. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 43. ⁵ *Ib.* p. 47.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 46. The other Aquitanian rebels, besides the count of Angoulême and the two Lusignans, were Geoffrey of Rancogne, the lords of Coulonges and Rochefort in Saintonge, of Blaye ("Robertus de Ble"—this might possibly be Blet in Berry) and Mauléon in Gascony, and of Chauvigny in Poitou, with Archbishop William of Bordeaux and Abbot Richard of Tournay (*ib.* pp. 46, 47); to whom we may add Ralf of Faye.

were only doing over again what their predecessors had done in the days of Geoffrey Plantagenet's youth.¹ The same may be said of Henry's native land, Maine; this too furnished only seven barons to the traitor's cause; and five of these again are easily accounted for. It was almost matter of course that in any rising against an Angevin count the lord of Sablé should stand side by side with the lord of Ste.-Maure. Brachard of Lavardin had a fellow-feeling with undutiful sons, for he was himself at strife with his own father, Count John of Vendôme, a faithful ally of Henry II.; the same was probably the case of Brachard's brother Guy.² Bernard of La Ferté represented a family whose position in their great castle on the Huisne, close to the Norman border, was almost as independent as that of their neighbours the lords of Bellême, just across the frontier. Hugh of Sillé bore a name which in an earlier stage of Cenomannian history—in the days of the "commune," just a hundred years before—had been almost a by-word for feudal arrogance; and whether or not he inherited anything of his ancestor's spirit, he had a personal cause for enmity to the king if, as is probable, he was akin to a certain Robert of Sillé, whose share in the southern revolt of 1169 was punished by Henry, in defiance of treaties, with an imprisonment so strict and cruel that it was speedily ended by death.³

Across the western border of Maine, in Geoffrey's duchy, Ralf of Fougères was once more at the head of a band of discontented Breton nobles, chiefly, it seems, belonging to that old seed-plot of disturbance, the county of Nantes.⁴

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 46, 47. The other Angevin rebels are Vivian and Peter of Montrévault: to whom may be added John of Lignières and Geoffrey of La Haye in Touraine. *Ibid.* p. 46.

² *Ib.* pp. 47, 63.

³ "Robertum de Selit quâdam occasione captum rex Henricus crudeliter ferro indutum, pane arcto atque aquâ breve cibavit donec defecit." Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 66 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 318). "Robertus de Silliaco redeat in mentem . . . quem nec pacis osculum publice datum, nec fides corporaliter regi Francorum præstita, fecit esse securum." Ep. dcx., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. p. 178. Cf. Epp. dcvi., dcxlv., *ib.* pp. 165, 247. The other Cenomannian rebels are Gwennis of Palluau and Geoffrey of Brulon; *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 46.

⁴ Hardwin of Fougerai, Robert of Tréguier, Gwiounon of Ancenis, Joibert of

The true centre and focus of revolt, however, was as of old the duchy of Normandy. Almost all the great names which have been conspicuous in the earlier risings of the feudal baronage against the repressive policy of William and of Henry I. re-appear among the partizans of the young king. The house of Montfort on the Rille was represented by that Robert of Montfort¹ whose challenge to Henry of Essex ten years before had deprived the king of one of his most trusty servants. The other and more famous house of Montfort—the house of Almeric and of Bertrada—was also, now as ever, in opposition in the person of its head, Count Simon of Evreux.² He, like his fellow-traitor the count of Eu,³ to whom, as after-events shewed, may be added the count of Aumale, represented one of those junior branches of the Norman ducal house which always resented most bitterly the determination of the dukes to concentrate all political power in their own hands. The counts of Ponthieu⁴ and of Alençon⁵ inherited the spirit as well as the territories of Robert of Bellême. Count Robert of Meulan⁶ was the son of Waleran who in 1123 had rebelled against Henry I., and the head of the Norman branch of the great house of Beaumont, which for more than half a century had stood in the foremost rank of the baronage on both sides of the sea. The chief of the English Beaumonts was his cousin and namesake of Leicester, soon to prove himself an unworthy son of the faithful justiciar who had died in 1168; while the countess of Leicester, a woman of a spirit quite as determined and masculine as her husband's, was the heiress of the proud old Norman house of Grandmesnil⁷—a granddaughter of that Ivo of Grandmesnil who had been banished by Henry I. for trying to bring into England the Norman practice of private warfare. Of the other English rebels, Hugh of Chester⁸ was a son of the fickle Ralf, and had at

La Guerche; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 46, 47. To these we afterwards find added several others; *ib.* pp. 57, 58.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 45. ² *Ib.* p. 47. ³ *Ib.* p. 45. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Called simply "William Talvas" in the *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 46, and "John count of Sonnois" by R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 371. John was his real name.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* and R. Diceto, as above.

⁷ Rob. Torigni, a. 1168.

⁸ R. Diceto, as above.

stake besides his palatine earldom in England his hereditary viscounties of Bayeux and Avranches on the other side of the Channel. Hugh Bigod, the aged earl of Norfolk, untaught by his experiences of feudal anarchy in Stephen's day and undeterred by his humiliation in 1157, was ready to break his faith again for a paltry bribe offered him by the young king.¹ Earl Robert of Ferrers, Hamo de Massey, Richard de Morville, and the whole remnant of the great race of Mowbray—Geoffrey of Coutances, Roger de Mowbray and his two sons—were all men whose grandfathers had "come over with the Conqueror," and determined to fight to the uttermost for their share in the spoils of the conquest. All these men were, by training and sympathy, if not actually by their own personal and territorial interests, more Norman than English; and the same may probably be said of the rebels of the second rank, among whom, beside the purely Norman lords of Anneville and Lessay in the Cotentin, of St.-Hilaire on the Breton frontier, of Falaise, Dives, La Haye and Orbec in Calvados, of Tillières, Ivry and Gaillon along the French border, we find the names of Ralf of Chesney, Gerald Talbot, Jordan Ridel, Thomas de Muschamp, Saher de Quincy the younger, Simon of Marsh, Geoffrey Fitz-Hamon, and Jocelyn Crispin, besides one which in after-days was to gain far other renown—William the Marshal.²

¹ Young Henry promised him, and received his homage for, the hereditary constablership of Norwich castle; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 45. This writer adds the honour of Eye; Rog. Howden, however (Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 46), says this was granted to Matthew of Boulogne.

² All these names are given in the list of the young king's partizans in *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 45-48. The remaining names are: William de Tancarville the chamberlain of Normandy, of whom more presently; Eudo, William, Robert, Oliver and Roland Fitz-Erneis (see *Liber Niger*, Hearne, pp. 142, 295, and Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 186 and 251); Robert of Angerville (he seems to have been the young king's steward or seneschal—see quotations from Pipe Roll a. 1172 in Eyton, as above, pp. 166, 167, 168); Solomon Hostiarius (probably also an attendant of young Henry); Gilbert and Ralf of Aumale: "Willelmus Patricius senior" (he appears in Pipe Rolls 3 Hen. II., Hunter, p. 81, 4 Hen. II., p. 118—Berks and Wilts); William Fitz-Roger (Pipe Roll 4 Hen. II., p. 172, Hants); Robert "de Lundres" (is this some mighty London citizen?); Peter of St.-Julien (may be either St.-Julien in Gascony, in eastern Touraine, or in the county of Nantes); Hugh "de Mota" (La Mothe on the lower Garonne,

One other rebel there was who stood indeed on a different footing from all the rest, and whose defection had a wider political significance. The king of Scots—William the Lion, brother and successor of Malcom IV.—had long been suspected of a secret alliance with France against his English cousin and overlord. The younger Henry now offered him the cession of all Northumberland as far as the Tyne for himself, and for his brother David confirmation in the earldom of Huntingdon,¹ with a grant of the earldom of Cambridge in addition, in return for the homage and services of both brothers:—offers which the king of Scots accepted.² Only three prelates, on either side of the sea, shewed any disposition to countenance the rebellion; in the south, William, the new-made archbishop of Bordeaux;³ in the north, Arnulf of Lisieux⁴ and Hugh of Durham. Arnulf's influence at court had long been on the wane; all his diplomacy had failed, as far as his personal interest with King Henry was concerned; but he possessed the temporal as well as the spiritual lordship of his see; and the man's true character now shewed itself at last, justifying all Henry's suspicions, in an attempt to play the part of a great baron rather than of a bishop—to use his

La Motte Archard in the county of Nantes, or La Motte de Ger in Normandy); Robert of Mortagne (possibly the Norman Mortagne, possibly a place of the same name in Anjou close to the Poitevin border); William of "Tibovilla" (probably Thiberville in the county and diocese of Lisieux); John and Osbert "de Praellis" (possibly Pradelles in Auvergne, more likely Préaux in Normandy); Almeric Turel, Robert Bussun, Guy of Curtiran, Fulk Ribule, Adam de Ikobo, Robert Gerebert, William Hagullun, Baldric of Baudemont, Geoffrey Chouet, "Bucherius," and William de Oveneia, whom I cannot identify.

¹ To which, as will be seen later, there was a rival claimant who adhered to Henry II.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 45. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 268, 269 (Michel, p. 14) adds Carlisle and Westmoreland to the young king's offers, and relates at great length how William hesitated before accepting them, how he sent envoys to the elder king begging for a new cession of Northumberland from him, and only upon Henry's defiant refusal, and after long debate with his own barons, entered upon the war. *Ib.* vv. 372-426 (pp. 14-22).

³ "Willelmus archiepiscopus." *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 47. This can be no one else than William, formerly abbot of Reading, appointed to Bordeaux in February 1173; Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 67 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 319); but I find no further account of his political doings.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 51, note 4.

diplomatic gifts in temporizing between the two parties, instead of seeking to make peace between them or to keep his straying flock in the path of loyalty as a true pastor should. He did but imitate on a smaller scale and under less favourable conditions the example set by Hugh of Puiset in his palatine bishopric of Durham, where he had been throughout his career simply a great temporal ruler, whose ecclesiastical character only served to render almost unassailable the independence of his political position. It was the pride of the feudal noble, not the personal sympathies of the churchman, that stirred up both Hugh and Arnulf to their intrigues against Henry. Personal sympathies indeed had as yet little share in drawing any of the barons to the side of the boy-king. What they saw in his claims was simply a pretext and a watchword which might serve them to unite against his father. Young Henry himself evidently relied chiefly on his foreign allies—his father-in-law, the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and the count of Blois, the last of whom was bribed by a promise of an annual pension and the restitution of Château-Renaud and Amboise ; while to Philip of Flanders was promised the earldom of Kent with a pension in English gold, and to Matthew of Boulogne the soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey and the Norman county of Mortain.¹

The first hostile movement was made directly after Easter by a body of Flemings who crossed the Seine at Pacy ; but they had no sooner touched Norman soil than they were driven back by the people of the town, and were nearly all drowned in attempting to recross the river.² Henry meanwhile, after spending Easter at Alençon,³ had established his head-quarters at Rouen, where he remained till the end of June, apparently indifferent to the plots that were hatching around him, and entirely absorbed in the pleasures of the chase.⁴ In reality however he was transacting a good deal

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 44, 45. Roger of Howden, as has been said above (p. 139, note 1), adds the honour of Eye to Matthew's intended possessions.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 367. He says they were drowned because the bridge was "a quâdam mulierculâ effractus."

³ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 45.

⁴ "Rex pater eo tempore morabatur Rothomagi, ut populo videbatur æquo

of quiet business, filling up vacant sees in England ;¹ appointing a new chancellor, Ralf of Varneville, to the office which had been in commission—that is, virtually, in the hands of Geoffrey Ridel—ever since S. Thomas had resigned it ten years before ;² and writing to all his continental allies to enlist their sympathies and if possible their support in the coming struggle.³ One of them at least, his future son-in-law William of Sicily, returned an answer full of hearty sympathy ;⁴ neither he nor his fellow-kings, however, had anything more substantial to give. The only support upon which Henry could really depend was that of a troop of twenty thousand Brabantine mercenaries, who served him indeed bravely and loyally, but by no means for nothing ;⁵ and if we may trust a writer who, although remote from the present scene of action, seems to have had a more intimate acquaintance than most of his fellow-historians with all matters connected with the Brabantines, Henry's finances were already so exhausted that he was obliged to give the sword of state used at his coronation in pledge to these men as security for the wages which he was unable to pay them.⁶ Yet he could trust no one else in Normandy ; and as yet he scarcely knew his own resources in England.

Early in June Robert of Leicester and William of Tancarville, the high-chamberlain of Normandy, sought license *animo ferens quæ fiebant in terrâ ; frequentius solito venatui totus indulgens* [see extracts from Pipe Roll 1173 illustrating this, in Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 173] ; “venientibus ad se vultum hylaritatis præterens, aliquid extorquere volentibus patienter respondens.” R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 373, 374. Cf. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 118, 119 (Michel, p. 6).

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 366-368. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 243, 245.

² R. Diceto (as above), p. 367.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 47. He says Henry wrote “*imperatoribus et regibus*,” which we must take to include the Eastern Emperor.

⁴ Letter in *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 55, note 2 ; Rog. Howden (as above), p. 48.

⁵ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 47. Cf. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 27 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 172). The latter does not mention their number ; Jordan Fantosme, v. 67 (Michel, p. 4) makes it only ten thousand ; the *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 51, says “*plus quam decem millia.*”

⁶ I suppose this to be the meaning of Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 67 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 319) : “*Adeo Rex multis thesauris exhaustis nauseatus est, ut Brabantionibus qui ei parebant pro mercede Spatham regiae coronæ in gagium mitteret.*”

from the justiciars in London to join the king at Rouen. Immediately on landing, however, they hastened not to Henry II., but to his son.¹ The justiciar himself, Richard de Lucy, was in such anxiety that he seems to have had some thoughts of going in person to consult with the king.² The consultation however was to be held not in Normandy but in England. In the last days of June or the first days of July, while the counts of Flanders and Boulogne were easily overcoming the mock resistance of Aumale and Driencourt, and Louis of France was laying siege to Verneuil,³ Henry suddenly crossed the sea, made his way as far inland as Northampton, where he stayed four days, collected his treasure and his adherents, issued his instructions for action against the rebels, and was back again at Rouen so quickly that neither friends nor foes seem ever to have discovered his absence.⁴

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 370. He gives no date; but it must have been quite in the beginning of June, for Mr. Eyton says (*Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 172, note 5): "The Dorset Pipe Roll of Michaelmas 1173 shews that the Earl of Leicester's manor of Kingston (now Kingston Lacy) had been confiscated four months previously (Hutchins, iii. 233)."

² "Et in liberacione ix navium quæ debuerunt transfretare cum Ricardo de Luci, et Ricardo Pictaviæ archidiacono, et Gaufrido Cantuariensi archidiacono et aliis baronibus, precepto Regis £13:15s. per breve Ricardi de Luci." Pipe Roll a. 1173 (Southampton), quoted by Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 174. See Mr. Eyton's comment, *ib.* note 4, which points to the conclusion that the ships made the voyage—doubtless with the other passengers—but that Richard "probably thought it wise to adhere to his post of viceroy."

³ R. Diceto (as above), pp. 373, 374. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 49. Rob. Torigni, a. 1173.

⁴ "Et item in liberacione Esnaccæ quando transfretavit in Normanniam contra Regem £7:10s. per breve Regis. Et in liberacione xx. hominum qui fuerunt missi de cremento in Esnacchâ 40s. per breve Regis. Et in liberacione iv. navium quæ transfretaverunt cum Esnacchiâ £7:10s. per idem breve. Et pro locandis carretis ad reportandum thesaurum de Hantoniâ ad Wintoniam duabus vicibus 9s. Et pro unâ carretâ locandâ ad portandas Bulgas Regis ad Winton. 9d." Pipe Roll a. 1173 (Southampton), quoted in Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 173. "Et in corredo Regis apud Northanton per iv dies £32:6:5 per breve Regis." Northampton, *ibid.* "Et in soltis per breve Regis ipsi vicecomiti [of Northamptonshire] £72:11:9, pro robbâ quam invenit Regi." *Ibid.* On the Southampton entries Mr. Eyton remarks: "The above charges, from their position on the roll, would seem to have been incurred after July 15." But surely if Henry had been in England during the siege of Leicester, which lasted from July 3 to July 28, we must have had some mention of his presence; and there is scarcely time for it later, between the capture of Leicester and his own expedition to Conches on August 7.

Hurried, however, as was the king's visit to England, it did its work in bracing up the energies and determining the action of the vassals who were faithful to him there. In personal and territorial importance indeed these were very unequally matched with the rebels. The fidelity of the Welsh princes, David Ap-Owen and Rees Ap-Griffith,¹ could not balance the hostility of the King of Scots. Among the loyal English barons, the most conspicuous were a group of the king's immediate kinsmen, none of whom however ranked high among the descendants of the ducal house of Normandy:—his half-brother Earl Hameline of Warren, his uncle Reginald of Cornwall, his cousin William of Gloucester;² besides Earl William of Arundel the husband of his grandfather's widow Queen Adeliza, his son William, and his kinsman Richard of Aubigny. The earl of Essex, William de Mandeville, was a son of that Geoffrey de Mandeville who had accepted the earldom of Essex from both Stephen and Matilda, and who had been one of the worst evil-doers in the civil war; but the son was as loyal as the father was faithless; he seems indeed to have been a close personal friend of the king, and to have well deserved his friendship.³ The loyalty of Earl Simon of Northampton may have been quickened by his rivalry with David of Scotland for the earldom of Huntingdon. That of William of Salisbury was an inheritance from his father, Earl Patrick, who had earned his title by his services to the Empress, and had fallen honourably at his post of governor of Aquitaine in the rising of 1168. The loyal barons of lesser degree are chiefly representatives of the class which half a century before had been

Is it not much more natural to conclude that the visit took place earlier—at the end of June—and that the orders for the Leicester expedition, which Rog. Wend. (Coxe, vol. ii. p. 372) expressly says were given by the king, were issued to Richard de Lucy in a personal interview?

¹ In *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 51, note 4, the names are given as "David et Evayn reges Walliæ"—a blunder probably caused by the writer's greater familiarity with David, owing to his later family alliance with the English king. In the present war, however, Rees proved the more active ally of the two, as we shall see later.

² It will however appear later that Gloucester's fidelity was somewhat doubtful.

³ William de Mandeville is constantly found, throughout his life, in the king's immediate company. See Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II. passim*.

known as the "new men"—men who had risen by virtue of their services in the work of the administration, either under Henry himself or under his grandfather. Such were the justiciar Richard de Lucy and the constable Humfrey de Bohun; William de Vesci, son of Eustace Fitz-John, and like his father a mighty man in the north; his nephew John, constable of Chester;—the whole house of Stuteville, with Robert de Stuteville the sheriff of Yorkshire at its head;¹—and Ralf de Glanville,² sheriff of Lancashire, custodian of the honour of Richmond,³ and destined in a few years to wider fame as the worthy successor of Richard de Lucy. The Glanvilles, the Stutevilles and the de Vescis now wielded in Yorkshire as the king's representatives the influence which had been usurped there by William of Aumale before his expulsion from Holderness; while in Northumberland a considerable share of the power formerly exercised by the rebellious house of Mowbray had passed to servants of the Crown such as Odelin de Umfraville⁴ and Bernard de Bailleul,⁵ whose name in its English form of Balliol became in after-times closely associated with that borne by two other loyal northern barons—Robert and Adam de Bruce.⁶ To the same class of "new men" belonged Geoffrey Trussebut, Everard de Ros, Guy de Vere, Bertram de Verdon, Philip de Kime and his brother Simon.⁷

Some half-dozen of the king's English adherents—William of Essex, William of Arundel, Robert de Stuteville and the elder Saher de Quincy, besides two who had lately come over from Ireland, Richard of Striguil and Hugh de Lacy—

¹ All these names are in the list in the *Gesta. Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 51, note 4.

² *Ib.* p. 65. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 60. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 33 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 184).

³ Escheated on the death of Duke Conan of Brittany.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 51, note 4, 66.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 65, 66. Will. Newb. as above.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 51, note 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* The Trussebuts, de Roses and de Veres appear under Henry I. Bertram de Verdon and Philip de Kime were employed in the Curia Regis and Exchequer under Henry II.; see Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 185, 76, 130, etc. Another name among the loyalists in the *Gesta Hen.* (as above)—that of Richard Louvetot—seems to have got in by mistake; cf. *ib.* p. 57, where he appears among the rebels at Dol.

either returned with him to Rouen or had joined him there already,¹ thus helping to swell the little group of loyalists who surrounded him in Normandy. That group contained no Norman baron of the first rank, and consisted only of a few personal friends and ministers:—Richard of Hommet the constable of the duchy, with all his sons and brothers;² William de Courcy the seneschal;³ Richard Fitz-Count, the king's cousin;⁴ Hugh de Beauchamp⁵ and Henry of Neubourg,⁶ sons of the loyal house of Beauchamp which in England looked to the earl of Warwick as its head; Richard de Vernon and Jordan Tesson;⁷—while two faithful members of the older Norman nobility, Hugh of Gournay and his son, had already fallen prisoners into the hands of the young king.⁸ It was in truth Henry's continental dominions which most needed his presence and that of all the forces which he could muster; for the two chief English rebels, the earls of Leicester and Chester, were both beyond the Channel, and their absence enabled the king's representatives to strike the first blow before the revolt had time to break forth in England at all. On July 3 the town of Leicester was besieged by Richard de Lucy and Earl Reginald of Cornwall at the head of "the host of England."⁹ After a three weeks' siege and a vast expenditure of money and labour,¹⁰ the town was fired, and on July 28 it surrendered.¹¹ The castle still

¹ Essex and Arundel had both been with him since the very beginning of the year, for they witnessed the marriage-contract of John and Alice of Maurienne; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 39. Robert de Stuteville and Saher de Quincy seem to have been with him in the summer of 1173 (Eyton, *Ilin. Hen. II.*, p. 174). Hugh de Lucy was at Verneuil, defending it for the king in July (*Gesta Hen.*, vol. i. p. 49); and Richard of Striguil was of the party which went to its relief in August (R. Diceto, Stubbs, vol. i. p. 375).

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 51, note 4.

³ *Ib.* p. 39. Cf. Eyton, *Ilin. Hen. II.*, pp. 170, 177.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 51.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 52.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 49.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 51, 52.

⁸ Hugh of Gournay and his son, with eighty knights, fell into the young king's hands, "non tam inimicorum virtuti quam insidiis intercepti," quite early in the war; R. Diceto (as above), p. 369.

⁹ "Cum exercitu Angliæ," *i.e.* the national not the feudal host. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 58. The date comes from R. Diceto (as above), p. 376.

¹⁰ See some illustrations in the Pipe Roll of 1173, as quoted by Eyton (as above), p. 175.

¹¹ R. Diceto (as above), p. 376. He seems to make the fire accidental,

held out, its garrison accepting a truce until Michaelmas; the gates and walls of the city were at once thrown down; the citizens were suffered to go out free on payment of a fine of three hundred marks;¹ but it was only by taking sanctuary in the great abbeys of S. Alban or S. Edmund that their leaders could feel secure against the vengeance of the king.²

Three days before the capture of Leicester, an arrow shot by one of Henry's Brabantine cross-bowmen gave Matthew of Boulogne his death-wound, and thereby caused the break-up of the Flemish expedition against Normandy.³ A fortnight later Henry set out at the head of all his available forces to the relief of Verneuil, which Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp were defending against the king of France. By a double treachery Louis, under cover of a truce, gained possession of the town, set it on fire, and retreated into his own domains before Henry could overtake him.⁴ Henry marched back to Rouen, taking Gilbert of Tillières's castle of Damville on the way,⁵ and thence despatched his Brabantines to check the plundering operations which Hugh of Chester and Ralf of Fougères were carrying on unhindered throughout the border district which lay between Fougères and Avranches. The interception of an important convoy and the slaughter of its escort by the Brabantines drove the rebel leaders to retire into the fortress

and the surrender a consequence of it. In the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 58, the victors seem to fire the town after they have captured it.

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 376.

² Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 289.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 373. He alone gives the date, attributes the wound to a shot "a quodam marchione," and places the scene on the invaders' march from Driencourt to Arques. The *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 49, Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 246, and Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 28 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 173) make it occur during the siege of Driencourt (William calls it by its more modern name, "Châteauneuf"), but as the former has told us that this siege began about July 6 and was ended within a fortnight, this is irreconcilable with the date given by R. Diceto. Gervase says Matthew was shot "a quodam arcubalistâ."

⁴ See the details of the story, and the disgraceful conduct of Louis, in *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 51-54; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 50; R. Diceto as above, p. 375; and another version in Will. Newb. as above (pp. 174, 175).

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 56.

of Dol. Here they were blockaded by the Brabantines, backed by the populace of the district of Avranches,¹ who clearly had no sympathy with the treason of their viscount. The siege began on August 20; on the morrow Henry received tidings of it at Rouen; on the 23d he appeared in the midst of his soldiers; and on the 25th Dol and its garrison, with Ralf of Fougères and Hugh of Chester at their head, surrendered into his hands.² This blow crushed the Breton revolt; the rest of the duchy submitted at once.³ Louis of France was so impressed by Henry's success that he began to make overtures for negotiation, while Henry was holding his court in triumph at Le Mans. Shortly before Michaelmas a meeting took place near Gisors; Henry shewed the utmost anxiety to be reconciled with his sons, offering them literally the half of his realms in wealth and honours, and declaring his willingness virtually to strip himself of everything except his regal powers of government and justice.⁴ That, however, was precisely the reservation against which the French king and the disaffected barons were both alike determined to fight as Henry himself had fought against St. Thomas's reservation of the rights of his order. The terms were therefore refused, and the earl of Leicester in his baffled rage not only loaded his sovereign with abuse, but actually drew his sword to strike him. This outrage of course broke up the meeting.⁵ Leicester hurried through Flanders, collecting troops as he went, to Wissant, whence he sailed for England on Michaelmas day.⁶ Landing at Walton in

¹ Rob. Torigni, s. 1173. "Itaque obsessa est turris Dol a Brevenzombis et militibus regis et plebe Avruncatina."

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 378; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 57, 58; Rob. Torigni, s. 1173; Will. Newb. l. ii. c. 29. Howlett, vol. i. p. 170. The *Gesta Hen.* gives the tale, and a list of the captured. According to Rob. Torigni, Ralf of Fougères escaped to the woods, and his two sons were taken as hostages. The Canon, St. Aibin, s. 1173. Marchegay, *Études*, p. 42, says he was taken, together with Hugh (whom the Angevin monk transforms into "comitem Sceptrensem" and a hundred knights.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 52.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 59. Rog. Howden as above, p. 53.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 54.

⁶ R. Diceto as above, p. 377. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 246, and *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 60, say he came over about St. Luke's day; but this is

Suffolk, he made his way to Hugh Bigod's castle of Framlingham; here the two earls joined their forces; and they presently took and burned the castle of Haughley, which Ralf de Broc held against them for the king.¹

At the moment of Leicester's arrival the representatives of the king were far away on the Scottish border. At the close of the summer William of Scotland had gathered his motley host of Lowland knights and wild Galloway Highlanders, marched unhindered through the territories of the see of Durham, and was just beginning to ravage Yorkshire after the manner of his forefathers when Richard de Lucy and Humfrey de Bohun hastily reassembled their forces and marched against him with such promptitude and vigour that he was compelled to retreat not merely into Lothian but into the safer shelter of the Celtic Scotland beyond it. The English host overran Lothian,² and had just given Berwick to the flames when tidings reached them of Earl Robert's doings in Suffolk. The king of Scots was begging for a truce; the English leaders readily consented, that they might hurry back to their duties in the south.³ Richard de Lucy returned to his post of viceroy, and the supreme military command was left to the constable Humfrey de Bohun, assisted by the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester and by Earl William of Arundel,⁴ who had now come to give the help of his sword in England as he had already given it in Normandy. The constable and the three earls, with three hundred paid soldiers of the king, posted themselves at S. Edmund's, ready to intercept Earl Robert on his way from Framlingham to join the garrison

irreconcilable with R. Diceto's careful and minute chronology of the subsequent campaign. R. Niger (Anstruther), p. 175, says "in vigiliâ S. Mauricii," *i.e.* September 20.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 60, 61, with an impossible date; see *ib.* p. 60, note 12. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 246. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 377, gives the correct date of the capture of Haughley, October 13.

² R. Diceto as above, p. 376. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 61.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 61. R. Diceto as above, p. 376. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 478-838 (Michel, pp. 22-38), has a long account of this first Scottish invasion, but it is far from clear, and some parts of it, *e.g.* the statement that Warkworth was taken by the Scots, seem incompatible with after-events.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

of Leicester.¹ He made a circuit to the northward to avoid them, but in vain. They marched forth from S. Edmund's beneath the banner of its patron saint, the famous East-Anglian king and martyr, overtook the earl in a marsh near the church of S. Geneviève at Fornham,² and in spite of overwhelming odds defeated him completely. His Flemish mercenaries, who had gone forth in their insolent pride singing "Hop, hop, Wilekin! England is mine and thine,"³ were cut to pieces not so much by the royal troops as by the peasantry of the district, who flocked to the battle-field armed with forks and flails, with which they either despatched them at once or drove them to suffocation in the ditches.⁴ His French and Norman knights were all made prisoners;⁵ he himself took to flight, but was overtaken and captured;⁶ and his wife, who had accompanied him throughout his enterprise, was made captive with him.⁷ The victors followed up their success by posting bodies of troops at S. Edmund's, Ipswich and Colchester, hoping that Hugh Bigod, thus confined within his own earldom, would be unable to provide for the large force of Flemish mercenaries still quartered in his various castles, and that

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 377. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 61. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 54.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 55. The date, according to R. Diceto (as above, p. 378) is October 17; the *Gesta* (as above, p. 62) make it October 16.

³ Mat. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Madden), vol. i. p. 381. "Hoppe, hoppe, Wilekin, hoppe, Wilekin, Engelond is min ant tin."

⁴ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1086-1091 (Michel, p. 50).

⁵ R. Diceto as above, pp. 377, 378. *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 61, 62. Rog. Howden as above, p. 55. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 246. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 30 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 179). The number of Robert's Flemish troops is surely exaggerated by all these writers; still, even at the lowest computation, the odds seem to have been, as R. Diceto says, at least four to one.

⁶ Gerv. Cant. as above.

⁷ Will. Newb. as above. R. Diceto as above, p. 378. She had been with her husband in France, and returned with him to England; *ib.* p. 377. According to Jordan Fantosme, vv. 980-992 (Michel, p. 46), it was she who urged him to the march which led to his ruin, in defiance of his own dread of the royal forces. See also in Jordan, vv. 1070-1077 (Michel, p. 50) the story of her trying to drown herself in a ditch to avoid being captured; and that in Mat. Paris, as above, of her throwing away her ring. This latter seems to be only another version of Jordan's; cf. his v. 1072.

these would be starved into surrender. The approach of winter however disposed both parties for a compromise; a truce was arranged to last till the octave of Pentecost, Hugh consenting to dismiss his Flemings, who were furnished with a safe-conduct through Essex and Kent and with ships to transport them from Dover back to their own land.¹

The earl and countess of Leicester were sent over to Normandy by the king's orders, there to be shut up in company with Hugh of Chester in prison at Falaise.² Their capture filled the French king and the rebel princes with dismay, and none of them dared to venture upon any opposition against Henry when at Martinmas he led his Brabantines into Touraine, forced some of its rebellious barons into submission,³ reinstated his ally Count John of Vendôme in his capital from which he had been expelled by his own son,⁴ and returned to keep the Christmas feast at Caen.⁵ An attack upon Séez, made at the opening of the new year by the young king and the counts of Blois, Perche and Alençon, was repulsed by the townsfolk,⁶ and led only to a truce which lasted till the end of March.⁷ The truce made by Richard de Lucy with the king of Scots was prolonged to the same date—the octave of Easter—by the diplomacy of Bishop Hugh of Durham, who took upon himself to purchase this delay, apparently without authority and for his own private ends, by a promise of three hundred marks of silver to be paid to

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 378. He gives the number of these Flemings as fourteen hundred.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 62. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 55. See also quotations from Pipe Roll a. 1173 on this matter, in Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 177.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 62, 63. The chief rebels were Geoffrey of La Haye—apparently that same La Haye which had formed part of the dowerlands of the first countess of Anjou, and is known now as La Haye Descartes—and Robert of "Ble" (see above, p. 136, note 6) who held Preuilly and Champigny. A list of the garrisons of these castles is given; two names are worth noting—"Hugo le Danais" and "Rodbertus Anglicus."

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.* Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 246. According to Rob. Torigni, however (a. 1174—*i.e.* 1173 in our reckoning) he kept it at Bures.

⁶ R. Diceto as above, p. 379.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 63, 64.

the Scot king out of the lands of the Northumbrian barons.¹

The issue proved that Hugh's real object was simply to gain time for the organization of a general rising in the north; and in this object he succeeded. The old isolation of Yorkshire was not yet a thing of the past; and its few lines of communication with southern England were now all blocked, at some point or other, by some stronghold of rebellion. Earl Hugh's Chester, Hamo de Massey's Dunham² and Geoffrey of Coutances' Stockport commanded the waters of the Dee and the Mersey. South of the Peak, in the upper valley of the Trent, the earl of Ferrers held Tutbury and Duffield; further to south-east, on the opposite border of Charnwood Forest, lay the earl of Leicester's capital and his castles of Groby and Mount Sorrel.³ By the time that the truce expired Robert de Mowbray had renewed the fortifications of Kinardferry in the Isle of Axholm,⁴ thus linking this southern chain of castles with those which he already possessed at Kirkby Malzeard, or Malessart, and Thirsk;⁵ and Bishop Hugh had done the like at Northallerton.⁶ Further north stood the great stronghold of Durham; while all these again were backed, far to the north-westward, by a double belt of fortresses stretching from the mouths of the Forth and the Tweed to that of the Solway:—Lauder, held by Richard de Morville; Stirling, Edinburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Annan and Lochmaben, all in the hands of the king of Scots.⁷

Between this northern belt of rebel strongholds, however, and the southern one which stretched from Chester to Axholm, there lay along the river-valleys of Cumberland

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 64. King and bishop met in person at "Revedale"—or, as Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 56, 57, says, "in confinio regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ apud Revedene."

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 48. Hamo de Massey had another castle called Ullerwood; where was this? ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ib.* p. 64. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 379.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 48.

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 57.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 48. Annan and Lochmaben belonged to Robert de Bruce; *ibid.* No doubt William had seized them when Bruce joined Henry.

and Northumberland a cluster of royal castles. Nicolas de Stuteville held Liddell, on the river of the same name. Burgh¹ stood on the Solway Firth, nearly opposite Annan; the whole valley of the Eden was guarded by Carlisle, whose castellan was Richard de Vaux,² and Appleby, which like Burgh was held by Robert de Stuteville for the king.³ The course of the Tyne was commanded by Wark, under Roger de Stuteville,⁴ Prudhoe, under Odelin de Umfraville,⁵ and by the great royal fortress of Newcastle, in charge of Roger Fitz-Richard;⁶ further north, between the valleys of the Wansbeck and the Coquet, stood Harbottle, also held by Odelin, with Roger Fitz-Richard's Warkworth⁷ and William de Vesci's Alnwick⁸ at the mouths of the Coquet and the Alne. This chain of defences William of Scotland, when at the expiration of the truce he again marched into England, at once set himself to break. While his brother David went to join the rebel garrison of Leicester,⁹ he himself began by laying siege to Wark. This fortress, held in the king's name by Roger de Stuteville—apparently a brother of the sheriff of Yorkshire—occupied a strong position in the upper valley of the Tyne, on the site of an earlier fortress which under the name of Carham had played a considerable part in the Scottish wars of Stephen's time, and had been finally taken and razed by William's grandfather King David in 1138.¹⁰ William himself had already in the preceding autumn besieged Wark without success;¹¹ he prospered no better this time, and presently removed his forces to Carlisle,¹² where he had also sustained a like repulse

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 65.

² *Ib.* p. 64.

³ *Ib.* p. 65. Jordan Fantosme, v. 1467 (Michel, p. 66), gives us the name—a very interesting one—of the acting commandant—"Cospatric le fiz Horm, un viel Engleis fluri."

⁴ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 478-483 (Michel, pp. 22-24).

⁵ *Ib.* vv. 594-603 (p. 28). *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁶ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 566, 567 (Michel, p. 26).

⁷ *Ib.* vv. 562-565 (p. 26). *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 65. See above, p. 149, note 3.

⁸ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 538, 539 (as above).

⁹ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Cf. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1113-1136 (Michel, p. 52).

¹⁰ See above, vol. i. pp. 287, 292.

¹¹ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 478-530 (Michel, pp. 22, 26).

¹² *Ib.* vv. 1191-1351 (pp. 54-62).

six months before.¹ Carlisle, as well as Wark, was in truth almost impregnable except by starvation; and William, while blockading it closely, detached a part of his host for a series of expeditions against the lesser fortresses, Liddell, Burgh, Appleby, Harbottle and Warkworth, all of which fell into his hands.² His brother's arrival at Leicester, meanwhile, seemed to have revived the energies of its garrison; under the command of Earl Robert of Ferrers they sallied forth very early one morning, surprised and burned the town of Nottingham, made a great slaughter of its citizens, and went home laden with plunder and prisoners.³

Meanwhile the king's representatives in the south were not idle. Knowing however that he was powerless to rescue the north, Richard de Lucy made an attempt to draw off in another direction the forces both of the Scot king and of his brother by laying siege to David's castle of Huntingdon.⁴ Huntingdon had been held ever since 1136 either by the reigning king of Scots or by one of his nearest kinsmen, in virtue of their descent from Waltheof, the last Old-English earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, through his daughter Matilda, the wife of King David. In each case, however, the fief seems to have been held not as an hereditary possession but by a special grant made to the individual holder for his life. The house of Northampton, sprung from an earlier marriage of the same Matilda, were thus enabled to maintain a claim upon it which had never been entirely barred, and which Earl Simon of Northampton now seized his opportunity to urge upon the king.⁵ Henry answered that Simon might keep Huntingdon if he could win it;⁶ thus

¹ Jordan Fantosme, vv. 610-760 (pp. 28-36).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 64, 65. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 60. Will. Newb., l. ii. cc. 30, 31 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 177, 180), seems to have confused this campaign with that of the preceding autumn; and so has, apparently, Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1145-1511 (Michel, pp. 52-68). "Banesburc" in v. 1158 (p. 54), though it looks like Bamborough, surely ought to be *Burgh*.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 69. Nottingham was commanded by Reginald de Lucy; what relation to the justiciar? ⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 384.

⁵ See the story in the tract "De Judithâ uxore Waldevi comitis," in M. F. Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 71. The case seems to have been tried in the Curia Regis; *ibid.*, and *Chron. Anglo-Norm.*, as above.

securing for Richard de Lucy his support and co-operation in the siege, which began on May 8.¹ Three days before this, however, a severe blow had been dealt at the northern rebels. The king's eldest son Geoffrey, who a year before had been appointed to the bishopric of Lincoln, gathered up the forces of Lincolnshire, led them into Axholm and laid siege to Kinardferry. Robert of Mowbray, who was commanding there in person, seeing his garrison threatened with the want of water, slipped out to seek aid of his friends at Leicester, but was surrounded and made prisoner by the country-folk at Clay.² On May 5 Kinardferry surrendered; after razing it, Geoffrey marched northward to York; here he was joined by the forces of the archbishop and of the shire; with this united host he took Mowbray's castle of Malessart,³ closely menaced that of Thirsk by erecting a rival fortification at Topcliff, and having intrusted the former to Archbishop Roger and the latter to William de Stuteville, marched back to Lincoln in triumph.⁴ His victory was scarcely won when a new peril arose in East-Anglia. Three days after Pentecost some three hundred Flemish soldiers, forerunners of a great host with which Count Philip of Flanders had sworn to invade England at Midsummer on behalf of the young king, landed at the mouth of the Orwell.⁵ Hugh Bigod, whose truce with the king's officers, made when he dismissed his other Flemish troops in the preceding autumn, expired four days later, at once received them into his castles.⁶ For a whole month, however, no further movement was made save by the garrison of Leicester, who after the close of Whitsun-week made a successful plundering raid upon the town of Northampton.⁷ On June 18 Hugh Bigod and his Flemings marched upon Norwich, took it by

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 384.

² "A rusticis del Clay." *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 68. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 58, alters "rusticis" into "hominibus." The place is perhaps Clay Cross in Derbyshire.

³ Kirkby or Kirby Malzeard, near Ripon.
⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 68, 69. Cf. R. Diceto as above, and Gir. Cambr., *Vita Galfr. Archiep.*, l. i. cc. 2, 3 (Dimock, vol. iv. pp. 364-367).

⁵ "Apud Airewellam." R. Diceto (as above), p. 381.

⁶ *Ibid.* Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 247.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 68.

assault, committed a vast slaughter of men and women, and finally sacked and fired the city.¹ They seem to have returned to Framlingham by way of Dunwich, which was still a flourishing seaport, of sufficient wealth to tempt their greed; but its stout fisher-folk met them with such a determined front that they were compelled to retire.²

Richard de Lucy was all this while busy with the siege of Huntingdon. Provoked apparently by a vigorous assault which he made upon it at midsummer,³ the garrison set fire to the town; Richard then built a tower to block their egress from the castle, and left the completion of the siege to the earl of Northampton.⁴ For himself it was time once more to lay down the knightly sword and resume that of justice. While the justiciar's energies were absorbed in warfare with the barons, the burgher-nobles of the capital had caught from their feudal brethren the spirit of lawlessness and misrule, and London had become a vast den of thieves and murderers. Young men, sons and kinsmen of the noblest citizens, habitually went forth by night in parties of a hundred or more, broke into rich men's houses and robbed them by force, and if they met any man walking in the streets alone, slew him at once. Peaceable citizens were driven in self-defence to meet violence with violence. One man, expecting an attack, gathered his armed servants around him in a concealed corner, surprised his assailants in the act of breaking into his house with crowbars, struck off with a blow of his sword the right hand of their leader

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 68. *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 381 (to whom we owe the date). *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 248.

² *Will. Newb.*, l. ii. c. 30 (*Howlett*, vol. i. p. 178). "Insignum vicum maritimum, variis opibus refertum, qui dicitur Donewich," he calls it. He gives an account of the entire East-Anglian campaign, but he has mixed up the doings of this summer of 1174 with those of the preceding autumn. *Jordan Fantosme*, vv. 845-897 (*Michel*, pp. 40-42), has done the same. He explains, however, the otherwise unaccountable facility with which Norwich was taken, by telling us that "Uns traitres Lohereng la trahi, pur ço si fud surprise."

³ "Appropinquante autem nativitate S. Johannis Baptistæ, Ricardus de Luci magnum congregavit exercitum et obsedit castellum de Huntendoniam." *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 70. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 60, substitutes for the first words "in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis." This is the first time that either writer mentions the siege, but see *R. Diceto* as above, p. 376.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 71.

Andrew Bucquinte, and raised an alarm which put the rest to flight. Bucquinte was captured and delivered next morning to the justiciar; on a promise of safety for life and limb he gave up the names of his accomplices; some fled, some were caught, and among the latter was one of the noblest and richest citizens of London, John Oldman,¹ who vainly offered five thousand marks of silver to the Crown to purchase his escape from the gallows.² The revelation of such a state of things in the capital apparently drove Richard de Lucy and his colleagues almost to desperation. They had already sent messenger after messenger to intreat that the king would return; getting however no certain answer, they now determined that one of their number should go to Normandy in person to lay before him an authentic account of the desperate condition of his realm.³

Henry had spent the spring in a successful progress through Maine and Anjou to Poitiers, where he kept the Whitsun feast. He had just rescued Saintes from a band of rebels who had seized it in Richard's name⁴ when he was called northward again by a rumour of the Flemish count's scheme for the invasion of England. By S. Barnabas's day he was back again on the borders of Brittany and Anjou; he took and fortified Ancenis, and then, leaving Anjou to the charge of a faithful baron, Maurice of Craon,⁵ went to meet the castellans of the Norman border in a council at Bonneville on Midsummer-day. Their deliber-

¹ "Johannes Senex."

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 155, 156. The story is there told in connexion with that of the murder of a brother of the earl of Ferrers in 1177, and said to have happened "three years before." The wording of the latter part, where it is said that John "obtulit quingentas marcas argenti domino regi . . . sed . . . noluit denarios illos accipere, et præcepit ut judicium de eo fieret," seems to imply that the king himself came to England between the capture of Bucquinte and the execution of John. In that case the date of the affair would be about June or July 1174. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 131, mentions the hanging of John Oldman, but puts it after the murder of De Ferrers in 1177 and omits the whole story which in the *Gesta* intervenes, thereby also omitting to shew the true sequence of events and chronology.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 381.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 380. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 71, and Chron. S. Albin. a. 1174 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 43).

⁵ R. Diceto and *Gesta Hen.* as above.

ations were interrupted by the appearance of Richard of Ilchester—now bishop-elect of Winchester—on his errand from England to recall the king.¹ Richard's pleadings however were scarcely needed. Henry knew that his eldest son was at that very moment with the count of Flanders at Gravelines, only awaiting a favourable wind to set sail for the invasion of England,² and that, whatever might be the risk to his continental realms, he must hasten to save the island.³ He at once took measures for the security of the Norman castles and for the transport of those prisoners and suspected persons whom he dared not venture to leave behind him—his queen,⁴ the earl and countess of Leicester, the earl of Chester,⁵ the young queen Margaret,⁶ and the affianced brides of his three younger sons; besides the two children who were still with him, Jane and John.⁷ The wind which thwarted the designs of his foes was equally unfavourable to him; it was not till July 7 that he himself embarked at Barfleur, and even then the peril of crossing seemed so great that the sailors were inclined to put back. Henry raised his eyes to heaven: "If I seek the peace of my realm—if the heavenly King wills that my return should restore its peace—He will bring me safe into port. If He has turned away His Face from me and determined to scourge my realm, may I never reach its shores!" By nightfall he was safe⁸ at Southampton.⁹

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 381, 382. Cf. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1530-1633 (Michel, pp. 70-74).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 72. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 61.

³ *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 248. Cf. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 32 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 181).

⁴ R. Diceto as above, p. 382. *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁵ R. Diceto (as above) has "comitem Cestrensem, Legecestrensem comitissam"; *Mat. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 292, turns this into "comitem Legecestrensem et comitissam." We may surely combine the two versions.

⁶ R. Diceto and *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁷ R. Diceto as above, p. 382. "Uxores filiorum suorum" must mean Adela of France, Constance of Brittany and Alice of Maurienne, all of whom are known to have been in Henry's custody.

⁸ R. Diceto as above, pp. 382, 383.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 383. *Gesta Hen.* as above. Cf. Pipe Roll a. 1173, quoted by *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 180. R. Niger (Anstruther), p. 176, puts the voyage two days later.

His first care was to bestow his prisoners and hostages in safe custody.¹ That done, he set off at once on a pilgrimage to the grave of his former friend and victim at Canterbury. Travelling with the utmost speed, and feeding only on bread and water, he reached Canterbury on July 12; before the church of S. Dunstan, outside the west gate, he dismounted, exchanged his kingly robes for the woollen gown of a pilgrim, and made his way with bare and bleeding feet along the rough-paved streets to the cathedral church. Here, surrounded by a group of bishops and abbots who seem to have come with him, as well as by the monks of the cathedral chapter and a crowd of wondering lay-folk, he threw himself in an agony of penitence and prayer on the martyr's tomb, which still stood in the crypt where his body had been hastily buried by the terrified monks immediately after the murder. The bishop of London now came forward and spoke in the king's name, solemnly protesting that he had never sought the primate's death, and beseeching absolution from the assembled prelates for the rash words which had occasioned it. The absolution was given; the king then underwent a public scourging at the hands of the bishops and monks; he spent the whole night in prayer before the shrine; early on the morrow he heard mass and departed, leaving rich gifts in money and endowments, and rode back still fasting to London, which he reached on the following morning.² The next few days were spent in collecting forces, in addition to a large troop of Brabantines whom he had brought over with him,³ and in despatching a part of these into Suffolk against Hugh Bigod;

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 72. Eleanor was placed at Salisbury (Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 67; Labbe, *Nova Bibl.*, vol. ii. p. 319) in charge of Robert Mauduit; the younger queen "and the hostages" were sent to Devizes under the care of Eustace Fitz-Stephen. (Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 180, from Pipe Roll a. 1173.)

² For accounts of the penance see R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 383; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 248, 249; *Gesta Hen.* as above; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 61, 62; Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 35 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 18); E. Grim (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. ii.), pp. 445-447; Herb. Bosh. (*ib.* vol. iii.), pp. 545-547.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 382. *Gesta Hen.* as above. Rob. Torigni, a. 1174.

Henry himself lingering another day or two to recover from his excitement and fatigue.¹

In the middle of the night of July 17 a courier from the north came knocking wildly for admittance at the palace-gate. The porters remonstrated with him in vain; he bore, he said, good news which the king must hear that very night. He hurried to the door of the king's chamber, and, despite the expostulations of the chamberlains, made his way to the bedside and woke the king from his sleep. "Who art thou?" demanded Henry. "A servant of your faithful Ralf de Glanville, and the bearer of good tidings from him to you." "Is he well?" "He is well; and lo! he holds your enemy the king of Scots in chains at Richmond castle." Not till he had seen Ralf's own letters could Henry believe the tidings; then he burst into thanksgivings for the crowning triumph which had come to him, as he now learned, almost at the moment when his voluntary humiliation at Canterbury was completed.² The garrison of Carlisle had pledged themselves to surrender to the Scot king at Michaelmas if not previously relieved. In the interval William laid siege to Odelin de Umfraville's castle of Prudhoe on the Tyne.³ Here he was rejoined by Robert de Mowbray, who had somehow escaped from his jailors, and now came to intreat the Scot king's aid in the recovery of his lost castles.⁴ Meanwhile, however, the king's return had apparently brought with it the return of the sheriff of Yorkshire, Robert de Stuteville. Under his leadership and that of his son William the whole military forces of the shire, with those of William de Vesci, Ralf de Glanville, Bernard de Balliol and Odelin de Umfraville, and Archbishop Roger's men under his con-

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 35 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 189), says he stayed in London in order to be bled.

² *Ib.* (pp. 189, 190). On the coincidence of time see Mr. Howlett's note 3, p. 188. Cf. the more detailed, but far less vivid version of the story in Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1956-2029 (Michel, pp. 88-92). In the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 72, Henry is said to have received the news on July 18. Taken in conjunction with the story given above, this must mean the night of July 17-18.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 65. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 60. Cf. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 32 (as above, p. 182); and Jordan Fantosme, vv., 1640-1650 (Michel, p. 74).

⁴ Will. Newb. as above.

stable Ralf de Tilly, gathered and marched northward to oppose the Scots.¹ They reached Newcastle on July 12²—the day of Henry's penitential entry into Canterbury—but only to find that on the rumour of their approach William the Lion had retired from Prudhoe, and was gone to besiege Alnwick with his own picked followers, while the bulk of his host, under the earls of Fife and Angus and the English traitor Richard de Morville, dispersed over all Northumberland to burn, plunder and slay in the old barbarous Scottish fashion which seems hardly to have softened since the days of Malcolm Canmore.³ The English leaders now held a council of war. Their forces consisted only of a few hundred knights, all wearied and spent with their long and hurried march, in which the foot had been unable to keep up with them at all. The more cautious argued that enough had been done in driving back the Scots thus far, and that it would be madness for a band of four hundred men to advance against a host of eighty thousand. Bolder spirits, however, urged that the justice of their cause must suffice to prevail against any odds; and it was decided to continue the march to Alnwick. They set out next morning before sunrise; the further they rode, the thicker grew the mist; some proposed to turn back. "Turn back who will," cried Bernard de Balliol, "if no man will follow me, I will go on alone, rather than bear the stain of cowardice for ever!" Every one of them followed him; and when at last the mist cleared away, the first sight that met their eyes was the friendly castle of Alnwick. Close beside it lay the king of Scots, carelessly playing with a little band of some sixty knights. Never dreaming that the English host would dare to pursue him thus far, he had sent out all the rest of his

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 65, 66. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 60.

² "Sexta Sabbati." Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 33 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 183).

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 66. Cf. Rog. Howden as above; Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 32 (as above, pp. 182, 183), and Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1671-1729 (Michel, pp. 76-78). On the Scottish misdoings see also R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 376; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 247; and *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 64; this latter writer can find no better way of describing them than by copying Henry of Huntingdon's account of the Scottish invaders of 1138 (Hen. Hunt., l. viii. c. 6, Arnold, p. 261).

troops on a plundering expedition, and at the first appearance of the enemy he took them for his own followers returning with their spoils. When they unfurled their banners he saw at once that his fate was sealed. The Scottish Lion, however, proved worthy of his name, and his followers proved worthy of their leader. Seizing his arms and shouting, "Now it shall be seen who are true knights!" he rushed upon the English; his horse was killed, he himself was surrounded and made prisoner, and so were all his men.¹ Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Port, an English baron who had been outlawed two years before for an attempt on King Henry's life, alone fled away into Scotland;² not one Scot tried to escape, and some even who were not on the spot, when they heard the noise of the fray, rode hastily up and almost forced themselves into the hands of their captors, deeming it a knightly duty to share their sovereign's fate.³

The capture of William the Lion almost put an end to the rebellion. A body of Flemings summoned by Bishop Hugh of Durham landed the same day at Hartlepool; but at the tidings of the Scottish disaster, Hugh thought it safest to pay them their forty days' wages and send them home again at once.⁴ On the same day, too, the young king, weary of waiting for a wind at Gravelines, left the count of Flanders there alone and proceeded to Wissant with a body of troops whom he succeeded in despatching from thence into England, under the command of Ralf of La Haye, to the assistance of Hugh Bigod.⁵ In London, meanwhile, the news brought by Ralf de Glanville's courier raised to the highest pitch the spirits both of Henry and of his troops. On that very day he set out for Huntingdon,⁶ whose titular earl had

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 33 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 183-185). Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1731-1839 (Michel, pp. 78-84). Cf. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 67; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 63; and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 249.

² Jordan Fantosme, vv. 1841-1849 (Michel, p. 84). Will. Newb. as above (p. 185). On Adam de Port (whose presence on this occasion is mentioned by Jordan only) see *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 35 and note 2, and Stapleton, *Magn. Rot. Sacc. Norm.* (Soc. Antiq.), vol. i., *Observ.*, p. clxi.

³ Will. Newb. as above.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 67.

⁵ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 381. Cf. *ib.* p. 385.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 72.

already fled back to Scotland;¹ at Huntingdon Geoffrey of Lincoln came to meet him with a force of seven hundred knights;² and three days later the garrison surrendered at discretion.³ The king then marched to S. Edmund's; here he divided his host, sending half against Hugh Bigod's castle of Bungay, while he himself led the other half to Framlingham, where Hugh was entrenched with five hundred knights and his Flemish men-at-arms. The number of these, however, had dwindled greatly; when the royal host encamped on July 24 at Sileham, close to Framlingham, Hugh felt himself unable to cope with it; and next morning he surrendered.⁴ By the end of the month the whole struggle was over. One by one the king's foes came to his feet as he held his court at Northampton. The king of Scots was brought, with his feet tied together under his horse's body, from his prison⁵ at Richmond.⁶ On the last day of July Bishop Hugh of Durham came to give up his castles of Durham, Norham and Northallerton. On the same day the earl of Leicester's three fortresses were surrendered by his constables;⁷ and Thirsk was given up by Robert of Mowbray.⁸ Earl Robert de Ferrers yielded up Tutbury and Duffield;⁹ the earl of Gloucester and his son-in-law Richard de Clare, who were suspected of intriguing with the rebels, came to offer their services and their obedience to the king;¹⁰ and a

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 37 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 195).

² See Henry's remark at their meeting in Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 3 (Dimock, vol. iv. p. 368).

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 73. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 384.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above. R. Diceto as above, p. 384, 385.

⁵ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 64.

⁶ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 33 (as above, p. 185).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above. R. Diceto as above, p. 384, dates the surrender of these three castles July 22—*i.e.* just as Henry was leaving Huntingdon for Suffolk. The chronology of the *Gesta* seems much more probable. See in Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 37 (as above, pp. 194, 195), how Henry frightened the constables into submission. Jordan Fantosme, vv. 2039-2046 (Michel, p. 92), has a different story about Leicester. He makes David of Huntingdon its commandant, and says that as soon as Henry received the news of the Scot king's capture, he forwarded it to David with a summons to surrender; whereupon David gave up Leicester castle and himself both at once. ⁸ *Gesta Hen.* as above. R. Diceto (as above), p. 385.

⁹ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Tutbury was being besieged by a host of Welshmen under Rees Ap-Griffith; R. Diceto (as above), p. 384.

¹⁰ R. Diceto as above, p. 385.

like offer came from far-off Galloway, whose native princes, Uhtred and Gilbert, long unwilling vassals of the king of Scots, had seized their opportunity to call home their men, drive out William's bailiffs, destroy his castles and slaughter his garrisons, and now besought his victorious English cousin to become their protector and overlord.¹ In three weeks from Henry's landing in England all the royal fortresses were again in his hands, and the country was once more at peace.²

When England was secured, it was comparatively a light matter to secure the rest. Louis of France was so dismayed at the sudden collapse of the rebellion in England—a collapse which necessarily entailed a like fate upon the rebellion in Normandy, since the leaders were the same men in both cases—that he at once recalled the young king and the count of Flanders from their project of invasion. As a last resource, all three concentrated their forces upon the siege of Rouen.³ Its garrison held out gallantly until Henry had time to recross the sea with his Brabantines and a thousand Welshmen⁴ who had already done good service under Rees Ap-Griffith at the siege of Tutbury.⁵ On August 11, three days after landing, he entered Rouen;⁶ a successful raid of his Welshmen upon some French convoys, followed by an equally successful sally of Henry himself against the besieging forces, sufficed to make Louis ask for a truce, under cover of which he fled with his whole host back into his own dominions.⁷ Some three weeks later⁸ he and Henry met in

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 63.

² *Ib.* p. 65. Rob. Torigni, a. 1174.

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 73. Rog. Howden as above, p. 64. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 36 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 190). Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 249. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 386.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 74.

⁵ See R. Diceto as above, p. 384. It seems most likely that these were the same. The Pipe Roll of 1174 (Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 183) has a charge of £4:18:11 "in corredio Reis et aliorum Walensium qui venerunt ad regem in expeditionem."

⁶ R. Diceto as above, p. 385. *Gesta Hen.* as above. Rog. Howden as above, p. 65.

⁷ See the details of Louis's disgraceful conduct in *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 74-76, Rog. Howden as above, pp. 65, 66, R. Diceto as above, pp. 386, 387, Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 250, and Will. Newb., l. ii. cc. 36 and 37 (as above, pp. 192-196).

⁸ On September 8. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 76.

conference at Gisors and arranged a suspension of hostilities until Michaelmas on all sides, except between Henry and his son Richard, who was fighting independently against his father's loyal subjects in Poitou.¹ Henry marched southward at once; Richard fled before him from place to place, leaving his conquests to fall back one by one into the hands of their rightful owner; at last he suddenly returned to throw himself at his father's feet, and a few days before Michaelmas Henry concluded his war in Poitou² by entering Poitiers in triumph with Richard, penitent and forgiven, at his side.³

On the last day of September the two kings and all the princes met in conference between Tours and Amboise.⁴ Henry's three elder sons accepted the endowments which he offered them; in return, the young king gave his assent to a provision for John. A general amnesty was agreed upon; all prisoners on both sides, except the king of Scots, the earls of Leicester and Chester and Ralf of Fougères, were released at once; all the rebels returned to their allegiance, and were fully forgiven; Henry claimed nothing from any of them save the restoration of their castles to the condition in which they had been before the war, and the right of taking such hostages and other security as he might choose.⁵ These terms of course did not apply to England; while, on the other hand, the king of Scots and his fellow-captives, whom Henry had brought back with him to Normandy and replaced in confinement at Falaise,⁶ were excluded from them as prisoners of war. It was at Falaise, on October 11, that Henry and his sons embodied their agreement in a written document.⁷ A few weeks later William of Scotland, with

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 76. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 66. Rob. Torigni, a. 1174.

² "Et sic finivit rex gwerram suam in Pictaviâ," comments the writer of the *Gesta Hen.* (as above) on the reconciliation.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* as above. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 250. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 394. On the date given by this last see below, note 7.

⁵ Treaty given at length in *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 77-79, and Rog. Howden as above, pp. 67-69; abridged in R. Diceto as above, pp. 394, 395.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 74.

⁷ The treaty, as given in *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden (see above), note

the formal assent of the bishops and barons of his realm, who had been allowed free access to him during his captivity, submitted to pay the price which Henry demanded for his ransom. The legal relations between the crowns of England and Scotland had been doubtful ever since the days of William the Conqueror and Malcolm Canmore, if not since the days of Eadward the Elder and Constantine; henceforth they were to be doubtful no longer. William the Lion became the liegeman of the English king and of his son for Scotland and for all his other lands, and agreed that their heirs should be entitled to a like homage and fealty from all future kings of Scots. The castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh and Stirling were required by Henry as security; and as soon as the treaty had been ratified at Valognes¹ William was sent over sea in a sort of honourable custody to enforce their surrender and thereby complete his own release.²

By the terms of Henry's treaty with France, all the English barons who held lands on both sides of the sea were to be at once re-instated in their continental possessions, except the castles over which the king resumed his ancient rights of garrison or of demolition. Their English estates however were wholly at his mercy; but he made a very gentle use of his power over them. He took in fact no personal vengeance at all; he exacted simply what was necessary for securing his own authority and the peace

5), is printed also in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 30, with the addition of a date—Falaise—and the signatures of twenty-eight witnesses. Among the latter is Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln. Now we know from R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 393, that Geoffrey came over from England to Normandy on October 8. R. Diceto (*ib.* p. 394) gives the date of the meeting at which the treaty was made as October 11. Is it not probable that he has substituted for the date of the making of the treaty that of its formal ratification at Falaise?

¹ This treaty, as given in *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 96-99, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 80-82 (and from them in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 30, 31), is dated at Falaise. R. Diceto, however (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 396), who gives an abridgement of it, says it was made at Valognes, on December 8. Now there is in Hearne's *Liber Niger*, vol. i. pp. 36-40, a copy of the treaty, differing from the former ones in having eighteen more witnesses (one cannot help noting the name of the last—"Roger Bacun") and in its date, which is "Valognes." No doubt the Falaise copy was made first, and this is the ratification of it.

² R. Diceto as above, p. 398.

of the realm—the instant departure of the Flemish mercenaries¹ and the demolition of unlicensed fortifications—and for defraying the expenses of the war. This was done by a tax levied partly on the royal demesnes, partly on the estates of the rebels throughout the country, on the basis of an assessment made for that purpose during the past summer by the sheriffs of the several counties, assisted by some officers of the Exchequer.² No ruinous sums were demanded; even Hugh Bigod escaped with a fine of a thousand marks, and lost none of the revenues of his earldom save for the time that he was actually in open rebellion; the third penny of Norfolk was reckoned as due to him again from the third day after his surrender, and its amount for two months was paid to him accordingly at Michaelmas.³ Even the earls of Leicester and Chester seem to have been at once set free;⁴ and in little more than two years they were restored to all their lands and honours, except their castles, which were either razed or retained in the king's hands.⁵

This very clemency was in itself at once the strongest proof of the completeness of Henry's victory and the surest means of retaining the hold which he had now gained over the barons. The struggle whose course we have been trying to follow has a special significance: it was the last struggle in English history in which the barons were arrayed against the united interests of the Crown and the people. That feudal pride which had revolted so often and so fiercely against the determination of William the Conqueror and Henry I. to enforce justice and order throughout their realm stooped at last to acknowledge its master in Henry II.

¹ Hugh Bigod's Flemings and the knights sent over by the young king were all sent out of the country immediately after Hugh's surrender, and the former were made to swear that they would never set a hostile foot in England again. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 385.

² This is the "Assiza super dominica regis et super terras eorum qui recesserunt." Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 184, 185.

³ See extract from Pipe Roll 20 Hen. II. [a. 1174], and Mr. Eyton's comment upon it, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 181, note 2.

⁴ Hugh of Chester was probably released at the same time with the king of Scots, for he signs among the witnesses to the treaty of Falaise. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 99. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 82.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 134, 135. Rog. Howden as above, p. 118.

In the unbroken tranquillity, the uninterrupted development of reform in law and administration, the unchecked growth of the material and social prosperity of England during the remaining fifteen years of his reign, Henry and his people reaped the first-fruits of the anti-feudal policy which he and his predecessors had so long and so steadily maintained. Its full harvest was to be reaped after he was gone, not by the sovereign, but by the barons themselves, to whom his strong hand had at last taught their true mission as leaders and champions of the English people against a king who had fallen away from the traditions alike of the Norman and of the Angevin Henry.

CHAPTER V.

THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE.

1175-1183.

IN the seven years which followed the suppression of the barons' revolt Henry's prosperity reached its height. The rising in which all his enemies had united for his destruction had ended in leaving him seated more firmly than ever upon the most securely-established throne in Europe. Within the four seas of Britain he was master as no king had ever been master before him. The English people had been with him from the first, and was learning year by year to identify its interests more closely with his; the Church, alienated for nearly ten years, was reconciled by his penance; feudalism was beaten at last, and for ever. The Welsh princes were his obedient and serviceable vassals; the Scot king had been humbled to accept a like position; a new subject-realm was growing up on the coast of Ireland. The great external peril which had dogged Henry's footsteps through life, the hostility of France, was for a while paralyzed by his success. Other external foes he had none; the kings of Spain and of Sicily, the princes of the Western and even of the Eastern Empire, vied with each other in seeking the friendship, one might almost say the patronage, of the one sovereign in Europe who, safe on his sea-girt throne, could afford to be independent of them all. Within and without, on either side of the sea, all hindrances to the full and free developement of Henry's policy for the government of his whole dominions were thus completely removed.

In England itself the succeeding period was one of unbroken tranquillity and steady prosperous growth, social, intellectual, political, constitutional. Henry used his opportunity to make a longer stay in the island than he had ever made there before, save at the very beginning of his reign. He was there from May 1175 to August 1177; in the following July he returned, and stayed till April 1180; he came back again in July 1181, and remained till March 1182. Each of these visits was marked by some further step towards the completion of his judicial and administrative reforms. Almost as soon as he set foot in the country, indeed, he took up his work as if it had never been interrupted. The king and his eldest son went to England together on May 9, 1175;¹ on Rogation Sunday they publicly sealed their reconciliation with each other and with the Church in a great council which met at Westminster² under the presidency of a new archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, formerly prior of Dover, who after countless troubles and delays had been chosen just before the outbreak of the rebellion to fill S. Thomas's place,³ and had come back from Rome in triumph, with his pallium and a commission as legate for all England, just as Henry was returning to Normandy from his success against Hugh Bigod.⁴ From the council the two kings and the primate went all together on a pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb at Canterbury;⁵ at Whitsuntide the kings held a court at Reading,⁶ and on S. Peter's day they met the Welsh princes in a great council at Gloucester.⁷ Two days later the process, begun two years before, of filling up the vacant bishoprics and abbacies which had been accumulating during Thomas's exile was

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 83, 84. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 399.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 84. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 250. R. Diceto as above, pp. 399-401.

³ On the Canterbury troubles and Richard's election see Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 239-242, 243-245, 247.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 249. R. Diceto as above, p. 391. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 74.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 91. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 256. R. Diceto as above, p. 399.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 92.

completed in another council at Woodstock.¹ Thence, too, was issued an edict for the better securing of order throughout the realm, and particularly around the person of the king; all his opponents in the late war were forbidden, on pain of arrest as traitors, to come to the court without special summons, and, under any circumstances, to come before sunrise or stay over night; and all wearing of arms, knife, bow and arrows, was forbidden on the English side of the Severn. These prohibitions however were only temporary;² and they were, with one exception, the only measure of general severity taken by Henry in consequence of the rebellion. That exception was a great forest-visitation, begun by Henry in person during the summer of 1175 and not completed by his ministers, it seems, till Michaelmas 1177, and from which scarcely a man throughout the kingdom, baron or villein, layman or priest, was altogether exempt. In vain did Richard de Lucy, as loyal to the people as to the king, shew Henry his own royal writ authorizing the justiciars to throw open the forests and give up the royal fish-ponds to public use during the war, and protest against the injustice of punishing the people at large for a trespass to which he had himself invited them in the king's name and in accordance, as he had understood it, with the king's expressed will. The license had probably been used to a far wider extent than Henry had intended; the general excitement had perhaps vented itself in some such outburst of wanton destructiveness as had occurred after the death of Henry I.; at any rate, the Norman and the Angevin blood in Henry II. was all alike stirred into wrath at sight of damage done to vert and venison; the transgressors were placed, in technical phrase, "at the king's mercy," and their fines constituted an important item in the Pipe Roll of 1176.³

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 93. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above. "Sed hæc præcepta parvo tempore custodita sunt."

³ On the "misericordia regis pro forestâ," as it is called in the Pipe Rolls, see *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 92, 94; Rog. Howden as above, p. 79; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 402; Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 483; and the extracts from the Pipe Rolls 22 and 23 Hen. II. (*i.e.* 1176 and 1177) in Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 541, 542.

In the beginning of that year the king assembled a great council at Northampton,¹ and thence issued an Assize which forms another link in the series of legal enactments begun at Clarendon just ten years before. The first three clauses and the twelfth clause of the Assize of Northampton are substantially a re-issue of those articles of the Assize of Clarendon which regulated the presentment, detention and punishment of criminals and the treatment of strangers and vagabonds.² The experience of the past ten years had however led to some modifications in the details of the procedure. The recognition by twelve lawful men of every hundred and four of every township, to be followed by ordeal of water, was re-enacted; but the presentment was now to be made not to the sheriff, but direct to the king's justices. The punishments, too, were more severe than before; the forger, robber, murderer or incendiary who under the former system would have suffered the loss of a foot was now to lose a hand as well, and to quit the realm within forty days.³ The remaining articles dealt with quite other matters. The fourth declared the legal order of proceeding with regard to the estate of a deceased freeholder, in such a manner as to secure the rights of his heir and of his widow before the usual relief could be exacted by the lord; and it referred all disputes between the lord and the heir touching the latter's right of inheritance to the decision of the king's justices, on the recognition of twelve lawful men⁴—a process which, under the name of the assize of *mort d'ancestor*, soon became a regular part of the business transacted before the justices-in-eyre. Some of the other clauses

¹ On January 26. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 404. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 107, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 87. The *Gesta* date it merely "circa festum Conversionis S. Pauli"; Roger turns this into "in festo," etc., and adopts the reading "Nottingham" instead of "Northampton." Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 257, 258, confounds the Assize of Clarendon with the Constitutions.

² Cf. articles 1-3, 12 of Ass. Northampton (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 150, 151, 152), with Ass. Clarendon, cc. 1-4, 13, 15, 16 (*ib.* pp. 143, 144, 145). The Assize of Northampton is given in the *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 108-110, and by Rog. Howden as above, pp. 89-91.

³ Ass. North. c. 1 (Stubbs, as above, p. 151).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 4 (pp. 151, 152).

had a more political significance. They directed the justices to take an oath of homage and fealty to the king from every man in the realm, earl, baron, knight, freeholder or villein, before the octave of Whit-Sunday at latest, and to arrest as traitors all who refused it:¹—to investigate and strictly enforce the demolition of the condemned castles;² to ascertain and report by whom, how and where the duty of castle-guard was owed to the king;³ to inquire what persons had fled from justice and incurred the penalty of outlawry by failing to give themselves up at the appointed time, and to send in a list of all such persons to the Exchequer at Easter and Michaelmas for transmission to the king.⁴ The tenth article was aimed at the bailiffs of the royal demesnes, requiring them to give an account of their stewardship before the Exchequer;⁵ and two others defined the justices' authority, as extending, in judicial matters, over all pleas of the Crown, both in criminal causes and in civil actions concerning half a knight's fee or less; and in fiscal matters, over escheats, wardships, and lands and churches in royal demesne.⁶

The visitations of the justices by whom this assize was carried into effect were arranged upon a new plan, or rather upon a modified form of the plan which had been adopted two years before for the assessment of a tallage upon the royal demesnes, to meet the cost of the expected war. It was at that terrible crisis, when most men in Henry's place would have had no thought to spare for anything save the military necessities and perils of the moment, that he had first devised and carried into effect the principle of judicial circuits which with some slight changes in detail has remained in force until our own day. This tallage was levied by nineteen barons of the Exchequer, distributed into six companies, each company undertaking the assessment throughout a certain district or group of shires.⁷ The

¹ Ass. North., c. 6 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 152).

² *Ib.* c. 8 (as above).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 13 (pp. 152, 153).

⁶ *Ib.* cc. 7 and 9 (*ibid.*).

³ *Ib.* c. 11 (*ibid.*).

⁵ *Ib.* c. 10 (p. 152).

⁷ See the lists in Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. p. lxxv, note 5, and Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 176; from the Pipe Roll 19 Hen. II. (a. 1173).

abandonment of this scheme in the assizes of the two following years was probably necessitated by the disturbed state of the country. But at the council of Northampton the kingdom was again definitely mapped out into six divisions, to each of which three justices were sent.¹ In the report of their proceedings in the Pipe Roll of the year they are for the first time since the Assize of Clarendon² officially described by the title which they had long borne in common speech, "*justitiæ itinerantes*" (or "*errantes*"), justices-in-eyre; and it is from this time that the regular institution of itinerant judges is dated by modern legal historians.³

This first distribution of circuits however was soon altered. In the very next year the same eighteen officers made, in addition to their judicial circuits, a general visitation of the realm for fiscal purposes, in four companies instead of six;⁴ and on Henry's return to England in the summer of 1178 he made what at first glance looks like a sweeping change in the organization of the Curia Regis. "The king," we are told, "made inquiry concerning his justices whom he had appointed in England, whether they treated the men of the realm with righteousness and moderation; and when he learned that the country and the people were sore oppressed by the great multitude of justices—for they were eighteen in number—by the counsel of the wise men of the realm he chose out five, two clerks and three laymen, who were all of his private household; and he decreed that those five should hear all the complaints of the realm, and do right, and that they should not depart from the king's court, but abide there to hear the complaints of his men; so that if any question came up among them which they could not bring to an end, it should be presented to the king's hearing and determined as might please him and the wise men of the realm."⁵ From the mention of the number eighteen it appears that the persons against whom

¹ See lists in *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

² Ass. Clar., c. 19 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 145).

³ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pref. pp. lxxix, lxx and notes.

⁴ *Ib.* p. lxx and note 3.

⁵ *Ib.* vol. i. pp. 207, 208.

were primarily directed both the complaint of the people and the action of the king were the justices-in-eyre of the last two years; and this is confirmed by the fact that of all these eighteen, only six were among the judges who went on circuit in 1178 and 1179, while from 1180 onwards only one of them reappears in that capacity, though many of them retained their functions in the Exchequer. In 1178 and 1179 moreover the circuits were reduced from six to two, each being served by four judges.¹ The enactment of 1178, however, evidently touched the central as well as the provincial judicature, and with more important results. It took the exercise of the highest judicial functions out of the hands of the large body of officers who made up the Curia Regis as constituted until that time, and restricted it to a small chosen committee. This was apparently the origin of a limited tribunal which, springing up thus within the Curia Regis, soon afterwards appropriated its name, and in later days grew into the Court of King's Bench. At the same time the reservation of difficult cases for the hearing of the king in council points to the creation, or rather to the revival, of a yet higher court of justice, that of the king himself in council with his "wise men" — a phrase which, while on the one hand it carries us back to the very earliest form of the Curia Regis, on the other points onward to its later developments in the modern tribunals of equity or of appeal, the courts of Chancery and of the Privy Council in its judicial capacity.²

All these changes in the circuits and in the Curia Regis had however another motive. The chief obstacle to Henry's judicial and legal reforms was the difficulty of getting them administered according to the intention of their author. It was to meet this difficulty that Henry, as a contemporary writer says, "while never changing his mind, was ever changing his ministers."³ He had employed men chosen

¹ Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii., pref. p. lxxi and note 2.

² Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 486, 487, 601-603; *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pref. pp. lxxi, lxxiv-lxxvii.

³ "Sic animum a proposito non immutans, circa personas mutabiles immut-

from every available class of society in turn, and none of his experiments had altogether brought him satisfaction. Feudal nobles, court officials, confidential servants and friends, had all alike been tried and, sooner or later, found wanting.¹ There was only one who had never yet failed him in a service of twenty-five years' duration—Richard de Lucy "the loyal"; but in the summer of 1179 Richard de Lucy, to his master's great regret, resigned his office of justiciar and retired to end his days a few months later as a brother of an Augustinian house which he had founded at Lesnes in Kent to the honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury.² Henry in this extremity fell back once more upon a precedent of his grandfather's time and determined to place the chief administration, for the moment at least, again in clerical hands. Instead of a single justiciar-bishop, however, he appointed three—the bishops of Winchester, Ely and Norwich;³ all of whom, under their earlier appellations of Richard of Ilchester, Geoffrey Ridel and John of Oxford, had long ago acquired ample experience and shewn ample capacity for the work of secular administration.⁴

This arrangement was however only provisional. The number of judicial circuits was again raised to four, and to each of the three southern circuits was despatched one of the justiciar-bishops, with a royal clerk and three laymen to act as his subordinate assistants. The fourth circuit, which took in the whole district between the Trent and the Scottish border, was intrusted to six justices, of whom only two were clerks; one of these, Godfrey de Lucy the archdeacon of Richmond, a brother of the late chief justiciar, stood nomin-

abilem semper sæpe mutavit sententiam." R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 434—part of a long passage which sets forth very fully the motives and the general aims and results of Henry's administrative changes.

¹ R. Diceto as above, pp. 434-435.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 238. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 190.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 435.

⁴ Richard of Ilchester is well known as an active official of the Exchequer; see below, pp. 193, 194. Geoffrey Ridel seems to have acted as vice-chancellor throughout S. Thomas's primacy and exile; see Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 174, note 1. As for John of Oxford, his diplomatic talents are only too notorious.

ally at the head of the commission ; but there can be little doubt that its real head was one of his lay colleagues—Ralf de Glanville,¹ the faithful sheriff of Lancashire and castellan of Richmond to whom William the Lion had given up his sword at Alnwick in 1174 ;² and these six were appointed to form the committee for hearing the complaints of the people, apparently in succession to the five who had been selected in the previous year.³ All four bodies of judges brought up a report of their proceedings to the king at Westminster on August 27,⁴ and it seems to have been the most satisfactory which he had yet received. When he went over sea in the following April, he left Ralf de Glanville to represent him in England as chief justiciar.⁵ Ralf's business capacities proved to be at least as great, and his honesty as stainless, as those of his predecessor ; and from that time forth the management of the entire legal and judicial administration was left in his hands. Circuits, variously distributed, continued to be made from year to year and for divers purposes by companies of judges, ranging in total numbers from three to twenty-two ;⁶ while the King's Court and the Exchequer pursued their work on the lines already laid down, without further interruption, till the end of Henry's reign.

The last of Henry's great legal measures, with the exception of a Forest Assize issued in 1184, was an ordinance published in the autumn of 1181 and known as the Assize of Arms. Its object was to define more fully and exactly the military obligations of the people at large in the service of the king and the defence of the country ;—in a word, to put once again upon a more definite footing the old institu-

¹ See the lists in *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 238, 239 ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 190, 191.

² Jordan Fantosme, v. 1811 (Michel, p. 82).

³ "Isti sex sunt justitiæ in curiâ regis constituti ad audiendum clamores populi." *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 239. See on this Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxiii, and *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 601, 602.

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 436.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 215.

⁶ See notices of the circuits and of the sessions of the Curia Regis and Exchequer in Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 236, 237, 243, 244, 247, 248, 249, 251, 253, 258, 259, 265, 272, 273, 281, 291.

tion of the "fyrd," which was the only effective counterpoise to the military power of the barons, and whose services in 1173 and 1174 had proved it to be well worthy of the royal consideration and encouragement. The Assize of 1181 declared the obligation of bearing arms at the king's command to be binding upon every free layman in the realm. The character of the arms with which men of various ranks were required to provide themselves was defined according to a graduated scale, from the full equipment of the knight down to the mail-coat, steel-cap and spear of the burgher and the simple freeman.¹ The justices were directed to ascertain, through the "lawful men" of the hundreds and towns, what persons fell under each category, to enroll their names, read out the Assize in their presence, and make them swear to provide themselves with the proper accoutrements before S. Hilary's day.² Every man's arms were to be carefully kept and used solely for the royal service; they were not to be taken out of the country, or alienated in any way;³ at their owner's death they were to pass to his heir;⁴ if any man possessed other arms than those required of him by the Assize, he was to dispose of them in such a manner that they might be used in the king's service;⁵ and all this was enforced by a stern threat of corporal punishment upon defaulters.⁶

The freemen who were armed under this Assize had little occasion to use their weapons so long as King Henry lived. Within the four seas of Britain there was almost unbroken peace till the end of his reign. The treaty with Scotland was ratified by the public homage of William the Lion to Henry and his son at York on August 10, 1175;⁷ and thenceforth Henry's sole trouble from that quarter was the necessity of arbitrating between William and his unruly

¹ Ass. Arms, cc. 1-3 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 154; from *Gesta Hen.*, vol. i. pp. 278-280. The Assize is also given by Rog. Howden, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262).

² *Ib.* cc. 9 and 4 (Stubbs as above, pp. 155, 156, 154).

³ *Ib.* cc. 4, 8 (pp. 154, 155).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 5 (p. 155).

⁵ *Ib.* cc. 6, 7 (as above).

⁶ *Ib.* c. 10 (p. 156).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 94-96. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 79. Cf. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 38 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 198).

vassals in Galloway,¹ and of advising him in his ecclesiastical difficulties with the Roman see. The western border of England was less secure than the northern; yet even in Wales the authority of the English Crown had made a considerable advance since Henry's accession. His first Welsh war, directed against the princes of North Wales in 1157, had little practical result. A second expedition marched in 1163 against Rees Ap-Griffith, prince of South Wales, and a lucky incident at the outset insured its success. Directly in the king's line of march from Shrewsbury into South Wales, between Wenlock and Newport, there ran a streamlet called Pencarn—a mountain-torrent passable only at certain points. One of these was an ancient ford concerning which a prophecy attributed to the enchanter Merlin declared: "When ye shall see a strong man with a freckled face rush in upon the Britons, if he cross the ford of Pencarn, then know ye that the might of Cambria shall perish." The Welsh guarded this ford with the utmost care to prevent Henry from crossing it; he, ignorant of the prophecy, sent his troops over by another passage, and was about to follow them himself, when a loud blast from their trumpets on the opposite bank caused his horse to rear so violently that he was obliged to turn away and seek a means of crossing elsewhere. He found it at the fatal spot, and as the Welsh saw him dash through the stream their hearts sank in despair.² He marched unopposed from one end of South Wales to the other, through Glamorgan and Carmarthen as far as Pencader;³ here Rees made his submission;⁴ and Rees himself, Owen of North Wales, and several other Welsh princes appeared and swore allegiance to King Henry and his heir in that famous council of Woodstock where the first quarrel arose between Henry and Thomas of Canterbury.⁵

¹ On the Galloway affair see *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 67, 68, 79, 80, 99, 126, 313, 336, 339, 348, 349; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 63, 69, 105, 299, 309. ² *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Kambr.* l. i. c. 6 (Dimock, vol. vi. pp. 62, 63).

³ *Ib.* l. ii. c. 10 (p. 138).

⁴ *Ann. Cambr.* a. 1164 (Williams, p. 49). *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1162 (Williams, p. 199). Both dates are self-evidently wrong; the only possible one is the intermediate year.

⁵ *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 311.

Next year Rees, provoked as he alleged by Henry's non-fulfilment of his promises and also by the shelter given to the slayer of his nephew by Earl Roger of Clare, harried the whole border and roused all Wales to fling off the yoke of the "Frenchmen," as the Welsh still called their Norman conquerors.¹ Henry was obliged to delay his vengeance till the following summer, when it furnished him with an excellent pretext for escaping from his ecclesiastical and political entanglements on the continent.² He set out from Oswestry³ at the head of a vast army drawn from all parts of his dominions, both insular and continental, and reinforced by Flemish and Scottish allies.⁴ All the princes of Wales were arrayed against him, and both parties intended the campaign to be decisive. But the wet climate of the Welsh hills proved a more dangerous foe than the mountaineers themselves; and after remaining for some time encamped at Berwen, Henry was compelled to beat an ignominious retreat, completely defeated by the ceaseless rain,⁵ and venting his baffled wrath against the Welsh in a savage mutilation of their hostages.⁶ For six years after this, as we have seen, he never had time to visit his island realm at all, and the daring "French" settlers in Wales or on its borders, such as the Geraldines or the De Clares, were free to fight their own battles and make their own alliances with the Welsh just as they chose; it was not till Henry in 1171 followed them to their more distant settlement in Ireland that he again entered South Wales. Then he used his

¹ Ann. Cambr. a. 1165 (Williams, pp. 49, 50). *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1163 (Williams, p. 199).

