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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND  
FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST  
TO THE PRESENT  
BY  
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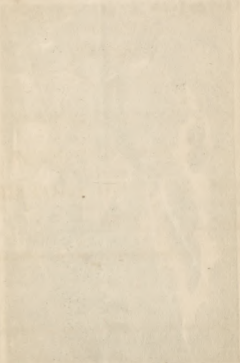
**HUME AND SMOLLET'S**  
**HISTORY OF ENGLAND.**

**VOL. I.**

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CHAMBER OF COMMERCE



INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

**HUME AND SMOLLETT'S**  
**HISTORY OF ENGLAND**

**Abridged,**

**AND**

**CONTINUED TO THE ACCESSION**

**OF**

**GEORGE IV.**

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**BY JOHN ROBINSON, D. D.**

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**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. I.**

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**EXETER :**

**J. & B. WILLIAMS.**

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**1828.**

To his Sons, WILLIAM RICHARDSON ROBINSON,  
and MATTHEW WILKINSON ROBINSON,  
THIS VOLUME OF ENGLISH HISTORY  
IS SPECIALLY INSCRIBED, BY THEIR AFFECTION  
ATE FATHER.

*Clifton Rectory, near Penrith,  
March 15, 1893.*

SCOTLAND  
JAN 19 1895  
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## PREFACE.

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THE following Work claims no higher merit, than that of being a faithful abridgment of Hume and Smollett's Histories of England, with a continuation from authentic documents of events between the year 1760 and the coronation of George the Fourth. The author hopes that the whole will prove useful as a manual to juvenile students, for whom it is chiefly designed.

The necessity of acquiring knowledge of the history of our own country, and of public events in which Great Britain has participated, is so obvious, as to render it unnecessary to prove, that the history of their own country is a study which no British youth of either sex ought to neglect.

The author has endeavoured to divest himself of all party spirit, and, in recording the successive facts, he has allowed no prejudices of his own to intermingle with the narration. Truth, and the principles of the British Constitution, have been the standards by which his labours

and sentiments have uniformly been guided.

The History of Mr. Hume having obtained an unrivalled degree of literary precedence, and that of Dr. Smollett having been generally recognised as a worthy continuation from the Revolution to the demise of George II., it is reasonable that a succinct compression of these standard national works should be preferred to all others for purposes of education. But the design would have been incomplete without a continuation to the present age; and, though the author is aware of the delicate responsibility of becoming a contemporary historian, yet, as the duty became necessary, he has endeavoured to perform it with care and fidelity.

The Tables and Facts contained in the Appendix form new features of such a work as the present; but they furnish data, from which the student will be able to draw many valuable conclusions, and will tend to illustrate and corroborate many details in the text of the History.

# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *The Britons—Romans—Saxons—The Heptarchy.*

ALL ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celts, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the same—their manners, their government, their superstition;—varied only by those small differences, which time, or a communication with the bordering nations, must necessarily introduce. The inhabitants of Gaul, especially in those parts which lie contiguous to Italy, had acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbours, some refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northwards, and spread only a very faint light over this island. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants, gave the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. However, the south-east parts of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture. They were clothed with skins of beasts. They dwelt in huts that they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered. They easily removed their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder, or the fear of an enemy. The convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient mo-

tive for removing their dwellings ; and, as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally limited and scanty.

The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes ; and, being a military people, whose sole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free ; and the common people seem to have enjoyed even more liberty among them, than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself. It was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states ; and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government ; and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority. They enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes. They possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction. They decided all controversies among states, as well as among private persons ; and whoever refused to submit to their decree, was exposed to the most severe penalties. Thus, the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corroborated by the terrors of their superstition. No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties which it was in their power to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls, and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. Human sacrifices were practised among them. The spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities ; and they punished with the severest tortures those who dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offering. These treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion ; and this steady conquest over human cupidity may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idol-



atrous worship ever attained such an ascendancy over mankind, as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons.

The Britons had long remained in this rude and independent state, when Cæsar, having overrun all Gaul by his victories, and being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, then mostly unknown, took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and invaded Britain. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions; but these retarded not the execution of his design. After some 65\*] resistance, Cæsar landed, as is supposed, at Deal; and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons who had united under Cassivelaunus, one of their petty princes, he discomfited them in every action. He advanced into the country; passed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally, Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

The civil wars which ensued saved the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars. Tiberius, zealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule; and the Britons, during almost a century, en-

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\* Before Christ.

joyed their liberty unmolested. In the reign of Claudius, the Romans began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. Without seeking any justifiable reasons of hostility, they sent over an army 43\*] under the command of Plautius, an able general, who gained some victories, and made a considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited the south-east parts of the island. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, still maintained an obstinate resistance; and the Romans made little progress against them, till Ostorius Scapula was sent over 50] to command their armies. This general advanced the Roman conquests over the Britons; pierced into the country of the Silures, a warlike nation who inhabited the banks of the Severn; defeated Caractacus in a great battle; took him prisoner, and sent him to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than the Romans usually bestowed on captive princes.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the spirit of the Britons was not subdued. In the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command, and penetrated into the island of Mona, now Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids. He drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in those fires which the priests had prepared for their captive enemies, and destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars. Having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, Suetonius expected that his future progress would be easy, in reducing the people to subjection. But the Britons, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, attacked with success several settlements of their insulting conquerors. London, which was already a flourishing Roman colony, was reduced to ashes; and the Romans and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were massacred by the exasperated natives. Their fate, however, was soon after avenged by Suetonius, in a bloody and de-

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\* This and the following dates, after Christ.

cisive battle, in which eighty thousand Britons are said to have perished; and Boadicea, rather than submit to the victor, put an end to her life by poison.

Julius Agricola, who governed Britain in the reigns  
86] of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, formed a regular plan for subduing this island, and rendering the acquisition useful to the conquerors. He carried his victorious arms northwards; defeated the Britons in every encounter; pierced the forests and mountains of Caledonia; and reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island. Having fixed a chain of forts between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he secured the Roman province from the incursions of its ferocious neighbours.

During these military enterprises, Agricola did not neglect the arts of peace. He introduced laws and arts among the Britons; taught them to value the conveniences of life; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners; instructed them in letters and science; and endeavoured to render their chains easy. By this conduct, the inhabitants gradually acquiesced in the dominion of their masters.

To secure the Roman province from the irruptions of the Caledonians, Adrian built a rampart between the river Tyne and the frith of Solway; this was strengthened with new fortifications by Severus; and during the reigns of the other Roman emperors, such a profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian. The natives, disarmed, dispirited, and submissive, had lost even the idea of their former independence.

But the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with a knowledge of the arts, over a considerable part of the globe, approached its dissolution. Italy, and the centre of the empire, removed, during so many ages, from all concern in the wars, had entirely lost its military spirit, and were peopled by an enervated race, equally ready to submit to a foreign yoke, or to the tyranny of their own rulers. The northern barbarians assailed all the frontiers of the Roman empire. Instead of arming the people in their own defence, the emperors recalled all the distant legions, in whom alone they could repose

confidence. Britain being a remote province, and not much valued by the Romans, the legions that defended it were employed in the protection of Italy and Gaul; and that island, secured by the sea against the inroads of the greater tribes of barbarians, found enemies on its frontiers, ready to take advantage of its defenceless situation. The Picts, who were a tribe of the British race driven northwards by the arms of Agricola, and the Scots, who were supposed to have migrated from Ireland, pierced the rampart of Adrian, no longer defended by the Roman arms, and extended their ravages over the fairest part of the country. The Romans, reduced to extremities at home, and fatigued with distant expeditions, informed the Britons that they must no longer look to them for succour; exhorted them to arm in their own defence; and urged them to protect by their valour their ancient independence. Accordingly, the Romans took a final adieu of Britain, after having been masters of the best portion of it nearly four centuries.

The abject Britons of the south, unaccustomed to  
 448] the perils of war and the cares of civil government, found themselves incapable of resisting the incursions of their fierce and savage neighbours. The Picts and Scots now regarded the whole of Britain as their prey; and the ramparts of the northern wall proved only a weak defence against the attacks of those barbarians. The Britons in vain implored the assistance of the Romans, in an epistle to Ætius the patrician, which was inscribed "The Groans of the Britons." The tenor of the epistle was suitable to the superscription: "The barbarians," say they, "on the one hand drive us into the sea, the sea, on the other, throws us back on the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." The Romans, however, at this time pressed by Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, were unable to attend to the complaints of their allies. The Britons, reduced to despair, and attending only to the suggestions of their own fears, and to the counsels of Vortigern, the powerful prince of Dumuonium, rashly invited the protection of the Saxons.