² See above, p. 56, note 3.

³ Ann. Cambr. a. 1166 (*i.e.* 1165; Williams, p. 50). *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1164 (Williams, p. 201). *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Kambr.*, l. ii. c. 10 (Dimock, vol. vi. p. 138). According to the *Brut* (as above) Henry first "moved an army with extreme haste, and came to Rhuddlan, and purposed to erect a castle there, and stayed there three nights. After that he returned into England, and collected a vast army," etc. Following this, Mr. Bridgeman (*Princes of S. Wales*, p. 48) and Mr. Eyton (*Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 79, 82) divide the Welsh campaign of 1165 into two, one in May and the other in July. Neither the Ann. Cambr. nor Gerald, however, make any mention of the Rhuddlan expedition.

⁴ Ann. Cambr. and *Brut y Tywys.* as above.

⁵ *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1164 (Williams, pp. 201, 203).

⁶ *Ibid.* (p. 203). *Chron. Mailros* a. 1165.

opportunity for a series of personal interviews with Rees,¹ which ended in a lasting agreement. Rees was left, in the phrase of his native chronicler, as the king's "justice" over all South Wales.² How far he maintained, along the border or within his own territories, the peace and order whose preservation formed the main part of an English justiciar's duty, may be doubted; but in the rebellion of 1174 he shewed his personal loyalty to the king by marching all the way into Staffordshire to besiege Tutbury for him, and some of his followers did equally good service in the suppression of the Norman revolt.³ David of North Wales, too, if he did nothing to help the king, at least resisted the temptation of joining his enemies; and the war was no sooner fairly over than, anxious that some reflection of the glories of English royalty should be cast over his own house, he became an eager suitor for the hand of Henry's half-sister Emma—a suit which Henry found it politic to grant.⁴ A few months later, in June 1175, the king made an attempt to secure the tranquillity of the border by binding all the barons of the district in a sworn mutual alliance for its defence.⁵ The attempt was not very successful; the border-warfare went on in much the same way as of old; but it was not till the summer of 1184 that it grew serious enough to call for Henry's personal intervention, and then a march to Worcester sufficed to bring Rees of South Wales once more to his feet.⁶

It was the latest-won dependency of the English crown which during these years gave the most trouble to its wearer. If Henry found it hard to secure fit instruments for the work of government and administration in England, he found it harder still to secure them for the same work in Ireland. At the outbreak of the barons' revolt he had at once guarded against all danger of the rebels finding support in Ireland by recalling the garrisons which he had left in the

¹ See *Brut y Tywys.*, a. 1171, 1172 (Williams, pp. 213-219).

² *Ib.* a. 1172 (p. 219).

³ See above, p. 164.

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 397, 398.

⁵ At the council held at Gloucester on June 29. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 92.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 314.

Irish coast-towns and summoning the chief men of the new vassal state, particularly Richard of Striguil and Hugh de Lacy, to join him personally in Normandy.¹ Richard served him well in the war as commandant of the important border-fortress of Gisors;² and it may have been as a reward for these services that he was sent back to Ireland as governor in Hugh's stead³ at the close of the year. For the next two years, while the king had his hands full in Normandy and England, matters in Ireland went much as they had gone before his visit there; the Norman-English settlers pursued their strifes and their alliances with their Irish neighbours or with each other, and granted out to their followers the lands which they won, entirely at their own pleasure.⁴ But the lesson which Henry was meanwhile teaching their brethren in England was not thrown away upon them; and at the close of 1175 it was brought home to them in another way. Roderic O'Conor, moved as it seems by the fame of Henry's successes, and also perhaps by two papal bulls—Adrian's famous "Laudabiliter," and another from the reigning Pope Alexander—which Henry had lately caused to be published at Waterford,⁵ at last bent his stubborn independence to send three envoys to the English king with overtures for a treaty of peace. The treaty was signed at Windsor on October 6. Roderic submitted to become Henry's liegeman, and to pay him a yearly tribute of one hide "pleasing to the merchants" for every ten head of cattle throughout Ireland; on these conditions he was confirmed in the government and administration of justice over the whole island, except Leinster, Meath and Waterford, and authorized to reckon upon the help of the royal constables in compelling the obedience of his vassals and collecting from them their share of the tribute.⁶

¹ Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 136-141. Cf. above, p. 145.

² Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), p. 137.

³ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. i. c. 44 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 298).

⁴ For the history of these years in Ireland see Four Masters, a. 1173-1175 (O'Donovan, vol. iii. pp. 9-23); Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. cc. 1-4 (Dimock, vol. v. pp. 308-314); Anglo-Norm. Poem (Michel), pp. 142 to end.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 5 (pp. 315-319).

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 101-103. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

This scheme might perhaps have answered at least as well as a similar plan had answered during a few years in South Wales, had it not been for the disturbed condition of the English settlement. The death of Richard of Striguil in 1176¹ left the command in the hands of his brother-in-law and constable, Raymond the Fat, who for some years had been not only the leader of his forces, but also his chief adviser and most indispensable agent in all matters political and military.² A jealous rival, however, had already brought Raymond into ill repute at court,³ and the king's seneschal William Fitz-Aldhelm was sent to supersede him.⁴ William appears to have been a loyal servant of the king, but his tact and wisdom did not equal his loyalty. At the moment of landing his suspicions were aroused by the imposing display of armed followers with which Raymond came to meet him; the muttered words which he incautiously suffered to escape his lips—"I will soon put an end to all this!"—were enough to set all the Geraldines against him at once; and the impolitic haste and severity with which he acted upon his suspicions, without waiting to prove their justice,⁵ drove the whole body of the earlier settlers into such a state of irritation that early in the next year Henry found it necessary to recall him.⁶ Meanwhile the aggressive spirit of the English settlers had made Henry's treaty with Roderic almost a dead letter. In defiance of the rights which that treaty reserved to the Irish monarch, they had profited by the mutual dissensions of the lesser native chieftains to extend their own power far beyond the limits therein laid down. A civil war in Munster had ended in its virtual subjugation by Raymond and his Geraldine kinsfolk;⁷ a like pretext had

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 14 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 332). R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 407. Four Masters, a. 1176 (O'Donovan, vol. iii. p. 25). *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 125.

² Gir. Cambr. as above, cc. 1-3 (pp. 308-313).

³ *Ib.* cc. 10, 11 (pp. 327, 328).

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 100.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 15 (pp. 334-337).

⁶ *Ib.* c. 20 (p. 347). Gerald gives no date for the recall of William; but it seems to have been before the nomination of John as king of Ireland in May 1177; see below, p. 184.

⁷ Gir. Cambr. as above, cc. 7, 12, 13 (pp. 320-323, 329-332).

served for an invasion of Connaught itself by Miles Cogan ;¹ John de Courcy was in full career of conquest in Ulster.² Henry could scarcely have put a stop to all this, even had he really wished to do so ; and by this time he was probably more inclined to encourage any extension of English power in Ireland, for he had devised a new scheme for the government of that country.

The bride of John "Lackland," Alice of Maurienne, had died within a year of her betrothal.³ The marriage-contract indeed provided that in case of such an event her sister should take her place ; but the connexion had begun too inauspiciously for either Henry or Humbert to have any desire of renewing it ; and Henry now saw a possibility of more than repairing within his insular dominions the ill-luck which had befallen his plans of advancement on the continent for his favourite child. In the autumn of 1176 John was betrothed to his cousin Avice, the youngest of the three daughters of Earl William of Gloucester, and Avice was made heiress to the whole of the vast estates in the west of England and South Wales which her father had inherited from his parents, Earl Robert of Gloucester and Mabel of Glamorgan.⁴ But a mere English earldom, however important, was not enough to satisfy Henry's ambition for his darling. In his scheme Avice's wealth was to furnish her bridegroom with the means of supporting a loftier dignity. He had now, it was said, obtained Pope Alexander's leave to make king of Ireland whichever of his sons he might choose. On the strength of this permission he seems to have reverted to his original scheme of conquering the whole island.⁵ In May 1177 he publicly announced his intention of bestowing the realm of Ireland upon his youngest son John,

¹ Four Masters, a. 1177 (O'Donovan, vol. iii. p. 35). Ann. Loch Cé, a. 1177 (Hennessy, vol. i. p. 155). Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 19 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 346).

² Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 17 (pp. 338-343). Four Masters, as above, pp. 29-33. Ann. Loch Cé, as above, pp. 155-157. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 137, 138. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 120.

³ *Art de vérifier les Dates*, vol. xvii. p. 165.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 124. Rog. Howden as above, p. 100. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 415.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 161.



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and parcelled out the southern half of the country among a number of feudal tenants, who did homage for their new fiefs to him and John in a great council at Oxford.¹ As however John was too young to undertake the government in person, his father was again compelled to choose a viceroy. He fell back upon his earliest choice and re-appointed Hugh de Lacy;² and with the exception of a temporary disgrace in 1181,³ it was Hugh who occupied this somewhat thankless office during the next seven years. With the internal history of Ireland during his administration and throughout the rest of Henry's reign we are not called upon to deal here; for important as are its bearings upon the history of England, their importance did not become apparent till a much later time than that of the Angevin kings.

It is during these years of prosperity and peace that we are able to get the clearest view of the scope and aims of Henry's general scheme of home and foreign policy. That policy, when fully matured in its author's mind, formed a consistent whole; it was however made up of two distinct parts, originating in the twofold position of Henry himself. His empire extended from the western shores of Ireland to the Cévennes, and from the northernmost point of the mainland of Britain to the Pyrenees. But this empire was composed of a number of separate members over which his authority differed greatly in character and degree. These

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 162-165. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 133-135.

² The *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 161, seem to imply that the appointment was given to Hugh of Chester. After relating the earl's restoration to his lands and honours, they add: "Et postea præcepit ei [rex] ut iret in Hiberniam ad subjiciendum eam sibi et Johanni filio suo . . . et præcepit prædicto comiti ut debellaret reges et potentes Hiberniæ qui subjectionem ei facere noluerunt." Hugh de Lacy is named simply in the general list of whose who were to accompany him. But Gerald (*Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 20, Dimock, vol. v. p. 347), says that Hugh de Lacy was re-appointed viceroy at this time. That he acted as such for the next seven years is certain, while there is, as far as I know, no indication that his namesake of Chester ever was in Ireland at all. It seems therefore that either the earl refused the office—or the king changed his mind—or the author of the *Gesta*, confused by the identity of Christian names, has substituted one Hugh for another.

³ When he was superseded for about half a year by John de Vesci (the constable of Chester) and Richard de Pec. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 23 (pp. 355, 356). *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 270.

members, again, fell into two well-marked groups. Over the one group Henry ruled as supreme head; no other sovereign had ever claimed to be his superior, none now claimed to be even his equal, within the British Isles. In the other group, however, he had at least a nominal superior in the king of France. It was impossible to deal with these two groups of states on one and the same principle; and Henry had never attempted to do so. The one group had its centre in England, the other in Anjou. As a necessary consequence, Henry's policy had also two centres throughout his reign. The key to it as a whole lies in its blending of two characters united in one person, yet essentially distinct: the character of the king of England and supreme lord of the British Isles, and the character of the head of the house of Anjou. Henry himself evidently kept the two characters distinct in his own mind. His policy as king of England, however little it may have been consciously aimed at such a result—and we should surely be doing a great injustice to Henry's sagacity if we doubted that it was so aimed, at least in some degree—certainly tended to make England a strong and independent national state, with its vassal states, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, standing around it as dependent allies. If he had ever for a moment dreamed of reducing his insular dominions to a mere subject-province of the empire which he was building up in Gaul, when he thought of intrusting their government to his boy-heir under the guardianship of Thomas, that dream had been broken at once and for ever by the quarrel which deprived the child of his guardian and the king of his friend. But, on the other hand, Henry certainly never at any time contemplated making his continental empire a mere dependency of the English crown. It was distinctly an Angevin empire, with its centre in the spot whence an Angevin count had been promised of old that the sway of his descendants should spread to the ends of the earth. Henry in short had another work to carry on besides that of Cnut and William and Henry I. He had to carry on also the work of Fulk the Black and Geoffrey Martel and Fulk V.; and although to us who know how speedy was to be its overthrow that work looks a compar-

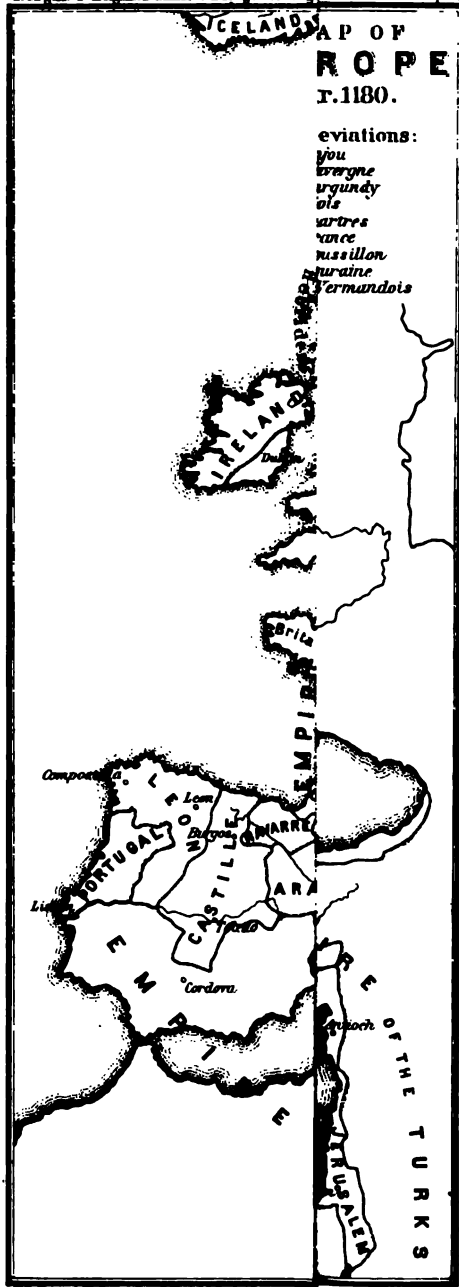
atively small matter, yet at the time it may well have seemed equally important with the other in the eyes both of Henry and of his contemporaries. While what may be called the English thread in the somewhat tangled skein of Henry's life runs smoothly and uneventfully on from the year 1175 to the end, it is this Angevin thread which forms the clue to the political and personal, as distinguished from the social and constitutional, interest of all the remaining years of his reign. And from this interest, although its centre is at Angers, England is not excluded. For the whole continental relations of Henry were coloured by his position as an English king; and the whole foreign relations of England, from his day to our own, have been coloured by the fact that her second King Henry was also head of the Angevin house when that house was at the height of its continental power and glory.

The prophecy said to have been made to Fulk the Good was now literally fulfilled. The dominions of his posterity reached to the uttermost ends of the known world. In the far east, one grandson of Fulk V. ruled over the little strip of Holy Land which formed the boundary of Christendom against the outer darkness of unexplored heathendom. In the far west, another of Fulk's grandsons was, formally at least, acknowledged overlord of the island beyond which, in the belief of those days, lay nothing but a sea without a shore. Scarcely less remarkable, however, was the fulfilment of the prediction in a narrower sense. The whole breadth of Europe and the whole length of the Mediterranean sea parted the western from the eastern branch of the Angevin house. But in Gaul itself, the Angevin dominion now stretched without a break from one end of the land to the other. The Good Count's heir held in his own hands the whole Gaulish coast-line from the mouth of the Somme to that of the Bidassoa, and he could almost touch the Mediterranean Sea through his vassal the count of Toulouse. Step by step the lords of the little Angevin march had enlarged their borders till they enclosed more than two-thirds of the kingdom of France. Fulk Nerra and Geoffrey Martel had doubled their possessions by the

conquest of Touraine to the south-east ; Fulk V. had tripled them by the annexation of Maine to the northward ; Geoffrey Plantagenet's marriage with the heiress of Normandy had brought him to the shores of the English Channel. The whole series of annexations and conquests whereby his son expanded his continental dominions to the extent which they covered thirty years after Geoffrey's death resulted simply from a continuation of the same policy which, a century and a half before, had laid the foundations of the Angevin empire. Count Henry Fitz-Empress stood in a figure, like Count Fulk the Black, upon the rock of Angers, looked around over his marchland and its borders, noted every point at which those borders might be strengthened, rounded off or enlarged, and set himself to the pursuit of Fulk Nerra's work in Fulk Nerra's own spirit. For such a survey indeed he needed a more wide-reaching vision than even that of the Black Falcon. The work had altered vastly in scale since it left the "great builder's" hands ; but it had not changed in character. Henry's policy in Gaul was essentially the same as Fulk's—a policy of consolidation, rather than of conquest. He clearly never dreamed, as a man of less cautious ambition might well have done in his place, of pitting the whole strength of his continental and insular dominions against that of the French Crown in a struggle for the mastery of Gaul ; he seems never to have dreamed even of trying to free himself from his feudal obedience to a sovereign far inferior to him in territorial wealth and power ; he never, so far as we can see, aspired to stand in any other relation to the French king than that which had been held by his forefathers. He aimed in fact simply at compacting and securing his own territories in Gaul, and maintaining the rank of the head of the Angevin house, as the most influential vassal of the Crown. If he ever saw, on a distant horizon, a vision of something greater than this, he kept his dream to himself and, like Fulk of old, left his successors to attempt its fulfilment.

An ambition so moderate as this entailed no very complicated schemes of foreign diplomacy. As a matter of fact, Henry was at some time or other in his reign in diplomatic relations with every state and every ruler in Christendom,





Wagner & Debes' Geog. Atlas, Leipzig.



from Portugal to Norway, and from the count of Montferrat to the Eastern and Western Emperors. But these relations sprang for the most part from his insular rather than from his continental position; or, more exactly, they arose from his position as a king of England, but a king far mightier than any who had gone before him. It was the knowledge that Henry had at his back all the forces of the island-crown which roused in Louis VII. such a restless jealousy of his power in Gaul; and it was the jealousy of Louis which drove Henry into a labyrinth of diplomacy and of war, neither of which was a natural result of Henry's own policy. A very brief glance at Henry's foreign relations will suffice to shew that they concerned England far more than Anjou. A considerable part of them arose directly out of his quarrel with the English primate. Such was the case with his German and Italian alliances, designed to counterbalance the French king's league with the Pope. The alliances formed through the marriages of his daughters were all strictly alliances made by the English Crown. The immediate occasion of Matilda's marriage with Henry of Saxony was her father's quarrel with S. Thomas; in another point of view, this union was only a natural continuation of a policy which may be traced through the wedding of her grandmother with Henry V. and that of Gunhild with Henry III. back to the wedding of Æthelstan's sister Eadgifu with Charles the Simple. The marriages of Eleanor and Jane were first planned during the same troubled time; in each case the definite proposal came from the bridegroom, and came in the shape of an humble suit to the king of England for his daughter's hand; and in the case of all three sisters, the proposal was laid before a great council of the bishops and barons of England, and only accepted after formal deliberation upon it with them, as upon a matter which concerned the interests of England as a state.¹ When Jane went to be married to the king of Sicily in 1176, the details

¹ On the marriages of Matilda and Eleanor see above, pp. 55, 59, 60, and the references there given; on that of Jane, *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 116, 117; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 94; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 408; Rymer, *Fadera*, vol. i. p. 32.

of her journey to her new home and of the honours which she received on her arrival there were recorded in England as matters of national interest and national pride.¹ When in the following year her sister Eleanor's husband, Alfonso of Castille, submitted a quarrel between himself and his kinsman the king of Navarre to his father-in-law's arbitration, the case was heard in an assembly of the English barons and wise men at Westminster.² Henry's daughters in short were instruments of his regal, his national, his English policy; for the carrying out of his Angevin, his family policy, he looked to his sons.

The arrangement by which he endeavoured to make them carry it out is however not very easy to understand or to account for. He had long since abandoned his early scheme of devoting himself entirely to continental politics and making England over to the hands of his eldest son. That scheme, indeed, had been frustrated in the first instance by his quarrel with Thomas; although it seemed to have been revived in 1170, it was as a mere temporary expedient to meet a temporary need; and the revolt of 1173 put an end to it altogether, by proving clearly to Henry that he must never again venture to delegate his kingly power and authority to any one, even for a season. But, on the other hand, it is not easy at once to see why, during the years which followed, he persistently refused to give to his eldest son as much real, though subordinate, power on the continent as he was willing to give to the younger ones—why young Henry was not suffered to govern Anjou and Normandy as Richard was suffered to govern Aquitaine and Geoffrey to govern Brittany, so soon as they were old enough, under the control of their father as overlord. So far as we can venture to guess at the king's motives, the most probable reason seems to be that he could not part with any share of authority over his ancestral dominions without parting at the same time with his ancestral dignities.

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 414, 415, 418; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 120, 127, 157, 158, 169-172; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 95-98; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 263-265.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 139-154; Rog. Howden as above, pp. 120, 131.

From a strictly Angevin or Cenomannian point of view, Aquitaine and Brittany were both simply appendages, diversely acquired, to the hereditary Angevin and Cenomannian dominions. Nay, from a strictly Norman point of view, England itself was but an addition to the heritage of the Norman ducal house. Henry might make over all these to his sons as under-fiefs to govern in subjection to him, and yet retain intact his position as head of the sovereign houses of Normandy and Anjou. But to place his mother's duchy and his father's counties in other hands—to reduce them to the rank of under-fiefs, keeping for himself no closer connexion with them than a mere general overlordship—would have been, in principle, to renounce his birthright; while in practice, it would probably have been equivalent to complete abdication, as far as his continental empire was concerned. Henry would have had as little chance of enforcing his claim to overlordship without a territorial basis on which to rest it, as a German Emperor without his hereditary duchy of Saxony or Franconia or Suabia, or a French king without his royal domain. In short, when Henry found it impossible to give England to his eldest son, he had nothing else to give him, unless he gave him all; and Henry Fitz-Empress was no more inclined than William the Conqueror had been to “take off his clothes before he was ready to go to bed.” All his schemes for the distribution of his territories, therefore, from 1175 onwards, were intended solely to insure a fair partition among his sons after his own death; his general aim being that young Henry should step into exactly his own position as king of England, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, and overlord of Brittany, Aquitaine, and all other dependencies of the Angevin and Norman coronets or of the English crown.

None of the holders of these dependencies, however, had as yet entered into full enjoyment of their possessions. At the close of their first revolt, in 1175, the young king was but just entering his twentieth year; Richard was in his eighteenth and Geoffrey in his seventeenth year; and although the one had been titular duke of Aquitaine and the other titular duke of Brittany since 1169, the real

government of both duchies, as well as that of Normandy and Anjou, had been until now in the hands of their father. For the purposes of our story there is only one part of these continental possessions of our Angevin king into whose internal concerns we need enter at any great length; a very slight sketch may suffice for the others. The part which lay nearest to England, and which politically was most closely connected with it—the duchy of Normandy—was also associated with it in many of Henry's legal, constitutional and administrative reforms. A comparison of dates indeed would almost suggest that Henry, when contemplating a great legal or administrative experiment in England, usually tried it first in Normandy in order to test its working there upon a small scale before he ventured on applying it to his island realm. An edict issued at Falaise in the Christmas-tide of 1159-1160, ordaining "that no dean should accuse any man without the evidence of neighbours who bore a good character, and that in the treatment of all causes, the magistrates of the several districts at their monthly courts should determine nothing without the witness of the neighbours, should do injustice to no man and inflict nothing to the prejudice of any, should maintain the peace, and should punish all robbers summarily,"¹ seems to contain a foreshadowing at once of some of the Constitutions of Clarendon which created such excitement in England four years afterwards, and of the Assize which followed two years later still. A commission of inquiry into the administration of the Norman episcopal sees and viscounties in 1162² was a sort of forerunner of the great inquest into the conduct of the English sheriffs in 1170. This again was followed next year, as we have seen, by an inquiry into the state of the ducal forests and demesnes,³ which has its English parallels in the great forest assize of 1176 and in an inquest into the condition of the royal demesnes ordered in the spring of 1177.⁴ On the other hand, a roll of the Norman tenants-in-

¹ Contin. Becc. (Delisle, *Rob. Torigni*, vol. ii. p. 180). Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

² *Rob. Torigni*, a. 1162.

³ *Rob. Torigni*, a. 1171. See above, p. 128.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 138.

chivalry compiled in 1172 seems to have been modelled upon the English "Black Book" of 1168;¹ and when Henry determined to institute a thorough reform in the whole Norman administration, it was at the English exchequer-table that he found his instrument for the work. In 1176 William de Courcy, the seneschal of Normandy, died. In his stead the king appointed Richard of Ilchester. Richard, to judge by his surname, must have been an Englishman by birth; from the second year of Henry's reign he was employed as a "writer" in the royal treasury;² about 1163 he was made archdeacon of Poitiers, but his archidiaconal functions sat as lightly upon him as upon a contemporary whose name is often associated with his, Geoffrey Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury and vice-chancellor; and throughout the struggle with Archbishop Thomas he was one of the most active agents of Henry's foreign diplomacy.³ Unlike his colleagues Geoffrey Ridel and John of Oxford, he contrived, notwithstanding the ecclesiastical disgrace in which he became involved through his dealings with the schismatic Emperor and the antipope, to retain the general respect of all parties among his fellow-countrymen.⁴ Throughout the same period, when not absent from England on some diplomatic mission, he frequently appears as an acting justice of the King's Court and baron of the Exchequer.⁵ He continued to fulfil the same duties after his elevation to the see of Winchester in 1174; and the estimation in which he was held is shewn by the fact that on his return from Normandy, where he was replaced at the end of two years

¹ See above, p. 125.

² Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II., pp. 30, 31; 4 Hen. II., pp. 121, 122 (Hunter); 5 Hen. II., p. 20; 6 Hen. II., p. 57; 7 Hen. II., p. 48; 8 Hen. II., p. 21 (Pipe Roll Soc.)

³ See the Becket correspondence, *passim*.

⁴ Except, of course, the immediate personal friends of the archbishop, to whom he seems to have been even more obnoxious than the "*archidiabolus*" Geoffrey Ridel—that is, supposing Mr. Eyton to be right in his theory that Richard of Ilchester is the person designated in the private letters of Thomas and his friends as "Luscus." Canon Robertson, however, took "Luscus" to mean Richard de Lucy; but the other interpretation seems on the whole more probable.

⁵ Madox, *Formulare Anglic.*, p. xix (a. 1165). Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 130 (a. 1168, 1169). He was one of two custodians of the temporalities of the see of Lincoln during the vacancy caused by Bishop Robert's death in 1167; *ib.* p. 99, note 5, from Pipe Roll 12 Hen. II.

by William Fitz-Ralf,¹ a special seat was assigned to him at the exchequer-table between the presiding justiciar and the treasurer, "that he might diligently examine what was written on the roll."² He was evidently invested with far more authority in Normandy than that which usually appertained to a Norman seneschal—authority, in fact, more like that of an English justiciar; indeed, he is actually called justiciar, and not seneschal, by contemporary English writers.³ His work in the duchy seems to have been moreover specially connected with finance;⁴ and we may perhaps venture to see a trace of his hand in the organization of the Norman Court of Exchequer, which first comes distinctly to light in Henry's latter years, its earliest extant roll being that of the year 1180.⁵ The earlier stages of the legal and administrative organization of Normandy are, however, so lost in obscurity that neither constitutional lawyers in Henry's day nor constitutional historians in our own have been able to determine the exact historical relation of the Norman system to that of England;⁶ and the speedy severance of the political connexion between them makes the determination of the question, after all, of little practical moment.

Even more obscure than the internal history of Normandy under Henry II. is that of Anjou and of the two dependencies which may now be reckoned as one with it, Touraine and Maine. There is in his time throughout the whole of his dominions, with the marked exception of England, a dearth of historical records. Normandy cannot boast of a single historian such as those of the preceding generation, Orderic or William of Jumiéges; the only Norman chronicle of any importance is that of Robert of Torigny, commonly known as "*Robert de Monte*," from the Mont-St.-Michel of which he was abbot; and even his work is nothing more than a tolerably full and accurate chronicle

¹ See Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 100, and the editor's note 3.

² *Dialog. de Scacc.*, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 178; cf. *ib.* p. 184.

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 124. "Curiâ sibi totius Normanniæ deputatâ" says R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 415. ⁴ R. Diceto as above.

⁵ Edited by Mr. Stapleton for the Society of Antiquaries—*Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannia*, vol. i.

⁶ *Dial. de Scacc.*, as above, p. 176. Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 438.

of the old-fashioned type, arranged on the annalistic plan "according to the years of our Lord" which William of Malmesbury had condemned long ago. The Breton chronicles, always meagre, grow more meagre still as the years pass on; the same may be said of the chronicles of Tours; the "Acts of the bishops of Le Mans," our sole native authority for the history of Maine, cease to record anything save purely ecclesiastical details. In Anjou itself the recent aggrandizement of the Angevin house stirred up in Henry's early years a spirit of patriotic loyalty which led more than one of his subjects to collect the floating popular traditions of his race, as the ballads and tales of old England had been collected by Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, and weave them into a narrative which passed for a history of the Angevin counts; and one of these writers supplemented his work with a special memoir of Henry's father, Geoffrey duke of the Normans. But the reign of Henry himself found no historian in the Marchland; and indeed the half-blank pages of the few monastic chronicles which still dragged out a lingering existence in one or two of the great Angevin abbeys shew us that under Count Henry Fitz-Empress Anjou was once more, as of old under Count Fulk the Good, happy in having no history.

Yet it is there, and there alone, that we can catch a glimpse of one side of his character which, if we saw him only in England or in Normandy, we should hardly have discerned at all. Strange as it seems to us who know him in his northern realms only as the enterprising and somewhat unscrupulous politician, the stern and vigorous ruler, the hard-headed statesman, the uncompromising opponent of the Church's claims, Henry is yet the one Angevin count who completely reproduced in his Marchland, as a living reality, the ideal which was represented there by the name of the good count-canon of Tours. Fulk the Black and Fulk the Fifth had both tried to reproduce it, each according to his lights, during those few years when the pressure of external politics and warfare left them free to devote their energies for a while to their country's internal welfare. But Henry's whole reign was, for his paternal dominions, a reign

of peace. If we drew our ideas of him solely from the traces and traditions which he has left behind him there, we could never have guessed that he was a greater warrior than Fulk Nerra ; we should rather have taken him for a quiet prince who, like Fulk the Good, "waged no wars." These traces and traditions lie scattered over the soil of Anjou, Touraine and Maine as thickly as the traces and the traditions of the Black Count himself. Henry is in fact the only one of the later Angevin counts who made upon the imagination of his people an impression even approaching in vividness to that left by Fulk the Black, and of whose material works there remains anything which can be compared with those of the "great builder" of the preceding century. But the memory which Anjou has retained of Henry differs much in character from that which she has kept of Fulk ; and it differs more widely still from that which Henry himself has left in his island-realm. In English popular tradition he appears simply as the hero of a foolish and discreditable romance, or as the man who first caused the murder of S. Thomas and then did penance at his grave ; and material traces of him there are literally none, for of his English dwelling-places not one stone is left upon another, and not a single surviving monument of public utility, secular or ecclesiastical, is connected with his name. In the valley of the Loire it was far otherwise. There the two great Angevin builders share between them the credit of well-nigh all the more important monuments which give life to the medieval history of the land—except the military constructions, which belong to Fulk alone. It is not in donjons such as that of Loches or Montrichard, but in palaces and hospitals, bridges and embankments, that we see our Angevin king's handiwork in his own home-lands. Almost every one of his many local capitals was adorned during his reign with a palace of regal dimensions and magnificence, reared by him in place of the lowlier "halls" which had served for the dwelling of the merely local rulers whom he succeeded. The rebuilding of the ducal palace at Rouen was begun in 1161;¹ that of Caen was nearly

¹ Rob. Torigni, a. 1161.

finished in 1180; its hall, which still exists, is the traditional seat of the Norman Exchequer.¹ At Tours a round tower which still stands in the barrack-yard is the sole surviving fragment of a castle which Henry is said to have built. His favourite abode in Touraine, however, was not at Tours but at Chinon, where the little fortress above the Vienne which had been the last conquest of Fulk Nerra and the lifelong prison of Geoffrey the Bearded grew under Henry's hands into a royal retreat of exquisite beauty and splendour—a gem, even now in its ruin, worthy of its setting in the lovely valley of the Vienne, with the background of good greenwood which to Henry was probably its greatest charm. Angers, again, almost put on a new face in the course of Henry's lifetime. In the year before his birth it had been visited by a fire which reduced to almost total ruin its whole south-western quarter, including the palace of the counts,² of which nothing but the great hall seems to have remained. The work of reconstruction, begun no doubt by Geoffrey Plantagenet, was completed on a regal scale by his son, and before the close of Henry's reign a visitor from England, Ralf de Diceto, could gaze in admiration at the "vast palace," with its "newly-built apartments, adorned with splendour befitting a king," which rose at the foot of the vine-clad hills above the purple stream of Mayenne.³

But the count-king did not build for himself alone. It was, above all, with works of public usefulness that he delighted to adorn his realms. His beneficence indeed took a different shape from that of his predecessors. Church-building and abbey-founding met with little sympathy from him; throughout his whole dominions, only six religious houses, in the strict sense, could claim him as their founder; and even one of these was as much military as religious, for it was a commandery of knights Templars.⁴ But no

¹ *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.* (Stapleton), vol. i. p. 56. *Ib.* *Observ.* pp. xxvii-xxviii. ² *Chron. S. Serg.* a. 1132 (Marchegay, *Eglises d'Anjou*, p. 144).

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 292 (*Hist. Com. Andeg.*, Marchegay, *Comtes d'Anjou*, p. 337).

⁴ Founded in 1173, at Vaubourg in the forest of Roumare—an old hunting-seat of his Norman grandfather; Stapleton, *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, vol. i.,

sovereign was ever more munificent in providing for the sick and needy. Not only do the Norman Exchequer-rolls contain frequent mention of sums set apart out of the ducal revenues for the support of lazar-houses and hospitals in the chief towns of the several bailiwicks ;¹ nineteen years before the completion of his own palace at Caen, he had founded an hospital for lepers outside the walls of the town ;² and a park and hunting-lodge which he had made for himself in the same year, 1161, at Quévilly by Rouen³ were shortly afterwards given up by him to a colony of monks from Grandmont in Aquitaine, to be converted under their care into another great asylum for victims of the same disease.⁴ At his own native Le Mans, the great hall of an almshouse

Observ., p. cxli. Of the other houses, three were Austin priories : S. Laurence at Beauvoir in the forest of Lions, founded while Henry was still only duke of Normandy (*ib.* p. cxiv) ; Newstead, in Sherwood Forest, founded before 1174 (its foundation-charter, dated at Clarendon, has no mention of day or year, but is witnessed by "Geoffrey archdeacon of Canterbury," who in 1174 became a bishop ; Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 474) ; and the priory "B. Mariæ Mellinensis," near La Flèche, founded in 1180 (*Gall. Christ.*, vol. xiv. col. 600. I cannot identify this place). The other two were Carthusian houses, Witham in the forest of Selwood and Le Liget in that of Loches, founded respectively in 1174 and 1175. (The date of Le Liget is traditional ; I cannot find any mention of the place in *Gall. Christ.*) Of all these, Witham is the only one of any consequence ; and the importance of even Witham lies chiefly in its connexion with S. Hugh. (For its history see *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, Dimock, pp. 52 *et seq.*) The insignificance of the others is shewn by Gerald's account of Henry's religious foundations, in *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 7 (*Angl. Christ. Soc.*, pp. 27, 28)—an account, however, which is by no means fair. Henry on his absolution for S. Thomas's death, in 1172, promised to go on a crusade of three years' duration (*Rog. Howden*, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 37) ; this undertaking he was afterwards allowed to exchange for a promise that he would build three religious houses in his dominions. According to Gerald, he managed one of these by turning the nuns out of Amesbury and putting a colony from Fontevraud in their place (see *Gesta Hen.*, Stubbs, vol. i. pp. 134-136, 165), and another by turning the secular canons out of Waltham and putting regulars in their place (*ib.* pp. 134, 135, 173, 174, 316, 317. Both these transactions took place in 1177.) "Tertium vero," says Gerald (as above) "vel nullum, vel simile prioribus sibique prorsus inutile fecit ; nisi forte domum conventualem ordinis Cartusiensis de Witham, s. modicis sumptibus et exilium, ad hoc fecisse dicatur." No doubt Witham was one of the three. But the other two are easily found ; they were Newstead and Vaubourg or Le Liget. R. Niger (*Anstruther*, p. 168) is as unjust to Henry in this matter as Gerald ; but so he is on most others also.

¹ See Stapleton, *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, vol. i., Observ., pp. lix., lxi., lxvii.

² *ib.* p. ci. Rob. Torigni, a. 1161.

³ Rob. Torigni, a. 1161.

⁴ See Stapleton as above, pp. cxlvi-cxlvii.

or hospital outside the north-eastern boundary of the city, said to have been reared by him for the reception of its poor and sick folk, is still to be seen, though long since perverted to other uses. At Angers, on the other hand, it is only within the last half-century that the sick and disabled poor have exchanged for a more modern dwelling the shelter provided for them by Henry Fitz-Empress. Some time in the quiet years which followed the barons' revolt, Stephen,¹ the seneschal of Anjou, bought of the abbess and convent of our Lady of Charity at Angers a plot of ground which lay between their abbey and the river, and on which he designed to build an hospice for the poor. In the last days of 1180 or the first days of 1181 the counting took under his own care the work which his seneschal had begun, granted to the new hospital a rich endowment in lands and revenues, exempted it from secular charges and imposts, and won from Pope Alexander a confirmation of its spiritual independence.² Four priests were appointed to minister to the spiritual needs of its inmates; the care of their bodies was undertaken at first, it seems, by some pious laymen bound by no special rule; some years later, however, the hospital became, like most other establishments of the kind, affiliated to the Order of S. Augustine.³ The pretty little chapel—dedicated to S. John the Baptist, and still standing,—the cloisters and the domestic offices were all finished before Henry's death;⁴ while of the two great pillared halls which now form the chief architectural glory of the suburb, one, the smaller and simpler, is clearly of his building; and the other, more vast and beautiful, is in all probability the last legacy of his sons to the home which was soon to be theirs no longer.⁵

This Hospice of S. John formed a third with Fulk Nerra's abbey of S. Nicolas and Hildegard's nunnery of our Lady of Charity in the group of pious and charitable found-

¹ Of Marçay—or Matha—or Turnham; authorities differ so much as to his identity that I dare not venture upon adopting either surname.

² C. Port, *Cartulaire de l'Hôpital St. Jean d'Angers*, pp. 2-10, ii-vi.

³ *Ib.* pp. 11-13.

⁴ *Ib.* p. xiv.

⁵ On the hospital-buildings see an article by M. D'Espinay in *Revue de l'Anjou*, vol. xii. (1874), pp. 264-273.

ations round which there gathered, on the meadows that bordered the right bank of the Mayenne, the suburb now known as Ronceray or La Doutre,—a suburb which even before the close of Henry's reign had grown almost as populous as Angers itself, and was actually preferred to it as a residence by Ralf de Diceto.¹ Twice in Henry's reign the bridge which linked it to the city was destroyed by fire;² the present "Grand-Pont" probably owes its erection to him. Fire was, however, by no means the most destructive element in the valleys of the Loire and its tributaries. "Well-nigh disappearing in summer, choked within their sandy beds," these streams were all too apt, as Ralf de Diceto says of the Mayenne, to "rage and swell in winter like the sea;"³ and the greatest and most lasting of all Henry's material benefactions to Anjou was the embankment or "*Levéé*"—a work which he seems characteristically to have planned and executed in the very midst of his struggle with the Church⁴—which stretches along Loire-side, from Ponts-de-Cé, just above the junction of the Mayenne and the Loire, some thirty miles eastward to Bourgueil. Further south, in the valley of the Vienne, the legend of the "Pont de l'Annonain" illustrates the curious but not altogether unaccountable confusion which grew up in popular imagination between the two great builders of Anjou. The "bridge," a long viaduct which stretched from Chinon across river and meadow south-westward to the village of Rivière, was in reality built by Henry to secure a safe transit from Chinon into Poitou across the low ground on the south bank of the Vienne, which in rainy seasons was an all but impassable swamp. Later ages, however, connected it with a dim tradition, which still lingered in the district, of the wonderful night-ride across Loire and Vienne whereby Fulk Nerra had won Saumur, and in the belief of the peasantry the Pont de l'Annonain

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 292 (*Hist. Com. Andeg.*, Marchegay, *Comtes d'Anjou*, p. 337).

² In 1167 and 1177. Chron. S. Serg. a. 1167 and 1177, Chron. S. Albin. a. 1177 (Marchegay, *Eglises d'Anjou*, pp. 149, 151, 44).

³ R. Diceto as above.

⁴ It was certainly made before 1169; see Rob. Torigni *ad ann.*

became a "devil's bridge," built in a single night by the Black Count's familiar demon¹—a demon who is but a popular personification of that spirit of dauntless enterprise and ceaseless activity which, alike in their material and in their political workmanship, was the secret of Henry's success no less than of Fulk's.

One portion, however, of Henry's continental dominions has during these years a political and military history of its own, which is not without a bearing upon that of our own land. Geographically remote as it was from England, still more remote in the character of both country and people, Aquitaine yet concerns us more than any other part of Henry's Gaulish possessions. For not only was it a chief source of the political complications which filled the closing years of his life; it was the only one of those possessions whose connexion with England survived the fall of the Angevin house. The heritages of Geoffrey and Matilda were lost by their grandson; the heritage of Eleanor remained, in part at least, in the hands of her descendants for more than two hundred years.

It was in truth a dower at once valuable and burdensome that Henry had received with his Aquitanian wife. She had made him master of a territory whose extent surpassed that of all his Norman and Angevin dominions put together, and was scarcely equalled by that of England—a territory containing every variety of soil and of natural characteristics, from the flat, rich pastures of Berry and the vineyards of Poitou and Saintonge to the rugged volcanic rocks and dark chestnut-woods of Auvergne, the salt marshes, sandy dunes, barren heaths and gloomy pine-forests of the Gascon coast, and the fertile valleys which open between the feet of the Pyrenees:—a territory whose population differed in blood and speech from their fellow-subjects north of Loire almost as widely as Normans and Angevins differed from Englishmen; while in temper and modes of thought and life they stood so apart from the northern world that in contradistinction to them Angevins and Normans and English might almost be counted, and indeed were almost

¹ See *Salies, Fouques-Nerra*, note civ., pp. 429, 430.

ready to count themselves, as one people. It was a territory, too, whose political relations varied as much as its physical character, and were full of dangers which all Henry's vigilance and wisdom were powerless to guard against or overcome. Setting aside, for the moment, the internal difficulties of Aquitaine, its whole eastern frontier, from the banks of the Cher to the Pyrenees, was more or less in dispute throughout his reign. The question of Toulouse, indeed, was settled in 1173; thenceforth the county of Toulouse, with its northern dependencies Rouergue and Alby, became a recognized underfief of the Poitevin duchy of Aquitaine, to which its western dependency, Quercy or the county of Cahors, had been already annexed after the war of 1160. The north-eastern portions of the older Aquitania, Berry and Auvergne, were sources of more lasting trouble. Berry had long ago been split into two unequal portions, of which the larger had remained subject to the dukes of Aquitaine, while the smaller northern division formed the viscounty of Bourges, and was an immediate fief of the French Crown. Naturally, the king was disposed to use every opportunity of thwarting the duke in the exercise of his authority over southern Berry; and Henry was equally desirous to lose no chance of re-asserting his ducal rights over Bourges.¹ The feudal position of Auvergne was a standing puzzle which king and duke, count, clergy and people, all in vain endeavoured to solve. During the struggle for supremacy in southern Gaul between the houses of Poitiers and Toulouse, Auvergne, after fluctuating for nearly a hundred years between the rival dukedoms, had virtually succeeded in freeing itself from the control of both, and in the reign of Louis VI. it seems to have been regarded as an immediate fief of the French Crown, to which however it proved a most unruly and troublesome possession. But the dukes of Aquitaine had never relinquished their claim to its overlordship; and when a quarrel broke out between two rival claimants of the

¹ His first attempt to do so was made in 1170, when a pretext was given him by the declaration said—whether truly or falsely—to have been made by the dying archbishop Peter of Bourges, that his see belonged of right to Aquitaine. Nothing, however, came of the attempt. See *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

county, it was naturally followed by a quarrel between Henry and Louis VII. as to their respective rights, as overlord and as lord paramount, to act as arbiters in the strife.¹ During five-and-twenty years it was a favourite device of Louis and of his successor, at every adverse crisis in Henry's fortune, to despatch a body of troops into Auvergne to occupy that country and threaten Aquitaine through its eastern marches,² just as they habitually threatened Normandy through the marches of the Vexin.

Such a threat implied a far more serious danger in the south than in the north. The Aquitanian border was guarded by no such chain of strongly-fortified, stoutly-manned ducal castles as girt in the Norman duchy from Gisors to Tillières; and Henry's hold over his wife's dominions was very different from his grasp of the heritage of his mother. Twenty years of Angevin rule, which for political purposes had well-nigh bridged over the channel that parted England from Gaul, seem to have done nothing towards bridging over the gulf that parted Aquitaine from France and Anjou. If our Angevin king sometimes looks like a stranger amongst us, he was never anything but a stranger among the fellow-countrymen of his wife. Nowhere throughout his whole dominions was a spirit of revolt and insubordination so rife as among the nobles of Poitou and its dependencies; but it was a spirit utterly unlike the feudal pride of the Norman baronage. The endless strife of the Aquitanian nobles with their foreign duke and with each other sprang less from political motives than from a love of strife for its own sake; and their love of strife was only one phase of the passion for adventure and excitement which ran through every fibre of their nature and coloured every aspect of their social life. The men of the south lived in a world where the most delicate poetry and the fiercest savagery, the wildest moral and political disorder, and the most refined intellectual culture, mingled together in a confusion as picturesque as it

¹ See Rob. Torigni, a. 1167.

² *E.g.* in 1164 (Ep. lx., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 115), 1167 (above, p. 58; Rob. Torigni *ad ann.*), 1170 (Will. Fitz-Steph., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iii. p. 116; Ep. dccxxii., *ib.* vol. vii. p. 400), and again in 1188.

was dangerous. The southern warrior was but half a knight if the sword was his only weapon—if he could not sing his battles as well as fight them. From raid and foray and siege he passed to the “Court of Love,” where the fairest and noblest women of the land, from the duchess herself downwards, presided over contests of subtle wit, skilful rime and melodious song, conducted under rules as stringent and with earnestness as deep as if life and death were at stake upon the issue; and in truth they sometimes were at stake, for song, love and war all mingled together in the troubadour’s life in an inextricable coil which the less subtle intellects of the north would have been powerless to unravel or comprehend. The *servente* or poetical satire with which he stung his enemies into fury or roused the slumbering valour of his friends often wrought more deadly mischief than sharp steel or blazing firebrand. The nature of the men of the south was like that of their country: it was made up of the most opposite characteristics—of the lightest fancies, the stormiest passions, the most versatile capabilities of body and mind, the most indolent love of ease and pleasure, the most restless and daring valour, the highest intellectual refinement and the lowest moral degradation. It was a nature which revolted instinctively from constraint in any direction,—whose impetuosity burst all control of law and order imposed from without upon its restless love of action and adventure, just as it overflowed all conventional bounds of thought and language with its exuberant play of feeling and imagination in speech or song.¹ We may see a type of it in the portrait, drawn by almost contemporary hands, of one who played an important part both in the social and in the political history of Aquitaine throughout the closing years of Henry II. and the reign of his successor. “Bertrand de Born was of the Limousin, lord of a castle in the diocese of Périgueux, by name Hautefort. He had at his command near a thousand men. And all his time he was at war with all his neigh-

¹ As John of Salisbury says—“auctor ad opus suum” :—

“De Pictavorum dices te gente creatum,
Nam licet his linguâ liberiore loqui.”

(*Enthet. ad Polycrat.*, Giles, vol. iii. p. i.)

hours, with the count of Périgord, and the viscount of Limoges, and with his own brother Constantine—whom he would have liked to disinherit, had it not been for the king of England—and with Richard, while he was count of Poitou. He was a good knight, and a good warrior, and a good servant of ladies, and a good troubadour of *sirventes*; he never made but two songs, and the king of Aragon assigned the songs of Guiraut de Borneil as wives to his *sirventes*; and the man who sang them for him was named Papiol. And he was a pleasant, courteous man, wise and well-spoken, and knew how to deal with good and evil. And whenever he chose, he was master of King Henry and his sons; but he always wanted them to be at war among themselves, the father and the sons and the brothers one with another; and he always wanted the king of France and King Henry to be at war too. And if they made peace or a truce, he immediately set to work to unmake it with his *sirventes*, and to shew how they were all dishonoured in peace. And he gained much good by it, and much harm.”¹

Until the dukedom of Aquitaine passed to a woman, as were the vassals, so was their sovereign. Eleanor's grandfather the crusader-duke William VIII. and her father William IX. were simply the boldest knights, the gayest troubadours and the most reckless adventurers in their duchy. There can be no doubt that the submission of Aquitaine to Louis VII., so far as it ever did submit to him, was due to Eleanor's influence; and it was the same influence which chiefly contributed to preserve its obedience to her second husband during those earlier years of their married life when, at home and abroad, all things had seemed destined to prosper in his hands. But at the first symptom of a turn in the tide of his fortunes, southern Gaul at one rose against its northern master. Eleanor's tact and firmness, Henry's wariness and vigour, were all taxed to the uttermost in holding it down throughout the years of his struggle with the Church; and when Eleanor herself turned against him in 1173, the

¹ From the two old Provençal sketches of the life of Bertrand de Born, printed and translated into French by M. Léon Clédât in his monograph *Du rôle historique de Bertrand de Born*, pp. 99-101.

chances of a good understanding between her subjects and her husband became very nearly desperate. Henry himself seems to have long ago perceived that a duke of Aquitaine, to be thoroughly sure of his ground, needed a different apprenticeship from that which might befit a king of England, a duke of Normandy or Brittany, or a count of Anjou. The very first step in his plans for the future of his children—a step taken several years before he seems even to have thought of crowning his eldest son—was the designation of the second as his mother's destined colleague and ultimate heir. Richard had been trained up ever since he was two years old specially for the office of duke of Aquitaine. After long diplomacy, and at the cost of a betrothal which became the source of endless mischief and trouble, the French king's sanction to the arrangement had been won; and on Trinity-Sunday 1172 Richard, in his mother's presence, had been formally enthroned at Poitiers. He was probably intended to govern the duchy under her direction and advice; if so, however, the plan was frustrated by Eleanor's own conduct and by the suspicions which it aroused in her husband. She was one of the very few captives whom at the restoration of peace in 1175 he still retained in confinement. Richard, on the other hand, had been like his brothers fully and freely forgiven; and while his father and eldest brother went to seal their reconciliation in England, he was sent into Poitou charged with authority to employ its forces at his own discretion, and to take upon himself the suppression of all disturbance and disorder in Aquitaine.¹

What had been the precise nature of Richard's training for his appointed work—what proportion of his seventeen years' life had been actually spent in Aquitaine, what opportunities he had had of growing familiar with the people over whom he was now set to rule—we have no means of determining. By his own natural temper, however, he was probably of all Eleanor's sons the one least fitted to gain the goodwill of the south. The "Cœur-de-lion" of tradition, indeed—the adventurous crusader, the mirror of knightly prowess and knightly courtesy, the lavish patron of verse

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 81.

and song, the ideal king of troubadours and knights-errant—looks at first glance like the very incarnation of the spirit of the south. But it was only in the intellectual part of his nature that his southern blood made itself felt; the real groundwork of his character was made of sterner stuff. The love of splendour and elegance, the delight in poetry and music,¹ the lavish generosity, the passion for adventure, which contrasted so vividly with his father's practical business-like temper, came to him without doubt from his mother. The moral deficiencies and evil tendencies of his nature he himself charged, somewhat too exclusively, upon the demon-blood of the Angevin counts.² But we need not look either to an ancestress so shadowy and so remote as the demon-countess, nor to a land so far distant from us as Poitou, for the source of Richard's strongest characteristics both of body and of mind. In him alone among Henry's sons can we see a likeness to the Norman forefathers of the Empress Matilda. His outward aspect, his lofty stature, his gigantic strength—held in check though it was by the constantly-recurring ague which "kept him, fearless, in a tremor as continual as the tremor of fear in which he kept the rest of the world"³—his blue eyes and golden hair, all proclaimed him a child of the north. And although he spent the chief part of his life elsewhere, the slender share of local and national sympathies which he possessed seems to have lain in the same direction. The "lion-heart" chose its own last earthly resting-place at Rouen, not at Poitiers;⁴ and the intimate friend and comrade whose name is inseparably associated with his by a tradition which, whatever its historical value, is as famous as it is beautiful, was no Poitevin or Provençal troubadour, but a trouvère from northern France.⁵ The influence of his northman-blood shewed itself more vividly still when on his

¹ See R. Coggeshall's description of Richard's love of church music: "clericos sonorâ voce modulantes donis et precibus ad cantandum festivius instimulabat, atque per chorum huc illucque deambulando, voce ac manu ut altius concreparent excitabat." R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 97.

² Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 27 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 154).

³ *Ib.* c. 8 (p. 105).

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 84.

⁵ That is, if the Blondel of tradition is to be identified with Blondel of Nesle.

voyage to Palestine, having lived to be more than thirty years old without possessing a skiff that he could call his own, or—unless indeed in early childhood he had gone a cruise round his father's island-realm—ever making a longer or more adventurous voyage than that from Southampton to Barfleur or Wissant, he suddenly developed not only a passionate love of the sea, but a consummate seamanship which he certainly had had no opportunity of acquiring in any way, and which can only have been born in him, as an inheritance from his wiking forefathers. When scarcely more than a boy in years, Richard was already one of the most serious and determined of men. His sternness to those who "withstood his will" matched that of the Conqueror himself; and Richard's will, even at the age of seventeen, was no mere caprice, but a fixed determination which overrode all obstacles between itself and its object as unhesitatingly as the old wiking-keels overrode the billows of the northern sea. He went down into Aquitaine fully resolved that the country should be at once, and once for all, reduced to submission and order. He set himself "to bring the shapeless into shape, to reduce the irregular to rule, to cast down the things that were mighty and level those that were rugged; to restore the dukedom of Aquitaine to its ancient boundaries and its ancient government."¹ He did the work with all his might, but he did it with a straightforward ruthlessness untempered by southern craft or Angevin caution and tact. He would not conciliate; he could not wait. "He thought nothing done while anything still remained to do; and he cared for no success that was not reached by a path cut by his own sword and stained with his opponent's blood. Boiling over with zeal for order and justice, he sought to quell the audacity of this ungovernable people and to secure the safety of the innocent amid these workers of mischief by at once proceeding against the evil-doers with the utmost rigour which his ducal authority could enable him to exercise upon them."² In a word, before Richard had been six months in their midst, the Aquitanians discovered that if their Angevin duke had chastised

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 8 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 104).

² *Ibid.* (p. 105).

them with whips, the son of their own duchess was minded to chastise them with scorpions.

He set off at once upon a furious campaign against the strongholds of the unruly barons. "No mountain-side however steep and rugged, no tower however lofty and impregnable, availed to check his advance, as skilful as it was daring, as steady and persevering as it was impetuous."¹ By midsummer the castles of Poitou itself were mostly in his hands, and the young conqueror was busy with the siege of Castillonnes-sur-Agen, which surrendered to him in the middle of August.² Before the winter was over he was master of Périgueux, and had, in the phrase of a local writer, well-nigh "disinherited" the barons of Périgord, the Quercy and the Limousin. But in the spring their smouldering resentment was kindled into a blaze by the incitements of Bertrand de Born, whose brother Constantine, expelled by him from the castle of Hautefort which the two brothers had inherited in common, had appealed to Richard for succour; the signal for revolt, given by Bertrand in a vigorous *sirvente*, was answered by all the malcontents of the district,³ and at the opposite end of Poitou by the count of Angoulême; and at Easter Richard found his position so difficult that he went to seek advice and reinforcements from his father in England.⁴ Geoffrey of Brittany arrived at the same time on a like errand. Henry bade his eldest son go to the help of the younger ones; the young king complied,⁵ somewhat unwillingly, and went to collect forces in France while Richard hurried back into Poitou. The peril was urgent; in his absence Count Vulgrin of Angoulême had invaded Poitou at the head of a host of Brabantines. The invaders were however met and defeated with great slaughter at Barbezieux by Richard's constable Theobald Chabot and Bishop John of Poitiers.⁶ By Whitsuntide Richard had

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 8 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 105).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 101.

³ See Clédat, *Bertrand de Born*, pp. 29, 30.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 114, 115.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 115. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 93.

⁶ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 407. He adds: "Sicque salus in manu clericorum data satis evidenter ostendit plerisque non animos deesse sed arma."

gathered a sufficient force of loyal Poitevins and stipendiaries from the neighbouring lands to march against Vulgrin and his Brabantines and defeat them in a battle near the border of the Angoumois and Saintonge. He then turned upon the viscount of Limoges, besieged and took his castle of Aix, and thence advanced to Limoges itself, which he captured in like manner. At midsummer he was rejoined at Poitiers by his elder brother, and the two led their combined forces against Vulgrin of Angoulême.¹ A fortnight's siege had however scarcely made them masters of Châteauneuf on the Charente when the young king—seduced, it was said, by some evil counsellor whom we may probably suspect to have been Bertrand de Born²—suddenly abandoned the campaign and withdrew again to France. Richard, undaunted by his brother's desertion, pushed on to Moulin-Neuf and thence to Angoulême itself, where all the leaders of the rebellion were gathered together. A six days' siege sufficed to make Vulgrin surrender himself, his fellow-rebels, his city and five of his castles to the mercy of the duke and the English king. Richard sent over all his prisoners to his father in England; Henry, however, sent them back again, and Richard put them in prison to await their sentence till the king should return to Gaul.³

Northern Aquitaine, or Guyenne, was now for the moment subdued. As soon as Christmas was over Richard proceeded to the reduction of Gascony. Dax, held against him by its viscount Peter and by the count of Bigorre, and Bayonne, defended by its viscount Ernald Bertram, submitted each after a ten days' siege; S. Pierre-de-Cize, on the Spanish frontier, fell in one day; the Basques and Navarrese were compelled to promise peace; the plunderings habitually inflicted by the border-folk upon pilgrims to the shrine of S. James at Compostella were suppressed; and from his court at Poitiers on Candlemas-day Richard triumphantly reported to his father that he had pacified the whole country.⁴ But the peace did not last long. Trouble

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 120, 121.

² See Clédat, *Bertrand de Born*, p. 35.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 121.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 131, 132.

was already threatening at the opposite end of the duchy. Ralf of Déols, the wealthiest baron in Berry, had lately died leaving as his heir an infant daughter. She was of course, according to feudal law, a ward of her overlord, King Henry; but her relatives seized both her and her estates, and refused to give up either.¹ Henry, probably feeling that the boy-duke of Aquitaine had already more than enough upon his hands, charged his eldest son with the settlement of this affair, bidding him take possession of all Ralf's lands without delay, and significantly adding: "While I governed my realms alone, I lost none of my rightful possessions; it will be shame to us all if aught of them be lost now that we are several to rule them." The young king took the hint, marched with all his Norman and Angevin forces into Berry, and laid siege to Châteauroux;² but he seems to have had no success;³ and there was no chance of help from Richard, for not only was the Limousin again plunged in civil war,⁴ but all southern Aquitaine was in danger of a like fate—an attempt of Count Raymond of Toulouse to exert his authority as overlord of Narbonne with greater stringency than its high-spirited viscountess Hermengard was disposed to endure having stirred up against him a league of all the princes of Septimania and the Spanish border, under the leadership of Hermengard herself and of Raymond's hereditary rivals, the king of Aragon and his brothers.⁵ The way in which Raymond prepared to meet their attack supplies a vivid illustration of southern character and manners. He sought an ally in Bertrand de Born, and he appealed to him in his character not of knight but of troubadour. He sent a messenger to Hautefort to state his cause and to ask Bertrand, not to fight for it, but simply to publish it to the

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i, p. 127.

² *Ib.* p. 132.

³ The *Gesta Hen.*, as above, say Châteauroux was surrendered to him at once; but we hear nothing more of it till the autumn, and then we find that the elder king has to besiege it himself; so if the younger one ever did win it, he must have lost it again as quickly.

⁴ Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. cc. lxx., lxx. (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323).

⁵ See Vic and Vaissète, *Hist. du Languedoc* (new ed.), vol. vi. pp. 69, 70; and the terms of the league, *ib.* vol. viii. cols. 325, 326.

world in a *sirvente*. Bertrand answered readily to the appeal; he was only too glad of any excuse for a *sirvente* which should "cause dints in a thousand shields, and rents in a thousand helms and hauberks." "I would fain have the great barons ever wroth one with another!" is the characteristic exclamation with which he ends his war-song.¹

The strife thus begun for the mastery in Septimania was continued at intervals between the houses of Toulouse and Aragon for many years to come. The overlord of Toulouse, however, seems to have taken no part in it as yet; and indeed, it had scarcely more than begun when Richard was summoned away to meet his father in Normandy. Three times in the course of that spring and summer had King Henry collected his host in England for the purpose of going over sea to the help of his sons; twice had he remanded it,² for the sake, as it seems, of continuing his legal and administrative work in England. By midsummer however the tidings from Gaul were such that he dared not further prolong his absence. Geoffrey wanted his help in Brittany; Richard wanted it almost as much in Aquitaine; the young king's unaccountable lack of vigour in their support, and in the prosecution of the war in Berry, was justly raising suspicions of his loyalty to the family cause; and the treaty made with Louis of France at the close of the last war was proving, as such treaties too often did prove, only a source of fresh disputes. Henry summoned Louis to fulfil his part of the agreement by handing over the Vexin to the young king and the viscounty of Bourges to Richard, according to his promise, as the dowries of their brides;³ Louis insisted that Henry should first complete his share of the engagement by allowing Adela, who had been in his custody ever since the treaty was signed, to be wedded to her promised bridegroom, Richard. At last, in July, he succeeded in bringing the matter to a crisis by extorting from a papal legate who had been sent to deal with a heresy that had arisen in southern Gaul a threat of laying all Henry's dominions under interdict unless Richard and Adela were

¹ Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 38, 39.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 138, 160, 167, 168.

³ *Ib.* p. 168.

married at once.¹ The English bishops appealed against the threat ;² while Henry hurried over to Normandy,³ met first his two elder sons,⁴ then the legate,⁵ then the French king,⁶ and once again contrived to stave off the threatening peril. At Nonancourt, on September 25, the two kings made a treaty containing not one word of marriages or dowries, but consisting of an agreement to bury all their differences under the cross. They pledged themselves to go on crusade together, to submit to arbitration the questions in dispute between them about Auvergne and Berry, and to lay aside all their other quarrels at once and for ever.⁷ Such a treaty was in reality a mere temporary expedient ; but it served Henry's purpose by securing him against French interference while he marched against the rebels in Berry. As usual, he carried all before him ; Châteauroux surrendered without a struggle ; the lord of La Châtre, who had stolen the little heiress of Déols and was keeping her fast in his own castle, hurried to make his peace and give up his prize.⁸ Henry used his opportunity to advance into the Limousin and exert his authority in punishing its turbulent barons ;⁹ soon after Martinmas he and Louis met at Graçay and made another ineffectual attempt to settle the vexed question of Auvergne ;¹⁰ a month later he was again in Aquitaine,

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 180, 181. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 143. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 271.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 181.

³ In the night of August 17-18. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 190. *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 421.

⁴ *Rob. Torigni*, a. 1177.

⁵ On September 11. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 190.

⁶ September 21. *Ibid.* Cf. *Rog. Howden* and *Gerv. Cant.* as above.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 191-194. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 144-146 ; *Gerv. Cant.* as above, pp. 272-274 ; shorter in *R. Diceto* as above, pp. 421, 422. The place and date are from this last authority.

⁸ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 195, 196. Cf. *R. Diceto* as above, p. 425.

⁹ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 196.

¹⁰ The proceedings on this occasion are worth notice. Henry, it seems, tried to substitute for the arbitration of three prelates and three laymen on each side (which had been agreed upon at Nonancourt) his own favourite plan of sworn inquest. He called together the barons of Auvergne, and required them to certify what rights his predecessors the dukes of Aquitaine had enjoyed in their country. They answered that by ancient right all Auvergne pertained to the ducal dominions, except the bishopric (Clermont), which was dependent on the French Crown. To this definition Louis would not agree ; so they fell back upon the former scheme

purchasing the direct ownership of one of its under-fiefs, the county of La Marche, from the childless Count Adalbert who was purposing to end his days in Holy Land ;¹ and at Christmas he was back at Angers, where he kept the feast with his three elder sons amid such a gathering of knights as had never been seen at his court except at his own crowning or that of the young king.²

For six months there was peace, and in July the king ventured to return to England.³ He knighted his son Geoffrey at Woodstock on August 6,⁴ and when the lad hurried over sea, eager to flesh his maiden sword and emulate the prowess of his brothers, he could find no more serious field in which to exercise his warlike energies than a succession of tournaments on the borders of France and Normandy.⁵ Richard however was again busy with more earnest fighting. The rivalry between the houses of Aragon and Toulouse had stirred up the petty chieftains of southern Gascony, whom the king of Aragon was seeking to enlist in his service ; and Richard was obliged to undertake a campaign against the count of Bigorre in particular, which seems to have occupied him till the end of the year. The defiant attitude of the nobles of Saintonge and the Angoumois, and especially of a powerful baron, Geoffrey of Rancogne, called him back at Christmas to Saintes ; as soon as the feast was over he laid siege to Geoffrey's castle of Pons ; after spending more than three months before the place, he left his constables to continue the blockade while he himself went to attack the other rebel castles. Five of them were taken and

of arbitration—which, however, seems never to have got any further. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 196. This was apparently the last meeting (except the one in England ; see below, p. 216) between Henry and Louis, and must therefore be the one of which a curious account is given by Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 1 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 85, 86).

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 197. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 147, 148. Rob. Torigni, a. 1177. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 425, under a wrong year. Geoff. Vigois, l. i. c. 70 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 324). Henry received the homage of the under-tenants of La Marche (*Gesta Hen.* as above) ; but he did not really get what he paid for, as will be seen later.

² Rob. Torigni, a. 1178.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 206, 207. R. Diceto as above, p. 426.

⁴ R. Diceto as above.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 207.

razed between Easter and Rogation-tide,¹ and then Richard gathered up all his forces to assault Geoffrey of Rancogne's mightiest stronghold, Taillebourg. It stood a few miles north of Saintes, on the crest of a lofty rock, three of whose sides were so steep as to defy any attempt to scale them, while the fourth was guarded by a triple ditch and rampart. Three lines of wall, built of hewn stone and strengthened with towers and battlements, encircled the keep, which was stored with provisions and arms offensive and defensive, and crowded with picked men-at-arms who laughed to scorn the rashness of the young duke in attempting to besiege a fortress which all his predecessors had looked upon as well-nigh unapproachable. But he cleared its approaches with a ruthless energy such as they little expected, cutting down vineyards, burning houses, levelling every obstacle before him, till he pitched his tents close to the castle walls under the eyes of the astonished townsfolk. A sally of the latter only resulted in making a way for Richard's entrance into the town; three days later the castle surrendered, and Geoffrey himself with it.² Ten days' more fighting brought all the rebels to submission and reduced Vulgrin of Angoulême himself to give up his capital city and his castle of Montignac in Périgord;³ and at Whitsuntide Richard went to report his success with his own lips to his delighted father in England.⁴

He returned shortly before Michaelmas,⁵ to witness the opening of a new phase in the relations between the Angevin house and the French Crown. Philip of France, the only son of Louis VII., was now fourteen years old, and his father was desirous to have him crowned king. Before the appointed day arrived, however, he fell sick almost to death.⁶

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 212, 213.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 431, 432. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 213, and Rob. Torigni, a. 1179.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁴ *Ibid.* R. Diceto as above, p. 432.

⁵ So it appears from an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1179; Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, p. 227.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 240. According to Rob. Torigni, a. 1179, Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 5), and Will. Armor., *Philippi*, l. i. (*ib.* pp. 99, 100), the boy's sickness was the effect of a fright caused by an adventure in the forest of Compiègne, very like that of Geoffrey Plantagenet at Loches.

Louis, half wild with anxiety, dreamed that the martyr of Canterbury required him to visit his shrine as a condition of the boy's recovery.¹ He hurried across the Channel; Henry met him at Dover and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both spent three days in fasting and prayer before the shrine; and on the fourth day after his landing Louis re-entered his own country, to find that his prayers were answered.² His brief visit was long remembered in England, where no king of France had ever been seen before,³ or was ever seen again save when John the Good was brought there as a prisoner in the days of Edward III. Scarcely, however, had Philip recovered when Louis himself was stricken down by paralysis.⁴ This calamity made him all the more anxious for his son's coronation, which took place at Reims on All Saints' day. The archbishop of the province—a brother of Queen Adela—performed the rite, assisted by nearly all the bishops of Gaul; all the great vassals of the kingdom were present, among them the young King Henry, who in his capacity of duke of Normandy carried the crown before his youthful overlord in the procession to and from the cathedral church, as Count Philip of Flanders carried the sword of state.⁵ Like the crowning of young Henry himself, the crowning of Philip Augustus proved to be a beginning of troubles. His father's helpless condition left the boy-king to fall under the influence of whatever counsellor could first get at his ear. That one happened to be his godfather, Philip of Flanders; and the policy of Flanders was to get the boy entirely under his own control by setting him against all his father's old friends,⁶

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 240-241. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 192.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 241, 242; Rog. Howden, as above, pp. 192, 193; Will. Armor., *Philipp.*, l. i. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.) pp. 100, 101. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 432, 433, relates the pilgrimage without any mention of its motive; while Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), p. 293, seems to think Louis came for the benefit of his own health, not his son's.

³ R. Diceto, as above, p. 433.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 243.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 242. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 193, 194. R. Diceto as above, p. 438. It is Roger who says that Henry bore the crown officially—"de jure ducatús Normanniæ." Ralf explains away the matter as a mere act of courtesy and friendship.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 244. Rog. Howden as above, p. 196.

and even against his mother, whom he tried to rob of her dower-lands and persecuted to such a degree that she was compelled to leave his domains and fly to her brothers for the protection which her husband was powerless to give her.¹ The united forces of Flanders and of the Crown—for the latter were now wholly at Philip's command²—were, however, more than a match for those of Champagne and Blois; and the house of Blois was driven to seek help of the only power which seemed capable of giving it—the power of their old rivals of Anjou.³

The days were long gone by when it had been a chief part of the Angevin interest and policy to set the French king and the house of Blois at variance with each other. If Henry had needed any proof that the rivalry of Blois was no longer to be feared, he would have found it in the appeal for succour thus sent to him by Queen Adela and her brothers, and supported by his own eldest son, who at Mid-Lent 1180 went over to England purposely to consult with him on the state of affairs in France. Before Easter father and son both returned to Normandy, and there held a personal meeting with the French queen, her brothers Theobald of Blois and Stephen of Sancerre, and several other victims of young Philip's tyranny. Pledges of good faith were exchanged, and summons were issued for a general levy of all Henry's forces, on both sides of the sea, ready to attack Philip after Easter.⁴ Before the attack could be made, however, Philip had got himself into such difficulties as to render it needless. As soon as Lent was over he went into Flanders and there married a niece of its count, Elizabeth, daughter of the count of Hainaut.⁵ He then summoned all

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 196. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 6. Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 294.

² He had stolen his father's royal seal, to prevent all further exercise of authority on the part of Louis. R. Diceto, as above.

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 244. Rog. Howden as above.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 245. Rog. Howden as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* R. Diceto as above, p. 5. Gerv. Cant. as above. Rob. Torigni, a. 1181 (a year too late). The bride is called Elizabeth by her husband's panegyrist, Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 7), and Isabel by another of his biographers (*ib.* p. 258). R. Diceto calls her Margaret.

the princes of his realm to meet him at Sens on Whit-Sunday for the coronation of himself and his queen. The marriage had, however, given such offence that Philip of Flanders, in dread of opposition to his niece's crowning, persuaded the young king to anticipate the ceremony and have her crowned together with himself at S. Denis, early in the morning of Ascension-day, by the archbishop of Sens.¹ The wrath of the great vassals knew no bounds; and the wrath of the archbishop of Reims was almost more formidable still, for the exclusive right to crown the king of France was a special prerogative of his see, and he at once forwarded to Rome an indignant protest against the outrage done to him by his royal nephew.² Philip of France and Guy of Sens had in fact put themselves into a position which might easily have become almost as full of peril as that into which Henry of England and Roger of York had put themselves by a somewhat similar proceeding ten years before. As, however, William of Reims was not a Thomas of Canterbury, the consequences were less tragic; and Henry himself must have been tempted to smile at the turning of the tables which suddenly placed in his hands the task of shielding Philip from the consequences of his rashness, and reconciling him to the outraged Church and the offended people.

There was a story that young Henry of Anjou, standing close behind his brother-in-law Philip on his first coronation-

¹ *Gesta. Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 245, 246. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 197. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 5. Rob. Torigni, a. 1181. This last writer, whose chronology has now become extremely confused, puts the event a year too late. So does Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 7. Rigord indeed gives an account of the matter so different from that of the English writers—*e.g.* he represents it as taking place publicly, amid a great concourse of spectators—that one might almost suppose he was relating a second coronation, performed in the following year. But there seems no other record of any such thing; and there are some details in his story which point to a different conclusion. Not only does he, too, name the archbishop of Sens as the consecrator—an outrage upon Reims which could not possibly have been repeated—but he betrays his own confusion by giving the date as June 1, 1181, and then describing the day as Ascension-day, which in 1181 fell on May 14, but which really was the day of the crowning in 1180 (May 29). The truth is that the panegyrists of Philip Augustus are obliged to slur over this first disgraceful year of his reign as rapidly and confusedly as they can.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 246. Rog. Howden as above.

day in Reims cathedral, had bent forward to hold the crown upon the boy's head, and thus relieve him of its weight and keep it safely in its place.¹ The little act of brotherly kindness and protecting care may be taken as typical of the political attitude which Henry's father actually assumed towards the boy-king of the French, and which he faithfully maintained until Philip himself rendered its maintenance impossible. It was in truth no new thing for a count of Anjou to act as the protector of a king of France. But we may fairly question whether this traditional function of the Angevin house had ever been fulfilled so honestly and unselfishly as it was by Henry during the first two years of Philip's reign. It was Henry alone who, by his personal influence and tact, brought Philip himself to reason and the count of Flanders to submission.² Next year, when Philip had been left sole king of France by the death of Louis VII.,³ it was Henry whose mediation checked an attempt of the Flemish count to avenge by force of arms the loss of his influence at court;⁴ and when a few months later the house of Blois, with characteristic inconstancy, made common cause with Flanders against France, it was the prompt and vigorous action of Henry's sons which alone saved the royal domain from invasion on all sides at once, and enabled their young sovereign to hold out against his assailants till Henry himself came over to patch up another settlement in the spring of 1182.⁵

Other needs, however, than those of the French Crown were once more calling for Henry's presence in Gaul. The condition of Aquitaine only grew more unsatisfactory, in spite or in consequence of Richard's efforts to improve it.

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 439. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 5, tells the same story more briefly, and it is amusing to see how differently he colours it.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 246, 247. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 6.

³ September 18, 1180; *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 250; R. Diceto as above, p. 7; Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 72. Rigord (*ib.*), p. 7, makes a confusion about the year.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 277. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 260.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 284-285. R. Diceto as above, pp. 9-11. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 297, 300. (Sir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 15, 16 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 42-47). Rob. Torigni, a. 1182.

Henry's bargain with Adalbert of La Marche had failed to secure him the possession of that county; the brother-lords of Lusignan claimed it as next-of-kin to Adalbert as soon as the king's back was turned, and made good their claim by forcible occupation.¹ The Limousin was again threatening revolt; the town-walls of Limoges were razed by Richard's order at midsummer 1181.² Almost at the same moment the death of Count Vulgrin of Angoulême opened a fresh source of strife; his two brothers laid claim to his inheritance against his only daughter, whom Richard of course took into wardship as a feudal heiress, and on Richard's refusal to admit their claims they made common cause with Ademar of Limoges.³ The mischief however did not end here. Richard's unbending resolve to bridle Aquitaine had gradually stirred up against him the bitter hatred of the whole people—a hatred for which his stern rule is quite sufficient to account, without admitting the blacker charges brought against him by the reckless tongues of the south.⁴ The voice of Bertrand de Born had once more given the signal for a general rising. A *sirvente* which went forth from Hautefort in 1181 rang like a trumpet-call in the ears of the lords of Ventadour and Comborn and Périgord and Dax, of Angoulême and Pons and Taillebourg.⁵ But even this was not all. Years before, it seems, there had flashed through the troubadour's quick brain a possibility of stirring up strife in higher quarters than among the petty princes of his native land. Now he distinctly saw the possibility of finding for the Aquitanian resistance to Richard a rallying-point and a leader in Richard's own brother.

One of the most puzzling figures in the history of the time is that of the younger Henry of Anjou—the “young king,” as he is usually called. From the day of his crowning to that of his death not one deed is recorded of him save

¹ Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 70 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 324).

² *Ib.* c. 72 (p. 326).

³ *Ibid.* He was their half-brother, the only son of their mother's first marriage.

⁴ Cf. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 292, with Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 303, and Gir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 8 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 105).

⁵ Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 44, 45.

deeds of the meanest ingratitude, selfishness, cowardliness and treachery. Yet this undutiful, rebellious son, this corrupter and betrayer of his younger brothers, this weak and faithless ally, was loved and admired by all men while he lived, and lamented by all men after he was gone.¹ The attraction exercised by him over a man so far his superior as William the Marshal² is indeed well-nigh incomprehensible. But the panegyrics of the historians, unaccountable as they look at first glance, do throw some light on the secret of young Henry's gift of general fascination. It was a gift which indeed, in varying degrees, formed part of the hereditary endowments of the Angevin house. But the character which it took in Fulk Nerra or Henry Fitz-Empress was very different from that which it assumed in Henry's eldest son. The essence of the young king's nature was not Angevin. He had little either of the higher talents or of the stronger and sterner qualities of the Angevin race; he had still less of the characteristics of the Norman. It is by studying his portrait as drawn in contrast to that of Richard by a hand equally favourable to both that we can best see what he really was. "The first was admired for his mildness and liberality; the second was esteemed for his seriousness and firmness. One was commendable for graciousness, the other for stateliness. One gained praise for his courtesy, the other for his constancy. One was conspicuous for mercy, the other for justice. One was the refuge and the shield of vagabonds and evil-doers, the other was their scourge. One was devoted to the sports of war, the other to war itself; one was gracious to strangers, the other to his own friends—one to all men, the other only to good men."³ Henry in fact was at bottom what Richard never was but on the surface—a careless, pleasure-loving, capricious, but withal most gracious and winning child of the south. The most philosophic English historian of the day was reduced to account for the young king's popularity by the simple and comprehensive explanation that "the number of fools is in-

¹ Except the ever-independent William of Newburgh; see his l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 233, 234).

² See Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 279.

³ Gir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 8 (Angl. Christ. Soc. p. 106).

finite."¹ But it was not folly, it was a shrewd perception of their own interest, which led the Aquitanians writhing under Richard's iron rule to see in his elder brother a prince after their own hearts.²

It was not the first time that Bertrand de Born had sought to kindle in the young king's mind the sparks of jealousy and discontent which were always latent there.³ Now, he fed the flames with an unsparing hand. In words of bitter satire he ridicules the position of the young king, who bears the titles of a great sovereign, but has no authority in his own land, and cannot even claim the tolls upon the traffic along its roads: "Barons of Aquitaine, are we not all of us better than a carter who leaves his cart to go as it may, and counts his dues, if he counts any at all, with trembling fingers?" "I prize a tiny tract of land with honour above a great empire with disgrace!"⁴ Richard, meanwhile, was playing into his enemies's hands by an encroachment upon territory which in name at least belonged to his brother. He had built a castle at Clairvaux, between Loudun and Poitiers, but on the Angevin side of the frontier. If the thought of resentment did not occur to Henry, Bertrand took care to suggest it: "Between Poitiers and Ile-Bouchard and Mirebeau and Loudun and Chinon some one has dared to rear, at Clairvaux, a fair castle in the midst of the plain. I would not have the young king see it or know of it, for it would not be to his taste; but its walls are so white, I doubt he will catch sight of their gleam from Mateflon!"⁵ The troubadour's shafts were well aimed, and they rankled. When King Henry returned to Normandy in the spring of 1182 the Aquitanian rising was in full career; as soon as he had composed matters in France he hurried to the help of Richard, who was fighting the rebels in the Limousin; at Whitsuntide the counts of Angou-

¹ "Quia ut scriptum est, Stultorum infinitus est numerus." Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 234). The quotation is from the Vulgate version of Ecclesiastes i. 15; the English A. V. conveys a wholly different idea.

² Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 303. See also Gerald's other account of young Henry, *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 9 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 31, 32).

³ See Clédât, *Bert. de Born.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*

lême and Périgord and the viscount of Limoges came to confer with him at Grandmont, but nothing came of the negotiations; Henry then went to attack Pierre-Buffière, while Richard returned to the siege of Excideuil. At mid-summer the king was back at Grandmont, and Geoffrey of Brittany with him; thence they went to rejoin Richard, who was now busy with the siege of Périgueux.¹ Matters were in this stage when the young king at last made up his mind to advance into Aquitaine. He was joyfully welcomed at Limoges on the festival of its patron S. Martial—the last day of June. On the morrow, however, he joined his father and brothers before Périgueux, and within a week peace was made; Périgueux surrendered, its count and the viscount of Limoges submitted to Richard, and only the brother-counts of Angoulême still remained in arms against him.²

Peace, however, never lasted long either in Aquitaine or in King Henry's family. His eldest son now again grew importunate for a definite and immediate share in the family heritage. When this was refused, he fled to the court of France, and was only recalled by a promise of an increased pecuniary allowance for himself and his queen.³ Aquitaine, as soon as Henry had left it, drifted into a state of anarchy more frightful than any that had ever been known there before; the sudden conclusion of the war had let loose all over the country a crowd of mercenaries—commonly known as "Brabantines," but really the off-scouring of every land from Flanders to Aragon—who wrought, as a local writer says, such havoc as had never been seen since the days of the heathen northmen.⁴ The evil in some measure brought its own remedy with it, for it drove the common people to take into their own hands the maintenance of peace and order. A poor Auvergnat carpenter, urged by a vision of the Blessed Virgin, set forth under the protection of the diocesan bishop to preach the cause of peace in his native district of Le Puy. Those who were like-minded with him,

¹ Strictly, of its suburb Puy-St.-Front.

² Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. cc. 1, 2 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. pp. 330, 331).

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 289, 291. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.