The Saxons had been for some time regarded as one

449] of the most warlike tribes of Germany, and had become the terror of the neighbouring nations. They had spread themselves from the northern parts of Germany, and had taken possession of all the sea-coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, who were the reputed descendants of the god Woden, commanded the Saxons at this period. These leaders easily persuaded their countrymen to accept of the invitation of the Britons, and to embrace an enterprise in which they might display their valour and gratify their desire of plunder. They embarked their troops in three vessels, and transported to the shores of Britain sixteen hundred men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and attacked with confidence and success the northern invaders.

Hengist and Horsa, perceiving, from their easy victory over the Scots and Picts, with what facility they might subdue the Britons themselves, determined to fight and conquer for their own grandeur, and not for the defence of their allies. They sent intelligence to Saxony of the riches and fertility of Britain; and their representations procured for them a reinforcement of five thousand men. The Saxons formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, whom they had been invited to resist, and proceeded to open hostility against the Britons, whom they had engaged to protect.

The Britons, roused to indignation against their treacherous allies, took up arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who had become odious for his vices, and for the bad success of his counsels, they put themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. They ventured to meet their perfidious enemies, and though generally defeated, one battle was distinguished by the death of Horsa, who left the sole command in the hands of his brother Hengist. This active general, reinforced by his countrymen, still advanced to victory; and being chiefly anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. Great numbers of Britons, to avoid his cruelty or avarice, deserted their native country, and passed over to the continent, where, in the province of Armorica, they were received by a people of the same language and manners, and gave to the country the name of Brittany.

The British writers say, that the love of Vortigern for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, was one cause that facilitated the entrance of the Saxons into this island, and that Vortigern, who had been restored to the throne, accepted of a banquet from Hengist at Stonehenge, where three hundred of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered; and himself detained a captive. But these accounts are not sufficiently corroborated.

After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius was invested with the supreme command over the Britons, and united them in their resistance to the Saxons. Hengist, however, maintained his ground in Britain. He invited into this island another tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Ebissa, the son of Octa, whom he settled in Northumberland; and he founded the kingdom of Kent, comprehending Kent, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surry, which he bequeathed to his posterity.

The success of Hengist allured new swarms from the northern coasts of Germany. The southern Britons gradually receded before the invaders into Cornwall and Wales; and Ælla, a Saxon chief, founded the kingdom of South Saxony, comprising Sussex and that portion of Surry which Hengist had not occupied.

The kingdom of the West Saxons, or of Wessex, was founded by Cerdic, and his son Kenric, in Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the Isle of Wight; but it was not till after many a bloody conflict, that these adventurers enjoyed in peace the harvest of their toils. They were opposed by Arthur, prince of the Silures, whose heroic valour suspended the declining fate of his country, and whose name has been celebrated by Taliesin and the other British bards. The military achievements of this prince have been blended with fiction; but it appears from incontestible evidence, that both in personal and mental powers, he excelled the generality of mankind.

Whilst the Saxons thus established themselves in the south, great numbers of their countrymen, under several leaders, landed on the east coast of Britain. In the year 575, Uffa assumed the title of king of the East Angles; in 585, Crida, that of Mercia; and

about the same time, Erkenwint, that of the East Saxons. This latter kingdom was dismembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire; that of the East Angles, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk; Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of those two kingdoms.

Though the Saxons had been settled in Northumberland soon after the landing of Hengist, yet they met with so much opposition from the inhabitants, that none of their princes for a long time assumed the appellation of king. In 547, Ida, a Saxon prince, who boasted his descent from Woden, and who had brought other reinforcements from Germany, subdued all Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, and some of the south-east counties of Scotland. About the same time, Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshire, received the appellation of king of Deira. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and expelling his brother-in-law Edwin, he assumed the title of king of Northumberland.

Thus was established, after a violent contest of nearly a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; under which the whole southern part of the island, except Wales and Cornwall, in a great measure mixed its inhabitants, and changed its language, customs, and political institutions. The Britons, under the Roman dominion, had made such progress in the arts and civilization, that they had built twenty-eight considerable cities; besides a great number of villages and country-seats; but the Saxons, by whom they were subdued, restored the ancient barbarity, and reduced to the most abject slavery those few natives who were not either massacred, or expelled their habitations.

After the Britons were confined to Cornwall and Wales, and no longer disturbed the conquerors, the alliance between the princes of the Heptarchy was in a great measure dissolved. Dissentions, wars, and revolutions among themselves, were the natural consequence. At length, nearly four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all the king-

doms of the Heptarchy were united in one great state, 827] under Egbert, whose prudence and policy effected what had been often in vain attempted. His territories were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called England; and prospects of peace, security, and increasing refinement, were thus afforded.

The Saxons at this period seem not to have much excelled their German ancestors in arts, civilization, humanity, justice, or obedience to the laws. Christianity had not hitherto banished their ignorance, nor softened the ferocity of their manners; credulity and superstition had accompanied the doctrines received through the corrupted channels of Rome; and the reverence towards saints and reliques seems almost to have supplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues; the universal belief in miraculous interpositions superseded the knowledge of natural causes; and bounty to the church atoned for every violence against society. The sacerdotal habit was the only object of respect. Hence the nobility preferred the security and sloth of the cloister to the tumult and glory of war, and endowed monasteries of which they assumed the government. Hence also the kings, impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, were neither able to bestow rewards on valour or military services, nor retained sufficient influence to support their government.

Another inconvenience which attended this corrupt species of Christianity, was the superstitious attachment to Rome. The Saxons were taught by the monks a profound reverence for the holy see; and kings, abdicating their crowns, sought a secure passport to heaven at the feet of the Roman Pontiff. The successors of St. Peter, encouraged by the blindness and submissive disposition of the people, advanced every day in their encroachments on the independence of the English church. In the eighth century, Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisferne, the sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, increased this subjection by an appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod. Wilfrid thus laid the foundation of the papal pretensions, which we shall find in the sequel



were carried to the most disgraceful heights, and submitted to with a patience almost incredible.

## CHAPTER II.

*From the Union of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy under Egbert, to the Norman Conquest.*

THE kingdoms of the Heptarchy appeared to be  
 827] firmly united in one state under Egbert; and this union promised future tranquillity to the inhabitants of Britain. But these flattering hopes were soon overcast by the appearance of the Danes. The emperor Charlemagne had been induced to exercise great severities in Germany; and the more warlike of the natives, to escape the fury of his persecutions, had retired into Jutland. From that northern extremity they invaded France, which was exposed by the dissensions of the posterity of Charlemagne. Designated by the general name of Normans, which they received from their northern situation, they became a terror to the maritime, and even to the inland countries. In their predatory excursions they were tempted to visit England, and in their hostilities made  
 787] no distinction between the French and English nations. After an unsuccessful attempt on Northumberland, they landed on the Isle of Shepey, which they plundered with impunity. The next year they disembarked in Dorsetshire from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert at Charmouth, where the Danes were defeated with great loss. They afterwards entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall, and, in conjunction with their allies, made an inroad into Devonshire, where they were met at Hingedown by Egbert, and overthrown with considerable slaughter. The death of Egbert, whose prudence and valour had rendered him a terror to his enemies, revived the hopes of the Danes, and prompted them to new efforts.

Ethelwolf, the son and successor of Egbert, possess-  
 838] ed neither the abilities nor the bravery of his father; he was better qualified for a cloister

than a throne. He commenced his reign with resigning to his eldest son, Athelstan, the provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. The domestic dissention which this partition was calculated to occasion was prevented by the terror excited by the Danes, whose inroads were felt through Hampshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent. In their course they carried off the goods, the cattle, and even the wretched inhabitants; and then retiring to their vessels, they set sail to some distant quarter which was not prepared for their reception. Though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, yet they could not be expelled. They established themselves in the isles of Thanet and Shepey, whence they constantly harassed and ravaged the adjacent coasts.

The unsettled state of England did not prevent Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he carried his fourth and favourite son, Alfred, then only six years of age. He passed a twelvemonth at Rome in exercises of devotion, and failed not in liberality to the church. In his return home, he married Judith, the daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an opposition which he little expected. Athelstan, his eldest son, had paid the debt of nature; Ethelbald, his second, who had assumed the government, formed the project of excluding his father from a throne, for which his weakness and superstition little qualified him. Ethelwolf yielded in a great measure to the pretensions of his son: he retained the eastern, which were the least considerable, and ceded to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western districts of the kingdom. Immediately after, he summoned the states of the whole kingdom, and, with the same facility of disposition, not only granted to the priesthood a perpetual right to tithes, but exempted it from all imposts and burdens.