⁴ Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 73 (as above, p. 328).

no matter what their rank or calling, enrolled themselves in a society bound together by solemn pledges for mutual support in adherence to right and resistance to wrong in every shape; and in a few years these "*Caputii*," as they were called from the linen capes or hoods which they always wore in fight, proved more than a match for the Brabantines.¹

Meanwhile, however, the warlike barons of Aquitaine were exasperated at the failure of their league against Richard; and their anger reached its height when at the conclusion of the Christmas festivities held by King Henry and his sons at Caen, the young king of his own accord renewed his oath of allegiance to his father, confessed his secret alliance with Richard's enemies, and offered to abandon it and make peace with his brother if his father would but insist upon the surrender of Clairvaux. Richard, after some hesitation, gave up to his father the fortress in dispute.² The incident apparently opened Henry's eyes to the necessity of clearly defining his sons' political relations with each other; and while Bertrand de Born was giving a voice to the wrath of his fellow-barons at the young king's desertion of their cause,³ Henry led his three sons back to Angers, made them all take an oath of obedience to him and peace with each other,⁴ and then called upon the two younger to do homage to the eldest for their fiefs.⁵ Geoffrey obeyed;⁶ Richard indignantly refused, declaring it was utterly unreasonable that there should be any distinction of rank between children of the same parents, and that if the father's heritage belonged of right to the eldest son, the mother's was equally due to the second.⁷ The young king, on the other hand, was on account of his engagements with the Aquitanian barons almost as unwilling to receive

¹ Geoff. Vigens, l. i. c. 22. Labbe, *Nova Historia*, vol. ii. p. 321. 326. Turpin, l. 1183. *Genealog. Sanctos*, vol. i. no. 300, 301. Rigour, *Quintessence des Rois de France*, vol. x. p. 12, 13.

² *Anna Hen.* *Scots*, vol. i. pp. 201, 202, 203.

³ *Chron. Bertr. de Born*, p. 47.

⁴ *Anna Hen.* as above, p. 203. Cf. R. Duguet *Scots*, vol. i. p. 18.

Anna Hen. as above, p. 202. *Eng. Historical Studies*, vol. i. p. 273.

⁵ *Ann. R. Duguet* as above.

⁶ R. Duguet as above, pp. 18, 20. *Genealog. Sanctos* as above, p. 302. Cf. *Genealog. Sanctos* as above, p. 303.

the homage as Richard was to perform it.¹ The end of the discussion was that Richard quitted the court, "leaving behind him nothing but threats and insults," and hurried into Poitou to prepare for defence and defiance.²

In the first burst of his anger Henry bade the other two brothers go and "subdue Richard's pride" by force of arms.³ Immediately afterwards, however, he summoned all three, together with the aggrieved barons of Aquitaine, to meet him in conference at Mirebeau.⁴ But the young king had already marched into Poitou and received a warm welcome there;⁵ Geoffrey, to whom his father had intrusted his summons to the barons, led a motley force of Bretons, Brabantines and mercenaries of all kinds to Limoges;⁶ soon afterwards young Henry joined him; with the viscount's help they threw themselves into the citadel,⁷ and set to work to raise the whole country against Richard. He, in his extremity, appealed to his father;⁸ and Henry at once hurried to the rescue. For six weeks he laid siege to the citadel of Limoges;⁹ twice he was personally shot at, and narrowly escaped with his life; twice the young king came to him with offers of submission, and each time he was welcomed with open arms, but each time the submission was a mere feint, designed to keep Henry quiet and give the barons time to wreak their vengeance upon Richard.¹⁰ By Easter matters were so far advanced that Bertrand de Born was openly calling for aid upon Flanders, France and Nor-

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 18. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 292. The two accounts do not exactly agree, Ralf placing at this point the young king's confession of his dealings in Aquitaine; while the story in the *Gesta* is extremely confused, because it is told twice over, in different forms (pp. 291, 292 and 294, 295).

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 292.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 19.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 295.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 292.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 293, 295. Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 6 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 332).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 293, 296. Geoff. Vigeois as above. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 304.

⁸ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 274.

⁹ From Shrove Tuesday—March 1—to Easter. Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. cc. 12, 16 (as above, pp. 334, 336).

¹⁰ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 296-298. Cf. Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 7 (as above, pp. 332, 333).

mandy;¹ and the dread of a rising in this last-named quarter prompted Henry to send orders for the arrest of those barons, both in Normandy and England, who had been most conspicuous in the rebellion of 1173.²

The young king at the same time quitted Limoges to make a diversion at Angoulême. On his return, however, he found it impossible to re-enter Limoges; its townfolk had by this time so fully awakened to his real character and to their own best interests that they drove him from their walls with a volley of stones, shouting "We will not have this man to reign over us!"³ He had already robbed them of their wealth and stripped the shrine of their patron saint to provide wages for his Brabantines;⁴ and the insult goaded him to yet more unsparing plunder and yet more reckless sacrilege. From the castle of Aix, which he took on the Monday in Rogation-week, he advanced to Grandmont, a religious house whose inmates enjoyed, amid the now general decay of monastic sanctity, an almost unique reputation for piety and virtue, and were known to be held by his father in especial reverence and esteem. He wrung from them all the treasure they possessed, and forcibly carried off a golden pyx, his father's gift, from the high altar itself. He then proceeded to Uzerches, where the duke of Burgundy and the count of Toulouse met him with reinforcements on Ascension-day; from Uzerches he moved southward to Donzenac and Martel, and thence to Rocamadour.⁵ Rocamadour was the most famous of the holy places of Aquitaine; besides the tomb of the hermit from whom its name was derived, it boasted of a statue of the Virgin which attracted as many pilgrims as the shrine of S. James at Compostella; and among the treasures of its church, which was said to have been founded by Zacchæus the publican, was a sword traditionally believed to be the famous "Durandal"—the sword of the Paladin Roland, devoted by him to the Blessed Virgin on the eve of his last campaign, and carried to her

¹ Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, p. 52. ² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 294.

³ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 16 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 336). *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 299.

⁴ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. cc. 13, 14 (pp. 335, 336). ⁵ *Ib.* c. 16 (p. 336).

shrine at Rocamadour after the disaster of Roncevaux. Heedless alike of paladins and of saints, the young king stripped the shrine of S. Amadour¹ as he had stripped that of S. Martial; and local tradition declares that he also carried off the hallowed sword, leaving his own dishonoured brand in its place.

He had been ailing ever since he left Uzerches;² now, on his return to Martel, his baffled rage threw him into a fever, to which other complications were soon added.³ Conscience awoke as death drew near. From the blacksmith's cottage⁴ where he lay awaiting his end he sent a message to Limoges, imploring his father to come and speak with him once more.⁵ Henry would have gone, but his friends, in their natural dread of another trick, prevented him;⁶ he sent, however, a bishop charged with a message of love and pardon,⁷ and as a token of the genuineness of the commission, a precious ring, said to be an heirloom from Henry I.⁸ The messenger, was only just in time. On the Tuesday in Whitsun-week the young king called together the bishops and religious men who had gathered round him at the tidings of his sickness, confessed his sins first privately, then publicly, before all his followers, was absolved and received the Holy Communion.⁹ For three more days he lingered, long enough to receive his father's message of forgiveness and to dictate a letter to him, pleading that the same clemency might be extended to his mother the captive Queen Eleanor, to his own young Queen Margaret, and to

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 278.

² Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 16 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 336).

³ *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 300. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 233, 234).

⁴ "In domo Stephani cognomine Fabri." Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 19 (as above, p. 337). Is this to be taken literally, or can it be merely a punning nickname applied to the lord of *Martel*?

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Will. Newb. as above (p. 234).

⁶ Will. Newb. as above. Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 17 (as above, p. 337).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁸ "Annulum preciosum . . . qui Henrici munifici Regis olim extitisse narratur." Geoff. Vigeois as above. Cf. Will. Newb. as above, and Th. Agnellus, *De Morte Hen. Reg. jun.* (Stevenson, *R. Coggleshall*), pp. 265, 266.

⁹ Geoff. Vigeois as above.

all his servants, friends, adherents and allies;¹ beseeching also that his father would make atonement in his stead for the sacrileges which he had committed against the holy places of Aquitaine, and would cause his body to be buried at Rouen in the cathedral church of our Lady.² In the early twilight of S. Barnabas's day he repeated his confession, after which he begged to be wrapped once more in his cloak, marked with the cross which he had taken at Limoges in petulance rather than in piety. Now, however, he was in earnest, and when the sacred symbol had rested for a moment on his shoulder he gave it to his best-beloved knight, William the Marshal, charging him to bear it to the Holy Sepulchre and thus fulfil his vow in his stead.³ He then caused his attendants to strip him of his soft raiment, clothe him in a hair-shirt and put a rope round his neck; with this he bade the assembled clergy drag him out of bed and lay him on a bed of ashes strewed for the purpose. There, lying as if already in his grave, with a stone at his head and another at his feet, he received the last sacraments;⁴ and there, an hour after none,⁵ kissing his father's ring he died.⁶

¹ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 24 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 339). *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 300, 301. ² Geoff. Vigeois as above.

³ *Ib.* c. 17 (p. 337). Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 279. On young Henry's vow of crusade see *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 297, 298.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above.

⁵ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 19 (as above, p. 338).

⁶ Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 234).

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST YEARS OF HENRY II.

1183-1189.

THE unexpected death of the young king was a catastrophe almost equally overwhelming to both parties in the war. Henry himself, when the news was brought to him by the prior of Grandmont, whither the body had been taken to be prepared for burial,¹ went almost out of his mind with grief.² For a moment indeed friends and foes alike seemed incapable of anything but mourning. Hero or saint could scarcely have won a more universal tribute of affection and regret than was showered upon this young king who, so far as we can see, had done so little to deserve it. Stern voices like that of Bertrand de Born, accustomed only to the bitterest tones of sarcasm, insult and angry strife, melted suddenly into accents of the deepest tenderness and lamentation.³ Sober-minded churchmen and worldly-wise courtiers, though they could not deny or excuse the dead man's sins, yet betrayed with equal frankness their unreasoning attachment to his memory.⁴ As his body, arrayed in the linen robe which

¹ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 20 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 338).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 301. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 279, and Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 8 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 30).

³ See Bertrand de Born's two elegies on the young king, Clédat, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 53, 54.

⁴ See Pet. Blois, *Ep.* ii. (Giles, vol. i. pp. 3-5); Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 9 (pp. 31, 32); W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. iv. c. i. (Wright, pp. 139, 140); and Th. Agnellus (Stevenson, *R. Coggeshall*), pp. 265-273. The tone of the real historians of the time is however somewhat different. The *Gesta Hen.* is perfectly colourless, and even on the young king's death the writer adds not

he had worn at his coronation—its white folds, hallowed by the consecrating oil, made to serve for a winding-sheet—was borne on an open bier upon the shoulders of his comrades-in-arms from Grandmont northward through Anjou, the people streamed forth from every castle and town and village along the road to meet it with demonstrations of mourning and tears;¹ and at Le Mans, where it was deposited for a night in the cathedral church, the bishops and citizens forcibly took possession of it, refused to give it up, and buried their beloved young king then and there by the side of his grandfather Geoffrey Plantagenet.²

The political tide, however, turned as soon as he was gone. The Aquitanian league suddenly found itself without a head; for Geoffrey of Brittany, although the wiliest and most plausible of all the king's sons, was also the most generally distrusted and disliked.³ The league broke up at once; on Midsummer-day Ademar of Limoges surrendered his citadel and made his peace;⁴ and most of the other rebels soon followed his example. By the end of the month Henry, having razed the walls of Limoges and garrisoned with his own troops the castles which had submitted to him, could venture to set out for Normandy;⁵ while King Alfonso of Aragon, who had come to the help of his father's old

a word of comment, good or bad. Rog. Howden, on the other hand (Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 279), openly gives vent to a feeling which may be expressed by "So perish all the enemies of King Henry," and grows almost impatient with Henry's grief. R. Diceto (Stubbs, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20) is as usual very cautious in the expression of his personal opinions, but they also appear to be somewhat opposed to the popular sentiment. The point of view taken by Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 305) is probably unique. The one really judicial commentator on the whole affair is William of Newburgh (l. iii. c. 7—Howlett, vol. i. pp. 233, 234).

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 20. Cf. Th. Agnellus (Stevenson, *R. Coggeshall*), p. 268.

² R. Diceto as above. Th. Agnellus (as above), p. 269. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 303.

³ See Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 11 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 35). The author of the *Gesta Hen.* seems to look upon Geoffrey as the instigator of all his brothers' misdoings, and scarcely ever mentions his name without an epithet of abuse.

⁴ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 18 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 337). *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 302. The date comes from Geoffrey.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 303.

ally, found nothing left for him to do but to join Richard in an expedition against the one baron who still persisted in his rebellion—Bertrand de Born.¹ If Bertrand's story may be believed, it was Alfonso's treachery which, after a week's siege, compelled him to surrender Hautefort.² What followed shewed plainly that the Aquitanian revolt was at an end. Richard made over Hautefort to Constantine de Born, the troubadour's brother and lifelong rival;³ Bertrand, instead of calling his fellow-barons to avenge him as of old, threw himself upon the generosity of his conqueror, and addressed Richard in a *servente* entreating that his castle might be restored to him. Richard referred him to his father; Bertrand then hastened to the king, who greeted him sarcastically with an allusion to one of his own earlier *serventes*: "You were wont to boast of possessing more wits than you ever needed to use—what has become of them now?" "Sire, I lost them on the day that you lost your son." Henry burst into tears; Bertrand was forgiven, indemnified for the losses which he had sustained during the siege, and dismissed with a charter securing to him from that time forth the sole possession of Hautefort.⁴ As a natural consequence, his lyre and his sword were thenceforth both alike at the service of the ducal house to whom he had hitherto been such a troublesome and dangerous foe.

On his northward march Henry met with no opposition. The young king had drawn to himself followers from all parts of the Angevin dominions, as well as from those of the French Crown;⁵ but they had all been drawn by a purely personal attraction, or by the hope of gain; their action had no political significance; and the greater barons, warned by their experience of ten years before, had remained entirely aloof from the whole movement. On reaching Le Mans, indeed, Henry found the old jealousy between Normandy and Maine on the point of breaking out over his son's dead body; the clergy and people of Rouen, indignant

¹ Geoff. Vigeois, l. ii. c. 18 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 337).

² On the story of this siege see Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 55-57, and Geoff. Vigeois as above.

³ Geoff. Vigeois as above.

⁴ Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 57, 58.

⁵ W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. iv. c. i. (Wright, p. 139).

at being defrauded of their young king's dying bequest, were threatening to come and destroy the city of Le Mans and carry off his body by force. Henry was obliged to cause it to be disinterred and conveyed to Rouen for re-burial,¹ while he himself returned to Angers to meet Richard and to receive Geoffrey's submission.² The quarrel between the Cenomannians and the citizens of Rouen was however only the smallest part of the troubles which arose from the young king's death. As Margaret's only child had died in infancy, her brother Philip of France at once demanded the restoration of her dowry, and especially the fortress of Gisors. Henry refused to give it up; conference after conference was held without result;³ at last, in December, a compromise was made, Henry consenting to do homage to Philip for all his transmarine dominions and to pay a money-compensation for Gisors, which was to be left in his hands henceforth as the dowry not of Margaret, but of her sister Adela, Richard's affianced bride.⁴

But a far worse difficulty remained. All Henry's schemes for the distribution of his territories were upset by the death of his heir, and it was necessary to devise some new arrangement. It really seems as if Henry's first thought about the matter was that now at last he could provide as he chose for his darling "Lackland"; for he at once bade the English justiciar Ralf de Glanville bring John over to meet him in Normandy. As soon as they arrived he sent for Richard and unfolded his plan. Richard was now the eldest son; if he lived, he must in due time succeed his father as head of the Angevin house. Henry had clearly no mind to venture a second time upon the dangerous experiment of crowning his heir during his own life. But, although we have no actual

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 303, 304. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 280. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 20. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 305. Th. Agnellus (Stevenson, *R. Coggeshall*), pp. 269-272.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 304.

³ *Ib.* pp. 304, 305. Cf. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 280, 281. According to the *Gesta*, one of Henry's contrivances for avoiding the restitution of the dower-lands was to declare that he had bestowed them upon his own wife; and he set her at liberty and made her go through the said lands to demonstrate the fact. If so, however, she was soon put in prison again.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 306. Cf. Rog. Howden, as above, pp. 281, 284.

statement of his intentions, it seems plain that he did intend to place Richard, in every respect short of the coronation, in the same position which had been held by the young king. Under these circumstances, if the continental dominions of the Angevin house were to be redistributed among the three surviving brothers, there was only one possible mode of redistribution. Geoffrey could not give up Brittany, for he was now actually married to its duchess;¹ but Richard, in consideration of his prospects as future king of England, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, might fairly be asked to surrender to his youngest brother the duchy of Aquitaine. So at least it seemed from Henry's point of view. Richard however saw the matter in another light. Not because he loved Aquitaine, but because he hated it—because for eight years he had fought unceasingly to crush it beneath his feet—now that it lay there prostrate, he could not let it escape him. Richard was generous; but to give up to other hands the reaping of a harvest which he had sown with such unsparing labour and watered with such streams of blood, was a sacrifice too great for his generosity in his six-and-twentieth year. He met his father's demand with a request for time to think it over; that evening he mounted his horse and rode straight for Poitou; and thence he sent back a message that so long as he lived, no one but himself should ever hold the duchy of Aquitaine.²

After threatening and beseeching him by turns all through the winter, Henry so far lost patience that he gave permission to John—now fifteen years old—to lead an army into his brother's territories and win an heritage for himself if he could.³ It does not appear, however, that any such attempt was actually made till after Henry himself had gone back to England in June 1184.⁴ As soon as his back was turned, his two younger sons joined to harry the lands of the eldest; Richard retaliated by pushing across the Angevin border and making a raid upon Brittany; and

¹ Geoffrey and Constance were married in 1181; see a document in Morice, *Hist. Bret., preuves*, vol. i. col. 687. Rob. Torigni dates the marriage a year too late (Delisle, vol. ii. p. 104 and note 4).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 308.

³ *Ib.* p. 311.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 312. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 21.

in November Henry found it necessary to check the lawless doings of all three by summoning them to rejoin him in England.¹ On S. Andrew's day a sort of public reconciliation of the whole family took place in a great council at Westminster; Eleanor was suffered to resume her place as queen, and the three sons were compelled formally at least to make peace among themselves.² Geoffrey was at once sent back to Normandy;³ Richard and John stayed to keep the Christmas feast with their father and mother amid a brilliant gathering of the court at Windsor.⁴ Soon afterwards Richard also returned to his troublesome duchy;⁵ for Henry had now abandoned all idea of transferring it to John. Falling back upon his earlier plans for his youngest child, on Mid-Lent Sunday 1185 he knighted John at Windsor, and thence despatched him as governor to Ireland.⁶

Meanwhile the king himself was again called over sea by fresh troubles in Gaul. The king of France and the count of Flanders had been quarrelling for the last two years over the territories of the latter's deceased wife, the counties of Amiens and Vermandois;⁷ Henry's last act before he left

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 319.

² *Ib.* pp. 319, 320. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 288. Eleanor had been released in June in order that she might welcome her daughter, the duchess of Saxony; *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 313.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 320.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 333.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 334.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 336. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34. John sailed from Milford on April 24 and landed next day at Waterford. Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 32 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 380).

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 311, 312. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 309. On this quarrel cf. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), pp. 12, 13, and Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 2 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 88-90). This last version is extremely confused in its chronology. The main facts of the case are these: Philip of Flanders and Isabel his wife had no children, and they had quarrelled (*Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 99, 100). Philip's heir-presumptive was his sister Margaret, wife of Count Baldwin of Hainaut, and after her, her son, another Baldwin. In 1180, however, Philip proposed, instead of leaving all his dominions to his sister and her son, to settle the southern half of them, comprising Vermandois and Flanders south of the river Lys, upon her daughter Elizabeth, whom he had just given in marriage to Philip of France. (*Ib.* p. 245.) He meant to leave them to her on his own death; but when his wife died, in 1182 (*ib.* p. 285), Philip Augustus laid claim to her two counties as lapsed fiefs. King and count went on quarrelling till 1186, when, as we shall see, the matter was

Normandy had been to arrange a truce between them.¹ Two months later—in August 1184—while Philip of Flanders was away in England on a pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb at Canterbury, Philip of France broke the truce by stirring up his father-in-law the count of Hainaut to attack Flanders in his behalf: Philip of Flanders appealed for help to his other overlord the Emperor Frederic; the archbishop of Cöln, who had been his fellow-pilgrim, at once joined him in a counter-invasion of Hainaut;² and the incalculable dangers of a war between France and Germany were only averted by Frederic's wise reluctance to interfere, strengthened, we may perhaps suspect, by the influence of the English king. It seemed indeed as if nothing but Henry's presence could avail to keep order in Gaul. When he returned thither, in April 1185,³ his first task was to pacify another quarrel between his own sons. This time the elder one seems to have been the aggressor; and Henry grew so angry that he once more summoned Richard to give up Aquitaine altogether, not, however, to either of his brothers, but to its own lawful lady, his mother, Queen Eleanor. Despite all her faults, Eleanor was revered by her sons; Richard especially treated her throughout his life with the utmost respect and affection; and the demand thus made in her behalf met with immediate submission.⁴ For nine months Henry's dominions were quiet, and his hands were free to deal with the quarrels of France and Flanders. But before he had succeeded in pacifying them, a further complication was added. King Bela of Hungary made suit to Philip of France for the hand of his sister the widowed Queen Margaret,⁵ and this at once re-opened the question about her

settled by the immediate cession of Vermandois to Philip Augustus, who thereupon agreed to wait for the rest till the Flemish count's death.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 312. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 309.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 321, 322. Cf. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 288, and *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 32.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 337. *R. Diceto* as above, p. 34.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 337, 338. Cf. *Rog. Howden* as above, p. 304.

⁵ *Rigord* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 20. *Will. Armor.*, *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 73. According to the *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 346, Bela's first suit was to Henry, for the hand of his granddaughter Matilda of

dower ; for the agreement made two years before had been conditional upon Richard's marriage with Adela, and as this event seemed as far off as ever, Philip again laid claim to the whole dowry, including Gisors. He was however too much in need of Henry's assistance in his dispute with Flanders over the dower-lands of Isabel of Vermandois to risk a quarrel with him about those of the young queen ; and by Henry's tact and diplomacy both questions were settled in a conference at Gisors itself early in 1186.¹ The count of Flanders gave up Vermandois to Philip Augustus,² while Philip and Margaret again consented, in return for a money-compensation from Henry, to make Gisors over to him on the old condition—that Richard should marry Adela without further delay.³ The condition however remained unfulfilled. Richard was again despatched into Aquitaine, not indeed as its duke—for Henry had placed all its fortresses under officers of his own appointment⁴—but still as his father's representative, charged in his name with the maintenance of obedience and order.⁵ As for Eleanor, Henry had clearly never intended again to intrust her with any real authority ; and in April he carried her back with him to England.⁶

England was now his only refuge. In these closing years of his reign, when the whole interest of the story centres round the person of the king, the character of those few incidents which take place on English ground is in striking contrast with the state of affairs which occupied him in Gaul. While the Angevin dominions on the continent

Saxony ; but Henry, "ut mos suus erat," was so slow in answering that Bela, tired of waiting, transferred his proposals to Margaret. On the other hand, Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 336, 337, charges Henry with having contrived Margaret's marriage with Bela on purpose to get her to a safe distance, whence neither she nor her husband could reclaim the dowry.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 343. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 40. The last gives the date as March 10 ; the *Gesta* make it just before Mid-Lent, which was February 26.

² Cf. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 13, with R. Diceto as above.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 344. Cf. R. Diceto as above.

⁴ R. Diceto as above.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 345.

⁶ *Ibid.* R. Diceto as above.

were threatening disruption under their owner's very eyes, each of his visits to England was marked by some fresh indication of the firm hold which he had gained upon his island realm and its dependencies, or of the lofty position which England under him had acquired among the powers of the world. Of the internal affairs of England itself, indeed, we hear absolutely nothing save a few ecclesiastical details, and of Wales and Scotland scarcely more. Henry's first business after his landing in 1184 had been to lead an army against South Wales;¹ but at the mere tidings of his approach Rees hurried to make submission at Worcester.² William of Scotland was in still greater haste to meet the English king with a suit for the hand of his granddaughter Matilda of Saxony,³ who was now in England with her parents. The project was foiled by the Pope's refusal to grant a dispensation,⁴ without which such a marriage was impossible, owing to the descent of both parties from Malcolm III. and Margaret. Henry, however, on his next visit to England in 1186, proposed that William should wed in Matilda's place her kinswoman Hermengard of Beaumont.⁵ Hermengard stood even nearer than Matilda in descent from Henry I., but there was no obstacle to her marriage with the king of Scots; he therefore willingly embraced the offer; and before the year closed the alliance between the two kings was doubly cemented, first at Carlisle by the final submission of Galloway to Henry, William himself standing surety for its obedience;⁶ and afterwards, at Woodstock on September 5, by the marriage of Hermengard and William, to whom Henry restored Edinburgh castle as his contribution to the dowry of the bride.⁷

Henry is said to have received in the course of the same year another proposal, from a more distant quarter, for his granddaughter's hand. According to one writer, Bela of Hungary had at first desired the young Saxon princess for his queen, and it was only Henry's long delay in answering his

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 314. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 309.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above.

³ *Ib.* p. 313.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 322.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 347.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 348, 349.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 351.

suit which provoked him to transfer it to Margaret.¹ Both Matilda's suitors must have been attracted solely by the ambition of forming a family connexion with her grandfather King Henry; and that attraction must have been a very strong one, for at the time of William's suit, if not at the time of Bela's, it had to counterbalance the fact that Matilda herself, her parents, and all their other children, were landless and penniless exiles. To Henry's load of family cares there had been added since 1180 that of the troubles of his eldest daughter and her husband, Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony. During the retreat of the Imperial forces from Italy in 1179 the duke fell under the displeasure of his cousin the Emperor; next year he was deprived of all his estates and placed under the ban of the Empire. In the summer of 1182 he and his family made their way to the sole refuge left them, the court of his father-in-law; and there for the most part they remained during the next two years. Towards the close of 1184 the English king's influence in Germany prevailed to obtain the duke's restoration to his patrimonial duchy of Brunswick;² and another token of the eagerness with which Henry's alliance was sought may be seen in the fact that among the conditions demanded by Frederic was the betrothal of one of his own daughters to Richard of Poitou.³ This condition, which might have added considerably to Henry's difficulties in France, was annulled by the speedy death of the intended bride.⁴ On the other hand, the restoration of the exiled duke was far from complete; Brunswick was only a small part of the vast territories which he had formerly possessed; although he returned to Germany in 1185,⁵ it was as a suspected and ruined man; and before Henry's reign closed another sentence of banishment drove him and his wife again to seek the shelter of her father's court.

Early in 1185 came a crowning proof of the estimation in which the English king was held both at home and

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 346. See above, p. 235, note 5.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 249, 287, 288, 318, 319, 322, 323; cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 199-201, 269, 288, 289.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 319.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 322.

⁵ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 38.

abroad. King Baldwin III. of Jerusalem, the eldest son and successor of Queen Melisenda and Fulk of Anjou, had died in 1162, the year of Thomas Becket's appointment to the see of Canterbury. He was succeeded by his brother Almeric, who died while Henry was struggling with his rebellious barons in 1173. During the twelve years which had passed since then, Almeric's son, another Baldwin, had fought on bravely against overwhelming odds to keep out the Infidel foe. But the struggle grew more hopeless year by year and day by day. The young king himself was in natural temper as gallant a knight as ever sprang from the blood of Anjou; but he was crippled physically, socially and politically by a disease which made his life a burthen—he was a leper; his kingdom was torn by the mutual jealousies of the kinsmen on whom he was compelled to rely for its government and defence; while the political and military power of the Turks was growing to a height such as it had never before attained, under their famous leader Saladin.¹ If the necessities of Palestine had been grievous when King Baldwin II. had called upon Fulk to protect Melisenda on her perilous throne—if they had been grievous when Melisenda sought the aid of the western princes for her infant son Baldwin III.—they were far more grievous now. But times were changed in the west since Melisenda had been obliged to rest content with a general appeal addressed to Latin Christendom through the abbot of Clairvaux. Independent of the claim of the king of Jerusalem to the sympathy and the succour of all Christian princes, Baldwin had a direct personal claim upon one prince, and that one well-nigh the mightiest of all. He himself represented one branch of the race whose power had spread from the black rock of Angers to the ends of the earth; the other, the elder branch, was represented by Henry Fitz-Empress. As Baldwin's nearest kinsman, as the foremost descendant alike of Fulk the King and of Fulk the Canon, as head of the whole

¹ Will. Tyr., ll. xix.-xxii. l. xxi.; containing a most moving account of Baldwin. See also Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 10 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 240-247), and Bishop Stubbs's elucidation of the whole story and its significance in his introduction to *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, pp. lxxxii. et seq.

Angevin race on both sides of the sea, it was to the Angevin king of England that the Angevin king of Jerusalem appealed, as a matter of right and almost of duty, for succour in his extremity.¹ And he threw his appeal into a shape which made it indeed irresistible. Henry was at Nottingham, on his way northward to York, in the last days of January 1185, when he was stopped by tidings that two of the highest dignitaries of the Latin Church in the east, Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Hospital, had arrived at Canterbury on a mission from Holy Land.² He at once changed his course and hurried southward again to meet them at Reading.³ With a burst of tears Heraclius laid at the feet of the English king the royal standard of Jerusalem, the keys of the city, those of the Tower of David and of the Holy Sepulchre itself, beseeching him in Baldwin's name to carry them back at the head of his crusading host.

The whole assembly wept with the Patriarch; and the king himself was deeply moved.⁴ How many of his earlier projects of going on crusade—now to Spain, now to Holy Land, now alone, now with the king of France—had been mere political expedients, we cannot tell; there may have been more sincerity in them than one is at first disposed to imagine. Little as Henry cared for either war or adventure merely for its own sake, still there flowed in his veins, no less than in those of his young cousin Baldwin, the blood of Angevin pilgrims and crusaders. The lifelong dream of

¹ "Sicut ab eo ad cuius nutum regnum Jerosolymitanum de jure hæreditario prædecessorum suorum spectabat." *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 328.

² *Ib.* p. 335. They had come through France, and had been received in Paris by Philip on January 16; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 14. They were at Canterbury on January 29, and it seems that even the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the very keys of the Sepulchre itself in his hands, thought it well to stop and pay his devotions at the martyr's tomb; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 325. A third envoy, the Grand Master of the Temple, had died on the way at Verona; *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 331; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 32.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 335; cf. R. Diceto as above. Gir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 24 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 59) places the meeting at Winchester.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 335, 336. R. Diceto as above, pp. 32, 33. Cf. Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 59, 60).

Fulk Nerra and Fulk V. may have been also the dream of Henry, although none of the three was a man to let his dreams influence his conduct until he saw a clear possibility of realizing them. Whether there was such a possibility now, however, was a question whose decision did not rest with Henry alone. If he was to head a crusade, he must head it not merely as count of Anjou but as king of England, with all England's powers and resources, material and moral, at his back ; and this could only be if England sanctioned his undertaking. The "faithful men of the land"—the bishops and barons, the constitutional representatives of the nation—were therefore gathered together in council at Clerkenwell on March 18 ; Henry bade them advise him as they thought best for his soul's health, and promised to abide by their decision. After deliberation, they gave it as their unanimous judgement that he must remain at home and not venture to abandon, for the sake of giving his personal assistance in the east, the work to which he was pledged by his coronation-oath, of keeping his own realms in peace and order and securing them from external foes.¹ Whether or not the decision thus arrived at was wise for the interests of Christendom at large—whether or not it redounds altogether to the honour of England—it was surely the highest tribute she could pay to her Angevin king. A ruler from whom his people were so unwilling to part had clearly some better hold over them than that of mere force. That they shrank with such dread from any interruption of his kingly labours is the best proof how greatly they had benefited by those labours during the past thirty years.

The Patriarch was bitterly disappointed, and vented his

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 33, 34. The author of *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 336, dates the council eight days earlier than Ralf, and finds nothing more to say about it than "cum diu tractâssent de itinere Jerosolimitanæ profec-tionis, tandem placuit regi et consiliariis consulere inde Philippum regem Franciæ." But the totally independent versions of Henry's answer to the Patriarch given by Gir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 27 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 64, 65), and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 32, both distinctly support Ralf thus far, that they represent the king's refusal as grounded on the difficulty of reconciling the proposed expedition with the fulfilment of his duty to his own realms.

disappointment upon Henry in unmeasured terms. In vain did he intreat that at least John, the only one of the king's sons then in England, might be sent to infuse some new life into the rapidly-dying stock of the Angevin house in Palestine. John himself, it is said, was eager to go,¹ but the king refused his consent, and six weeks later, as we have seen, despatched him as governor to Ireland. This mission failed completely, through John's own fault. He was received with every demonstration of loyalty both by the native princes and by the English settlers; but in a very few months he contrived to set them all against him. He treated the English leaders with the most overbearing insolence; he insulted the Irish chieftains who came to bring him their loyal greetings at Waterford more brutally still, mocking at their dress and manners, and even pulling their beards;² he sent the mercenaries who had accompanied him from England to make a raid upon North Munster, in which they were repulsed with great loss,³ and then exasperated them to mutiny by keeping them penniless while he spent their wages upon his own pleasure.⁴ By September he had brought matters to such a pass that his father was obliged to recall him and bid John de Courcy undertake the government of Ireland in his place.⁵ Henry however was far from abandoning his cherished scheme. Blinded by his fatal partiality for his youngest child, he was willing to attribute John's failure to any cause except the true one; he determined that the lad should return to his post, but clothed with fuller powers and loftier dignity. Taking advantage of a change in the Papacy, he at once applied to the new Pope, Urban III., for leave to have his son anointed and crowned as king of Ireland. Urban not only gave his consent, but accompanied it with a gift of a crown made of peacock's feathers set in gold.⁶ Next summer there came to England news that "a certain Irishman had cut off the

¹ *Gir. Cambr. De Instr. Frinc.*, dist. ii. c. 27 (*Angl. Christ. Soc.*, p. 65).

² *Gir. Cambr. Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 36 (*Dimock*, vol. v. p. 389).

³ *Four Masters*, a. 1185 (*O'Donovan*, vol. iii. p. 67).

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 339.

⁵ *Gir. Cambr. Expugn. Hibern.* as above (p. 392).

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 306, 307.

head of Hugh de Lacy";¹ Henry, seeing in this event an opportunity of recovering for the Crown Hugh's vast estates in Ireland, hurried John off thither at once² without waiting to have him crowned, or possibly intending that the coronation should take place in Dublin. But before John had sailed, he was recalled by tidings of another death which touched his father more nearly.

Geoffrey of Brittany had gone to visit the French king in Paris; there, on August 19, he died.³ No one regretted him, unless it was his father, and Philip of France, who caused him to be buried with regal honours in the cathedral church of our Lady in Paris, and followed him to the grave with every demonstration of mourning.⁴ If report spoke true, Philip's grief was as sincere as it was selfish; for Geoffrey had been cut off in the midst of a plot whereby he proposed, out of spite against his father and elder brother, to withdraw from them his homage for Brittany and become Philip's liegeman, receiving in return the title of grand seneschal which in the year of his own birth had been conferred upon his father as a warrant for intervention in the affairs of the Breton duchy.⁵ Faithful servants of the English king were inclined to see in Geoffrey's sudden end a divine judgement upon this undutiful scheme.⁶ Philip however saw a means of making his own profit out of Geoffrey's death, quite as readily as out of his life. He at once claimed, as overlord, the wardship of the infant heiress-

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 350. Cf. *ib.* p. 361; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 309; Four Masters, a. 1186 (O'Donovan, vol. iii. pp. 71-75); Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, l. ii. c. 35 (Dimock, vol. v. p. 387); and R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34. This last gives the day, July 25, but places the event a year too early.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 350.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 41. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 20. Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 73. The accounts of the cause of death are very conflicting. Rigord, Will. Armor. and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. 336) say he died of some malady not specified. Gir. Cambr., *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. ii. c. 10 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 34), makes him die "eodem quo et frater antea morbo acutissimo, sc. febrili calore." The *Gesta Hen.* as above, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 309, attribute his death to injuries received in a tournament; but the *Gesta*, as we shall see, have an alternative version.

⁴ Gir. Cambr., Rigord and Will. Armor. as above.

⁵ Cf. Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 33, 34), with *Gesta Hen.* as above, and Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 235).

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

presumptive of Brittany — Eleanor, the only child of Geoffrey and Constance¹—and with it the administration of her duchy till she should be old enough to be married. Henry tried to temporize,² but the longer the negotiations lasted the more complicated they became, as Philip kept increasing his demands. First Aquitaine was dragged into the dispute. Its northern portion was just now in a state of unwonted tranquillity, for at the close of the year we find Bertrand de Born complaining that he had witnessed neither siege nor battle for more than twelve months.³ Richard was in fact busy in the south, at war with the count of Toulouse.⁴ Against this Philip remonstrated, as an unjust aggression upon a loyal vassal of the French Crown;⁵ he added to his remonstrance a demand for Richard's homage to himself for Aquitaine, and also—all prospect of Adela's marriage being now apparently at an end—for the definite restitution of Gisors.⁶ While the two kings were negotiating, actual hostilities broke out between some of their constables on the border; the warlike zeal of both parties, however, died down at the approach of Christmas;⁷ Henry lingered in England to receive two papal legates who were coming to crown John as king of Ireland,⁸ but the crowning never took place; and at last, on February 17, 1187, king and legates sailed together for Normandy.⁹

When the two kings met at the Gué-St.-Rémy on April 5,¹⁰ little Eleanor was no longer heiress of Brittany. On

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 41, says they had two daughters; but I can find no trace of a second. ² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 353, 354.

³ Clédat, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 68, 69. ⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 345.

⁵ R. Diceto as above, pp. 43, 44.

⁶ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 23. Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), pp. 73, 74; *Philipp.*, l. ii. (*ibid.*), p. 118.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 354, 355. R. Diceto as above, p. 44.

⁸ Cardinal Octavian and Hugh of Nonant, bishop-elect of Chester; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 3, 4; R. Diceto (as above), p. 47. They landed at Sandwich on Christmas-eve and kept the feast at Canterbury. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 346.

⁹ The *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 4, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 317, say they crossed together; R. Diceto as above, p. 47, to whom we owe the date of Henry's crossing, seems to think the legates had preceded him.

¹⁰ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 5.

Easter-day Constance had become the mother of a son, whom the Bretons, in defiance of his grandfather's wish to bestow upon him his own name, insisted upon calling after the legendary hero of their race, Arthur¹—thus at once claiming him as the representative of their national existence and rights. The child's birth made little difference in the political situation; Philip claimed the wardship of the heir of Brittany just as he had claimed that of its heiress; the conference broke up, and both parties prepared for war. Henry distributed his forces in four divisions; one of these was commanded by his eldest son, Geoffrey the chancellor, who as bishop-elect of Lincoln had given good proof of his military capacities in the revolt of 1174;—another was intrusted to the king's faithful friend Earl William de Mandeville; the other two were commanded respectively by Richard and John, and it seems that both of these were at once sent down into Berry, where Philip was expected to begin his attack. Soon after Whitsuntide Philip advanced upon Berry,² took Issoudun and Graçay, and laid siege to Châteauroux.³ Henry now followed his sons; the three together marched to the relief of Châteauroux, and Richard apparently succeeded in making his way into the place, where John afterwards rejoined him.⁴ For nearly a fortnight the two kings remained encamped on opposite sides of the Indre, drawing up their forces every morning for battle;⁵ but each day the battle was averted by some means or other. Now it was the mediation of the French bishops in Philip's camp, or of the Roman legates in that of Henry;⁶ now it was a miraculous judgement upon a sacrilegious Brabantine in the French host, which scared

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 48. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 7 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 235). *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 358, 361. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 315. These two latter make the year 1186, which is nonsense, as they both expressly say that the child was posthumous.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 6.

³ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 23; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 74; *Philipp.*, l. ii. (*ibid.*), p. 119.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), p. 5. Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 369.

⁵ See Clédat, *Bert. de Born*, p. 71.

⁶ *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 6, 7.

Philip into dismissing his mercenaries;¹ now it was the count of Flanders who, as soon as his peace with France was made, turned against the peace-maker and sought to stir Richard up to play over again the part of the young king; now it was Henry himself who opened negotiations for a truce.² Finally, on Midsummer-eve,³ a truce was made for two years.⁴ According to Bertrand de Born, it was wrung from Philip by the discovery that the troops of Champagne, which formed a considerable part of his army, had been bought over by the English king.⁵ Its actual negotiator was Richard;⁶ and when Richard, instead of returning to his father, rode away in the closest companionship with the king of France, Henry naturally grew suspicious of the terms on which it had been won. His suspicions were confirmed when Richard, under pretence of obeying his summons to return, made his way to Chinon and there seized the contents of the Angevin treasury, which he immediately applied to the fortification of his own castles in Poitou.⁷ A partizan of Richard tells us that Philip had communicated to him a letter in which Henry proposed to make peace by marrying Adela to John and constituting the latter heir to all his dominions except England and Normandy.⁸ If this scheme really existed, it was foiled by Philip's own act; and when Henry and his elder son met soon afterwards at Angers, their dif-

¹ Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 369, 370; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), pp. 23, 24; Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 14 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 248); and Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 2 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 92).

² Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 371-373.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 49.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 7; R. Diceto and Gir. Cambr. as above; Rigord (as above), p. 23. Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 75, and *Philipp.*, l. ii. (*ibid.*), p. 120, turns the truce into an abject submission of Henry and Richard. Gerald says that one of the conditions of the truce was that Auvergne, which Philip had conquered, should remain in his hands during the period. But none of the other authorities mention Auvergne at all at this time; and Gerald's statement seems incompatible with the French accounts of Philip's attack upon Auvergne, as if upon a hostile country, in 1188 (Rigord, as above, p. 27; Will. Armor., *ibid.*, pp. 74, 122). Gerald and Rigord are however almost equally untrustworthy for details, and especially for chronology.

⁵ See Clédat, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 71, 72.

⁶ Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 373.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 9.

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 91, 92).

ferences were apparently settled for the moment by Richard's reinstatement in the dukedom of Aquitaine; for we are told that he not only returned to his duty, but publicly renewed his homage to the king.¹

All these western quarrels again sank into the background before the tidings which came from Holy Land as the year drew to a close. Heraclius had gone home from his unsuccessful mission to find Baldwin IV. delivered out of all his troubles, and his throne occupied by his infant nephew, the child of his sister Sibyl. The little king soon followed his uncle to the grave; and Sibyl, on whom the representation of the royal house thus devolved, at once bestowed her crown upon the man who had already been for six years the bravest and most successful defender of the distracted realm—her husband, Guy of Lusignan.² Guy sprang from a faithless race whom the Angevins had little cause to love or trust in their western home; but in Palestine he was hated simply because he had deservedly won the affection and the confidence of both Baldwin and Sibyl. Thwarted, baffled, deserted, betrayed by envious rivals, left almost alone to face the Infidel foes whose advance grew more threatening day by day, Guy fought on till in a great battle at Tiberias, in July 1187, he was made prisoner by the Turks; the Christians were totally defeated, and the relic of the Cross, which they had carried with them to the fight, fell with the king into the hands of the unbelievers.³ The tidings of this disaster, when they reached Europe in October, gave the death-blow to Pope Urban III.⁴ His successor, Gregory VIII., opened his pontificate with an impassioned appeal to all Western Christendom for the rescue of the Holy Land.⁵ The first response came from the young

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 9.

² *Ib.* vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

³ According to the pathetic story in *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 15, it was rather the king who fell with the Cross, in a desperate effort to save it. See also *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 13, 22, 37; R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 21; *Expugn. Terra Sancta (ibid.)*, pp. 209-227.

⁴ Cf. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 21 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 267), and Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 24.

⁵ Will. Newb. as above. See also *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 15, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 322.

duke of Aquitaine ; without waiting to consult his father, at the earliest tidings of the catastrophe Richard took the cross at the hands of the archbishop of Tours.¹ Henry himself was so thunderstruck at the news that for four days he suspended all state business and refused to see any one.² He was in Normandy, and with him was Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, who had taken the cross two years before with the archbishop of Rouen, the veteran warrior-bishop Hugh of Durham, the justiciar Ralf de Glanville, and a crowd of other dignitaries of both Church and state, none of whom, however, had as yet actually started on their crusade. It was not King Henry who hindered them ; he had given every facility for the preaching of the crusade throughout his dominions ;³ and even in Richard's case, although reproving the hastiness of the vow, he made no attempt to thwart its fulfilment, but on the contrary promised his son every assistance in his power.⁴ Richard's project, however, roused up the king of France to insist once more upon his immediate marriage with Adela, or, failing this, the restitution of Gisors ; and Henry, on his way to England in January 1188, was recalled by tidings that Philip had gathered his host and was threatening to invade Normandy unless his demands were granted at once. The kings met at the old trysting-place between Gisors and Trie ;⁵ but their conference had scarcely begun when it was interrupted by another messenger from Palestine, charged with news of a catastrophe more awful than even that of Tiberias. Three months after Guy's capture, in October 1187, Jerusalem itself had fallen into the hands of the Infidels ;⁶ and the

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 50. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 23 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 271). Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 5 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 98).

² Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 389.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 302.

⁴ Will. Newb. as above.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 29. Rog. Howden as above, p. 334. R. Diceto as above, p. 51. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 406. Rigord (*Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script.* vol. v.), p. 24. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 74. The date is either S. Hilary's day, January 13 (Rigord and Will. Armor.), or that of S. Agnes, January 21 (*Gesta Hen.*, Rog. Howden and R. Diceto). Gerv. Cant. makes it "about S. Vincent's day" (January 22).

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 24. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 22, 23. *Expugn. Terra Sancta* (*ibid.*), pp. 241-248. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 20-22.

archbishop of Tyre now came to tell with his own lips the sad and shameful story.

In his presence the selfish quarrel of the two kings was shamed into silence. The king of France took the cross at once, and the king of England followed his example, this time without waiting for his people's consent; the archbishops of Reims and Rouen, the counts of Flanders, Burgundy, Blois and Champagne, and a crowd of French and Norman barons did the like.¹ The two kings set up a wooden cross, afterwards replaced by a church, to mark the spot, which they called the "Holy Field";² then they separated to make their preparations. Henry at once sent to request a safe-conduct for himself and his troops through the dominions of the king of Hungary and those of the Western and Eastern Emperors.³ Before the end of the month he issued from Le Mans an ordinance known as that of the "Saladin tithe," requiring every man in his dominions to give towards the expenses of the crusade a tithe of all his personal property, excepting only the necessary outfit of a knight or a priest.⁴ This was accompanied by eight other ordinances also relating to the crusade,⁵ and was imitated two months later in France by Philip Augustus.⁶ On January 30 Henry returned to England;⁷ on February 11 he met the bishops and barons in council at Geddington near Northampton, to obtain their assent to the Saladin tithe and make arrangements for its collection.⁸ It was chiefly to superintend this that the king remained in England, while the archbishop of Canterbury went to preach the crusade in Wales.⁹

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 51. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 30. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 23 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 272). *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 406. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 25. ² Rigord, as above.

³ R. Diceto as above, pp. 51-54.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 31. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 335, 336. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 160.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 31, 32. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 336, 337. These latter ordinances were issued in all Christian realms by the Pope's desire; see Will. Newb. as above (pp. 273, 274). ⁶ Rigord (as above), pp. 25, 26.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 33. *Gerv. Cant.* as above.

⁸ *Gerv. Cant.* as above, pp. 409, 410 (we are indebted to him for place and date). *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁹ Henry seems to have intended going to Wales himself, but to have given it

Meanwhile Richard was eager to start without delay ; but his father refused his consent, insisting that their expedition should be made in common. The impatient "Lion-heart," however, was not to be thus restrained, and in his father's absence he made all his preparations and wrote to bespeak the aid of his brother-in-law William of Sicily for the voyage which he was determined to begin as soon as the summer should arrive.¹ But his plans were checked by a fresh rising of the Poitevin barons, headed as usual by the count of Angoulême, Geoffrey of Rancogne and Geoffrey of Lusignan.² This last was the worst offender, having treacherously slain a personal friend of Richard's.³ But, like Richard himself, he had taken the cross ; and it was doubtless owing to this protection that, before the summer was over, he was suffered to make his escape to the realm of his hapless brother in Palestine.⁴ The other rebels were scarcely put down when Raymond of Toulouse seized and cruelly maltreated some Poitevin merchants who were passing through his territory. Richard at once avenged this outrage by an armed raid upon the frontier-districts of Toulouse, and presently managed to catch and imprison the count's chief adviser Peter Seilun, who was said to have instigated the seizure of the merchants. Raymond retaliated by capturing two knights attached to the household of the English king, Robert Poer and Ralf Fraser, on their way back from a pilgrimage to Compostella ; and neither Richard's protest against the sacrilege of keeping pilgrims in prison, nor even the express command of the king of France for their liberation out of reverence to S. James, could induce him to give them up on any condition save the release of Peter Seilun, which Richard firmly refused.⁵ A heavy ransom offered by up and sent the archbishop instead—an exchange which Baldwin gladly accepted, as he was at feud with his chapter, and greatly relieved to get away from it. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 419-421.

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 7 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 102, 103).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 34. ³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 54.

⁴ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 26.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (as above), pp. 34, 35. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 339, 340. The date of this expedition of Richard's against Toulouse seems to have been about April ; see Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 74.

the two English captives themselves shortly afterwards changed Raymond's determination;¹ but this was of course no satisfaction to Richard, and after Whitsuntide he again invaded Toulouse with fire and sword; castle after castle fell into his hands, till at last he began to threaten the capital itself.²

In Aquitaine even more than elsewhere, the beginning of strife was like the letting-out of water. This time the strife of Richard and Raymond led to the outbursting of a flood which ended by overspreading the whole Angevin dominions and sweeping away Henry Fitz-Empress himself. If Richard's story was true, neither he nor Raymond was the real originator of the mischief; it was Philip of France who had secretly urged him to the attack;³ while another rumour, which Richard was only too ready to believe, accused Henry himself of stirring up the count of Toulouse and the Aquitanian rebels against his son, in order to prevent him from starting on the Crusade.⁴ Little as we can credit such a tale, it is easy to imagine how dexterously Philip would use it to sow dissensions between father and son and entangle the impetuous Richard in a coil such as only the sword could cut. Openly, meanwhile, Philip was taking the part of Toulouse, and peremptorily insisting that Henry should put a stop to his son's aggressions in that quarter.⁵ Without waiting for Henry's reply, he marched upon Berry and laid siege to Châteauroux, which surrendered to him on

¹ Rog. Howden. (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 340.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 36. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 55. This last writer says that Richard took seventeen castles, but he must be counting in those which had been taken in the spring. The date of this second expedition comes from Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 27, who places it between Pentecost and midsummer. The new editors of Vic and Vaissète, *Hist. du Languedoc*, vol. vii. p. 22, charge Rigord with false chronology here, and insist upon following (as they suppose) that of Will. Armor., who tells us that Richard began his campaign against Toulouse "modico elapso tempore" after the Mid-Lenten council at Paris (*Gesta Phil. Aug.*, Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 74). If, however, they had read the English authorities more carefully, they would have seen that there were really two campaigns, and that while Will. Armor. speaks of the first, Rigord is speaking of the second.

³ Rog. Howden as above. Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 39.

⁴ R. Diceto as above. Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 7 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 103).

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 36.

June 16.¹ It was now Henry's turn to remonstrate against this breach of truce, all the more flagrant because committed against a brother-crusader. He knew however that nothing but his own presence could make his remonstrances of any avail; sending John over before him, on the night of July 10 he hurried across the sea to Barfleur, and thence went to muster his forces at Alençon.² They consisted of the feudal levies of England and Normandy, and a multitude of Welsh under the command of Ralf de Glanville,³ together with some Bretons and Flemish mercenaries,⁴ and apparently some Angevins and Cenomanniens.⁵ Henry was however very unwilling to resort to force; his old scruple about making war upon his overlord seems not to have been yet quite extinguished, and moreover he shrank alike from the bloodshed and the expense of war. During some weeks his forces were still kept idle, save for an occasional plundering-raid across the French border.⁶ Philip meanwhile was carrying all before him in Berry, and having conquered nearly the whole district, made a dash upon Auvergne.⁷ Richard seized the opportunity for an attempt to regain Châteauroux, in which however he failed, and was only saved from capture or death by the help of a friendly butcher.⁸ His advance however had been enough to make Philip retire into his own domains.⁹ Soon afterwards the approach of the vintage-season compelled the French king to disband a part of his forces; the remainder, under com-

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 55. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 432, seems to have confused this siege of Châteauroux with an earlier one. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 25 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 276), Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 27, and Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 74.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 40. Cf. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 433. R. Diceto (as above) dates the king's crossing "circa festum S. Jacobi," but this is clearly wrong.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁴ R. Diceto as above.

⁵ Rog. Howden (Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 343) adds some troops "from his other lands."

⁶ Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 433, 434.

⁷ Rigord as above. Will. Armor. as above; *Philipp.*, l. iii. (*ibid.*), p. 122. Both these writers however throw some suspicion upon their account of Philip's successes by saying that Henry was flying before him all the while, and was finally chased back by him into Normandy—which in reality it seems plain that he had never quitted.

⁸ Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 434.

⁹ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 45.

mand of the bishop of Beauvais, went to ravage the Norman frontier-lands. Henry demanded reparation, and threatened to cast off his allegiance in default of it; Philip retorted that he would not cease from the warfare which he had begun till all Berry and the Vexin were in his hands.¹ At last, in the middle of August, the two kings met in person once more between Gisors and Trie; but the meeting broke up in anger; and when they parted, Philip in his rage cut down the great elm tree under which the conferences between the rulers of France and Normandy had so long been held, vowing that no conference should ever be held there again.²

Richard had now rejoined his father,³ and at his instigation an attack was made by their united forces upon Mantes, which was occupied by a small French force under William des Barres, lately the commandant of Châteauroux. Richard succeeded in avenging his recent mishap at Châteauroux by taking William prisoner, but he made his escape immediately, and nothing was gained by the expedition.⁴ Richard again went into Berry; Henry lingered on the Norman border, where soon afterwards he received from Philip a demand for another conference. It took place at Châtillon on October 7, but again without result. Philip now followed Richard, who thereupon opened negotiations on his own account, offering to submit his quarrel with Toulouse to the

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

² According to R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 55, the conference began on August 16 and lasted three days. The *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 47, place it after September 1, but this is impossible. Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 74, and *Philipp.*, l. iii. (*ibid.*) pp. 123, 124, tells the story of the tree in a very odd shape. He says the English were sitting comfortably under its shade, while the French were broiling in the sun, and the French grew so envious of the more agreeable situation of their foes that they made a dash at them, put them to flight, and then cut down the tree, which Henry had caused to be carefully enclosed, as a sort of symbol of his ownership in the soil. R. Diceto, however, says that the ground on which the tree stood was French.

³ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 10 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 111), makes them meet before Châteauroux. He has confused this campaign with that of the previous year.

⁴ Cf. *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 46, with Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. iii. (as above), pp. 124-132.

judgement of the French king's court ;¹ but this also came to nothing. Still the negotiations went on, and Henry's difficulties were increasing. Chief among them was the want of money to pay his soldiers. His realms had been almost drained for the Saladin tithe ; his own treasury was exhausted ; his troops, seeing no prospect of either wages or plunder, began to slip away ; and at last he was obliged to disband his mercenaries and send his Welsh auxiliaries back to their own country.² Philip meanwhile was secretly in communication with Richard ;³ and Richard was growing eager to bring matters to a crisis. The insidious whispers of France and Flanders had done their work in his too credulous mind. To the end of his life Richard was but little of a statesman and less of a diplomatist ; it is therefore no wonder that he failed on the one hand to fathom the subtle policy of his father, and on the other to see through the wiles of Philip. His fault lay in this—that while Henry's servants were content to trust him where they could not understand him, his own son was ready to find a ground of suspicion in every word and action of his father's for which his own intelligence was incapable of accounting, and to credit every calumny reported to him by his father's enemies. More than a year ago they had contrived, as has been seen, to awaken in his mind an idea that he was in danger of being disinherited in favour of his youngest brother ; and it was with a determination to ascertain once for all the extent of this danger that he brought the two kings to a meeting with each other and with himself near Bonmoulins on November 18.⁴

The conference lasted three days ; and each day the prospect of peace grew fainter.⁵ Philip proposed that all parties should return to the position which they had occupied before taking the cross ; Henry was ready to close with this proposition, but Richard rejected it, as it would have

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 46, 48, 49.

² *Ib.* p. 50. Cf. *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 434, 435.

³ *Gerv. Cant.* (as above), p. 435.

⁴ *Ibid.* R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 57. *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁵ *Gerv. Cant.* as above.

compelled him to give up his conquests won from Toulouse and worth a thousand marks or more as demesne lands, in exchange for Châteauroux and a few other castles over which he would have had only a precarious overlordship.¹ As far as the two kings were concerned, the meeting ended in a simple truce between them, to last till S. Hilary's day. No sooner however was this settled than Philip offered to restore all his conquests on condition that Henry should cause his subjects to do homage to Richard as his heir, and should allow his marriage with Adela to take place immediately. Henry refused.² The two kings were standing, with Richard and the archbishop of Reims, in the midst of a crowded ring of spectators. Richard himself now suddenly turned to his father, and demanded to be distinctly acknowledged as heir to all his dominions. Henry tried to put him off; he repeated his demand with the same result. "Now," he exclaimed, "I believe what hitherto seemed to me incredible." Ungirding his sword, he stretched out his hands to the king of France and offered him his homage and fealty for the whole continental heritage of the Angevin house; an offer which Philip readily accepted, promising in return to give back to Richard his recent conquests in Berry.³ Henry drew back, speechless with amazement and consternation; the crowd, seeing the two kings thus separated, rushed in between them, and the duke of Aquitaine rode away in company with the French king, leaving Henry alone with his recollections of all the evils which had come of his eldest son's alliance with Louis VII., and his forebodings of worse mischief to come from this new alliance with Philip, who, as he well knew, was far more dangerous than Louis had ever been; for he had more brains and even fewer scruples.⁴

What little could be done to ward off the impending danger Henry did without delay. He sent the only one of his

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 58.

² *Ibid.* Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 435. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 50.

³ Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 435, 436. R. Diceto and *Gesta Hen.* as above. Cf. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 27, and Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 10 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 111).

⁴ Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 436.

sons on whom he could really depend, Geoffrey the chancellor, to secure the fortresses of Anjou; he himself went to do the like in Aquitaine,¹ whence he returned to keep Christmas at Saumur. The feast must have been a dreary one, even if both Geoffrey and John were with him; yet, deserted as he was, he managed to collect, for the last time, some semblance of the old regal state.² When the truce expired, however, he postponed his intended meeting with Philip, on the plea of illness, first to Candlemas-day, and then till after Easter. He hoped to make use of the delay for winning Richard back; but Richard turned a deaf ear to every message of conciliation.³ He had in fact joined Philip in an attack upon Henry's territories as soon as the truce was expired; and the ever-discontented Bretons had been induced to lend their aid.⁴ After Easter Richard was at length brought to a meeting with his father, on the borders of Anjou and Maine; but nothing came of the interview.⁵ In vain did the Pope, fearing that these quarrels in Gaul would put a stop to the crusade, send two legates in succession to make peace. The first, Henry of Albano, who was sent early in 1188 to mediate between Henry and Louis, unintentionally became the indirect cause of a further addition to Henry's troubles. Thinking it safer to postpone his mediation till the meeting of the two kings should take place, he in the meantime went to preach the crusade in Germany and there persuaded the Emperor himself to take the cross.⁶ By May 1189 Frederic was ready to start;⁷ but before doing so he took a stern and summary measure to secure the peace of the Empire during his absence. He ordered all those princes and nobles whose loyalty he suspected either to accompany him or to quit the country and take an oath not to set foot in it again till

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 436.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 60, 61.

³ Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 438, 439.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 61.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 13 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 116, 117).

⁶ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 355, 356.

⁷ He took the cross at Mainz on March 27, 1188, and started on May 10, 1189. Ansbert (Dobrowsky), pp. 18, 21.

his return. Among those who thus incurred banishment was Henry the Lion. For the second time he and his wife sought shelter in England; not finding the king there, they crossed over to Normandy in search of him,¹ but it does not appear that they ever reached him where he lay, sick and weary, at Le Mans.² Meanwhile Henry of Albano, after anathematizing Richard for his disturbance of the peace, had withdrawn to Flanders and there died.³ His mission was taken up with a somewhat firmer hand by another legate, John of Anagni. Reaching Le Mans at Ascension-tide 1189,⁴ John at once excommunicated all troublers of the peace except the two kings themselves, who were made to promise that they would submit their quarrels to his arbitration and that of the archbishops of Reims, Bourges, Canterbury and Rouen, and were threatened with excommunication if they should fail to redeem their promise.⁵

On the basis of this agreement a conference was held on Trinity Sunday, June 4, at La Ferté-Bernard. There were present, besides the two kings, Richard, and the legate, the four archbishops who were to assist him as arbitrators, most of the Norman bishops, those of Angers and Le Mans, four English and several French prelates, and a crowd of French, English and Norman barons.⁶ Philip began by again demanding that Adela and Richard should be married at once; that Richard should have security given him for his succession to his father's dominions; and that John should be made to take the cross and accompany his brother to Palestine.⁷ Richard repeated these demands for himself.⁸ Henry refused, and made a counter-proposition to Philip—the same which he was said to have made at Châteauroux two years ago, for Adela's marriage with John; but this

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 62.

² The duchess died in that very summer, seven days after her father according to R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 65, or nine days before him according to the Chron. Stederburg (Leibnitz, *Scriptt. Rev. Brunswic.*, vol. i. p. 861).

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 51, 55, 56. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 355.

⁴ *Epp. Cant.* cccvii. (Stubbs), p. 290.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 61.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 66. The English bishops were Lincoln, Ely, Rochester and Chester.

⁷ *Ibid.* Rog. Howden as above, p. 362.

⁸ *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 447.

Philip rejected in his turn.¹ The legate now interposed with a threat to Philip that unless he would come to terms, his domains should be laid under interdict; Philip defied the threat, and charged the legate with having been bribed by English gold.² This explosion of course broke up the meeting.³ Henry went back to Le Mans, whence neither bishop nor archbishop, servant nor friend, could persuade him to move,⁴ although Philip and Richard with their united forces were overrunning Maine at their will. In five days the principal castles of its eastern portion were in their hands; one of the most important, Ballon, only fifteen miles from Le Mans, fell on June 9. There the conquerors paused for three days;⁵ and there, probably, they received the submission of the chief nobles of the western border—Geoffrey of Mayenne, Guy of Laval, Ralf of Fougères.⁶ But while the barons were false, the citizens were true. Le Mans still clung with unswerving loyalty to the count whom she looked upon as her own child; and Henry clung with equal attachment to the city which held his father's grave and had held his own cradle.⁷ He had little else to cling to now. Where John was it is impossible to say; he was clearly not at Le Mans; and it is certain that, wherever he may have been, his proceedings were wholly unknown to Henry.⁸ Geoffrey the chancellor was still

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 363.

² *Ibid.* *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 66.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 62, says there were *two* meetings at La Ferté "after Easter." There seems to be no other notice of the second; but Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 446, 447, has an account of a conference at Le Mans on June 9, which agrees almost to the letter with the report given in the *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden of the proceedings at La Ferté on June 4. It seems most unlikely that either Philip or Richard would go to a conference at Le Mans itself; and June 9 is an impossible date, for by that time, as we shall see, the war was in full career, and Philip and Richard were actually besieging Ballon. Gervase has probably mistaken both place and date.

⁴ R. Diceto as above, p. 63.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 67.

⁶ R. Diceto as above.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁸ Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 25 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 277), says, after the king's retreat from Le Mans, "Tunc Johannes filius ejus minimus, quem tenerrime diligebat, recessit ab eo." But it is almost impossible that all the contemporary historians should have failed to mention John's presence with his father if he had really been there; and Henry's horrified surprise at the final discovery of John's treachery shews that there had been no open desertion such as William seems to imply.

at his father's side, and so were some half-dozen faithful barons, as well as Archbishop Bartholomew of Tours.¹ Beyond these the king had nothing but a small force of mercenaries wherewith to defend either himself or Le Mans. The citizens were however willing to stand a siege for his sake, and he in return had promised never to desert them.²

On S. Barnabas's day—Sunday, June 11—Philip and Richard appeared with their host before Le Mans. They made a feint of passing on in the direction of Tours; but next morning Philip suddenly drew up his forces under the walls and prepared for an assault. The defenders, conscious of the overwhelming odds against them, adopted the desperate remedy of setting fire to the suburbs. Unhappily, the wind carried the flames not into the enemy's lines but into the city itself.³ The French saw their opportunity and rushed at the bridge; a gallant, though unsuccessful, attempt to break it down was made by some of Henry's troops, headed by a Cenomannian knight, Geoffrey of Brulon, who thus honourably wiped out the memory of his rebellion of sixteen years before; after a desperate fight, Geoffrey was wounded and made prisoner with a number of his comrades, and the rest were driven back into the city, the French rushing in after them.⁴ Then at last Henry felt that he could not keep his promise to the citizens of Le Mans, and with some seven hundred knights he took to flight.⁵ The

¹ Besides Bartholomew (whom most of the English writers of the time call William) there had been with him throughout the spring the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen; Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 13 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 115, 116). It is clear that Bartholomew stayed with him to the end, for he buried him. But we hear nothing more of either Baldwin of Canterbury or Walter of Rouen, except that Baldwin was at Rouen two or three days before Henry's death; *Epp. Cant.* cccxi. (Stubbs), p. 296. See Bishop Stubbs's preface to Rog. Howden, vol. ii. p. lxi, note 1. Of the laymen more later.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 63. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 24 (p. 137). Cf. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 25 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 277).

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 447; R. Diceto and Will. Newb. as above; Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 138); Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 28; and Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 75.

French hurried in pursuit, but they did not carry it far. It may be that Geoffrey of Brulon's effort to break down the bridge saved the king although it could not save the city; for the French are said to have been checked in their pursuit by the impossibility of fording the river,¹ and one can scarcely help conjecturing that the fugitives had crossed by the half-undermined bridge, and that it fell as soon as they had passed over it.²

Geoffrey however was not the only baron who after siding with Henry's enemies in his prosperous days had learned to stand by him in his last hour of need. Besides his one faithful son, Geoffrey the chancellor, his old friend Earl William de Mandeville, and William Fitz-Ralf the seneschal of Normandy, Henry was accompanied in his flight by an English baron, William the Marshal. William's father, John, who seems to have been marshal successively to Henry I. and to Stephen, had married a sister of Patrick of Salisbury and, like his brother-in-law, espoused the cause of the Empress in the civil war.³ William himself first appears in history at the age of about six years, in 1152, when he was placed as a hostage in the hands of Stephen. Twice his life was forfeited by his father's defiance of the king, and twice it was saved by the unconscious fearlessness of the child, which so won Stephen's heart that he ended by making himself the little fellow's playmate instead of his slayer.⁴ John's services to the Empress were rewarded on Henry's accession by his reinstatement in the office of marshal; he afterwards became notorious through his quarrel with Thomas of Canterbury, which formed one of the pretexts for the archbishop's condemnation at Northampton.⁵ After John's death his title and office seem to have been shared by his two sons.⁶ The second, William,

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 68.

² This is suggested by Bishop Stubbs's remark about "the breaking down of the bridge." *Reg. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxii.

³ See extracts from *Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal*, vv. 23-398, in *Romania*, vol. xi. (1882), pp. 47-52.

⁴ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 399-654 (as above, pp. 52-55).

⁵ See above, pp. 32, 33.

⁶ They seem to have both officiated at the crowning of Richard. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs, "Benedict of Peterborough," vol. ii.), p. 81.

we find in 1173 among the partizans of the young king's rebellion; ten years later he appears as the young king's best-beloved knight, and as charged by him with the last office of friendship, the accomplishment in his stead of the crusading vow which he had not lived to fulfil.¹ Six years afterwards, however, William was still in Europe, ready to stand to the last by another perishing king, and to take the post of honour as well as of danger among the little band of faithful servants who watched over the last days of Henry Fitz-Empress. It was William who brought up the rear of the little force which covered Henry's retreat from Le Mans. Turning round as he heard the pursuers close behind him, he suddenly found himself face to face with Richard, and levelled his spear at him without hesitation. "God's feet, marshal!" cried Richard with his wonted oath, "slay me not! I have no hauberk." "Slay you! no; I leave that to the devil," retorted William, plunging his spear into the horse's body instead of the rider's.² Richard was of course compelled to abandon the chase, and at a distance of some two miles from Le Mans the king felt himself sufficiently out of danger to pause on the brow of a hill whence he could look back for the last time upon his native city. As he saw its blazing ruins words of madness burst from his lips: "O God, Thou hast shamefully taken from me this day the city which I loved most on earth, in which I was born and bred, where lies the body of my father and that of his patron saint—I will requite Thee as I can; I will withdraw from Thee that thing in me for which Thou carest the most."³ Another eighteen miles'⁴ ride brought the fugitives

¹ See above, pp. 139 and 228.

² P. Meyer, in *Romania*, vol. xi. pp. 62, 63, from *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 8833-8836. This is clearly the incident recorded briefly and without a name by Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 25 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 140).

³ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 24 (p. 138). He makes the distance two miles from Le Mans; in the *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 67, the pursuit is said to have extended to three miles.

⁴ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. iii. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 132, makes the day's ride twenty miles altogether; but he carries it as far as Alençon. See, however, Bishop Stubbs's pref. to Rog. Howden, vol. ii. pp. lxii, lxiii and notes.

at nightfall to La Frénaye,¹ whose lord, the viscount of Beaumont, was a kinsman of Henry, and the father of Hermengard whose marriage with the king of Scots had been arranged three years ago by Henry's influence. The king found shelter in the castle; his followers, already sadly diminished in number in consequence of the overpowering heat and fatigue of the day's ride, quartered themselves in the little town as best they could; the chancellor would have remained with them to keep guard himself, but his father would not be parted from him, and made him come in to sup and spend the night. Geoffrey, whose baggage had been all left in Le Mans, was glad to exchange his travel-stained clothes for some which his father was able to lend him; Henry, with characteristic disregard of such details, persisted in lying down to rest just as he was, with his son's cloak thrown over him for a coverlet.²

From La Frénaye another day's ride would have brought the king to the Norman border. His first intention on leaving Le Mans had evidently been to fall back upon Normandy and there rally his forces—doubtless also to summon help from England—to renew the struggle with Philip; and this was the course to which his followers still urged him on the Tuesday morning. He, however, had changed his plans in the night. He seems to have made up his mind that his end was near; and in consequence, he had also made up his mind to go back to the Angevin lands. Since he had been compelled to leave his own birthplace in the enemy's power, he would at any rate stand to the last by the old home of his father's house, and die at his hereditary post as count of Anjou. He made William Fitz-Ralf and William de Mandeville swear that they would surrender the castles of Normandy to no one save John; he bade Geoffrey take the command of the troops, escort the barons with them as far as Alençon, and then come back to rejoin him in Anjou. Geoffrey, whose dominant feeling clearly was anxiety for his father's personal safety, only stayed in Alençon long enough

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 25 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 140); *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 4 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 369). See Stubbs, *Reg. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxiii, note 5.

² Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.* as above.

to secure the place and collect a fresh force of a hundred picked knights, and with these set off southward again to overtake his father. Henry meanwhile had started for Anjou almost alone. His son rejoined him at Savigny¹—whether it was the village of that name near Chinon, or one of several others further north, there is no means of deciding; but it is certain that by the end of the month Henry and his son were both safe at Chinon.² Whether the king had made his way alone, or whether he had been at once the leader and the guide of the little Norman force, through the Angevin woodlands which as a hunter he had learned to know so well, and where he was now in danger of being hunted down in his turn—in either case this sick and weary man had achieved an adventure equal in skill and daring to those of Fulk Nerra's most romantic days, or of his own youth. Once safe out of the enemy's reach, he made no further movement until Philip, having possessed himself of the citadel of Le Mans³ and the remnant of the Cenomannian strongholds, and made his way southward by Chaumont and Amboise as far as Roche-Corbon,⁴ sent him a proposal for a meeting to be held at Azay on the last day of June.⁵ Henry apparently advanced from Chinon to Azay; but on that very day an attack of fever was added to the malady from which he was already suffering, and he was unable to attend the conference.⁶ It seems probable that he sent representatives to whom Philip and Richard made their propositions, and who may possibly have accepted them in his name.⁷ Cer-

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 4 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 369). See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. pp. lxiv, lxx and notes.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 68.

³ Some of Henry's troops had thrown themselves into the citadel, and held out there for three days after his flight. *Gesta Hen.* as above. Another body of troops in a tower by the north gate (this must be the Conqueror's Mont-Barbet—the "citadel" being the old palace or castle of the counts, near the cathedral) held out for a week longer still. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 63.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 69.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 25 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 140). R. Diceto, as above, p. 64, makes the day June 28; Bishop Stubbs (*Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxx) follows Gerald.

⁶ Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁷ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 365, 366, gives, with the date "circa festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ad colloquium inter Turonim et Azai," a treaty identical with that which the *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 69, 70, give without

tainly, however, no truce was made; for that same day Philip marched up to the southern bank of the Loire and drew up his host opposite the gates of Tours.¹ Next day he forded the river—an easy exploit when it was half dried up by the summer's heat²—established his headquarters in the “borough of S. Martin” or Châteauneuf,³ and began to invest the city.⁴ Henry, it seems, had now gone to Saumur;⁵ there on the Sunday—July 2—he was visited, according to one account at his own request, by the archbishop of Reims, the count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, endeavouring to arrange terms of peace.⁶ The visit was a failure; it could not be otherwise, for the peacemakers were acting without Philip's sanction, and in spite of a distinct warning from him that, whatever tidings they might bring back, he would assault Tours next morning.⁷ The morning came; the assault was made; the walls which had kept out Fulk Nerra and Geoffrey Martel could not avail to keep out Philip Augustus, enabled as he was by his possession of Châteauneuf and by the lack of water in the Loire to bring up his machines against their weakest side; and in a few hours he was master of Tours.⁸

The tidings were carried at once to Henry, with a final

any date at all, but after Philip's capture of Tours, and which we know to have been finally made at Colombières on July 4 (see below, p. 265). R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 63, also gives the substance of the treaty, adding (p. 64): “Facta sunt autem hæc in vigiliâ Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, scilicet inter Turonim et Azai.” It seems possible that the terms were arranged at Azay between Philip and Henry's representatives, subject to ratification by Henry himself. See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxv.

¹ On the date see Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxvi and note.

² This is the English account; *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 69, copied by Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 364. But the French writers turn it into something very like a miracle. See Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 28; Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 75, and *Philipp.*, l. iii. (*ibid.*), p. 133.

³ *Gesta Hen.* as above.
⁴ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, l. iii. c. 25 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 140) says the investment began on the morrow of the Azay conference.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above. See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxvi and note.

⁶ *Gesta Hen.* as above. Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 141). For the duke of Burgundy Gerald substitutes the count of Blois. Bishop Stubbs (*Rog. Howden*, as above) adopts the former version.

⁷ *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁸ *Ibid.* Cf. Rigord and Will. Armor. as above, and *Philipp.* l. iii. (*ibid.*), pp. 133, 134.

summons to meet the conqueror at Colombières, half-way between Tours and Azay.¹ Henry, at his wits' end, consulted William the Marshal as to whether or not he should respond to the summons; William recommended him to follow the counsel of his barons; they advised that he should go, and he went. Most of his followers went with him; Geoffrey, however, feeling that he could not endure to see his father's humiliation, besought and obtained permission to remain where he was.² Henry found a lodging in a small commandery of Knights Templars at Ballan,³ close to Colombières; but he had no sooner reached it than he was seized with racking pains in every limb and every nerve. He again called for William the Marshal, who did his best to soothe him, and persuaded him to go to bed. Philip and Richard had always refused to believe that his sickness was anything but a feint, and despite the pleadings of his friends they still insisted that the conference should take place⁴ on the following day.⁵ When they saw him, however, they were compelled to admit the truth of his excuse; his sternly-set and colourless face shewed but too plainly how acutely he was suffering. So evident was his weakness that they offered him a seat—on a cloak spread upon the ground—but he refused it; he had not come there, he said, to sit down with them; he had come simply to hear and see what the French king demanded of him, and why he had taken away his lands.⁶ Philip formulated his demands with brutal bluntness; he required that Henry should put himself, as a conquered enemy, entirely at his mercy before he would discuss any terms at all.⁷ Henry could not at once bring himself to submit. Suddenly, amid the breathless stillness of the sultry July morning, a clap of thunder was heard, and

¹ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 8935-8944 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 64). The name of Colombières is given only by Will. Armor., *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 75, and *Philipp.*, l. iii. (*ibid.*), p. 134.

² *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 370).

³ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 8947-8958 (as above). M. Meyer (*ib.* p. 69) supplies the name of the commandery.

⁴ *Ib.* vv. 8960-8997 (as above, p. 64).

⁵ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. iii. (as above), gives the date by saying Henry died "post triduum."

⁶ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9013-9028 (as above, p. 65).

⁷ *Gir. Cambr. De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 25 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 141).

the excited bystanders thought they actually saw a stroke of lightning fall out of the cloudless blue sky, directly between the two kings. Both started back in terror; after a while they rode forward again, and immediately there was a second peal of thunder. Henry's shattered nerves gave way completely; he nearly fell from his horse, and at once placed himself wholly at Philip's mercy.¹ Then the terms were dictated to him. He was made to do homage to Philip, and to promise that Adela should be placed under guardians chosen by Richard, who was to marry her on his return from Palestine;—that Richard should receive the fealty of all the barons of the Angevin dominions, on both sides of the sea, and that all who had attached themselves to Richard's party in the late war should be suffered to remain in his service and released from their obligations to his father, at any rate until the latter should be ready to set forth on the crusade;—that he would be thus ready, and would meet Philip and Richard at Vézelay, thence to start with them at Mid-Lent;²—that he would renounce all claims upon Auvergne,³ and pay Philip an indemnity of twenty thousand marks.⁴ As security for the fulfilment of the treaty, Philip and Richard were to hold in pledge either three castles on the Norman border or two in Anjou, with the cities of Tours and Le Mans; and all Henry's barons were to swear that they would hold their allegiance to him contingent only upon his fulfilment of these conditions.⁵ Finally, he was compelled to acknowledge himself reconciled with Richard, and to give him the kiss of peace. The kiss was indeed given; but it was accompanied by a whisper which Richard did not scruple to repeat for the amusement of the French court when the conference was over—"May I only be suffered to live long enough to take vengeance upon thee as thou deservest!"⁶

One thing alone Henry asked and obtained in return for all this humiliation; a written list of those among his sub-

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 366.

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 70.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 64.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 63. *Gesta Hen.* as above.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* as above, pp. 70, 71.

⁶ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 26 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 149, 150).

jects whose services were transferred to Richard.¹ The list was promised,² and Henry was carried back, worn out with fatigue, suffering and shame, to the favourite home of his brighter days at Chinon.³ By the time he reached it he was too ill to do anything but lie down never to rise again. He sent back his vice-chancellor, Roger Malchat,⁴ to fetch the promised list of traitors; and on Roger's return he bade him sit down beside his bed and read him out the names. With a sigh Roger answered: "Our Lord Jesus Christ help me, sire! the first written down here is Count John, your son."⁵ The words gave Henry his death-blow. "Say no more,"⁶ he faltered, turning away his face.⁷ Yet the tale seemed too horrible to be true, and he started up again: "Can it be? John, my darling child, my very heart, for love of whom I have incurred all this misery—has he indeed forsaken me?" It could not be denied; he sank back again and turned his face to the wall, moaning: "Let things go now as they will; I care no more for myself or for the world."⁸

All through that day and the next he lay there, trembling

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 366. *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, v. 9035 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 65).

² Rog. Howden says that it was given, and implies that it was read, then and there, but we shall see that he is wrong.

³ Rog. Howden as above. *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, v. 3639 (as above). Bishop Stubbs (*Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxviii) says "he returned to Azay," and makes the reading of the fatal list take place there, before Henry went on to Chinon (*ib.* p. lxx). This seems to be the meaning of Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 25 (*Angl. Christ. Soc.*, p. 148). But Gerald evidently thought Henry had been at Azay ever since the Friday, just as William of Armorica (*Philipp.*, l. iii., Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 134) thought he had been all the while at Chinon; whereas the *Gesta* and Roger shew that both are wrong in this. On the other hand, the *Life of William the Marshal* seems distinctly to shew that the place where Henry went to lodge before the meeting at Colombières was not Azay, but Ballan; and it also tells us that he went straight back from Colombières to Chinon, and *there* read the list. In the absence of further elucidations, I venture to follow this version.

⁴ ". . . Mestre Roger Malchael,
Qui lores portout son seel."

Hist. de Guill. le Mar., vv. 9051-9052 (as above, p. 65). See M. Meyer's note, *ib.* p. 69.

⁵ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9040-9076 (as above, p. 65).

⁶ "Asez en avez dit." *Ib.* v. 9083 (as above). ⁷ *Ib.* v. 9084 (p. 66).

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above.

from head to foot, sometimes appearing to see and hear nothing, and to be conscious of nothing but pain, murmuring broken words which no one could understand.¹ At other times his delirium shewed itself in frenzied curses upon himself and his sons, which the attendant bishops vainly besought him to revoke.² It was Geoffrey who at length managed to bring him to a somewhat calmer frame both of body and of mind. With his head on his son's shoulder and his feet on the knees of a faithful knight, Henry at last seemed to have fallen asleep. When he opened his eyes again and saw Geoffrey patiently watching over him and fanning away the flies which buzzed around his head, he spoke in accents very different from any that he had used for some days past. "My dearest son! thou, indeed, hast always been a true son to me. So help me God, if I recover of this sickness, I will be to thee the best of fathers, and will set thee among the chiefest men of my realm. But if I may not live to reward thee, may God give thee thy reward for thy unchanging dutifulness to me!" "O father, I desire no reward but thy restoration to health and prosperity" was all that Geoffrey could utter, as the violence of his emotion so overcame his self-control that he was obliged to rush out of the room.³ The interval of calmness passed away, and the ravings of delirium were heard again; "Shame, shame upon a conquered king!" Henry kept muttering over and over again, till the third morning broke—the seventh day of the fever⁴—and brought with it the lightning before death. Once more Geoffrey, stifling his own distress, came to his father's side; once more he was rewarded by seeing Henry's eyes open and gaze at him with evident recognition; once more the dying king recurred wistfully to his plans, not this time of vengeance upon his rebellious sons, but of advancement for the loyal one, faintly murmuring in Geoffrey's ear how he had hoped to see him bishop of Winchester, or better still, archbishop of York;⁵ but he knew that for himself all

¹ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9085-9094 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 66).

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 366.

³ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 370, 371).

⁴ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, l. iii. c. 26 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 150).

⁵ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.* as above (p. 371).

was over. He took off a gold finger-ring, engraved with a leopard¹—the armorial device of the Angevin house—and handed it to Geoffrey, bidding him send it to the king of Castille, the husband of his daughter Eleanor; he also gave directions that another precious ring which lay among his treasures should be delivered to Geoffrey himself, and gave him his blessing.² After this he was, by his own desire, carried into the chapel of the castle and laid before the altar; here he confessed his sins to the attendant bishops and priests, was absolved, and devoutly made his last Communion. Immediately afterwards he passed away.³

Then followed one of those strange scenes which so often occurred after the death of a medieval king. The servants who should have laid out the body for burial stripped it and left it naked on the ground; and as during the three days that he lay dying they had plundered him of everything on which they could lay their hands, the few friends who were shocked at the sight could not find a rag wherewith to cover the dead king, till one of his knights, William de Trihan, took off his own cloak for the purpose.⁴ All this, however, was speedily set right by William the Marshal. He at once took the command of the little party—a duty for which Geoffrey was evidently unfitted by the violence of his grief—sent to call as many barons as were within reach to attend the funeral, and gave directions for the proper robing of the corpse.⁵ It was no easy matter to arrange within four-and-twenty hours, and utterly without resources, anything like a

¹ "Pantera." "The word is doubtful," notes Mr. Brewer (*Gir. Cambr.*, vol. iv. p. 371); Bishop Stubbs (*Rog. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. lxxi) renders it "panther."

² *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 371).

³ *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 367. *Gir. Cambr. De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 28 (*Angl. Christ. Soc.*, p. 156), says there were no bishops with him at his death; any way, there were two at his burial. The date of death—July 6—is given by many authorities: *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 71; *Rog. Howden* as above; *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 64; *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 450, etc.

⁴ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9027-9161 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 66). *Gir. Cambr. De Instr. Princ.*, as above (pp. 156, 157), tells the same story, more highly coloured, but with less verisimilitude, as he has lost the name of William de Trihan and turned him into "puer quidam."

⁵ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9165-9172, 9215-9220 (as above, pp. 66, 67).

regal burial for this fallen king.¹ William, however, managed to do it; and next day Henry Fitz-Empress, robed as if for his coronation, with a crown of gold upon his head, a gold ring on his finger, sandals on his feet, and a sceptre in his gloved right hand,² was borne upon the shoulders of his barons down from his castle on the rock of Chinon, across the viaduct which he himself had built over the swampy meadows beneath, and thence northward along the left bank of the silvery, winding Vienne to his burial-place at Fontevraud.³ He had wished to be buried at Grandmont;⁴ but this of course was impossible now. "He shall be shrouded among the shrouded women"—so ran the closing words of a prophecy which during the last few months had been whispered throughout Henry's dominions as a token of his approaching end. It was fulfilled now to the letter, as he lay in state in the abbey-church of Fontevraud, while the veiled sisters knelt by night and day murmuring their prayers and psalms around the bier.⁵

None of the dead king's friends had thought it necessary to wait for any instructions from his heir. The marshal, however, had sent to apprise Richard of his father's death, and delayed the burial long enough to give him an opportunity of attending it if he chose to do so. The other barons were in great dread of meeting the future king against whom they had been in arms; and several of them were even more anxious for the marshal than for themselves, for they could not but imagine that Richard's heaviest

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 28 (Angl. Christ. Soc., pp. 157, 158).

² *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 71. How hard it was to manage all this we learn from Gerald: "Vix annulus digito, vix sceptrum manu, vix capiti corona sicut decuit, quia de aurifrigio quodam veteri inventa fuit, vix ulla prorsus insignia regalia nisi per emendicata demum suffragia, eaque minus congruentia suppetiere." *De Instr. Princ.* as above (p. 158). The chronicle of Laon, a. 1187, quoted in note (*ibid.*), adds that the gold fringe of which the crown was made came off a lady's dress.

³ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9071-9223 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 67). See a curious incident at the setting out of the funeral train, in vv. 9173-9214.

⁴ He had given solemn directions to that effect, when he thought himself dying at La Motte-de-Ger, in 1170. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 7.

⁵ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9229-9244 (as above). For the prophecy and its application see *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 55, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 356, 367.

vengeance would fall upon the man who had unhorsed and all but killed him at Le Mans. More than one of them offered to place himself and all his possessions at the service of the comrade whom they all held in such reverence, if thereby anything could be done to save him from Richard's wrath. But he only answered quietly: "Sirs, I do not repent me of what I did. I thank you for your proffers; but, so help me God, I will not accept what I cannot return. Thanks be to Him, He has helped me ever since I was made a knight; I doubt not He will help me to the end."¹ Before nightfall Richard overtook them.² He came, it seems, alone. Vainly did the bystanders seek to read his feelings in his demeanour; he shewed no sign of either grief or joy, penitence or wrath; he "spoke not a word, good or bad,"³ but went straight to the church and into the choir, where the body lay.⁴ For awhile he stood motionless before the bier;⁵ then he stepped to the head, and looked down at the uncovered face.⁶ It seemed to meet his gaze with all its wonted sternness; but there were some who thought they saw a yet more fearful sight—a stream of blood which flowed from the nostrils, and ceased only on the departure of the son who was thus proclaimed as his

¹ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9245-9290 (*Romania*, vol. xi. pp. 67, 68).

² The *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 71, make Richard meet the corpse on its way; and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 367, follows the *Gesta*. But the *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.* and Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 28 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 157) both distinctly say that he met it at Fontevraud. The other version is intrinsically most improbable, for Richard can hardly have been coming from anywhere else than Tours, and in that case he could not possibly meet the funeral train on its way from Chinon to Fontevraud. That he should reach Fontevraud some hours after it, on the other hand, is perfectly natural; and this is just what Gerald and the French *Life* imply; for they both tell us that the funeral started from Chinon on the day after the death—*i.e.* Friday, July 7—and Gerald (as above, p. 158) implies that the actual burial took place the day after Richard's arrival, while in the *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 372), he seems to place it on the Saturday, July 8. See Bishop Stubbs's preface to Rog. Howden, vol. ii. p. lxix, note 1. One of the MSS. of Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard, vol. ii. p. 344, note 8) has a curiously different version of Richard's behaviour on the occasion.

³ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9294-9298, 9300 (p. 68).

⁴ Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.* as above.

⁵ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9299, 9300 (as above).

⁶ *Ib.* v. 9301. Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.* and *Vita Galfr.* as above.

father's murderer.¹ Richard sank upon his knees ; thus he remained "about as long as one would take to say the Lord's Prayer ;"² then he rose and, speaking for the first time, called for William the Marshal. William came, accompanied by a loyal Angevin baron, Maurice of Craon. Richard bade them follow him out of the church ; outside, he turned at once to the marshal : " Fair Sir Marshal, you had like to have slain me ; had I received your spear-thrust, it would have been a bad day for both of us ! " " My lord," answered William, " I had it in my power to slay you ; I only slew your horse. And of that I do not repent me yet." With kingly dignity Richard granted him his kingly pardon at once ;³ and on the morrow they stood side by side while Henry Fitz-Empress was laid in his grave before the high altar by Archbishop Bartholomew of Tours.⁴

¹ Gir. Camb. *De Instr. Princ.*, dist. iii. c. 28 (Angl. Christ. Soc., p. 157) ; *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 372). *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 71.

² Gir. Camb. as above.

³ *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9304-9344 (*Romania*, vol. xi. pp. 68, 69).

⁴ The day is given by Gir. Camb. *De Instr. Princ.* as above (p. 158), and *Vita Galfr.* as above ; the name of the officiating prelate by R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 65. Bartholomew was assisted by Archbishop Fulmar of Trier (*ibid.*)

CHAPTER VII.

RICHARD AND ENGLAND.

1189-1194.

ALL doubts as to the destination of Henry's realms after his death were settled at once by the discovery of John's treason. Throughout the Angevin dominions not a voice was raised to challenge the succession of Richard. The English marshal and the Angevin barons gathered at Fontevraud received him unquestioningly as their lord, and were at once accepted as loyal subjects. One of them indeed, the seneschal of Anjou, Stephen of Turnham or of Marçay, was flung into prison for failing to surrender the royal treasure;¹ but the reason of his failure seems to have been simply that the treasury was empty.² According to one contemporary historian, Richard sealed his forgiveness of William the Marshal by at once despatching him to England with a commission to hold the country for him—in effect, to act as justiciar—till he could proceed thither himself.³ In all probability, however, William was authorized to do nothing more than set Eleanor at liberty; it was she who, by her son's desire, undertook the office of regent in England,⁴ which she fulfilled without difficulty for the next six weeks. Geoffrey the chancellor resigned his seal into his half-brother's hands as soon as the funeral was over.⁵ The

¹ *Gesta Ric.* ("Benedict of Peterborough," Stubbs, vol. ii.), p. 71. Cf. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 6.

² See *Hist. de Guill. le Mar.*, vv. 9198, 9199 (*Romania*, vol. xi. p. 67).

³ *Ib.* vv. 9347-9354 (p. 69).

⁴ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 67.

⁵ *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 372).

promise of the Norman castellans to Henry that they would surrender to no one but John was of course annulled by later events. John himself hastened to join his brother; Richard gave him a gracious welcome, and they returned to Normandy together.¹ At Séez the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen came to meet them, and absolved Richard from the excommunication² laid on him by the legate John of Anagni. Thence they all proceeded to Rouen. On July 20 Richard went in state to the metropolitan church, where Archbishop Walter girded him with the ducal sword and invested him with the standard of the duchy.³ On the same day he received the fealty of the Norman barons,⁴ and held his first court as duke of Normandy, and also, it seems, as king-elect of England, although there had been no formal election. He at once made it clear that the abettors of his revolt had nothing to hope from him—three of the most conspicuous had been deprived of their lands already⁵—and that his father's loyal servants had nothing to fear, if they would transfer their loyalty to him. He shewed indeed every disposition to carry out his father's last wishes; he at once nominated Geoffrey for the see of York, and confirmed Henry's last grant to John, consisting of the Norman county of Mortain and four thousand pounds' worth of land in England;⁶ at the same time he bestowed upon William the Marshal the hand of Isabel de Clare, daughter and heiress of Earl Richard of Striguil, and upon the son of the count of Perche a bride who had already been sought by two kings—his niece, Matilda of Saxony.⁷

This last match was evidently intended to secure the attachment of the important little border-county of Perche in case of a rupture with France, which seemed by no means unlikely. The alliance of Philip and Richard had expired

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 72.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 67. How had the archbishops power to cancel a legatine sentence?

³ *Ibid.* *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 73. (The date is from this last).

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 72.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 73. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 3 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 301). On John and Mortain see Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 6 and note 2, and preface to vol. iii. p. xxiv, note 1.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

with King Henry; now that Richard stood in his father's place, Philip saw in him nothing but his father's successor—the head of the Angevin house, whose policy was to be thwarted and his power undermined on every possible occasion and by every possible means. This was made evident at a colloquy held on S. Mary Magdalene's day to settle the new relations between the two princes; Philip greeted his former ally with a peremptory demand for the restitution of the Vexin.¹ Richard put him off with a bribe of four thousand marks, over and above the twenty thousand promised by Henry at Colombières; and on this condition, accompanied, it seems, by a vague understanding that Richard and Adela were to marry after all,² Philip agreed to leave Richard in undisturbed possession of all his father's dominions, including the castles and towns which had been taken from Henry in the last war,³ except those of Berry and Auvergne.⁴ Thus secured, for the moment at least, in Normandy, Richard prepared to take possession of his island realm. He had paved the way for his coming there by empowering Eleanor to make a progress throughout England, taking from all the freemen of the land oaths of fealty in his name, releasing captives, pardoning criminals, mitigating, so far as was possible without upsetting the ordinary course of justice, the severe administration of the late king. Richard himself now restored the earl of Leicester and the other barons whom Henry had disseized six years before.⁵ The next step was to send home the archbishop of Canterbury and three other English prelates who were with him in Normandy.⁶ On August 12 they were followed by Richard himself.⁷

His politic measures of conciliation, executed by his mother with characteristic intelligence and tact, had secured him a ready welcome. It was only by slow degrees, and with the growing experience of years, that the English

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 73, 74. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 3, 4.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 74.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 4.

⁴ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 29. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ib.*), p. 75. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 450.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 74, 75.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 75.

⁷ Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 457. The *Gesta Ric.*, as above, give a confused date—"Idus Augusti, die dominicā post Assumptionem B. Mariæ."

people learned how much they owed to the stern old king who was gone. At the moment they thought of him chiefly as the author of grievances which his son seemed bent upon removing.¹ Richard's mother, with a great train of bishops and barons, was waiting to receive him at Winchester;² there, on the vigil of the Assumption, he was welcomed in solemn procession;³ and there, too, he came into possession of the royal treasury, whose contents might make up for the deficiencies in that of Anjou.⁴ So complete was his security that instead of hastening, as his predecessors had done, to be crowned as soon as possible, he left Eleanor nearly three weeks in which to make the arrangements for that ceremony,⁵ while he went on a progress throughout southern England,⁶ coming back at last to be crowned by Archbishop Baldwin at Westminster on September 3.⁷ No charter was issued on the occasion. The circumstances of the new king's accession were not such as to make any special call for one; they were sufficiently met by a threefold oath embodied in the coronation-service, pledging the sovereign to maintain the peace of the Church, to put down all injustice, and to enforce the observance of righteousness and mercy.⁸ In the formal election by clergy and people which preceded the religious rite,⁹ and in the essentials of the rite itself, ancient prescription was strictly followed. The order of the procession and the details of the ceremonial were, however, arranged with unusual care and minuteness; it was the most splendid and elaborate coronation-ceremony that had ever

¹ Cf. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 75, 76; and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 1 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 293).

² *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 453, 454.

³ *Ib.* p. 457. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 67. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 74.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 76, 77.

⁵ "Mater comitis Alienor regina de vocatione comitum, baronum, vicecomitum, uit sollicita." R. Diceto as above, p. 68.

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 77. *Gerv. Cant.* as above, p. 457, says he went to check the depredations of the Welsh.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 78, 79. *Gerv. Cant.* and R. Diceto as above. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 5. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 26, 27. Will. Newb. as above (p. 294).

⁸ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 81, 82. R. Diceto as above. This last was an eye-witness, for, the see of London being vacant, the dean had to fulfil in his bishop's stead the duty of handing the unction and chrisam to the officiating primate. *Ib.* p. 69.

⁹ R. Diceto as above, p. 68.

been seen in England, and it served as a precedent for all after-time.¹ Richard had none of his father's shrinking from the pageantries and pomps of kingship; he delighted in its outward splendours almost as much as in its substantial powers.² He himself, with his tall figure, massive yet finely-chiselled features, and soldierly bearing, must have been by far the most regal-looking sovereign who had been crowned since the Norman Conqueror; and when Archbishop Baldwin set the crown upon his golden hair, Englishmen might for a moment dream that, stranger though he had been for nearly thirty years to the land of his birth, Richard was yet to be in reality what he was in outward aspect, a true English king.

Such dreams however were soon to be dispelled. On the second day after his crowning Richard received the homage of the bishops and barons of his realm;³ he then proceeded into Northamptonshire, and on September 15 held a great council at Pipewell.⁴ His first act was to fill up the vacant sees, of which there were now four besides that of York. The appointments were made with considerable judgement. London, whose aged bishop Gilbert Foliot had died in 1187,⁵ was bestowed upon Richard Fitz-Nigel,⁶ son of Bishop Nigel of Ely, and for the last twenty years his successor in the office of treasurer; while Ely, again vacated scarcely three weeks ago by the death of Geoffrey Ridel,⁷ rewarded the past services and helped to secure the future loyalty of Richard's chancellor, William of Longchamp.⁸ Winchester, vacated nearly a year ago by the death of Richard of Ilchester,⁹ was given to Godfrey de Lucy, a son of Henry's early friend and servant Richard de Lucy "the loyal";¹⁰ Salisbury, which had been without

¹ See details in *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 80-83; and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 9-12.

² We see this in the descriptions of his magnificent dress, brilliant armour, etc. in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.* ³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 84.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 85. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 69. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 458. ⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 5. R. Diceto as above, p. 47.

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 85. R. Diceto as above, p. 69. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 9. ⁷ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 78. R. Diceto as above, p. 68.

⁸ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 85. R. Diceto as above, p. 69. Ric. Devizes as above.

⁹ *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 58. R. Diceto as above, p. 58.

¹⁰ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 84. R. Diceto as above, p. 69. Ric. Devizes as above.

a bishop ever since November 1184,¹ was given to Hubert Walter,² a near connexion of the no less faithful minister of Henry's later years, Ralf de Glanville. This last appointment had also another motive. Hubert Walter was dean of York; he stood at the head of a party in the York chapter which had strongly disputed the validity of Geoffrey's election in the preceding August, and some of whom had even proposed the dean himself as an opposition candidate for the primacy.³ Hubert's nomination to Salisbury cleared this obstacle out of Geoffrey's way, and no further protest was raised when Richard confirmed his half-brother's election in the same council of Pipewell.⁴

When, however, the king turned from the settlement of the Church to that of the state, it became gradually apparent that his policy in England had only two objects:—to raise money for the crusade, and to secure the obedience of his realm during his own absence in the East. These objects he endeavoured to effect both at once by a wholesale change of ministers, sheriffs and royal officers in general, at the council of Pipewell or during the ten days which elapsed between its dissolution and the Michaelmas Exchequer-meeting. The practice of making a man pay for the privilege either of entering upon a public office or of being released from its burthen was, as we have seen, counted in no way disgraceful in the days of Henry I., and by no means generally reprobated under Henry II. Richard however carried it to a length which clearly shocked the feelings of some statesmen of the old school,⁵ if not those of the people in general. The first to whom he applied it was no less a person than the late justiciar, Ralf de Glanville. Ralf

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 32. *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 320.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 84. R. Diceto as above, p. 69. *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 9.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 77, 78. Cf. *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 6 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 373). Hubert had indeed been proposed for the see as far back as 1186; *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 352. See also Bishop Stubbs's preface to *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. pp. xxxix–xlvi.

⁴ *Gir. Cambr.* as above (p. 374).

⁵ This appears from the tone in which his sales of office, etc., are described by Richard Fitz-Nigel in the *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 90, 91, and by Roger of Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 13.

was, like Richard himself, under a vow of crusade, which would in any case have rendered it impossible for him to retain the justiciarship after the departure of the English host for Palestine.¹ The king, however, insisted that his resignation should take effect at once,² and also that it should be paid for by a heavy fine—a condition which was also required of the Angevin seneschal, Stephen of Turnham, as the price of his release from prison.³ Worn out though he was with years and labours,⁴ Ralf faithfully kept his vow.⁵ If all the intending crusaders had done the same, it would have been no easy matter to fill his place or to make adequate provision for the government and administration of the realm. Both king and Pope, however, had learned that for eastern as well as western warfare money was even more necessary than men; Richard had therefore sought and obtained leave from Clement III. to commute crusading vows among his subjects for pecuniary contributions towards the expenses of the war.⁶ By this means he at once raised a large sum of money, and avoided the risk of leaving England deprived of all her best warriors and statesmen during his own absence. Instead of Ralf de Glanville he appointed two chief justiciars, Earl William de Mandeville and Bishop Hugh of Durham;⁷ under these he placed five subordinate justiciars, one of whom was William the Marshal.⁸ The bishop-elect of London, Richard Fitz-Nigel, was left undisturbed in his post of treasurer, where his services were too valuable for the king to venture upon the risk of forfeiting them; but the bishop-elect of Ely, although a favourite servant and almost a personal friend of Richard, had to pay three thousand pounds for his chancellorship. On the other hand, Richard proved that in this instance he was not

¹ He had taken the cross in 1185; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 302. The *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 87, and Will. Newb. i. iv. c. 4 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 302) say distinctly that Ralf himself wished to resign in order to fulfil his vow.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 90. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 7, says he even put him in ward. ³ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 6, 7. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 9.

⁵ He died at the siege of Acre before October 21, 1190. *Epp. Cant.* ccclvi. (Stubbs, p. 329). ⁶ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 17.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 87. Hugh paid a thousand marks for the remission of his crusading vow, to enable him to undertake the office. *Ib.* p. 90.

⁸ Rog. Howden as above, p. 16.

actuated solely by mercenary motives, by refusing a still higher bid from another candidate.¹ All the sheriffs were removed from office; some seven or eight were restored to their old places, five more were appointed to shires other than those which they had formerly administered;² the sheriffdom of Hampshire was sold to the bishop-elect of Winchester,³ that of Lincolnshire to Gerard de Camville, those of Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire to Bishop Hugh of Chester;⁴ and the earldom of Northumberland was granted on similar terms to the justiciar-bishop of Durham.⁵

Two other matters had to be dealt with before Richard's preparations for departure were completed. To guard his realm from external disturbance, he must secure the fealty of the vassal-rulers of Scotland and Wales. To guard it against internal treason, he must, if such a thing were possible, secure the loyalty of the brother whom he was leaving behind him. The first was at once the less important and the easier matter of the two. Rees of South Wales had indeed profited by the change of rulers in England to break the peace which he had been compelled to maintain with King Henry, and after the council of Pipewell Richard sent John against him at the head of an armed force. The other Welsh princes came to meet John at Worcester and made submission to him as his brother's representative;⁶ Rees apparently refused to treat with any one but the king in person, and accordingly he came back with John as far as Oxford, but Richard would not take the trouble to arrange a meeting, and was so unconcerned about the matter that he let him go home again without an audience, and, of course, in a state of extreme indignation.⁷

¹ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 9.

² Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xxix.

³ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 10.

⁴ Stubbs as above, pp. xxviii, xxix, and Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 458, from Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I.

⁵ Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I. (Stubbs, as above, p. xxviii, note 3). *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 90. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 8. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 304). Geoff. Coldingham, c. 9 (*Scriptt. Dunelm. III.*, Raine, p. 14). The grant itself, dated November 25, is in *Scriptt. Dunelm. III.*, App. p. lxii.

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 87, 88.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 97.

His threatening attitude served as an excuse for raising a scutage, nominally for a Welsh war;¹ but the expedition was never made. The king of Scots was otherwise dealt with. Early in December, while Richard was at Canterbury on his way to the sea, William the Lion came to visit him, and a bargain was struck to the satisfaction of both parties. Richard received from William a sum of ten thousand marks, and his homage for his English estates, as they had been held by his brother Malcolm; in return, he restored to him the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, and released him and his heirs for ever from the homage for Scotland itself, enforced by Henry in 1175.²

Richard's worst difficulty however was still unsolved: how to prevent John from trying to supplant him in his absence. Richard knew that this lad, ten years younger than himself, had been his rival ever since he was of an age to be a rival to any one; and he knew his brother's character as, perhaps, no one else did know it as yet—for their mother had scarcely seen her youngest child since he was six years old. In the light of later history, it is impossible not to feel that Richard's wisest course, alike for his own sake and for England's, would have been to follow the instinct which had once prompted him to insist that John should go with him to the crusade. In this case however he was now led astray by the noblest feature in his character, his unsuspecting confidence and generosity. From the hour of their reconciliation after their father's death, Richard's sole endeavour respecting John was to gain his affection and gratitude by showering upon him every honour, dignity and benefit of which it was possible to dispose in his favour. The grant of the county of Mortain made him the first baron of Normandy, and it was accompanied by a liberal provision in English lands. To these were added, as soon as the brothers reached England, a

¹ Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 664, from Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 98. Richard's charter of release to William is in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 30; *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 102, 103; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 25, 26. It is dated (in Rymer's copy) December 5. On this transaction see also R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 72, and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 304).

string of "honours"—Marlborough, Luggershall, Lancaster, each with its castle; the Peak, Bolsover, and the whole honour of Peverel; those of Wallingford and Tickhill, and that of Nottingham, including the town; and the whole shire of Derby;¹ besides the honour of Gloucester, which belonged to John's betrothed bride Avice, and which Richard secured to him by causing him to be married to her at Marlborough on August 29,² in spite of Archbishop Baldwin's protests against a marriage between third cousins without dispensation from the Pope. Baldwin at once laid all the lands of the young couple under interdict; but John appealed against him, and a papal legate who came over in November to settle Baldwin's quarrel with his own monks confirmed the appeal and annulled the sentence of the primate.³ At the same time Richard bestowed upon his brother four whole shires in south-western England—Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset—with the fermes and the entire profits of jurisdiction and administration.⁴ More than this even Richard could not give; if more was needed to hold John's ambition in check, he could only trust to the skilful management of Eleanor. She was left, seemingly without any formal commission, but with the practical authority of queen-regent, and with the dowries of two former queens in addition to her own.⁵

One important part of Richard's administrative arrangements was however already upset: William de Mandeville, having gone to Normandy on business for the king, died there on November 14.⁶ Earl of Essex by grant of Henry II., count of Aumale by marriage with its heiress, William had been through life one of Henry's most faithful friends; he was honoured and esteemed by all parties on both sides of the sea; there was no one left among the barons who could command anything like the same degree

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 78. See also Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii., pref. p. xx.

² *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 78. ³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 99. Stubbs as above, p. xxv. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 3 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 301), and his comments on the subject (*ib.* p. 302).

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁶ R. Diceto as above, p. 73. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 92. The day comes from Ralf. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 26, makes it December 12.

of general respect ; and Richard for the moment saw no means of filling his place. He therefore left Bishop Hugh of Durham as sole chief justiciar ; but he made a change in the body of subordinate justiciars appointed at Pipewell. Two of them were superseded ; one was replaced by Hugh Bardulf, and the other, it seems, by the chancellor William of Longchamp, who, in addition to the office which he already held, was put in charge of the Tower of London, and intrusted with powers which virtually made him equal in authority to the chief justiciar.¹

None of these appointments was in itself unwise ; but two worse-matched yokefellows than the justiciar and the chancellor it would have been difficult to find. Hugh of Puiset—or “Pudsey,” as his English flock called him—had stood high in both Church and state ever since the days of the civil war. Through his mother he was a great-grandson of the Conqueror, and thus cousin in no remote degree to Henry Fitz-Empress and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, as well as to Philip of France. We saw him more than forty years ago, as archdeacon and treasurer of York, meeting the ecclesiastical censures of his metropolitan with a retort on equal terms, and wielding not unsuccessfully the weapons both of spiritual and temporal warfare in the cause of his cousin William of York and his uncle Henry of Winchester. Since 1153 he had been bishop of Durham ; certainly not an ideal successor of S. Cuthbert ; yet his appointment had been sanctioned by the saintly archbishop Theobald ; and throughout his long episcopate he shewed himself by no means ill-fitted, on the whole, for his peculiar position. That position, it must be remembered, had more than that of any other English bishop an important political side. The bishop of Durham was earl palatine of his shire ; its whole administration, secular as well as ecclesiastical, was in his hands. His diocesan jurisdiction, again, extended over the whole of Northumberland, and thus brought him into immediate con-

¹ On these appointments cf. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 101 ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 28 ; Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 8, 11 ; Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 306) ; and Bishop Stubbs's note, pref. to Rog. Howden as above, p. xxx.

tact with the Scots across the border. His diocese was in fact a great marchland between England and Scotland; he was the natural medium of communication or negotiation between the two realms; and on him depended in no small degree the security of their relations with each other. For such a post it was well to have a strong man, in every sense of the words; and such a man was Hugh of Puiset. His strength was not based solely upon an unscrupulous use of great material and political resources. He was a popular man with all classes; notwithstanding his unclerical ways, he never fell into any ecclesiastical disgrace except with his own metropolitan, for whom he was generally more than a match; and he was one of the very few prelates who managed to steer their way through the Becket quarrel without either damaging their reputation as sound churchmen or forfeiting the confidence of Henry II. His intrigues with the Scot king and the rebel barons in 1174 failed so completely and so speedily that Henry found it scarcely worth while to punish them in any way; and on the other hand, Hugh's position was already so independent and secure that he himself never found it worth while to renew them. In his own diocese, whatever he might be as a pastor of souls, he was a vigorous and on the whole a beneficent as well as magnificent ruler; the men of the county palatine grumbled indeed at his extravagance and at the occasional hardships brought upon them by his inordinate love of the chase, but they were none the less proud of his splendid buildings, his regal state, and his equally regal personality. His appearance and manners corresponded with his character and his rank; he was tall in stature, dignified in bearing, remarkably attractive in look, eloquent and winning in address.¹ Moreover, he had lived so long in England, and all his interests had so long been centred there, that for all practical purposes, social as well as political, he was a thorough Englishman—certainly far more of an Englishman than his young English-born cousin, King Richard. For the last eight

¹ On Hugh of Durham see Will. Newb., l. v. c. 10 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 436-438), Geoff. Coldingham, cc. 1, 4, 11, 14 (*Scriptt. Dunelm. III.*, Raine, pp. 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14), and Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. xxxiii.-xxxvii.

years, indeed, he had held in the north much the same position as had belonged in earlier times to the archbishops of York; for the northern province had been without a metropolitan ever since the death of Roger of Pont-l'Evêque in November 1181,¹ and the supreme authority, ecclesiastical as well as secular, had thus devolved upon the bishop of Durham. He was now threatened with the loss of this pre-eminence; but he had no intention of giving it up without a struggle, in which his chances of success were at least as good as those of his rival the archbishop-elect; and whatever the result might be with respect to his ecclesiastical independence, he had secured a formidable counterpoise to the primate's territorial influence by his purchase of Northumberland, which made him sole head, under the Crown, of the civil administration of the whole country between the Tweed and the Tees.

Alike in himself and in his antecedents Hugh of Puiset was the very antithesis to William of Longchamp. William had nothing of the stately presence and winning aspect which distinguished the bishop of Durham; on the contrary, he laboured under personal disadvantages which should have entitled him to sympathy, but which one of his political opponents was heartless enough to caricature, after his fall, in order to make him an object of vulgar contempt and disgust. His stature was diminutive, his countenance swarthy and ill-favoured, his figure mis-shapen, and he was moreover very lame.² His origin was as lowly as his person. His father was a certain Hugh of Longchamp who in 1156 received from the king a grant of lands in Herefordshire,³ and about the time of the barons' revolt was fermor of the honour of Conches in Normandy.⁴ His grandfather was said to have been a French serf who had fled from the justice of his lord and found a refuge in the Norman village

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 283. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 10. Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 225).

² Cf. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 11, with the horrible caricature in Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 19 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 420).

³ Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II. (Hunter), p. 51.

⁴ *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.* (Stapleton), vol. i. p. 74. Cf. Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xxxviii.

whence his descendants took their name.¹ In Henry's latter years Hugh of Longchamp was deep in debt and disgrace,² and his six sons had to make their way in the world as best they could under the shadow of the king's displeasure.³ William, whose physical infirmities must have shut him out from every career save that of a clerk, first appears under the patronage of Geoffrey the chancellor, as his official in one of his many pieces of Church preferment, the archdeaconry of Rouen.⁴ The king, however, remonstrated strongly with his son on the danger of associating with a man whom he declared to be "a traitor, like his father and mother before him."⁵ The end of his remonstrances was that, shortly before the last outbreak, William fled from Geoffrey to Richard, and, according to one account, became the chief instigator of Richard's rebellion.⁶ However this may be, it is certain that Richard, while still merely duke of Aquitaine, employed William as his chancellor,⁷ and that he was not only so well satisfied with his services as to retain him in the same capacity after his accession to the crown, but had formed such a high opinion of his statesmanship and his fidelity as to make him his chief political adviser and confidant. Richard, like his father, was constant in his friendships, and very unwilling to discard those to whom he had once become really attached; his trust in William remained unshaken to the end of his life, and in some respects it was not misplaced. William seems to have been thoroughly loyal to his master, and his energy and industry were as unquestionable as his loyalty. As Richard's most intimate companion, confidential secretary, and political adviser in foreign affairs, William was in his

¹ Letter of Hugh of Nonant, in *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 216 (also in Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 142). *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 18 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 418).

² *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.* (Stapleton), vol. i. p. 74. Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. xxxviii, xxxix and notes.

³ Stubbs, as above, pp. xxxix, xl.

⁴ *Gir. Cambr.* as above, c. 1 (p. 388).

⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. c. 19 (pp. 420, 421). It does not seem to be known exactly who William's mother was; but she brought to her husband in dower a knight's fee in Herefordshire under Hugh de Lacy. See *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* (Hearne), p. 155, and Stubbs, as above, p. xxxviii, note 4.

⁶ *Gir. Cambr.* as above, c. 19 (p. 421).

⁷ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 6.

right place ; but he was by no means equally well fitted to be Richard's representative in the supreme government and administration of England. He had the primary disqualification of being a total stranger to the land, its people and its ways. Most likely he had never set foot in England till he came thither with Richard in 1189 ; he was ignorant of the English tongue ;¹ his new surroundings were thoroughly distasteful to him ; and as he was by no means of a cautious or conciliatory temper, he expressed his contempt and dislike of them in a way which was resented not only by the people, but even by men whose origin and natural speech were scarcely more English than his own.² He had in short every qualification for becoming an extremely unpopular man, and he behaved as if he desired no other destiny. The nation at large soon learned to return his aversion and to detest him as a disagreeable stranger ; his colleagues in the administration despised him as an upstart interloper ; the justiciar, in particular, keenly resented his own virtual subordination to one whom he naturally regarded as his inferior in every way.³ It was sound policy on Richard's part to place a check upon Hugh of Durham ; and it was not unnatural that he should select his chancellor for that purpose. The seven happiest years of Henry Fitz-Empress had been the years during which another chancellor had wielded a power almost as great as that which Richard intrusted to William of Longchamp. But, on the other hand, any one except Richard might have seen at a glance that of all statesmen living, William of Longchamp was well-nigh the least fitted to reproduce the career of Thomas of London.

The king left England on December 11.⁴ William was consecrated, together with Richard Fitz-Nigel, on December 31,⁵ and on the feast of the Epiphany he was enthroned at Ely.⁶ Immediately afterwards he began to assert his temporal authority. At a meeting of the Court of Exchequer

¹ Letter of Hugh of Nonant in *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 219.

² See Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 19 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 424).

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 101. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 29.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 73, makes it December 14.

⁵ R. Diceto as above, p. 75. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 11.

⁶ R. Diceto as above.

the bishop of Durham was turned out by the chancellor's orders; presently after he was deprived of his jurisdiction over Northumberland. Soon after this, Bishop Godfrey of Winchester was dispossessed not merely of his sheriffdom and castles, but even of his own patrimony.¹ For this last spoliation there is no apparent excuse; that a man should hold a sheriffdom together with a bishopric was, however, contrary alike to Church discipline and to sound temporal policy; and the non-recognition of Hugh's purchase of Northumberland might be yet further justified by the fact that the purchase-money was not yet paid.² In February 1190 Richard summoned his mother, his brothers and his chief ministers to a final meeting in Normandy;³ the chancellor, knowing that complaints against him would be brought before the king, hurried over in advance of his colleagues, to justify himself before he was accused,⁴ and he succeeded so well that Richard not only sent him back to England after the council with full authority to act as chief justiciar as well as chancellor,⁵ but at the same time opened negotiations with Rome to obtain for him a commission as legate⁶—an arrangement which, the archbishop of Canterbury being bound on crusade like the king, would leave William supreme both in Church and state.

✠ The new justiciar's first act on his return was to fortify the Tower of London;⁷ his next was to punish a disturbance which had lately occurred at York. During the last six months the long-suppressed hatred which the Jews inspired had broken forth into open violence. The first pretext had been furnished by a misunderstanding on the coronation-day. Richard, who had some very strict ideas about the ceremonials of religion, had given orders that no Jew should approach him on that solemn occasion; in defiance or ignorance of the prohibition, some rich Jews came to offer gifts to the new sovereign; the courtiers and the people seized the

¹ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 11.

² See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xxxi. and note 3.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 105, 106. ⁴ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 12.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 106. Cf. Ric. Devizes as above, and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 14 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 331).

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁷ *Ibid.*

excuse to satisfy at once their greed and their hatred ; the unwelcome visitors were driven away, robbed, beaten, some even slain ;¹ and the rage of their enemies, once let loose, spent itself throughout the night in a general sack of the Jewish quarter. Richard, engaged at the coronation-banquet, knew nothing of what had happened till the next day,² when he did his best to secure the ringleaders, and punished them severely.³ When he was gone, however, the spark thus kindled burst forth into a blaze in all the chief English cities in succession, Winchester being almost the sole exception.⁴ Massacres of Jews took place at Norwich on February 6, at Stamford on March 7, at S. Edmund's on March 18, Palm Sunday.⁵ A day before this last, a yet worse tragedy had occurred at York. The principal Jews of that city, in dread of a popular attack, had sought and obtained shelter in one of the towers of the castle, under the protection of its constable and the sheriff of Yorkshire.⁶ Once there, they refused to give it up again ; whereupon the constable and the sheriff called out all the forces of city and shire to dislodge them. After twenty-four hours' siege the Jews offered to ransom themselves by a heavy fine ; but the blood of the citizens was up, and they rejected the offer. The Jews, in desperation, resolved to die by their own hands rather than by those of their Gentile enemies ; the women

¹ The *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 83, lay the blame on "curiales"; with Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 12, the source of the mischief is "plebs superbo oculo et insatiabili corde"; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 69, is so ashamed of the whole business that he tries to shift the responsibility off all English shoulders alike—"Pax Judæorum, quam ab antiquis temporibus semper obtinuerant, ab alienigenis interrumpitur." Cf. the very opposite tone of R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 28, and the judicial middle course characteristically steered by Will. Newb., l. iv. cc. 1 and 9 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 297, 298, 316, 317).

² R. Diceto as above.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 84. Rog. Howden as above. Both take care to assure us that Richard's severity was owing not to any sympathy for the Jews, but to the fact that in the confusion a few Christians had suffered with them. Cf. a slightly different version in Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 1 (as above, pp. 297-299).

⁴ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 5.

⁵ R. Diceto as above, p. 75. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iv. cc. 7, 8 (as above, pp. 308-312), who adds Lynn to the series.

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 107, and a more detailed account in Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 9 (as above, pp. 312-314). From him we learn that the Jews of Lincoln did the same, and with a more satisfactory result.

and children were slaughtered by their husbands and fathers, who flung the corpses over the battlements or piled them up in the tower, which they fired.¹ Nearly five hundred Jews perished in the massacre or the flames;² and the citizens and soldiers, baulked of their expected prey, satiated their greed by sacking and burning all the Jewish houses and destroying the bonds of all the Jewish usurers in the city.³ At the end of April or the beginning of May⁴ the new justiciar came with an armed force to York to investigate this affair. The citizens threw the whole blame upon the castellan and the sheriff; William accordingly deposed them both.⁵ As the castle was destroyed, he probably thought it needless to appoint a new constable until it should be rebuilt; for the sheriff—John, elder brother of William the Marshal—he at once substituted his own brother Osbert.⁶ Most of the knights who had been concerned in the tumult had taken care to put themselves out of his reach; their estates were, however, mulcted and their chattels seized;⁷ and the citizens only escaped by paying a fine⁸ and giving hostages who were not redeemed till three years later, when all thought of further proceedings in the matter had been given up.⁹ Even the clergy of the minster had their share of punishment, although for a different offence: William, though his legatine commission had not yet arrived, claimed already to be received as legate, and put the church under interdict until his claim was admitted.¹⁰

For the moment William's power was undisputed even

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 107. For date—March 16—see R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 75.

² R. Diceto as above.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 34. Cf. the somewhat different version of Will. Newb., l. iv. cc. 9, 10 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 314-322), and also R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 27, 28.

⁴ The *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 108, say merely "post Pascha"; Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 11 (as above, p. 323), says "circa Dominicæ Ascensionis solemnina," which fell on May 4.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁶ Rog. Howden as above.

⁷ Will. Newb. as above (p. 323). Cf. Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I., quoted in Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. xlv., notes 4, 5, xlv., note 1.

⁸ Will. Newb. as above.

⁹ Pipe Roll 5 Ric. I. in Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xlv., note 7. Will. Newb., as above (p. 324), says that nothing further was ever done in the matter.

¹⁰ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 108, 109.

in the north ; for Hugh of Durham was still in Gaul. Now, however, there came a notice from the king that he was about to send Hugh back to England as justiciar over the whole country north of the Humber.¹ Hugh himself soon afterwards arrived, and hurried northward, in the hope, it seems, of catching the chancellor on the further side of the Humber and thus compelling him to acknowledge his inferiority.² In this hope he was disappointed ; they met at Blyth in Nottinghamshire.³ Hugh, impetuous in old age as in youth, talked somewhat too much as the chancellor had acted—"as if all the affairs of the realm were dependent on his nod."⁴ At last, however, he produced the commission from Richard upon which his pretensions were founded ;⁵ and William, who could read between the lines of his royal friend's letters, saw at once that he had little to fear.⁶ He replied simply by expressing his readiness to obey the king's orders,⁷ and proposing that all further discussion should be adjourned to a second meeting a week later at Tickhill. There Hugh found the tables turned. The chancellor had reached the place before him ; the bishop's followers were shut out from the castle ; he was admitted alone into the presence of his rival, who, without giving him time to speak, put into his hands another letter from Richard, bidding all his English subjects render service and obedience to "our trusty and well-beloved chancellor, the bishop of Ely," as they would to the king himself. The letter was dated June 6—some days, if not weeks, later than Hugh's credentials ;⁸ and it seems to have just reached William together with his legatine commission, which was issued on the previous day.⁹ He gave his rival no time even to think. "You had your say at our last meeting ; now I will have mine. As my lord the king liveth, you shall not quit this place till you

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 109. This appointment is mentioned (*ib.* p. 106) among those made at the council of Rouen, where William himself was appointed ; but it seems plain that it was not ratified till some time later.

² Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 12.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 109.

⁴ Ric. Devizes as above.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 13. *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁶ Ric. Devizes as above.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁸ Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 83, with Ric. Devizes as above.

⁹ R. Diceto as above.

have given me hostages for the surrender of all your castles. No protests! I am not a bishop arresting another bishop; I am the chancellor, arresting his supplanter."¹ Hugh was powerless; yet he let himself be dragged all the way to London before he would yield. Then he gave up the required hostages,² and submitted to the loss of all his lately-purchased honours—Windsor, Newcastle, Northumberland, even the manor of Sadberge which he had bought of the king for his see³—everything, in short, except his bishopric. For that he set out as soon as he was liberated; but at his manor of Howden he was stopped by the chancellor's orders, forbidden to proceed further, and again threatened with forcible detention. He promised to remain where he was, gave security for the fulfilment of his promise, and then wrote to the king his complaints of the treatment which he had received.⁴ All the redress that he could get, however, was a writ commanding that Sadberge should be restored to him at once and that he should suffer no further molestation.⁵

The chancellor's first rival was thus suppressed; but already he could see other stumbling-blocks arising in his path, not a few of them placed there by the shortsighted policy of his royal master. Richard's reckless bestowal of lands and jurisdictions would, if left undisturbed, have put the administration of at least ten whole shires practically beyond the control of the central government. The bishops of Durham, Winchester and Coventry or Chester would have had everything their own way, in temporal matters no less than in spiritual, throughout their respective dioceses. To this state of things William had summarily put an end in the cases of Northumberland and Hampshire; in those of

¹ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 13.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 109. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 35, places the submission at Southwell.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above. On Sadberge see Rog. Howden as above, p. 13.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.*, pp. 109, 110.

⁵ The *Gesta Ric.*, p. 110, say Richard ordered the restitution of Newcastle and Sadberge; for Newcastle Rog. Howden, as above, p. 38, substitutes "comitatum Northumbrie"; but the king's letter, given by Roger himself (*ib.* pp. 38, 39, mentions nothing except Sadberge. For its date see *ib.* pp. 37 note 1, 39 note 3, and *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 112, note 1.

Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire the primate had been induced to remonstrate with Hugh of Coventry upon the impropriety of a bishop holding three sheriffdoms, and Hugh had accordingly given up two of them, though he managed to get them back after Baldwin's death at the close of 1190.¹ There were however still four shires in the south-west and one in Mid-England over which the king's justiciar was not only without practical, but even without legal jurisdiction. In these, and in a number of "honours" scattered over the midland shires from Gloucester to Nottingham, the whole rights and profits of government, administration and finance belonged solely to John; for his exercise of them he was responsible to no one but the king; and thus, as soon as Richard was out of reach, John was to all intents and purposes himself king of his own territories. For the present indeed he was unable to set foot in his little realm. Richard in the spring had made both his brothers take an oath to keep away from England for three years.² It was however easy enough for John to govern his part of England, as the whole of it had often been governed for years together, from the other side of the Channel. He had his staff of ministers just like his brother—his justiciar Roger de Planes,³ his chancellor Stephen Ridel,⁴ his seneschal William de Kahaines, and his butler Theobald Walter;⁵ the sheriffs of his five counties and the stewards or bailiffs of his honours were appointed by him alone, and exercised their functions solely for his advantage, without reference to the king's court or the king's exchequer.⁶ It is evident that, even though as yet the sea lay between them, John had already the power to make himself, if he were so minded, a serious obstacle to the chancellor's plans of governing England for Richard. Moreover, before Richard finally quitted Gaul, his mother persuaded him to release John from his oath of absence;⁷

¹ See R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 77, 78, and Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xxxi. and note 5.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 106. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 15.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 99.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 224.

⁵ Rymer, *Fadera*, vol. i. p. 55.

⁶ See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. xxxiii and lii.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* and Ric. Devizes as above.

and William of Longchamp himself, in his new character of legate, was obliged to confirm the release with his absolution.¹ In view of the struggle which he now saw could not be far distant, William began to marshal his political forces and concert his measures of defence. On August 1 he held a Church council at Gloucester, in the heart of John's territories;² on October 13 he held another at Westminster;³ and he seems to have spent the winter in a sort of half legatine, half vice-regal progress throughout the country, for purposes of justice and finance and for the assertion of his own authority. This proceeding stirred up a good deal of discontent. Cripple though he was, William of Longchamp seems to have been almost as rapid and restless a traveller as Henry II.; one contemporary says he "went up and down the country like a flash of lightning."⁴ It may be however that these words allude to the disastrous effects of the chancellor's passage rather than to its swiftness and suddenness; for he went about in such state as no minister except Henry's first chancellor had ever ventured to assume. His train of a thousand armed knights, besides a crowd of clerks and other attendants, was a ruinous burthen to the religious houses where he claimed entertainment; and the burthen was made almost unbearable by the heavy exactions, from clerk and layman alike, which he made in his master's name.⁵

That master was now with Philip of France at Messina,⁶ preparing for his departure from Europe. When he would come back—whether he ever would come back at all—was felt by all parties to be doubtful in the extreme. With his

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De rebus a se gestis*, l. ii. c. 23 (Brewer, vol. i. p. 86). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 15, says the arrangement was that John "in Angliam per cancellarium transiens staret ejus judicio, et ad placitum illius vel moraretur in regno vel exularet." But with Eleanor in England to back her son, William could really have no choice in the matter.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 83. On the version of this in Ric. Devizes (as above, pp. 13, 14), see Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xlix.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 85. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 488, makes it October 16.

⁴ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 14.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 214. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 72. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 14 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 333, 334).

⁶ Richard was there from September 23, 1190, to April 10, 1191. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 125, 162; R. Diceto as above, pp. 84, 91.

ardent zeal, rash valour and peculiar health, he was little likely to escape both the chances of war and the effects of the eastern climate;¹ and the question of the succession was therefore again becoming urgent. There was indeed not much latitude of choice; the male line of Anjou, already extinct in Palestine, had in Europe only three representatives—Richard himself, John, and their infant nephew Arthur of Brittany. By the strict feudal rule of primogeniture, Arthur, being Geoffrey's son, would have after Richard the next claim as head of the Angevin house. By old English constitutional practice, John, being a grown man and the reigning sovereign's own brother, would have a much better chance of recognition as his successor than his nephew, a child not yet four years old. Neither alternative was without drawbacks. Richard himself had made up his mind to the first; early in November 1190 he arranged a marriage for Arthur with a daughter of King Tancred of Sicily, on a distinct understanding that in case of his own death without children Arthur was to succeed to all his dominions;² while at the same time William of Longchamp was endeavouring to secure the Scot king's recognition of Arthur as heir-presumptive to the English crown.³ The queen-mother was unwilling to contemplate the succession of either Arthur or John; she was anxious to get Richard married. Knowing that he never would marry the woman to whom he had been so long betrothed, she took upon herself to find him another bride. Her choice fell upon Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho VI. of Navarre;⁴ it

¹ See Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 306).

² Treaty in *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 133-136, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 61-64. It is dateless, but on November 11 Richard wrote to the Pope telling him of its provisions and asking for his sanction. *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 136-138; Rog. Howden as above, pp. 65, 66.

³ Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 14 (as above, pp. 335, 336). William represents this as an unauthorized proceeding of the chancellor's, contrived in his own interest as against John. He seems to place it at a later date.

⁴ "Puella prudentior quam pulchra" says Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 25; but he seems to be contrasting her with Eleanor. On the other hand, Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 19 (as above, p. 346), calls her "famosæ pulchritudinis et prudentiæ virginem." According to the *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 175, this had been Richard's own choice for many years past.

was accepted by Richard; early in February 1191¹ she went over to Gaul; there she met her intended daughter-in-law, whom she carried on with her into Italy, and by the end of March they were both with Richard at Messina.² On the very day of their arrival Philip had sailed.³ After long wrangling with him, Richard had at last succeeded in freeing himself from his miserable engagement to Adela;⁴ he at once plighted his troth to Berengaria; and when his mother, after a four days' visit, set out again upon her homeward journey,⁵ his bride remained with him under the care of his sister the widowed queen Jane of Sicily⁶ till the expiration of Lent and the circumstances of their eastward voyage enabled them to marry. The wedding was celebrated and the queen crowned at Limasol in Cyprus on the fourth Sunday after Easter.⁷

On her way home Eleanor stopped to transact some diplomatic business at Rome, and she seems to have remained in Gaul until the beginning of the next year. Long before she returned to England there were evident tokens that when Richard had proposed to keep John out of it, he had for once been wiser than his mother. Early in the year John, profiting by the liberty which her intercession had procured him, came over to England and there set up his court in such semi-regal state as to make it a source of extreme irritation, if not of grave anxiety, to the chancellor.⁸ Eleanor's departure thus left William of Longchamp face to face with a new and most formidable rival; while about the same time he saw his power threatened on another side. In March 1191 tidings came that Archbishop Baldwin had died at Acre in the foregoing November.⁹ If a new primate

¹ Richard sent ships to meet her at Naples before the end of that month. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 157.

² They arrived on March 30. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 161. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 160, 161. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 99. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 86. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 26. The actual treaty between Richard and Philip, of which more later, is in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 54.

⁵ She sailed on April 2. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 161. Cf. R. Diceto as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 28.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 166, 167. Ric. Devizes, p. 39. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 195, 196. ⁸ See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. li., lii.

⁹ *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 488, 490.

should be appointed, it was to be expected as a matter of course that the bishop of Ely would lose the legation; he could hope to retain it only by persuading Richard either to nominate him to the primacy, or to keep it vacant altogether. Richard's notions of ecclesiastical propriety were however too strict to admit the latter alternative; from the former he would most likely be deterred by his father's experiences with another chancellor; so, to the astonishment of everybody, he nominated for the see of Canterbury a Sicilian prelate, one of his fellow-crusaders, William archbishop of Monreale.¹ Meanwhile John and the chancellor were quarrelling openly; popular sympathy, which William had alienated by his arrogance and his oppressions, was on the side of John; even the subordinate justiciars, who had stood by William in his struggle with Hugh of Durham,² were turning against him now; from one and all complaints against him were showering in upon the king;³ till at the end of February Richard grew so bewildered and so uneasy that he decided upon sending the archbishop of Rouen to investigate the state of affairs in England and see what could be done to remedy it.⁴

The archbishop of Rouen—Walter of Coutances—was a man of noble birth and stainless character who had been successively archdeacon of Oxford, treasurer of Rouen cathedral and vice-chancellor to Henry II.;⁵ in this last capacity he had for eight years done the whole work of head of the chancery for his nominal chief Ralf of Varneville,⁶ till Ralf was succeeded in 1182 by the king's son Geoffrey, and next year the vice-chancellor was promoted to the see of Lincoln, which Geoffrey had resigned. A year later Walter was advanced to the primacy of Normandy.⁷ He was now with Richard, on his way to Holy Land, but commuted his vow to serve the king.⁸ He was a very quiet,

¹ *Gerv. Cant.* (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 493, 494; date, January 25 [1191].

² See *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), pp. 11, 12.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 158. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 95, 96.

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* as above. *Rog. Howden* as above, p. 96. We get the date approximately from Richard's letter in *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 90.

⁵ *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 10 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 408).

⁶ *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 367.

⁷ *ib.* vol. ii. pp. 10, 14, 21.

⁸ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 27—very unfairly coloured.

unassuming person, and certainly not a vigorous statesman ; but his integrity and disinterestedness were above question ;¹ and the position in which he was now placed was one in which even a Thomas Becket might well have been puzzled how to act. The only commission given him by Richard of which we know the date was issued on February 23 ;² but it was not till April 2 that he was allowed to leave Messina ;³ and during the interval Richard, in his reluctance to supersede the chancellor, seems to have been perpetually changing his mind and varying his instructions, some of which were sent direct to England and some intrusted to Walter, till by the time the archbishop started he was laden with a bundle of contradictory commissions, addressed to himself, to William and to the co-justiciars, and apparently accompanied by a verbal order to use one, all or none of them, wholly at his own discretion.⁴

Before he reached England John and the chancellor were at open war. On Mid-Lent Sunday they met at Winchester to discuss the payment of John's pensions from the Exchequer and the possession of certain castles within his territories.⁵ The discussion clearly ended in a quarrel ; and this served as a signal for revolt against the unpopular minister. Gerard de Camville, sheriff of Lincolnshire by purchase from the king, was also constable of Lincoln castle in right of his wife Nicolaa de Haye. He was accused of harbouring robbers in the castle, and when summoned before the king's justices he refused to appear, declaring

¹ Cf. Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 10 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 408), and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 15 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 336). In this place William calls Walter "virum prudentem et modestum"; but in l. iii. c. 8 (*ib.* p. 236) he displays a curiously bitter resentment against him for his abandonment of the see of Lincoln for the loftier see of Rouen.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 90. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 6 (p. 401), gives the date as February 20.

³ He and Eleanor left Messina together. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 176.

⁴ This seems the only possible explanation at once of Walter's conduct and of the conflicting accounts in R. Diceto as above, pp. 90, 91 ; Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 400, 401) ; *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 158 ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 96, 97 ; Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 27-29 ; and Will. Newb. as above. See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. lx., lxi., note 1.

⁵ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 26.

that he had become John's liegeman and was answerable only to him.¹ At the opposite end of England Roger de Mortemer, the lord of Wigmore—successor to that Hugh de Mortemer who had defied Henry II. in 1156—was at the same moment found to be plotting treason with the Welsh. Against him the chancellor proceeded first, and his mere approach so alarmed Roger that he gave up his castle and submitted to banishment from the realm for three years.² William then hurried to Lincoln; but before he could reach it Gerard and Nicolaa had had time to make their almost impregnable stronghold ready for a siege, and John had had time to gain possession of Nottingham and Tickhill³—two castles which the king had retained in his own hands, while bestowing upon his brother the honours in which they stood. Nicolaa was in command at Lincoln, and was fully equal to the occasion; her husband was now with John, and John at once sent the chancellor a most insulting message, taunting him with the facility with which the two castles had been betrayed,⁴ and threatening that if the attempt upon Lincoln was not at once given up, he would come in person to avenge the wrongs of his liegeman.⁵ William saw that John was now too strong for him; he knew by this time that Pope Clement was dead,⁶ and his own legation consequently at an end; he must have known, too, of the mission of Walter of Rouen; he therefore, through some of his fellow-bishops,⁷ demanded a personal meeting with John, and proposed that all their differences should be submitted to arbitration. John burst into a fury at what he chose to call the impudence of this proposal,⁸ but he ended by accepting it, and on April 25 the meeting took place at Winchester.

¹ Cf. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 30, with Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 242, 243, and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 16 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 337, 338), and see Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. pp. lvi., lvii. ² Ric. Devizes as above.

³ *Ibid.* *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 207. Will. Newb. as above (p. 338).

⁴ Ric. Devizes as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁶ He died on the Wednesday before Easter—April 10—and his successor Celestine III. was elected on Easter-day. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 161.

⁷ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 31, makes Walter of Rouen the mediator, but we shall see that this is chronologically impossible. ⁸ *Ibid.*

The case was decided by the bishops of London, Winchester and Bath, with eleven lay arbitrators chosen by them from each party. Their decision went wholly against the chancellor. He was permitted to claim the restitution of Nottingham and Tickhill, but only to put them in charge of two partizans of John; his right to appoint wardens to the other castles in dispute was nominally confirmed, but made practically dependent upon John's dictation; he was compelled to reinstate Gerard de Camville, and moreover to promise that in case of Richard's death he would do his utmost to secure the crown for John.¹

Two days later Walter of Rouen landed at Shoreham.² He was evidently not wanted now to act as a check upon William of Longchamp; he might almost expect to be soon wanted as a check upon John; but meanwhile, he could only stand aside and watch the effect of the new arrangements. His passive attitude gave, however, an indirect support to the chancellor; after midsummer, therefore, the latter ventured to repudiate the concessions wrung from him at Winchester; he again advanced upon Lincoln, and formally deprived Gerard of the sheriffdom, which he conferred upon William de Stuteville.³ Once more the other bishops interposed, backed now by the Norman primate. Another assembly met at Winchester on July 28,⁴ and here a fresh settlement was made. Gerard was reinstated in the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, pending his trial in the king's court; William and John were both bound over to commit no more forcible disseizures; the disputed castles were to be again put in charge for the king, but through the medium of the archbishop of Rouen instead of the chancellor, and John was allowed no voice in the selection of the castellans, who

¹ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 32, 33. On the date see Bishop Stubbs's notes to *Gesta Ric.*, p. 208, and Rog. Howden, vol. iii. p. 134, and pref. to latter, pp. lviii., lix.

² Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 497, says he landed about midsummer, and the printed text of R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 90, makes the date June 27; but see note in latter place. Bishop Stubbs (*Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. lix.) adopts the earlier date.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 207.

⁴ The date comes from Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 32, who however misapplies it. See Bishop Stubbs's notes to *Gesta Ric.*, p. 208, and Rog. Howden, vol. iii. p. 134.

were chosen by the assembly then and there. If the chancellor should infringe the agreement, or if the king should die, these castles were to be given up to John; but all reference to his claims upon the succession to the throne was carefully omitted.¹ The contest almost seemed to have ended in a drawn battle. It was strictly a contest between individuals, involving no national or constitutional interests. The barons, as a body, clearly sided with John; but, just as clearly, they sided with him from loyal motives. The authority of the Crown was never called in question; the question was, who was fittest to represent and uphold it—the king's chancellor, or his brother. Of treason, either to England or to Richard, there was not a thought, unless—as indeed is only too probable—it lurked in the mind of John himself.

A drawn battle, however, could not possibly be the end of a struggle between two such men as John of Mortain and William of Longchamp. In the autumn a new element was added to the strife by the return of Archbishop Geoffrey of York. For thirty-five years Geoffrey had been the eldest living child, if indeed he was not actually the first-born, of Henry Fitz-Empress;² but of the vast Angevin heritage there fell to his share nothing, except the strong feelings and fiery temper which caused half the troubles of his life. As a child he had been brought up at court almost on equal terms with his half-brothers;³ he seems indeed to have been his father's favourite, till he was supplanted by the little John. When he grew to manhood, however, Henry could see no way of providing for him except by forcing him into

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 135-137.

² In the first chapter of his *Life* by Gerald (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 363), we are told that Geoffrey was scarcely twenty when elected to Lincoln, *i.e.* in 1173. But in l. i. c. 13 (*ib.* p. 384), Gerald says that he was consecrated to York "anno ætatis quasi quadragesimo," in 1191. These two dates, as is usual with Gerald in such cases, do not agree, and neither of them pretends to be more than approximate. Still it seems plain that Geoffrey's birth must fall somewhere between 1151 and 1153. Even if we adopt the latest date, he must have been born in the same year as Eleanor's first son—the baby William who died in 1156—and must have been at least two years older than the young king, four years older than Richard, and fourteen years older than John.

³ Gir. Camb. *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 1 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 363).

a career for which he had no vocation. At an early age he was put into deacon's orders and made archdeacon of Lincoln;¹ in 1173, when about twenty years of age, he was appointed to the bishopric of the same place.² The Pope, however, demurred to the choice of a candidate disqualified alike by his youth and his birth; and when the former obstacle had been outlived and the latter might have been condoned, Geoffrey voluntarily renounced an office in which he would have been secure for life, but which he had never desired and for which he felt himself unfit,³ in order to become his father's chancellor and constant companion during the last eight years of his life. It was Henry's last regret that this son, the only one of his sons whose whole life had been an unbroken course of perfect filial obedience, had to be left with his future entirely at the mercy of his undutiful younger half-brother. Richard received him with a brotherly welcome; ⁴ when, however, he nominated him to the see of York, he was indeed carrying out their father's last wishes, but certainly not those of Geoffrey himself. Richard seems to have thought that he was held back by other motives than those of conscience or of preference for a secular life; he suspected him of cherishing designs upon the crown.⁵ It can only be said that Geoffrey, so far as appears, never did anything to justify the suspicion, but shewed on the contrary every disposition to act loyally towards both his brothers, if they would but have acted with equal loyalty towards him. As soon however as the tonsure had marked him irrevocably for a priestly life,⁶ Richard's zeal for his promotion cooled. The bishop of Durham, who

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. i. c. 1 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 363).

² *Ib.* p. 364. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 22 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 154).

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 271, 272. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 4 (p. 368). The resignation was formally completed at Epiphany 1182. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 10.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 5 (p. 372).

⁵ *Ib.* c. 8 (p. 379). In c. 7 (p. 374) Gerald actually represents Geoffrey as entertaining some hope of surviving and succeeding both his younger brothers; but this is a very different thing from plotting against them during their lives. See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. lxvi. As it turned out, the first part, at any rate, of this dream of Geoffrey's was not so mad as it seemed, for he died only four years before John.

⁶ He was ordained priest September 23, 1189. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 88.

was striving to make his see independent of the metropolitan,¹ and a strong party in the York chapter with whom Geoffrey had quarrelled on a point of ecclesiastical etiquette, easily won the king's ear;² it was not till the very eve of Richard's departure from England that Geoffrey was able to buy his final confirmation both in the see of York and in the estates which his father had bequeathed to him in Anjou;³ and in March he was summoned over to Normandy and there, like John, made to take an oath of absence from England for three years.⁴

According to Geoffrey's own account, he followed his brother as far as Vézelay, and there won from him a remission of this vow.⁵ It is certain that by April 1191 Richard had so far changed his mind again as to be desirous of Geoffrey's speedy consecration. The Pope's consent was still lacking; and the negotiations for obtaining this were undertaken by the person who, from Geoffrey's very birth, had been his most determined enemy—Queen Eleanor. When she went from Messina to Rome to plead his cause with Clement III. or his successor Celestine,⁶ it is plain that natural feeling gave way to motives of policy. She could now see that an archbishop of York might become very useful in England, in holding the balance between Hugh of Durham and William of Ely. His canonical authority and personal influence might furnish, not indeed a counterpoise, but at least a check to the now unlimited powers of the legate. On the other hand, it was the long vacancy of York which more than anything else had tended to Hugh's exaltation. For ten years the bishop of Durham, with no metropolitan over him, had virtually been himself metropolitan of northern England. He strongly resented the filling of the vacant see, and had actually obtained from

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 146. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 74.

² *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 88, 91, 99. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 17, 18, 27. Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galf.*, l. i. c. 8 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 377, 378).

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 100. Cf. Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 379).

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 106. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 15.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 11 (p. 382).

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 100. The change in the Papacy must have occurred while she was there.

Clement III. a privilege of exemption from its jurisdiction.¹ If the archbishop of York could be reinstated in his proper constitutional position, his own interests would lead him to use it for those of the kingdom and the king.

Geoffrey's qualifications and disqualifications for such a task may be very easily summed up. He had the Angevin fearlessness, energy, persistence and thoroughness, with a fair share of the versatile capabilities of the family; he had all their impetuosity, but very little of their wariness and tact. Mingled with the Angevin fire, there seems to have run in his veins the blood, and with it the spirit, of a totally different race. If we may credit on such a point the gossip of his father's court, Geoffrey was through his mother a child of the people—seemingly the English people—and of its very lowest class.² This consideration has more interest at a later stage of Geoffrey's career, when he stands forth as a champion of constitutional liberty. Until then, there is, so far as we can see, no evidence of any special sympathy between him and the English people. Yet the plebeian and probably English element in him existed, or was believed to exist; and if it did not become, as it easily might have done, an important element in his political career, it was at any rate not unlikely to have exercised some influence upon his character.

Eleanor's mission to Rome succeeded. Geoffrey's election and his claim to the obedience of the bishop of Durham were both confirmed by Pope Celestine;³ he was consecrated

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 146.

² W. Map, *De Nugis Cur.*, dist. v. c. 6 (Wright, pp. 228-235). Walter is the only writer who tells us anything about Geoffrey's mother; as he does not say she was a foreigner, it seems most probable that he looked upon her as an Englishwoman. The name which he gives to her—"Ykenai" or "Hikenai"—tells nothing either way, in itself. But Mr. Dimock (in his preface to the seventh volume of Gerald's works, p. xxxvii) throws doubt upon Walter's whole account of her except her name, and suggests that she may have belonged to a knightly family of *Akeny* (*i.e.* Acquigny) in Normandy. This, however, is a question to be investigated by a biographer of Geoffrey or a student of his later political career rather than by an historian of the Angevin kings. The doubts which W. Map tries to throw upon his connexion with them are probably affected, and clearly unfounded. Few specimens of the Angevin race are more unmistakable than Geoffrey; one might perhaps add, few more creditable.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 209. See Celestine's letter (date, May 11) in

at Tours by Archbishop Bartholomew on August 18, and received his pall on the same day.¹ He at once put himself in communication with John, to secure a protector on his return to his see ;² for William of Longchamp, having had no notice from Richard of the remission of Geoffrey's vow of absence, refused to believe in it,³ and had not only issued orders for the archbishop's arrest as soon as he should land in England,⁴ but had agreed with the countess of Flanders that no Flemish ship should be allowed to give him a passage. The countess, however, evaded her agreement by letting him sail from Wissant in an English boat.⁵ He landed at Dover on Holy Cross day,⁶ having changed his clothes to avoid recognition.⁷ The constable of Dover, Matthew de Clères, was absent ; his wife Richenda was a sister of William of Longchamp ; her men-at-arms surrounded the archbishop the moment he touched the shore, recognized him in spite of his disguise, and strove to arrest him, but he managed to free himself from their hands and make his way to the priory of S. Martin, just outside the town. Here for five days Richenda's followers vainly endeavoured to blockade and starve him into surrender.⁸ On the fifth day a band of armed men rushed into the priory-church, and in the chancellor's name ordered Geoffrey to quit the country at once. Geoffrey, seated by the altar, clad in his pontifical robes and with his

Monasticon Angl., vol. vi. pt. iii. col. 1188, and Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. lxxvii, note 2.

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 96. Cf. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 209 ; Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galf.*, l. i. c. 13 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 384). Will. Newb., always hostile to Geoffrey, declares that "ordine præpostero" he got his pallium before he was consecrated ; l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 339, 340).

² Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 34.

³ His disbelief was evidently shared by Roger of Howden (Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 138) ; but Roger's authority, the treasurer, does not commit himself to any opinion on the subject. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 210.

⁴ See the chancellor's writ—dated Preston, July 30—in R. Diceto as above, and Gir. Cambr. as above, l. ii. c. 1 (p. 389) ; and cf. Ric. Devizes and *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 388). Cf. *Gesta Ric.* as above. The countess—Isabel of Portugal, second wife of Count Philip—was governing her husband's territories during his absence on crusade, where he died.

⁶ R. Diceto as above, p. 97. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 504.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 388-390). Cf. R. Diceto and *Gesta Ric.* as above, and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 340).

archiepiscopal cross in his hand, set them and their chancellor at defiance.¹ They dragged him out of the church by the hands and feet ; and as nothing would induce him to mount a horse which they brought for him, they dragged him on, still in the same array, still clinging to his cross and excommunicating them as they went, all through the town to the castle, where they flung him into prison.²

This outrage roused up all parties alike in Church and state. England had had quite enough of persecuted and martyred archbishops. Protests and remonstrances came pouring in upon the chancellor from the most opposite quarters :—from the treasurer and bishop of London, Richard Fitz-Nigel³—from the aged bishop of Norwich, John of Oxford,⁴ and from the Canterbury chapter,⁵ both of whom had had only too much experience, in different ways, of the disasters which might result from such violence to an archbishop. The most venerated of living English prelates, S. Hugh of Lincoln, at once excommunicated Richenda, her husband and all her abettors, with lighted candles at Oxford.⁶ John remonstrated most vehemently of all,⁷ and his remonstrances procured Geoffrey's release,⁸ but only on condition that he would go straight to London and there remain till the case between him and the chancellor could be tried by an assembly of bishops and barons.⁹ This of course satisfied nobody. John had no mind to lose his opportunity of crushing his enemy once for all. From Lancaster, where he was laying his plans with the help of Bishop Hugh of Coventry—a nephew of the old arch-plotter Arnulf of

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 1 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 391).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 391, 392). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 35, 36. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 97. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 111. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 505. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 340).

³ R. Diceto as above. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 2 (pp. 393, 394).

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 394).

⁵ Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 505, 506.

⁶ Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 393).

⁷ *Ibid.* (p. 394). *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 211. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 139.

⁸ On September 26; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 97. Cf. Gir. Cambr. as above, c. 4 (p. 395), Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 507, and Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 36.

⁹ Gir. Cambr. as above.

Lisieux—he hurried to Marlborough, and thence sent out summons to all the great men whom he thought likely to help him against the chancellor. He was not disappointed. The co-justiciars hastened up from the various shires where they were apparently busy with their judicial or financial visitations—William the Marshal from Gloucestershire, William Bruère from Oxfordshire, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter from Northamptonshire; the bishops were represented by Godfrey of Winchester and Reginald of Bath, and the sovereign himself by Walter of Rouen; S. Hugh of Lincoln joined the train as it passed through Oxford to Reading. From Reading John sent to call his half-brother to his side. Geoffrey, who was beginning to be looked upon and to look upon himself as something like another S. Thomas, had made a sort of triumphal progress from Dover to London; tied by his parole, he was obliged to ask the chancellor's consent to his acceptance of John's invitation, and only gained it on condition of returning within a given time.¹

The chancellor meanwhile was at Norwich;² and thither John and the justiciars had already sent him a summons to appear before them and answer for his conduct towards both Geoffrey of York and Hugh of Durham, at an assembly to be held at the bridge over the Lodden, between Reading and Windsor, on Saturday October 5.³ William retorted by a counter-summons to all who had joined the count of Mortain to forsake him as an usurper and return to their obedience to the king's chosen representative.⁴ He hurried, however, to Windsor in time for the proposed meeting; but when the Saturday morning came, the earls of Arundel, Warren and Norfolk appeared at the trysting-place in his stead, pleading ill-health as an excuse for his absence.⁵ As Saturday was accounted an unlucky day for contracts or

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. cc. 4, 5 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 395-397).

² *Ib.* cc. 2, 5 (pp. 393, 394, 397).

³ *Ib.* c. 5 (p. 397). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 37, giving the date, which is confirmed by one of the summons—that addressed to the bishop of London—given by R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 98. Cf. also *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 212.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 6 (p. 398). Cf. R. Diceto, Ric. Devizes and *Gesta Ric.* as above.

settlements of any kind,¹ no one regretted the delay; John and the barons, sitting amid a ring of spectators in the meadows by the Lodden, spent the day in discussing all the complaints against the chancellor, and also, apparently, in looking through such of the Norman primate's bundle of royal letters as he chose to shew them, and deliberating which would be most appropriate to the present state of affairs. On one point all were agreed; the chancellor must be put down at once.² Early next morning he tried to bribe John into reconciliation, but in vain.³ At the high mass in Reading parish church the whole body of bishops lighted their candles and publicly excommunicated all who had been, whether by actual participation, command or consent, concerned in Archbishop Geoffrey's arrest;⁴ and at nightfall the chancellor was compelled to swear that, come what might, he would be ready to stand his trial at the bridge of Lodden on the morrow.⁵

Scarcely had he set out on the Monday morning when he was met by a report that his enemies were marching upon London.⁶ The report was true in substance; John and the barons, instead of waiting for him at the Lodden bridge, crossed it, and then divided their forces into two bodies; the smaller, consisting of the bishops and barons with John himself, proceeded towards Windsor to meet the chancellor; the larger, comprising the men-at-arms and the servants in charge of the baggage, was sent on by the southern road to Staines.⁷ Such a movement was quite enough to justify William in hurrying back to Windsor and thence on to London as fast as horses could carry him.⁸ Before he could reach it he met

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 98.

² Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 6 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 398-401).

³ *Ib.* c. 7 (p. 402).

⁴ *Ibid.* R. Diceto as above.

⁵ Gir. Cambr. as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* c. 8 (pp. 402, 403). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 37. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 212.

⁷ Cf. Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 403, 404), and R. Diceto as above, p. 99. Ric. Devizes, as above, says plainly what the other writers leave us to guess, that these followers were meant to go on to London.

⁸ Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 403). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 38. R. Diceto and *Gesta Ric.* as above. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 341, 342).

John's men-at-arms coming up by the other road from Staines; a skirmish took place, in which John's justiciar Roger de Planes was mortally wounded, but his followers seem to have had the best of the fight,¹ although they could not prevent the chancellor from making his way safe into London. Here he at once called a meeting of the citizens in the Guildhall, and endeavoured to secure their support against John.² He found, however, a strong party opposed to himself. On the last day of July³—three days after the second award between John and William at Winchester—the citizens of London had profited by the king's absence and his representative's humiliation to set up a *commune*. They knew very well that, as a contemporary writer says, neither King Henry nor King Richard would have sanctioned such a thing at any price;⁴ and they knew even better still that Richard's chancellor would never countenance it for a moment. With John they might have a chance, and they were not disposed to lose it by shutting their gates in his face at the bidding of William of Longchamp. William, seeing that his cause was lost in the city, shut himself up in the Tower.⁵

By this time John and his companions were at the gates; a short parley ended in their admittance.⁶ Next morning barons and citizens came together in S. Paul's.⁷ One after another the chancellor's victims, with the archbishop of York at their head, set forth their grievances.⁸ Archbishop Walter of Rouen and William the Marshal then produced the king's letter of February 20, addressed to the Marshal, and accredit-

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 99. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 212. *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 8 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 404).

² *Gir. Cambr.* as above. Cf. *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 38.

³ "Ipsâ die"—the day on which Philip of France set out homeward from Acre. *Ric. Devizes*, p. 53.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 53, 54. Yet Richard had once said that he would sell London altogether, if he could find anybody who would give him his price for it. *Ib.* p. 10, and *Will. Newb.*, l. iv. c. 5 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 306).

⁵ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 38. R. Diceto as above. *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 212, 218. *Will. Newb.* as above, c. 17 (p. 342).

⁶ *Gir. Cambr.* as above (p. 404).

⁷ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 38, says "in ecclesiâ S. Pauli"; R. Diceto as above, "in capitulo"; the *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 213, and *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 140, say "in atrio."

⁸ *Ric. Devizes* as above. *Gesta Ric.* as above, pp. 213, 218.

ing Walter to him and his fellow-justiciars, and bidding them, in case of any failure of duty on the chancellor's part, follow Walter's direction in all things.¹ John and the barons agreed to act in accordance with these instructions; they won the assent of the citizens by swearing to maintain the commune;² the whole assembly then swore fealty to Richard, and to John as his destined successor.³ According to one account they went a step further: they appointed John regent of the kingdom, and granted him the disposal of all the royal castles except three, which were to be left to the chancellor.⁴ Upon the latter they now set out to enforce their decision at the sword's point. His forces were more than sufficient to defend the Tower; they were in fact too numerous; they had had no time to revictual the place, they were painfully overcrowded, and before twenty-four hours were over they found their position untenable.⁵ On the Wednesday William tried to bribe John into abandoning the whole enterprise, and he very nearly succeeded; Geoffrey of York and Hugh of Coventry, however, discovered what was going on, and remonstrated so loudly that John was obliged to drop the negotiation and continue the siege.⁶ In the afternoon, at the chancellor's own request, four bishops and four earls went to speak with him in the Tower.⁷ Five days of intense excitement had so exhausted his feeble frame that when they told him what had passed at the meeting on the previous day, he dropped senseless at their feet, and when brought to himself could at first do nothing but implore their sympathy and mediation.⁸ The brutal insolence of Hugh of Coventry,⁹ however, seems

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 213, 218.

² *Ib.* p. 213. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 99.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 214. ⁴ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 37, 38.

⁵ Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 342).

⁶ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 9 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 406).

⁷ Gerald (*ib.* p. 405), says "quartâ vero ferîâ." Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 39, says "Dies ille nefastus declinabat ad vesperam," which, taken in connexion with what precedes, ought to mean Tuesday evening; but he seems to have lost count of the days just here. It is he alone who mentions the earls; while it is Gerald alone who gives the names of the bishops—London, Lincoln, Winchester and Coventry.

⁸ Cf. Ric. Devizes as above, and Gir. Cambr. as above, who tries to colour this scene differently.

⁹ Gir. Cambr. as above (pp. 405, 406).

to have stung him into his wonted boldness again. With flashing eyes he told them that the day of reckoning was yet to come, when they and their new lord would have to account for their treason with Richard himself; and he sent them away with a positive refusal to surrender either his castles or his seal.¹ Late at night, however, as he lay vainly endeavouring to gain a little rest, his friends came and implored him to abandon the useless struggle with fate; and at last his brother Osbert and some others wrung from him an unwilling permission to go and offer themselves as hostages for his submission on the morrow.²

On the Thursday morning the barons assembled in the fields east of the Tower,³ and there William of Longchamp went forth to meet them. The instant he appeared Hugh of Coventry stepped forward, recited the whole indictment against him, and pronounced with brutal bluntness the sentence of the assembly.⁴ William was to be deposed from all secular authority, to keep nothing but his bishopric and the castles of Dover, Cambridge and Hereford; he must give hostages for his future good behaviour; then let him begone wherever he would. The assembly broke into a chorus of approval which seemed intended to give William no chance of reply; but his dauntless spirit had by this time regained its mastery over his physical weakness; he stood quietly till they had all talked themselves out, and then they had to listen in their turn. He denied every one of the charges against him; he refused to recognize either the moral justice or the legal validity of his deposition; he agreed to surrender the castles, because he no longer had power to hold them, but he still lifted up his protest, as King Richard's lawful chancellor and justiciar, against all the proceedings and the very existence of the new ministry.⁵ Walter of Rouen was

¹ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 39.

² *Ib.* p. 40. Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 9 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 406).

³ Ric. Devizes (as above). Gir. Cambr. as above. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 100.

⁴ Ric. Devizes as above.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 40-42. Cf. Gir. Cambr. and R. Diceto as above; *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 214; and Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 17 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 341).

at once proclaimed justiciar in his stead.¹ The keys of the Tower and of Windsor castle, and the hostages, were delivered up next morning, and William was then allowed to withdraw to Bermondsey, whence on the following day he proceeded to Dover.² Thence, apparently in a desperate hope that his men might yet be able to hold the castles till he could gather means to relieve them, he twice attempted to escape over sea, first in the disguise of a monk, then in that of a pedlar-woman. His lameness, however, and his ignorance of English were fatal to his chances of flight; he was detected, dragged back into the town, and shut up in prison till all the castles were surrendered. Then he was set at liberty, and sailed for Gaul on October 29.³

His opponents, however, were not rid of him yet. The king was now practically out of reach of his remonstrances and appeals for succour;⁴ but the Pope was not. William was a bishop; and the harshness with which he had been treated enabled him now to pose in his turn as a consecrated victim of profane violence. Celestine III. warmly took up his cause; he distinctly acknowledged him as legate, whether with or without a formal renewal of his commission;⁵ and on December 2 he issued a brief addressed to the English bishops, bidding them excommunicate all who had taken part in William's deposition, and put their lands under interdict till he should be reinstated.⁶ William, as legate, followed this up by excommunicating twenty-six of his chief enemies by name, with the archbishop of Rouen at their head, and, with the Pope's sanction, threatening to treat John in like manner, if he did not amend before Quinquagesima.⁷

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 213. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 18 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 344).

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 100. *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 9 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 407). *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 42.

³ *Ric. Devizes* as above. R. Diceto as above, pp. 100, 101. *Gir. Cambr.* as above, cc. 12, 13 (pp. 410-413). *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 219, 220. Will. Newb. as above, c. 17 (p. 343). The date comes from R. Diceto.

⁴ He had written to complain of John's insubordination, but Richard did not get the letter till six months after the writer's fall. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 333.

⁵ See *Epp. Cant.* (Stubbs), introd. p. lxxxiii, note 1.

⁶ Letter of Celestine III. in *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 221, 222.

⁷ Letter of William "bishop of Ely, legate and chancellor," *ib.* pp. 222-224; and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 152-154.

The bishops, however, took no notice of his letters, and the justiciars retorted by sequestrating his see;¹ they all held him bound by the sentences pronounced against him at Reading and at London for his persecution of Geoffrey of York, and their view was upheld by the suffragans of Rouen, who all treated him as excommunicate.² Geoffrey was now the highest ecclesiastical authority in England; but he was not the man to rule the English Church. He had more than enough to do in ruling his own chief suffragan. As soon as he was enthroned at York,³ he summoned Hugh of Durham to come and make his profession of obedience; Hugh, who having been reinstated in his earldom of Northumberland⁴ felt himself again more than a match for his metropolitan, ignored the summons, whereupon Geoffrey excommunicated him.⁵ This did not deter John from keeping Christmas at Howden with the bishop; in consequence of which John himself was for a while treated as excommunicate by his half-brother.⁶ The momentary coalition, formed solely to crush the chancellor, had in fact already split into fragments. The general administration, however, went on satisfactorily under the new justiciar's direction, and his influence alone—for Eleanor was still on the continent⁷—sufficed to keep John out of mischief throughout the winter.

Richard's continental dominions had thus far been at peace—a peace doubly secured by the presence of Eleanor and the absence of Philip of France. Shortly before Christmas 1191, however, Philip returned to his kingdom.⁸ In January 1192 he called the seneschal and barons of Normandy to a conference, and demanded from them, on the strength of a document which he shewed to them as the

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 225.

² *Ib.* p. 221. Cf. *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 43.

³ On All Saints' day [1191]. *Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 11 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 410).

⁴ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 39.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 225. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 168, 169. See the excellent summary of this affair in *Will. Newb.*, l. iv. c. 27 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 371, 372).

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 235, 236.

⁷ She kept Christmas at Bonneville. *Ib.* p. 235. *Rog. Howden* as above, p. 179.

⁸ *Will. Armor. Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 76.

treaty made between himself and Richard at Messina, the restitution of his sister Adela and her dower-castles in the Vexin, as well as the counties of Eu and Aumale. The senechal, rightly suspecting the paper to be a forgery, answered that he had no instructions from Richard on the subject, and would give up neither the lands nor the lady.¹ Philip threatened war, and all Richard's constables prepared for defence.² Meanwhile, Philip offered to John the investiture of all Richard's continental dominions, if he would accept Adela's hand with them.³ That John had a wife already was an obstacle which troubled neither the French king nor John himself. He was quite ready to accept the offer; but meanwhile it reached his mother's ears, and she hurried to England to stop him.⁴ Landing at Portsmouth on Quinquagesima Sunday,⁵ she found him on the point of embarking; the archbishop of Rouen and the other justiciars gladly welcomed her back to her former post of regent, and joined with her in forbidding John to leave the country, under penalty of having all his estates seized in the king's name.⁶ They then held a series of councils, at Windsor, Oxford, London and Winchester;⁷ in that of London the barons renewed their oath of fealty to the king, but to pacify John they were obliged to do the like to him as heir,⁸ and the immediate consequence was that he persuaded the constables of Windsor and Wallingford to surrender their castles into his hands.⁹ William of Longchamp thought his opportunity

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 236. Cf. *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 56. It is certain that Philip told and acted a downright lie; for the treaty of Messina is extant, and its main provisions are these: Richard shall be bound to surrender Adela only within one month after his own return to Gaul, and the whole Norman Vexin, including its castles, shall remain to him and his heirs male for ever. Only in case of his death without male heir is it to revert to the French Crown; and as for Aumale and Eu, there is not a word about them. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 54.

² *Gesta Ric.* as above. *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 55.

³ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁴ *Ibid.* *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 57.

⁵ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 55. This was February 11 [1192].

⁶ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 237.

⁷ *Ric. Devizes* (Stevenson), p. 57.

⁸ *Gesta Ric.* as above. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 187.

⁹ *Ric. Devizes* as above. In Rog. Howden (as above), p. 204, the betrayal of these castles is placed a year later. Roger's account of the first few months of 1193 has, however, somewhat the look of a repetition of the history of 1192, and

had come. He managed to gain Eleanor's ear and to bribe John;¹ both connived at his return to Dover, and thence he sent up his demand for restoration to a council gathered in London towards the close of Lent.² It seems plain that he had won the favour of the queen; for the justiciars, whose original purpose in meeting had been to discuss the misdoings of John, now saw themselves obliged to fetch John himself from Wallingford to support them, as they expected, in their resistance to the chancellor's demands. To their dismay John told them plainly that he was on the point of making alliance with his old enemy for a consideration of seven hundred pounds.³ They saw that their only chance was to outbid William. They gave John two thousand marks out of the royal treasury;⁴ Walter of Rouen helped to persuade the queen-mother,⁵ and the chancellor was bidden to depart out of the land.⁶

Shortly afterwards, two cardinal-legates arrived in France to settle his dispute with the archbishop of Rouen. When they attempted to enter Normandy, the seneschal refused them admittance and shut the gates of Gisors in their faces, pleading that the subjects of an English king were forbidden by ancient custom to admit legates into any part of his dominions without his consent. The legates on this excommunicated the seneschal and laid all Normandy under interdict.⁷ William had done the same to his own diocese before

his story is much less consistent and circumstantial than Richard's, which I have therefore ventured to follow.

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 239. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 188. Cf. Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 14 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 413); Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 56; and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 512.

² Gir. Cambr., as above, says he landed about April 1, *i.e.* the Wednesday before Easter. But the other writers seem to place this council soon after Mid-Lent. Gerv. Cant., as above, says the chancellor came "mediante mense Martio."

³ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 58, 59.