Ethelwolf lived only two years after conferring this  
857] important grant to the church. By his will he divided England between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned to the former, and the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a profligate prince, who married Judith, his mother-in-law, and whose reign was short. His death united the whole government in the hands of Ethelbert, who,

during five years, reigned with justice and prudence, and bequeathed the sceptre to his brother Ethered.

Though Ethered defended himself with great bravery, yet, during the whole of his reign, he enjoyed no tranquillity from the Danes, who landed in East Anglia, penetrated into the kingdom of Northumberland, and seized the city of York. Alfred, his younger brother, assisted Ethered in all his enterprises against the enemy. The Danes were attacked by the forces under Ethered and Alfred; and being defeated in an action, they sought shelter within the walls of Reading. Thence they infested the neighbouring country. An action soon after ensued at Aston, in Berkshire, where the English, through the good conduct of Alfred, obtained a victory. Another battle was fought at Basing, where the Danes were more successful. Amidst these disorders, Ethered died of a wound which he had received, and transferred his kingdom and the care of its defence to the illustrious Alfred, who was then twenty-two years of age.

Alfred gave early proof of his abilities, by which, in the most difficult times, he saved his country from ruin. Pope Leo the Third predicted his future greatness, by giving him the royal unction, when Alfred was on a visit to the Roman pontiff. Being indulged in youthful pleasures, his education was much neglected; but the recital of some Saxon poems awakened his native genius; and he applied himself with diligence and success to the study of the Latin tongue. From these elegant pursuits, however, he was early recalled by the danger of his country. Scarcely had he buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton,\* and were ravaging the surrounding country. He gave them battle, and was at first successful; but pursuing his advantage too eagerly, he was oppressed by the superiority of numbers, and obliged to relinquish the field. Alfred, however, was still formidable; and though he was supported only by the West Saxons, he obliged his enemies to conclude a treaty, in which they solemnly swore to evacuate his territories. The oath was taken and vio-

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\* The real situation of Wilton has been much disputed.

lated with equal facility ; and the Danes, without seeking any pretence, attacked Alfred's army, which they routed, and, marching westward, took possession of Exeter. Alfred collected new forces, and exerted such vigour, that he fought eight battles in one year, and obliged the enemy to engage that they would settle in some part of England, and not suffer more of their countrymen to enter the kingdom. Whilst Alfred expected the execution of this treaty, another body of Danes landed in this island ; and collecting all the scattered troops of their countrymen, they seized Chippenham, and extended their ravages over Wiltshire.

This last event broke the spirits of the Saxons, and reduced them to despair. They believed themselves abandoned by Heaven to destruction. Some left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled beyond the sea ; others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeasing their fury by a servile obedience ; and Alfred was obliged to relinquish the ensigns of royalty, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises, from the pursuit of his enemies. He concealed himself under the habit of a peasant, and for some time lived in the house of a neatherd, who had formerly been entrusted with the care of his cows. In this humiliating situation, it is said that the wife of the neatherd, ignorant of the condition of her royal guest, and observing him one day busy by the fire-side, in trimming his bow and arrows, desired him to take care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed in other domestic concerns. However, Alfred, whose thoughts were differently engaged, forgot the trust ; and the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes burnt, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him with neglecting what he was ready enough to eat.

Alfred, finding that success had rendered his enemies more remiss, collected some of his retainers. In the centre of a bog, formed by the stagnated waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire, he found two acres of firm ground, where he built an habitation, which he rendered secure by fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads that led to it. This place he called *Æthelingay*, or the Isle of Nobles ; and thence he made frequent and unexpected sallies on the Danes, who often felt the vig-

our of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. In this insulated place he was informed that Oddune, earl of Devonshire, had routed and killed Hubba the Dane, who had besieged him in his castle of Kinwith, near the mouth of the river Tau; and that he had got possession of the enchanted standard, or *reafen*, so called from containing the figure of a raven, which the Danes believed to have been interwoven by the three sisters of Hinguar and Hubba, with magical incantations, and to express by the motions of its wings the success or failure of any enterprise.

When Alfred was informed of this successful resistance, he left his retreat; but before he would assemble his subjects in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy. Under the disguise of a harper, he entered their camp; his music obtained for him a welcome reception, and introduced him into the tent of their prince Guthrum; and he was witness during several days to the supine security of the Danes, and their contempt of the English. Encouraged by what he observed, he sent private emissaries to the most considerable of his friends, and summoned them to meet him with their followers at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English having experienced that submission only increased the insolence and rapacity of their conquerors, repaired to the place of rendezvous with alacrity, and received with shouts of transport a monarch whom they had fondly loved, and whom they had long concluded to have been dead. Alfred immediately led them against the Danes, who, surprised to see an army of English, fled after a faint resistance, and suffered greatly in the pursuit: the remnant that escaped, were besieged by the victors in a fortified camp; and being reduced to extremity by hunger, they implored the clemency of Alfred, whose prudence converted them from mortal enemies into faithful friends and confederates. He proposed to Guthrum and his followers to re-people the desolated parts of East Anglia and Northumberland; but he required from them as a pledge of their future sincerity, that they should embrace christianity. The Danes complied; and Guthrum received, as the adopted son of Alfred, the name of Athelstan.

The success of this expedient seemed to correspond with Alfred's hopes: the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters; the more turbulent procured subsistence by ravaging the coasts of France; and England enjoyed for some years a state of tranquillity. Alfred employed this period in establishing civil and military institutions, and in providing for the future defence of the island. He repaired the ruined cities; built castles and fortresses; and established a regular militia. Sensible that the best means of defending an island is by a navy, he increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and trained his subjects to maritime conflicts. He stationed his vessels with such judgment as continually to intercept the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops; and by this means he repelled several inroads of the Danes.

At length Hastings, the celebrated Danish chief, having ravaged all the provinces of France, along the Loire and the Seine, appeared off the coast of Kent with three hundred and thirty sail; where the greater part of the Danes disembarked, and seized the fort of Apuldore. Hastings himself, with a fleet of eighty sail, entered the Thames, and fortifying Milton in Kent, spread his forces over the country, and committed the most dreadful ravages. Alfred, on the first alarm of this descent, hastened with a chosen band to the defence of his people; and collecting all the armed militia, he appeared in the field with a force superior to that of the enemy. The invaders, instead of increasing their spoil, were obliged to seek refuge within their fortifications. Tired of this situation, the Danes at Apuldore suddenly left their encampment, and attempted to march towards the Thames, and to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; but Alfred, whose vigilance they could not escape, encountered and defeated them at Farnham. They fled to their ships, and escaped to Mersey in Essex, where they erected new works for their protection. Hastings attempted a similar movement at the same time, and with the same success: after leaving Milton, he was glad to find refuge at Bamflete, near the isle of Canvey, where he threw up fortifications for his defence.

From these invaders the attention of Alfred was soon distracted by another enemy. Guthrum was now dead ; and his followers, encouraged by the appearance of so great a body of their countrymen, revolted against the authority of Alfred. They embarked on board of two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter, in the west of England. Alfred immediately marched to the west, and suddenly attacking them, defeated them, and pursued them to their ships with great slaughter. In another attempt on the coast of Sussex, they were again repulsed, and some of their ships taken. Discouraged by these difficulties, they embarked, and returned to their settlements in Northumberland.

In the mean time, the Danes in Essex, having quitted their retreat, and united their forces under the command of Hastings, ravaged the inland country. The English army left in London attacked the Danish intrenchments at Bamflete, over powered the garrison, and carried off the wife and two sons of Hastings. Alfred restored the captives to the Danish chief, on condition that he should quit the kingdom, to which he readily assented.

However, many of the Danes refused to follow Hastings. Great numbers of them seized and fortified Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames ; and leaving a garrison there, they marched to Soddington, in the county of Gloucester, where they were reinforced by the Welsh, and erected fortifications for their protection. Alfred surrounded them with his whole force. After having endured the extremities of famine, they attacked the English, and a small number of them effected their escape ; but most of them being taken, they were tried at Winchester, and hanged as public robbers.

This well-timed severity restored tranquillity to England, and produced security to the government. Not only the East-Anglian and Northumberland Danes, but the Welsh, acknowledged the authority of Alfred. By prudence, by justice, and by valour, he had now established his sovereignty over all the southern parts of the island, from the English chañnel to the frontiers of Scotland ; when, in the vigour of his age, and in the full possession of his faculties, he expired, af-

ter a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half, in which he had deservedly attained the appellation of GREAT, and the title of founder of the English monarchy.

The character of Alfred, both in private and public life, is almost unrivalled in the annals of any age or nation. His virtues were so happily tempered together, and so justly blended, that each prevented the other from exceeding its proper boundaries. He reconciled the most enterprising spirit with the greatest moderation; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; and nature, also, as if so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every personal grace and accomplishment.

The martial exploits of Alfred afford only an imperfect idea of his merit. His civil institutions, many of which still exist, and his encouragement of the arts and sciences, form the most prominent features of his reign. The violence and rapacity of the Danes had subverted all order throughout England, and introduced the greatest anarchy and confusion. To provide a remedy for the evils which their licentiousness had occasioned, and to render the execution of justice strict and regular, Alfred divided the kingdom into counties; these he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. Ten householders formed a tithing, who were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom a headborough or borsholder was appointed to preside. Every man was obliged to register himself in some tithing; and none could change his habitation without a certificate from the headborough of the tithing to which he belonged.

When any person had been guilty of a crime, the headborough was summoned to answer for him; and if the headborough was unwilling to be surety for his appearance, the criminal was committed to prison till his trial. If the criminal fled, either before or after finding sureties, the headborough and tithing were exposed to the penalties of the law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal. If the



time elapsed before they could find him, the headborough and two other members of the tithing were obliged to appear, and together with three chief members of three neighbouring tithings, consisting of twelve in all, swear that the tithing was free from all privity both of the crime and of the escape of the criminal. If the headborough could not produce such a number of witnesses to their innocence, the tithing was compelled to pay a fine to the king. This institution obliged every man carefully to observe the conduct of his neighbours, and was a kind of surety for their behaviour.

In the administration of justice, the headborough summoned his tithing to assist him in deciding any trivial difference which occurred among the members. In affairs of greater moment, or in controversies between members of different tithings, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten tithings, or one hundred families, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks. In their method of decision we trace the origin of juries. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who, together with the presiding magistrate of that division, were sworn to administer impartial justice in the cause submitted to their jurisdiction.

The county court, which met twice a year, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, was superior to that of the hundred, from which it received appeals. The bishop with the aldermen presided in it. The latter originally possessed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of power might render the nobility dangerous, appointed a sheriff in each county, who was equal with the aldermen in his judicial function, and whose office also consisted in guarding the rights of the crown from violation, and in levying the fines. In default of justice in these courts, an appeal lay to the king in council; but finding that his time would be entirely engrossed in hearing these appeals, Alfred took care to correct the ignorance or corruption of inferior magistrates, and to instruct his nobility in letters and laws. To guide them in the administration of justice, he framed a code of laws, which, though now lost, long served as the basis of English jurisprudence, and

is generally deemed the origin of what is now denominated the common law.

To encourage learning among his subjects was no less the care of this illustrious prince. When he came to the throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance. Alfred himself complains that on his accession he did not know one person south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few even in the northern parts who had reached that pitch of erudition. To supply this defect, he invited the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools; and he founded, or at least revived, the university of Oxford, which he endowed with various privileges, revenues, and immunities. He enjoined by law, all freeholders possessed of two hides, or about two hundred acres of land, to send their children to school for instruction; and he gave preferment, both in church and state, to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge.

However, the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in exercise and the refection of his body; another, in the despatch of business; and a third, in study and devotion. Sensible that the people were incapable of speculative instruction, he conveyed his morality by apologues, parables, stories, and apothegms, couched in poetry. He translated the Fables of Æsop, the Histories of Orosius and Bede, and Bæthius on the consolation of philosophy; nor did he deem it derogatory from his high character of sovereign, legislator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead the way in literary pursuits.

The prince was also an encourager of the mechanical arts. He invited industrious foreigners to repeople his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures; he prompted men of activity to engage in navigation and commerce; he appropriated a seventh part of his own revenue to rebuild the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries; and such was the impression of his sagacity and virtue, that he was regarded by foreigners, as well as by his own subjects,

as one of the greatest princes that had appeared on the throne of the world.

Of the two surviving sons of Alfred by his wife  
901] Ethelswitha, the daughter of a Mercian earl, Ethelwald the younger inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life; but Edward the elder succeeded to the military talents as well as to the throne of Alfred. Ethelwald, the cousin-german of Edward, and son of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, insisted on a title to the throne preferable to that of Edward. Ethelwald, however, was obliged to flee; but connecting his interests with those of the Danes, he obtained the assistance of those freebooters, and returned. An action was fought near Bury, in which the Kentish men vigorously opposed the Danes, who lost their bravest leaders, and among the rest Ethelwald himself. The reign of Edward was an incessant but successful struggle against the Northumbrians, the East-Angles, and the Danes. He gained two signal victories at Telmsford and Maldon, compelled the Danes to retire into France, and obliged the East-Angles to swear allegiance to him. After a turbulent but successful reign of twenty-four years, his kingdom devolved on Athelstan, his natural son.

The mature age of Athelstan obtained for him the  
925] preference over the legitimate children of Edward; and, amidst storms of civil conflict and foreign war, he proved himself not unworthy of it. He crushed Alfred, a powerful nobleman, who had conspired against him; he entered Scotland with an army, and extorted the submission of Constantine its king; he reduced to obedience the turbulent Northumbrians; and he defeated with considerable slaughter the Danes and Welsh. Athelstan was regarded as an able and active prince; and the remarkable law which he enacted, that a merchant, who had made three long sea voyages, should be admitted to the rank of thane or gentleman, is a proof of great liberality of mind. He died at Gloucester, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.

The reign of Edmund was short, and his death vio-  
941] lent. He chastised the Northumbrians, who seized every opportunity of rebelling; and he conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and confer-

red it on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from the incursions of the Danes. He perished by the hand of Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, and who presumed to enter the royal apartment. The king, enraged at this insolence, ordered him to leave the room; and on his refusing to obey, Edmund, naturally choleric, seized him by the hair, when the ruffian drew a dagger, and gave him a mortal wound.

Edred, the brother and successor of Edmund, had  
946] no sooner ascended the throne, than he found it necessary to oppose the incursions of the Northumbrian Danes, and to oblige Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England. Edred, though not destitute of courage, was an abject slave to superstition; and he abandoned his conscience to Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who, under the appearance of sanctity, veiled the most violent ambition.

Dunstan practised the most rigid austerity, and pretended to have frequent conflicts with the devil; in one of which he seized the devil by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood resounded with his bellowings. Supported by this affected character, Dunstan obtained an entire ascendancy over Edred, and was placed at the head of the treasury. Sensible that he owed his advancement to the austerity of his life, he became a partisan of the rigid monastic rules. The celibacy of priests was deemed meritorious by the church of Rome; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy in the western world renounce the privilege of marrying. In England, Dunstan seconded his efforts, and introduced the reformation into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon; but the secular clergy, who were numerous and rich, defended their privileges against this usurpation. During the ferment occasioned by these religious controversies, Edred departed this life.

The children of Edred being too young to bear the  
955] weight of government, the throne was filled by his nephew Edwy, who was adorned with a graceful person, and possessed the most promising virtues

Contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, he unfortunately married Elgiva, a beautiful princess of the royal blood, who was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. This occasioned the invectives of the monks; and the king found reason to repent his creating such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, whilst his nobility were indulging in riot and disorder, Edwy retired from the noisy revelry of the table, to taste the pleasures of love with Elgiva. Dunstan, conjecturing the reason of the king's retreat, burst into the apartment, and with every opprobrious epithet that could be applied to her sex, thrust the queen from her royal consort. To avenge this public insult, Edwy accused Dunstan of malversation in the treasury, and banished him the kingdom. But Dunstan's party were not inactive during his absence: they exclaimed against the impiety of the king and queen, and proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence. Archbishop Odo, with a party of soldiers, seized the queen, burned her face with a hot iron, and forcibly carried her into Ireland. Edwy, finding himself unable to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce. The unhappy Elgiva, attempting to return to her husband, was seized by the infernal Odo, who, with the malice of a demon, caused her to be hamstrung, of which she died a few days after, at Gloucester, in the sharpest torments.

Not satiated with this horrible vengeance, the monks encouraged Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, to aspire to the throne, and soon put him in possession of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. Dunstan returned to England, to assist Edgar and his party, and after Odo's death, was installed in the see of Canterbury. The unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened soon after, freed him from monkish persecution, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the throne.