⁴ "2000 marks, £500 of which were to be raised from the chancellor's estates" is Bishop Stubbs's interpretation (*Rog. Howden*, vol. iii. pref. p. xc.) of *Gesta Ric.*, p. 239, and Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 59.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* Ric. Devizes as above. Gir. Cambr. as above (p. 415). Cf. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 18 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 345, 346). According to the first authority, William sailed again on Maunday Thursday, April 2.

⁷ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 246, 247. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 43, 44.

leaving England.¹ Archbishop Walter, the English justiciars, even the queen-mother, were all at their wits' end: Philip was openly threatening to invade the Norman duchy; the obstacle which had prevented him until now—the unwillingness of the French barons to attack the territories of a crusader²—would be considerably lessened by the interdict; the only person who could be found in England capable of undertaking a negotiation with the legates was Hugh of Durham; but Hugh declined to go till his own quarrel with his metropolitan was settled,³ and this was not accomplished till the middle of October.⁴ Then indeed he went to France, and succeeded in obtaining the removal of the interdict.⁵ But in other quarters the prospect grew no brighter. Aquitaine, held in check for a while by the presence of its duchess, had risen as soon as she was out of reach. Count Ademar of Angoulême marched into Poitou with a large body of horse and foot; taken prisoner by the Poitevins, he appealed to the French king for deliverance.⁶ A revolt of the Gascon barons was with difficulty suppressed by the seneschal, assisted by young Sancho of Navarre,⁷ brother of Richard's queen; and the victors rashly followed up their success by a raid upon Toulouse, which, though it went unpunished for the moment, could only lead to further mischief.⁸ In England John was still defying the justiciars; and they dared not proceed to extremities with him, for they now saw before them an imminent prospect of having to acknowledge him as their king.

Richard's adventures in the East lie outside the sphere of English history. The crusade of which he was the chief hero and leader had indirectly an important effect upon English social life; but it was in no sense a national under-

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 15 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 414). Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 42, 43, puts this in the previous October.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 236. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 187.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 247.

⁴ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 513. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 170 note, 172.

⁵ *Gesta Ric.* as above, p. 250.

⁶ Chron. S. Albin, a. 1192 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 50). The sequel of this story, however, clearly belongs to the following year; so it may be that the whole of it is antedated.

⁷ Rog. Howden as above, p. 194.

⁸ *Ibid.* Cf. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 55.

taking ; every man in the host was, like the king himself, simply a volunteer, not sent out by his country or representing it in any way. Richard's glory is all his own ; to us, the practical interest of the crusade in which he won it consists in the light which it throws upon his character, and on his political relations with the other princes who took part in the enterprise. The story, as it comes out bit by bit, oddly intermingled with the dry details of home affairs, in the English historians of the time, and as it is told at full length in the "Itinerary" composed by one of his fellow-crusaders, reads more like an old wiking-saga than a piece of sober history, and its hero looks more like a comrade of S. Olaf or Harald Hardrada than a contemporary of Philip Augustus. Nothing indeed except Richard's northman-blood can account for the intense love of the sea, and the consummate seamanship, as sound and practical as it was brilliant and daring, which he displayed on his outward voyage. ~~No sea-king of old~~ ever guided his little squadron of "long keels" more boldly, more skilfully and more successfully through a more overwhelming succession of difficulties and perils than those through which Richard guided his ~~large and splendid fleet~~ on its way from Messina to Acre.¹ Not one had ever made a conquest at once as rapid, as valuable and as complete as the conquest of Cyprus, which Richard made in a few days, as a mere episode in his voyage, in vengeance for the ill-treatment which some of his ship-wrecked sailors had met with at the hands of the Cypriots and their king.² But it was a mere wiking-conquest ; Richard never dreamed of permanently adding ~~this remote island to the list of his dominions ;~~ within a few months he sold it to ~~the Templars,~~³ and afterwards, as they failed to take possession, he made it over to the dethroned king of Jerusalem who had helped him to conquer it, Guy of Lusignan.⁴ The same love of adventure

¹ See the details of the voyage in *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 177-209 ; *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 162-169 ; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 105-112. ✕

² *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 188-204. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 163-168. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 105-112. Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 47-49. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 20 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 350, 351).

³ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.* *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 351. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 36.

for its own sake colours many of his exploits in the Holy Land itself. But there we learn, too, that his character had yet another and a higher aspect. We find in him, side by side with the reckless northern valour, the northern endurance, patience and self-restraint, coupled with a real disinterestedness and a self-sacrificing generosity for which it would be somewhat hard to find a parallel among his forefathers on either side.¹ Alike in a military, a political and a moral point of view, Richard is the only one among the leaders of the crusading host, except Guy, who comes out of the ordeal with a character not merely unstained, but shining with redoubled lustre. And this alone would almost account for the fact that, before they separated, nearly every one of them, save Guy, had become Richard's open or secret foe.

Envy of a better man than themselves was however not the sole cause of their hostility. The office of commander-in-chief of the host fell to Richard's share in consequence of a catastrophe which altered the whole balance of political parties in Europe. That office had been destined for the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who for more than thirty years had stood as high above all other Christian princes in political capacity, military prowess, and personal nobility of character, as in titular dignity and territorial power. Frederic set out for Palestine as early as May 1189;² he fought his way through the treacheries of the Greek Emperor and the ambushes of the Turkish sultan of Iconium, only to be drowned in crossing a little river in Asia Minor on June 10, 1190.³ These tidings probably met Richard on his arrival at Messina in September. There he had to deal with the consequences of another death which had occurred in the previous November, that of his brother-in-law King William of Sicily.⁴ William was childless; after a vain attempt to

¹ It is impossible to give illustrations here; the whole *Itinerarium*, from his arrival at Acre (p. 211) onwards, is in fact one long illustration.

² Ansbart (Dobrowsky), p. 21. Most of the English writers give a wrong date.

³ See the story of Frederic's expedition and death in Ansbart (Dobrowsky), p. 21 *et seq.*; *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 43-55; *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 56, 61, 62, 88, 89; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 358; Monach. Florent., vv. 245-330 (*ib.* vol. iii. app. to pref. pp. cxiv.-cxvii.).

⁴ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 101, 102.

induce his father-in-law Henry II. to accept the reversion of his crown,¹ he had bequeathed it to his own young aunt Constance, who was married to Henry of Germany, the Emperor's eldest son.² It was, however, seized by Tancred, a cousin of the late king.³ Richard's alliance with Tancred, though on the one hand absolutely necessary to secure the co-operation of Sicily for the crusade, was thus on the other a mortal offence to the new king of Germany, who moreover had already a grudge against England upon another ground:—Henry the Lion had in this very summer extorted from him almost at the sword's point his restoration to his forfeited estates.⁴ Thus when Richard at last reached Acre in June 1191,⁵ he was already in ill odour with the leaders of the German contingent, the Emperor's brother Duke Frederic of Suabia and his cousin Duke Leopold of Austria.

This, however, was not all. Isaac, the tyrant of Cyprus, whom Richard had brought with him as a captive, was also connected with the Suabian and Austrian houses;⁶ his capture was another ground of offence. Next, when the siege of Acre, which the united forces of eastern and western Christendom had been pressing in vain for nearly two years, came to an end a month after Richard joined it,⁷ Richard and Leopold quarrelled over their shares in the honour of the victory; Leopold—so the story goes—set up his banner on the wall of the conquered town side by side with that of the English king, and Richard tore it down again.⁸ Besides all this, as Richard's superior military capacity made him an object of perpetual jealousy to the

¹ "Vidimus, et presentes fuimus, ubi regnum Palæstinæ, regnum etiam Italiæ patri vestro aut uni filiorum suorum, quem ad hoc eligeret, ab utriusque regni magnatibus et populis est oblatum." Pet. Blois, Ep. cxiii. (Giles, vol. i. p. 350—to Geoffrey of York). Bishop Stubbs (*Reg. Howden*, vol. ii. pref. p. xciii.) interprets "regnum Italiæ" as representing Sicily.

² *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 102, 202. *Reg. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 29, 164 and note.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 102.

⁴ See *ibid.* p. 145 and note.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 169.

⁶ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 59. Ansbert (Dobrowsky), p. 114.

⁷ On July 12, 1191. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 232, 233. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 178, etc.

⁸ See the different versions of this story in Otto of S. Blaise, c. 36 (Wurstisen, *Germ. Hist. Illustr.*, vol. i. p. 216); Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 514; R.

other princes, so his policy in Holy Land was in direct opposition to theirs. Since the death of Queen Sibyl in October 1189,¹ they had one and all aimed at transferring the crown from her childless widower Guy of Lusignan to the lord of Tyre, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Montferrat was an important fief of the kingdom of Italy; Conrad's mother was aunt both to Leopold of Austria and to Frederic Barbarossa;² he thus had the whole Austrian and imperial influence at his back; and that of Philip of France was thrown into the same scale, simply because Richard had espoused the opposite cause. Guy of Lusignan, with a fearlessness which speaks volumes in his favour as well as in Richard's, had thrown himself unreservedly on the generosity and justice of the prince against whom all his race had for so many years been struggling in Aquitaine; his confidence was met as it deserved, and from the hour of their meeting in Cyprus to the break-up of the crusade, Richard and Guy stood firmly side by side. But they stood alone amid the ring of selfish politicians who supported Conrad, and whose intrigues brought ruin upon the expedition. Philip, indeed, went home as soon as Acre was won, to sow the seeds of mischief in a field where they were likely to bring forth a more profitable harvest for his interests than on the barren soil of Palestine. But the whole body of French crusaders whom he left behind him, except Count Henry of Cham-

Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 59; Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 52; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 35; and Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 384. ¹ *Epp. Cant.* cccxvi. (Stubbs, p. 329).

² Frederic's father and Leopold's father were half-brothers, sons of the two marriages of Agnes of Franconia, daughter of the Emperor Henry IV. Conrad's mother, Judith, was a child of Agnes's second marriage with Leopold, marquis of Austria. Conrad's father was the Marquis William of Montferrat who had been one of Henry II.'s allies in his struggle with the Pope (see above, p. 60); and his elder brother had been the first husband of Queen Sibyl. On his own iniquitous marriage, if marriage it is to be called, with her half-sister and heiress, Isabel—an affair which seems to have actually broken the heart of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury—see *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 119-124; *Expugn. Terra Sancta* (Stevenson, *R. Coggeshall*), p. 256; *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 141; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 70, 71. Conrad's antecedents are told by Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 320, 321. Considering, however, the case of Guy of Lusignan, it is perhaps hardly safe to admit a charge of homicide against any claimant to the throne of Palestine on Roger's sole authority.

pagne, made common cause with the Germans and the partizans of Conrad in thwarting every scheme that Richard proposed, either for the settlement of the Frank kingdom in Palestine or for the reconquest of its capital. Twice he led the host within eight miles of Jerusalem, and twice, when thus close to the goal, he was compelled to turn away.¹ Conrad fell by the hand of an assassin in April 1192;² but Guy's cause, like that of Jerusalem itself, was lost beyond recovery; all that Richard could do for either was to compensate Guy with the gift of Cyprus,³ and sanction the transfer of the shadowy crown of Jerusalem to his own nephew, Henry of Champagne.⁴ Harassed by evil tidings from England and forebodings of mischief in Gaul, disappointed in his most cherished hopes and worn out with fruitless labour, sick in body and more sick at heart, he saw that his only chance of ever again striking a successful blow either for east or west was to go home at once. After one last brilliant exploit, the rescue of Joppa from the Turks who had seized it in his absence,⁵ on September 2 he made a truce with Saladin for three years;⁶ on October 9 he sailed from Acre.⁷

Stormy winds had again parted the king's ship from the rest of his fleet when, within three days' sail of Marseille, he learned that Count Raymond of Toulouse was preparing to

¹ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 285-312, 365-396; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 174, 175, 179; R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 37-40. See also the characteristic and pathetic account of Richard's distress at the last turning-back, in Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), pp. 75-77.

² *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 339, 340. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 104. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 35. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 181. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 24 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 363).

³ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 35, makes it a sale; but it is hard to conceive where poor Guy could have found money for the purchase.

⁴ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 342, 346, 347. R. Diceto and Rog. Howden as above. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 35, 36. Will. Newb. as above, c. 28 (p. 374). Henry of Champagne was son of Count Henry "the Liberal" and Mary, daughter of Louis VII. and Eleanor.

⁵ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 403-424. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 41-51. This is really the most splendid of all Richard's wiking exploits.

⁶ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 249. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 52. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 184.

⁷ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 441, 442. R. Diceto (as above), p. 106. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 185, makes it a day earlier.

seize him on his landing,¹ no doubt in vengeance for the attack made upon Toulouse a few months before by the seneschal of Gascony. Capture by Raymond meant betrayal to Philip of France, and Richard knew Philip far too well to run any needless risk of falling into his hands. Under more favourable conditions, he might have escaped by sailing on through the strait of Gibraltar direct to his island realm ; but contrary winds made this impossible, and drove him back upon Corfu, where he landed about Martinmas.² Thence, in his impatience, he set off in disguise with only twenty followers³ on board a little pirate-vessel⁴ in which, at imminent risk of discovery, he coasted up the Adriatic till another storm wrecked him at the head of the Gulf of Aquileia.⁵ By this time his German enemies were all on the look-out for him, and whatever his plans on leaving Corfu may have been, he had now no resource but to hurry through the imperial dominions as rapidly and secretly as possible. His geographical knowledge, however, seems to have been at fault, for he presently found himself at Vienna, whither Leopold of Austria had long since returned. In spite of his efforts to disguise himself, Richard was recognized, captured and brought before the duke ;⁶ and three

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 53.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 106. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 442. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 185. R. Coggeshall as above. The two first supply the dates.

³ Rog. Howden as above. The *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (as above) says four, but there were at least nine with him after his landing. See Rog. Howden (as above), p. 195.

⁴ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* as above. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 53-54, gives some details highly characteristic of Richard. The pirates began by attacking the king's ship, whereupon he, "for their praiseworthy fortitude and boldness," made friends with them, and took his passage in their company. This is authentic, for the writer had it from one of Richard's companions, the chaplain Anselm. *Ib.* p. 54.

⁵ This is the Emperor's account, given in a letter to Philip of France ; Rog. Howden (as above), p. 195. Cf. Ansbart (Dobrowsky), p. 114 ; Will Newb., l. iv. c. 31 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 383) ; *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 42 ; R. Diceto as above ; R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 54 ; and Rog. Howden (as above), p. 185 and note 7.

⁶ He was captured December 20, 1192 ; *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 443 ; R. Diceto (as above), p. 107. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 56, makes it a day later. Otto of S. Blaise, c. 38 (Wurstisen, *Germ. Hist. Illustr.*, vol. i. p. 217), gives the most detailed account of the capture—an account which looks too char-

days after Christmas the Emperor sent to Philip of France the welcome tidings that their common enemy was a prisoner in Leopold's hands.¹

Philip at once forwarded the news to John, with a renewal of the proposal which he had made to him a year before. John hurried over sea and formally did homage to the French king for all his brother's continental dominions; but the seneschal and barons of Normandy refused to acknowledge the transaction, and he hastened back again to try his luck in England.² There he met with no better success. He called the justiciars to a council in London, assured them that the king was dead, and demanded their homage; they refused it; he withdrew in a rage to fortify his castles, and the justiciars prepared to attack them.³ Before Easter a French fleet sailed to his assistance, but was repulsed by the English militia assembled at the summons of Archbishop Walter.⁴ While the justiciars laid siege to Windsor, Geoffrey of York fortified Doncaster for the king, and thence went to help his gallant old suffragan and rival, Hugh of Durham, who was busy with the siege of Tickhill.⁵ The castles had all but fallen, and John was on the eve of submission, when the victorious justiciars suddenly grew alarmed at their own success. Richard's fate was still so uncertain that they dared

acteristic not to be true. According to him, Richard stopped to dine at a little inn just outside Vienna, and to avoid recognition, set to work to broil some meat for himself. He was holding the spit with his own hands, utterly forgetful that one of them was adorned with a magnificent ring, when a servant of the duke chanced to look in, noticed the incongruity, then recognized the king whom he had seen in Palestine, and hurried off to report his discovery; whereupon the duke came in person and seized his enemy on the spot, in the middle of his cooking. The story of R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 55, 56, is somewhat more dignified. Cf. also Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 31 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 383); Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 186, 195; and Ansbert (Dobrowsky), p. 114.

¹ The letter is in Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 195, 196. "Gratissimum illi super aurum et topazion . . . nuntium destinavit," says Will. Newb. as above, c. 32 (p. 384).

² Rog. Howden (as above), p. 204. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 106. John's treaty with Philip is in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 57; date, February 1193.

³ Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 204, 205. Cf. Will. Newb. as above, c. 34 (p. 390).

⁴ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 205. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 514, 515.

⁵ Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 206, 208.

not humiliate his heir ; and at Eleanor's instigation they made a truce with John, to last until All-Saints' day.¹

The six months of tranquillity thus gained were spent in negotiations for the king's release. As soon as the justiciars heard of his capture they had despatched Bishop Savaric of Bath to treat with the Emperor, and the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge to open communications, if possible, with Richard himself ;² this however was a difficult matter, for of the place of his confinement nothing was known except that it was somewhere in the Austrian dominions, and these were to most Englishmen of that day a wholly undiscovered country. How the captive was first found history does not say. Tradition filled the blank with the beautiful story of the minstrel Blondel, wandering through Europe till he reached a castle where there was said to be a prisoner whose name no one could tell—winning the favour of its lord and thus gaining admittance within its walls—peering about it on every side in a vain effort to catch a glimpse of the mysterious captive, till at last a well-known voice, singing “a song which they two had made between them, and which no one knew save they alone,” fell upon his delighted ear through the narrow prison-window whence Richard had seen and recognized the face of his friend.³ It may after all have been Blondel who guided the two abbots to the spot ; we only know that they met Richard at Ochsenfurt on his way to be delivered up on Palm Sunday to the Emperor Henry at Speyer.⁴ Thenceforth the negotiations proceeded without intermission ; but it took nearly a year to complete them. Personal jealousy, family interest, and pride at finding himself actually arbiter of the fate of the most illustrious living hero in Christendom, all tempted Henry VI. to throw as many obstacles as possible in the way of his captive's release. Taking advantage of his own position as titular head of western Christendom, he demanded satisfaction for all the wrongs which the various princes of the Empire had received,

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 207. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 516, says Michaelmas.

² Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 197, 198.

³ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* (ed. N. de Wailly, Soc. de l'Hist. de France), cc. 77-81 (pp. 41-43).

⁴ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 198.

or considered themselves to have received, at Richard's hands, and for all his alleged misdoings on the Crusade, from his alliance with Tancred to the death of Conrad of Montferrat, in which it was suggested that he had had a share.¹ Not one of the charges would bear examination; but they served Henry as an excuse for playing fast and loose with Richard on the one side and Philip of France on the other, and for making endless changes in the conditions required for Richard's liberation. These were ultimately fixed at a ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand marks, the liberation of Isaac of Cyprus, and the betrothal of Eleanor of Britanny to a son of the Austrian duke.²

The duty of superintending the collection of the ransom and the transmission of the hostages required by the Emperor for its payment had been at first intrusted by Richard to his old friend and confidant, the chancellor William of Longchamp. William, however, found it impossible to fulfil his instructions; before the justiciars would allow him to set foot in England at all, they made him swear to meddle with nothing outside his immediate commission; when compelled to meet him in council at S. Albans, Walter of Rouen refused him the kiss of peace, and the queen-mother and the barons all alike refused to trust him with the hostages.³ Prompt and vigorous measures were however taken for raising the money. An "aid for the king's ransom" was one of the three regular feudal obligations, which in strict law fell only upon the tenants-in-chivalry; but all the knights' fees in Richard's whole dominions would have been unable to furnish so large a sum as was required in his case. In addition therefore to an aid of twenty shillings on the knight's fee, the justiciars imposed a wholly new tax: they demanded a fourth part of the revenue and of the moveable goods of every man, whether layman or clerk, throughout

¹ The charges are summed up in R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 58, 59. On the death of Conrad see Stubbs, *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, pref. pp. xxii, xxiii.

² Treaty in Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 215, 216. Roger dates it S. Peter's day; *ib.* p. 215. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 110, makes it July 5. Cf. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 37 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 398).

³ Gir. Cambr. *Vita Galfr.*, l. ii. c. 17 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 415, 416). Cf. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 211, 212.

the realm. Severe and unprecedented as was this demand, it provoked no opposition, even from the clergy;¹ it had indeed the active co-operation of the bishops, under the direction of a new primate—Hubert Walter, the bishop of Salisbury, who had been one of Richard's fellow-crusaders, and was now at Richard's desire elected to the see of Canterbury.² The nation seems to have responded willingly to the demands made upon it; yet the response proved inadequate, and the deficiency had to be supplied partly by a contribution from the Cistercians and Gilbertines of a fourth part of the wool of the flocks which were their chief source of revenue, and partly by confiscating the gold and silver vessels and ornaments of the wealthier churches.³ Similar measures were taken in Richard's continental dominions, and they were so far successful that when the appointed time arrived for his release, in January 1194, the greater part of the ransom was paid.⁴ For the remainder hostages were given, of whom one was Archbishop Walter of Rouen.⁵ This selection left the chief justiciarship of England practically vacant, and accordingly Richard, before summoning the Norman primate to Germany, superseded him in that office by bestowing it upon the new archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter.⁶

¹ Except at York, where the resistance was prompted by spite against the archbishop. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 222.

² Elected May 29, 1193; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 108, 109. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 518.

³ On the ransom, and how it was raised, see Rog. Howden as above, pp. 210, 211, 222, 225; R. Diceto as above, p. 110; Will. Newb. l. iv. c. 38 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 399, 400); and Bishop Stubbs's explanations of the matter, in his preface to Rog. Howden, vol. iv. pp. lxxxii-lxxxvi, and *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 501.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above, p. 225.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 233. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 41 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 404), and R. Diceto as above, p. 113. According to this last, another of the hostages was William the chancellor; but his name does not appear in Rog. Howden's list. One MS. of Ralf has in its place that of Baldwin Wake. As Baldwin certainly was a hostage on this occasion, perhaps William was selected first, and Baldwin afterwards substituted for him. One at least of the hostages was released before the whole ransom was paid: Archbishop Walter came back to England on May 19. R. Diceto as above, p. 115.

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 226. R. Diceto as above, p. 112. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 523.

The new justiciar immediately had his hands full of trouble. At the prospect of Richard's return John grew half frantic with rage and dismay. As early as July 1193, when it became known that Richard and the Emperor had come to terms, Philip had sent warning to John—"Beware, the devil is loose again!" and John, without stopping to reflect that the "devil" could not be really loose till his ransom was paid, had hurried over sea to seek shelter from his brother's wrath under the protection of the French king. Richard, however, at once made overtures of reconciliation to both;¹ the terms which he offered to John were indeed so favourable that the Norman constables refused to execute them, and thereby put an end to the negotiation.² In January Philip and John made a last effort to bribe the Emperor either to keep Richard in custody for another year, or actually to sell him into their hands.³ When this failed, John in the frenzy of desperation sent a confidential clerk over to England with letters to his adherents there, bidding them make all his castles ready for defence against the king. The messenger's foolish boasting, however, betrayed him as he passed through London; he was arrested by order of the mayor, his letters were seized, and a council was hurriedly called to hear their contents. Its prompt and vigorous measures were clearly due to the initiative of the new justiciar-archbishop. John was excommunicated and declared disseized of all his English tenements, and the assembly broke up to execute its own decree by force of arms. The old bishop of Durham returned to his siege of Tickhill; the earls of Huntingdon, Chester and Ferrers led their forces against Nottingham; Archbishop Hubert himself besieged Marlborough, and took it in a few days; Lancaster was given up to him by its constable, who happened to be his own brother; and S. Michael's Mount in Cornwall—a monastery whose site, not unlike that of its great Norman namesake, had tempted one of John's partizans to drive out the monks and fortify it in his interest—surrendered on the death of its commander, who is said to have

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 216-220.

² *Ib.* pp. 227, 228.

³ *Ib.* p. 229. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 40 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 402).

died of terror at the news of the king's approach.¹ Richard had been set free on February 4.² After a slow progress through Germany and the Low Countries, he embarked at Swine, near Antwerp, and landed at Sandwich on March 13.³ Following the invariable practice of his father, he hastened first to the martyr's shrine at Canterbury;⁴ next day he was met by the victorious archbishop hastening to welcome him home,⁵ and three days later he was solemnly received in London.⁶ As soon as the defenders of Tickhill were certified of his arrival they surrendered to the bishop of Durham.⁷ As Windsor, Wallingford and the Peak had been in the queen-mother's custody since the truce of May 1193,⁸ only Nottingham now remained to be won. Richard at once marched against it with all his forces; the archbishop followed, Hugh of Durham brought up his men from Tickhill; in three days the castle surrendered, and Richard was once again undisputed master in his realm.⁹

It must have seemed, to say the least, an ungracious return for the sacrifices which England had made in his behalf, when the king at once demanded from the English knighthood the services of a third of their number to accompany him into Normandy, from the freeholders a contribution of two shillings on every carucate of land, and from the Cistercians the whole of their wool for the current year.¹⁰ In view of a war with France, of which it was impossible to calculate either the exigencies or the duration, Richard undoubtedly needed money; but his needs pressed heavily upon a country which had already been almost drained to

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 236-238.

² *Ib.* p. 233. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 112, 113. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 62, dates it February 2.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 235; R. Coggeshall as above. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 524, dates it March 12, and R. Diceto as above, p. 114, March 20.

⁴ Gerv. Cant. as above. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 63.

⁵ Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 524.

⁶ R. Diceto and R. Coggeshall as above.

⁷ Rog. Howden as above, p. 238.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 207.

⁹ *Ib.* pp. 238-240. R. Diceto and R. Coggeshall as above. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 42 (Howlett, vol. 'i. pp. 407, 408).

¹⁰ Rog. Howden as above, p. 242. Cf. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 1 (vol. ii. pp. 416, 417).

provide his ransom. In justice to him, it must however be added that the "carucage," as the new land-tax came to be called, seems to have been levied not for his personal profit, but as a supplement to the measures taken by the justiciars in the previous year, to complete the sum still due to Henry VI. It was in reality an old impost revived under a new name, for the carucate or ploughland was in practice reckoned as equivalent to the ancient hide,¹ and the sum levied upon it was precisely that which the hide had furnished for the Danegeld of earlier times.² Its re-imposition in these circumstances, under a new appellation and for the payment of what the whole nation regarded as a debt of honour, met with no resistance. The Cistercians, however, remonstrated so strongly against the demand for their wool that they were allowed to escape with a money-compensation.³ The taxes were imposed in a great council held at Nottingham at the end of March and beginning of April,⁴ where measures were also taken for the punishment of the traitors and the reconstruction of the administrative body. These two objects were accomplished both at once, and both were turned to account for the replenishment of the royal coffers. Except John, Bishop Hugh of Chester, and Gerard de Camville, who were cited before the king's court on a charge of high treason,⁵ none of the delinquents were even threatened with any worse punishment than dismissal from office. This was inflicted upon most of those who had taken part in the proceedings against the chancellor. Several of the sheriffs indeed were only transferred from one shire to

¹ That it was so in the reign of Henry I. seems plain from Orderic's story about Ralf Flambard re-measuring for William Rufus "omnes carrucatas, quas Angli hidas vocant" (Ord. Vit., Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*, p. 678)—a statement which, whether the story itself be correct or not, shews that Orderic himself was accustomed to hear carucates and hides identified. The settlement of the carucates at a hundred acres in 1198 points to the same identification.

² And seemingly, to the "dona" which took the place of the Danegeld after its abolition *eo nomine* in 1163. On the carucage of 1194 see Stubbs, *pref.* to Rog. Howden, vol. iv. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv and notes, lxxxvi. See also the account of it given by Will. Newb., l. v. c. i (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 416).

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 242.

⁴ March 30—April 2. *Ib.* pp. 240-243.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 241, 242. Cf. the account of John's condemnation in Ann. Margant, a. 1199 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. p. 24).

another;¹ but Gerard de Camville was ejected without compensation from the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, and Hugh Bardulf, one of the subordinate justiciars who had joined the party of John, from those of Yorkshire and Westmoreland. These three offices Richard at once put up for sale, and, with a strange inconsistency, William of Longchamp, whose well-grounded resistance to the accumulation of sheriffdoms in episcopal hands had been the beginning of his troubles, now sought to buy the two former, and also that of Northamptonshire, for himself. He was however outbid by Archbishop Geoffrey of York, who bought the sheriffdom of Yorkshire for three thousand marks and a promise of a hundred marks annually as increment.² This purchase made Geoffrey the most influential man in the north, for Hugh of Durham, apparently finding himself powerless to hold Northumberland, had resigned it into the king's hands.³ William of Scotland immediately opened negotiations with Richard for its re-purchase, as well as for that of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and the other English lands held by his grandfather David. The barons, however, before whom Richard laid the proposal in a council at Northampton, resented it strongly; Richard's own military instinct led him to refuse the cession of the castles, and as William would not be satisfied without them, the scheme came to nothing.⁴

Richard meanwhile had been making a progress through Mid-England,⁵ similar to that which he had made before his crowning in 1189, and ending at Winchester, where he solemnly "wore his crown" in the cathedral church on the first Sunday after Easter.⁶ This ceremonial was in itself merely a revival of the old regal practice which Henry II. had formally abandoned in 1158; but its revival on this occasion was prompted by other motives than Richard's love of pomp and shew. As a concession to the Emperor's

¹ Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 503.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 241.

³ *Ib.* p. 249. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 1 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 416).

⁴ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 243-245, 249, 250.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 243-246.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 247. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 114. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 64. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 524, 525. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 42 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 408).

vanity—for we can scarcely conceive any other motive—Richard had accepted from Henry VI. the investiture of the kingdom of Burgundy; “over which,” says a contemporary English writer, “be it known that the Emperor had really no power at all,” but for which, nevertheless, he had received Richard’s homage.¹ The homage was, of course, as empty as the gift for which it was due; but insular pride, which had always boasted that an English king, alone among European sovereigns, had no superior upon earth, was offended by it none the less; and although the story that Richard had formally surrendered England itself into Henry’s hands and received it back from him as a fief of the Empire² may perhaps be set down as an exaggeration, still it seems to have been felt that the majesty of the island-crown had been so far dimmed by the transactions of his captivity as to require a distinct re-assertion.³ As he stood in his royal robes, sceptre in hand and crown on head,⁴ amid the throng of bishops and barons in the “Old Minster” where so many of his English forefathers lay sleeping, past shame was forgotten, and England was ready once again to welcome him as a new king.⁵ But the welcome met with no response. On May 12—just two months after his landing at Sandwich—Richard again sailed for Normandy;⁶ and this time he went to return no more.

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 226.

² *Ib.* pp. 202, 203. He seems to be the only writer who mentions it. :

³ See R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 113; and on the whole question of this coronation, Bishop Stubbs’s note to Rog. Howden, vol. iii. p. 247, and his remarks in *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 504, 561, 562. Richard himself seems to have resented the popular view, for R. Coggeshall (Stevenson, p. 64) says he went through the ceremony “aliquantulum renitens.”

⁴ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 247. See the details of the ceremony in Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 524-526.

⁵ “Detersâ captivitatis ignominia quasi rex novus apparuit.” Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 42 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 408).

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 251. R. Diceto as above, p. 114. Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 527.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LATER YEARS OF RICHARD.

1194-1199.

+ THE political history of England during the four years which followed Richard's departure over sea is simply the history of the administration of Hubert Walter. Richard never again interfered in the concerns of his island realm, save for the purpose of obtaining money from it; and even the method whereby the money was to be raised he left, like all other details of administration, wholly to the justiciar's discretion. Hubert in fact, as justiciar and archbishop, wielded during these years a power even more absolute than that which William of Longchamp had wielded during the king's absence on crusade. But Richard's second experiment in governing England by deputy succeeded far otherwise than the first. It was, indeed, attended with far less risk; for the king himself was never really out of reach, and could at any moment have returned to take up the reins of government in person, had there been any need to do so. Moreover, the man whom he now left as viceroy had far other qualifications for the office than William of Longchamp.

Hubert Walter had been trained under the greatest constitutional lawyer and most successful administrator of the age, Ralf de Glanville. He was nephew to Ralf's wife,¹ and

¹ Hubert's mother and Ralf's wife were sisters; cf. the Glanville family history in Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. pt. i., p. 380, and the foundation-charter of Arklow, given by Hubert's brother Theobald, *ib.* pt. ii. p. 1128. Hubert and his brothers seem to have been brought up by their aunt and her husband;

had been a clerk or chaplain in Ralf's household until 1186, when he was appointed dean of York.¹ A few months later he was one of five persons nominated by the York chapter in answer to a royal mandate for election to the vacant see.² King Henry, however, refused all five, and Hubert remained dean of York for three years longer. He seems to have held, besides his deanery, an office at court, either as protonotary or as vice-chancellor under Geoffrey; for during the last few months of Henry's life he is found in Maine attending upon the king, and apparently charged with the keeping of the royal seal.³ Consecrated to Salisbury by Archbishop Baldwin on October 22, 1189,⁴ he immediately afterwards set out with him for Palestine; there he won universal esteem by the zeal and ability with which he exerted himself to relieve the wants of the poorer crusaders;⁵ on Baldwin's death Hubert virtually succeeded to his place as the chief spiritual authority in the host;⁶ and after Richard's arrival he made himself no less useful as the king's best adviser and most trusty diplomatic agent in Palestine.⁷ It was Hubert who headed in Richard's stead the first body of pilgrims whom the Turks admitted to visit the Holy Sepulchre;⁸ and it seems to have been he, too, who led back the English host from Palestine to Europe after Richard's departure. He hastened as early as possible to visit the king in his captivity;⁹ and Richard lost no time in sending him to England to be made archbishop, and to help the justiciars in collecting the

Hubert, when dean of York, founded a Premonstratensian house at West Dereham "pro salute animæ meæ, et patris, et matris meæ, et domini Ranulphi de Glanvillâ, et dominæ Bertriæ uxoris ipsius, qui nos nutrierunt." *Ib.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 899.

¹ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. 360. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 310.

² *Gesta Hen.* as above, p. 352.

³ See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. pref. p. xli. note 1.

⁴ *R. Diceto* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 71.

⁵ *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 134-137. *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 145.

⁶ *R. Diceto* as above, p. 88. The Patriarch Heraclius had become discredited in the eyes of all the right-minded crusaders by his share in the divorce and remarriage of Queen Isabel, which broke Baldwin's heart.

⁷ *Will. Newb.*, l. iv. c. 29 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 378).

⁸ *Ibid.* *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 437, 438.

⁹ *Will. Newb.* as above, c. 33 (p. 388). Cf. *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 209.

ransom.¹ They had refused the help of William of Longchamp, but they could not reject that of Hubert; for they knew that, as a contemporary historian says, "the king had no one so like-minded with himself, whose fidelity, prudence and honesty he had proved in so many changes of fortune."² Hubert was one of the commissioners appointed to have the custody of the ransom;³ and there can be little doubt that the scheme by which it was raised was in part at least devised by his financial genius, and carried into execution by his energy and skill—qualities which he displayed no less effectively in dealing with the revolt which was finally quelled by the return of Richard himself.

Hubert entered upon his vice-royalty—for it was nothing less—under more favourable conditions than William of Longchamp. He came to it not as an upstart stranger, but as an Englishman already of high personal and official standing, thoroughly familiar and thoroughly in sympathy with the people whom he had to govern, intimately acquainted with the principles and the details of the system which he was called upon to administer; his qualifications were well known, and they were universally acknowledged. Moreover, there was now no one capable of heading any serious opposition to his authority, at least in secular affairs. William of Longchamp was still chancellor; but like the royal master to whose side he claved for the rest of his life, he had left England for ever. From John there was also nothing to fear. His intended trial never took place, for he threw himself at Richard's feet at the first opportunity, and was personally forgiven; but the king was wise enough to leave untouched the sentence of forfeiture passed by the justiciar, and to keep his brother at his own side, a dependent upon his royal bounty, for nearly twelve months;⁴ and then he restored to him nothing but the counties of Mortain and Gloucester and the honour of Eye, but without their castles, giving him in compensation for the latter and for his other

¹ Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 33 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 388). Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 516, 517.

² Will. Newb. as above.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 212.

⁴ Cf. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 252 and 286, and also R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 64.

estates a yearly pension of eight thousand pounds Angevin.¹ Even John's capacities for mischief-making were so far paralyzed by this arrangement that he seems to have made no further attempt to meddle in English politics so long as Richard lived. The one man in whom Hubert saw, or fancied he saw, a possible rival on personal and ecclesiastical grounds, he swept roughly out of his path. The two primates had already quarrelled over the privileges of their respective sees, and nothing but the king's presence had availed to keep peace between them.² The northern one had been at feud with his own chapter ever since his appointment, and they were now prosecuting an appeal against him at Rome. In June 1194, backed, it can hardly be doubted, by Hubert's influence, they obtained from the Pope a sentence which practically condemned Geoffrey without trial;³ and before these tidings reached England in September, a committee of royal justices, sent by Hubert to deal with the case in its temporal aspect, had already punished Geoffrey's refusal to acknowledge their jurisdiction by confiscating all his archiepiscopal estates except Ripon.⁴ He went over sea and appealed to the king, but in vain;⁵ and for the next five years there was again but one primate in the land. One northern bishop, however, was still ready to defy Hubert as he had defied William of Longchamp and his own metropolitan. When the newly appointed sheriff of Northumberland, Hugh Bardulf, sought to enter upon his office shortly after Richard's departure, he found that Hugh of Durham had already made a fresh bargain with the king, whereby he was to retain the county on a payment of two thousand marks. He tried, however, as before, to evade the necessity of payment, and was in consequence forcibly disseized by Richard's orders.⁶ Still he was unwilling to give up the

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 286.

² *Ib.* pp. 246, 247, 250; vol. iv. pref. pp. lix, lx.

³ *Ib.* vol. iii. pp. 272, 273, 278-286; vol. iv. pref. pp. lxii, lxiv.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. iii. pp. 261, 262; vol. iv. pref. pp. lxi, lxii.

⁵ Richard in November ordered his restoration, but the order was not carried out; the brothers went on quarrelling, and next year Richard again declared the archiepiscopal estates forfeited, and this time finally. *Ib.* vol. iii. pp. 273, 287; vol. iv. pref. pp. lxiv, lxix.

⁶ *Ib.* vol. iii. pp. 260, 261; cf. p. 249.

game; and in the spring of 1195 he made another attempt to regain the territorial influence in the north which Geoffrey's fall seemed to have placed again within his reach. The story went in Yorkshire that he actually succeeded in once more obtaining from Richard—of course on Richard's usual terms—a commission as co-justiciar with Hubert.¹ Such a commission can hardly have been given otherwise than in mockery; yet the aged bishop, untaught by all his experience of the king's shifty ways, once again set out from York, where he had just been excommunicating some of Geoffrey's partizans,² to publish his supposed triumph in London. Sickness, however, overtook him on the way; from Doncaster he was compelled to turn back to his old refuge at Howden, and there on March 3 he died.³ His palatinate was of course taken into the custody of the royal justiciars.⁴ A fortnight later Celestine III. sent to Archbishop Hubert a commission as legate for all England;⁵ and thenceforth he was undisputed ruler alike in Church and state.

Like most of the higher clergy of Henry's later years, Hubert was distinctly more of a statesman than a churchman. His pontificate left no mark on the English Church; as primate, his chief occupation was to quarrel with his chapter. No scruples such as had moved Archbishop Thomas to resign the chancellorship, or had made even Bishop Roger of Salisbury seek a papal dispensation before he would venture to undertake a lay office,⁶ held back Hubert Walter from uniting in his own person the justiciarship and the primacy of all England. He was, however, a statesman of the best school of the time, steeped in the traditions of constitutional and administrative reform which had grown up during Henry's later years under the inspiration of the king himself and the direction of Ralf de Glanville. The task of developing their policy, therefore, could not have

¹ Will. Newb., l. v. c. 10 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 438, 439).

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 284.

³ *Ibid.* Will. Newb. as above (p. 439).

⁴ Rog. Howden as above, p. 285.

⁵ Dated March 18 [1195]. *Ib.* pp. 290-293. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 125-127.

⁶ Will. Malm. *Gesta Reg.*, l. v. c. 408 (Hardy, p. 637).

fallen to more competent hands ; and as Richard was totally destitute of his father's business capacities, it was well that Hubert was left to fulfil it according to his own judgement and on his own sole responsibility for nearly four years.

The justiciar's first act after his sovereign's departure was to despatch the judges itinerant upon their annual visitation-tour with a commission¹ which struck the keynote of his future policy. It was the note which had been struck by Henry II. in the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton ; but the new commission shewed a great advance in the development of the principles which those measures embodied. The jurisdiction of the justices is defined with greater fulness and extended over a much wider sphere. The "pleas of the Crown" with which they are empowered to deal include, besides those formerly recognized under this head, such various matters as the number and condition of churches in the king's gift,² escheats, wardships and marriages ;³ forgers⁴ and defaulters ;⁵ the harbouring of malefactors ;⁶ the arrears of the ransom ;⁷ the use of false measures ;⁸ the debts of the murdered Jews ; the fines due from their slayers,⁹ from the adherents of John, and from his debtors, as well as from his own forfeited property ;¹⁰ the disposal of the chattels of dead usurers, and also of crusaders who had died before setting out on their pilgrimage ;¹¹ and the taking of recognitions under the Great Assize concerning land worth not more than five pounds a year.¹² In all these proceedings the chief object evidently was to procure money for the royal treasury ; a tallage which the judges were also directed to assess upon all cities, towns and royal demesnes¹³ being deemed insufficient to supply its

¹ " *Forma qualiter procedendum est in placitis Coronæ Regis.*" Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 262-267 ; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 259-263.

² *Forma procedendi*, c. 4 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 259).

³ *Ib.* cc. 3, 5, 6, 23 (pp. 259, 260, 261).

⁴ *Ib.* c. 8 (p. 260).

⁵ *Ib.* c. 19 (as above).

⁶ *Ib.* c. 7 (as above).

⁷ *Ib.* c. 10 (as above).

⁸ *Ib.* c. 16 (as above). Richard had at the beginning of his reign caused all weights and measures to be reduced to one standard ; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 351.

⁹ *Forma proced.*, c. 9 (as above).

¹⁰ *Ib.* cc. 11-14 (as above).

¹¹ *Ib.* cc. 15, 17 (as above).

¹² *Ib.* c. 18 (as above).

¹³ *Ib.* c. 22 (p. 261).

needs. The details of this multifarious business are however of less historical importance than the method employed for its transaction. Every item of it was to be dealt with on the presentment of what may now be called the "grand jury"—the jury of sworn recognitors in every shire, whose functions, hitherto confined to the presentment of criminals, were thus extended to all branches of judicial work. This growth in the importance of the jury was marked by the introduction of a new ordinance for its constitution. The Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton simply ordered that the jury should consist of twelve lawful men of every hundred and four of every township, without specifying how they were to be selected. Most probably they were nominated by the sheriff.¹ The recognitors employed in the civil process known as the Great Assize, however, were from the first appointed in a special manner prescribed in the Assize itself. Four knights of the shire were summoned by the sheriff, and these four elected the twelve recognitors.² By the "Form of proceeding in the pleas of the Crown" delivered to the justices-errant in 1194, this method of election was applied to the jury of presentment in all cases, with a modification which removed the choice yet one step further from the mere nomination of the sheriff. Four knights were first to be chosen out of the whole shire; these were to elect two out of every hundred or wapentake, and these two were to choose ten others, who with them constituted the legal twelve.³ Whether or not the choice of the first four was actually, as seems most probable, transferred from the sheriff to the body of the freeholders assembled in the county-court,⁴ still this enactment shews a distinct advance in the principles of election and representation, as opposed to that of mere nomination by a royal officer. Another step in the same direction was the appointment of three knights and a clerk to be "elected in every shire to keep the pleas of the

¹ Stubbs, *Reg. Howden*, vol. iv. pref. pp. xcvi, xcvi.

² R. Glanville, *De Legg. Angl.*, l. xiii. c. 3.

³ *Forma proced.*, introductory chap., Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 259; *Reg. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 262.

⁴ Stubbs, *Reg. Howden*, as above, pp. xcvi-xcix.

Crown."¹ This was the origin of the office afterwards known as that of coroner. It had the effect of depriving the sheriff of a considerable part of his judicial functions; and his importance was at the same time yet further limited by an order that no sheriff should act as justiciar in his own shire, nor in any shire which he had held at any time since the king's first crowning.² The difficulty of checking the abuse of power in the hands of the sheriffs, which Henry had been unable to overcome, had certainly not been lessened by Richard's way of distributing the sheriffdoms in his earlier years. It had indeed become so serious that in this very year either the new justiciar, or possibly the king himself, proposed an inquisition similar to that made by Henry in 1170, into the administration of all servants of the Crown, whether justices, sheriffs, constables, or foresters, since the beginning of the reign. When the king was gone, however, it seems to have been felt that such an undertaking would add too heavily to the labours of the judges-errant; and the inquiry was accordingly postponed for an indefinite time by the archbishop's order.³

The principle of co-operation between the government and the people for maintaining order and peace, which underlies all Henry's reforming measures, and of which the new regulations for election of the grand jury are a further recognition, was again enunciated yet more distinctly in the following year. An edict was published requiring every man above the age of fifteen years to take an oath that he would do all that in him lay for the preservation of the king's peace; that he would neither be a thief or robber, nor a receiver or accomplice of such persons, but would do his utmost to denounce and deliver them to the sheriff, would join to the uttermost of his power in the pursuit of malefactors when hue and cry was raised against them, and would deliver up to the sheriff all persons who should have failed to perform their share in this duty.⁴ The obligation binding upon every

¹ *Forma proced.*, c. 20 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 260).

² *Ib.* c. 21 (as above).

³ *Ib.* c. 25 (p. 263).

⁴ *Edictum Regium*. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 299, 300; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 264.

member of the state to lend his aid for the punishment of offences against its peace had been declared, in words which are almost echoed in this edict, as long ago as the reign of Cnut.¹ The difficulty of enforcing it caused by the disorganized condition of society which had grown up during the civil war was probably the reason which led Henry, in framing his Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton, at once to define it more narrowly and to lay the responsibility of its execution upon a smaller body of men specially appointed for the purpose in every shire. The completeness of organization which the system introduced by these Assizes had now attained, however, gave scope for a wider application of the principle through one of those revivals of older custom in which the enduring character of our ancient national institutions and their capacity for adaptation to the most diverse conditions of national life are so often and so strikingly displayed. The edict of 1195 forms a link between the usage of Cnut's day and that of modern times. It directed that the oath should be taken before knights assigned for the purpose in every shire; out of the office thus created there seems to have grown that of conservators of the peace; and this again developed in the fourteenth century into that of justices of the peace, which has retained an unbroken existence down to our own age.²

The same year was marked by the only important ecclesiastical act of Hubert's pontificate. Having received in the spring his commission as legate, he made use of it to hold a visitation of the northern province—now, by Geoffrey's absence and Hugh of Puiset's death, deprived of both its chief pastors—and a council in York minster at which fifteen canons were passed³ to remedy the general relaxation of Church discipline which had been growing ever since Thomas's flight. At the close of the year Hubert was

¹ "And we will that every man above xii years make oath that he will neither be a thief nor cognizant of theft." Cnut, *Secular Dooms*, c. 21, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 74.

² Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 263; *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 507; pref. to Rog. Howden, vol. iv. pp. c, ci.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 293-298. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. pp. 146-148, and Will. Newb., L. v. c. 12 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 442).

again at York, upon a different errand: the negotiation of a fresh treaty with Scotland, on the basis of a marriage between the Scot king's eldest daughter and Richard's nephew Otto of Saxony.¹ The marriage never took place, but the alliance of which it was to be the pledge lasted throughout Richard's reign; and it is a noteworthy proof at once of the growth of friendly relations between the two countries, and of the success of Hubert's recent ordinance for the preservation of peace and order in England, that in the following year a similar edict, evidently modelled upon the English one, was issued in Scotland by William the Lion.²

Neither the renewal of order in the Church, nor the securing of the external tranquillity of the realm by alliance with its neighbour-states, nor the organization of justice and police within its own borders, was however the most laborious part of Hubert's task. One thing only was required of him by his royal master; but that was precisely the one thing which cost him the most trouble to obtain. From a country which must, as it seems, have been almost drained of its financial resources over and over again during the last ten years, he was perpetually called upon to extract supplies of money such as had never been furnished before to any English king. That he contrived to meet Richard's ceaseless demands year after year without either plunging the nation into helpless misery or provoking it to open revolt, is the strongest proof not only of his financial genius and tact, but also of the increase in material prosperity and

¹ William the Lion had been sick almost to death, and having no son, had proposed to leave his crown to his eldest daughter, under the protection of Richard, whose nephew he wished her to marry. The opposition of his barons, and the restoration of his own health, caused him to drop the scheme of bequest (Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 298, 299). That of the marriage however was still pursued, and accepted by Hubert in Richard's name, on somewhat singular conditions: Lothian, as the bride's dowry, was to be given over to Richard's custody, while Northumberland and the county of Carlisle were to be settled upon Otto and made over to the keeping of the king of Scots. The negotiation, however, dragged on for a year, and was again checked by the hope of an heir to the Scottish crown (*ib.* p. 308); and the fulfilment of this hope in August 1198 led to its abandonment. *ib.* vol. iv. p. 54.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 33. He says William issued his proclamation "de bono sumens exemplum."

national contentment which had been fostered by Henry's rule, and of the success of Hubert's own efforts in carrying out the policy which Henry had begun. By Michaelmas 1194 it seems that the whole of the complicated accounts for the ransom, including the carucage imposed in the spring, were closed.¹ In the same year the country had borne the additional burthen of a tallage upon the towns. This, however, added to the sums raised by sales of office during the king's visit and to the proceeds of the judges' visitation, failed to satisfy the wants of Richard. He therefore resorted to two other methods of raising money, both apparently of his own devising, and both harmonizing very ill with the constitutional policy of his justiciar. Save during the disorderly reign of Stephen, the practice of tournaments had been hitherto unknown in England. Both Henry I. and Henry II. were too serious and practical-minded to encourage vain shews of any kind, far less to countenance the reckless waste of energy and the useless risk of life and limb which these entertainments involved, which had moved Pope after Pope to denounce them as perilous alike to body and soul,² and, in spite of a characteristic protest from Thomas Becket, to exclude those who were slain in them from the privileges of Christian burial.³ The Church had indeed been unable to check this obnoxious practice in Gaul; backed, however, by the authority of the Crown, she had as yet succeeded in keeping it out of England. But in 1194 a fresh prohibition, issued by Pope Celestine in the previous year,⁴ was met by Richard with a direct defiance. On August 20 he issued a license for the holding of tournaments in England, on condition that every man who took part in them should pay to the Crown a specified sum, varying according to his rank. Five places were appointed where tournaments might be held, and no one was allowed to enter the lists until he had paid for his license.⁵ The

¹ See Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. pref. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv and notes.

² Will. Newb., l. v. c. 4 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423).

³ Ep. xxiv., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. v. p. 36.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 56.

⁵ Writ in Rymer, as above, p. 65, and in Stubbs, *R. Diceto*, vol. ii., app. to pref. pp. lxxx, lxxxi; this latter copy is dated August 22. Cf. *Rog. Howden*

collection of this new item of revenue was evidently looked upon as an important matter, for it was intrusted to the justiciar's brother Theobald Walter.¹ Whatever may have been Hubert's share in this measure, he was clearly in no way responsible for the other and yet more desperate expedient to which Richard, almost at the same time, resorted for the replenishment of his treasury. On pretext of a quarrel with his chancellor, he took away the seal from him, ordered another to be made, and declared all acts passed under the old one to be null and void, till they should have been brought to him for confirmation :² in other words, till they should have been paid for a second time.

In the following spring a fit of characteristic Angevin penitence—fervent and absorbing while it lasted, but passing away all too soon—moved the king to make some amends for his extortions as well as for his other sins ; he began to replace the church-plate which had been given up for his ransom ;³ no fresh tax was imposed till late in the year, and then it was only a scutage of the usual amount—twenty shillings on the knight's fee—for the war in Normandy.⁴ Next year, however, the king's mood again changed. He was now resolved to carry into effect, with or without Hubert's assent, the inquiry into the financial administration which Hubert had postponed in 1194. For this purpose he sent over to England Robert, abbot of S. Stephen's at Caen, who, notwithstanding his monastic profession, had acquired great experience as a clerk of the Norman exchequer, and seems to have there enjoyed a high reputation for knowledge and skill in all matters of finance.⁵ The abbot, accompanied

(Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 268, Will. Newb., l. v. c. 4 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423), and R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 120.

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 268.

² *Ib.* p. 267. Cf. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 93. Rog. Howden's very confused account of the seals is made clear by Bishop Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 506 note.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 290. Cf. *Itin. Reg. Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 449, 450.

⁴ See Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 637, 638. That it was imposed late in the year seems implied by so much of it not being accounted for till the next year ; see Stubbs, *pref.* to Rog. Howden, vol. iv. p. lxxxviii and note 3.

⁵ Will. Newb., l. v. c. 19 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 464). Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 5.

by the bishop-elect of Durham, Philip of Poitiers,¹ reached London in Lent 1196, and demanded Hubert's co-operation in fulfilling the royal orders. The justiciar, though displeased and hurt, had no choice but to comply, and an order was issued in the king's name bidding all sheriffs and officers of the Crown be ready to give an account of their stewardship in London on a certain day—apparently the day of the usual Exchequer-meeting in Easter-week.² Before Easter came, the abbot of Caen himself was gone to his last account; he was seized with illness while dining with Archbishop Hubert on Passion Sunday, and five days later he died.³ The intended inquisition never took place; but the mere proposal to conduct it thus through the medium of a stranger from over sea was a direct slight offered to the justiciar by the king;⁴ and it coincided with a disturbance which warned Hubert of a possible danger to his authority from another quarter.

Strive as he might to equalize the burthens of taxation, he could not prevent them from pressing upon the poorer classes with a severity which grew at last well-nigh intolerable. The grievance was felt most keenly in London. The substitution of the "commune" for the older shire-organization of London in 1191 was a step towards municipal unity, and thus indirectly towards local independence and self-government; but it had done nothing for the poorer class of citizens. It had placed the entire control of civic administration, including the regulation of trade and the assessment of taxes, in the hands of a governing body consisting of a mayor and aldermen, one of whom presided over each of the wards into which the whole city was divided, the head of them all being the mayor.⁵ This corporation was the repre-

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 5. He seems to imply that Philip shared in the abbot's commission; but he evidently made no attempt to act upon it after Robert's death.

² Will. Newb., l. v. c. 19 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 465).

³ Rog. Howden as above. "Nec cum eis quos evocaverat post Pascha positurus, sed ante Pascha rationem superno Judici de propriis actibus redditurus." Will. Newb. as above.

⁴ On April 15, four days after the abbot's death, Richard wrote a sort of apology to the justiciar. See Stubbs, *R. Diceto*, vol. ii. app. to pref. pp. lxxix, lxxx.

⁵ In the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (a chronicle of the mayors and sheriffs of London, compiled in 1274, and edited by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Soc.), p.

sentative of the merchant-gild, which had thus absorbed into itself all the powers and privileges of the earlier ruling class of territorial magnates, in addition to its own. As might be expected, the rule of this newly-established oligarchy over the mass of its unenfranchized fellow-citizens was at least as oppressive as that of the sheriffs and "barons of the city" which had preceded it; and it was less willingly borne, owing to the jealousy which always existed between the craftsmen and the merchant-gild. As the taxes grew more burthensome year by year, a suspicion began to spread that they were purposely assessed in such a manner as to spare the well-filled pockets of the assessors, and wring an unfair proportion of the required total from the hard-earned savings of the poor.¹ Whether the injustice was intentional or not, the grievance seems to have been a real one; and it soon found a spokesman and a champion. William Fitz-Osbert — "William with the Long Beard," as he was commonly called — was by birth a member of the ruling class in the city.² He seems to have shared with a goldsmith named Geoffrey the leadership of a band of London citizens who in 1190 formed part of the crusading fleet, and did good service, not indeed, so far as we know, in Holy Land, but like their brethren forty-three years earlier, in helping to drive the Moors out of Portugal.³ Since his return, whether

1, the first mayor, Henry Fitz-Aylwine, is said to have been appointed "anno gratie M^o centesimo lxxxviii, anno primo regni Regis Ricardi;" and the document known as Fitz-Aylwine's Assize (*ib.* p. 206) purports to have been issued "Anno Domini M^o C^o lxxxix, scilicet primo anno regni illustris Regis Ricardi, existente tunc Henrico filio Aylewini Maiore, qui fuit primus Maiorum Londoniarum." On this however Bishop Stubbs remarks: "It is improbable that London had a recognized mayor before 1191, in which year the communa was established . . . and there is I believe no mention of such an official in a record until some three years later." Introd. to *Annales Londonienses* ("Chronicles of Ed. I. and Ed. II."), p. xxxi.

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 5. Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 418. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 20 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 466).

² "Willelmus cum Barbâ," Rog. Howden as above, pp. 5, 6; "agnomen habens a barbâ prolixâ," Will. Newb. (as above); "cognomento cum-Barbâ," "dictus Barbatus vel Barba," Mat. Paris (as above), pp. 418, 419. Will. Newb. thinks he wore the unusual appendage simply to make himself conspicuous; Mat. Paris explains "cujus genus avitum ob indignationem Normannorum radere barbâ contempsit," on which see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, vol. v. p. 900.

³ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), pp. 116-118.

fired by genuine zeal for the cause of the oppressed, or, as some of his contemporaries thought, moved by the hope of acquiring power and influence which he found unattainable by other means,¹ he had severed himself from his natural associates in the city to become the preacher and leader of another sort of crusade, for the deliverance of the poorer classes from the tyranny of their wealthy rulers. At every meeting of the governing body he withstood his fellow-aldermen to the face, remonstrating continually against their corrupt fiscal administration. They could not silence and dared not expel him, for they knew that his whispers were stirring up the craftsmen; and although the rumour that he had more than fifty thousand sworn followers at his back must have been an exaggeration, yet there could be no doubt of the existence of a conspiracy sufficiently formidable to excuse, if not to justify, the terror of the civic rulers.² When after a visit to Normandy William began openly to boast of the king's favour and support, the justiciar thought it time to interfere. He called the citizens together, endeavoured to allay their discontent by reasonings and remonstrances, and persuaded them to give hostages for their good behaviour.³ William however set his authority at defiance. Day after day, in the streets and open spaces of the city, and at last even in S. Paul's itself,⁴ this bold preacher with the tall stately form, singular aspect and eloquent tongue gathered round him a crowd of eager listeners to whom he proclaimed himself as the "king and saviour of the poor." One of his audience afterwards reported to a writer of the time his exposition of a text from Isaiah: "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of the Saviour."⁵ "I," said William, "am the saviour of the poor. Ye poor who have felt the heavy hand of the rich, ye shall draw from my wells the water of wholesome doctrine, and that with joy, for the time of your visitation

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 5, 6, and Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. pp. 418, 419, represent the former view; Will. Newb., l. v. c. 20 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 467, 468), and R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 143, the latter.

² Will. Newb. as above (p. 468).

³ *Ib.* (pp. 468, 469).

⁴ R. Diceto as above.

⁵ "Of salvation," A. V.; "de fontibus Salvatoris," Vulg. Is. xii. 3.

is at hand. For I will divide the waters from the waters. The people are the waters; and I will divide the humble and faithful people from the proud and perfidious people. I will divide the elect from the reprobate, as light from darkness."¹

Powerless to deal with these assemblies within the city, Hubert determined at least to check the spread of such teaching as this, and issued orders that any citizen of the lower class found outside the walls should be arrested as an enemy to king and kingdom. Some chapmen from London were accordingly arrested at Mid-Lent at Stamford fair.² A day or two afterwards—the justiciar's fears being perhaps quickened by the arrival of the abbot of Caen, which William might easily interpret as the effect of his own remonstrances with the king—an attempt was made to call William himself to account for his seditious proceedings. The bearer of the summons found him surrounded by such a formidable array of followers that he dared not execute his commission, and a forcible arrest was decided on. Guided by two citizens who undertook to catch him at unawares, a party of armed men was sent to seize him;³ one of the guides was felled with a blow of a hatchet by William himself, the other was slain by his friends; William, with a few adherents, took sanctuary in the church of S. Mary-at-Bow. The justiciar, after surrounding the church with soldiers, ordered it to be set on fire,⁴ and William, driven out by the smoke and the flames, was stabbed on the threshold by the son of the man whom he had killed an hour before.⁵ The wound however was not immediately fatal; the soldiers seized him and carried him to the Tower for trial before the justiciars, who at once condemned him to death; he was stripped, tied to a horse's tail, thus dragged through the city, and hanged with eight of his adherents.⁶ The rest of the malcontents were so overawed

¹ Will. Newb., l. v. c. 20 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 469).

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 6.

³ Will. Newb. as above (p. 470).

⁴ *Ibid.* Rog. Howden as above; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard) vol. ii. p. 419. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 143, makes William himself fire the church, but this seems nonsense, as he clearly had no intention of dying in it.

⁵ Will. Newb. as above. Cf. Rog. Howden as above.

⁶ Will. Newb., l. v. c. 20 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 471) says nine. Eight is the

by this spectacle that they at once made complete submission.¹ The justiciar had triumphed ; but his triumph was dearly bought at the cost of what little still remained to him of personal popularity and ecclesiastical repute. The common people persisted in reverencing William Longbeard as a martyr;² the clergy were horrified at the sacrilege involved in the violation of the right of sanctuary and the firing of a church, a sacrilege all the more unpardonable because committed by an archbishop ; while his own chapter seized upon it as the crowning charge in the already long indictment which they were preparing against their primate.³ Thus overwhelmed with obloquy on all sides, Hubert in disgust for a moment threw up the justiciarship, but resumed it as soon as he was once more assured of Richard's confidence.⁴ For two more years he toiled on at his thankless task. The budget of 1196 was made up by the safe expedient of another scutage.⁵ Next year the sole legislative act ventured upon by the justiciar was an attempt to enforce uniformity of weights and measures throughout the kingdom by means of an Assize,⁶ whose provisions however turned out to be so impracticable that, like a similar ordinance issued earlier in the reign, it seems to have remained inoperative, and six years later was abolished altogether.⁷ In the autumn Hubert went over to Normandy, where he was occupied for some weeks in diplomatic business for the king.⁸ A month after his return the crisis came.

number given by Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 6. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 143 ; Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 533, 534 ; and Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 419. Gervase calls the place of execution "ad ulmos," Mat. Paris "ad Ulmetum" ["the Elms in Smithfield" notes Mr. Luard in the margin]. R. Diceto calls it Tyburn ; the other writers give it no name at all. We are indebted to Gervase (as above, p. 533) for the date of this affair ; Saturday, April 6—the day before the abbot of Caen fell sick ; see above, p. 344.

¹ Rog. Howden and R. Diceto, as above.

² See Will. Newb. as above, c. 21 (pp. 471, 472). Mat. Paris (as above) heartily shared in their opinion.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 48.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 12, 13.

⁵ Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. pref. p. lxxxviii and note 3. Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 637, 638.

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 33, 34.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 172. Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 509.

⁸ R. Diceto as above, p. 158. Gerv. Cant. as above, pp. 544, 545. The dates do not exactly agree.

Richard, at the height of his struggle with Philip of France, found himself short not only of money but of men,¹ at any rate of men whom he could trust. He called upon Hubert to send him over from England either a force of three hundred knights to serve him at their own charges for a year, or a sum which would enable him to enlist the same number of mercenaries for the same period, at the rate of three English shillings a day.² For some reason or other it seems that Hubert, somewhat unwisely, at once decided to ignore the second alternative; in a great council held at Oxford on December 7³ he simply proposed, in his own name and that of his colleagues in the government, that the barons of England, among whom the bishops were to be reckoned, should come to the rescue of their distressed sovereign by supplying him with three hundred knights to serve him at their own cost for a year. Hubert himself, in his character of archbishop, declared his readiness to take his share of the burthen; so did the bishop of London, Richard Fitz-Nigel the treasurer. The bishop of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon, was then asked for his assent. "O ye wise and noble men here present," said the Burgundian saint, "ye know that I came to this land as a stranger, and from the simplicity of a hermit's life was raised to the office of a bishop. When therefore my inexperience was called to rule over the church of our Lady, I set myself carefully to learn its customs and privileges, its duties and burthens; and for thirteen years I have not strayed from the path marked out by my predecessors, in preserving the one and fulfilling the other. I know that the church of Lincoln is bound to do the king military service, but only in this land; outside the boundaries of England she owes him no such thing. Wherefore I deem it meeter for me to go back to my native land and my hermit's cell, rather than, while holding a bishopric here, to bring upon my church the loss of her ancient immunities and the infliction of unwonted burthens."⁴

¹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Dimock), p. 248.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 40.

³ Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 549, and *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 251.

⁴ *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), pp. 249, 250.

Hugh of Lincoln was the universally-acknowledged leader of the English Church in all matters of religion and morals; he had exercised in Henry II.'s later years such an influence over the king as no one, except perhaps Thomas Becket, had ever possessed; the whole Church and nation revered him as it had never revered any man since the death of S. Anselm. When he took up the position of Thomas and Anselm as a champion of constitutional liberty, the victory was sure. Strangely enough, his action seems to have taken the primate completely by surprise. For a moment Hubert stood speechless; then he turned to Bishop Herbert of Salisbury, and with quivering lips asked what he was minded to do for the king's assistance. As a son of Richard of Ilchester and a kinsman of the great ministerial house founded by Roger of Salisbury,¹ Herbert represented the traditions of an old and venerated political school, as Hugh represented those of the best school of ecclesiastics. The statesman's reply was an echo of the saint's: "It seems to me that, without grievous wrong to my church, I can neither do nor say aught but what I have heard from my lord of Lincoln." The justiciar, hurling a torrent of reproaches at Hugh, broke up the assembly, and wrote to the king that his plan had been foiled through Hugh's opposition.² Richard in a fury ordered the property of the two recalcitrant bishops to be confiscated; in the case of Salisbury this was done, but no Englishman dared lay a finger on anything belonging to the saint of Lincoln, "for they feared his curse like death itself." In vain did the king reiterate his command, till at last his own officers begged Hugh to put an end to the scandal by making his peace, for their sakes if not for his own; Hugh therefore went to seek Richard in Normandy, and literally forced him into a reconciliation on S. Augustine's day. Herbert, on the other hand, had to purchase his restoration at a heavy price;³ but the king and his justiciar were none the less completely

¹ On Herbert's antecedents and connexions see Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. pref. p. xci, note 4.

² *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 250. Cf. the brief account in *Rog. Howden* (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 40.

³ *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 251.

beaten. The death of Rees Ap-Griffith and a dispute between his sons for the succession in South Wales gave Hubert an opportunity of renewing his fading laurels by a brilliant expedition to the Welsh marches, where he succeeded in restoring tranquillity and securing the border-fortresses for the king.¹ He had however scarcely had time to recover from his political defeat before he was overwhelmed by the bursting of an ecclesiastical storm which had long been hanging over his head. Pope Celestine died on January 8, 1198. On the morrow the cardinals elected as his successor a young deacon named Lothar, who took the name of Innocent III., and began at once to sweep away the abuses of the Roman court and to vindicate the rights of his see against the Roman aristocracy with a promptness and vigour which were an earnest of his whole future career.² The monks of Canterbury lost no time in sending to the new Pope their list of grievances against their primate; and at the head of the list they set a charge which, in the eyes of such a pontiff as Innocent, could admit of no defence. Hubert, said they, had violated the duties and the dignity of his order by becoming the king's justiciar, acting as a judge in cases of life and death, and so entangling himself in worldly business that he was incapable of paying due attention to the government of the Church. Innocent immediately wrote to the king, charging him, if he valued his soul's health, not to suffer either the archbishop of Canterbury or any other priest to continue in any secular office; and at the same time he solemnly forbade the acceptance of any such office by any bishop or priest throughout the whole Church. Discredited as Hubert now was in the eyes of all parties, he had no choice but to resign, and this time Richard had no choice but to accept his resignation.³

¹ On Rees's death his two sons quarrelled over the succession, and Hubert had to go to the "finēs Gwalliæ" and make peace between them. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 21. At Christmas he was at Hereford, where he took the castle into his own hands, turning out its custodians and putting in new ones, "ad opus regis"; he did the same at Bridgenorth and Ludlow. *Ib.* p. 35. See also Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 543, Gerald's letter to Hubert after his victory, and Hubert's reply: Gir. Cambr. *De Rebus a se gestis*, l. iii. cc. 5, 6 (Brewer, vol. i. pp. 96-102).

² Rog. Howden as above, pp. 41-44.

³ *Ib.* pp. 47, 48.

The last few months of his justiciarship were however occupied with the projection, if not the execution, of a measure of great constitutional importance. Early in the spring he had, in his master's name, laid upon England a carucage to the amount of five shillings upon every carucate or ploughland. The great increase in the rate of taxation, as compared with that of 1194, was not unjustifiable; for since that year the socage-tenants, on whom the impost fell, had paid no direct taxes at all, while two scutages had been exacted from the tenants-in-chivalry. But a far more important change was made in the assessment of the new impost. Until now, the carucate, like the hide, had been a term of elastic significance. It represented, as the literal meaning of the word implied, the extent of land which could be cultivated by a single plough; and this of course varied in different parts of the country according to the nature of the soil, and the number and strength of the plough-team. In general, however, a hundred acres seem to have been reckoned as the average extent both of the carucate and of the hide. In order to avoid the endless complications and disputes which under the old system had made the assessment of the land-tax a matter of almost more trouble than profit, Hubert Walter adopted this average as a fixed standard, and ordered that henceforth, for purposes of taxation, the word "carucate" should represent a hundred acres. It followed as a necessary consequence that the whole arable land of England must be re-measured. The old customary reckoning of hides, based upon the Domesday survey, would no longer answer its purpose: the venerable rate-book which had been in use for more than a hundred years, partially superseded since 1168 by the Black Book of the Exchequer, was now to be superseded entirely. Hubert therefore issued in the king's name a commission for what was virtually a new Domesday survey. Into every shire he sent a clerk and a knight, who, together with the sheriff and certain lawful men chosen out of the shire, were, after swearing that they would do the king's business faithfully, to summon before them the stewards of the barons of the county, the lord or bailiff of every township and the

reeve and four lawful men of the same, whether free or villein, and two lawful knights of the hundred; these persons were to declare upon oath what ploughlands there were in every township—how many in demesne, how many in villenage, how many in alms, and who was responsible for these last. The carucates thus ascertained were noted in a roll of which four copies were kept, one by each of the two royal commissioners, one by the sheriff, and the other divided among the stewards of the local barons. The collection of the money was intrusted to two lawful knights and the bailiff of every hundred; these were responsible for it to the sheriff; and the sheriff had to see that it agreed with his roll, and to pay it into the Exchequer. Stern penalties were denounced against witnesses, whether free or villein, who should be detected in trying to deceive the commissioners. No land was to be exempted from the tax, except the free estates belonging to the parish churches, and lands held of the king by serjeanty or special service; even these last, however, were to be included in the survey, and their holders were required to come and prove their excuses at its conclusion, in London at the octave of Pentecost.¹

This was Hubert's last great administrative act, and it had a far more important significance than he himself probably knew. In form, the application of the process of jury-inquest to the assessment of an impost on the land was only a return to the precedent of Domesday itself. In reality, however, it was something much more important than this. The jury-inquest had been introduced by the Conqueror in 1086 under exceptional circumstances, and for an exceptional purpose which could be attained by no other means. So far as its original use was concerned, the precedent had remained a wholly isolated one for more than a hundred years. But during those years the principle which lay at the root of the jury-inquest had made its way into every branch of legal, fiscal and judicial administration. It had been applied to the purposes of private litigation by the Great Assize, to the determination of individual liability to military duty by the Assize of Arms, to the assessment

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 46, 47.

of taxation on personal property by the ordinance of the Saladin tithe; it had penetrated the whole system of criminal procedure through the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton; and it had gained a yet fuller recognition in the judicial ordinances of 1194. Viewed in this light, its application to the assessment of taxation on real property was another highly important step in the extension of its sphere of work. But this was not all. The chief value of the jury-system lay in its employment of the machinery of local representation and election, whereby it was a means of training the people to the exercise of constitutional self-government. The commission of 1198 shews that, although doubtless neither rulers nor people were conscious of the fact, this training had now advanced within measurable distance of its completion. The machinery of the new survey was not identical with that used in 1086. The taxpayers were represented, not only by the witnesses on whose recognition the assessment was based, but by the "lawful men chosen out of the shire" who took their place side by side with the king's officers as commissioners for the assessment, and by the bailiff and two knights of the hundred who were charged with the collection of the money. The representative principle had now reached its furthest development in the financial administration of the shire. Its next advance must inevitably result in giving to the taxpayers a share in the determination, first of the amount of the impost, and then of the purposes to which it should be applied, by admitting them, however partially and indirectly, to a voice in the great council of the nation.¹

We must not credit Hubert Walter with views so lofty or so far-reaching as these. The chief aim of his policy doubtless was to get for his master as much money as he could, although he would only do it by what he regarded as just and constitutional methods. Unluckily the commissioners' report is lost, and there is not even any proof that it was ever presented; for before Whitsuntide the new Pope's views had become known, and on July 11 a royal writ

¹ On this "Great Carucage" see Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 510, 511, and pref. to Rog. Howden, vol. iv. pp. xci-xcv.

announced Hubert's retirement from the justiciarship and the appointment of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter in his stead.¹ Like Hubert, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter came of a family which had long been engaged in administrative work. His elder brother Simon had in Henry's early years filled the various offices of sheriff, justice-in-eyre, and king's marshal.² Geoffrey himself had been sheriff of Northampton throughout the last five years of Henry's reign, and had during the same period acted occasionally as an ordinary justice of assize, and more frequently as a judge of the forest-court.³ In 1189 Richard appointed him one of the assistant-justiciars, and in this capacity he supported Walter of Rouen in the affair of William of Longchamp's deposition.⁴ In the early days of William's rule, however, Geoffrey had made use of the latter's influence to secure for himself the whole English inheritance of the earl of Essex, William de Mandeville, upon which his wife had a distant claim.⁵ Such a man was likely to be controlled by fewer scruples, as well as hampered by fewer external restraints, than those which had beset the justiciar-archbishop; and in truth, before the year was out, both clergy and people had cause to regret the change of ministers. Some of the religious orders refused to pay their share of the carucage; their refusal was met by a royal edict declaring the whole body of clergy, secular as well as monastic, incapable of claiming redress for any wrongs inflicted on them by the laity, while for any injury done by a clerk or a monk to a layman satisfaction was exacted to the uttermost farthing. The archbishop of Canterbury could hardly have published what was virtually a decree of outlawry against his own order; the new justiciar published it

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 71.

² He was sheriff of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire from 1156 till 1160, and of Northamptonshire again from Michaelmas 1163 till Easter 1170. See the list of sheriffs in index to Eyton's *Itin. Hen. II.*, pp. 337, 339. He appears as marshal in 1165 (Madox, *Form. Angl.*, p. xix), and as justice-errant in Bedfordshire, A.D. 1163, in the story of Philip de Broi (above, p. 21).

³ Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II.*, list of sheriffs, p. 339; *ib.* pp. 265, 273, 281, 291, 298. Pipe Roll I. Ric. I. (Hunter) *passim*.

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 16, 28, 96, 153.

⁵ Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iii., pref. p. xlviiii, note 6.

seemingly without hesitation, and the recalcitrant monks were compelled to submit.¹ This act was followed by a renewal of the decree requiring all charters granted under the king's old seal to be brought up for confirmation under the new one²—a step which seems to imply that Richard's former command to this effect had not been very strictly enforced by Hubert. Meanwhile three justices-errant, acting on a set of instructions modelled upon those of 1194, were holding pleas of the Crown in the northern shires;³ "so that," says King Henry's old chaplain Roger of Howden, "with these and other vexations, just or unjust, all England from sea to sea was reduced to penury. And these things were not yet ended when another kind of torment was added to confound the men of the kingdom, through the justices of the forest," who were sent out all over England to hold a great forest-assize, which was virtually a renewal of that issued by Henry in 1184.⁴

Stern and cruel, however, as was the administration of the last eight months of Richard's reign, it was still part of a salutary discipline. The milder chastenings which Richard's English subjects had endured from Hubert Walter, the scorpion-lashes with which he chastised them by the hands of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, were both alike stages in the training which Richard's predecessor had begun, and whose value they were to learn when left face to face with the personal tyranny of his successor. For nearer at hand than they could dream was the day when English people and Angevin king were to stand face to face indeed, more closely than they had ever stood before. The nine generations of increasing prosperity promised to Fulk the Good were all numbered and fulfilled, and with their fulfilment had come the turn of the tide. The power of the Angevins had

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 66.

² *Ibid.* Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 451. Ann. Waverl. a. 1198 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 251).

³ Instructions in Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 61, 62. The judges were Hugh Bardulf, Roger Arundel and Geoffrey Hacket; they held pleas in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire.

⁴ Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 62-66.

reached its destined limit, and had begun to recede again. From the sacred eastern land all trace of it was already swept away; in the west it was, slowly indeed as yet, but none the less surely falling back. Five years were still to pass before the tide should be fairly out; then it was to leave the Good Count's heir stranded, not on the black rock of Angers, but on the white cliffs of England.

Richard had spent the first half of his reign in fighting for a lost cause in Palestine; he spent the other half in fighting for a losing cause in Gaul. The final result of the long series of conquests and annexations whereby the Angevin counts, from Fulk the Red to Henry Fitz-Empress, had been enlarging their borders for more than two hundred years, had been to bring them into direct geographical contact and political antagonism with an enemy more formidable than any whom they had yet encountered. In their earliest days the king of the French had been their patron; a little later, he had become their tool. Now, he was their sole remaining rival; and ere long he was to be their conqueror. Since the opening of the century, a great change had taken place in the political position of the French Crown; a change which was in a considerable measure due to the yet greater change in the position of the Angevin house. When Louis VI. came to the throne in 1109, he found the so-called "kingdom of France" distributed somewhat as follows. The western half, from the river Somme to the Pyrenees, was divided between four great fiefs—Normandy, Brittany, Anjou and Aquitaine. Four others—Champagne, Burgundy, Auvergne and Toulouse—covered its eastern portion from the river Meuse to the Mediterranean Sea; another, Flanders, occupied its northernmost angle, between the sources of the Meuse, the mouth of the Scheld, and the English Channel. The two lines of great fiefs were separated by an irregular group of smaller territories, amid which lay, distributed in two very unequal portions, the royal domain. Its northern and larger half, severed from Flanders by the little counties of Amiens and Vermandois, was flanked on the east by Champagne and on the north-west by Normandy, while its south-western border was ringed in by the

counties of Chartres, Blois and Sancerre, which parted it from Anjou, and which were all linked together with Champagne under the same ruling house. Southward, in the upper valleys of the Loire and the Cher, a much smaller fragment of royal domain, comprising the viscounty of Bourges and the territory afterwards known as the Bourbonnais, lay crowded in between Auvergne, the Aquitanian district of Berry, and the Burgundian counties of Mâcon and Nevers and that of Sancerre, which parted it from the larger royal possessions north of the Loire. The whole domains of the Crown thus covered scarcely more ground than the united counties of Anjou, Touraine and Maine, scarcely so much as the duchy of Normandy. Within these limits, however, Louis VI. had in his twenty-nine years' reign contrived to establish his absolute authority on so firm a basis that from thenceforth the independence of the Crown was secured. To destroy that of the great feudatories, and to bring them one by one into a subjection as absolute as that of the royal domain itself, was the work which he bequeathed to his successors.

We may set aside the temporary annexation of Aquitaine through the marriage of Louis VII. and Eleanor as forming no part of this process of absorption. In the plans of Louis VI. it was doubtless meant to be a very important part ; but as a matter of fact, its historical importance proved to be of a wholly different kind. The marriage of Louis and Eleanor contributed to the final acquisition of Guienne and Gascony by the French Crown not a whit more than the marriage of Geoffrey Martel and Agnes had contributed to their acquisition by the house of Anjou. The Parisian king, like his Angevin follower of old, had work to do on his own side of the Loire before he might safely attempt the conquest of the south. By the middle of the century, the map of Gaul had undergone a marked transformation. Its eastern and central portions indeed remained unchanged ; but the western half was utterly metamorphosed. Its four great divisions had been virtually swept away, and the whole land had become Angevin. In face of this altered state of things, the remaining powers of northern Gaul were of



necessity driven into union, as a counterpoise to this enormous growth of Anjou ; and the only possible centre of union, alike in a political and a geographical point of view, was the king of the French. He alone could claim to match in rank and dignity the crowned masters of the west ; and under his leadership alone was it possible to face them all along the line from the mouth of the Somme to the source of the Cher with a front as unbroken as their own. The old Angevin march had ceased to be a marchland at all ; its original character was now transferred to the counties of Chartres and Blois ; while to north and south of these, from Nonancourt to Aumale and along the whole course of the Cher above Vierzon, the royal domain itself was the sole bulwark of north-eastern Gaul against the advancing power of Anjou. To secure Chartres and Blois was the first necessity for the king : but their counts needed his protection even more than he needed their fidelity, for the whole width of his domains parted them from Champagne, where the bulk of their strength lay. Accordingly Louis VII., by the matrimonial alliances which he formed first for his daughters and lastly for himself with the house of Blois and Champagne, easily succeeded in binding them to a community of personal interests with the royal house of France, whereby their subservience to the French Crown was for the future secured. The chain was too strong to be broken by the boyish wilfulness of Philip Augustus ; and from the moment of his reconciliation with his mother and uncles in 1180, the whole military and political strength of Blois, Chartres and Champagne may be reckoned at his command as unreservedly as that of his own immediate domains.

Since that time, the royal power had made an important advance to the northward. At the opening of Philip's reign the dominions of the count of Flanders stretched from the Channel to the borders of Champagne, covered the whole northern frontier of the royal domain, and touched that of Normandy at its junction with Ponthieu. Twelve years later, more than half this territory had passed, either by cession or by conquest, into the hands of the king. Ver-

mandois was given up to him in 1186; and in 1191 the death of the Flemish count Philip made him master of all Flanders south of the river Lys, which had been promised to him as the dowry of his first queen, Elizabeth of Hainaut, niece of the dead count and daughter of his successor.¹ This was in several respects a most valuable acquisition. Not only did it bring to the Crown a considerable accession of territory, including the whole upper valley of the Somme, the famous fortress of Péronne, and the flourishing towns of Amiens and Arras; but the power of Flanders, which a few years before had threatened to overshadow every other power in northern Gaul, was completely broken; and the effect upon the political position of Normandy was more important still. While Vermandois and Amiens were in Flemish hands, a league between the Flemish count and the ruler of Normandy would at any moment not only place the whole north-western border of France at their mercy, but would enable them to call in the forces of the imperial Crown to a junction which the French king could have no power to hinder, and which must almost certainly lead to his ruin. Now, on the other hand, such a junction was rendered well-nigh impossible; the whole territory between Normandy, Ponthieu and the German border was in the king's own hands, and all that was left of Flanders lay in almost complete isolation between the Lys and the sea. In fine, as the dukes of Burgundy had for several generations been obedient followers of their royal kinsmen, now that Blois, Champagne and Vermandois were all secured, the power and influence of the French Crown north of the Loire was fully a match in territorial extent for that of the house of Anjou. South of the Loire the balance was less equal. The extensive possessions of the house of S. Gilles may indeed be left out of both scales; their homage for Toulouse was now secured to the dukes of Aquitaine, but it was a mere formality which left them practically still independent of both their rival overlords. It was indeed at the expense of Toulouse that the Angevin rulers of Poitou had made their last conquest, that of the Quercy. But since

¹ See above, p. 234, note 7.

then the French king, too, had been gaining territory in Aquitaine; and his gains were made at the expense of the Poitevin duke. Richard had found it needful to buy Philip's assent to his peaceful entrance upon his ancestral heritage after his father's death by a renunciation of all claims upon Auvergne and a cession of two important lordships in Berry, Graçay and Issoudun.¹ The sacrifice was trifling in itself, but it was significant. It marked Richard's own consciousness that a turning-point had come in the career of his house. Hitherto they had gone steadily forward; now it was time to draw back. The aggressive attitude which had been habitual to the counts of Anjou for nearly three hundred years must be dropped at last. Henceforth they were to stand on the defensive in their turn against the advance of the French Crown.