Edgar discovered great abilities in the government 959] of the kingdom; and his reign is one of the most fortunate in English history. By his vigorous preparations for war, he ensured peace; and he awed equally the foreign and domestic Danes. The neighbouring sovereigns, the king of Scotland, the

princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the Orkneys, and of Ireland, were reduced to pay him submission; but the chief means by which he maintained his authority, was his assiduous yet forced respect to the fanatical and inhuman Dunstan and his kindred monks.

These repaid his politic concessions by the highest panegyrics; and Edgar has been represented by them not only as a consummate statesman and a great prince, but as a man of strict virtue, and even a saint. Nothing however could more fully prove, that the praises bestowed on Edgar, with respect to the sanctity of his life, were exaggerated and unmerited, than his immoral and licentious conduct. He broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committed violence on her person. For this crime, Dunstan required him merely to abstain from wearing his crown during seven years. At Andover, too, Edgar, struck with the beauty of the daughter of a nobleman, in whose house he lodged, unceremoniously went to her mother, and desired that the young lady might pass that very night with him. The mother, knowing the impetuosity of the king's temper, pretended a submission to his will; but she secretly ordered a waiting-maid, named Elfrida, to steal into the king's bed, after the company had retired to rest. The dawn of light discovered the deceit; but Edgar, well pleased with his companion, expressed no displeasure on account of the fraud; and Elfrida became his favourite mistress, until his criminal marriage with Elfrida.

This lady was daughter and heir of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, and all England resounded with the praises of her beauty. The curiosity of Edgar was excited; and he resolved to marry her, if he found her charms answerable to the report. He communicated his intentions to Athelwold, his favourite, whom he deputed to bring him an authentic account of her person. Athelwold found that general report had not exaggerated the beauty of Elfrida; and being smitten with her charms, he determined to sacrifice to his love for her the fidelity which he owed to his master. He returned to Edgar, and assured him, that the birth and riches of Elfrida had been the cause of the admiration paid to her, and that she possessed no charms of

superior lustre. After some time, he intimated to the king, that, though her parentage and fortune had not deceived him with regard to her beauty, she would be an advantageous match for him, and might by her birth and riches make him sufficient compensation for the homeliness of her person. Edgar, pleased with an opportunity of establishing his favourite's fortune, forwarded his success by a recommendation to the parents of Elfrida, whose hand Athelwold soon obtained.

Envy, which ever pursues the favourite of a king, speedily informed Edgar of the truth. However, before he avenged the treachery of Athelwold, he resolved to satisfy himself of his guilt. He told him, that he intended to visit his castle, and to be introduced to his wife. Athelwold, unable to refuse this honour, revealed the whole transaction to Elfrida, and conjured her to conceal from Edgar that beauty which had seduced him from his fidelity. Elfrida promised a compliance, but appeared before the king in all her charms, and excited in his bosom at once the passions of desire and revenge. However, he dissembled his emotions, till he had an opportunity, in hunting, of stabbing Athelwold, and soon after publicly espoused Elfrida.

Edgar died after a reign of sixteen years, and was  
975] succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of Earl Ordmer. This prince was anointed and crowned by Dunstan at Kingston, and lived four years after his accession. His death alone was memorable and tragical. Though his step-mother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son Ethelred, yet Edward had always showed her marks of regard. He was hunting one day near Corfe-castle in Dorsetshire, where Elfrida resided, and paying her a visit without attendants, he presented her with the opportunity for which she had long wished. After remounting his horse, he desired some liquor to be brought him; and whilst he was holding the cup to his mouth a servant of Elfrida approached, and stabbed him behind. The prince, feeling himself wounded, set spurs to his horse, but faint with the loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, and his foot being entangled in the stirrup, he was dragged along until he expired. His youth and innocence obtained for him the appellation of Martyr.

Ethelred, the son of Edgar and Elfrida, reaped the  
 978] advantage of his mother's crime, and succeeded  
 to the throne. He was a weak and irresolute  
 monarch, and obtained the appellation of Unready.  
 During his reign the Danes resumed their ravages;  
 and Ethelred exhibited neither courage nor ability suf-  
 ficient to repel so formidable an enemy. A shameful  
 composition was made with Sweyn, king of Denmark;  
 and the English monarch consented to the disgraceful  
 badge of tribute. Ethelred, desirous of forming a  
 closer alliance with the pirates of the north, solicited  
 and received in marriage Emma, sister to Richard the  
 second, duke of Normandy, whose family sprang from  
 the Danish adventurer Rollo.

Whilst their sovereign courted the alliance, the  
 English groaned beneath the rapacity and arrogance  
 of the northern invaders. Sensible of the superiority  
 of these hardy warriors, the English princes had been  
 accustomed to retain in their pay bodies of Danish  
 troops. These mercenaries, by their arts and military  
 character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to  
 the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daugh-  
 ters of the English; but what most provoked the in-  
 habitants was, that instead of defending them against  
 invaders, they were always ready to join the foreign  
 foe. This animosity inspired Ethelred with the reso-  
 lution of massacring the Danes throughout his do-  
 minions. Secret orders were despatched to com-  
 mence the execution every where the same day; and

1002 } so well were these orders executed, that the  
 Nov. 13. } rage of the people, sanctioned by authority,  
 distinguished not between innocence and  
 guilt, and spared neither sex nor age.

This barbarous policy, however, did not remain long  
 1003] unrevenged. Sweyn and his Danes, who want-  
 ed only a pretence for invading England, ap-  
 peared off the western coast. Exeter first fell into  
 their hands, from the negligence or treachery of Earl  
 Hugi, a Norman, who had been made governor of that  
 city.—Thence they extended their devastations over  
 the country. The calamities of the English were aug-  
 mented by famine; and they submitted to the infamy  
 of purchasing a nominal peace, by the payment of  
 thirty thousand pounds. The dissensions of the Eng-



lish prevented them from opposing the Danes, who still continued their depredations, and from whom they purchased another peace at the expense of forty-eight thousand pounds. The Danes, however, disregarded all engagements, and extorted new contributions. The English nobility, driven to despair, swore allegiance to Sweyn, and delivered him hostages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had sent before him Emma, and her two sons, Alfred and Edward.

The king had not been more than six weeks in Nor-  
 1014] mandy, when he was informed of the death of Sweyn. The English prelates and nobles sent a deputation into Normandy, and invited Ethelred to resume the royal authority. But on his return they soon perceived that adversity had not corrected his errors: he displayed the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity. In Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, the English found an enemy no less formidable than his father. After ravaging the eastern and southern coasts, he burst into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; where an army was assembled against him under the command of prince Edmond, the eldest son of Ethelred. The English soldiers demanded the presence of their sovereign; and upon his refusal to take the field, they became discouraged, and gradually retired from the camp. Edmond, after some fruitless expeditions into the north, retired to London, which he found in confusion, from the death of the king, who had expired after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years. He left two sons by his first marriage, Edmond who succeeded him, and Edwy who was murdered by Canute; and two more by his second marriage, Alfred and Edward, who, upon the death of Ethelred, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma.

Edmond, who from his hardy valour obtained the  
 1016] surname of Ironside, was inferior in abilities only to the difficulties of the time. In two battles he encountered the Danes with skill and courage; but in both he was defeated or betrayed by the enmity or perfidy of Edric, duke of Mercia. The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources: he as-

sembled a new army at Gloucester, and was again prepared to dispute the field ; when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed, obliged their kings to submit to a compromise, and to partition the kingdom. Canute reserved to himself the northern part, and relinquished the southern to Edmond. This prince survived the treaty about a month ; he was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

Canute, at the head of a great force, was ready to  
 1017] take advantage of the minority of Alfred and Edward, the two sons of Edmond. To cover, however, his injustice under plausible pretences, before he seized the dominions of the English princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states, in order to fix the succession of the kingdom. He here suborned some nobles to depose, that, in the treaty of Gloucester, it had been verbally agreed, in case of Edmond's death, to name Canute successor to his dominions, or tutor to his children ; and this evidence, supported by the great power of Canute, determined the states to vest in him the government of the kingdom. Jealous of the two princes, he sent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he desired to free him by their death from all future anxiety. The Swedish monarch was too humane to comply with this cruel request ; but afraid of a quarrel with Canute if he protected the young princes, he conveyed them to Solomon, king of Hungary. The elder died without issue ; but Edward the younger married Agatha, the sister-in-law of Solomon, and daughter of the emperor Henry II. by whom he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who became a nun.