It was not the strength of that advance itself which made it so formidable to Richard; it was the knowledge that, side by side with the process of consolidation in France, there had been and still was going on in the Angevin dominions a process of disintegration which his father had been unable to check, and against which he himself was well-nigh helpless. The French monarchy was built up around one definite centre, a centre round which all the subordinate parts of the structure grouped themselves unquestioningly as a matter of course. Paris and its king, even when his practical authority was at the lowest ebb, had always been in theory the accepted rallying-point of the whole kingdom, the acknowledged head of the body politic, none of whose members had ever dreamed of establishing any other in its place. But the empire of Richard Cœur-de-Lion had no centre; or rather, it had three or four rival ones. In Angevin eyes its centre was Angers; in Norman eyes it was Rouen; to the men of the south, it was Poitiers. Even Henry Fitz-Empress had felt at times the difficulty of fulfilling two such opposite parts as those of duke of Normandy and count of Anjou without rousing the jealous resentment of either country against himself as the representative of the other; while as for

¹ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.) p. 29. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 75.

Britanny and Aquitaine, he had only been able to keep an uncertain hold over them by sheer force, until Britanny was appeased by the marriage of Constance, and Aquitaine subdued by the vigour of Richard. But for Richard in his father's place the difficulty was far greater. Chafe as they might against the yoke which bound them together—dispute as they might over their respective shares in their common ruler and their respective claims upon him—neither Angevin nor Norman could fail to recognize his own natural sovereign and national representative in the son of Geoffrey and Matilda. But the chances of this recognition being extended to the next generation expired with the young king. If the two Henrys were strangers in Britanny and in Aquitaine, yet on the banks of the Seine, the Loire and the Mayenne they were felt to be at home. But Richard was at home nowhere, though he was master everywhere, from the Solway to the Pyrenees. His Aquitanian subjects for the most part, if they counted him as a fellow-countryman, counted him none the less as an enemy; his subjects north of Loire counted him as a southern stranger. Normans and Angevins still saw in him, as they had been taught to see in him for the first twenty-six years of his life, the representative not of Hrolf and William or of Fulk the Red and Geoffrey Martel, but simply of his mother's Poitevin ancestors. The Bretons saw in him the son of their conqueror, asserting his supremacy over them and their young native prince only by the right of the stronger. As Suger had laid it down as an axiom, more than half a century ago, that "Englishmen ought not to rule over Frenchmen nor French over English," so now we begin to discern growing up in Richard's continental dominions a feeling that Normans should not rule over Angevins, nor Angevins over Normans, nor either over Bretons and Poitevins, nor Poitevins over any of the rest; and that if one and all must needs submit to the loss of their ancient independence, it would be more natural and less humiliating to lay it down at the feet of the prince who had always been acknowledged in theory as the superior of all alike, the king of the French.

This feeling, however, had scarcely come into existence, much less risen to the surface of politics, when Philip Augustus came home from the Crusade at Christmas 1191. It is scarcely probable that any plan of actual conquest had as yet taken shape in Philip's mind. But the very audacity of the demand which he made upon the credulity of the Norman constables when in the following spring he asked them to believe that Richard had ceded to him not only the whole Vexin, but also the counties of Aumale and Eu—a cession for which there was not a shadow of reason either in past history or in present circumstances, and which if carried into effect would have cut off the Norman communications with Ponthieu and Flanders, and given him at once a foothold upon the Channel and an invaluable coign of vantage for an attempt upon Rouen—seems to indicate that he was already forming some more definite design against the Angevins' power than the simple system of lying in wait to steal from them any territorial or political advantage that could be stolen with impunity, with which he, like his father, had hitherto been content. The terms of his treaty with John in the following year point still more strongly in the same direction. As the price of John's investiture with the rest of his brother's dominions, Philip reserved to himself the whole Norman territory on the right bank of the Seine, except the city of Rouen; on the left bank, nearly half the viscounty of Evreux, including the castles of Vaudreuil, Verneuil and Ivry; and from the older Angevin patrimony, all that was most worth having in Touraine—Tours itself, Azay, Montbazou, Montrichard, Amboise and Loches—besides the transfer of the Angevin fiefs in the Vendômois from the count of Anjou to the count of Blois.¹ Owing to the disorganized state of Richard's dominions caused by his captivity, Philip's endeavours to carry this bargain into effect by conquering Normandy in John's interest and his own met for a while with considerable success. His first attempt at invasion was indeed repulsed by the Norman barons under the leadership of Earl Robert of Leicester;² but a few weeks

¹ Treaty in Rymer, *Fadera*, vol. i. p. 57.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 205.

later treason opened to him the gates of Gisors and Neaufle ; the rest of the Vexin was easily won,¹ and secured thus against attack in his rear, he marched northward to the capture of Aumale and Eu.² Thence he turned back to besiege Rouen, but soon retreated again into his own territories,³ taking Pacy and Ivry on his way.⁴ In July, finding that, according to his own phrase, the Angevin demon was after all to be let loose upon him once more, he thought it advisable to accept Richard's overtures of peace; and Richard on his part—being still in prison—deemed it wise for the moment to sanction the French king's recent conquests in Normandy and the liberation of Ademar of Angoulême, and also to let Philip have temporary possession of Loches, Châtillon-sur-Indre, Driencourt and Arques, as pledges for the payment of twenty thousand marks, due within two years of his own release.⁵

Whether he intended to keep or to break these engagements is practically no matter; for, if he meant to break them, Philip took care to anticipate him. Seven months after the treaty was signed he again crossed the Norman border, took Evreux,⁶ which he handed over to John's custody,⁷ and marched up by way of Neubourg and Vaudreuil, both of which he captured, to besiege Rouen. Thence, however, he again retired—scared, it may be, by tidings of Richard's approach—and hurrying back to the southern border laid siege to Verneuil on May 10.⁸ Two days later

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 206. Will. Newb., l. iv. c. 34 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 389, 390). Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 36. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 77.

² Will. Newb. as above (p. 390).

³ *Ibid.* Rog. Howden, as above. Cf. Chron. Rothom., a. 1193 (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. i. p. 369).

⁴ Will. Newb. as above.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 217-220. These were apparently the twenty thousand marks promised in 1189 and not yet paid.

⁶ Will. Newb. as above, c. 40 (p. 403). Rigord (as above), p. 37. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above; *Philipp.*, l. iv. (*ibid.*) p. 143.

⁷ Will. Armor. *Philipp.* as above.

⁸ Rigord as above. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above. Cf. *Philipp.* as above; Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 251, 252; R. Diceto;(Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 114, 115; and Will. Newb., l. v. c. 2 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 418). The date of the siege of Verneuil comes from Rog. Howden.

Richard landed at Barfleur,¹ and by the end of another fortnight he was encamped at L'Aigle,² within a few miles of Verneuil. His presence there, coupled with the defection of John who had contrived to join him on the road,³ and the surprise and slaughter of the French garrison of Evreux by a body of Norman troops,⁴ alarmed Philip so much that on Whitsun Eve, May 28, he again fled into his own dominions.⁵ Richard was busy strengthening the walls of Verneuil when tidings came to him that "the Angevins and Cenomanniens" were besieging Montmirail,⁶ a castle on the borders of Perche and Maine, famous as the scene of a stormy conference between Henry II. and S. Thomas. Who the besiegers actually were, or what was the ground of their hostility either to William of Montmirail⁷ or to his overlord King Richard, must remain undecided. It is plain, however, that in Richard's ears the tidings sounded as a warning of disaffection in his patrimonial dominions. He hurried to the relief of Montmirail, but found it levelled with the ground.⁸ He wasted no time in pursuit of its destroyers, but pushed on direct to Tours, took up his quarters in Châteauneuf,⁹ and shewed his suspicions concerning the

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 251. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 114.

² Will. Newb., l. v. c. 2 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 418).

³ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 252. R. Diceto, as above, says they met "apud Bruis."

⁴ This is all that Rigord says about the disaster (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, vol. v. p. 37). In the hands of the poet William of Armorica it becomes a horrible romance, wherein John, as commandant of Evreux, invites the unsuspecting Frenchmen to a banquet, and then brings in his "armed Englishmen" to massacre them (*Philipp.*, l. iv., *ib.* p. 143; *Gesta Phil. Aug.*, *ib.* p. 77). John has so many undoubted crimes to answer for that it probably seemed a mere trifle to add one more to the list, but for that very reason one cannot admit it on the sole testimony of the poet-historiographer. The English writers say nothing of the whole matter.

⁵ Rog. Howden and Will. Newb. as above. R. Diceto (as above), p. 115. Cf. Rigord and Will. Armor. as above.

⁶ "Andegavenses et Cenomannenses" says Rog. Howden as above. R. Diceto (as above), p. 116, has "Andegavenses" only; the Chron. S. Albin. a. 1192 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 49), has "Andegavenses et alii."

⁷ William "Gohet" as R. Diceto calls him; *i.e.* (see Bishop Stubbs's note, *ibid.*), "William of Perche Gouet, Goeth, or le petit Perche."

⁸ Rog. Howden as above. R. Diceto as above, p. 117. Cf. Chron. S. Albin. a. 1192 (as above).

⁹ R. Diceto as above.

origin of the new mischief by driving the canons of S. Martin out of the abbey where they dwelt under the special protection of the French king.¹ The burghers, on the other hand, made proof of their loyalty by a free-will offering of two thousand marks.² Determined now to redeem his pledges to Philip not with gold but with steel, Richard marched on to Beaulieu,³ to join a body of Navarrese and Brabantines, sent by his brother-in-law Sancho of Navarre, in blockading the castle of Loches;⁴ a few days after his arrival, on June 13, it was surrendered by its French garrison.⁵ He was however standing between two fires. Bertrand de Born was again stirring up the south, singing and fighting ostensibly in Richard's interest against his disaffected neighbours in the Limousin, but in reality kindling into a fresh blaze all the reckless passions and endless feuds which had been smouldering too long for the warrior-poet's pleasure.⁶ Philip meanwhile was again threatening Rouen;⁷ the Norman archbishop and seneschal attempted to negotiate with him in Richard's name, but without result;⁸ and at the end of the month he marched southward to meet Richard himself. On July 4 the two kings were within a few miles of each other—Richard at Vendôme, Philip at Fréteval.⁹ What followed is told so diversely by the English and French historians of the time that it seems impossible to reconcile the rival accounts or to decide between them. All that we know for certain is that Philip suddenly struck his tents and withdrew into the territories of the count of Blois; that Richard set off in pursuit, missed Philip himself, but fell at unawares upon the troops who were convoying

¹ Rigord (Duchesne), *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 38.

² "Dono spontaneo," Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 252; "nullâ coactione præmissâ," R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 117. The "burgenses" in question, as appears from R. Diceto, were those of Châteauneuf, not the *cives* of Tours proper.

³ R. Diceto as above.

⁴ Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 252, 253.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 253 (with the date). R. Diceto as above. Cf. Chron. S. Albin. a. 1192 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 49).

⁶ Clédât, *Bert. de Born*, pp. 83, 84.

⁷ Rog. Howden as above, p. 253. R. Diceto, p. 116.

⁸ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 253-255.

⁹ R. Diceto as above.

his baggage towards Blois, routed them, and captured all the French king's most precious possessions, including his royal seal and the treasury-rolls of the whole kingdom, besides a number of valuable horses, an immense quantity of money and plate, and—what would be scarcely less useful to Richard for political purposes—the charters of agreement between Philip and all the Norman, Angevin and Poitevin rebels who had plotted treason with him and John against their lord.¹

The repairing of this disaster gave Philip sufficient occupation for the rest of the year, and Richard was free to march upon the Aquitanian rebels. Sancho of Navarre was already wasting the lands of the ringleaders, Geoffrey of Rancogne and Ademar of Angoulême;² and by July 22 Richard was able to report to his justiciar in England that he was master of all the castles of the Angoumois and all the lands of Geoffrey.³ From Angoulême he marched northward again, took measures for the security of Anjou and Maine,⁴ and then returned to Normandy, where he found that his representatives, headed by the chancellor, had just concluded a truce with the French king to last till All Saints' day⁵—a proceeding which served him as the pretext for that withdrawal of the seal from William and repudiation

¹ Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 255, 256; R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 117, 118; Will. Newb., l. v. c. 2 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 419); Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 38; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug. (ibid.)*, p. 77; *Philipp.*, l. iv. (*ibid.*), p. 144; and Chron. S. Albin. a. 1192 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 49). Rog. Howden alone mentions the charters, and Will. Armor. the treasury-rolls and seal.

² R. Diceto as above, p. 117. Will. Newb. as above.

³ Letter of Richard to Hubert Walter (date, Angoulême, July 22) in Rog. Howden as above, pp. 256, 257. Cf. R. Diceto as above, pp. 118, 119. Will. Newb. as above (p. 420).

⁴ "Rediit in Andegaviam, et redemit omnes baillivos suos, id est, ad redemptionem coegit. Similiter fecit in Cenomanniâ." Rog. Howden as above, p. 267. At Le Mans "convocavit magnates omnes suæ jurisdictioni subpositos," and apparently tried to shame them into more active loyalty—or more liberal gifts—by eulogy of their English brethren: "ubi fidem Anglorum in adversitate suâ semper sibi gratiosam, integram et probabilem plurimum commendavit." R. Diceto as above, p. 119.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 257-260. Cf. R. Diceto as above, p. 120, and Will. Newb., l. v. c. 3 (as above). This last gives a wrong date; that of the document in Rog. Howden is July 23.

of all engagements made under it, which has been mentioned already.¹ No further movement was however made by either party until the spring. Then the wearisome story of fruitless negotiations alternating with indecisive warfare begins again, and goes on unceasingly for the next four years. Save for an occasional attempt to make a diversion in Berry, the actual fighting between the two kings was confined to the Norman border.² Normandy was the chief object of Philip's attack, partly no doubt because, owing to its geographical position, he could invade it with more ease and less risk than any other part of Richard's dominions, but also because it was the key to all the rest. A French conquest of Normandy would sever Richard's communications not only with Flanders and Germany, but also with England; and the strength of the Angevins in Gaul now rested chiefly upon the support of their island-realm. Neither assailant nor defender, however, was able to gain any decisive advantage in the field. The armed struggle between them was in fact of less importance than the diplomatic rivalry which they carried on side by side with it; and in this, strangely enough, Richard, who had hitherto shewn so little of the far-sighted statecraft and political tact of his race, proved more than a match for his wily antagonist.

That the foes in Richard's own household should league themselves against him with Philip, as he had done in earlier days against his own father, was, so far as Richard himself is concerned, no more than retributive justice. Philip's alliance with John had proved a failure; but it was not long before he saw a chance of securing a more useful tool in the person of little Arthur of Brittany. English historians tell us that when Richard and Philip made their treaty at Messina in March 1191 Richard obtained a formal acknowledgement of his rights, as duke of Normandy, to the

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 267. See above, p. 343.

² It may be followed in Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 301-305, vol. iv. pp. 3-7, 14, 16, 19-21, 24, 54-61, 68, 78-81; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), pp. 38-40, 42; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), pp. 78, 79; *Philipp.*, l. v. (*ib.*), pp. 146-154.

overlordship of Brittany and the liege homage of its duke.¹ The text of the treaty of Messina, however, contains not a word on this subject; the agreement, if made at all, must have been drawn up in a separate form; and it seems to have remained a dead letter, like another agreement made at the same place a few months earlier—the treaty with Tancred whereby Richard had engaged to recognize Arthur of Brittany as his successor in default of direct heirs. Although after five years of marriage Queen Berengaria was still childless, no such recognition had yet been made. Richard on his return to Europe probably perceived that Arthur's succession would be impossible in England, and in Gaul would be fatal to the independence of the Angevin house. Accordingly, he was once more doing all in his power to win the attachment of John; and John, having at length discovered that his own interests could be better served by supporting his brother than by intriguing against him, proved an active and useful ally in the war against Philip.² On the other hand, Richard seems never to have received Arthur's homage for Brittany; and those who had the control of political affairs in that country were determined that he never should. The dispute between Henry and Philip for the wardship of the two children of Geoffrey and Constance had apparently ended in a compromise. Eleanor, the elder child, was now under the care of her uncle Richard;³ but Constance seems to have succeeded in keeping her infant boy out of the reach of both his would-be guardians, and, moreover, in governing her duchy without any reference to either of them, for nearly seven years after the death of her father-in-law King Henry. She had been given in marriage by him, when scarcely twelve months a widow, to Earl Ralf of Chester,⁴ son and successor of Earl Hugh who had been one of the leaders in the revolt of 1173. As the earls of Chester were hereditary viscounts of the Avranchin—the border-district of

¹ *Gesta Ric.* (Stubbs), p. 161. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 99, 100.

² See *e.g.* Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 5, 16, 60; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 38; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 77.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 275, 278.

⁴ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 29.

Normandy and Brittany—this marriage would have furnished an excellent means of securing the Norman hold upon the Breton duchy, if only Ralf himself could have secured a hold upon his wife. In this however he completely failed. Safe in her hereditary dominions, with her boy at her side, and strong in the support of her people rejoicing in their newly-regained independence, Constance apparently set Ralf, Richard and Philip all alike at defiance, till in 1196 Richard summoned her to a conference with himself in Normandy, and she set out to obey the summons. Scarcely had she touched the soil of the Avranchin at Pontorson when she was caught by her husband and imprisoned in his castle of S. James-de-Beuvron.¹ It is hard not to suspect that Richard and Ralf had plotted the capture between them; for Richard, instead of insisting upon her release, at once renewed his claim to the wardship of Arthur, and prepared to enforce it at the sword's point. The Bretons first hurried their young duke away to the innermost fastnesses of their wild and desolate country under the care of the bishop of Vannes,² and then, after a vain attempt to liberate his mother, intrusted him to the protection of the king of France,³ who of course received him with open arms, and sent him to be educated with his own son.⁴

Philip had now got the old Angevin patrimony between two fires; but the Bretons were so little accustomed to act in concert even among themselves, far less with any other power, that he found it impossible to make any real use of them as allies either for military or political purposes. The independent warfare which they carried on with Richard across the south-western border of Normandy⁵ had little effect upon that which Richard and Philip were carrying on along its eastern border; and upon the Angevin lands which lay directly between Brittany and France the Breton revolt had no effect at all. To the end of Richard's life, we hear

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 7.

² Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 149. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 18 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 463, 464).

³ Rog. Howden as above.

⁴ Will. Armor. as above.

⁵ Will. Newb. as above, c. 30 (p. 491). Rog. Howden as above.

of no further troubles in Maine or Anjou. Nay more, we hear of no further troubles in Aquitaine. If Philip had in some sense turned Richard's flank in the west, Richard had turned Philip's flank far more effectually in the south. The unwonted tranquillity there may indeed have been partly due to the fact that one of the chief sources of disturbance was removed in 1196 by the withdrawal of Bertrand de Born into a monastery;¹ but it was also in great measure owing to Richard's quickness in seizing an opportunity which presented itself, in that same eventful year, of forming a lasting alliance with the house of Toulouse. His old enemy Count Raymond V. was dead;² he now offered the hand of his own favourite sister, the still young and handsome Queen Jane of Sicily, to the new Count Raymond VI.;³ and thenceforth the eastern frontier of his Aquitanian duchy was as secure under the protection of his sister's husband as its southern frontier under that of his wife's brother, the king of Navarre.

Nor were Richard's alliances confined within the boundaries of Gaul. His year of captivity in Germany had not been all wasted time. When he parted from his imperial jailor in the spring of 1194, they were, at any rate in outward semblance, close political allies; and at the same time Richard had succeeded in gaining over his bitterest foe, Leopold of Austria, by an offer of his niece Eleanor of Brittany as wife to Leopold's son.⁴ The marriage-contract was however not yet executed when the Austrian duke met with a fatal accident and died in agony, owning with his last breath that his miserable end was a just retribution for his conduct towards the English king.⁵ The impression made by this event deepened the feeling of respect and awe which the captive lion had already contrived to inspire in the princes of the Empire. Meanwhile Henry VI. had

¹ Clédat, *Bert. de Born*, p. 92.

² In 1194, according to Rigord (*Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 38.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 13. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 30 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 491). R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 70.

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 275. See above, p. 325.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 276, 277. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 124. Will. Newb. as above, c. 8 (pp. 431-434). R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 65, 66.

made himself master of Sicily;¹ and now the old dream by which the German Emperors never quite ceased to be haunted, the dream of re-asserting their imperial supremacy over Gaul, was beginning to shape itself anew in his brain. In the summer of 1195 he sent to Richard a golden crown and a message charging him, on his plighted faith to the Emperor and on the very lives of his hostages, to invade the French kingdom at once, and promising him the support and co-operation of the imperial forces. Richard, suspecting a trap, despatched William of Longchamp to inquire into the exact nature, extent and security of Henry's promised assistance; Philip vainly tried to intercept the envoy as he passed through the royal domains;² and the negotiations proved so far effectual that Henry remitted seventeen thousand marks out of the ransom, as a contribution to Richard's expenses in his struggle with Philip.³ When, on Michaelmas Eve 1197, Henry VI. died,⁴ the use of that homage on Richard's part which his English subjects had resented so bitterly was made apparent to them at last. While the English king was holding his Christmas court at Rouen there came to him an embassy from the princes of Germany, summoning him, as chief among the lay members of the Empire⁵ by virtue of his investiture with the kingdom of Arles, to take part with them in the election of a new Emperor at Cöln on February 22.⁶ Richard himself could not venture to leave Gaul; but the issue proved that his presence at Cöln was not needed to secure his interests there. He wished that the imperial crown should be given to his nephew Duke Henry of Saxony, eldest son and successor of Henry the Lion. This scheme, however, when laid before the other electors by the envoys whom he sent to represent him at Cöln, was rejected on account of the duke's absence in Holy Land.⁷ The representatives of the English king then proposed Henry's brother Otto, for whom Richard had long been vainly endeavouring to find satis-

¹ In the autumn of 1194. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 268-270. Cf. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

² Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 300, 301.

³ *Ib.* pp. 303, 304.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 31.

⁵ "Sicut præcipuum membrum imperii." *Ib.* p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 37, 38.

factory provision on either side of the sea,¹ and who seems really to have been his favourite nephew. The result was that, on the appointed day, Otto was elected Emperor of the Romans,² and on July 12 he was crowned king of the Germans at Aachen by the archbishop of Cöln.³

For a moment, at the mere prospect of beholding a grandson of Henry Fitz-Empress seated upon the imperial throne of the west, there had flashed across the mind of at least one friend of the Angevin house a fancy that the world-wide dominion which seemed to be passing away from the heirs of Fulk the Good was to be renewed for yet one more generation.⁴ There was indeed an opposition party in Germany, who set up a rival Emperor in the person of Philip of Suabia, a brother of Henry VI.;⁵ and he at once

¹ He appointed him earl of York in 1190, but as the grant was made after the king left England, some of the Yorkshire folk doubted its genuineness, and Otto never succeeded in obtaining possession. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 86. The elaborate scheme for his endowment in the north, projected in 1195, has already been mentioned (above, p. 341). This having also failed, Richard in 1196 gave him the investiture of Poitou. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 7; cf. *ib.* vol. iii. p. 86, and R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 70.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 37-39. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 163.

³ R. Diceto as above.

⁴ R. Diceto tells the story of the prophecy made to Fulk the Good in two places; in the *Abbreviationes Historiarum* (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 149) and in the *Opuscula* (vol. ii. pp. 267, 268). In the latter place he adds: "Quod quondam probavit regnum Jerosolimitanum; quod adhuc ostendit regnum Anglorum; quod suo tempore declarabit Romanum imperium." This, as Bishop Stubbs notes, "looks like an anticipation of the election of Otto IV. to the empire. . . . As Bishop Longchamp died in 1197, before which date we must suppose MS. R to have been written" [the MS. from which the *Opuscula* are printed, and which begins with a dedication to William of Longchamp], "it can scarcely be a prophecy after the event." As William of Longchamp died January 31, 1197 (R. Diceto, vol. ii. p. 150; February 1 according to Gerv. Cant., Stubbs, vol. i. p. 543), it seems indeed to shew that the possibility of one or other of Richard's nephews becoming Emperor at the next vacancy was already in contemplation more than eight months before the death of Henry VI. Or was Ralf dreaming rather of a transfer of the imperial crown to Richard himself? for it is to be observed that Otto can be included within the "nine generations" only by excluding from them Fulk the Good himself; but this mode of computing would fail if applied to the eastern branch of the Angevin house, where it would give only eight generations, so that we can hardly suppose it to have been adopted by Ralf. According to R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 88, and Gerv. Cant. as above, p. 545, a party among the electors actually did choose Richard, and—much more strangely—another party chose Philip of France.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 39.

made common cause with his French namesake.¹ This Suabian alliance, however, and the support of the count of Ponthieu—purchased two years before with the hand of the unhappy Adela, whom Richard had at last restored to her brother²—could not much avail Philip Augustus against such a league as was now gathering around the English king. The vast sums which Hubert Walter had been sending, year after year, to his royal master over sea were bringing a goodly interest at last. Flanders, Brittany, Champagne, had all been secretly detached from the French alliance and bought over to the service of Richard;³ the Flemish count had already drawn Philip into a war in which he narrowly escaped being made prisoner;⁴ and in the summer of 1198, when the imperial election was over, not only Baldwin of Flanders, Reginald of Boulogne, Baldwin of Guines, Henry of Louvain, Everard of Brienne, Geoffrey of Perche and Raymond of Toulouse, but even the young count Louis of Blois and the boy-duke Arthur of Brittany himself, one and all leagued themselves in an offensive and defensive alliance with Richard against the French king.⁵ The immediate consequence was that Philip begged Hubert Walter, who being just released from his justiciarship had rejoined his sovereign in Normandy, to make peace for him with Richard; and he even went so far as to offer the surrender of all the Norman castles which he had won, except Gisors. Richard however would listen to no terms in which his allies were not included.⁶ At last, in November, a truce was made, to last till the usual term, S. Hilary's day.⁷ When it expired the two kings held a colloquy on the Seine

¹ Treaty in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 70; date, June 29 [1197].

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. p. 303. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 38. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug. (ibid.)* p. 77.

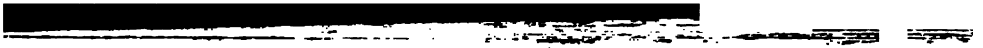
³ Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 19, R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 77, and Will. Newb., l. v. c. 32 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 495). Richard's treaty with Flanders is in R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 152, 153, and Rymer, as above, pp. 67, 68; it has no date, but as R. Diceto (as above, p. 158) tells us that it was drawn up by Hubert Walter, and also that Hubert was in Gaul from September 14 (or 28, according to Gerv. Cant., Stubbs, vol. i. p. 574) to November 8 [1197], it must fall in that interval.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 20, 21. Will. Newb. as above. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 77, 78.

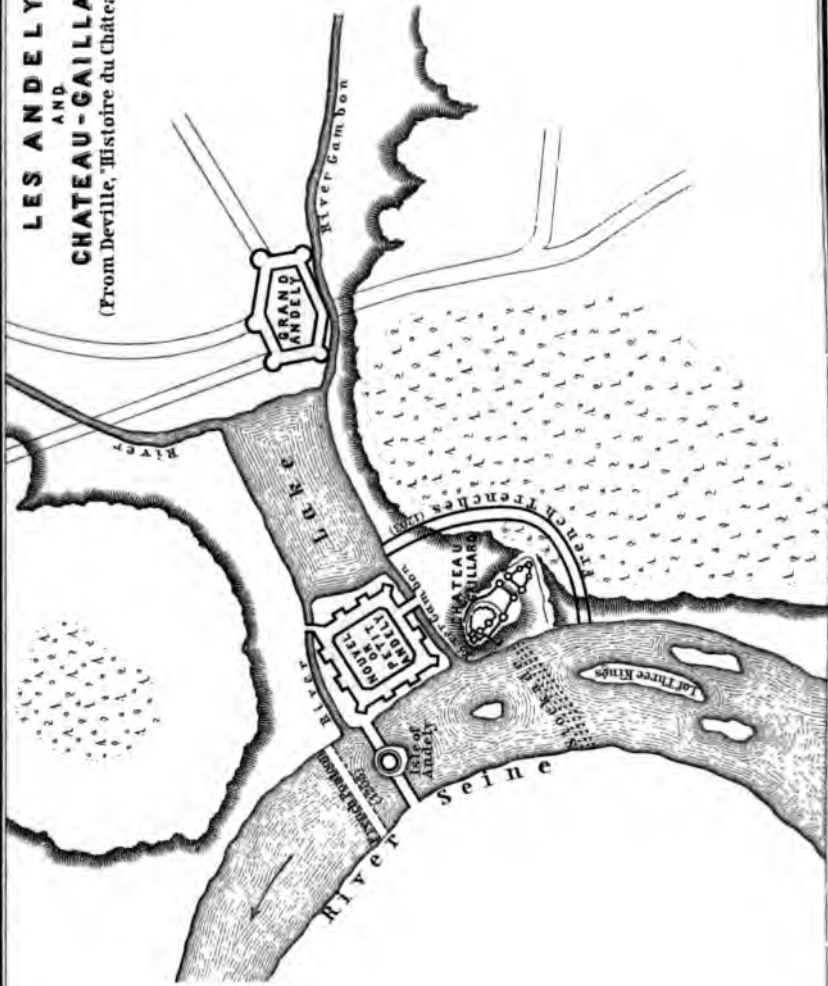
⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 54.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 61.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 68.



LES ANDELYS
 AND
CHATEAU-GAILLARD.
 (From Deville, "Histoire du Château-Gaillard")



between Vernon and Les Andelys, Richard in a boat on the river, Philip on horseback on the shore;¹ this meeting was followed by another, where, by the mediation of a cardinal-legate, Peter of Capua, who had lately arrived in Gaul, they were persuaded to prolong their truce for five years.²

Yet all the while, there lurked in Richard's heart a mis-giving that, in the last resort, his diplomacy would prove to have been in vain; that, strive as he might to turn away the tide of war from his own borders by stirring up north and east and south to overwhelm the Crown of France, still, after all, the day must come when the Angevins would have to stake their political existence solely upon their own military resources, and to stand at bay, unaided, unsupported, alone, behind whatever bulwark they might be able to devise by their own military genius. It was the genius and the foresight of Richard himself which insured that when the crisis came, the bulwark was ready, even though it were doomed to prove unavailing in the end. The last and mightiest of the many mighty fortresses reared by Angevin hands since the first great builder of the race had begun his castle-building in the Loire valley was the Château-Gaillard, the "saucy castle" of Richard the Lion-heart. He "fixed its site where the Seine bends suddenly at Gaillon in a great semicircle to the north, and where the valley of Les Andelys breaks the line of the chalk cliffs along its banks. Blue masses of woodland crown the distant hills; within the river curve lies a dull reach of flat meadow, round which the Seine, broken with green islets and dappled with the grey and blue of the sky, flashes like a silver bow on its way to Rouen."³ Some three-quarters of a league from the right bank of the river, in a valley opening upon it from the eastward and watered by the little stream of Gambon, stood the town of Andely. Between the town and the river stretched a lake, or rather perhaps a marsh,⁴ through which the Gambon and another lesser rivulet descending from the hills to

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 79, 80.

² *Ib.* p. 80. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 42.

³ I copy Mr. Green's picture, *Hist. of the English People*, vol. i. p. 187.

⁴ Now dried up. See Deville, *Hist. du Château-Gaillard*, pp. 27, 28.

the north of Andely found their way by two separate issues into the Seine, nearly opposite two islets, of which the larger and more northerly was known as the Isle of Andely.¹ The space enclosed between the three rivers and the marsh seems to have been a tract of waste land, occupied only by a toll-house for the collection of dues from the vessels passing up and down the Seine²—dues which formed one of the most important items in the revenue of the archbishop of Rouen, to whom Andely and its neighbourhood belonged.³ Over against this spot, on the southern bank of the Gambon, in the angle formed by its junction with the Seine, a mass of limestone crag rose abruptly to the height of three hundred feet. Its western side, almost perpendicular, looked down upon the great river, the northern, scarcely less steep, over the Gambon and the lake beyond; to the north-east and south-west its rocky slopes died down into deep ravines, and only a narrow neck of land at its south-eastern extremity connected it with the lofty plateau covered with a dense woodland known as the Forest of Andely, which stretches along the eastern side of the Seine valley between Andely and Gaillon. One glance at the site was enough to rivet a soldier's gaze. If, instead of the metropolitan church of Normandy, a lay baron had owned the soil of Andely, we may be sure that long ago that lofty brow would have received its fitting crown; if the power of Fulk the Builder had reached to the banks of the Seine, we may doubt whether the anathemas of the Norman primate would not have availed as little to wrest such a spot from his grasp as those of the archbishop of Tours had availed to wrest from him the site of Montrichard. But a greater castle-builder than Fulk Nerra himself was the architect of Château-Gaillard.

¹ "Est locus Andelii qui nunc habet insula nomen." Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. v. 29 (Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 126; Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 169).

² See a charter of Archbishop Malger (11th century) and one of Pope Eugene III., a. 1148, quoted in Deville as above, p. 26, note 2.

³ The archbishops seem to have looked upon Andely as their most profitable territorial possession; Rotrou called it his "unicum vivendi subsidium" .Rotr. Ep. xxiv., *Rer. Gall. Scriptt.*, vol. xvi. p. 632; Walter called it "patrimonium ecclesie solum et unicum" (R. Diceto, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 148).

Richard's historical connexion with the "rock of Andely" has its ill-omened beginning in a ghastly story of the fate of three French prisoners whom he flung from its summit into the ravine below, in vengeance for the slaughter of some Welsh auxiliaries who had been surprised and cut to pieces by the French king's troops in the neighbouring valley.¹ By the opening of 1196, however, he had devised for it a more honourable use. In a treaty with Philip, drawn up in January of that year, the fief of Andely was made the subject of special provisions whereby it was reserved as a sort of neutral zone between the territories of the two kings, and a significant clause was added: "Andely shall not be fortified."² As by the same treaty the older bulwarks of Normandy—Nonancourt, Ivry, Pacy, Vernon, Gaillon, Neufmarché, Gisors—were resigned into Philip's hands, this clause, if strictly fulfilled, would have left the Seine without a barrier and Rouen at the mercy of the French king. The agreement in short, like all those which bore the signatures of Philip and Richard, was made only to be broken; both parties broke it without delay; and while Philip was forming his league with the Bretons for the ruin of Anjou, Richard was tracing out in the valley of the Gambon and on the rock of Andely the plan of a line of fortifications which were to interpose an insurmountable barrier between his Norman capital and the French invader. His first act was to seize the Isle of Andely.³ Here he built a lofty octagonal tower, encircled by a ditch and rampart, and threw a bridge over the river from each side of the island, linking it thus to either shore.⁴ On the right, beyond the eastern bridge, he traced out the walls of a new town, which took the name of the New or the Lesser Andely,⁵ a secure stronghold whose

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 151.

² Treaty in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 66. For date see Rigord (Duchesne as above), p. 39.

³ Letter of Walter of Rouen (a. 1196), R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 148, 149. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 14, and Will. Newb., l. v. c. 34 (Howlett, vol. ii. p. 499).

⁴ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 29-43 (Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 126; Duchesne as above, p. 169).

⁵ A poet of the thirteenth century, William Guiart, calls it "le Nouvel-Andeli." It is known now as "le Petit-Andely." Deville as above, p. 26.

artificial defences of ramparts and towers were surrounded by the further protection of the lake on its eastern side, the Seine on the west, and the two lesser rivers to north and south, a bridge spanning each of these two little streams forming the sole means of access from the mainland.¹ The southern bridge, that over the Gambon, linked this New Andely with the foot of the rock which was to be crowned with the mightiest work of all. Richard began by digging out to a yet greater depth the ravines which parted this rock from the surrounding heights, so as to make it wholly inaccessible save by the one connecting isthmus at its south-eastern extremity. On its summit, which formed a plateau some six hundred feet in length and two hundred in breadth at the widest part, he reared a triple fortress. The outer ward consisted of a triangular enclosure; its apex, facing the isthmus already mentioned, was crowned by a large round tower,² with walls ten feet in thickness; the extremities of its base were strengthened by similar towers, and two smaller ones broke the line of the connecting curtain-wall. This was surrounded by a ditch dug in the rock to a depth of more than forty feet, and having a perpendicular counter-scarp. Fronting the base of this outer fortress across the ditch on its north-western side was a rampart surmounted by a wall ninety feet long and eight feet thick, also flanked by two round towers; from these a similar wall ran all round the edges of the plateau, where the steep sides of the rock itself took the place of rampart and ditch. The wall on the south-west side—the river-front—was broken by another tower, cylindrical without, octagonal within; and its northern extremity was protected by two mighty rectangular bastions. Close against one of these stood a round tower, which served as the base of a third enclosure, the heart and citadel of the whole fortress. Two-thirds of its elliptical outline, on the east and south, were formed by a succession of semicircular bastions, or segments of towers, seventeen in number, each parted from its neighbour by scarcely more

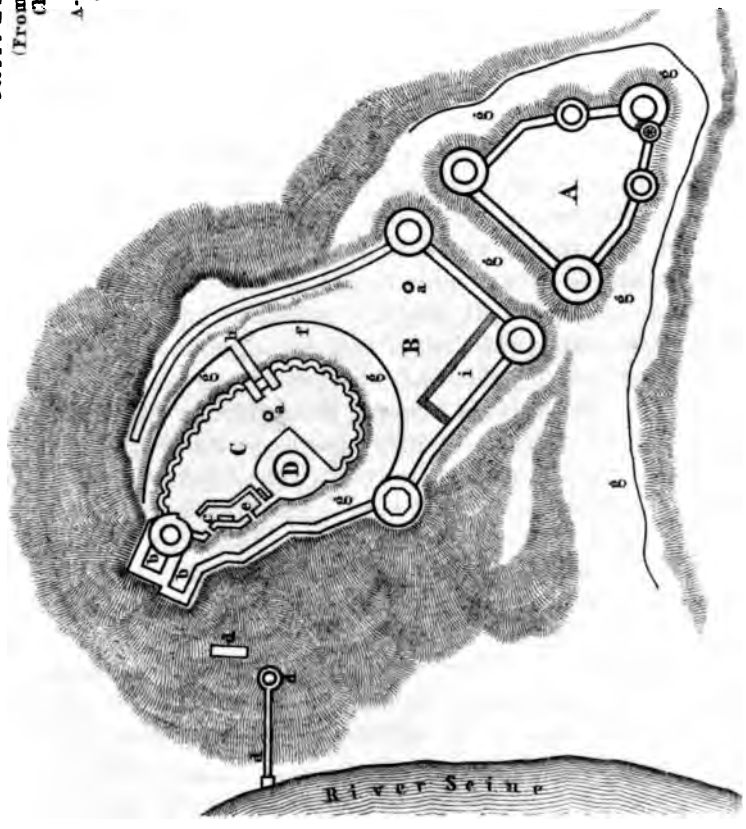
¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 81. Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 27.

² Now known as "tour de la Monnaie." Deville as above, p. 30, note 1.

CHATEAU-GAILLARD

(From Deville, "Histoire du Chateau-Gaillard").

- A - Outer ward, second ward,
 - C - Citadel, D - keep, a - wells,
 - b - bastions, c - staircases,
 - d - communicating with d-
 - e - outworks leading to river,
 - e - dwelling - apartments,
 - f - entrance to casemates,
 - g - ditch, h - bridge,
 - loading into citadel,
 - i - collar and chapel
- (built by John, A.D. 1202).





than two feet of curtain-wall—an arrangement apparently imitated from the fortress of Cherbourg, which was accounted the greatest marvel of military architecture in Normandy, until its fame was eclipsed by that of Richard's work.¹ This portion of the enclosure was built upon a rampart formed by the excavation of a ditch about fifteen to twenty feet in width; the counterscarp, like that of the outer ditches, was perpendicular; and a series of casemates cut in the rock ran along on this side for a distance of about eighty feet. On the western side of the citadel stood the keep, a mighty circular tower, with walls of the thickness of twelve feet, terminating at an angle of twenty feet in depth where it projected into the enclosure; it had two or perhaps three stages,² and was lighted by two great arched windows, whence the eye could range at will over the wooded hills and dales of the Vexin, or the winding course of the river broadening onward to Rouen. Behind the keep was placed the principal dwelling-house, and under this a staircase cut out of the rock gave access to an underground passage leading to some outworks and a tower near the foot of the hill, whence a wall was carried down to the river-bank, just beyond the northern extremity of a long narrow island known as the "isle of the Three Kings"—doubtless from some one of the many meetings held in this district by Louis VII. or Philip Augustus and the two Henrys.³ The river itself was barred by a double stockade, crossing its bed from shore to shore.⁴

All this work was accomplished within a single year.⁵ Richard, who had watched over its progress with unremitting care, broke into an ecstasy of delight at its completion; he

¹ See Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 34, and the passage there quoted from *Hist. Gaufr. Ducis* (Marchegay, *Comtes d'Anjou*, p. 300).

² See Deville as above, p. 38, note 2.

³ *Ib.* p. 36. The island is now joined to the mainland; *ib.* note 1.

⁴ For description see Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 81; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 48-85 (*ib.* pp. 169, 170; Deville as above, pp. 126, 127), and Deville as above, pp. 25-40.

⁵ That is, the castle on the rock, built 1197-1198. See the story of the rain of blood in May 1198 (R. Diceto, Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 162), which fixes its completion after that date. The tower on the island and the Nouvel-Andely were the work of the previous year, 1196-1197.

called his barons to see "how fair a child was his, this child but a twelvemonth old";¹ he called it his "saucy castle," "Château-Gaillard,"² and the name which he thus gave it in jest soon replaced in popular speech its more formal title of "the Castle on the Rock of Andely."³ The hardness of the rock out of which the fortifications were hewn was not the sole obstacle against which the royal builder had had to contend. Richard had no more thought than Fulk Nerra would have had of asking the primate's leave before beginning to build upon his land; the work therefore was no sooner begun than Archbishop Walter lifted up his protest against it; obtaining no redress, he laid Normandy under interdict and carried his complaint in person to the Pope.⁴ Richard at once sent envoys to appeal against the interdict and make arrangements for the settlement of the dispute.⁵ Meanwhile, however, he pushed on the building without delay. Like Fulk of old, the seeming wrath of Heaven moved him as little as that of its earthly representatives; a rain of blood which fell upon the workmen and the king himself, though it scared all beside, failed to shake his determination; "if an angel had come down out of the sky to bid him stay his hand, he would have got no answer but a curse."⁶ He had now, however, made his peace with the Church; in the

¹ "Ecce quam pulcra filia unius anni!" J. Bromton, Twysden, *X. Scriptt.*, col. 1276.

² "Totamque munitionem illam vocavit Gaillardum, quod sonat in Gallico petulantiam." Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 81.

³ "Castrum" or "castellum de Rupe Andeleii" or "Andeliaci," it is called in the charters of Richard and John. The first document in which it appears as "Château-Gaillard" is a charter of S. Louis, "actum in castro nostro Gaillard," A.D. 1261; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 40. Will. Armor. however uses the name, and other writers soon begin to copy him.

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 14. Cf. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 28 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 487, 488), R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 70, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 544.

⁵ The envoys were William of Longchamp, William bishop of Lisieux and Philip elect of Durham; Rog. Howden (as above), pp. 16, 17. They must have started early in 1197, for William of Longchamp died on the journey, at Poitiers, on January 31 or February 1; see above, p. 373, note 4.

⁶ Will. Newb., l. v. c. 34 (as above, p. 500). This is William's last sentence. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 162, also tells of the portent, and gives its date, May 8, 1198.

spring of 1197 he offered to the archbishop an exchange of land on terms highly advantageous to the metropolitan see; and on this condition the Pope raised the interdict in May of the same year.¹ The exchange was carried through on October 16,² and ratified by John in a separate charter, a step which seems to indicate that John was now recognized as his brother's heir.³

It was probably about the same time that the treaty with Flanders, the corner-stone of the league which Richard was forming against the king of France, was signed within the walls of the new fortress.⁴ Yet, as has been already seen, the coalition was not fully organized till late in the following summer; and even then the complicated weapon hung fire. Want of money seems to have been Richard's chief difficulty, now as ever—a difficulty which after Hubert Walter's defeat in the council at Oxford and his resignation in the following July must have seemed well-nigh insurmountable. At last, however, in the spring of 1199, a ray of hope came from a quarter where it was wholly unexpected. Richard was leading his mercenaries through Poitou to check the viscount of Limoges and the count of Angoulême in a renewal of their treasonable designs⁵ when he was met

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 17-19. Will. Newb., l. v. c. 34 (Howlett, vol. ii. pp. 499, 500).

² Richard's charter, of which Deville gives a fac-simile in his *Château-Gaillard*, p. 18, and a printed copy in his "pièces justificatives," *ib.* pp. 113-118, is also in R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 154-156. According to this last writer (*ib.* pp. 158, 159), and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs, vol. i. p. 544), the settlement was due to the mediation of Archbishop Hubert.

³ See Deville, as above, pp. 21, 22. John's charter is in the "pièces justificatives," *ib.* pp. 119-123.

⁴ R. Diceto (as above), p. 153.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 80, says merely that Richard was on his way to Poitou. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 94, says he was marching against the viscount of Limoges, to punish him for a treasonable alliance with the French king. The writer of the *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 280, says "expeditionem direxerat adversus comitem Engolismensem"; and that Angoulême had some share in the matter appears also from the confused story of Gerv. Cant. (as above), pp. 592, 593, who makes Richard receive his death-wound while besieging "castrum comitis Engolismi, quod Nantrum erat appellatum." A joint rebellion of the lords of Limoges and Angoulême would be very natural, for they were half-brothers. On the other hand, the two men were very likely to be confounded by historians, for they both bore the same name, Ademar. See above, p. 220 and note 3.

by rumours of a marvellous discovery at Châlus in the Limousin. A peasant working on the land of Achard, the lord of Châlus, was said to have turned up with his plough a treasure¹ which popular imagination pictured as nothing less than "an emperor with his wife, sons and daughters, all of pure gold, and seated round a golden table."² In vain did Achard seek to keep his secret and his prize to himself. Treasure-trove was a right of the overlord, and it seems to have been at once claimed by the viscount Ademar of Limoges, as Achard's immediate superior. His claim, however, had to give way to that of his own overlord, King Richard; but when he sent to the king the share which he had himself wrung from Achard, Richard indignantly rejected it, vowing that he would have all. This Achard and Ademar both refused, and the king laid siege to Châlus.³

This place, not far from the western border of the Limousin, is now represented by two villages, known conjointly as Châlus-Chabrol, and built upon the summits of two low hills, at whose foot winds the little stream of Tardoire. Each hill is crowned by a round tower of late twelfth-century work: the lower one is traditionally said to be the keep of the fortress besieged by Richard with all his forces at Mid-Lent 1199.⁴ In vain did Achard, who was utterly unprepared to stand a siege, protest his innocence and offer to submit to the judgement of the French king's court, as supreme alike over the duke of Aquitaine and over his vassals: in vain did he beg for a truce till the holy season

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. Lucerna, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, vol. v. c. 2, 155. Rigord *ib.* p. 42 describes the finder as a soldier.

² "Qui posteros, quo tempore fuerant, certum habant memoriam," aids Rigord as above, p. 43. Is it possible that the thing can have been a real relic of some of the old Gothic kings of Aquitania?

³ This seems to be the only way of reconciling the different accounts in Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 32, Rigord as above, p. 42, Will. Armor. as above, and R. Cuggesnail Stevenson, p. 14.

⁴ Will. Armor. as above, says the treasure was discovered *inter* Mid-Lent. But Rog. Howden as above, p. 34, *Gene. Cant. Stubbs*, vol. i. p. 493, R. Cuggesnail Stevenson, p. 95, and the *Ann. of Margam, Winton, and Waverl.* a. 1199 Laard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. p. 24, vol. ii. pp. 71, 251, all tell us that Richard received his death-wound on March 20—Friday, the morrow of Mid-Lent—and R. Cuggesnail aids that this was the third day of the siege, which must therefore have begun on Wednesday, March 24.

should be past; in vain, when the outworks were almost wholly destroyed and the keep itself undermined,¹ did he ask leave to surrender with the honours of war for himself and his men. Richard was inexorable; he swore that he would hang them all.² With the courage that is born of despair, Achard, accompanied by six knights and nine serving-men, retired into the keep, determined to hold it until death.³ All that day—Friday, March 26⁴—Richard and his lieutenant Mercadier, the captain of his mercenaries,⁵ prowled vainly round the walls, seeking for a point at which they could assault them with safety.⁶ Their sappers were all the while undermining the tower.⁷ Its defenders, finding themselves short of missiles, began throwing down beams of wood and fragments of the broken battlements at the miners' heads.⁸ They were equally short of defensive arms; one of the little band stood for more than half the day upon a turret, with nothing but a frying-pan for a shield against the bolts which flew whistling all around him, yet failed to drive him from his post.⁹ At last the moment came for which he had been waiting so long and so bravely. Just as Richard, unarmed save for his iron head-piece, paused within

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 155.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 82. Cf. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 593.

³ Will. Armor. as above.

⁴ See above, p. 382, note 4.

⁵ On this man's history see an article by H. Géraud—"Mercadier; les Routiers au xiii^e siècle"—in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, ser. i. vol. iii. pp. 417 et seq. The writers of his own time call him "Marcadeus," "Mercaderius," in every possible variety of spelling; in a charter of his own, printed by Géraud (as above, p. 444), his style is "ego Merchaderius"; it seems best therefore to adopt the form "Mercadier," which Géraud uses. He was a Provençal by birth (Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, Luard, vol. ii. p. 421). He makes his first historical appearance in 1183, in Richard's service, amid the disorders in Aquitaine after the death of the young king (Geoff. Vigois, l. ii. c. 25, Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 340). He reappears by Richard's side at Vendôme in 1194 (Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 256); about this time Richard endowed him with the lands of Bainac in Périgord (see his own charter, a. 1195, as referred to above, and Géraud's comments, *ib.* pp. 423-427). He played a considerable part in Richard's wars with Philip (see authorities collected by Géraud, as above, pp. 428-431), remained, as we shall see, with Richard till his death, and afterwards helped Eleanor to regain Anjou for John. He was slain at Bordeaux in April 1200 (Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. iv. p. 114).

⁶ Rog. Howden (as above), p. 82.

⁷ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 94.

⁸ *Ibid.* Will. Armor. as above.

⁹ R. Coggeshall, p. 95.

bow-shot of the turret, this man caught sight of an arrow which had been shot at himself from the besieging ranks—seemingly, indeed, by Richard's own hand—and had stuck harmlessly in a crevice of the wall within his reach. He snatched it out, fitted it to his cross-bow, and aimed at the king.¹ Richard saw the movement and greeted it with a shout of defiant applause; he failed to shelter himself under his buckler; the arrow struck him on the left shoulder, just below the joint of the neck, and glancing downwards penetrated deep into his side.² He made light of the wound,³ gave strict orders to Mercadier to press the assault with redoubled vigour,⁴ and rode back to his tent as if nothing was amiss.⁵ There he rashly tried to pull out the arrow with his own hand.⁶ The wood broke off, the iron barb remained fixed in the wound; a surgeon attached to the staff of Mercadier was sent for, and endeavoured to cut it out; unluckily, Richard was fat like his father, and the iron, buried deep in his flesh, was so difficult to reach that the injuries caused by the operator's knife proved more dangerous than that which had been inflicted by the shaft of the hostile crossbow-man.⁷ The wounded side grew more swollen and inflamed day by day; the patient's constitutional restlessness, aggravated as it was by pain, made matters worse;⁸ and at last mortification set in.⁹

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 156. Cf. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 82.

² "Percussitque regem super humerum sinistrum juxta colli spondilia, sicque arcuato vulnere telum dilapsum est deorsum ac lateri sinistro immersum." R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 95. See also the briefer accounts of the scene and the wound in Rog. Howden and Will. Armor. as above, and Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 593.

³ R. Coggeshall as above.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* R. Coggeshall as above.

⁶ R. Coggeshall as above. Rog. Howden (as above), p. 83, lays the blame of this unskillful operation upon the doctor.

⁷ Rog. Howden and R. Coggeshall as above.

⁸ The English writers—Rog. Howden and R. Coggeshall—try to shift the blame of their king's death as much as possible upon the foreign surgeon. Will. Armor. (as above) attributes it wholly to Richard's disregard of the doctor's orders; and even R. Coggeshall (Stevenson, p. 96) is obliged to add at last "rege præcepta medicorum non curante." Rog. Wendover. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 135, says the arrow was poisoned, but this seems to be only an inference from the result.

⁹ R. Coggeshall as above.

Then Richard, face to face with death, came to his better self once more, and prepared calmly and bravely for his end. Until then he had suffered no one to enter the chamber where he lay save four barons whom he specially trusted, lest the report of his sickness should be bruited about,¹ to discourage his friends or to rejoice his foes. Now, he summoned all of his followers who were within reach to witness his solemn bequest of all his dominions to his brother John, and made them swear fealty to John as his successor.² He wrote to his mother, who was at Fontevraud, requesting her to come to him ;³ he bequeathed his jewels to his nephew King Otto, and a fourth part of his treasures to be distributed among his servants and the poor.⁴ By this time Châlus was taken and its garrison hung, according to his earlier orders—all save the man who had shot him, and who had apparently been reserved for his special judgement. Richard ordered the man to be brought before him. "What have I done to thee," he asked him, "that thou shouldst slay me?" "Thou hast slain my father and two of my brothers with thine own hand, and thou wouldst fain have killed me too. Avenge thyself upon me as thou wilt ; I will gladly endure the greatest torments which thou canst devise, since I have seen thee upon thy death-bed." "I forgive thee," answered Richard, and he bade the guards loose him and let him go free with a gift of a hundred shillings.⁵ The

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 96.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 83. And this, although he and John had parted on bad terms shortly before. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 99. *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 287.

³ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 96.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. the different account of the captive's demeanour in Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 593. It seems impossible to make out who this man really was. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 166, the Ann. Margam, a. 1199 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. p. 24), the anonymous continuator of Geoff. Vigeois (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 342) and Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 135, call him Peter Basilius or Basilii. Gervase calls him John Sabraz ; Rog. Howden, Bertrand de Gourdon ; and Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 156), Guy, without any surname at all. But as Géraud proves (art. "Mercadier," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, ser. i. vol. iii. pp. 433, 434, 442), it cannot have been Bertrand de Gourdon ; for the only man who is known to have borne that name was still living in 1231, while Rog. Howden himself tells us that Richard's pardon did not avail to save the life

story went that Richard had not communicated for nearly seven years, because he could not put himself in charity with Philip.¹ Now, on the eleventh day after his wound—April 6, the Tuesday in Passion-week²—he made his confession to one of his chaplains, and received the Holy Communion. His soul being thus at peace, he gave directions for the disposal of his body. It was to be embalmed; the brain and some of the internal organs were to be buried in the ancient Poitevin abbey of Charroux; the heart was to be deposited in the Norman capital, where it had always found a loyal response; the corpse itself was to be laid, in token of penitence, at his father's feet in the abbey-church of Fontevraud.³ Lastly, he received extreme unction; and then, "as the day drew to its close, his day of life also came to its end."⁴ His friends buried him as he had wished. S. Hugh of Lincoln, now at Angers on his way to protest against a fresh spoliation of his episcopal property, came to seal his forgiveness by performing the last rites of the Church over this second grave at Fontevraud,⁵ where another Angevin king was thus "shrouded among the shrouded women"—his own

of his slayer. Mercadier detained the man till the king was dead, and then had him flayed and hanged; Rog. Howden (Stubbs', vol. iv. p. 84;—or, according to another account, he sent him to Jane, and it was she who took this horrible vengeance for her brother's death. Ann. Winton. a. 1199 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 71).

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 96. This must be, at any rate, an exaggeration; for Richard had certainly communicated upon at least one occasion within the last five years—at his crowning at Winchester in April 1194. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 526.

² R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 166; Gerv. Cant. (as above), p. 593; Rog. Howden as above; Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 136; Ann. Winton. and Waverl. a. 1199 (Luard as above, pp. 71, 251); Geoff. Vigois Contin. (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii.), p. 342. R. Coggeshall as above, and the Chron. S. Flor. Salm. a. 1199 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 194), make it April 7; on the part of R. Coggeshall, however, this is clearly a mere slip, for he rightly places the death on the eleventh day after the wound. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 42, and the Chron. S. Serg. a. 1199 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 151), date it April 8, and the Ann. Margam, a. 1199 (Luard, as above, vol. i. p. 24), April 10.

³ Rog. Howden as above. Cf. Rog. Wend. as above.

⁴ "Cum jam dies clauderetur, diem clausit extremum." R. Coggeshall as above.

⁵ *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 286. The funeral was on Palm Sunday; *ibid.*

mother, doubtless, in their midst.¹ He was laid to sleep in the robes which he had worn on his last crowning-day in England, five years before.² His heart was enclosed in a gold and silver casket, carried to Rouen, and solemnly deposited by the clergy among the holy relics in their cathedral church;³ and men saw in its unusual size⁴ a fit token of the mighty spirit of him whom Normandy never ceased to venerate as Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

¹ She seems not to have got his letter in time to see him alive. Berengaria was at Beaufort in Anjou, whither S. Hugh turned aside to visit and comfort her on his way from Angers to Fontevraud; and the state of intense grief in which he found her supplies another proof of Richard's capacity for winning love which he did not altogether deserve. *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 286.

² Ann. Winton. a. 1199 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 71).

³ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. v. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 157.

⁴ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 593. According to the Ann. Winton. as above, it was "paulo majus pomo pini."

CHAPTER IX.

THE FALL OF THE ANGEVINS.

1199-1206.

"IN the year 1199," says a contemporary French writer, "God visited the realm of France; for King Richard was slain."¹ Richard's death was in truth the signal for the break-up of the Angevin dominions to the profit of the French Crown. John, who was at the moment in Brittany, hurried southward as soon as he heard the news. Three days after the funeral—on April 14, the Wednesday before Easter—he arrived at Chinon, the seat of the Angevin treasury; the wardens of the castle² welcomed him as their lord in his brother's stead; the household of the late king came to meet him and acknowledged him in like manner, after receiving from him a solemn oath that he would carry out Richard's testamentary directions and maintain the customs of the lands over which he was called to rule.³ On this understanding the treasury was given up to him by the Angevin seneschal, Robert of Turnham.⁴ After keeping Easter at Beaufort,⁵ he proceeded into Normandy; here he was received without opposition, and on the Sunday after Easter was invested with the sword, lance and coronet of

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 80.

² "A proceribus quibusdam *Anglorum* castrum ipsum servantibus." *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 86. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 99.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 87.

the duchy by Archbishop Walter at Rouen.¹ As the lance was put into his hands he turned with characteristic levity to join in the laughing comments of the young courtiers behind him, and in so doing let the symbol of his ducal authority fall to the ground. His irreverent behaviour and refusal to communicate on Easter-day had already drawn upon him a solemn warning from S. Hugh; and this fresh example of his profane recklessness, and its consequence, were noted as omens which later events made but too easy of interpretation.² For the moment, however, the Normans were willing to transfer to Richard's chosen successor the loyalty which they had shewn towards Richard himself; and so, too, were the representatives of the English Church and baronage who happened to be on the spot, Archbishop Hubert and William the Marshal.³ But in the Angevin lands Philip's alliance with the Bretons, fruitless so long as Richard lived, bore fruit as soon as the lion-heart had ceased to beat. While Philip himself invaded the county of Evreux and took its capital,⁴ Arthur was at once sent into Anjou with a body of troops;⁵ his mother, released or escaped from her prison, joined him at the head of the Breton forces;⁶ they marched upon Le Mans, whence John himself only escaped the night before it fell into their hands;⁷ Angers was given up to them by its governor, a nephew of the seneschal Robert of Turnham;⁸ and on Easter-day,⁹ while John was actually holding court within fifteen miles of them at Beaufort, the barons of Anjou, Touraine and Maine held a council at which Arthur was unanimously acknowledged as lawful heir to his uncle Richard according to the customs of the three counties, and their capital cities were surrendered to him at once.¹⁰ At Le

¹ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 166. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 87, 88. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 99. *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 293.

² *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), pp. 291-294.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 86.

⁴ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 43. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 80. Cf. R. Coggeshall as above. ⁵ Rigord as above.

⁶ Cf. R. Coggeshall as above, and *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 296, with Rog. Howden as above, p. 87. ⁷ *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* as above.

⁸ Rog. Howden as above, p. 86.

⁹ Chron. S. Albin. a. 1199 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 50).

¹⁰ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 86, 87. Cf. R. Coggeshall as above.

Mans he met the French king and did homage to him for his new dominions, Constance swearing fealty with him.¹ Shortly afterwards, at Tours, Constance formally placed her boy, who was now twelve years old, under the guardianship of Philip; and Philip at once took upon himself the custody and the administration of all the territories of his ward.²

Neither in personal influence nor in political skill, however, was Constance a match for her mother-in-law. Eleanor was, as has been seen, at Fontevraud when Richard died. Feeling and policy alike inclined her to favour the cause of his chosen successor, her own only surviving son, rather than that of a grandson whom most likely she had never even seen. She therefore effected a junction with Mercadier and his Brabantines as soon as they had had time to march up from Châlus, and the whole band of mercenaries, headed by the aged queen and the ruthless but faithful Provençal captain, overran Anjou with fire and sword to punish its inhabitants for their abandonment of John.³ Having given this proof of her undiminished energy, Eleanor, to take away all pretext for French intermeddling in the south, went to meet Philip at Tours and herself did homage to him for Poitou.⁴ By this means Aquitaine was secured for John. John himself had made a dash into Maine and burned Le Mans in vengeance for the defection of its citizens.⁵ He could, however, venture upon no serious attempt at the reconquest of the Angevin lands till he had secured his hold upon Normandy and England; and for this his presence was now urgently needed on the English side of the Channel.

Archbishop Hubert and William the Marshal had already returned to England charged with a commission from John to assist the justiciar Geoffrey Fitz-Peter in maintaining order there until the new king should arrive.⁶ The precaution was far from being a needless one. The news of

¹ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 43.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 87. The Chron. S. Albin. a. 1200 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 51) places this a year later.

³ Rog. Howden as above, p. 88.

⁴ Rigord as above.

⁵ Rog. Howden as above, p. 87. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 99.

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 86.

Richard's death reached England on Easter Eve ; and its consequences appeared the very next morning, when some of the nobles and knights went straight from their Easter feast to begin a course of rapine and depredation which recalls the disorders after the death of Henry I., and which was only checked by the return of the primate. Hubert at once excommunicated the evil-doers,¹ and, in concert with the Marshal, summoned all the men of the realm to swear fealty and peaceable submission to John, as heir of Henry Fitz-Empress. The peace, however, was not so easy to keep now as it had been during the interval between Henry's death and Richard's coronation. Since then John himself had set an example which those whom he now claimed as his subjects were not slow to follow. All who had castles, whether bishops, earls or barons, furnished them with men, victuals and arms, and assumed an attitude of defence, if not of defiance ; and this attitude they quitted only when the archbishop, the marshal and the justiciar had called all the malcontents to a conference at Northampton, and there solemnly promised that John should render to all men their rights, if they would keep faith and peace towards him. On this the barons took the oath of fealty and liege homage to John. The king of Scots refused to do the like unless his lost counties of Northumberland and Cumberland were restored to him, and despatched messengers charged with these demands to John himself ; the envoys were, however, intercepted by the archbishop and his colleagues, and the Scot king was for a while appeased by a promise of satisfaction when the new sovereign should arrive in his island-*realm*.²

On May 25 John landed at Shoreham ; next day he reached London ;³ on the 27th—Ascension-day—the bishops and barons assembled for the crowning in Westminster abbey.⁴ John's coronation is one of the most memorable in English history. It was the last occasion on which the old English doctrine of succession to the crown was formally asserted

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 98.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 88, 89.

³ *Ib.* p. 89.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 89, 90. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. pp. 166. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 99, 100.

and publicly vindicated and that more distinctly than it had ever been since the Norman conquest. In the midst of the crowded church the archbishop stood firm and spoke: 'Hearken all ye that are here present. Be it known unto you that no man hath any antecedent right to succeed another in the kingdom, except he be unanimously chosen by the whole realm after invocation of the Holy Spirit's grace, and unless he be also manifestly thereunto called by the pre-existence of his character and conversation. After the pattern of David the first anointed king, whom God set over his people although he was not of royal race and likewise after him David, the one being chosen for his energy and fitness for the regal dignity, the other for his humility and wisdom: that is, he who surpassed all other men of the realm in vigour should also be preferred before them in authority and power. But indeed if there be one of the dead king's race who excelleth, that one should be the more promptly and willingly chosen. And these things have I spoken in behalf of the noble Count John here present, the brother of our late illustrious King Richard, now deceased without direct heir: and forasmuch as we see him to be prudent and vigorous, we all, after invoking the Holy Spirit's grace, for his merits no less than his royal blood, have with *our consent* chosen him for our king.'¹ The archbishop's hearers wondered at his speech, because they could not see any occasion for it; but none of them disputed his doctrine: still less did they dispute its immediate practical application. 'Long live King John!' was the unanimous response;² and, disregarding a protest from Bishop Philip of Durham against the accomplishment of such an important rite in the absence of his metropolitan Geoffrey of York,³ Archbishop Hubert proceeded to anoint and crown the king. A foreboding which he could not put aside, however, moved him to make yet another significant interpolation in the ritual. When he tendered to the king-elect the usual oath for the defence of the Church, the redressing of wrongs and the maintenance of justice, he added a solemn personal adjuration to John, in

¹ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard.), vol. ii. pp. 454-455.

² Rog. Howden (Stubbs.), vol. iv. p. 90.

Heaven's name, warning him not to venture upon accepting the regal office unless he truly purposed in his own mind to perform his oath. John answered that by God's help he intended to do so.¹ But he contrived to omit the act which should have sealed his vow. For the first and last time probably in the history of Latin Christendom, the king did not communicate upon his coronation-day.²

On that very day he made his arrangements for the government of the realm which he was already anxious to leave as soon as he could do so with safety. Geoffrey Fitz-Peter was confirmed in his office of justiciar, William in that of marshal, and both were formally invested with the earldoms whose lands and revenues they had already enjoyed for some years—Geoffrey with the earldom of Essex, William with that of Striguil. At the same time, in defiance alike of precedent, of ecclesiastical propriety, and of the warnings of an old colleague in the administration, Hugh Bardulf, Archbishop Hubert undertook the office of chancellor.³ Next day John received the homage of the barons, and went on pilgrimage to S. Alban's abbey;⁴ he afterwards visited Canterbury and S. Edmund's,⁵ and thence proceeded to keep the Whitsun feast at Northampton.⁶ An interchange of embassies with the king of Scots failed to win either the restitution of the two shires on the one hand, or the required homage on the other; William threatened to invade the disputed territories if they were not made over to him within forty days; John retorted by giving them in charge to a new sheriff, the brave and loyal William de Stuteville, and by appointing new guardians to the temporalities of York, as security for the defence of the north against the Scots,⁷ while he himself hurried back to the sea, and on June 20 sailed again for Normandy.⁸

¹ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 140.

² *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), p. 293.

³ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 90, 91.

⁴ Rog. Wend. as above. ⁵ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 166.

⁶ *Ibid.* Rog. Howden as above, p. 91, says *Nottingham*; but John was at Northampton on Whit-Monday according to Sir T. D. Hardy's *Itin. K. John*, a. 1 (*Introd. Pat. Rolls*).

⁷ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 91, 92.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 92. R. Diceto (as above) says June 19, but Sir T. D. Hardy's *Itinerary*, a. 1 (as above), shews John at Shoreham on the 20th.

On Midsummer-day he made a truce with Philip for three weeks.¹ At its expiration the two kings held a personal meeting; John's occupation of his brother's territories without previous investiture from and homage to Philip was complained of by the latter as an unpardonable wrong; and John was required to expiate it by the cession of the whole Vexin to Philip in absolute ownership, and of Poitou and the three Angevin counties for the benefit of Arthur. This John refused.² His fortunes were not yet so desperate as to compel him to such humiliation. He had already secured the alliance of Flanders;³ his nephew Otto, now fully acknowledged by the Pope as Emperor-elect, was urging him to war with France and promising him the aid of the imperial forces;⁴ and his refusal of submission to Philip was at once followed by offers of homage and mutual alliance from all those French feudataries who had been in league with Richard against their own sovereign.⁵ The war began in September, with the taking of Conches by the French king; this was followed by the capture of Ballon. Philip, however, chose to celebrate these first successes by levelling Ballon to the ground. As the castle stood upon Cenomannian soil, it ought, according to the theory proclaimed by Philip himself, to have been handed over by him to Arthur; Arthur's seneschal William des Roches therefore remonstrated against its demolition as an injury done to his young lord. Philip retorted that "he would not for Arthur's sake stay from dealing as he pleased with his own acquisitions." The consequence was a momentary desertion of all his Breton allies. William des Roches not only surrendered to John the city of Le Mans, which Philip and Arthur had intrusted to him as governor, but contrived to get the boy-duke of Brittany out of Philip's custody and bring him to his uncle, who received him into seeming favour and peace.⁶ That very day, however, a

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 93.

² *Ib.* pp. 94, 95.

³ The count of Flanders did homage to John at Rouen on August 13 [1199].

Ib. p. 93.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 95, 96.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 95.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 96. This must have been on September 22; see Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 1 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

warning reached Arthur of the fate to which he was already doomed by John ; and on the following night he fled away to Angers with his mother and a number of their friends. Among the latter was the viscount Almeric of Thouars, who had just been compelled to resign into John's hands the office of seneschal of Anjou and the custody of the fortress of Chinon, which he held in Arthur's name ; and it seems to have been shortly afterwards that Constance, apparently casting off Ralf of Chester without even an attempt at divorce, went through a ceremony of marriage with Almeric's brother Guy.¹

The year's warfare again ended in a truce, made in October to last till S. Hilary's day.² Its author was that Cardinal Peter of Capua³ who had negotiated the last truce between Philip and Richard, and who now found another occupation in punishing the matrimonial sins of the French king :—Philip having sent away his queen Ingeborg of Denmark immediately after his marriage with her in 1193, and three years later taken as his wife another princess, Agnes of Merania.⁴ At a Church council at Dijon on December 6, 1199, the legate passed a sentence of interdict upon the whole royal domain, to be publicly proclaimed on the twentieth day after Christmas⁵—the very day on which Philip's truce with John would expire. It was no doubt the prospect of this new trouble which moved Philip, when he met John in conference between Gaillon and Les Andelys,⁶ to accept terms far more favourable to the English king than those which he had offered six months before. As a pledge of future peace and amity between the two kings, Philip's son Louis was to marry John's niece Blanche,

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 96, 97. The marriage of Guy and Constance must however have been legalized somehow, for their child was ultimately acknowledged as heiress of Brittany.

² *Ib.* p. 97. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.) p. 43, says S. John's day.

³ Rog. Howden as above.

⁴ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 224, 306, 307. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 111. Rigord (as above), pp. 36, 37, 40, 42. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), pp. 77, 78. "Merania" is Moravia. Rigord and William both call the lady Mary, but all scholars seem agreed that Agnes was her real name.

⁵ Rigord (as above), p. 43. Will. Armor. (as above), p. 80. Cf. R. Diceto (as above), pp. 167, 168.

⁶ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 106.

a daughter of his sister Eleanor and her husband King Alfonso of Castille; John was to bestow upon the bride, by way of dowry, the city and county of Evreux and all those Norman castles which had been in Philip's possession on the day of Richard's death; he was also to give Philip thirty thousand marks of silver, and to swear that he would give no help to Otto for the vindication of his claim to the Empire. The formal execution of the treaty was deferred till the octave of midsummer; and while the aged queen-mother Eleanor went to fetch her granddaughter from Spain, John at the end of February took advantage of the respite to make a hurried visit to England,¹ for the purpose of raising the thirty thousand marks which he had promised to Philip. This was done by means of a carucage or aid of three shillings on every ploughland.² As a scutage of a most unusual amount—two marks on the knight's fee—had already been levied since John's accession, this new impost was a sore burthen upon the country. The abbots of some of the great Cistercian houses in Yorkshire withstood it as an unheard-of infringement of their rights, to which they could not assent without the permission of a general chapter of their order. John in a fury bade the sheriffs put all the White Monks outside the protection of the law. The remonstrances of the primate compelled him to revoke this command; but he rejected all offers of compromise on the part of the monks, and "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord" went over sea again at the end of April.³ As France had been suffering the miseries of an interdict ever since January,⁴ Philip was now growing eager for peace. He therefore met John at Gouleton, between Vernon and Les Andelys, on May 22, and there a treaty was signed. Its solid advantages were wholly on the side of John. In

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 106, 107. John crossed on February 24; Ann. Winton, a. 1200 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 73).

² R. Coggleshall (Stevenson), p. 101. Rog. Howden as above, p. 107.

³ R. Coggleshall (Stevenson), pp. 102, 103. The date of John's crossing lies between April 28 and May 2. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 1 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁴ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 43; Rog. Howden as above, p. 112. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 168, says only since Mid-Lent.

addition to the concessions made in January, he did indeed resign in favour of Blanche and her bridegroom his claims upon the fiefs of Berry ; but the thirty thousand marks due to Philip were reduced to twenty thousand ; Arthur was acknowledged as owing homage to his uncle for Brittany ; and John was formally recognized by the French king as rightful heir to all the dominions of his father and his elder brother.¹ On the morrow Louis and Blanche were married, by the archbishop of Bordeaux, and on Norman soil, in consequence of the interdict in France ;² and on the same day, at Vernon, John received in Philip's presence Arthur's homage for Brittany,³ Philip having already accepted that of John for the whole continental dominions of the house of Anjou.⁴

The next six weeks were spent by John in a triumphant progress southward, through Le Mans, Angers, Chinon, Tours and Loches, into Aquitaine, where he remained until the end of August.⁵ While there, he received the homage of his brother-in-law Count Raymond of Toulouse for the dower-lands of Jane,⁶ who had died in the preceding autumn.⁷ Of all these successes, however, John went far to cast away the fruit by a desecration of the marriage-bond almost as shameless and quite as impolitic as that which had brought upon Philip the wrath of Rome. He persuaded the Aqi-

¹ Treaty in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 79, and Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 148-151. Its date is not quite clear ; the document itself bears only "mense Maii" ; Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 43) says it was made on Ascension-day (May 18) ; Rog. Howden (as above, p. 114) begins by placing it at the date for which it had been originally fixed—the octave of S. John Baptist—but in the next page corrects this into "xi kalendas Junii, feria secunda," *i.e.* Monday, May 22. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 103, believed the thirty thousand marks to have been paid in full. The remission of ten thousand of them clearly made no difference to England ; they were pocketed by John.

² Rog. Howden as above, p. 115. He says it was at Portmort, on the morrow of the treaty—*i.e.* according to his reckoning, on Tuesday, May 23. Rigord however (as above), p. 44, dates it "at the same place, on the Monday after [Ascension]," *i.e.* Gouleton, May 22. Hardy's *Itinerary*, a. 2, shews John at La Roche-Andelys (Château-Gaillard) daily from May 17 to May 25. The places however are all close together.

³ Rog. Howden as above.

⁴ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 101.

⁵ See Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 2 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 124.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 96.

tanian and Norman bishops to annul his marriage with his cousin Avice of Gloucester, apparently by making them believe that the dispensation granted by Clement III. had been revoked by Innocent.¹ Instead however of restoring to Avice the vast heritage which had been settled upon her at her betrothal, he gave her county of Gloucester to her sister's husband Count Almeric of Evreux as compensation for the loss of his Norman honour,² and apparently kept the remainder of her estates in his own hands. These proceedings were enough to excite the ill-will of a powerful section of the English baronage. John's next step was a direct challenge to the most active, turbulent and troublesome house in all Aquitaine. He gave out that he desired to wed a daughter of the king of Portugal, and despatched an honourable company of ambassadors, headed by the bishop of Lisieux, to sue for her hand; after these envoys had started, however, and without a word of notice to them, he suddenly married the daughter of Count Ademar of Angoulême.³ Twenty-nine years before, Richard, as duke of Aquitaine, had vainly striven to wrest Angoulême from Ademar in behalf of Matilda, the only child of Ademar's brother Count Vulgrin III. Matilda was now the wife of Hugh "the Brown" of Lusignan, who in 1179 or 1180 had in spite of King Henry made himself master of La Marche,⁴ and whose personal importance in southern Gaul was increased by the rank and fame which his brothers Geoffrey, Guy and Almeric had won in the kingdoms of Palestine and Cyprus. His son by Matilda—another Hugh the Brown—had through Richard's good offices been betrothed in boyhood to his infant cousin Isabel, Ademar's only child; the little girl was educated with her future hus-

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 103, says the divorce was made "*per mandatum domini Papæ . . . propter consanguinitatis lineam.*" But R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 167, says it was made because John was "*sublimioris thori spe raptatus,*" and adds: "*unde magnam summi pontificis, scilicet Innocentii tertii, et totius curiæ Romanæ indignationem incurrit.*" He dates it 1199, and attributes it to the Norman bishops; Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 119, places it in 1200, and names only the archbishop of Bordeaux and the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes.

² R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 101.

³ R. Diceto as above, p. 170.

⁴ See above, p. 220.

band, and it was hoped that in due time their marriage would heal the family feud and unite the lands of Angoulême and La Marche without possibility of further dissension. No sooner however did Count Ademar discover that a king wished to marry his daughter than he took her away from her bridegroom; and at the end of August she was married to John at Angoulême by the archbishop of Bordeaux.¹

Heedless of the storm which this marriage was sure to raise in Aquitaine, John in the first days of October carried his child-queen with him to England, and on the 8th was crowned with her at Westminster.² His first business in England was to renew his persecution of the Cistercians;³ the next was to arrange a meeting with the king of Scots. This took place in November at Lincoln, where John, defying the tradition which his father had carefully observed, ventured to present himself in regal state within the cathedral church.⁴ The two kings held their colloquy on a hill outside the city; William performed his long-deferred homage,⁵ although his renewed demand for the restitution of the northern shires was again put off till Whitsuntide.⁶ Next day the king of England helped with his own hands to carry the body of the holy bishop Hugh to its last resting-place in the minster which he had himself rebuilt.⁷ Some haunting remembrance of Hugh's saintlike face, as he had seen it in London only a few weeks before the good bishop's death,⁸ may have combined with a sense that the White Monks were still too great a power in the land to be

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 119, 120. Cf. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 103. No one gives a date; but John was at Angoulême on August 26 (Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 2, *Intr. Pat. Rolls*); and "his settlement on Isabella is dated Aug. 30. *Rot. Chart.*, p. 75" (Stubbs, *Rog. Howden*, vol. iv. p. 168, note 1). Rog. Howden and R. Coggeshall both say this marriage was advised by Philip.

² Rog. Howden as above, p. 139. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 170. R. Coggeshall as above, with a wrong date.

³ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 103, 104.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 140, 141.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 141.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 142.

⁷ *Ibid.* R. Diceto as above, p. 171. *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), pp. 370, 371.

⁸ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 140, 141.

defied with impunity, and moved John on the following Sunday to make full amends to the Cistercian abbots, promising to seal his repentance by founding a house of their order¹—a promise which he redeemed by the foundation of Beaulieu abbey, in the New Forest.² After keeping Christmas at Guildford³ he came back again to Lincoln, and quarrelled with the canons about the election of a new bishop.⁴ He thence went northward, accompanied by his queen, through Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Cumberland, taking fines everywhere for offences against the forest-law. At Mid-Lent he was at York,⁵ and on Easter-day he and Isabel wore their crowns at Canterbury.⁶ A few days later, rumours of disturbances in Normandy and in Poitou caused him to issue orders for the earls and barons of England to meet him at Portsmouth at Whitsuntide, ready with horses and ships to accompany him over sea. The earls however held a meeting at Leicester, and thence by common consent made answer to the king that they would not go with him “unless he gave them back their rights.” It is clear that they already looked upon personal service beyond sea as no longer binding upon them without their own consent, specially given for a special occasion. John retorted by demanding the surrender of their castles, beginning with William of Aubigny’s castle of Beauvoir, which William was only suffered to retain on giving his son as a hostage.⁷ This threat brought the barons to Portsmouth on the appointed day; but the quarrel ended in a compromise. After despatching his chamberlain Hubert de Burgh, with a hundred knights, to act as keeper of the Welsh marches, and sending William the Marshal and Roger

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 107-110. *Mag. Vita S. Hug.* (Dimock), pp. 377, 378.

² On Beaulieu see R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 147; *Ann. Waverl.* a. 1204 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 256); and Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. v. pp. 682, 683.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 172. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 156.

⁴ Rog. Howden as above.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 157. See details of his movements in Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 2 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁶ Rog. Howden as above, p. 160. R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 172.

⁷ Rog. Howden as above, pp. 160, 161.

de Lacy, each with a hundred mercenaries, to resist the enemies in Normandy, John took from the remainder of the host a scutage in commutation of their services, and bade them return to their own homes.¹ On Whit-Monday the queen crossed to Normandy, and shortly afterwards her husband followed.²

After a friendly meeting near the Isle of Andelys,³ Philip invited John to Paris, where he entertained him with the highest honours, vacating his own palace for the reception of his guest, and loading him with costly gifts.⁴ From Paris John went to meet his sister-in-law, Richard's queen Berengaria, at Chinon,⁵ where he seems to have chiefly spent the rest of the summer. He came back to Normandy in the autumn,⁶ and the Christmas feast at Argentan⁷ passed over in peace; but trouble was fast gathering on all sides. Philip was at last free of his ecclesiastical difficulties, for Agnes of Merania was dead, and he had taken back his wife.⁸ John was now in his turn to pay the penalty for his unwarrantable divorce and his lawless second marriage. As if he had not already done enough to alienate the powerful house of Lusignan by stealing the plighted bride of its head,⁹ he had now seized the castle of Driencourt, which belonged to a brother of Hugh the Brown, while its owner was absent in England on business for the king himself;¹⁰ and he had further insulted the barons of Poitou by summoning them to clear themselves in his court from a general

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 163.

² *Ib.* p. 164.

³ *Ibid.* John was at the Isle June 9-11, and again June 25-27 [1201]. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 3 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁴ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 44. Rog. Howden as above; on the date see Bishop Stubbs's note 1, *ibid.*

⁵ Rog. Howden as above. The purpose was to settle with her about her dowry; *ibid.*, and p. 172 and note 2.

⁶ See Hardy as above.

⁷ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 167.

⁸ Rigord as above. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 81. Rog. Howden as above, pp. 146-148.

⁹ Strictly speaking, its future head. The elder Hugh, father of Isabel's bridegroom, lived till 1206.

¹⁰ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vi. (Duchesne, as above), p. 159. This was Ralf of Issoudun, a brother of the elder Hugh, and count of Eu in right of his wife.

charge of treason against his late brother and himself, by ordeal of battle with picked champions from England and Normandy. They scorned the summons,¹ and appealed to the king of France, John's overlord as well as theirs, to bring John to justice for their wrongs.² On March 25 Philip met John at Gouleton,³ and peremptorily bade him give up to Arthur all his French fiefs, besides sundry other things, all of which John refused.⁴ Hereupon Philip sent, through some of the great French nobles,⁵ a citation to John, as duke of Aquitaine, to appear in Paris fifteen days after Easter at the court of his lord the king of France, to stand to its judgement, to answer to his lord for his misdoings, and to undergo the sentence of his peers.⁶ John made no attempt to deny Philip's jurisdiction; but he declared that, as duke of Normandy, he was not bound to obey the French king's citation to any spot other than the traditional trysting-place on the border. Philip replied that his summons was addressed to the duke of Aquitaine, not to the duke of Normandy, and that his rights over the former were not to be annulled by the accidental union of the two dignities in one person.⁷ John at length yielded so far as to promise that on the appointed day he would present himself before the court in Paris, and would give up to Philip the two castles of Tillières and Boutavant as security for his abiding by the settlement then to be made. The day however came and went without either the surrender of the forts or the appearance of John.⁸ The court of the

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 176.

² R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 135. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 81; *Philipp.*, l. vi. (*ibid.*) p. 159.

³ R. Diceto (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 174.

⁴ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 167.

⁵ "Per proceres regni Francorum." R. Coggeshall as above.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 135, 136. The date fixed for the trial—April 29 [1202]—is from Rigord (Duchesne as above), p. 44. This writer and Will. Armor. (*Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above) give a version somewhat different from Ralf's, saying that Philip summoned John to do right to Philip himself for the counties of Anjou, Touraine and Poitou. William however in the *Philipp.* (as above) substantially agrees with the English writer as to the ground of Philip's complaint.