Canute no sooner found himself confirmed on the throne, than he put to death the nobles, on whose fidelity he could not rely ; and among these was the traitor Edric, who had presumed to reproach him with his services. But, like a wise prince, he was determined that the English, now deprived of all their dangerous leaders, should be reconciled to the Danes by the justice and impartiality of his government. He restored the Saxon customs in the general assembly

of the states; he made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and the victors were gradually incorporated with the vanquished. Though the distance of Edmond's children was regarded by Canute as the greatest security to his government, yet he dreaded the pretensions of Alfred and Edward, who were supported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. To acquire the friendship of that prince, he paid his addresses to his sister Emma; and the widow of Ethelred consented to bestow her hand on the implacable enemy of her former husband, on condition that the children of their marriage should mount the English throne.

After repelling the attacks of the king of Sweden, Canute invaded and subdued Norway, of which he retained possession till his death. At leisure from war, he cast his view towards that future existence, which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satiated by prosperity, or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its attention. Instead, however, of endeavouring to atone for the crimes which he had committed by compensation to the injured, it was in building churches, in endowing monasteries, and in a pilgrimage to Rome, that his penitence was displayed. Some of his courtiers affected to think his power uncontrollable, and that all things would be obedient to his command. Canute, sensible of their adulation, ordered his chair to be placed on the sea-shore while the tide was rising; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. But when the sea, still advancing towards him, began to wet his feet, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent, compared to that Almighty Being in whose hands are all the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."

Canute died at Shaftsbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign. Of his two sons by his first marriage, Sweyn had been crowned king of Norway, and Harold succeeded his father on the English throne; and Hardicanute, who was his issue by Emma, was left in possession of the kingdom of Denmark.

Though Harold succeeded to the throne of England  
 1035] agreeably to the will of his father, who considered it dangerous to leave a newly-conquered kingdom in the hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute; yet this was a manifest violation of the treaty with the duke of Normandy, by which England was assigned to the issue of Canute by Emma. Harold was favoured by the Danes, and Hardicanute by the English. The death of Harold, however, which happened four years after his accession, left the succession open to his brother Hardicanute. He expired, little regretted by his subjects, and distinguished only for his agility in running, by which he had gained the surname of Harefoot.

Hardicanute, upon his arrival from the continent,  
 1039] was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, and was acknowledged king both by the Danes and the English. However, he soon lost the affections of the nation by his misconduct. At the nuptials of a Danish lord, which he had honoured with his presence, Hardicanute died; and this event once more presented to the English a favourable opportunity of shaking off the Danish yoke.

The descendants of Edmond Ironside, the legitimate heirs to the crown, were at a distance in  
 1041] Hungary; and as all delays might be dangerous, the vacant throne was offered to Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma. His succession might have been opposed by earl Godwin, who had espoused the daughter of Canute, and whose power, alliances, and abilities, gave him a great influence; but it was stipulated, that Edward should marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin. To this Edward consented, and was crowned king of England.

The long residence of Edward in Normandy, had attached him to the natives, who repaired to his court in great numbers, and who soon rendered their language, customs, and laws, fashionable in the kingdom. Their influence soon became disgusting to the English; but above all it excited the jealousy of Godwin. That powerful nobleman, besides being earl or duke of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government: his eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the counties of Oxford,

Berks, Gloucester, and Hereford: and Harold, his second son, was Duke of East Anglia, and at the same time governor of Essex. The king had indeed married the daughter of Godwin; but the amiable qualities of Editha had never won the affection of her husband. It is even pretended that Edward abstained from all commerce of love with her; and such a forbearance, though it obtained for the prince, from the monkish historians, the appellation of Saint and Confessor, could not but be noticed by the high-spirited Godwin.

However, the influence of the Normans was the popular pretence for the disaffection of the duke of Wessex to the king and his government. Godwin raised the standard of rebellion; but finding himself, from the desertion of his troops, incapable of opposing his sovereign, he fled to Flanders. Returning with a powerful fleet, which the earl of Flanders had permitted him to prepare in his harbours, a new reconciliation took place, and the most obnoxious of the Normans were banished.

Godwin's death, which happened soon after, devolved his government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, with his office of steward of the household, on his son Harold, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in virtue and address. Edward, who felt the approach of age and infirmities, and had no issue himself, began to think of appointing a successor to his kingdom; and, at length, he fixed his choice on his kinsman, William duke of Normandy.

This celebrated prince was natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise. The illegitimacy of his birth had not prevented him from being acknowledged by the Normans as their duke; and the qualities which he displayed in the field and the cabinet, encouraged his friends, and struck terror into his enemies. Having established tranquillity in his own dominions, he visited England; where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation he had acquired, and to the obligations which Edward owed to his family. Soon after his return, he was informed of the king's intentions in his favour; and this first opened the mind of William to

entertain such ambitious hopes. Harold, however, openly aspired to the succession; and Edward, feeble and irresolute, was afraid to declare either for or against him. In this state of uncertainty, the king was surprised by death, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

On the death of Edward, the last of the Saxon princes, Harold ascended the throne with little opposition; and the whole nation seemed to acquiesce in his elevation. The duke of Normandy, however, received the intelligence with the greatest indignation. No sooner had he proclaimed his intention of attempting the conquest of England, than he found less difficulty in completing his levies, than in rejecting those who were desirous of serving under him. The duke of Normandy speedily assembled a fleet of three thousand vessels, in which to transport an army of sixty thousand men, whom he had selected from the numbers that courted his service. Among these were found the high names of the most illustrious nobles of Normandy, France, Brittany, and Flanders. To these bold Chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valour; and pointing to the opposite shore, he told them, that there was the field, on which to erect trophies to their name, and fix their residence. The Norman armament arrived, without any material loss, at Pevensey in Sussex; and the troops were disembarked without meeting any obstacle. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but he had the presence of mind to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.

Harold had just gained a great and important victory over the Norwegians, who had invaded the kingdom, when he received the intelligence that the duke of Normandy had landed with a numerous army in the south of England. He resolved to give battle in person, and soon appeared in sight of the enemy, who had pitched their camp at Hastings. So confident was Harold of success, that to a message sent him by the duke, he replied, "The god of battles should soon be the arbiter of all their differences."

Both parties immediately prepared for action; but

1066 } the English spent the night previously to the  
 Oct 14. } battle, in riot and jollity; whilst the Nor-  
 mans were occupied in prayer and in the duties of religion. On the morning, the duke assembled his principal officers and harrangued them in a set speech, in which he used every argument that could stimulate their courage and repel their fears. He then ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the English.

Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and having secured his flanks with trenches, he resolved to stand on the defensive, and to avoid an engagement with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van, a post of honour which they always claimed as their due. The Londoners guarded the standard; and the king himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, dismounting from his horse, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer or to die. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English; and the former began to retreat, when William hastened to their support with a select band. His presence restored the action; and the English in their turn were obliged to retire. They rallied again, however, assisted by the advantage of the ground; when William commanded his troops to allure the enemy from their position, by the appearance of flight. The English followed precipitately into the plain; where the Normans faced upon them, and forced them back with considerable slaughter. The artifice was repeated a second time with the same success; yet a great body of the English still maintained themselves in firm array, and seemed resolved to dispute the victory. Harold, however, was slain by an arrow, whilst combating at the head of his men; and his two brothers shared the same fate. The English, discouraged by the fall of their princes, fled on all sides; and the darkness of the night contributed to save those who had survived the carnage of the battle.

Thus was gained by William, duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, after a battle fought from morning to sun-set, in which the valour of the vanquished, as well as of the victors, was highly conspicuous. In this engagement nearly fifteen thousand Normans fell; and William had three horses killed under him. But the victory, however dearly purchased, was decisive, as it paid the price of a kingdom. The body of Harold was brought to William, who generously restored it without ransom to his mother. The Norman army gave thanks to heaven for their success; and their prince pressed forwards to secure the prize he had won.

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### CHAPTER III.

*The Reigns of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen.*

As soon as William passed the Thames at Walling-  
 1066] ford, Stigand, the primate, made submission to him: and before he came in sight of London, all the chief nobility entered his camp, and requested him to mount the throne, declaring that, as they had always been ruled by regal power, they desired to follow, in this instance, the example of their ancestors, and knew of no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of government. Though William feigned to hesitate, and wished to obtain a more formal consent of the English nation, yet he dreaded the danger of delay, and accepted of the crown which was thus tendered him. He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey by Aldred, archbishop of York; and he was attended, on this occasion, by the most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman.

Thus, by a pretended destination of king Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, William seated himself on the English throne. He introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his government had been much celebrated in Normandy. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and the



other cities of England, and appeared desirous of replacing every thing on ancient establishments. His whole administration had the semblance of that of a lawful prince, not of a conqueror; and the English began to flatter themselves that they had changed only the succession of their sovereigns, and not the form of their government. But amidst this confidence and friendship which he expressed for the English, the king took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans. He built citadels in London, Winchester, Hereford, Oxford, and the towns best situated for commanding the kingdom, all of which he garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

By this mixture of vigour and lenity, William had so soothed or bumbled the minds of the English, that he thought he might safely revisit his native country, and enjoy the congratulations of his ancient subjects. Accordingly, he set out for Normandy, and carried over with him the chief of the English nobles, who, whilst they served to grace his court by their magnificence, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation.

During the absence of William, affairs took a very unfavourable turn in England. It is probable that the Normans, despising a people who had so easily submitted to the yoke, and envying their riches, were desirous of provoking them to rebellion. Certain, however, it is, that their arrogance multiplied discontents and complaints every where; that secret conspiracies were entered into against the government; and that every thing seemed to threaten a revolution. The disaffection of the English daily increased; and a secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetrate in one day a general massacre of the Normans, like that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes.

The return of the king, however, disconcerted the plans of the conspirators; and the confiscation of their estates enabled the king still farther to gratify the rapacity of the Normans. Though naturally violent and severe in his temper, yet William still preserved the appearance of justice in his oppressions: he restored to their inheritance such as had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence; but he imposed on the people the tax of Danegelt,

which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor, and which was extremely odious to the nation.

The English now clearly foresaw that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affection of foreigners, and that new forfeitures would be the result of any attempt to maintain their rights. Impressed with this dismal prospect, many fled into foreign countries. Several of them settled in Scotland, and founded families which were afterwards illustrious in that country. But whilst the English suffered under these oppressions, the Normans found themselves surrounded by an enraged people, and began to wish for tranquillity. However, the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and his warlike chiefs to suppress every commencement of rebellion.

William introduced into England the feudal law, which had some time been established in Normandy and France. He divided with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, all the lands of England into baronies; and he conferred them, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These barons made a grant of a great part of their lands to other foreigners, under the denomination of knights or vassals, who paid their lord the same duty and submission which the chieftain paid to their sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights fees; and as none of the native English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property were glad to be received into the second, under the protection of some powerful Norman.

The doctrine which exalted the papacy above all human power, had gradually diffused itself from Rome; but, at this time, was more prevalent in the southern, than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had assisted William in his conquests, naturally expected that he would extend to England the reverence for this sacred character, and break the spiritual independence of the Saxons. As soon, therefore, as the Norman prince was established on the throne, Alexander despatched to him Esmenfroy, bishop of Siam, as his legate: and the king,

though he was probably led by principle to pay submission to Rome, determined to employ this incident as a means of serving his political purposes, and degraded those English prelates who were obnoxious to him. However, the superstitious spirit, which became dangerous to some of William's successors, was checked by the abilities of that monarch. He prohibited his subjects from acknowledging any one for pope, whom he himself had not previously received; and he would not suffer any bills or letters from Rome to be produced without the sanction of his authority.

But the English had the mortification to find that the king employed himself chiefly in oppressing them. He even formed a project of extinguishing the English language; and, for that purpose, he ordered that in all schools youth should be instructed in the French tongue; and that all law proceedings should be directed in the same idiom: hence arises that mixture of French which is at present found in the English tongue, and particularly in legal forms.

William's eldest son, Robert, who was greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, and without reserve in his friendships or enmities, had been flattered with the hope that his father, in possession of England, would resign to him the independent government of his continental dominions. The king, indeed, had declared Robert his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that duchy to do homage to him as their future sovereign; but when Robert demanded of his father the execution of those engagements, William refused; Robert openly declared his discontent, and cherished a violent jealousy against his two surviving brothers, William and Henry. Irritated by an imaginary affront, he quitted the court, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise the citadel of Rouen, fled to Hugh de Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, and openly levied war against his father. After a struggle of several years, a reconciliation was effected between the king and Robert, who soon after accompanied his father to England.

Having gained a respite from war, William employed his leisure in an undertaking which does honour to his memory. He appointed commissioners to survey all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each dis-

trict; their proprietors, tenures, value; and the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained. This monument, called Domesday Book, was perfected in six years, and is still preserved in the exchequer.

The domestic happiness of William was again interrupted by the death of his consort Matilda, 1083] whom he tenderly loved. He was involved in war with France, on account of the inroads into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. The displeasure of William was increased by some raileries which Philip of France had thrown out against his person. He was become corpulent, and had been detained in bed some time by sickness, when Philip jocularly expressed his surprise, that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. This being reported to William, he sent Philip word, that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre-dame, as perhaps would give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after childbirth. Immediately after his recovery, he led an army into the Isle of France, which he laid waste; and he also took and reduced to ashes the town of Mante. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which put an end to his life. His horse starting, he bruised his belly on the pommel of his saddle; and being in a bad habit of body, and apprehending the consequences, he ordered himself to be carried to the monastery of St. Gervas. In his last moments he was struck with remorse for the cruelties he had exercised, and endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert; and he wrote to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to crown his second son, William. To Henry, his third son, he bequeathed nothing save the possessions of his mother Matilda, but foretold that he would one day surpass both his brothers, in power and opulence. Having made these dispositions, he expired, in the sixty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-first of his reign over England.

Few princes have been more fortunate than William, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity,

from the abilities and vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence : and his ambition, though exorbitant, generally submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion ; and his conduct was too austere to render his government popular over a vanquished people, who felt him to be both a master and a tyrant.

William, surnamed *Rufus*, from the red colour of his hair, was solemnly crowned king of England 1087] by the primate ; and about the same time Robert was acknowledged successor to Normandy. But the barons, who possessed estates both in England and Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories ; they respected the claim of primogeniture in Robert, and they preferred his open and generous nature to the haughty and tyrannical disposition of his brother. A conspiracy, therefore, was formed against William, who, conscious of his danger, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the English, by promises of future lenity, and the indulgence of hunting in the royal forests. The English espoused the cause of William, who marched an army into Kent, and reduced the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester, which had been seized by his uncles. This success, together with the indolent conduct of Robert, broke all the hopes of the rebels ; some few of whom received a pardon ; but the greater part were attainted, and their estates confiscated.

But the noise of the petty wars and commotions sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which engrossed the attention and agitated the hearts of the principal nations of Europe. Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, then in possession of the Turks. Deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, he entertained the design of leading against the Moslems the hardy warriors of the west. By permission of the pope, Martin the Second, he preached the crusade over Europe ; and men of all ranks flew to arms, with the greatest alacrity, for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the infidels. The sign of the cross became the badge of union, and

was affixed on their right shoulder, by all who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare. Such was the general ardour, that while the youthful and vigorous took up arms, the infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money. A promiscuous, disorderly multitude of 300,000, impatient to commence operations, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, attempted to penetrate through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople, and perished by disease, by famine, and the sword. These were followed by more numerous and better disciplined armies, which, after passing the streights at Constantinople, were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted to the number of 700,000 combatants.

Robert duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early engaged in the crusade; but being destitute of money, he offered to mortgage, or rather sell his dominions to his brother William, for the inadequate sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded; and whilst Robert set out with a magnificent train for the Holy Land, William possessed himself of Normandy, and thus re-united, beneath his authority, the extensive dominions of his father.

The cession of Normandy and Maine extended the dominions, but on account of the unsettled state of those countries, weakened the power of William. The Norman nobles were men of independent minds, and were supported by the French king in all their insurrections. Helic, lord of le Fleche, a small town in Anjou, obliged William to undertake several expeditions, before he could prevail over a petty baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine.

However, the king was not less desirous of extending his dominions. William, earl of Poitiers and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the spirit of adventure, determined to join the crusaders; but wanting money to forward the preparations, he offered to mortgage his dominions to the king of England. This proposal was accepted by the king, who had prepared a fleet and army to escort the money and to take possession of the rich provinces of Poitiers and Guienne, when an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects and

views of aggrandizement. He was engaged in the New Forest in hunting, accompanied by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his skill in archery; and as William dismounted after a chase, Tyrrel, impatient of showing his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly killed him. Tyrrel, fearful of suspicions which perhaps he was conscious of incurring, without informing the royal attendants, gained the seashore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem, as a penance for this involuntary crime: William was perfidious and oppressive: and the extremes of prodigality and rapacity, which were reconciled in him, had long estranged from him the hearts of his subjects. The chief monuments which perpetuate his name are the Tower, Westminster Hall, and London Bridge.