⁷ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 136.

⁸ Will. Armor. as above, pp. 81, 161.

French peers condemned him by default, and sentenced him to be deprived of all his lands.¹

Philip at once marched upon Normandy to execute the sentence by force of arms. He began by taking Boutavant² and Tillières;³ thence he marched straight up northward by Lions,⁴ Longchamp, La Ferté-en-Bray,⁵ Orgueil and Mortemer,⁶ to Eu;⁷ all these places fell into his hands. Thus master of almost the whole Norman border from the Seine to the sea, he turned back to lay siege on July 8 to Radepont on the Andelle, scarcely more than ten miles from Rouen. Dislodged at the end of a week by John,⁸ he again withdrew to the border. The castle of Aumale and the rest of its county were soon in his hands.⁹ Hugh of Gournay alone, the worthy bearer of a name which for generations had been almost a synonym for loyalty to the Norman ducal house, still held out in his impregnable castle; Philip however, by breaking down the embankment which kept in the waters of a reservoir communicating with the river and the moat, let loose upon the castle a flood which undermined its walls and almost swept it away, thus compelling its defenders to make their escape and take shelter as best they could in the neighbouring forest.¹⁰ At Gournay Philip bestowed upon Arthur the hand of his infant daughter Mary,¹¹

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 136.

² *Ibid.* Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 168. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 45. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 81; *Philipp.*, l. vi. (*ibid.*), p. 161. Boutavant was a small fortress built by Richard in 1198, on the Seine, four miles above Château-Gaillard, on the border-line between Normandy and France (Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above. Rog. Howden, Stubbs, vol. iv. p. 78). Philip had retorted by building hard by it a rival fortress which he called Gouleton (Rog. Howden as above)—the scene of his treaty with John in May 1202; see above, p. 396.

³ Will. Armor. as above.

⁴ Rog. Wend. and Will. Armor. *Philipp.* as above.

⁵ Will. Armor. as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 81. Rigord (*ibid.*), p. 45.

⁷ Rog. Wend. as above.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 167; he says Philip besieged Radepont for eight days. John got there on July 15; Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 4 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁹ R. Coggeshall as above.

¹⁰ Rog. Wend. as above, pp. 167, 168. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above; *Philipp.* (*ibid.*), pp. 161, 162.

¹¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above, p. 82; *Philipp.* (*ibid.*), p. 162. Cf. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 137. Mary (or Jane, as Rigord calls her) was

the honour of knighthood,¹ and the investiture of all the Angevin dominions except the duchy of Normandy,² which he evidently intended to conquer for himself and keep by right of conquest.

What John had been doing all this time it is difficult to understand. Between the middle of May and the end of June he had shifted his quarters incessantly, moving through the whole length of eastern Normandy, from Arques to Le Mans; throughout July he was chiefly in the neighbourhood of Rouen;³ but, except in the one expedition to Radepont, he seems to have made no attempt to check the progress of his enemies. After the knighting of Arthur at Gournay, however, he tried to make a diversion by sending a body of troops into Brittany. With their duchess dead⁴ and their young duke absent, the Bretons were in no condition for defence; Dol and Fougères were taken by John's soldiers, and the whole country ravaged as far as Rennes.⁵ This attack stung Arthur into an attempt at independent action which led to his ruin. He and Philip divided their forces;

one of the two children of Agnes of Merania, legitimized by Innocent III.; cf. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 81, and Rigord (*ibid.*), p. 44.

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 137. Rigord as above, p. 45; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 82; *Philipp.* (*ibid.*), p. 162. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 94, says that Arthur was knighted by Philip when he first did him homage in 1190.

² Rigord as above. The order of the campaign above described is not easy to make out, for no two contemporary writers name the castles in the same order. Taking geography for a guide, it would at first glance seem more natural that Philip should have gone to Radepont from Tillières, and that the whole northward expedition should come afterwards. But it is certain that the siege of Radepont happened July 8-13 (see above, p. 403, note 8); and on the one hand, the northern campaign, or at any rate part of it, seems needed to fill up the interval between the breaking-out of the war at the beginning of May and July 8; while on the other, it seems impossible to crowd in the whole campaign between July 13 and the knighting of Arthur, which clearly took place before that month had expired. Lions, however, was not taken till after May 29, for on that day John was there; Hardy, *Ann. R. John.* 2. 4 (*Ann. Fitz. Rawl.*).

³ See Hardy, as above, 2. 3, 4, *ibid.*

⁴ Constance died September 3 or 4, 1201. Chron. Brit. ad ann. Marice. *ibid.* *Brit. chron.*, vol. 2, cols. 60, 100.

⁵ Will. Armor. *Philipp.* as above, p. 103. In the *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above, he places this after Arthur's capture. In both works he says that John did all this in Brittany; but Hardy's *Annals* as above shows that John did it vicariously.

while the French king led the bulk of his army northward to the siege of Arques,¹ Arthur with two hundred knights² moved southward to Tours,³ sending forward a summons to the men of his own duchy and those of Berry to meet him there for an expedition into Poitou.⁴ At Tours he was met by the disaffected Aquitanian chiefs:—the injured bridegroom young Hugh of La Marche, and two of his uncles, Ralf of Issoudun the dispossessed count of Eu, and Geoffrey of Lusignan, the inveterate fighter who had taken a leading part in every Aquitanian rising throughout the last twenty-two years of Henry's reign, who after being Richard's bitterest foe at home had been one of his best supporters in Palestine, and who had come back, it seems, to join in one more fight against his successor. The three kinsmen, however, brought together a force of only seventy-five knights; to which a Gascon baron, Savaric of Mauléon, added thirty more, and seventy men-at-arms.⁵ Arthur, mere boy of fifteen though he was, had enough of the hereditary Angevin wariness to shrink from attempting to act with such a small force, and in accordance with Philip's instructions proposed to wait for his expected allies.⁶ But the Poitevins would brook no delay; and a temptation now offered itself which was irresistible alike to them and to their young leader. On her return from Castille with her granddaughter Blanche in the spring of 1200, Queen Eleanor, worn out with age and fatigue, had withdrawn to the abbey of Fontevraud,⁷ where she apparently remained throughout the next two years. The rising troubles of her duchy, however, seem to have brought her forth from her retirement once more, and she

¹ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 45. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 138. Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 169.

² Rog. Wend. as above, p. 168.

³ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vi. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 162. Rigord as above.

⁴ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne as above), p. 82. To the Bretons and the men of Berry he adds "Allobroges." What can they have had to do in the case, or what can he mean by the name?

⁵ Will. Armor. *Philipp.* as above. He says Geoffrey brought twenty picked knights, Ralf forty, and Hugh fifteen. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 137, makes the total force of Arthur and the Poitevins together two hundred and fifty knights.

⁶ Will. Armor. as above, p. 163. ⁷ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 114.

was now in the castle of Mirebeau, on the border of Anjou and Poitou. All John's enemies knew that his mother was, in every sense, his best friend. She was at once his most devoted ally and his most sagacious counsellor, at least in all continental affairs; moreover, in strict feudal law, she was still duchess of Aquitaine in her own right, a right untouched by the forfeiture of John; and she therefore had it in her power to make that forfeiture null and void south of the Loire, so long as she lived to assert her claims for John's benefit.¹ To capture Eleanor would be to bring John to his knees; and with this hope Arthur and his little band laid siege to Mirebeau.²

John, however, when once roused, could act with all the vigour and promptitude of his race. On July 30, as he was approaching Le Mans, he received tidings of his mother's danger; on August 1 he suddenly appeared before Mirebeau.³ The town was already lost, all the gates of the castle save one were broken down, and Eleanor had been driven to take refuge in the keep; the besiegers, thinking their triumph assured, were surprised and overpowered by John's troops, and were slain or captured to a man, the Lusignans and Arthur himself being among the prisoners.⁴ Philip, who was busy with the siege of Arques, left it and hurried southward on hearing of this disaster;⁵ John however at once put an end to his hopes of rescuing Arthur by

¹ On the relations of Eleanor, John, and Aquitaine see Bishop Stubbs's note to *W. Coventry*, vol. ii., pref. p. xxxiv, note 1. His conclusion is that "certainly the legal difficulties were much greater than Philip's hasty sentences of forfeiture could solve."

² *Will. Armor. Philipp.*, l. vi. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 164; *Gesta Phil. Aug. (ibid.)*, p. 82. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 137. *Rog. Wend. (Coxe)*, vol. iii. p. 168.

³ These dates are given by John himself in a letter to the barons of England, inserted by R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 137, 138. *Hardy's Itin. K. John*, a. 4 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*), shews John at Bonport on July 30, and then gives no further indication of his whereabouts till August 4, when he appears at Chinon.

⁴ R. Coggeshall as above. *Rog. Wend.* as above, p. 169. Cf. Rigord (Duchesne as above), p. 45; *Will. Armor. Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above; and *Philipp. (ibid.)*, pp. 164, 165. According to this last, John got into Mirebeau by night, by a fraudulent negotiation with William des Roches.

⁵ *Rog. Wend.*, Rigord, and *Will. Armor. Gesta Phil. Aug.*, as above.

sending the boy to prison at Falaise;¹ and Philip, after taking and burning Tours,² withdrew into his own domains.³ John in his turn then marched upon Tours, and vented his wrath at its capture by completing its destruction.⁴ Shortly afterwards he had the good luck to make prisoner another disaffected Aquitanian noble, the viscount of Limoges.⁵ It was however growing evident that he would soon have nothing but his own resources to depend upon. His allies were falling away; the counts of Flanders, Blois and Perche and several of the other malcontent French barons had taken the cross and abandoned the field of western politics to seek their fortunes in the East;⁶ he had quarrelled with Otto of Germany;⁷ William des Roches, after pleading in vain for Arthur's release, was organizing a league of the Breton nobles which some of the Norman border-chiefs were quite ready to join, and by the end of October the party thus formed was strong enough to seize Angers and establish its head-quarters there.⁸ It was probably the knowledge of all this which in the beginning of 1203 made John transfer his captive nephew from the castle of Falaise to that of Rouen.⁹ Sinister rumours of Arthur's fate were already in circulation, telling how John had sent a ruffian to blind him at Falaise, how the soldiers who kept him had frustrated the design, and how their commandant, John's chamberlain Hubert de Burgh, had endeavoured to satisfy the king by giving out

¹ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. pp. 169, 170. Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vi. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 165.

² Rigord (Duchesne, as above), p. 45. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 82.

³ Rog. Wend. (as above), p. 170. He adds "residuum anni illius imbellis peregit."

⁴ Rigord as above. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 138.

⁵ Rigord as above. This was Guy, son and successor to Ademar, who had been slain in 1199 by Richard's son Philip in vengeance for the quarrel which had led to Richard's death. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. p. 97.

⁶ Rigord and Will. Armor. as above.

⁷ In 1200 Otto had demanded the lands and the jewels bequeathed to him by Richard; John had refused to give them up. Rog. Howden as above, p. 116.

⁸ Chron. S. Albin. a. 1202 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 51). R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 139. The former gives the date, Wednesday before All Saints' day.

⁹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 143. Rog. Wend. as above. Will. Armor. *Philipp.* as above, p. 166.

that Arthur had died of wounds and grief and ordering funeral services in his memory, till the threats of the infuriated Bretons drove him to confess the fraud for the sake of John's own safety.¹ How or when Arthur really died has never yet been clearly proved. We only know that at Easter 1203 all France was ringing with the tidings of his death, and that after that date he was never seen alive. In his uncle's interest an attempt was made to suggest that he had either pined to death in his prison, or been drowned in endeavouring to escape across the Seine;² but the general belief, which John's after-conduct tends strongly to confirm, was that he had been stabbed and then flung into the river by the orders, if not actually by the hands, of John himself.³

The fire which had been smouldering throughout the winter in Brittany now burst into a blaze. The barons and prelates of the duchy, it is said, held a meeting at Vannes, and thence sent to the king of France, as overlord alike of Arthur and of John, their demand for a judicial inquisition before the peers of the realm—that is, before the supreme feudal court of France—into John's dealings with their captive duke.⁴ A citation was accordingly sent to John, as duke of Normandy, either to present Arthur alive,⁵ or to come and stand his trial before the French king's court on a charge of murder. John neither appeared nor sent any defence; the court pronounced him worthy of death, and sentenced him and his heirs to forfeiture of all the lands and honours which he held of the Crown of France.⁶ The trial seems to have been held shortly after Easter. The legal force of the sentence need not be discussed here.⁷ Its moral justice can

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 139-141.

² Mat. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Madden), vol. ii. p. 95.

³ On Arthur's death see note at end of chapter.

⁴ Le Baud, *Hist. de Bretagne*, pp. 209, 210, with a reference to Robert Blondel, a writer of the fifteenth century. On the value of this account see Bishop Stubbs, pref. to *W. Coventry*, vol. ii. p. xxxii, note 3.

⁵ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 143-145.

⁶ Proclamation of Louis of France, a. 1216, in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 140. Ann. Margam, a. 1204 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. p. 27). Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 373. Le Baud as above, p. 210. Stubbs, *W. Coventry*, vol. ii. pref. p. xxxii.

⁷ Bishop Stubbs's remark (*W. Coventry*, vol. ii. pref. p. xxxiv, note 1), quoted

hardly be disputed, so far as John himself is concerned; and Philip's action did little more than precipitate the consequences which must sooner or later have naturally resulted from John's own deed. John in committing a great crime had committed an almost greater blunder. Arthur's death left him indeed without a rival in his own house. It left him sole survivor, in the male line, alike of the Angevin and Cenomannian counts and of the ducal house of Normandy. Even in the female line there was no one who could be set up against him as representative of either race. Eleanor of Brittany, the only remaining child of his brother Geoffrey, was a prisoner in her uncle's keeping. The sons of his sister Matilda had cast in their lot with their father's country and severed all ties with their mother's people; the children of his sister Eleanor were still more complete strangers to the political interests of northern Gaul, and the only one of them who was known there at all was known only as the wife of the heir to the French crown. But these very facts set John face to face with a more dangerous rival than any of the ambitious kinsmen with whom the two Williams or the two Henrys had had to contend. They drove his disaffected subjects to choose between submission to him and submission to Philip Augustus. The barons of Anjou, of Maine, of Brittany or of Normandy had no longer any chance of freeing themselves from the yoke of the king from over-sea who had become a stranger to them all alike, save by accepting in its stead the yoke of the king with whom they had grown familiar through years of political and personal intercourse, and whom, in theory at least, even their own rulers had always acknowledged as their superior. Anjou, Maine and Brittany had all resolved upon Richard's death that they would not have John to rule over them; Normandy was now fast coming to the same determination. Under the existing circumstances it would cost them little or no sacrifice to accept their titular overlord as their real and immediate sovereign. So long as Arthur lived, Philip had been compelled to veil his ambition under a shew of zeal for Arthur's

above, p. 406, note 1, applies to this case also. On the vexed question as to the composition of the court I do not feel bound to enter here at all.

rights ; now he could fling aside the veil, and present himself almost in the character of a deliverer. If the barons did not actually hail him as such, they were at any rate for the most part not unwilling to leave to him the responsibility of accomplishing their deliverance, and to accept it quietly from his hands.

Philip took the field as soon as the forfeiture was proclaimed. Within a fortnight after Easter he had taken Saumur¹ and entered Aquitaine ; there he seems to have spent some weeks in taking sundry castles, with the help of the Bretons and the malcontent Poitevin nobles.² One great Norman baron, the viscount of Beaumont, had already openly joined the league against John ;³ and as Philip turned northward again, the count of Alençon formally placed himself and all his lands at the disposal of the French king.⁴ Thus secure of a strong foothold on the southern frontier of Normandy, and already by his last year's conquests master of its north-eastern border from Eu to Gisors, Philip set himself to win the intervening territory—the remnant of the viscounty of Evreux. One by one its castles—Conches,⁵ Vaudreuil⁶ and many others—fell into his hands. Messenger after messenger came to John as he sat idle in his palace at Rouen,⁷ all charged with the same story : “The king of France is in your land as an enemy, he is taking your castles, he is binding your seneschals to their horses' tails and leading them shamefully to prison, and he is dealing with your goods according to his own will and pleasure.” “Let him alone,” John answered them all alike ; “I shall win back some day all that he is taking from me now.” The barons who still claved to him

¹ Chron. S. Albin. a. 1203 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 52).

² Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 46. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug. (ibid.)*, p. 82 ; both under a wrong year, viz. 1202 instead of 1203.

³ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 139.

⁴ Rigord and Will. Armor. as above.

⁵ Rigord as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 143.

⁷ John was not literally there all the while ; but he only quitted it for short excursions, never going further than Moulineaux, Pont-de-l'Arche, Orival or Montfort, from the middle of May till the beginning of August, when he suddenly went as far west as Caen, and thence as suddenly south again to Falaise and Alençon. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 5 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

grew exasperated as they watched his unmoved face and heard his unvarying reply ; some of them began to attribute his indifference to the effects of magic ; all, finding it impossible to break the spell, turned away from him in despair. One by one they took their leave and withdrew to their homes, either passively to await the end, or actively to join Philip. Even Hugh of Gournay, who had held out so bravely and so faithfully a year ago, now voluntarily gave up his castle of Montfort.¹ Not till near the middle of August did John make any warlike movement ; then he suddenly laid siege to Alençon ; but at Philip's approach he fled in a panic ;² an attempt to regain Brezolles ended in like manner,³ and John relapsed into his former inactivity. That the conqueror did not march straight to the capture of Rouen, that he in fact made no further progress towards it for six whole months, was owing not to John but to his predecessor. Richard's favourite capital was safe, so long as it was sheltered behind the group of fortifications crowned by his "saucy castle" on the Rock of Andely.

Upon the winning of Château-Gaillard, therefore, Philip now concentrated all his energies and all his skill. There was no hope of voluntary surrender here ; John had given the fortress in charge to Roger de Lacy the constable of Chester, an English baron who had no stake in Normandy, whose private interests were therefore bound up with those of the English king, and who was moreover a man of dauntless courage and high military capacity.⁴ The place was only to be won by a regular siege. Crossing the Seine higher up, perhaps at Vernon, Philip led his troops along its left bank, and encamped in the peninsula formed by the bend of the river just opposite Les Andelys. The garrison of the fort in the Isle of Andely no sooner beheld his approach than they destroyed the bridge between the island and the left bank. Philip was thus deprived of the means not only of reaching

¹ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. pp. 171, 172.

² Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p.

82. John was at Alençon August 11-15 ; Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 5 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

³ Will. Armor. as above.

⁴ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 144. Rog. Wend. as above, p. 180.

them, but also of opening communications with the opposite shore ; for this could only be done with safety at some point below Château-Gaillard, and the transport of the materials needful for the construction of a bridge or pontoon was barred by the stockade which crossed the river-bed directly under the foot of the castle-rock. The daring of a few young Frenchmen, however, soon cleared this obstacle away. While the king brought up his engines close to the water's edge and kept the garrison of the island-fort occupied with the exchange of a constant fire of missiles, a youth named Gaubert of Mantes with a few bold comrades plunged into the water, each with an axe in his hand, and, regardless of the stones and arrows which kept falling upon them from both sides, hewed at the stockade till they had made a breach wide enough for boats to pass through in safety. A number of the broad flat-bottomed barges used for transport were then hastily collected from the neighbouring riverside towns, and moored side by side across the stream ; these served as the foundation of a wooden bridge, which was further supported with stakes and strengthened with towers, and by means of which Philip himself, with the larger part of his host, crossed the river to form a new encampment under the walls of the Lesser Andely. The garrison of the Isle were thus placed between two fires ;¹ and the whole Vexin was laid open as a foraging-ground for the besieging army, while the occupants of the Lesser Andely and of Château-Gaillard itself found their communications and their supplies cut off on all sides.²

John was now again hovering about at a safe distance in the neighbourhood.³ To the peril of Château-Gaillard his fatuous indifference was at last beginning to yield. A

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), pp. 82, 83 ; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 86-131 (*ib.* p. 170 ; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 127-129).

² Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 132-139 (Duchesne, p. 170 ; Deville, p. 129).

³ "Non multum distabat a loco illo" says Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, as above), p. 83. The date must fall between August 16, when John was at Alençon, and September 5, when he was at Bonneville. His whereabouts during the interval vary between Chambray, Trianon, Montfort and Rouen. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 5 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

year ago he had shewn some appreciation of his brother's work, by making an addition to the buildings in the second ward;¹ and he had shewn his sense of the military importance of the place yet more significantly, by appointing Roger de Lacy as its commander. He now gathered up all his remaining forces—still, it seems, a formidable array²—with the apparent intention of dislodging the French from Les Andelys. As Philip's biographer remarks, however, John feared and hated the light; he resolved, according to his wont, upon a night attack; and even that attack he did not lead in person.³ He intrusted its command indeed to a far braver man than himself, but a man who was better fitted for action in the light of day than for such deeds of darkness as John delighted in. William the Marshal, the favourite comrade-in-arms of the younger King Henry, the faithful friend and servant of the elder one even unto death, the honoured minister of Richard, still clave to the last survivor of the house which he had loved so long and so well. To him John confided his plan for the relief of Les Andelys. The marshal was to lead a force of three hundred knights, three thousand mounted serving-men and four thousand foot, with a band of mercenaries under a chief called Lupicar,⁴ along the left bank of the Seine, and to fall under cover of darkness upon the French camp in the peninsula. Meanwhile seventy transport-vessels, constructed by Richard to serve either for sea or river-traffic, and as many more as could be collected, were to be laden with provisions for the besieged garrison of the Isle, and con-

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 84; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 737-746 (*ib.* p. 181; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 145).

² "Maximum congregaverat exercitum." Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.*, as above, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 140-143, 188-194 (*ib.* pp. 170, 171; Deville as above, pp. 129, 130).

⁴ On this man see Géraud, *Les Routiers* (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, ser. i. vol. iii. p. 132). In his native tongue he was called "Lobar"; in Latin he appears as "Lupicarius," "Lupescarus," "Lupatius." M. Géraud calls him in French "Louvar"; the name was doubtless an assumed one, meaning "wolf." He was a fellow-countryman and old comrade-in-arms of Mercadier; Mat. Paris introduces them both at once, in 1196, as "natione Provinciales"—"qui duces fuerunt catervæ quam ruttam vocamus, militantes sub comite Johanne regis fratre."

voyed up the river by a flotilla of small war-ships, manned by pirates¹ under a chief named Alan, and carrying, besides their own daring and reckless crews, a force of three thousand Flemings. Two hundred strokes of the oar, John reckoned, would bring these ships to the French pontoon; they must break it if they could; if not, they could at least co-operate with the land-forces under the Marshal in cutting off the northern division of the French army from its comrades and supplies on the left bank, and throw into the island-fort provisions enough to save it from the necessity of surrender till John himself should come to its relief.

The flower of the French host, as John knew, had crossed the river with its king. Those who remained in the peninsula were hampered by the presence of a crowd of unwarlike serving-men, sutlers and camp-followers, many of whom, after spending the day in drunken revelry, were lying asleep in the fields outside the camp. The night was drawing to its close—for the cock had crowed thrice—when the Marshal's troops fell upon these sleepers and slew more than two hundred of them as they lay. The soldiers within the camp quickly caught the alarm; in their terror they rushed to the pontoon in such numbers that it broke under their weight, and they sought safety in swimming across the river to join their comrades on the opposite shore. These however had now been aroused by the tumult; the bravest of the French knights, headed by William des Barres, confronted the fugitives with indignant reproaches for their cowardice, and drove them back across the stream. By the light of torches and fires, hastily kindled, the whole host was soon got under arms, the bridge repaired, and the Marshal's troops, surprised in their turn while groping about in the darkness of the deserted camp, were routed with heavy loss. The victors, thinking the fight was over, went back to their

Chron. Maj. (Luard), vol. ii. p. 421. Lupicar however had made his first historical appearance some years earlier than Mercadier, as a leader of the Brabantines in the Limousin, about 1177. See Geoff. Vigeois, l. i. c. 70 (*Labbe, Novæ Biblioth.*, vol. ii. p. 324).

¹ It seems a strange return to long-past times to hear of "pirates" sailing up the Seine to attack a king of the French. Of what nationality are these men likely to have been?

sleeping-quarters, but had scarcely reached them when they were roused up again, to see, in the dim light of the August sunrise, the hostile fleet bearing down upon them. In a few minutes the two river-banks and the pontoon were lined with armed Frenchmen. Still the boats held on their course till the foremost of them touched the bridge; and despite a ceaseless shower of arrows from either shore, and of stones, iron missiles, and boiling oil and pitch from the engines mounted on the wooden turrets of the bridge, the crews began to hew at the cables and stakes in a desperate effort to break it down, and kept its defenders at bay till the Seine ran red with blood. At last an enormously heavy oaken beam fell directly upon the two foremost ships and sank them. The rest, stricken with sudden terror, rowed away in disorder as fast as oars could move them. Gaubert of Mantes and three other gallant French sailors sprang each into a little boat, set off in pursuit, and succeeded in capturing two of the fugitive ships, which they brought back in tow, with their stores and all of their crews who survived.¹ The delay in the arrival of the fleet, caused by the difficulties of navigation in the Seine,² had ruined John's plan for the relief of the Isle of Andely. The fate of its garrison was soon decided; and again the hero of the day was Gaubert of Mantes. The fort was encircled by a double palisade or rampart of wood, outside the walls. Gaubert tied a rope round his waist, took in his hand two iron vessels coated with pitch and filled with burning charcoal,³ swam to the easternmost point of the island, which the garrison, trusting to the proximity of Château-Gaillard on this side, had ventured to leave unguarded, and threw these missiles against the palisade. The wood instantly caught fire; the wind carried the flames all round the ramparts and into the fort itself. Some of the garrison made their escape by swimming or on rafts; some were stifled in the cellars and

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 144-335 (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. pp. 171-174; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 129-134). Cf. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne as above), p. 83.

² Will. Armor. as above, vv. 206, 207 (Duchesne as above, p. 172; Deville as above, p. 131).

³ See Deville's note, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 66.

galleries in which they sought a refuge from the fire ; the rest surrendered to the French king. Philip lost no time in repairing and garrisoning the fort and rebuilding the bridge on its western side. At the sight of his success the whole population of the Lesser Andely fled in a body to Château-Gaillard ; Philip entered the town in triumph, sent for new inhabitants to fill the places of the fugitives, and intrusted its defence to two companies of mercenaries, whose strength may be estimated from the statement that the leader of one of them, Cadoc by name, received from the royal treasury a thousand pounds daily for himself and his men.¹

Philip's mastery of the river was still precarious and incomplete without the reduction of Château-Gaillard. For an attack upon the Saucy Castle itself, however, his courage seems as yet to have failed ; and striking north-westward by the road which leads from Les Andelys into the valley of the Andelle, on the last day of August he again sat down before Radepont. In two or three weeks it surrendered.² This time John made no attempt to save it, but fled away to the depths of his own old county of Mortain,³ leaving Rouen to its fate. Philip however dared not advance upon Rouen with Château-Gaillard still unconquered in his rear ; and at the opening of the vintage-season he moved back to Les Andelys and girded himself up for his task. A brief survey of the Rock convinced him that assault was well-nigh hopeless ; his best chance was in a blockade. On the north the Lesser Andely occupied by his mercenaries, on the west the river commanded by his troops in the island-fort, sufficed to imprison the garrison. The next step was to dig

¹ Will. Armor., *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 336-398 (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, vol. v. pp. 174, 175 ; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 134-136). Cf. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne as above), p. 83.

² Rigord (Duchesne as above), p. 47, says the siege of Radepont began on the last day of August and lasted fifteen days. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 82, makes it last three weeks ; in *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 399, 400 (*ib.* p. 175 ; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 136), he extends its duration to a month.

³ He went to Falaise on September 13—the day after the fall of Radepont, according to Rigord's reckoning. Thence he went on the 17th to Mortain, on the 19th to Dol, and back to Mortain again on the 22d. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 5 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

out a double trench two hundred feet deep, starting from the brow of the hill over against the south-eastern extremity of the castle-rock, extending northward to the margin of the lake of Andely and westward to the bank of the Seine, and completely enclosing the two ravines which furrowed the sides of the rock. Each line of entrenchment was garnished with seven *bretasches* or wooden forts, placed at regular intervals, each surrounded by a ditch of its own, furnished with a wooden draw-bridge, and filled with as many soldiers as it could hold. The rest of the army took up their quarters in the trenches, where they built themselves little huts of wood and thatch for a shelter against the wet and cold of the coming winter—shelter against other foes they needed none, for they were out of bowshot from the castle¹—and whiled away their time in jesting and making songs in mockery of the straits to which the Saucy Castle was reduced—"So many thousands girt about with a single girdle,"—"The eyrie overcrowded with nestlings, who will have to turn out when the spring comes."² The greater part of the "nestlings" were turned out before the spring came. The blockade once formed, Roger de Lacy soon perceived the terrible blunder he had made in admitting within his walls the townsfolk of the Lesser Andely. According to one computation, the number of these non-combatants now huddled within the castle-enclosure was no less than two thousand two hundred souls; at the lowest reckoning, they seem to have amounted to fourteen hundred—all, in a military point of view, simply useless mouths, devouring in a few weeks the stores of food that should have furnished rations for a year and more to the little garrison which was amply sufficient to hold the castle for John. One day, therefore, Roger opened the castle-gate and turned out five hundred of the oldest and weakest. They were suffered to pass unmolested through the blockading lines, and were followed a few days later by five hundred more. Philip

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), pp. 83, 84; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 414-450 (*ib.* pp. 175, 176; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 136, 137).

² Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 451-456 (Duchesne, p. 176; Deville, p. 137).

however, who meanwhile had returned to his own dominions, no sooner heard what was going on than he issued strict orders that every man, woman or child, of whatever age or condition, who might issue from the castle should be driven back again without mercy. A large number still remained of whom Roger was as eager to be rid as Philip was anxious that he should be obliged to keep them. He took account of his stores, and found that he had enough to feed the regular garrison for a whole year. Hereupon he called together all the remaining non-combatants, and sent them forth, as they thought, to rejoin their families and friends. To their horror, as soon as they approached the French lines, they were overwhelmed with a volley of arrows. They rushed back to the castle-gate, only to find it closed against them. For three months this multitude of people dragged out a wretched existence in the ravines around the fortress, with no shelter against the wet and the cold but what they might find in the clefts of the rock, and no food but the dry leaves and scant herbage which they could pick up at its foot, and the flesh of the dogs which the garrison soon let loose for the purpose of yet further economizing their rations. This last resource was exhausted, and the horrors of cannibalism were already reached, when Philip came back to see how the siege was progressing. As he was crossing the bridge to the island-fort these unhappy beings caught sight of him and lifted up their voices in agonizing appeal; the king, moved with a tardy compassion, and perhaps also by fear of the not improbable outbreak of a pestilence which might easily have spread into his own entrenchments, ordered that immediate relief should be given to all who survived. These however amounted to no more than half of the original number, which seems to have been something over four hundred; and most of them had been so long without food that their first meal proved fatal.¹

The last act of this tragedy must have taken place soon after Christmas. For three months the whole military power

¹ Cf. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 84, and *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 467-606 (*ib.* pp. 176-179; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 138-142).

of the French Crown had been concentrated on the investment of Château-Gaillard; and in all this time John had done absolutely nothing. From his expedition to the Breton border he had indeed returned to Rouen for a few days in the beginning of October. Not a hand did he lift, however, to check the progress of the blockade which was being formed almost before his eyes. Soon he was again far away in the Bessin; thence he suddenly moved across the duchy to Verneuil, and in the second week of November he was once more at Rouen.¹ It was probably during one of these visits to the capital that he wrote to Roger de Lacy: "We thank you for your good and faithful service, and desire that, as much as in you lies, you will persevere in the fealty and homage which you owe us, that you may receive a worthy meed of praise from God and from ourselves, and from all who know your fidelity to us. If, however, which God forbid, you should find yourselves in such straits that you can hold out no longer, then do whatsoever our trusty and well-beloved Peter of Préaux, William of Mortemer and Hugh of Howels our clerk shall bid you in our name."² Whether this letter ever found its way through the blockading lines into the castle it is scarcely worth while to inquire. If it did, it failed to shake the courage or the loyalty of the garrison, although it must have proved to them what they doubtless guessed already, that their sovereign had forsaken them, and that they were serving him for nought. Of the crowning proof of his desertion they probably remained unconscious until all was over for them. After dismantling Pont-de-l'Arche, Mouligneaux and Montfort,³ John, on November 12, again left Rouen; for three weeks he flitted aimlessly up and down the country, from Bonneville and Caen to Domfront and Vire, and back again to Barfleur and Cherbourg;⁴ on December 6 he quitted Normandy altogether;⁵ and while the burghers of

¹ Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 5 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

² Letter in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*, p. 1059.

³ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 826-828 (Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 147, 148; Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 182).

⁴ Hardy as above.

⁵ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 173, says he landed at Portsmouth on S. Nicolas's day. The *Itinerary* (as above) shews him at Barfleur on December 5 and at Portsmouth on the 7th.

the Lesser Andely were starving and freezing to death in the valleys round Château-Gaillard, and the garrison of the castle were anxiously reckoning how much longer their provisions would enable them to hold out for his sake, he was keeping his Christmas feast at Canterbury at the expense of Archbishop Hubert.¹

By the end of February 1204² Philip grew impatient of the blockade of Château-Gaillard, and probably also uneasy lest John should return from England with an overwhelming force for its relief. He therefore resolved to try whether it could not, after all, be taken by assault. He himself took up his station at the central point of the entrenchment, on the crest of the hill, facing the narrow neck of land by which it was joined to the castle-rock. This isthmus, the only direct approach to the castle itself, he caused to be levelled and widened till he could erect upon it a wooden gallery or covered way leading from his own lines up to the edge of the outermost ditch of the fortress. When, with considerable difficulty and loss of life, this was accomplished, he caused a *beffroy* or wooden tower on wheels to be carried through the gallery, set up when it reached the further end, and moved along the edge of the fosse, the cross-bowmen with whom it was filled doing deadly execution upon the soldiers on the ramparts, who however made a gallant defence. Meanwhile, the French were bringing through their covered way earth, wood, stones, turf, everything they could find to fill up the ditch. Before it was half full they lost patience and adopted a quicker method of approach. They dropped down the perpendicular counterscarp by means of their scaling-ladders, and set these up again on the sloping inner side of the ditch, under the foot of the great round tower which formed the head of the first ward. The ladders were too short for the ascent; but despite a heavy fire of stones and arrows from the tower, the storming-party scrambled up, crawling on hands and knees, or using their swords and daggers by way

¹ "H. archiepiscopo omnia necessaria festivitati regie ministrante." Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 174.

² "Superveniente cathedrâ S. Petri" (February 22). Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptu.*, vol. v.), p. 47.

of Alpine-staves, till the base of the wall was reached. Then, while a shower of missiles rattled down upon the shields held over them by their comrades, the sappers dug and hewed at the foundations till the tower was undermined; the fuse was inserted and fired, and the miners had just had time to withdraw when a large portion of the wall fell crashing into the ditch. The French rushed to the breach; Roger de Lacy, seeing that the first ward was lost, ordered the wooden buildings within it to be fired; he and his men withdrew across the drawbridge into the second ward, and when the fire died down, they saw the ruined fragment of the tower crowned by the banner of Cadoc.¹

The French were one step nearer to the goal; but the next step looked as impracticable as ever. Between them and the besieged there yawned another ditch as wide and deep, there rose another rampart as mighty and as inaccessible as the first. In vain they prowled about the edge of the fosse seeking for a point at which they could venture upon an attack, till a young squire or man-at-arms, by name Peter, but more commonly known in the camp as "Bogis" or "Snub-nose," caught sight of a little window just above the wall at the south-eastern corner of the rampart.² This window was the sole external opening in John's new building, which was otherwise accessible only on the inner side, by two doors, one leading into the storehouse which formed the lower story, one into the chapel above it, and both opening towards the courtyard. Bogis at once communicated his discovery to a few trusty comrades; they reconnoitred the ditch till they found a somewhat shallower place on its southern side, where it was possible to scramble down; thence they crawled along the bottom till they were directly

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 84; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 612-726 (*ib.* pp. 179-181; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 142-145).

² I cannot understand M. Deville's idea of this window. In his plan of the castle he marks it about the middle of the south-western side of John's building—the side looking towards the river. But Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (as above), p. 85, says it was "in latere orientali." And if it had not been there, how could Bogis, from the foot of the rampart of the first ward, ever have seen it at all?

under the window, and then clambered up the sloping side to the foot of the wall. By standing on the shoulders of a comrade Bogis managed to reach the window ; he found it unbarred, unguarded, and wide enough for his body to pass through ; he sprang in, let down to his companions a rope which he had brought for the purpose, and drew them up one by one till they were all safe inside the building, which proved to be the storehouse under the chapel.¹ Finding the door locked, they began to hammer at it with the hilts of their daggers. This noise and the shouts with which they accompanied it soon alarmed the garrison. They, thinking that the French had entered the new building and occupied it in force, hastily set it on fire ; unhappily, the wind caught the flames and spread them in a few minutes over the whole enclosure. The garrison fled to their sole remaining refuge, the citadel ; Bogis and his companions escaped out of the blazing ruins into the casemates ; the bulk of the French host, anxiously watching the scene from the opposite side of the ditch, thought they had all perished ; but when the flames died down and the smoke began to clear away, Bogis himself appeared at the gate and let down the drawbridge for the army to pass over in triumph.²

Philip's engines and their own too hastily-kindled fires had made havoc among the besieged garrison ; they were now reduced to a hundred and eighty fighting-men.³ Even this small number, however, might have sufficed to hold for an indefinite time the remains of Richard's matchless fortress, but for one strange error on the part of the royal architect. Richard had indeed taken the precaution of making the sole gate of his citadel open not directly towards the courtyard of the second ward, but at a much less accessible point to

¹ So says M. Deville (*Château-Gaillard*, p. 82), following the *Philippis* ; but in the *Gesta Phil. Aug.* William makes it the chapel, *i.e.* the upper instead of the lower story. One would naturally expect the solitary window to be in the chapel rather than in the storehouse under it.

² Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 85 ; *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 727-791 (*ib.* pp. 181, 182 ; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, pp. 145-147).

³ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. v. 775 (Duchesne as above, p. 181 ; Deville, p. 146).

the north-eastward, where only a narrow strip of ground intervened between the counterscarp of the ditch and the outer rampart. Most unaccountably, however, instead of furnishing this gate with a drawbridge, he left a portion of the rock itself to serve as a natural passage over the ditch hollowed out beneath it. Across this immovable bridge a machine known by the name of "cat"—a sort of tent upon wheels, moved by the men inside it—was, as the epic bard of the siege expresses it, "made to crawl" close up to the gate, which the sappers, hidden under this shelter, at once began to undermine. Roger de Lacy, alarmed no doubt by the fate of the first tower which had been thus dealt with, tried the effect of a countermine, which was so far successful that the French were for a moment compelled to retire; but the "cat" was speedily replaced by a mighty engine discharging heavy stones with immense force. At the third discharge, the wall, undermined as it was from both sides, suddenly fell in. The French troops poured through the breach; Roger and his little band were quickly surrounded, and it was no fault of theirs that they were not slaughtered to a man, for every one of them refused to yield, and was only disarmed by main force. The hundred and twenty men-at-arms and thirty-six knights who still remained were, however, made prisoners without further bloodshed; and thus, on March 6, 1204, Philip became master of Château-Gaillard.¹

On that March day the king of England really lost not only his Saucy Castle, but his whole continental dominions north of Loire. Thenceforth all resistance in Normandy was at an end; and in three months the whole duchy laid

¹ Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vii. vv. 792-811 (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 182; Deville, *Château-Gaillard*, p. 147). Cf. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne as above), p. 85. The date is from Rigord (*ibid.*), p. 47 (who, however, puts it under a wrong year, 1202), and Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 180. This last writer has a wholly different version of the capture, but it is not worthy of consideration. The number of prisoners is stated by Will. Armor. in the *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as forty knights, a hundred and twenty men-at-arms, "and many others." (By his own account in *Philipp.*, l. vii. v. 775, these "many" cannot have been more than twenty. See above, p. 422). Rigord speaks only of the knights, whom he reduces to thirty-six, saying that four had been slain during the siege.

itself without a struggle at the victor's feet. Soon after John's departure over sea Philip had opened negotiations with the citizens of the chief Norman towns, representing to them that the king of England had deserted them, that he himself was their rightful overlord and sovereign, and bidding them either receive him as such, or prepare to be all hanged or flayed alive when he should have overcome their resistance by force. After some discussion they made a truce with him for a year, promising that if no succour came from England within that time, they would submit to him without reserve.¹ On the fall of Château-Gaillard they all, together with the constables of the remaining fortresses throughout John's trans-marine dominions, sent messages to John setting forth the difficulties of their position and remonstrating earnestly with him on his tardiness in coming to their aid. He bade them look for nothing from him, but do each of them whatsoever they might think good.² A few weeks later he despatched the bishops of Norwich and Ely with the carls of Pembroke and Leicester to see if there was any possibility of coming to terms with the king of France.³ But it was too late. Philip sarcastically retorted that the first preliminary to peace must be the restoration of Arthur;⁴ and on the Sunday after Easter he marched again into Normandy. Falaise surrendered after a week's siege;⁵ Domfront, Sées, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux, Barfleur, Cherbourg, Coutances,⁶ opened their gates at his mere approach. Meanwhile Guy of Thouars, who had been governing Brittany since Arthur's death,⁷ with four hundred knights and an immense host of Bretons attacked and burned the Mont-St.

¹ Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. pp. 173, 174.

² *Ib.* pp. 180, 181.

³ "Post mediam Quadragesimam," *i.e.* in the beginning of April. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 144. The earl of Pembroke (or Striguil), it will be remembered, was William the Marshal.

⁴ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. viii. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. p. 183); *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 85. Rigord (*ibid.*), p. 47. The dates come from the two last, both of whom however make the year 1203 instead of 1204.

⁶ Cf. Rigord as above; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above; *Philipp.* l. viii. (*ibid.*), pp. 183, 184; and R. Coggeshall as above.

⁷ As guardian of his own daughter by Constance, the infant Alice, whom the Bretons and the French recognized as heiress of Brittany, in place of her half-sister Eleanor, who was in the custody of John.

Michel, sacked Avranches, and marched ravaging and burning through the Bessin to join the king at Caen. Philip sent them back again, together with the count of Boulogne, William des Barres, a large body of French knights, and a troop of John's mercenaries who had changed sides after the surrender of Falaise, to finish the subjugation of Mortain and the Avranchin,¹ while he himself returned to complete his conquest of eastern Normandy. Only three important places were still unsubdued there: Arques on the northern coast, Verneuil on the southern border, and Rouen itself. The three bodies of soldiers and townsfolk came to a mutual understanding whereby those of the capital, on the Tuesday in Rogation-week—June 1—made a truce with Philip for thirty days, stipulating that their brethren at Arques and Verneuil should receive the same benefit if they applied for it within a certain time, and promising in the name of all alike that if no succour came from John within the specified interval, they would give themselves up unreservedly to the king of France.² None of them, however, waited for the expiration of the truce. On midsummer-day Rouen opened its gates;³ Arques and Verneuil followed its example,⁴ and Normandy was won.

Cadoc and his mercenaries had established their headquarters at Angers;⁵ the whole of Anjou and Touraine, except the strongholds of Chinon and Loches, was already secured; Aquitaine alone still remained to be conquered. This, indeed, was likely to prove a more difficult task; for however bitterly the men of the south might hate their Norman or Angevin rulers, their chances of regaining or preserving their independence under a sovereign who must henceforth be parted from them by the whole width of the Bay of Biscay would be obviously so much better than under one whose direct sway now stretched all along the northern

¹ Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 85. *Philipp.*, l. viii. (*ibid.*), pp. 184, 185.

² Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*, pp. 1057-1059.

³ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 146. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 47, giving the date. Cf. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 85, and *Philipp.*, l. viii. (*ibid.*), p. 186.

⁴ R. Coggeshall as above.

⁵ Will. Armor. as above, pp. 86 and 188.

bank of the Loire from its mouth almost to its source, that they were certain to veer round at once to the side of John, simply for the purpose of keeping Philip out. Such was in fact the result throughout the whole country south of the Dordogne; Savaric of Mauléon, lately John's enemy and prisoner, at once became his most energetic and devoted champion;¹ while Angoulême was secured for John as the heritage of his queen Isabel. But the link which had bound Guyenne to the Angevin house was broken at last; Queen Eleanor had died on April 1.² There was no longer any legal obstacle to the execution of the sentence of forfeiture passed two years ago; and on S. Laurence's day Philip assembled his host for the conquest of Poitou.³ Robert of Turnham, John's seneschal,⁴ did what he could in its defence, but he was powerless against the indifference of the people and the active hostility of William des Roches and the Lusignans.⁵ Poitiers was soon taken; and in a few weeks all Poitou, except La Rochelle, Niort and Thouars, submitted to Philip as its liege lord.⁶ At the approach of winter Philip returned to his own dominions, leaving a body of troops to blockade Chinon, which was held for John by Hubert de Burgh, and another to form the siege of Loches, no less bravely defended by Gerald of Atie.⁷ At Easter 1205 the king marched with a fresh host upon Loches and took it by assault.⁸ On midsummer-eve Chinon fell in like

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 146.

² Ann. Waverl. a. 1204 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 256). R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 144, and Mat. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Madden), vol. ii. pp. 102, 103, give the same year; the latter takes occasion to describe Eleanor as "admirabilis domina pulchritudinis et astutiæ," and says she died at John's newly-founded abbey of Beaulieu. The Chron. S. Albin. (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 53) places her death a year earlier, and at Poitiers.

³ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 47.

⁴ Brother of Stephen of Turnham, and apparently seneschal of Anjou at the close of Richard's reign; transferred to Poitou in 1201. Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iv. pp. 86, 142, 176.

⁵ R. Coggeshall as above.

⁶ *Ibid.* Rigord as above. Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 86. Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 181.

⁷ R. Coggeshall and Rigord as above. Will. Armor. as above; *Philipp.*, l. viii. (*ibid.*), pp. 189, 190.

⁸ Rigord (as above), pp. 47, 48, and Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* as above; both under a wrong year. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 152.

manner.¹ Robert of Turnham had already been made prisoner by the French ;² the viscount of Thouars now made his submission to Philip, and received from him the seneschalship of Poitou in Robert's stead ;³ Niort and La Rochelle were left alone in their resistance to the French king.

John, however, was now at last threatening an attack from over sea. Three weeks after his return to England, in January 1204, he had held a council at Oxford and compelled all the tenants-in-chief, including the bishops and abbots, to promise a scutage of two marks and a half on the knight's fee,⁴ and a contribution, from which even the parish churches were not exempt, of a seventh of all moveable goods ;⁵ all under the plea of gathering a great host for the recovery of his lost dominions.⁶ In May he held a council at Northampton,⁷ which resulted in a summons to the fleet and the host to meet him at Porchester at Whitsuntide, prepared to accompany him over sea. When all was ready, however, the expedition was countermanded, at the urgent entreaty, it was said, of Archbishop Hubert and William the Marshal, the latter of whom had lately returned from Gaul, and might therefore be supposed to know the condition of affairs there better than the king could know it himself. John, after a great shew of resistance, yielded to their entreaties ; the soldiers and sailors were made to pay a fine in commutation of their services, and dismissed, grumbling bitterly, to their homes.⁸ The king gained a considerable sum of money by the transaction ; and the primate and the marshal, in their boundless loyalty, were content to take upon themselves the burthen of its shame, which John felt, or affected to feel, so keenly that he actually put to sea with a small escort several days after the dispersion of the fleet.

¹ Rog. Wend. (Coxe, vol. iii.), pp. 182, 183 ; R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 154, 155 ; cf. Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 48 ; Will. Armor. *Gesta Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 86 ; and Chron. S. Albin. a. 1203 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, p. 54).

² R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 152.

³ Will. Armor. as above.

⁴ Rog. Wend. as above, p. 175.

⁵ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 483.

⁶ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 144.

⁷ *Ibid.* Date, May 21-25 ; Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 7 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁸ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), pp. 152, 153. Cf. Rog. Wend. as above, p. 183.

He landed again, however, at Wareham on the third day and contented himself with sending his half-brother Eustace William of Salisbury and his own son Geoffrey with a box of knights to reinforce the garrison of La Rochelle.² A year later he again assembled his fleet at Portsmouth;³ at this time he led it in person direct to La Rochelle. He landed there on June 7,⁴ and marched to Montauban, which he besieged and captured;⁵ the fickle viscount of Thouars, being now in revolt against Philip, speedily joined him and they advanced to Angers together, won it on September 1, and ravaged Anjou with fire and sword, and were doing the like in south-eastern Brittany⁶ when Philip again crossed the Loire and harried the viscounty of Thouars under their very eyes.⁷ John at once proposed a truce; the terms were formally drawn up at Thouars on October 26;⁸ but when the English king's signature was required, he was no longer to be found. He had slipped away the night before, and was out of reach at La Rochelle;⁹ and thence, on December 12, he sailed for England once more.¹⁰

Of the two devoted English ministers who had stood by him through so much obloquy, only the Marshal was now left. A month after the humiliating scene at Porchester in 1205, Archbishop Hubert died.¹¹ "Now for the first time

¹ R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 154. Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. 183. It happened June 13-15; see note 1 to R. Coggeshall as above, and Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 7 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*). ² R. Coggeshall as above.

³ Rog. Wend. (as above), p. 186. John was at Porchester from Whit-Monday May 22, to Friday, May 26. Hardy, *Itin. K. John*, a. 8 (*Intr. Pat. Rolls*).

⁴ He crossed from Stoke to Yarmouth on Trinity Sunday, May 28, and thence to La Rochelle on Wednesday, June 7; cf. Hardy, as above, with Rog. Wend. as above, who has twice written "Julii" for "Junii."

⁵ On August 1, after fifteen days' siege, says Rog. Wend. (as above), p. 187, but see Hardy as above.

⁶ Rigord (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v.), p. 48. Will. Armor. *Geogr. Phil. Aug.* (*ibid.*), p. 86.

⁷ *Ibid.* Date from Chron. S. Albin. a. 1206 (Marchegay, *Eglises*, pp. 54, 55).

⁸ Will. Armor. as above.

⁹ Rigord (*ibid.*), p. 48. Chron. S. Albin. a. 1206 (as above, pp. 56, 57).

¹⁰ Rymer, *Federa*, vol. i. p. 95.

¹¹ Will. Armor. as above. He was at La Rochelle on October 25; Hardy as above. ¹² Rog. Wend. as above, p. 188.

¹³ *Ib.* p. 183. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 156.

am I truly king of England!" was the comment of his ungrateful master upon the tidings of his death.¹ The words were words of ill omen for John himself, even more than for his people. He was indeed king of England, and of England alone. The prophecy of Merlin, which had been working itself out for a hundred years in the history of the Norman and Angevin houses, was fulfilled in yet one more detail: "the sword was parted from the sceptre."² The sword of Hrolf the Ganger and William the Conqueror, of Fulk the Red and Fulk the Black, had fallen from the hand of their unworthy descendant. The sceptre of his English forefathers was left to him. But the England over which he had to wield it was no longer the exhausted and divided country which had been swallowed up almost without an effort in the vast dominions of the young Count Henry of Anjou. It was an England which was once more able to stand alone—a new England which had been growing up under the hands of Henry himself, of his ministers, and of the ministers of his successor, silently and imperceptibly, they themselves knew not when or how; and between this new England and its stranger-king the day of reckoning was now to come.

NOTE.

THE DEATH OF ARTHUR.

Only two contemporary writers even pretend to give a circumstantial account of Arthur's death: the Annalist of Margam and William of Armorica. The former tells us that John, "post prandium, ebrius et dæmonio plenus" [did John, as well as Richard, make the demon-blood answerable for his sins?], slew Arthur with his own hand, and having tied a great stone to the body, flung it into the Seine; thence it was drawn up in a fisherman's net, recognized, and buried secretly, "propter metum tyranni," in Notre-Dame-des-Prés (Ann. Margam, a. 1204; Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. p. 27). William allows the murderer no such excuse, if excuse it be, but works up the story into a long and horrible romance, in which John deliberately and of set purpose takes Arthur out alone with him by night in a boat on the Seine, plunges a sword into his body, and

¹ Mat. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Madden), vol. ii. p. 104.

² R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 146.

then rows along for three miles before he flings the corpse overboard (Will. Armor. *Philipp.*, l. vi.; Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.*, vol. v. pp. 166, 167). Both these writers place the scene at Rouen. The Chron. Brioc. (Morice, *Hist. Bret., preuves*, vol. i. col. 39) transfers it to Cherbourg: "Apud Cæsaris-burgum duxit, et ibi proditorie et tyrannice eum in mare submersit." Rigord says not a word of the matter. R. Coggeshall (Stevenson, p. 145) only speaks of it incidentally, saying that Philip "sæviebat . . . permaxime pro nece Arthuri, quem in Sequanâ submersum fuisse audierat." Rog. Wend. (Coxe, vol. iii. p. 170) says merely "subito evanuit." Mat. Paris in *Chron. Maj.* (Luard, vol. ii. p. 480) copies this, and adds: "modo fere omnibus ignorato; utinam non ut fama refert." In *Hist. Angl.* (Madden, vol. ii. p. 95) he gives three stories as currently reported: accidental drowning, death from grief, and the third, "ipsum manibus vel præcepto regis Johannis fuisse peremptum"—this last being the assertion of the French, "quibus propter hostilitatem plena fides non est adhibenda." But his own words in the *Chron. Maj.* shew that he could not wholly reject the unavoidable conclusion of John's guilt.

The date of Arthur's disappearance or death is given only by the Margam annalist. He places it on Maunday Thursday; but unluckily he has damaged his own authority on chronological matters by putting the whole affair a year too late, viz. in 1204 instead of 1203. Will. Armor., on the other hand, tells us that for three days before the murder John was at Moulineaux, near Rouen. These two chronological indications do not exactly agree, for in 1203 Maunday Thursday was April 3, and the *Itin. K. John*, a. 4 (Hardy, *Intr. Pat. Rolls*), shews that the king was at Moulineaux on Wednesday, April 2, but on the two preceding days he was at Rouen. It is however plain from the after-history that the deed must have been done shortly before Easter.

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW ENGLAND.

1170-1206.

IN the eyes of all contemporary Europe the most striking and important event in English history during the half-century which had passed away since the accession of Henry II. was the murder of Archbishop Thomas. The sensation which it produced throughout western Christendom was out of all proportion both to the personal influence of its victim during his lifetime and to its direct political results. The popular canonization bestowed upon the martyr was ratified by Rome with almost unprecedented speed, in little more than two years after his death;¹ the stream of pilgrims which flowed to his shrine, from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, was such as had hardly been seen even at the "threshold of the Apostles" or at the Holy Sepulchre itself; and it flowed on without a break for more than three hundred years. Yet Pope and pilgrims all alike were probably as blind as Thomas himself had been to the true significance for England of his life and his death. The great ecclesiastical struggle of which he was the hero and the martyr marks a turning-point in the social history of the reign of Henry II. even more than in its political history. With the quarrel between Henry and Thomas the direction of the moral and intellectual revival whose growth we have in earlier chapters endeavoured to trace from the accession

¹ He was canonized by Alexander III. on Ash-Wednesday, February 21, 1173. Epp. dclxxxiii.-dclxxxvi., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii, pp. 544-550.

of Henry I. to the death of Archbishop Theobald passed altogether out of the hands in which it had prospered so long and so well—the hands of the higher clergy and the monastic orders. The flight of Thomas scattered to the winds the little band of earnest churchmen who had been sharers with him in the inheritance of Theobald's policy and Theobald's work, and left the reforming party in the Church without a rallying-point and without a leader. One man alone still remained among the higher clergy who under more favourable circumstances might have taken up the work with a far more skilful hand than that of Thomas himself; but the leadership of Gilbert Foliot was made impossible by the subsequent course of events, which ranged all the religious opinion and all the popular sympathies of England on the side of the persecuted and martyred primate, and set Gilbert, as the primate's most conspicuous adversary, in the light of an enemy to the Church, a rebel against her divine authority, and almost a denier of her faith.¹

The final settlement of the controversy was in some sense a defeat of both parties; but the one which seemed to have gained the victory really suffered the heaviest loss. The king was indeed compelled to abandon his scheme for reforming the morals of the priesthood by the strong hand of his royal justice; the privilege of the clergy was saved, to fall at last before another King Henry four centuries later. Yet its staunchest champions must surely have felt their cause reduced well-nigh to an absurdity when they found that the first result of its triumph was to secure the primate's very murderers from the penalty due to their crime;² and

¹ The story of Gilbert's dream, in Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 240, was probably suggested by a line in the French *Life of S. Thomas*:

—"Gilebert Foliot,

De lettres sout assez e servi Astarot"—

(Garnier, ed. Hippeau, p. 77)—where again in all likelihood the last words were prompted by nothing more than the exigencies of rime. That some such charges were however brought against Foliot we have seen above, p. 70, note 5.

² Henry, not knowing what to do with the archbishop's murderers, counselled or connived at their flight into Scotland. The Scot king and people, however, shewed such a strong disposition to hang them that they were driven to re-cross the border (MS. Lansdown., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. iv. p. 162). They then, it seems, took refuge at Knaresborough, and there lay hid till hunger compelled

far greater than the seeming gain of Henry's surrender at Avranches was the loss to the English Church involved in the break-down of Theobald's plans for the reform of the episcopate. The cowardice of the bishops during the struggle left them at its close wholly at the mercy of the king. The vacant sees, of which there were eight besides Canterbury, were filled after long delays with secular clerks wholly subservient to the royal will ; and before the end of Henry's life the English episcopate was as completely secularized as it had been in the worst days of his grandfather. The inevitable consequences followed. As were the bishops, so, and even worse, were the lower clergy. The cry against the extortion and tyranny of the diocesan officials which rang at the opening of Henry's reign through the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury rang yet more loudly and bitterly at its close through the pages of Walter Map and Gerald de Barri ; the immorality which had once stirred the indignant zeal of Henry himself grew more widespread and more frightful year by year, as a direct result of his own shortsighted and selfish ecclesiastical policy. To that policy there were, indeed, two honourably marked exceptions. In 1186 Henry raised to the bishopric of Lincoln one of the holiest and wisest men then living, Hugh of Avalon. His dealings with the important and difficult question of the succession to the metropolitan see itself appear to have been prompted by equally disinterested motives. It was not the apathy or procrastination of the king, but the determination of the monks of Christ Church to use to the uttermost the favourable opportunity for asserting their independence, and the difficulty of finding any willing candidate for such a siege-perilous as the chair

them to issue from their lurking-place. Finding themselves everywhere shunned like wild beasts, they at last in desperation gave themselves up to the mercy or the vengeance of the king. But the murderer of a priest was legally amenable to none save an ecclesiastical tribunal ; Henry could do nothing with them but send them on to the Pope ; and all that the Pope could do with them was to sentence them to lifelong exile and penance in Holy Land. Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 25 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 163, 164) ; cf. MS. Lansdown (as above), pp. 162, 163. See also a minor illustration of the inconveniences attaching to this other side of the clerical immunities, in a letter of Archbishop Richard to some of his suffragans ; Ep. dccciv., Robertson, *Becket*, vol. vii. pp. 561-564.

of S. Thomas was felt to be, that delayed the election of his successor for two years and a half, and his consecration for nine months longer still.¹ The new Archbishop Richard was a monk of unblemished character, and though possessed of little talent or learning, fulfilled his office creditably for ten years ;² while Baldwin, who took his place in 1185, was a Cistercian of the best type—a type which, however, was now rapidly passing away.

The monastic revival which had shed such brightness over the earlier half of the twelfth century died down long before its close. S. Bernard had not yet been seven years in his grave when John of Salisbury, certainly not a hostile witness, was compelled to acknowledge that the love of power and the greed of gain had infected the whole monastic body, not excepting even the White Monks. Rome herself soon found it needful to make an attempt, although a vain one, to curb the arrogance of the military orders.³ Reformers in the next generation vied with each other in denouncing the vices and crimes of the Cluniacs and those of the “white-robed herd, the abominable order” of Cîteaux.⁴ The fall of the Cistercians indeed was the most terrible of all ; within the space of two generations their name, once the symbol of the highest moral and spiritual perfection which the men of their day were capable of conceiving, had become a by-word for the lowest depths of wickedness and corruption. Startling as was the change, its causes are not far to seek. Pledged though they were by the origin and primitive constitution of their order to be a standing protest against the wealth and luxury of the

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 239-245, 247.

² “Homo quidem mediocriter literatus, sed laudabiliter innoxius, et, ne ambularet in magnis, modulo suo prudenter contentus.” Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 8 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 235, 236).

³ See a canon of the third Lateran Council (A. D. 1179), in Will. Newb., l. iii. c. 3 (as above, pp. 221-223). On the Templars and Hospitaliers see also W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. i. c. 23 (Wright, pp. 36-38).

⁴ See especially Gir. Cambr. *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. ii. and iii. (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 29 *et seq.*). “Grege albus, ordo nefandus,” is a description of the Cistercians quoted apparently from W. Map by his opponent W. Bothewald ; Wright, *Latin Poems attributed to W. Mapes*, introd. p. xxxv. See also King Richard's opinion of these two orders and of the Templars, in Gir. Cambr. as above, dist. ii. c. 12 (p. 54).

Benedictines, they had nevertheless become, in less than a hundred years from their first appearance in England, the richest and most powerful body of monks in the realm. At the time of their coming, almost the whole extent of arable land throughout the country was already occupied ; the only resource open to the new-comers was the yet unexhausted and, as it seemed in England at least, well-nigh inexhaustible resource of pasturage. They brought to their sheep-farming the same energy, skill and perseverance which characterized all their undertakings ; and their well-earned success in this pursuit, together with the vast increase of the wool-trade which marked the same period, made them in a few years masters of the most productive branch of English industry. Temptation came with prosperity. But the more obvious temptations of wealth, the temptations to ease and vanity and luxurious self-indulgence, had little power over the stern temper of the White Monks ; it was a deeper and a deadlier snare into which they fell ; not sloth and gluttony, but avarice and pride, were their besetting sins. In the days of Richard and John, when we find them struggling and bargaining almost on equal terms with the king's ministers and the king himself, they were indeed a mighty power both in Church and state ; but the foundation on which their power now rested was wholly different from that upon which it had first arisen ; its moral basis was gone. As an element in the nation's spiritual life the Order of Cîteaux, once its very soul, now counted for worse than nothing.

Still the monastic impulse which had guided so many religious movements in the past was not wholly dead. On the continent it was giving indeed fresh proofs of its vitality in the growth of two remarkable orders, those of Grandmont and of the Chartreuse, both of earlier origin than that of Cîteaux, but overshadowed until now by its transcendent fame. These however had little influence upon English religious life. The "Good Men" of Grandmont—as the brotherhood were commonly called—although special favourites of King Henry, never set foot in his island realm ; the Carthusians reached it only in his last years, and the few settlements which they formed there never rose

to any great importance.¹ Out of all the English monasteries, of various orders, whose dates of foundation are known, only one hundred and thirteen arose during the thirty-five years of Henry's reign, while a hundred and fifteen owed their origin to the nineteen troubled winters of his predecessor. In Yorkshire alone no less than twenty new houses had been founded under Stephen; only eleven were founded there under Henry.² Towards the close of the century, indeed, the reputation of English monachism had fallen so low that in the high places of the Church a reaction in favour of secular clerks began to set in once more. One bishop, Hugh of Coventry, not only ventured to repeat the experiment which had been vainly tried elsewhere under the Confessor and the Conqueror, of turning the monks out of his cathedral and replacing them by secular canons, but actually proposed that all the cathedral establishments served by monks should be broken up and put upon a new foundation of a like secular character. Hugh himself was however scarcely the man to meet with general recognition in the capacity of a reformer; and his bold anticipation of the ecclesiastical revolution which was to come four centuries later ended in ignominious failure.³

¹ On Grandmont (founded in 1176, by Stephen of Tierny, near Muret in the diocese of Limoges) see *Gall. Christ.*, vol. ii. col. 645; *Vita S. Steph. Muret.* (Labbe, *Nova Biblioth.*, vol. ii. pp. 674-683); Bern. Guidon, *De Ordine Grandimont.* (*ib.* p. 275 *et seq.*); W. Map, *De Nug. Curial.*, dist. i. cc. 17, 27 (Wright, pp. 28, 29, 58, 59); and Gir. Cambr. *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. iii. c. 21 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 254). Henry's reverence for the brethren showed itself not only in frequent visits and benefactions to their house, and also in his desire to be buried there (above, p. 270), but also by the remarkable way in which he deferred to their suggestions and sought their counsel on grave matters of policy. Examples of this are frequent during the Becket controversy; another may be seen in *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 194. For the Chartreuse (diocese of Grenoble—founded in 1084 or 1086 by Bruno of Cöln, a canon of Reims) see W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. i. cc. 16 and 28 (Wright, pp. 26-28, 59, 60); Gir. Cambr. *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. iii. c. 20 (as above, pp. 248-252); *Gall. Christ.*, vol. xvi. cols. 268, 269. The history of the English Carthusian houses is in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. pt. i.: a full account of one, Witham, is given in the Life of S. Hugh of Lincoln, who had been its first prior.

² These figures are from Mr. Howlett's introduction to Will. Newb., vol. i. pp. xiii, xiv.

³ Gir. Cambr. *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. ii. c. 23 (as above, pp. 65, 67). Ric. Devires (Stevenson), pp. 65-67. Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. pp. 470, 488, 489, 550.

It was, however, no less a personage than Archbishop Baldwin himself who in 1186 proposed to endow out of his archiepiscopal revenues a college of secular priests at Hackington by Canterbury, with the avowed object of providing a dwelling-place and a maintenance for the scholarship which monkish jealousy and monkish sloth had all but driven out of the cloisters where from the days of Theodore to those of Theobald it had found a home. This scheme was at once met by a determined opposition on the part of the monks of Christ Church, who suspected, perhaps not without reason, that it was part of a design for curtailing the privileges and destroying the independence of the metropolitan chapter. They instantly appealed to Rome, and the appeal opened a contest which absorbed the unlucky primate's energies throughout the remainder of his life. He was steadily supported by the king; but the weight of the whole monastic body, except his own order, was thrown into the opposite scale; the general drift of ecclesiastical feeling still lay in the same direction; and after nearly four years of wearisome litigation at Rome and almost open warfare at Canterbury, the building of the new college was stopped by order of the Pope. The undaunted primate transferred his foundation to a new site at Lambeth, where it might have seemed less open to suspicion of rivalry with the Canterbury chapter; but the jealousy of the monks pursued it with relentless hatred, and Baldwin's absence and death in Holy Land enabled them to secure an easy victory a year later. The next archbishop, Hubert Walter, took up his predecessor's scheme with a zeal doubtless quickened by the fact that he was himself a secular clerk. The dispute dragged on for five more years, to end at last in the defeat of the primate, and, with him, of the last attempt made in England systematically to utilize the superfluous wealth of a great monastic corporation for the promotion of learning and the endowment of study.¹ The attempt was made under unfavourable circumstances, perhaps by unskilful hands; and

¹ The history of this quarrel is told at wearisome length by Gervase of Canterbury, and in the *Epistola Cantuarienses*. It is summed up and explained by Bishop Stubbs in his preface to the last-named book.

it was moreover made too soon. In English national sentiment, monachism was inseparably bound up with Christianity itself. To the monastic system England owed her conversion, her ecclesiastical organization, her earliest training as a nation and as a Church. Even if the guides to whom she had so long trusted were failing her at last, the conservatism and the gratitude of Englishmen both alike still shrank from casting aside a tradition hallowed by the best and happiest associations of six hundred years. The bent of popular sympathy was strikingly shewn by an episode in Baldwin's quarrel with his monks, when their insolent defiance of his authority provoked him to cut off all their supplies, in the hope of starving them into submission. For eighty-four weeks not a morsel of food reached them save what was brought by their friends or by the pilgrims who crowded to the martyr's shrine; so great however was the amount of these contributions, some of which came even from Jews, that—if we may believe the tale of one who was himself an inmate of the convent at this time—the brethren were able out of their superabundance to give a daily meal to two hundred poor strangers.¹ As a spiritual force, however, monachism in England was well-nigh dead. Though it still kept a lingering hold upon the hearts of the people, it had lost its power over their souls. It might produce individual saints like Hugh of Lincoln; but its influence had ceased to mould the spiritual life of the nation. The time was almost ripe for the coming of the Friars.

Meanwhile the decay of holiness and learning in the cloister was brought into more vivid light by a great outburst of intellectual vigour of a wholly new type. The literary activity of the reign of Henry I. had been all but quenched by the troubles of Stephen's reign. Chronicler after chronicler lays down his pen, as if in disgust or despair, in the middle of the dreary story, till Henry of Huntingdon and the nameless English annalist at Peterborough are left to struggle almost alone through the last years of anarchy to welcome the new king; and he is no sooner crowned

¹ Gerv. Cant. (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 405.

than they, too, pass away into silence.¹ The first half of Henry's reign has no contemporary historian at all. The other branches of literature continued equally barren; and a promise of better things had scarcely dawned in the miscellaneous treatises of John of Salisbury when the whole intellectual horizon was darkened by the great ecclesiastical storm. No sooner had it subsided, however, than the literary impulse revived under wholly changed conditions. Its bent was still mainly historical; and, as might be expected, the first subject-matter upon which it seized was the history of the new martyr. Within twenty years of his death, no less than ten different biographies of S. Thomas were composed by writers of the most diverse characters—his old comrade John of Salisbury, three of his own confidential clerks, a Benedictine abbot of Peterborough, an Augustinian prior of Oxford, a monk of Canterbury who was probably an Irishman by blood, a French poet who had seen the primate in his chancellor-days, a Cambridge clerk who had joined him on the eve of his martyrdom. But meanwhile a new school of English history was springing up in the court instead of the cloister. Modern research has ascertained that the book which may fairly be called the foundation-stone of this new school, as well as the primary authority for English political history from the death of S. Thomas to the third year of Richard Cœur-de-Lion—the “Acts of King Henry and King Richard,” long attributed to Benedict abbot of Peterborough—is really the work of Richard Fitz-Nigel, bishop of London and treasurer. Its continuator, Roger of Howden, was a clerk of the royal chapel and an active and trusted officer of the royal administration under both Henry and Richard.² A third chronicler of the period, Ralf de Diceto, was archdeacon of Middlesex from 1153 to 1180, when he became dean of S. Paul's, an office of great political as well as ecclesiastical importance, which he filled with distinction until his death in the fourth year of King John.³ The

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, we know, intended to “devote a new book to the new king”; but it seems that this intention was not fulfilled.

² On the *Gesta Hen.* and Rog. Howden see Bishop Stubbs's prefaces to his editions of them in the *Rolls* series.

³ Stubbs, *R. Diceto*, vol. i. pref. pp. xxvi-lxxxiii.

works of these three writers are examples of a species of historical composition which is one of the most valuable literary products of the later twelfth century. They are chronicles in the strictest sense of the word:—records of facts and events arranged year by year in orderly chronological sequence, and for the most part without any attempt at illustration, comment or criticism. But the gap which parts them from the ordinary type of monastic chronicle is as wide as that which parted the highly-placed ecclesiastical dignitary, the trusted minister of the Crown, or the favourite court-chaplain from the obscure monk who had spent, it may be, well-nigh his whole life in copying manuscripts in the scriptorium of Burton or Dunstable or Waverley. Their writers were not merely chroniclers; they were statesmen and diplomatists as well. Their position as members of the royal administration, dwelling in the capital or at the court, placed them in constant and intimate communication with the chief actors in the events which they narrate, events of which not only were they themselves frequently eye-witnesses, but in which they even took a personal, though it might be subordinate, share; it gave them access to the most authentic sources of political intelligence, to the official records of the kingdom, to the state-papers and diplomatic correspondence of the time, whereof a considerable part, if not actually drawn up by themselves, must at any rate have passed through their hands in the regular course of their daily business. The fulness and accuracy, the balance of proportion, the careful order which characterize the work of these statesmen-chroniclers are scarcely more remarkable than its cosmopolitan range; Henry's historiographers, like Henry himself, sweep the whole known world into the wide circle of their intelligence and their interest; the internal concerns of every state, from Norway to Morocco and from Ireland to Palestine, find a place in the pages of Richard Fitz-Nigel and Roger of Howden, side by side with the narrative of their sovereign's wars with France or with the text of the various assizes whereby he was reforming the legal and judicial administration of their own native land. While, however, the first works of this new historical school

thus rose far above the level of mere annals, they still stood far below the literary standard of history in the higher sense, which had been set up by a monk at Malmesbury half a century before. The only writer who in the latter half of the twelfth century, like William of Malmesbury in its earlier half, looked at history in its true light, not as a mere record of facts, but according to its old Greek definition, as "philosophy teaching by examples," must be sought after all not in the court but in the cloister. William indeed had left no heir to his many-sided literary genius; but if some shreds of his mantle did fall upon any historian of the next generation, they fell upon one who bore his name, in an Augustinian priory among the Yorkshire moors.

William of Newburgh was born in 1136 at Bridlington, a quiet little town lying under the southern escarpment of the York Wolds, not far from Flamborough Head. Here, between the bleak uplands and the cold northern sea, a priory of Austin canons had been founded by Walter de Gant in the reign of Henry I.;¹ from this house a colony went forth in the early years of Stephen to settle, under the protection of Roger de Mowbray, first at Hode near Thirsk, and afterwards, in 1145, at Newburgh near Coxwold. William entered the new house as a child—probably, therefore, almost at its foundation; there he passed his whole life; and there, as the reign of Richard Cœur-de-Lion drew towards its close, he wrote his *English History*, from the Norman conquest to his own day. The actual composition of the book seems to have occupied little more than two years; it can scarcely have been begun earlier than 1196, and it breaks off abruptly in the spring of 1198. The surroundings of its writer offered comparatively few advantages for the pursuit of historical study. No atmosphere of venerable antiquity, no traditions of early scholarship and poetry, no hallowed associations with the kings and saints and heroes of old, hung around Newburgh priory; the house was younger than its historian; the earliest and well-nigh the only memory that can attract a pilgrim to its now desolate site is the memory of William himself. No crowd of

¹ Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. pt. 1, pp. 284, 285.

devotes from all parts of the realm came thither year by year to bring their offerings and their news, as they came to the shrine of S. Eadgheim: no visit of king or prince is likely ever to have startled the inmates of Newburgh out of the quiet routine of their daily life: its prior held no such place among the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his province as the abbot of Malmesbury had held for ages among the prelates of the south; he and his canons could have little or no business with the outside world, and it is hardly conceivable that any of them would ever have occasion to travel further than to the mother-house at Bridlington, unless indeed his own love of enterprise and thirst for a wider knowledge of the world should drive him further afield. Even in such a case, however, the undertaking would have been beset with difficulties: travelling in Yorkshire was still, even under Henry Fitz-Empress and his son, a more arduous and dangerous matter than travelling in Wessex under his grandfather. William, too, had grown up amid those terrible days when peaceable folk could find no shelter save within convent-walls, and even that shelter sometimes proved unavailing—when the men of the north were only too thankful to wrap themselves in that comparative isolation which saved them at any rate from sharing in the worst miseries that overwhelmed their brethren in southern England. The memories of his boyhood were little calculated to arouse in him such a spirit of enterprise as had fired the young librarian of Malmesbury. He seems, indeed, never to have set a foot outside his native shire; we might almost fancy that like the first and most venerable of all our historians, he never set a foot outside his own monastery. The vivid sketches of town and country which give such a picturesque charm to the writings of William of Malmesbury are wholly absent from those of William of Newburgh: there is but one bit of local description in his whole book, and even that one—a brief account of Scarborough¹—contains no distinct proof of having been drawn from personal knowledge of the place. The brotherhood of Newburgh had, however, ample opportunities of obtaining authentic, though indirect, intelligence

¹ Will. Newb., l. ii. c. 3 (Howlett, vol. i. p. 104).

from the outer world. Their home, in a sheltered spot under the western slope of the Hambledon Hills, was quiet and peaceful, but not lonely; for it lay on an old road leading from York to the mouth of the Tees, and within easy reach of a whole group of famous monastic establishments which had sprung up during the early years of the religious revival in the little river-valleys that open around the foot of the moors. A few hours' journey down the vale of Pickering would bring the canons of Newburgh to brethren of their own order at Kirkham and Malton; some ten or twelve miles of hill and moor lay between them and the famous abbey of Rievaulx; another great Cistercian house, Byland, rose only a mile from their own home. With the two last-named houses, at least, they were clearly in frequent and intimate communication; it was indeed at the desire of Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx that William undertook to write his history; and remembering the important part which the Cistercians, and especially those of Yorkshire, had played for more than half a century in English politics, secular as well as ecclesiastical, we can readily see that his external sources of information were likely to be at once copious and trustworthy.

The literary resources of Newburgh itself, however, must have been of the very poorest; its library, if it possessed one at all, could only be in process of formation even in William's mature years. He himself gives us no clue to its contents. His style is that of a man of education and taste, but he shews little trace of the classical scholarship which may be detected in William of Malmesbury. Only three earlier writers are mentioned by name in his preface; with two of these—Bæda and Gildas—he has of course no ground in common; while the third, Geoffrey of Monmouth, is named only to be overwhelmed with scorn. It is plain, however, that William largely used the works of Simeon of Durham and Henry of Huntingdon; while the fact that his sketch of the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen is founded upon the last-named writer seems to shew that his literary ambition had never been quickened by a sight of the *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*, of which nevertheless his book

is the sole worthy continuation. Compared with the works of Richard Fitz-Nigel and Roger of Howden, its faults are obvious; its details are vague and inaccurate, it is full of mistakes in names, pedigrees and suchlike small matters, and its chronology is one long tangle of inconsistencies, confusions and contradictions. But in the eyes of William of Newburgh, as in the eyes of William of Malmesbury, the office of an historian is not so much to record the events of the past as to explain them, to extract from them their moral and political significance for the instruction of the present and the future. His work is not a chronicle; it is a commentary on the whole history of England, political, ecclesiastical and social, throughout the twelfth century.¹ Such a commentary, written at such a time and by such a man, is for later students above all price. The one short chapter in which William sums up the causes and effects of the anarchy under Stephen² is of more real historical worth than the whole chaos of mere disjointed facts which is all that the chroniclers have to give us, and in which he alone helps us to discover a meaning and a moral. The same might be said of many of his reflections upon men and things, both at home and abroad. In some respects indeed he contrasts favourably even with his greater namesake of Malmesbury. If he is less anxious for the entertainment of his reader, he is more in earnest about the philosophical bearings of his subject; he cares less for artistic effect and more for moral impressions; his stories are less amusing and less graphically told, but they are untinged with Malmesbury's love of gossip and scandal; his aim is always rather to point a moral than to adorn a tale; he has a feeling for romance and a feeling for humour,³ but he will ruthlessly, though quietly, demolish a generally-accepted story altogether, if he knows it to be false.⁴ Only once does the judicial calmness of his tone change into accents of almost passionate indignation; and it

¹ On Will. Newb. and his work see Mr. Howlett's preface to vol. i. of his edition of the *Historia Anglicana* in the Rolls series.

² Will. Newb., l. i. c. 22 (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 69, 70).

³ See e.g., l. ii. c. 10, and l. iv. c. 32 (as above, pp. 123-125, 385, 386), l. v. cc. 6 and 14 (vol. ii. pp. 424-427, 451-453).

⁴ L. i. c. 26 (vol. i. p. 81).

is this outburst which above all has gained for him in our own day the title of "the father of historical criticism,"¹ for it is the earliest protest against a rising school of pseudo-historical writers who seemed in a fair way to drive true history altogether out of the literary field.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the marvellous vitality of the ancient Celtic race shewn itself more strikingly than in the province of literature. Of all the varied intellectual elements that went to the making of the new England, the Celtic element rose to the surface first. The romantic literature of England owes its origin to a Welsh monk, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who became bishop of S. Asaph's about two years before the accession of Henry II. Long before that time—probably in the days when poets and men of letters of every type were thronging to the court of Henry's grandmother the good Queen Maude—Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, had picked up during a journey in Brittany "a very ancient book, containing a history of the Britons, from Brut to Cadwallader son of Cadwallon;" this book he carried home to England and presented to his friend Geoffrey, begging him to translate it out of Welsh into Latin.² Some years after the death of Henry I. Geoffrey's translation was given to the world. Its original cannot now be identified; but Geoffrey may fairly take to himself the whole credit of the *History of the British Kings* to which his name is attached. The book is an elaborate tissue of Celtic myths, legends and traditions, scraps of classical and Scriptural learning, and fantastic inventions of the author's own fertile brain, all dexterously thrown into a pseudo-historical shape and boldly sent forth under the imposing name of History. The success of Geoffrey's venture was amazing. The dedication of the book was accepted by the foremost lay scholar of the day, William of Malmesbury's friend and patron, Earl Robert of Gloucester; its fame spread rapidly through all sections and classes of society. A Yorkshire priest, Alfred of Beverley, tells us how some of the clergy of the diocese, when suspended from the usual occupations of their

¹ From Mr. Freeman, in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxxiii. (1878), p. 216.

² Geoff. Monm. *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, l. i. c. 1 (Giles, Caxton Soc., pp. 1, 2).

calling—doubtless by one of the many interdicts which fell upon them during the struggle between S. William and Henry Murdac—beguiled their time by discussing the stories which they had heard or read about the ancient British kings; how, his curiosity aroused by their talk, he with some difficulty borrowed a copy of the new book which had set them talking; and how he longed to transcribe it at length, but lacking time and means was obliged to content himself with an abridgement.¹ Norman barons and ladies heard of the wondrous book and became eager to read it in their own tongue; a copy was borrowed from Earl Robert himself by no less a personage than Walter Lespec, that he might lend it in his turn to a friend of his own, Ralf Fitz-Gilbert, whose wife wanted her household-minstrel Geoffrey Gaimar to translate it into French verse for her entertainment.²

The version of Gaimar was superseded in a few years by that of Wace, a Norman poet who did a better service to the cause of history by his later work, the *Roman de Rou* or riming chronicle of the Norman dukes from Hrolf to Henry II. Neither Alfred nor Gaimar nor Wace seems to have had any suspicion of the true character of Geoffrey's book of marvels; they all alike treated it as genuine history, and from the point where it closes, at the death of Cadwallon in 689, carried on their narratives without a break down to the times of the Norman kings. It was against this blurring of the line between truth and falsehood, this obliteration of the fundamental distinction between history and romance, that William of Newburgh lifted up his well-grounded and eloquent protest in the preface to his *Historia Anglicana*.³ Notwithstanding that protest, the fabulous tales of the *Brut* (as Geoffrey's book is commonly called, from the name of the first British king mentioned in it) continued to pass current as an integral part of the history of Britain for many generations after him. The fraud was in fact countenanced in high places for political ends; Henry himself was quick to

¹ Alf. Beverl. (Hearne), pp. 1-3.

² Geoff. Gaimar, vv. 6436-6460 (Wright, Caxton Soc., pp. 224, 225).

³ Will. Newb. proem. (Howlett, vol. i. pp. 11-18).

seize upon it as a means of humouring the national vanity and soothing the irritated national feelings of those Celtic vassals who were generally among the most troublesome of his subjects, but who were also not unfrequently among the most necessary and useful of his allies. On one occasion he is said, though on doubtful authority, to have conciliated the Bretons by consenting to enter into a diplomatic correspondence with their long-departed, yet still mysteriously living monarch, Arthur, and by proposing to hold Brittany as Arthur's vassal.¹ In his last years, however, he turned the new Arthurian lore to account in a far more significant way in the island Britain: he set the monks of Glastonbury to find the grave of the British hero-king. In the cemetery of S. Dunstan's old abbey stood two pyramidal stones, of unknown age, and covered with inscriptions so old and worn that nothing could be read in them save, as it was thought, Arthur's name. Between these stones, sixteen feet below the surface of the ground, Henry—so the monks afterwards declared—guided by what he had heard from an old Welsh bard and read in the histories of the Britons,² bade them look for a wooden sarcophagus containing Arthur's mortal remains. The discovery was made in 1191; a coffin, hollowed as Henry had said out of the solid trunk of an oak-tree, was dug up on the spot indicated; let into a stone at its foot was a leaden cross, which when taken out proved to

¹ "Hanc [sc. Britanniam] sub jure tuo, sub pace tuâ, teneamus;
Jus tibi, pax nobis, totaque terra simul"—

ends Henry's letter to Arthur in the *Draco Norm.*, l. ii. c. 22, vv. 1279, 1280 (Howlett, *Will. Newb.*, vol. ii. p. 707). See above, p. 57, note 2. The whole story is extremely curious; but I feel too doubtful about the character of the source from which it comes to venture upon any discussion of its possible significance.

² "Sicut ab historico cantore Britone audierat antiquo," Gir. Cambr. *De Instr. Princ.* (Angl. Christ. Soc.), p. 192. "Ex gestis Britonum et eorum cantoribus historicis," *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. ii. c. 9 (Brewer, vol. iv. p. 49). These pyramids were there in William of Malmesbury's day, when one of them was already threatening to fall "præ nimiâ vetustate." They were covered with "antiquitatis nonnulla spectacula, quæ plane possunt legi licet non plane possunt intelligi." These were pictures of bishops and kings, with old English names written under them; Arthur, however, is not in the list. William thought that the persons represented were buried underneath. Will. Malm. *Gesta Reg.*, l. i. c. 21 (Hardy, pp. 34, 35).

bear upon its inner face the words, "Here in the isle of Avalon lies buried the renowned King Arthur, with Guinevere his wife." In the coffin were found a few rotten bones, and a "cunningly-braided tress of golden hair," which however crumbled into dust in the hand of a monk who snatched it up too eagerly. The bones were carefully preserved and solemnly re-buried under a marble tomb before the high altar in the abbey-church.¹

It is easy to see what was, at any rate in Henry's mind, the political significance of this transaction. When Arthur could be thus publicly exhibited as dead and buried, it was because the long-cherished dreams of Celtic national independence, of which his name had been the symbol and the watchword, were dead and buried too. But the scene thus enacted at Glastonbury in 1191 had also another meaning of which perhaps none of the actors in it could be fully aware. It marked the final "passing of Arthur" out of the sphere of politics into a wholly new sphere of pure intellect and philosophical romance. If Geoffrey of Monmouth corrupted the sources of British history, he atoned for his crime by opening to the poets of the generation succeeding his own a fount of inspiration which is hardly exhausted yet. Their imagination seized upon the romantic side of these old-world legends, and gradually wove them into a poetic cycle which went on developing all through the later middle ages not in England alone, but over the whole of civilized Europe. But in the hands of these more highly-cultured singers the wild products of bardic fancy took a new colour and a new meaning. As usual, it was the Church who first breathed into the hitherto soulless body the breath of spiritual and intellectual life. The earliest of

¹ See the various accounts of the invention and translation of Arthur in Gir. Cambr. *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. ii. cc. 9, 10 (Brewer, vol. iv. pp. 48-51), and *De Instr. Princ.* (Angl. Christ. Soc.), pp. 191, 192; R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 36; Rog. Wend. (Coxe), vol. iii. p. 48, and Ann. Margam, a. 1190 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. i. pp. 21, 22). Gerald seems to have been present himself. He tells us the "translation" was made by the king's order; and indeed his account, taken by itself, would leave an impression that the whole thing occurred during King Henry's lifetime; but R. Coggeshall and Rog. Wend. both distinctly give the date, 1191; the Margam Annals place it only a year earlier; and in both those years the reigning king was far away.

the Arthurian romances, as we possess them now, is a wholly new creation of the religious mysticism of the twelfth century, the story of the Holy Grail—

“ The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
 Drank at the last sad supper with His own.
 This, from the blessed land of Aromat—
 After the day of darkness, when the dead
 Went wandering o'er Moriah—the good saint,
 Arimathæan Joseph, journeying brought
 To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
 Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.
 And there awhile it bode ; and if a man
 Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,
 By faith, of all his ills. But then the times
 Grew to such evil that the holy cup
 Was caught away to Heaven, and disappear'd.”

As one by one the older legends of Arthur and Merlin, the later stories of Lancelot and Tristan and Gawaine, were moulded into literary form, a link to bind them all together was found in the “quest of the Grail,” vowed by the whole company of Arthur's knights assembled at the Table Round, achieved only by one, the Galahad whose pure figure has gleamed upon all after-time, as it flashed first upon the corrupt court of the Angevins, the mirror of ideal Christian chivalry.

The greater part—certainly the noblest part—of this vast fabric of romance seems to have been woven by the genius of one man.¹ Every side of the intellectual movement which throughout the latter half of the twelfth century was working a revolution in English thought and life is reflected in Walter Map. Born on the marches of England and Wales, probably in the early years of the civil war, he studied at Paris under Gerard la Pucelle, and came home again, while Thomas Becket was still chancellor, to occupy some post at court, doubtless that of chaplain to the king.

¹ On these Arthur-romances and Walter Map's share in them see Sir F. Madden's introduction to his edition of *Sir Gawayne* (Bannatyne Club), and that of M. Paulin Paris to the first volume of his *Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, summarized in Mr. H. Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i. pp. 562-569.

He came of a family which had already done good service to the Crown ; but once in personal contact with Henry himself, Walter can have needed no passport to the royal favour save his own versatile genius. At once a scholar, a theologian and a poet, an earnest political and ecclesiastical reformer and a polished man of the world, shrewd and practical, witty and wise, he soon rose high in the king's confidence and esteem. Henry employed him in the most varied capacities—as a justice-itinerant in England, as an ambassador to the court of France, as a representative of English orthodoxy and theological learning at the Lateran council of 1179; while in the intervals of these missions he was in close and constant attendance upon the king himself. In addition to his post in the royal household he held several ecclesiastical preferments—a canonry at S. Paul's, the parsonage of Westbury in Gloucestershire, and the precentorship of Lincoln, which he resigned in 1196 to become archdeacon of Oxford¹ By that time his literary work was probably for the most part done. The only book now extant which actually bears his name, the treatise *De Nugis Curialium*—"Courtiers' Triflings"—is a fruit of the busy years spent in attendance upon King Henry from 1182 to 1189. By its title and origin it recalls the *Polycraticus* ; and the difference between the two books marks the change which had come over the tone of educated English thought in the quarter of a century that lay between them. Walter Map was, in all likelihood, as ripe a scholar as John of Salisbury ; but there is nothing scholastic in his treatment of his subject. His book is far less elaborate in form and methodical in arrangement than John's ; it has, in fact, no visible arrangement at all ; it is a collection of miscellaneous notes—scraps of folklore from the Welsh marches, tales brought home by pilgrims and crusaders from Byzantium or Jerusalem, stories from the classics, sayings from the Fathers, fragments of information gleaned from the by-ways of history, personal anecdotes new and old, sketches of contemporary life and manners in the world and the Church, court-news, court-gossip, court-scandal—all, as it

¹ For the life of Walter Map see Mr. Wright's *Biog. Britt. Litt.*, vol. ii. pp. 295-298, and his preface to *De Nug. Cur.* (Camden Soc.) pp. i.-viii.

seems, picked out at random from the writer's private commonplace-book and flashed in picturesque confusion before the eyes of the literary public of his day. Yet the purpose of it all is as earnest as that of the *Polycraticus*, though veiled under a shew of carelessness. Walter appeals to a wider circle than John; he writes not for a chosen band of kindred souls, but for all sorts and conditions of men who know Latin enough to read him, for courtiers and men of the world who have neither time nor patience to go through a course of philosophical reasonings and exhortations, but who may be caught at unawares by "truth embodied in a tale," and are the more likely to be caught by it the more unexpected the shape in which it comes. When Walter stops to point the moral of his stories—for a moral they always have—he does it with the utmost tact; more often he leaves his readers to find the moral for themselves. "I am your huntsman; I bring you the game; dress the dishes for yourselves!" he tells them.¹ But he strikes down the quarry—if we may venture to borrow his own metaphor—with a far more unsparing hand than his predecessor. King Henry himself, indeed, never was spared in his own court; but it is in the satirist's attitude towards the Church that we find the most significant sign of the times. The grave tone of righteous indignation, the shame and grief of the Theobaldine reformers at the decay of ecclesiastical purity, has given place to bitter mockery and scathing sarcasm. Where John lifts up his hands in deprecation of Heaven's wrath against its unworthy ministers, Walter points at them the finger of scorn. John turns with eager hope from the picture of decaying discipline and declining morality, which he paints with firm hand but with averted face, to the prospect of a reformation which is to be the spontaneous work of the clergy and the "religious" themselves; Walter has seen this dream of reform buried in the grave of S. Thomas—perhaps we should rather say of Theobald—and now sees no way of dealing with the mass of corruption but to fling it bodily into the furnace of public criticism and popular hatred. The mightiest

¹ "Venator vester sum, feras vobis affero, fercula faciatis." W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. ii. c. 32 (Wright, p. 106).

creation of his genius is the "Bishop Goliath" whose gigantic figure embodies all the vice and all the crime which were bringing disgrace upon the clerical order in his day. The "Apocalypse" and "Confession" of this imaginary prelate have been ascribed to Walter Map by a constant tradition whose truth it is impossible to doubt, although it rests upon no direct contemporary authority.¹ The satire is in fact so daring, so bitter, and withal so appallingly true to life, that the author may well have deemed it wiser to conceal his name. He is the anonymous spokesman of a new criticism which has not yet fully discovered its own power; of a public opinion which is no longer held in check by external authority, but which is beginning to be itself an independent force; which dares to sling its pebble at abuses that have defied king and Pope, and will dare one day to sling it at king and Pope themselves. That day, however, was still far distant. Walter's ideal of perfection in Church and state is one with John of Salisbury's, only it is set forth in a different shape. The moral lesson which lies at the heart of the Arthurian romances comes home to us the more forcibly as we remember that the hand which drew Sir Galahad was the same hand which drew Bishop Goliath.

Side by side with Walter Map, in the foremost rank of this new school of critics and satirists, stands his probably younger contemporary, Gerald de Barri. Gerald was born in 1147 in the castle of Manorbeer, some three miles from Pembroke. He has left us a vivid picture of his childhood's home—its ramparts and towers crowning a lofty hill-top exposed to all the winds that swept over the stormy Irish Sea, whirled up the creek that ran up from the Bristol Channel to westward of the castle, and ruffled with ceaseless wavelets the surface of the little stream that flowed through the sandy valley on its eastern side;—its splendid fishponds at the northern foot of the hill, the enclosed tract of garden-ground beyond, and at the back of all, the protecting belt of woodland whose precipitous paths and lofty nut-trees were perhaps alike attractive to Gerald and his brothers in their

¹ They have been edited, under the title of *Latin Poems ascribed to Walter Mapes*, by Mr. T. Wright for the Camden Society.

boyish days.¹ His father, William de Barri, the lord of Manorbeer, represented one of those Norman families of knightly rank who had made for themselves a home in South Wales, half as conquerors, half as settlers, in the days of Henry I. His mother, Angareth, was a granddaughter of Rees Ap-Tewdor, prince of South Wales—a child of his daughter Nest by her marriage with Gerald the constable of Pembroke; and the fiery Celtic spirit as well as the quick Celtic wit which the boy inherited from her shews itself alike in every act of his life and in every page of his writings. On both sides he came of a race of fighting-men, and he was certainly not the least pugnacious of his family. The countless battles of his life were, however, to be fought with other weapons than the sword which had won Manorbeer for his paternal ancestors, and which was soon to win for some of his mother's nearest kinsmen—for her half-brother Robert Fitz-Stephen, her nephews Meiler and Robert and Raymond, her own brother Maurice Fitz-Gerald—a wider heritage and a more lasting fame beyond the Irish Sea. Gerald's bent towards the clerical profession shewed itself in his earliest years; as a child he was known at Manorbeer as "the little bishop." At three different periods before he reached the age of twenty-five, he spent some years in study at Paris, where he also lectured upon rhetoric with considerable success. He finally came home in 1172, just as King Henry, having twice passed through South Wales on his way to and from Ireland, was planning out a new scheme for the government of the principality. One part of this scheme was, as we have seen, the delegation of the supreme authority to the young Welsh prince Rees Ap-Griffith. Another part was the revival of the policy begun by the Norman kings of managing the Welsh people through the instrumentality of the Church, and, to this intent, filling the ranks of the clergy in Wales with as many foreign priests as possible. Experience had, however, shewn that men of pure English or Norman blood were not always the fittest instruments for such a purpose. A year after Gerald's birth a compromise had been tried in the appointment to the

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Itin. Kamb.*, l. i. c. 12 (Dimock, vol. vi. p. 92).

bishopric of S. David's of a prelate who was half Norman and half Welsh:—David, son of Gerald of Pembroke and Nest, brother of Maurice Fitz-Gerald and of Angareth the wife of William de Barri. When Angareth's son Gerai came home from Paris in 1172, therefore, the influence of her family was at its height. The foremost man in South Wales was her cousin Rees Ap-Griffith; the second was her brother the bishop of S. David's. It was only natural that Gerald, sharing with his uncle the qualification of mingled Welsh and Norman blood, and already known as a distinguished scholar of the most famous seat of learning in Europe, should be at once selected for employment in the business of reforming his native land. Gerald himself was eager for the work; he had no difficulty in obtaining from Archbishop Richard a commission to act as his legate and representative in the diocese of S. David's; thus armed, he began a vigorous campaign against the evil doings of clergy and laity alike—forcing the people to pay their tithes of wool and cheese, a duty which the Welsh were always very unwilling to fulfil; compelling the priests to abandon the lax system of discipline which they had inherited from the ancient British Church, and had contrived to retain in spite of Lanfranc and Anselm and Theobald; excommunicating the sheriff and deposing the archdeacon of Brecknock themselves when they dared to resist his authority, and receiving in 1175, as the reward of his zeal, the appointment to the vacated archdeaconry.

Early in the next year his uncle, Bishop David, died. The young archdeacon had just issued victorious from a sharp struggle in behalf of the see against the bishop of S. Asaph's, who had attempted to encroach upon its rights: the darling wish of his heart was to see it restored to its ancient metropolitanical rank; and he had managed to kindle in his fellow-canons a spark of the same ambition. They saw in him the only man capable of bringing their desire to fulfilment, and made a bold attempt to obtain him for their bishop. By this time, however, both King Henry and Archbishop Richard had learned enough of Gerald's character to perceive that, however useful he might be as an archdeacon

in Wales, he was not at all the man to suit their purposes as bishop of any Welsh see, least of all as bishop of S. David's. Henry, with a burst of fury, summarily refused the nomination of the chapter; a long wrangle ended in the appointment of Peter de Leia, prior of the Cluniac house of Much Wenlock, to the vacant see. Peter, being a foreigner, a monk, and a man of no great intellectual capacity, was utterly unable either to rule his turbulent Welsh flock or to cope with his self-willed and quick-witted Welsh canons; Gerald undertook to teach him his duties, but found him such an unsatisfactory pupil that he soon gave up the task in disgust, and again betook himself to Paris. There he remained, studying civil and canon law, and lecturing at the same time with great success, till the summer of 1180, when he returned to England, was received by the chapter of Canterbury at a great banquet on Trinity Sunday, and thence proceeded into Wales. He found Bishop Peter at his wits' end, and the diocese in utter confusion, which he at once set himself to remedy after his own fashion. Thus matters went on till 1184, when Henry on his last hurried visit to England found time to intervene once more in the troubled affairs of South Wales. He called a council on the border, summoned Gerald to meet him there, and employed him to arrange the final submission of his cousin Rees to the English Crown; and then he dexterously removed the over-zealous archdeacon from a sphere where he was likely henceforth to be more dangerous than useful, by making him one of his own chaplains, and sending him next year to Ireland in attendance upon John. John came back in September; Gerald lingered till the following Easter. Two books were the fruit of this visit: a *Topography of Ireland*, published in 1187, and dedicated to the king; and the *Conquest of Ireland*, which came out under the patronage of Count Richard of Poitou in 1188. Towards the close of that year, when Archbishop Baldwin went to preach the Crusade in Wales, Gerald accompanied him half as interpreter, half as guide. *An Itinerary of Wales* forms the record of this expedition, which was followed by a journey over sea, still in the company of the archbishop, with whom Gerald seems to have

remained in more or less close attendance upon Henry's movements until the final catastrophe in July 1189. He then offered his services to Richard, who sent him home once more to his old task of helping to keep order in South Wales. For a while he found favour with all parties;¹ William of Longchamp offered him the bishopric of Bangor, John, in his day of power after William's fall, offered him that of Landaff. Gerald however refused them both, as he had already refused two Irish sees; he cared in fact for no preferment short of the metropolitan chair of S. David. Shut out of Paris by the war between Richard and Philip Augustus, he withdrew to Lincoln and resumed his theological studies under its chancellor William, whom he had known in his earlier college days on the Mont-Ste.-Geneviève, till in the summer of 1198 he was roused to action once more by the death of Bishop Peter de Leia. The fight began at once; the chapter of S. David's nominated Gerald for the vacant see; the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, set his face against the nomination; they defied his authority and appealed to king and Pope; Gerald himself fought his own battle and that of the see with indomitable courage, at home and abroad, for nearly four years; but the canons were less resolute than their bishop-elect, he found himself at last fighting alone against the world, and in 1202 he gave up the struggle and withdrew to spend the rest of his life in the quiet pursuit of letters.²

For nearly thirty years it had been the aim of Gerald's highest ambition to be the S. Thomas of his native land. He had struggled and suffered for the privileges of S. David's in the same spirit in which Thomas had struggled and suffered for those of Canterbury, and it is by no means unlikely that had the occasion ever arisen, he would have been found ready to follow his model even

¹ Gerald himself goes so far as to say, with respect to Richard's appointment of William of Longchamp as justiciar, "cui archidiaconum adjunxit" (*De Rebus a se gestis*, dist. ii. c. 21, Brewer, vol. i. p. 84). We find however no hint of such a thing elsewhere.

² Gerald's life may be studied in his own book, *De Rebus a se gestis*, published in the first volume of the Rolls edition of his works; and, more conveniently, in Mr. Brewer's preface to the same volume.

unto death.¹ But, unlike Thomas, he knew when to yield ; and instead of dying for a lost cause, was content to live for posterity. Both men have had their fitting reward. Gerald the Welshman—"Giraldus Cambrensis"—still lives in his writings under the title won for him by his ardent patriotism ; he lives however for us not as the champion of Welsh ecclesiastical independence, but as what he has been called by a writer of our own day—"the father of our popular literature."² Gerald's first essay in authorship was made at the age of twenty ; he was still busy with his pen when past his seventieth year ;³ and all through the intervening half-century, every spare moment of his active, restless career was devoted to literary composition. His last years were spent in revising and embellishing the hasty productions of these earlier and briefer intervals of leisure. Even in their more finished shape, however, they still bear the impress of their origin. They breathe in all its fulness a spirit of which we catch the first faint indications in William of Malmesbury, and which may be described in one word as the spirit of modern journalism. Gerald's wide range of subjects is only less remarkable than the ease and freedom with which he treats them. Whatever he touches—history, archæology, geography, natural science, politics, the social life and thought of the day, the physical peculiarities of Ireland and the manners and customs of its people, the picturesque scenery and traditions of his own native land, the scandals of the court and of the cloister, the petty struggle for the primacy of Wales and the great tragedy of the fall of the Angevin empire—is all alike dealt with in the bold, dashing, offhand style of a modern newspaper or magazine-article. His first important work, the *Topography of Ireland*, is, with due allowance for the difference between the tastes of the twelfth century and those of the nineteenth, just such a series of sketches as a special correspondent in our own day might send from some newly-colonized island in the Pacific to

¹ That Thomas was Gerald's chosen model may be seen all through his writings. He harps upon the martyr's life and death somewhat as Thomas himself harped upon the life of Anselm.

² Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, vol. i. p. 172.

³ Gir. Cambr. *De Jure Menev. Eccles.*, dist. vii. (Dimock, vol. iii. pp. 372, 373).

satisfy or to whet the curiosity of his readers at home. The book made no small stir in the contemporary world of letters. Sober, old-fashioned scholars stood aghast at this daring Welshman's disregard of all classical traditions and literary conventionalities, at the colloquialisms of his style, and still more at the audacity of his stories.¹ For Gerald, determined to entertain his readers no matter by what means, and secure in their universal ignorance of the country which he professed to be describing, had raked together all the marvellous and horrible tales that could be found in Irish traditional lore or devised by the inventive genius of his Irish informants; and the more frightful and impossible these stories were, the more greedily did he seize upon them and publish them. Irish scholars, almost from that day to this, have justly declaimed against Gerald for his atrocious libels upon their country and its people; yet the fact remains that, in the words of one of his latest editors, "to his industry we are exclusively indebted for all that is known of the state of Ireland during the whole of the middle ages."² His treatise *De Expugnatione Hiberniæ* is by far the most complete and authentic account which we possess of the English or Norman conquest of Ireland. The *Topographia*, despite its glaring faults, has a special merit of its own; its author "must" (as says the writer already quoted) "take rank with the first who descried the value, and, in some respects, the proper limits of descriptive geography."³

A far better specimen of his work in this direction is his *Welsh Itinerary*, followed some three or four years later by a *Description of Wales*.⁴ Here Gerald is on familiar and congenial ground, dealing with a subject which he thoroughly knows and understands, describing a country which he ardently loves and a people with whom, although by no means blind or indulgent to their faults, he is yet heartily in sympathy, because he is one of themselves. In these treatises therefore we see him at his very best, both as a writer and as a man. In his own opinion the best of all

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Expugn. Hibern.*, introit. (Dimock, vol. v. p. 209).

² Brewer, *Gir. Cambr.*, vol. i. pref. p. xl.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Dimock, vol. vi.

his works was the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*,¹ or *Jewel of the Church*, a handbook of instructions on the moral and religious duties of the priesthood, compiled for the clergy of his own archdeaconry of Brecknock. To modern readers it is interesting only for the glimpse which it affords of the social, moral and intellectual condition of the South-Welsh clergy in his day. In his *Mirror of the Church*² the general state of religious society and ecclesiastical discipline, at home and abroad, is reflected as unsparingly as in the satires of Walter Map. The remainder of Gerald's extant works are of the most miscellaneous character—a half-finished autobiography, a book of *Invectives* against his enemies political and ecclesiastical, a collection of letters, poems and speeches, a treatise on the *Rights of the Church of S. David's*, some Lives of contemporary bishops, a tract nominally *On the Education of Princes*, but really occupied for the most part with a bitter attack upon the characters of Henry II. and his sons.³ All of them are, more or less, polemical pamphlets, coloured throughout by the violent personal antipathies of the writer,⁴ but valuable for the countless side-lights which they cast upon the social life of the period. As we read their bold language, we can scarcely wonder at Archbishop Hubert's relentless determination to put down their author by every means in his power. But though Gerald the bishop-elect of S. David's was no match for the primate of all England, Gerald the pamphleteer wielded a force against which the religious authority of the metropolitan and the hostility of the older race of scholars were both alike powerless. He and his colleagues in the new school of literature had at their back the whole strength of the class to which they belonged, a class of men who were rapidly taking the place of the clergy as leaders of the intellectual life and thought of the nation.

¹ Brewer, vol. ii.

² *Speculum Ecclesie* (Brewer, vol. iv.).

³ Gerald's works have all been edited for the Rolls series by Mr. Brewer and Mr. Dimock, except the *Vita Sex Episcoporum*, which are in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii., and *De Instructione Principum*, which has been published by the Anglia Christiana Society.

⁴ It is only fair to note that Gerald at the close of his life published a little book of *Retractions*, printed in first volume of his works (ed. Brewer).

When old-fashioned critics lifted up their protest against Gerald's *Irish Topography*, he boldly carried the book down to Oxford, "where the most learned and famous English clerks were then to be found," and read it out publicly to as many as chose to come and hear it. "And as there were three distinctions or divisions in the work, and each division occupied a day, the readings lasted three successive days. On the first day he received and entertained at his lodgings all the poor of the town; on the next day all the doctors of the different faculties, and such of their pupils as were of fame and note; on the third day the rest of the scholars, with the knights, townsmen and many burgesses."¹ If some of the elder teachers shook their heads, it mattered little to Gerald; their murmurs were lost in the applause of a younger generation which hailed him as one of its own most distinguished representatives.

The spirit which breathes through the pages of Gerald and Walter is the spirit of the rising universities. The word "university" indeed, as applied to the great seats of learning in the twelfth century, is somewhat of an anachronism; the earliest use of it in the modern sense, in reference to Oxford, occurs under Henry III.;² and the University of Paris appears by that name for the first time in 1215,³ the year of our own Great Charter. But although the title was not yet in use, the institution now represented by it was one of the most important creations of the age. The school of Bologna sprang into life under the impulse given by Irnerius, a teacher who opened lectures upon the Roman civil law in 1113.⁴ Nearly forty years later, when Gratian had published his famous book on the Decretals, a school of canon law was instituted in the same city by Pope Eugene III.; and in 1158 the body of teachers who formed what we call the University won a charter of privileges from the

¹ Gir. Cambr. *De Rebus a se gestis*, l. ii. c. 16 (Brewer, vol. i. pp. 72, 73). I have availed myself of Mr. Brewer's translation of the passage, in his preface to the same volume, p. xlvi.

² Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, vol. i. introd. p. xxxiv.

³ Mullinger, *Univ. Cambridge*, p. 71 (from Savigny, *Gesch. des Röm. Rechts*, c. xxi. sec. 127).

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 36, 37, 72.

Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.¹ We have already, in the course of our story, had more than one glimpse of the great school of arts and theology which was growing up during the same period in Paris. There, where the study of divinity had long found a congenial home under the shadow of the cathedral church, William of Champeaux in 1109—the year of S. Anselm's death—opened on the Mont-Ste.-Geneviève a school of logic which in a few years became the most frequented in Europe. Under his successors, Abelard and Peter Lombard (the latter of whom was made bishop of Paris in 1159), the schools of Paris became the centre of the intellectual life of Christendom.² Teachers and scholars from every nation met on equal terms, as fellow-citizens of a new and world-wide commonwealth of learning, on the slopes of the "Mount," and went forth again to carry into the most distant lands the instruction which they had acquired. There a Wiltshire lad could begin a lifelong intimacy with a youth from Champagne ;— could pass from the lectures of Abelard to those of a master who, though disguised under the title of "Robert of Melun," was in reality a fellow-countryman of his own ; could enter the *quadrivium* under the guidance of a German teacher, make acquaintance with Aristotle by the help of another learned Englishman, and complete his theological studies, it may be, under the same Robert Pulein whom we saw lecturing at Oxford some twelve or thirteen years before.³ There a scholar from the Welsh marches could sit at the feet of the English master Gerard La Pucelle,⁴ and another from the depths of Pembroke could give lectures on rhetoric and could study theology with William of Blois, who in after-days came at the call of the Burgundian S. Hugh to undertake the direction of a school at Lincoln.⁵ There Ralf de Diceto was a fellow-student with Arnulf of Lisieux ;⁶ there, in all likelihood, John of Salisbury met Nicolas Breakspear and Thomas Becket. Thence, we cannot doubt, came through some of these wandering scholars the impulse

¹ Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, p. 73.

² *Ib.* pp. 75-77.

³ See above, vol. i. pp. 480-483.

⁴ See above, p. 449.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 453, 456.

⁶ Arn. Lisieux, Ep. 16 (Giles, pp. 100, 101).

which called the schools of Oxford into being. The first token of their existence is the appearance of Robert Pulein in 1133. From that time forth the intellectual history of Oxford is again blank till the coming of Vacarius in 1149; and it is not till the reign of Henry II. has all but closed that we begin to discern any lasting result from the visits of these two teachers. Then, however, the words of Gerald would alone suffice to shew that the University was to all intents and purposes full-grown. It had its different "faculties" of teachers, its scholars of various grades; and the little city in the meadows by the Isis, famous already in ecclesiastical legend and in political and military history, had by this time won the character which was henceforth to be its highest and most abiding glory, as the resort of all "the most learned and renowned clerks in England."

On a site less favoured by nature, Oxford's future rival was more slowly growing up. A lift of slightly higher ground above the left bank of the river Grant—better known to us now as the Cam—on the southern margin of what was then and for five hundred years afterwards a vast tract of flood-drowned fen stretching northward as far as the Wash, there stood at the close of the seventh century—long before Oxford makes its first appearance in history—a "little waste chester"¹ representing what had once been the Roman city of Camboritum. At the coming of the Norman the place was known as Grantebriidge, and contained some three or four hundred houses, twenty-seven of which were pulled down by the Conqueror's orders to make room for the erection of a castle.² It may be that here, as at Lincoln, the inhabitants thus expelled went to make for themselves a new home beyond the river; and a church of S. Benet which still survives, and whose tower might pass for a twin-sister of Robert D'Oilly's tower of S. Michael's at Oxford, may have been the nucleus of a new town which sprang up half a mile to the south-east of the old one, on the right bank of the Cam. Around this new town there gathered in the course of the following century a fringe of religious foundations. The "round church" of the Holy

¹ Bæda, *Hist. Eccles.*, l. iv. c. 19.

² Domesday, vol. i. p. 189.

Sepulchre, clearly a work of the time of Henry I., was probably built by some crusader whose imagination had been fired by the sight of its prototype at Jerusalem. A Benedictine nunnery, part of whose beautiful church now serves as the chapel of Jesus College, was established under the invocation of S. Radegund early in the reign of Stephen; an hospital dedicated to S. John the Evangelist was founded at some time between 1133 and 1169 under the patronage of Bishop Nigel of Ely. This hospital, like most institutions of the kind, may have been served by canons regular of the order of S. Augustine. Some years before this, however, the Augustinians had made a more important settlement in the same neighbourhood. As early as 1092 Picot the sheriff of Cambridgeshire had founded within the older town on the left bank of the river a church of S. Giles, to be served by four regular canons. In 1112 this little college was removed to Barnwell, some two miles to the north-eastward, on the opposite side of the river, where it grew into a flourishing Austin priory. Wherever there were Austin canons a school was sure to spring up ere long; so, too, we cannot doubt, it was at Cambridge. Whether the seeds of learning were first sown in the cloisters of S. John's or of Barnwell, or under the shadow of that old S. Benet's which seems to have been the original University church¹—who it was that played here the part which had been played at Oxford by Robert Pulein—we know not; but we do know that by the middle of the following century the old Grantebridge had sunk into a mere suburb of the new town beyond the river, and the existence of the schools of Cambridge had become an established fact.²

The student-life of the twelfth century—whether it were the life of scholar or of teacher—had nothing either of the

¹ See Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, p. 299, note 3; and Willis and Clark, *Archit. Hist. Cambr.*, vol. i. p. 276 and note 3.

² On the rise of Cambridge—town and university—see Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, pp. 332-334. The schools were not formally recognized as an "University" till 1318; *ib.* p. 145. For S. Radegund's see Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. iv. pp. 215, 216; for Barnwell, *ib.* vol. vi. pt. i. pp. 83-87; for S. John's Hospital, *ib.* pt. ii. p. 755. The present S. John's College stands on the site of the hospital.

ease or the dignity which we associate with the college life of to-day. Colleges in the modern sense there were indeed none. Students of all ranks and ages, from boys of ten or twelve years to men in full priestly orders, lodged as they could in a sort of dames'-houses or hostels scattered up and down the streets and lanes of the city. The schools were entirely unendowed; there was no University chest, no common fund, no pecuniary aid of any kind for either scholars or teachers. The sole support of both was, at first, the power under whose sheltering wings the school had grown up—the Church. Every book, even, had to be either bought out of their own private purses or borrowed from the library of some religious establishment. We may perhaps gather some idea of what this latter resource was likely to furnish in the great educational centres from a catalogue which has been preserved to us of the library attached to Lincoln minster, at the time when the Lincoln school of theology was at the height of its fame under Gerald's friend William of Blois and the saintly bishop Hugh. Five-and-thirty years before Hugh's appointment to the see, the church of Lincoln possessed, in addition to the necessary service-books which were under the care of the treasurer, some thirty or forty books in the chancellor's keeping. Among these we find, besides a number of Psalters, works of the Latin Fathers, Epistles, Gospels, and a complete Bible in two volumes, the Canons, Statutes and Decretals of the Popes;—the Decretals edited by Ivo of Chartres;—the works of Vergil: a copy of the military treatise of Vegetius, bound up with the Roman History of Eutropius, "which volume Master Gerard gave in exchange for the Consolations of Boëthius, which he lost";—Priscian's Grammar:—a "Mappa Mundi": and a *Book of the Foundation of Lincoln Minster*, with a collection of its charters. Of nine books presented by Bishop Robert de Chesney, who died in 1166, the most noticeable were the works of Josephus and of Eusebius, and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Somewhat later, one Warin of Hibaldstow presented to the chapter a "book of Aristotle"—doubtless a Latin version of his treatise on logic or on natural philosophy—and seven volumes, whose contents are not stated, were

given by Master "Radulphus Niger" or Ralf the Black, known to us as one of the minor chroniclers of King Henry's later years. A copy of Gratian's great book of Decretals was presented about the same time by an archdeacon of Leicester; Gerald de Barri, probably during his residence at Lincoln at the close of Richard's reign, added another law-book called *Summula super Decreta*, a copy of S. Anselm's treatise *Cur Deus Homo*, and three of his own works, the *Topographia Hiberniæ*, the *Life of Bishop Remigius*, and the *Gemma Sacerdotalis* or *Ecclesiastica*; and the list closes with another copy of the *Sentences*, acquired seemingly in the early years of the following century.¹

The head of the scholastic body was the chancellor, who was an officer of the diocesan bishop—in the case of Oxford, the bishop of Lincoln. From him those who had reached a certain degree of proficiency in the schools received their license to become teachers in their turn; and it was an established rule that all who had attained the rank of Master or Doctor should devote themselves for a certain time to the work of instructing others. They gave their lectures how and where they could, in cloister or church-porch, or in their own wretched lodgings, their pupils sitting literally at their feet, huddled all together on the bare ground; their living depended solely on their school-fees, and these were often received with one hand only to be paid away again with the other, for many an ardent young teacher of logic or rhetoric was, like John of Salisbury and Gerald de Barri, at one and the same time giving lectures in these arts to less advanced scholars and pursuing his own studies under some great doctor of theology. The course of study was much the same everywhere. From the fifth century downwards it had consisted of two divisions, *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Under the former head were comprised Grammar, defined by an early teacher as the art of "writing and reading learnedly, understanding and judging skilfully;"²

¹ See the Catalogues of Lincoln cathedral library in the twelfth century, in *Gir. Cambr. Opp.*, vol. vii. (Dimock and Freeman), App. C., pp. 165-171.

² "Docte scribere legereque, erudite intelligere probareque." Martianus Capella, quoted by Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, pp. 24, 25.

¶ Dialectics, including logic and metaphysics ; and Rhetoric, by which were meant the rules and figures of the art, chiefly derived from Cicero. The Quadrivium included Geometry, not so much the science now known by that name as what we call geography ; Arithmetic, which in the middle ages meant the science of mystical numbers ; Music, in other words metre and harmony ; and Astronomy, of course on the Ptolemaic system, although as early as the fifth century a theory had been put forth which is said to have given in after-days the clue to Copernicus.¹ There was a separate faculty of Theology, and another of Law. Between these different faculties there seems to have been a good deal of jealousy. The highest authorities of the Western Church, while encouraging by every means in their power the study of the canon law, set their faces steadily against the civil law of imperial Rome ; the "religious" were over and over again forbidden to have anything to do with it : and on the continent the two branches of the legal profession were followed by different persons. As, however, the procedure of the canon law was founded upon that of the Theodosian code, the English clerical lawyers in Stephen's time and in Henry's early years found their account in combining the two studies ; by degrees both together passed out of the hands of the clergy into those of a new class of lay lawyers ; and in later days, while on the continent the canon law fell into neglect with its exclusively clerical professors, in England it was preserved by being linked with the civil law under the care of lay *doctores utriusque juris*.²

Theology had, however, a yet more formidable rival in the schools of logic. The text-book commonly used in these schools was a Latin translation, made by Boëthius in the sixth century, of part of Aristotle's treatise upon logic. Early in the twelfth century the natural philosophy of Aristotle was in some measure rendered accessible to western students through translations made by travelled scholars such as Adelard of Bath from Arabic versions which they had picked up in the schools of Salerno or of the remoter East. Of the "Ethics" nothing was known save a few frag-

¹ Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, pp. 24-26.

² *Ib.* pp. 37-39.

ments imbedded in the works of Latin writers, until a hundred years later, when they found their way back to Europe, probably in the train of the returning crusaders, and certainly in a very strange shape—that of a Latin translation from a Hebrew version of what was, after all, nothing more than an Arabic commentary founded upon a Syriac version of the original Greek text.¹ Garbled as it was, however, this new Aristotelian lore revolutionized the schools of western Christendom by laying open to them wholly new fields of criticism and speculation. The spirit of free inquiry in which Adelard had begun to deal with physical science invaded every region of intellectual thought and knowledge, while the spread of legal studies helped to the invention of new methods of argument and disputation. In vain did Peter Lombard, in the famous book which gained for him his title of “Master of the Sentences,” strive to stem the rising tide and counterwork the influence of the rationalizing dialecticians by applying to the purposes of theology the methods of their own favourite science. The “Sentences” remained the accepted text-book of theology down to the cataclysm in the sixteenth century; but their effect was precisely the opposite to that which their author had desired.² The endless “doubtful disputations,” the hair-splittings, the “systems of impossibilities,” which had already taken possession of the logic-schools in John of Salisbury’s day, were even more irritating to the practical mind and impetuous temper of Gerald de Barri. They were in fact ruining both theology and letters. “Our scholars,” Gerald complains, “for the sake of making a shew, have betaken themselves to subjects which rather savour of the quadrivium:—questions of single and compound, shadow and motion, points and lines, acute and obtuse angles—that they may display a smattering of learning in the quadrivium, whereof the studies flourish more in the East than in the West; and thence they have proceeded to the maintaining of false positions, the propounding of insoluble problems, the spinning of frivolous and long-winded discourses, not in the best of Latin, hereby holding up in their own disputations a warning of the conse-

¹ Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.*, pp. 94-96 and notes.

² *Ib.* pp. 58-62.

quences ensuing from their abandonment of the study of letters.”¹ Yet it was from those very schools that Gerald himself, and men like him, had caught the fearless temper, the outspoken, unrestrained tone, in which they exposed and criticized not only every conspicuous individual, but every institution and every system, alike in the world and in the Church of their day. The democratic spirit of independence which had characterized the strictly clerical reformers of an earlier day had passed from the ranks of the priesthood into those of the universities, and had taken a mightier development there. It was mainly through them that the nation at large entered in some degree into the labours of Theobald and his fellow-workers; it was they themselves who entered into the labours of Thomas Becket. A large proportion of both students and teachers—a proportion which grew larger and larger as time went on—were laymen; but an inveterate legal fiction still counted them all as “clerks.” The schools had grown up under the wings of the Church, and when they reached their full stature, they were strong enough both to free themselves from the control of the ecclesiastical authorities and to keep the privileges for which the clergy had fought. A priest of the English Church in our own day is as completely subject to the ordinary law of the land as any of his flock; but the chancellor’s court of the University of Oxford still possesses sole cognizance over all causes whatsoever, in all parts of the realm, which concern any resident member of the University.²

Not the universities, however, but the towns, were the true strongholds of English freedom. The struggle of the English towns for municipal liberty which we have seen beginning under Henry I. was renewed under Henry II. and Richard with increased vigour and success. Henry Fitz-Empress was far too clear-sighted a statesman to undervalue the growing importance of this element in English social and political life. Most of his town-charters, however, date

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Gemma Eccles.*, dist. ii. c. 37 (Brewer, vol. ii. p. 355). Cf. *ib.* pp. 350, 351, and *Spec. Eccles.*, dist. i. proœm. (vol. iv. pp. 4-9).

² This privilege was secured by a charter of Edward III.; it was successfully asserted as lately as January 1886.

from the earlier years of his reign, and scarcely any of them contain anything more than a confirmation of the liberties enjoyed in his grandfather's time, with the addition in some cases of a few new privileges, carefully defined and strictly limited.¹ In the great commercial cities, where the municipal movement had probably received a fresh impulse from the extension of trade and intercourse with the continent which was a natural consequence of Henry's accession to the crown, the merchant-gilds soon began openly to aim at gathering into their own hands the whole powers of local government and administration, and acquiring the position of a French "commune." The French kings encouraged the growth of the communal principle as a possible counterpoise to the power of the feudal nobles; Henry, who had little need of it for such a purpose, saw the dangers which it threatened to his system of government and held it steadily in check. In 1170 Aylwine the Mercer, Henry Hund and "the other men of the town" paid a heavy fine to the treasury for an attempt to set up a commune at Gloucester;² six years later one Thomas "From-beyond-the-Ouse" paid twenty marks for a like offence at York.³ Owing to the close connexion between the organization of the commune and that of the gilds, every developement of this latter institution also was watched by the Crown with jealous care; in 1164 the burghers of Totnes, those of Lidford and those of Bodmin were all fined for setting up gilds without warrant from the king;⁴ and in 1180 no less than eighteen "adulterine gilds" in London met with a similar punishment.⁵ Once established, however, they seem to have been permitted to retain their existence, for in the first Pipe Roll of Richard we find them again paying their fines "as they are set down in the twenty-sixth Roll of King Henry II."⁶ A bakers' gild in London, a weavers' gild at Nottingham, one of the same craft and another of fullers at Winchester, make their

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 165-168.

² Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 563, from Pipe Roll 16 Hen. II.

³ Madox, *Firma Burgi*, p. 35, from Pipe Roll 22 Hen. II.

⁴ Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 562, 563.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 562, from Pipe Roll 26 Hen. II.

⁶ Pipe Roll 1 Ric. I. (Hunter), p. 226.

appearance as authorized bodies at the opening of Henry's reign;¹ among the "adulterine gilds" of London were those of the butchers, goldsmiths, grocers, clothiers and pilgrims.² The golden days of English borough-life, however, began with the crowning of Henry's successor. "When History drops her drums and trumpets and learns to tell the story of Englishmen"—as he who wrote these words has told it—"it will find the significance of Richard, not in his crusade or in his weary wars along the Norman border, but in his lavish recognition of municipal life."³ In his first seven years alone, we find him granting charters to Winchester, Northampton, Norwich, Ipswich, Doncaster, Carlisle, Lincoln, Scarborough and York. Some of these towns were only beginning their career of independence, and were content with the first step of all, the purchase of the *firma burgi*; some bought a confirmation of privileges already acquired; Lincoln in 1194 had got so far as to win from the king a formal recognition of its right to complete self-government in a clause empowering its citizens to elect their own reeve every year.⁴ King of knights-errant and troubadours as he seemed, Richard, it is plain, could read the signs of the times as clearly and act upon their warnings as promptly and as wisely as any of his race; and we may be very sure that this bold advance upon his father's cautious policy towards the towns was dictated by a sound political instinct far more than by the mere greed of gain. John went still further in the same direction; the first fifteen years of his reign afford examples of town-charters of every type, from the elementary grant of the *firma burgi* and the freedom of the

¹ Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II. (Hunter), pp. 4, 39, 52.

² "Aurifabrorum," "Bocheiorum," "Piperariorum," "Parariorum," "Peregrinorum." There are four gilds "de Ponte"; one "de S. Lazaro"; one "de Haliwell"; the rest are described simply as "the gild whereof So-and-so is alderman." Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. p. 562, note z.

³ Green, *Stray Studies*, p. 216.

⁴ Northampton bought the *firma burgi* in 1191, Norwich in 1192, Ipswich and Doncaster in 1194 (Madox as above, pp. 399, 400, from Pipe Rolls); Winchester bought a confirmation of its liberties in 1190 (Stubbs, *Select Chart.*, pp. 265, 266), Carlisle in 1194, York and Scarborough in 1195 (Madox as above). The Lincoln charter is given by Bishop Stubbs, as above, pp. 266, 267; for its date see Pipe Roll 6 Ric. I., quoted by Madox, as above, p. 400.

merchant-gild to the little Cornish borough of Helston¹ up to the crowning privilege bestowed upon the "barons of our city of London" in 1215, of electing their own mayor every year.²

From the charter of Henry I. to the establishment of the commune under Richard the constitutional history of London is shrouded in obscurity. The charter granted by Henry II. to the citizens, some time before the end of 1158, is simply a confirmation of his grandfather's.³ During the first fifteen years of his reign two sheriffs of London appear annually in the Pipe Rolls; in 1171 there were four, as there had been in the thirty-first year of Henry I.; but in the twentieth year of Henry II., 1171, we find that their number was again reduced to two; and from 1182 onwards there seems to have been only one, till at Michaelmas 1189 the accounts were rendered by Richard Fitz-Reiner and Henry of Cornhill, both of whom continued in office till 1191.⁴ In that year, as we have seen, the commune won its legal recognition from John and Archbishop Walter of Rouen as representatives of the absent king;⁵ and although the charter which Richard issued to the citizens of London, shortly before his final departure from England in 1194, is a mere echo of his father's,⁶ yet the existence of the new corporation is thenceforth a recognized fact. John's first charter to London was issued from Normandy six weeks after his crowning. It renewed the old grant of the sheriffdom of London and Middlesex, with all rights and customs thereunto belonging, to the citizens and their heirs, to have and

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 313, 314.

² *Ib.* pp. 314, 315. John's town-charters are all in the *Rotuli Chartarum*, edited by Sir T. D. Hardy for the Record Commission. See also extracts from Pipe Rolls in Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, vol. i. pp. 400 *et seq.*

³ Charter in Riley's *Munimenta Gildhallæ*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 31, 32. It is witnessed by "archiepiscono Cantuarie" and "Ricardo episcopo Londoniarum"; *i.e.* Richard of London who died in May 1162, and Theobald who died in April 1161. As it is certain that neither of these two prelates ever crossed the sea after Henry's accession, the charter must have been issued in England, and therefore before Henry went abroad in August 1158.

⁴ Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 629.

⁵ Above, p. 301.

⁶ Riley, *Munim. Gildh.*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 248, 249. Date, Winchester, April 23, 1194.

to hold of the king and his heirs for ever. They were to appoint as sheriffs any of their own number whom they might choose, and to remove them at their pleasure ; and for this privilege they were to pay, through the said sheriffs, three hundred pounds a year to the Treasury.¹ The establishment of the commune had reduced the sheriffs to the rank of mere financial officers, and the real head of the civic administration was the mayor. The first mayor of London, ✓ Henry Fitz-Aylwine, retained his office for life ; and his life extended beyond the limits of our present story. Yet the true significance of that story is strikingly illustrated by the next step in the history of London, a step which followed two years after Fitz-Aylwine's death. On May 9, 1215, John granted to the "barons of the city of London" the right of annually electing their mayor.² Five weeks later the barons of England compelled him to sign, in the meadows of Runnymede, the Great Charter which secured the liberties not of one city only but of the whole English people ; and among the five-and-twenty men whom they chose from among themselves to enforce its execution was Serlo the Mercer, mayor of London.³

Little, indeed, as the burghers themselves may have dreamed of any such thing, the highest importance of their struggle for municipal liberty lies in this, that its fruits were to be reaped by a far larger community than was inclosed within the town-walls. It was from the burghers that their ✓ brethren in the rural districts caught once more the spirit of freedom which ages of oppression had well-nigh crushed out of their hearts. "Ketel's case" at Bury S. Edmund's—the case of a tenant of the abbey who, dwelling "outside the gate," was hanged for a theft of which he had been found guilty by the Norman process of the judicial duel usual in the manor-courts, and over whose fate the townsmen, rejoicing in the Old-English right of compurgation which they still retained, grew so bitterly sarcastic that the abbot and the "saner part of the convent" were driven by

¹ Riley, *Munim. Gildh.*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 249-251. Date, Bonneville, July 5, 1199.

² Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 314, 315.

³ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vol. ii. p. 605.

terror of a peasant revolt to admit their rural tenants to a share in the judicial franchise of the town¹—was in all probability only one out of many. The history of this same abbey of S. Edmund's shews us how even the villeins were rising into a position more like that of their free brethren, how the old badges of serfdom, the heavy labour-rents, the hard customs, were vanishing one by one, and how in this process of enfranchisement the boroughs led the way.² "The ancient customs belonging to the cellarer's office, as we have seen them"—that is, as Jocelyn of Brakelond, who was a monk of S. Edmund's from 1172 to 1211, had seen them in the old custom-roll of the house—"were these: The cellarer had his messuage and barn by the well of Scurun, where he solemnly held his court for the trial of thieves and of all pleas and quarrels; and there he received the pledges of his men, and enrolled them, and renewed them every year, and got gain by it, as the reeve did in the portmannimot. This messuage was the homestead of Beodric, who of old time was lord of this township, whence it was called Beodricesworth; whose demesne lands are now in the demesne of the cellarer; and what is now called the *averland* was the land of his rustics. Now the sum of his tenements and those of his men was three hundred and thirty acres, which are lands still belonging to the township, whereof the services, when the town was made free, were divided into two parts; so that the sacristan or the reeve should receive the quit-rent, that is, twopence on every acre; and the cellarer should have the ploughings and other services, that is, the ploughing of one rood for every acre, without food (which custom is observed still); he was also to have the folds wherein all the men of the township (except the seneschal, who has his own fold) were bound to put their sheep (this custom, too, is observed still). He was also to have the *aver-penny*,³ that is twopence for every

¹ Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode), p. 74. See Mr. Green's *Stray Studies*, pp. 222-224, and *Hist. Eng. People*, vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

² On all this see Mr. Green's *Abbot and Town*, in *Stray Studies*, pp. 213-229.

³ "The money paid by the tenant in commutation of the service (*avera*) of performing any work for his lord by horse or ox, or by carriage with either." Greenwell, Glossary to *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Soc.).

thirty acres ; this custom was changed before the death of Abbot Hugh (1180). For the men of the township had to go at the cellarer's bidding to Lakenheath, to fetch a load of eels from Southrey, and often they came back with their carts empty, and so they had their trouble without any benefit to the cellarer ; wherefore it was agreed between them that every thirty acres should pay a penny a year, and the men should stay at home. At the present time, however, these lands are so cut up that scarcely anybody knows from whom the payment is due ; so that whereas I have seen the cellarer receive twenty-seven pence in a year, now he can hardly get tenpence farthing. Moreover, the cellarer used to have control over the roads outside the township, so that no one might dig chalk or clay without his leave. He was also wont to summon the fullers of the township to lend cloths for carrying his salt ; otherwise he would forbid them the use of the waters, and seize whatever cloths he found there ; which customs are observed unto this day." "Moreover the cellarer alone ought, or used, to have one bull free in the fields of this township ; but now several persons have them." "Moreover the cellarer used to warrant those who owed service to his court, so that they were exempt from scot and tallage ; but now it is not so, because the burghers say that those who do service at the court ought to be exempt for their service, but not for the burgage which they hold in the town, and forasmuch as they and their wives do publicly buy and sell in the market."¹ After the affair of Ketel, in fact, the cellarer's court was merged in that of the town ; "it was decreed that his men should come to the toll-house with the others, and there renew their pledges, and be written in the reeve's roll, and there give to the reeve the penny which is called *borth-silver*, and the cellarer should have half of it (but he gets nothing at all of it now) ; and all this was done, that all might enjoy equal liberty."²

"That all might enjoy equal liberty"—Jocelyn's words had a significance wider and deeper than he himself could know, wider and deeper than could be known perhaps even

¹ Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode), pp. 75, 76.

² *Ib.* p. 74.

to his abbot from whom they were probably echoed; although it is clear from almost every page of Jocelyn's story that Abbot Sampson of S. Edmund's was a far more enlightened and far-seeing statesman than most of the great landowners of his day, whether secular or tonsured. The rural tenants of S. Edmund in his time had evidently made a good deal more progress towards enfranchisement than those of some other great houses, such as, for example, the abbey of Abingdon. In 1185, on the death of Abbot Roger of Abingdon, a dispute between the "obedientaries," or officers of the convent to whose support various portions of its revenues were assigned, and the steward appointed by the king to take charge of the abbot's property during the vacancy of his office, led to the drawing-up of a consuetudinary,¹ which it would be interesting to compare with the earlier "Black Book" of Peterborough. A large proportion of the tenants' dues were paid in money; but there were still considerable remnants of the older system. The chamberlain of the abbey, for instance, had an acre of land at Culham, which the men of that township were bound to reap and carry to make beds for the monks. The hay to be laid "under the monks' feet when they bathed" was supplied in like manner from a meadow at Stockgrave. A tenant named Daniel of Colebrook was bound, besides paying a rent of five shillings, to furnish the chamberlain whenever he went to London with hay for his horses, with wood and salt, and with straw for his bed. At Welsford, near Newbury, there were twenty-two "cotset-lands," whose tenants held them by their services as swineherds, bedels (or messengers of the chamberlain's court), shepherds, hedgewards and such like. Of eleven rent-paying tenants in the same township, one owed, besides his rent of twenty-seven pence, his personal service for getting in hay and stacking corn in August. As the whole township was in demesne, its inhabitants paid a tribute to the lord—in this case the chamberlain of the abbey—for the pannage of their pigs; they had also to furnish the services of one man for harvesting in August, and to lend their ploughs for bene-work. The men of Boxhole, Benham,

¹ *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* (Stevenson), vol. ii. pp. 297, 298.

Easton and Weston did the like. At Boxhole, out of twelve tenants, eight were bound, besides paying their rent, to plough an acre of the demesne and sow it with their own seed; and seven of these had moreover to carry hay and corn. One Berner and his sons held a "cotset-land" by a rent of six sextaries of honey to the cellarer and thirty-one pence to the chamberlain.¹ There were twenty-six tenants withdrawn from demesne, of whom six owed work in August, in addition to their rent; and there were five acres of meadow which had to be mowed and carried by five men of the township. At Benham, out of twenty-four tenants, eleven were "cotsetles"; three of these were servants of the chamberlain, holding their lands by their service; the rest were to hold by rent or by work, as the lord might choose²—an arrangement which applied also to the cotters of Boxhole.³ Of the remaining thirteen tenants at Benham, six paid rent only; the rest were bound also to plough and sow an acre or half an acre apiece, and to carry corn and hay.⁴ One was excused the ploughing and sowing, doubtless in consideration of her sex and condition—she was "Ernive a widow."⁵ The whole township owed a customary payment or church-shot of forty-six hens.⁶

On the manor of Weston the dues were thus distributed: Robert of Pont-de-l'Arche held four acres of the abbot "by the service of half a knight." One acre belonged to the church of the township; half a hide was held by John of S. Helen's, on what terms we are not told. Of the remainder, over which the chamberlain was lord, half a hide was in demesne; the rest was distributed in ten portions, held by thirteen tenants—a hide or half a hide being in three cases held by two persons conjointly. Two hides and a half were for work or for gavel, at the option of the lord; in actual practice, however, there were only two cotters who owed labour instead of, or in addition to, their money-rent. On

¹ *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* (Stevenson), vol. ii. pp. 300-302.

² *Ib.* pp. 303-305.

³ *Ib.* p. 303.

⁴ And this though one of them was no less a personage than *Gaufridus vicecomes!* What can this mean? *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* as above, pp. 304, 305.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 304.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 305.

the other hand, the right of poundage, or exemption from impounding of cattle, was paid for in this village by the ploughing of two acres.¹ The township of Berton and several others were bound to furnish sumpter-horses for conveying fish to the abbey-kitchen thrice a year; the persons responsible for this service had to pay their own travelling expenses and those of their horses; but they got each a loaf from the abbey when they left; and those who could not fulfil the service were allowed to compound for it with the kitchener "as best they could." The same manors rendered each five hundred eggs on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, at Christmas, Easter, Rogation-tide and Pentecost; and three hundred at Candlemas and Quinquagesima, besides eighteen hens apiece at the festivals of S. Martin and at Christmas. They also gave on the Wednesday before Easter a hundred herrings, which on the following Thursday were distributed to the poor;² and each of them sent moreover to the monks' kitchen, in the course of the year, besides the eggs and hens already enumerated, twenty-four bushels of beans.³ Eight fisheries were bound to furnish each a certain number of eels on Ash-Wednesday;⁴ the fishermen who carried the eels to the hall were entitled to receive thence two loaves apiece.⁵ From another fishery a money-rent of seventeen shillings was due, paid in three terms; and its holder owed church-shot of twelve hens.⁶ Berton furnished five loads of straw, and Culham as many of hay, three times a year—on Christmas Eve, Easter Eve, and All Saints' Eve—for strewing the refectory.⁷ When the chamberlain went to Winchelcombe fair, the men of Dumbleton were bound to bring home for him whatever he purchased there; the same duty fell to the tenantry of Welford when he went to the fair at Winchester.⁸

If we compare this Abingdon consuetudinary of 1185 with the Peterborough Black Book of 1128, the main result seems to be this: the Abingdon dues are quite as heavy, if

¹ *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* (Stevenson), vol. ii. pp. 305, 306.

² *Ib.* pp. 307, 308.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 308, 323.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 309.

³ *Ib.* p. 323.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 308.

⁸ *Ib.* pp. 326, 327.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 313.

not heavier, but the labour-services are much lighter. We must not indeed assume that the difference is wholly owing to progress made during the half-century which elapsed between the compilation of the two books; the customs of different localities varied in all ages, and those of Abingdon may never have been so hard as those of Peterborough. On the estates of the bishop of Durham, on the other hand, when Hugh of Puiset took account of his dues in 1183, the old labour-rents and customs seem to have subsisted almost without alteration. A large proportion of the villeins on the bishop's manors were holders of two bovates or oxgangs of thirty acres each, for which each man paid two shillings and sixpence for scot-pennies, half a chalder of oats, sixteen pence for aver-pennies, five cart-loads of wood, two hens and ten eggs; he had to work for the lord three days every week throughout the year except Easter-week, Whitsun-week and the twelve days of Christmas; moreover, he and all his family, except the house-wife, had to do in autumn four days boon-work in reaping; besides this, he had to reap three roods of *averipe* (ripe oats), and plough and harrow three roods of *averere* (oat-stubble). Each villein plough had to plough and harrow two acres; on this occasion the villeins had a corrody from the bishop, and so they had on occasion of a great boon-work. They were to harrow whenever required; to perform services of carting, for which they got every man a loaf; to make each one booth for the fair of S. Cuthbert; "and when they make lodges" (possibly for the bishop's hunting) "and cart wood, they are free of other work." These were the services due from twenty-two out of the thirty-six tenants on the manor of Boldon. Of the remainder, twelve were "cotmen," holding each twelve acres and working throughout the year, except at the above-named seasons, two days a week, and rendering twelve hens and sixty eggs. One man held two oxgangs of thirty-seven acres, at a rent of half a mark; another was the pounder, who held twelve acres, received from each plough one thrave of corn, and rendered twenty-four hens and five hundred eggs. The mill paid five marks and a half. The villeins were bound to give their labour every year, if required, for

the building of a house (perhaps a hunting-lodge) forty feet long and fifteen feet wide ; in that case they were forgiven fourpence for aver-pennies. The whole township rendered seventeen shillings for cornage, and one cow.¹ Clevedon and Whitburn contained twenty-eight villeins and twelve cotmen whose services were the same as at Boldon ; besides these and the pounder, there were four other tenants ; one held two bovates of twenty-four acres at a rent of sixteen-pence, and "went on the bishop's errands" ; one held sixty acres and a toft at eightpence, and fulfilled the same duty ; the other two held their lands at a money-rent only.² At Sedgefield there were fifty-one tenants, of whom twenty were villeins holding and labouring on the same terms as their brethren at Boldon ; twenty more were "farmers," holding two bovates apiece, paying five shillings, ploughing and harrowing half an acre, and finding two men to mow, two to reap, and two to make hay, for two days, and also one cart for two days to carry corn, and the same to cart hay ; they also did four days' boon-work in autumn with all their families except the housewives. The reeve, the smith and the carpenter held land by their service ; the pounder got his thraves of corn and paid his dues in hens and eggs as on the other manors. Five *bordarii* held five tofts, paid five shillings, and did four days' boon-work. William of Oldacres and Uhtred of Butterwick held lands, whose extent is not specified, at a rent of sixteen shillings and half a mark respectively.³ At Norton there were thirty villeins holding and labouring like those of Boldon, save that for lack of pasture-land they owed no cornage ; and twenty farmers, whose tenure was much the same as that of the farmers of Sedgefield. Alan of Normanton held one carucate for ten shillings, and had to find thirty-two men for a day's work when required, four carts for one day or two for two days for carrying corn, and the same for carting hay ; besides which his men, if he had any, were to work four boon-days in autumn with all their families except the housewives, but Alan himself and his

¹ *Boldon Buke* (Greenwell), pp. 3, 4. Cornage was a "payment made in commutation of a return of cattle" (*ib.* Glossary).

² *Ib.* p. 5.

³ *Ib.* p. 11.

own household were free of this service. Adam, son of Gilbert of Hardwick, held a large piece of land by a money-rent. There was a mill, with eight acres and a meadow, and rendering twenty marks; a pounder, holding on the usual terms; and there were twelve cotmen, holding tofts and crofts, and paying partly in money, partly in work.¹ The palatine bishopric, it is clear, was an old-fashioned district where innovations of any kind were slow to penetrate. Even here, however, the newer system of money-payment in commutation of service was beginning to make its appearance. The tenures on the manor of Whickham had undergone a sweeping change, apparently not long before Bishop Hugh's survey was drawn up. On this manor there were thirty-five villeins, holding each an oxgang of fifteen acres. Each of these had been wont to pay sixteenpence, and to work three days a week throughout the year, three boon-days in autumn with all his family except his wife, and a fourth boon-day with two men; in their ordinary work they had to mow the grass, to cut and carry the hay, to reap and carry the corn; and over and above this, they had to plough and harrow two acres of *averere* with each plough; for this, however, they had a corrody. They had also, in the course of their work, to "make a house" forty feet long and fifteen feet wide, to make three fisheries in the Tyne, and to do carting and carrying like the villeins of Boldon; they gave nine shillings cornage, one cow, and for every oxgang one hen and ten eggs. "Now, however," adds the record, "the said manor of Whickham is at farm"—demesne, villeins, mill, fisheries and all:—it may possibly, like its neighbour Ryton, have been let at farm to the tenants themselves; but at any rate, its entire services and dues, except a small tribute of hens and eggs, were commuted for a rent of six-and-twenty pounds.²

On the whole, the glimpses which we get of the condition of the rural population of England under the Angevin kings seem to indicate that they were by no means excluded from a share in the progress of the kingdom at large. Even if their dues had grown heavier, this surely points to an advance in agricultural prosperity and of the material ease

¹ *Boldon Buke* (Greenwell), pp. 12, 13.

² *Ib.* pp. 33, 34.

and comfort which are its natural results. The spread of industry shewed itself in many ways. In the towns we can trace it in the growing importance of the handicraftsmen, proved by the jealousy with which their guilds were regarded by the central government and still more by the civic authorities. The weavers seem to have been special objects of civic dislike; in most of the great towns they were treated as a sort of outcasts by the governing body; and in 1201 the London citizens bought of John, at the price of twenty silver marks a year and sixty marks down, a charter authorizing them to turn the weavers out of the city altogether. The sequel of this bargain is eminently characteristic of John; but it is equally significant of the growing influence of the craftsmen. The king took the citizens' money and gave them the charter which they desired, but he made it null and void by granting his protection to the weavers as before, merely exacting from them an annual payment of twenty marks instead of eighteen.¹

Hand in hand with the growth of industry went the growth of trade. Markets and fairs were springing up everywhere, and a keen commercial rivalry sprang up with them. The little borough of S. Edmund's set up a "merchant-gild," whose members insisted that all who did not belong to it must pay toll in their market.² The great success of Abingdon fair in Henry's early years stirred up the jealousy of both Wallingford and Oxford, and their remonstrances compelled the king to order that inquisition should be made, through twenty-four of the old men of the shire "who were living in his grandfather's time," whether the obnoxious little township had in those days enjoyed the privilege of a market. The case was tried in full shire-moot at Farnborough; the twenty-four elders were duly elected, and swore that Abingdon had had a full market in the time of King Henry the First. The jurors were however challenged by the opposing party, whereupon Henry ordered "the men of Wallingford and the whole county of Berkshire" to meet before his justices at Oxford, and there to choose fresh recognitors.

¹ Riley, *Munim. Gildh.*, vol. ii. pt. i. introd. pp. lxi-lxiii.

² Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode), p. 74.

This time the jury could not agree among themselves. The Wallingford jurors swore that they remembered nothing sold at Abingdon in the first King Henry's reign except bread and ale; the Oxford men admitted more than this, but not a "full market"—nothing brought by cart or boat (there was an old-standing quarrel between Oxford and Abingdon about boat-cargoes and river-tolls); the shiremen acknowledged that there had been a "full market," but doubted whether goods were carried thither by any boats save those belonging to the abbot himself. The justiciar, Earl Robert of Leicester, who was presiding over the court in person, transmitted these various opinions to the king without venturing to decide the case. As it chanced, however, he could—so at least the Abingdon story ran—add to them an useful reminiscence of his own childhood: he had himself seen a full market at Abingdon not only in the days of King Henry I., but as far back as the days of King William, when he, Earl Robert, was a little boy in the abbey-school. And so the men of Abingdon won their case.¹

Disputes of this kind, however, were not always so peacefully settled. Some forty years later—in 1201—the monks of Ely set up, under the protection of a royal charter, a market at Lakenheath, within the "liberties" of S. Edmund's abbey. The chapter of S. Edmund's, "together with their friends and neighbours," sent to Ely an amicable remonstrance against this proceeding, adding that they would willingly make good the fifteen marks which the monks of Ely had paid for their charter, if these latter would consent to forego the use of it. The remonstrance however produced no effect. The brotherhood of S. Edmund's therefore demanded a recognition to declare whether the new market had been set up to their injury, and to the injury of the market at their own town. The verdict of the recognitors decided that it was so. The next step was to inform the king, and ascertain from him the exact tenour of his charter

¹ *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* (Stevenson), vol. ii. pp. 227-229. This happened 1158-1161. Mr. Eyton (*Itin. Hen. II.*, pref. pp. v, vi) denies on chronological grounds the authenticity of Earl Robert's supposed witness to the state of affairs in the Conqueror's time. He does not adduce his proofs; I can therefore only leave this part of the matter undecided, and take the Abingdon story as I find it.

to Ely ; search was made in the royal register, and it was found that the market had been granted only on condition that it should not damage the interests of other markets in the neighbourhood. Hereupon the king, for a promise of forty marks, gave to S. Edmund's a charter providing that no market should thenceforth be set up within the liberties of the abbey save by the abbot's consent ; and he issued orders to the justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, for the abolition of the market at Lakenheath. The justiciar sent on the order to the sheriff of Suffolk ; and the sheriff, having no jurisdiction within the liberties of S. Edmund's, forwarded it to the abbot for execution. Next market-day the hundred-reeve came to Lakenheath, and shewing the letters of king and sheriff, supported by the testimony of the freemen, forbade the market in the king's name ; he was however met with nothing but contempt and abuse. The abbot, who was in London at the time, after consulting with some "wise men" there, wrote to his bailiffs bidding them assemble all the men of S. Edmund's with their horses and arms, overthrow the market by force, and take prisoners as many of the buyers and sellers as they could. In the middle of the night some six hundred well-armed men set out from S. Edmund's for Lakenheath. When they reached it the market was deserted ; all the stall-holders had fled. The prior of Ely was at Lakenheath with his bailiffs, having come that same night in expectation of the intended attack ; but he "would not come out of his house" ; so the bailiffs of S. Edmund's, after vainly demanding pledges from him that he would "stand to right" in the abbey-court, seized the butchers' trestles and the planks which formed the stalls, as well as the cart-horses, sheep and oxen, "yea, and all the beasts of the field," and carried them away to Icklingham. The prior's bailiffs hurried in pursuit, and begged to have their goods on pledge for fifteen days, which was granted. Within the fifteen days came a writ summoning the abbot to answer for this affair at the Exchequer, and to restore the captured animals. "For the bishop of Ely, who was a man of ready and eloquent speech, had complained in his own person to the justiciar and the great men of England, saying that an

unheard-of insult had been done to S. Etheldreda in time of peace ; wherefore many were greatly stirred up against the abbot." ¹

The developement of foreign commerce, resulting from the wide-spread relations of the Angevin kings with lands on both sides of the sea which encompassed their island-realm, woke a rivalry no less keen between some of the great trading cities, although they might shew it in less rough and ready fashion than the champions of the mercantile privileges of S. Edmund's. One interesting illustration has recently come to light, in a writ of Henry II. to the bailiffs of Dublin in favour of the citizens of Chester. Henry, as we know, had granted to the men of Bristol the right of colonizing Dublin and holding it of him and his heirs with the same liberties and privileges as were enjoyed by Bristol itself. Bristol and Chester had for ages been rivals in the trade with Ireland ; Chester now saw itself in imminent danger of being altogether shut out of that trade, an exclusion which would have meant little less than ruin to the city. We can hardly doubt that its citizens appealed to the king for a reservation of their commercial privileges in Dublin as against the Bristol merchants. At any rate, Henry in 1175 or 1176 issued a writ to the bailiffs of Dublin commanding that the burghers of Chester should be free to buy and sell at Dublin as they had been wont to do, and should have the same rights, liberties and free customs there as they had had in his grandfather's days. ² Yet more important than the trade of the western seaports with Ireland was that of the eastern coast, not only with the continental dominions of the Angevin house, but with almost the whole of Europe. Not the least beneficial result of the Angevins' renewal of the old political ties between England and the Empire was the increase of trade which it helped to bring from the merchant-cities of northern Germany and the

¹ *Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode)*, pp. 98, 99.

² The real meaning of this writ is pointed out by Mr. J. H. Round in the *Academy*, May 29, 1886 (new issue, No. 734, p. 381). The writ itself is there reprinted from the Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., where it has been wrongly interpreted, owing to a misreading of the word which stands for Dublin.

Low Countries to the port of London. Nor were the kings themselves blind to the advantage of these commercial relations. Richard on the eve of his return from captivity in 1194 granted to the citizens of Cöln a gildhall in London, "with all their other customs and demands," for an annual payment of two shillings.¹ The hall of the other Teutonic merchants—famous in later days under the name of the Steel-yard—was probably established about the same period; and early in the following century we find an elaborate and interesting code of regulations for the trade of the Lorrainers, the "men of the Emperor of Germany," the Danes and the Norwegians.² The developement of commerce brought with it a corresponding growth of riches, and of the material comforts and refinements of life. Domestic architecture began to improve. Henry Fitz-Aylwine issued at the opening of his mayoralty an "Assize" which has been described as "the earliest English Building Act," and which at any rate shews that the civic authorities were earnestly endeavouring to secure health and comfort in the houses within their jurisdiction, and also to guard against the risk of fire, which had ruined so many citizens in times past.³ Ecclesiastical architecture progressed still more rapidly; church-building or rebuilding went on all over the country on a scale which proves how great was the advance, both in artistic taste and material wealth, which England had made under the just rule and peaceful administration of her first Angevin king. At the opening of John's reign the citizens of London were contemplating an important architectural work of another kind: they were planning to replace the wooden bridge over the Thames with a bridge of stone. Degenerate representative as he was in more important respects of the "great builders" of Anjou, John had yet inherited a sufficient share of their tastes to feel interested in such an undertaking as this; and in April 1202 we find him writing to the mayor and citizens of London to recom-

¹ Riley, *Munim. Gildh.*, vol. ii. pt. i. introd. p. xli, from *Placita de quo warranto*, p. 468.

² Riley as above, pp. 61, 64, and introd. pp. xxxv-xxxix.

³ Fitz-Aylwine's Assize is printed by Mr. Stapleton from the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, pp. 206-211. It is there dated 1189.

mend them an architect, Isenbert, master of the schools at Saintes, whose skill in the construction of bridges had been lately proved at Saintes and at La Rochelle.¹ The citizens however seem not to have adopted the king's suggestion; they found an architect among themselves, in the person of Peter, chaplain or curate of S. Mary Colechurch—the little church beneath whose shadow S. Thomas the martyr was born. It was Peter who “began the stone bridge at London”; and in a chapel on that bridge his body found its appropriate resting-place when he died in 1205.²

There can be little doubt that a large part of the means for this developement of commercial and architectural energy was furnished by the Jews. The Jewish settlements increased rapidly both in numbers and in importance under Henry II. In the Pipe Rolls of his first five years we find, in addition to the London Jews who appeared in the thirty-first year of his grandfather, and those of Oxford and Lincoln of whom there are traces in the next reign, Jewries at Norwich, Cambridge, Thetford and Bungay, as well as at an unnamed place in Suffolk, which from other evidence seems to have been Bury S. Edmund's;³ and we have already seen that before Henry's death there were important Hebrew colonies at Lynn, Stamford, York, and many other places. At Winchester the Jews were so numerous and so prosperous that a writer in Richard's early years calls it their Jerusalem.⁴ The great increase in their numbers throughout England during Henry's reign is shewn by the fact that in 1177 he found it necessary to grant them permission for the making of a Jewish burial-ground outside the walls of every city in England, instead of sending all their dead to be buried in London, as had been the practice hitherto.⁵ Legally, the Jews were still simply chattels of the king.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 83.

² Ann. Waverl. a. 1205 (Luard, *Ann. Monast.*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257).

³ Jews at Norwich, Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II. (Hunter), p. 8; Cambridge, *ib.* p. 15; Thetford and Bungay, 5 Hen. II. (Pipe Roll Soc.), p. 12. In 4 Hen. II. (Hunter), p. 127, the sheriff of Suffolk renders an account of twenty silver marks “pro Judæis”; as we find Jews at S. Edmund's at the opening of Richard's reign, it seems probable that they are the persons referred to here.

⁴ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 62.

⁵ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. i. p. 182.

Practically, they were masters of the worldly interests of a large number of his Christian subjects, and of a large portion of the wealth of his realm. Without their loans many a great and successful trading venture could never have been risked, many a splendid church could never have been built, nay, many a costly undertaking of the king himself might have been brought to a standstill for lack of funds necessary to its completion. The abbey-church of S. Edmund was rebuilt with money borrowed in great part, at exorbitant interest, from Jewish capitalists. Abbot Hugh, when he died in 1173, left his convent in utter fiscal bondage to two wealthy Jews, Isaac son of Rabbi Joses, and Benedict of Norwich.¹ The sacred vessels and jewels belonging to Lincoln minster were in the same year redeemed by Geoffrey, then bishop-elect, from Aaron, a rich Jew of the city who had had them in pledge for seven years or more.² In 1187 Aaron died; his treasure was seized for the king, and a large part of it sent over sea. The ship which bore it went down between Shoreham and Dieppe, and the sum of the lost treasure was great enough for its loss to be chronicled as a grave misfortune by the treasurer, Bishop Richard Fitz-Nigel;³ while two years later the affairs of the dead Jew still made a prominent figure in the royal accounts.⁴ His house, as it stands at the head of the "Steep Hill" of Lincoln to this day, is one of the best examples of a mode of domestic architecture to which Christian townfolk had scarcely yet begun to aspire, but which was already growing common among those of his race: a house built entirely of stone, in place of the wooden or rubble walls and thatched roofs which, even after Fitz-Aylwine's Assize, still formed the majority of dwellings in the capital itself.

It is no wonder that these people, with their untold stores of wealth, their independence of all ordinary jurisdictions, their exemption from all the burthens of civil life,

¹ Joc. Brakelond (*Rokewode*), pp. 2, 3.

² Gir. Cambr. *Vita S. Remig.*, c. 24 (Dimock and Freeman, vol. vii. p. 36)

³ *Gesta Hen.* (Stubbs), vol. ii. p. 5.

⁴ Pipe Roll 1 Ric. I. (Hunter), pp. 8, 59, 219, 226, 229, 246.

their voluntary exclusion from the common brotherhood of Christendom, their strange aspect and their mysterious language, were objects of universal jealousy, suspicion and hatred, which they on their part took but little pains to conciliate or allay. The religious feelings of the whole population of Oxford were outraged by a Jew who publicly mocked at S. Frideswide amid the solemnities of her festival-day, well knowing that neither prior nor bishop, chancellor nor portreeve, dared lift a finger to check or to punish him.¹ Darker stories than this, however, were whispered against his race. They were charged not only with ruining many Englishmen of all classes by their usury, and with openly insulting the Christian sacraments and blaspheming the Christians' Lord, but with buying Christians for money in order to crucify them.² A boy, afterwards canonized as S. William, was said to have been thus martyred at Norwich in 1137;³ another, Robert, at S. Edmund's in 1181;⁴ and a third at Winchester in 1192.⁵ Little as we may be inclined to believe such tales, we can scarcely wonder that they found credit at the time, and that the popular hatred of the Jews went on deepening till it broke out in the massacres of 1190. That outbreak compelled the king to interfere in behalf of his "chattels"; but the fines with which he punished it, though they deterred the people from any further attempts to get rid of the Jews by force, could not alter the general feeling. At S. Edmund's Abbot Sampson, immediately after the massacre, sought and obtained a royal writ authorizing him to turn all the remaining Jews out of the town at once and for ever;⁶ and in 1194 Richard, or Hubert Walter in his name, found it needful to make an elaborate ordinance for the regulation of Jewish loans throughout the realm and the security of Jewish bonds. Such loans were to be made only in six or seven appointed places, before two "lawful Christians," two "lawful Jews," two "lawful writers," and two clerks specially named in the

¹ *Mirac. S. Fridesw.*, in *Acta SS.*, vol. lvi. p. 576 (October 19).

² R. Coggeshall (Stevenson), p. 28.

³ Eng. Chron. a. 1137.

⁴ Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode), p. 12.

⁵ Ric. Devizes (Stevenson), p. 60.

⁶ Joc. Brakelond (Rokewode), p. 33.

ordinance ; the deed was to be drawn up in the form of an indenture ; one half, sealed with the borrower's seal, was to be given to the Jewish lender ; the other half was to be deposited in a common chest having three locks ; the two Christians were to keep one key, the two Jews another, and the two royal clerks the third ; and the chest was to be sealed with three seals, one being affixed by each of the parties who held the keys. The clerks were to have a roll containing copies of all such deeds ; for every deed three-pence were to be paid, half that sum by the Jew and half by his creditor ; the two scribes got a penny each, and the keeper of the roll the third ; and no transactions whatsoever in connexion with these Hebrew bonds was henceforth to take place save in accordance with these regulations.¹

It is just possible that this growth of anti-Jewish feeling may have helped in some degree to the growth of a sense of national unity among the other dwellers in the land. All Christians, to whatever race they might belong, whatever tongue they might speak, could not but feel themselves to be one people as against these Oriental intruders. It is at any rate clear that of the foreign elements which had been infused into the population of England during the hundred and forty years which had passed since Duke William landed at Pevensey, the Hebrew element was the only one which had not amalgamated with the native mass. The fusion in blood between Normans and English, which we saw making rapid progress under Henry I., was before the end of his grandson's reign so far complete that the practice of "presentment of Englishry"—that is, the privilege whereby the hundred in which a man was found slain escaped paying the murder-fine to the treasury, if it could prove that the victim was not of Norman blood—had to be given up because the two nationalities had become so intermixed in every class above that of serfs that it could hardly ever be made out to which of them any man really belonged.² In this fusion

¹ Rog. Howden (Stubbs), vol. iii. pp. 266, 267. These "Capitula de Judæis" form the twenty-fourth chapter of *Forma procedendi in placitis Corona Regie* (see above, p. 337), printed also in Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 259-263.

² *Dial. de Scacc.*, l. i. c. 10 (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 201, 202).

the English element, as it was far the larger, was also the weightier and the stronger. In the matter of speech it was fast regaining its supremacy. Foreign priests and foreign prelates were learning to speak and to preach to the English people in their own tongue; Norman barons and knights were learning to talk English with their English-speaking followers and dependents; some of them were learning to talk it with their own wives.¹ If the pure Teutonic speech of our forefathers had suffered some slight corruption from foreign influences, Walter Map's legend of the well at Marlborough whereof whosoever drank spoke bad French for ever after² may hint that the language of the conquerors was becoming somewhat Anglicized in the mouths of some at least of their descendants; and the temper of these adoptive Englishmen was changing yet more rapidly than their speech. Of the many individual figures which stand out before us, full of character and life, in the pages of the twelfth-century historians, the one who in all ages, from his own day to ours, has been unanimously singled out as the typical Englishman is the son of Gilbert of Rouen and Rohesia of Caen.

The whole policy of the Angevin kings tended to mould their insular subjects into an united English nation. Their equal administration completed that wiping-out of local distinctions which had been begun by the wisdom of the Norman kings and helped on by the confusion of the civil war; their development of old English methods of judicial and administrative procedure brought the English people again visibly and tangibly to the forefront of affairs. Even those very qualities and tendencies which were most un-English in the Angevins themselves helped indirectly to a like result. The almost world-wide range of their political interests gave England once more a place among the nations, and a place far more important than any which she had ever before held. For, above all, it was England

¹ See the story of Helwyse de Morville and her husband—parents of the Hugh de Morville who was one of the murderers of S. Thomas—in Will. Cant. (Robertson, *Becket*, vol. i.), p. 128.

² W. Map, *De Nug. Cur.*, dist. v. c. 6 (Wright, pp. 235, 236).

that they represented in the eyes of the continental powers ; it was as "Kings of the English" that they stood before the world ; and it was as Kings of the English that their successors were to stand there still, when the Angevin empire had crumbled into dust. On the eve of that catastrophe the new England found a voice. The English tongue once more asserted its right to a place among the literary tongues of Europe. The higher English poetry, which had slumbered ever since the days of Cadmon, suddenly woke again to life among the Worcestershire hills. The story of the origin of Layamon's *Brut* can never be told half so well as in the poet's own words. "A priest there was in the land, Layamon was he named ; he was Leovenath's son ; may the Lord be gracious to him ! He dwelt at Ernley, at a noble church by Severn's bank—good it there seemed to him !—hard by Radstone, where he read books. It came into his mind, and into his chief thoughts, that he would tell the noble deeds of Englishmen—what they were called, and whence they came, who first owned English land. . . . Layamon began to journey wide over this land, and got the noble books that he took for models. He took the English book that Saint Beda made ; another he took, in Latin, that Saint Albin made, and the fair Austin, who brought baptism in hither ; a third book he took, and laid there in the midst, that a French clerk made, Wace was he called, who well could write, and he gave it to the noble Eleanor who was the high King Henry's queen. Layamon laid these books before him, and turned the leaves ; he lovingly beheld them ; may the Lord be merciful to him ! Pen he took with fingers and wrote on a bookskin, and the true words set together, and the three books compressed into one."¹ We must not blame a dweller on the western border in the early days of King John if, when setting himself to tell "the noble deeds of Englishmen," he thought it needful to begin with the fall of Troy after the pattern of Wace and Wace's original, Geoffrey of Monmouth. We can only be thankful to this simple English priest for leaving to us a purely English poem of more than thirty thousand lines

¹ Layamon (Madden), vol. i. pp. 1-3.

which is indeed beyond all price, not only as a specimen of our language at one of its most interesting stages, but as an abiding witness to the new spirit of patriotism which, ten years and more before the signing of the Great Charter, was growing up in such quiet corners of the land as this little parish of "Ernley" (or Areley Kings) by Severn-side. The subject-matter of Layamon's book might be taken chiefly from his French guide, Wace; but its spirit and its language are both alike thoroughly English. The poet's "chief thought," as he says himself, was to "tell the noble deeds of Englishmen," to Englishmen, in their own English tongue. A man who wrote with such an ambition as this was surely not unworthy of the simple reward which was all that he asked of his readers: "Now prayeth Layamon, for love of Almighty God, every good man that shall read this book and learn this counsel, that he say together these soothfast words for his father's soul, and for his mother's soul, and for his own soul, that it may be the happier thereby. Amen!"¹

Layamon's *Brut* was written at some time between John's crowning and his return to England, after the loss of Normandy, in 1206.² It was a token that, on both sides of the sea, the Angevins' work was all but ended, their mission all but fulfilled. The noblest part of that mission was something of which they themselves can never have been fully conscious; and yet perhaps through that very unconsciousness they had fulfilled it the more thoroughly. "The silent growth and elevation of the English people"—as that people's own historian has taught us—"was the real work of their reigns;"³ and even from a survey so imperfect as ours we may see that when John came home in 1206 the work was practically done.

¹ Layamon (Madden), vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

² On the date, etc., of Layamon see Sir F. Madden's preface to his edition of the *Brut*, vol. i.; and Mr. Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i. pp. 632-635.

³ Green, *Stray Studies*, p. 217.

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