Prince Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest, when that monarch was killed; and, (100) hastening to Winchester, he extorted by threats the royal treasure from William de Breteuil, the keeper. Pursuing his journey to London, and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address or liberality gained to his side, he was saluted king: and in less than three days after his brother's death, he was solemnly crowned by Maurice, bishop of London.

To maintain the dignity which he had thus usurped, Henry resolved to court, by fair professions at least, the favour of his subjects. He passed a charter, which was framed to remedy many of the grievous oppressions that had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He espoused Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling; and his marriage with a Saxon princess, endeared him to the English, and tended to establish him on the throne.

Robert returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. After establishing his authority over Normandy, he made preparations for possessing himself of England, of which he had been so unjustly defrauded. The two armies lay in sight of each other for several days without coming to

action. It was, however, agreed that Robert, in lieu of his pretensions to England, should receive an annual pension of 3000 marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the survivor should succeed to his dominions: and that the adherents of each should be pardoned.

Alternately plunged into the most dissolute pleasures, or abandoned to the most womanish superstitions, Robert neglected the government of his duchy; and Normandy became a scene of violence and depredation. To avail himself of these disorders, Henry raised a numerous army, with which he invaded Normandy. He took Bayeux by storm, and was admitted into Caen by the inhabitants. Robert, roused at last from his lethargy, advanced to meet him, with a view of terminating their quarrels in a decisive battle: he resumed his wonted spirit; he animated his troops by his example, and threw the English into disorder: but when he had the fairest prospect of victory, the treachery and flight of one of his generals occasioned the total defeat of his army. Robert and ten thousand of his followers were made prisoners. Normandy submitted to the victors; and the unfortunate prince was carried by Henry into England, and detained in prison during the remainder of his life, in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire.

The conquest of Normandy seemed to establish the throne of Henry; but his prosperity was clouded by a severe domestic calamity. His only son, William, had reached his eighteenth year; he had been affianced to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou; and he had been acknowledged as successor to the kingdom of England, and the duchy of Normandy. The prince was detained for some hours after his father had set sail from Barfleur to return to England; and his captain and crew having spent the interval in drinking, when they weighed anchor, in their impatience to overtake the king, they struck the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. William was instantly put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ship; when hearing the cries of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her. But the numbers who then crowded in, soon sunk the boat; and the prince



with all his retinue perished. Above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion and the only person that escaped to relate the melancholy tale was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the mast, and was taken up the next morning by some fishermen. When Henry received intelligence of this mournful event, he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after recovered his wonted cheerfulness.

Henry had now no legitimate issue except one daughter, Matilda, whom he had betrothed, when only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry the Fifth, and whom he had sent over to be educated in Germany. Fearful lest her absence from the kingdom, and marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, Henry obtained the hand of Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Lovane. Adelais, however, proved barren in his embraces; and he bestowed his daughter Matilda, who had become a widow, on Geoffery, the son of Fulk, count of Anjou.

Henry died at St. Dennis le Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; leaving by will his daughter Matilda the heir of all his dominions. He was one of the most accomplished princes that ever graced the English throne. His person was manly, and his countenance engaging; and he was eloquent, penetrating, and brave. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of *Beau-clerc*, or the scholar; but his application to those sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government.

The failure of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave  
[1135] the succession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; but no sooner had Henry breathed his last, than Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, hastened to London, and was saluted king by the populace. His father was the count of Blois, whom Adela had married; and Stephen had always affected the greatest attachment to his uncle, the late king, and the most ardent zeal for the succession of Matilda. After gaining the populace, Stephen next

acquired the good-will of the clergy, by the influence of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester; and he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, without much attendance indeed, but without opposition.

The Normans no sooner heard that Stephen had seized the English crown, than they swore allegiance to him; and Matilda was scarcely informed of her father's death, before she found another had usurped her rights. Matilda, however, did not long delay to assert her claim to the crown. Encouraged by a quarrel which had broken out between Stephen and some of the clergy, she landed in England, with Robert earl of Gloucester, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, the gates of which were opened to her by Adelais the queen-dowager; and she excited her partisans to take arms in every county of England. The war quickly broke out in every quarter; and England, for more than a year, was distressed and laid waste by the fury of the contending parties. At last, a battle took place between Stephen and the earl of Gloucester. After a violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight; and Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, was borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner.

The authority of Matilda now seemed to be established over the whole kingdom; but affairs did not remain long in this situation. Matilda was passionate and imperious, and did not know how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband, on condition that he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. Other petitions also were presented to Matilda; but she rejected them all in the most haughty and peremptory manner. A conspiracy was entered into to seize her person; but Matilda saved herself by a precipitate retreat to Oxford. The Civil War was re-kindled with greater fury than ever; and Matilda, harassed with incessant action, sought repose with her son in Normandy.

But when prince Henry, the son of Matilda, had reached his sixteenth year, he resolved to reclaim his

hereditary kingdom. Informed of the dispositions of the English in his favour, he invaded England; and, at Malmesbury, he prepared to encounter Stephen in a pitched battle. The great men on both sides, alarmed at the consequences of a decisive action, compelled the rival princes to a negotiation. It was agreed, that, on the demise of Stephen, the crown should revert to Henry; and that William, Stephen's surviving son, should succeed to the earldom of Boulogne, and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as heir-apparent to the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year, after a short illness, in the fiftieth year of his age, put an end to farther jealousies.

Had Stephen succeeded by a just title to the crown, he seems to have been well qualified to have promoted the happiness of his subjects. He was possessed of industry, activity, and courage; and though his judgment may be arraigned, his humanity must be acknowledged, and his address commended. During this reign, the see of Rome made a rapid progress in its encroachments, and ultimately pretended to a paramount authority over the kings of this country.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### *Reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John.*

THE first acts of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities. 1155] He dismissed the mercenary soldiers of Stephen; revoked all grants made by his predecessors; restored the coin which had been debased during the former reign; and was rigorous in the execution of justice, and the suppression of violence.

In addition to his possessing the throne of England, Henry, in right of his father, was master of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xantoigne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the

Limosin ; and he annexed Brittany to his other states ; all of which rendered him one of the most powerful monarchs in Christendom, and an object of great jealousy to the king of France.

Henry directed his attention to the encroachments of the see of Rome, which had grown with a rapidity not to be brooked by a prince of his high spirit. To facilitate his design of suppressing them, he advanced to the dignity of metropolitan, Becket, his chancellor, on whose flexibility of temper he had made a wrong estimate.

Thomas à Becket was born of reputable parents in the city of London ; and having insinuated himself into the favour of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, he obtained from that prelate considerable preferment. Being of a gay and splendid turn, and apparently little tenacious of ecclesiastical privileges, Henry thought him the fittest person, on the death of Theobald, for the high station of metropolitan ; but no sooner was he installed in this high dignity, than he altered his conduct and demeanour. He maintained in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre ; in his own person he affected the greatest austerity ; he wore sackcloth next his skin, which he pretended to conceal ; he seemed perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures ; and all men of penetration plainly saw that he was meditating some great design.

Though Henry found himself grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had raised to the primacy, yet he determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. The ecclesiastics in that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate ; and crimes of the blackest die were committed by them with impunity. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father ; the general indignation against the crime, moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which had become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on the criminal than degradation.

In order to define expressly those laws to which he required obedience, and to mark the limits between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, Henry summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon; when, by his influence or authority, the laws so favourable to prerogative, known by the name of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, were voted without opposition. Becket, of all the prelates, alone withheld his assent; but he was at last obliged to comply, and engaged by oath *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve*, to observe them. However, Alexander, who was pope at that time, condemned them in the strongest terms, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them.

Becket no sooner learnt the determination of the Roman pontiff, than he expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance, and endeavoured to engage the other bishops to adhere to their common rights. This excited the resentment of Henry, who caused a prosecution for some land that he held to be commenced against him; and when the primate excused himself from appearing, on account of indisposition, he was arraigned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court; and being condemned, his goods and chattels were confiscated. Henry soon after required Becket to give in the account of his administration while chancellor, and estimated the balance due at 44,000 marks, for which he demanded sureties. After celebrating mass, where he had previously ordered that the introit to the communion service should begin with the words, *Princes sat and spake against me*, arrayed in the sacred vestments, and bearing the cross aloft in his hands, he entered the royal apartments, and declared that he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff. Having in vain asked permission to leave Northampton, he withdrew secretly to the sea-coast, and found a vessel which conveyed him to France, where he was received with every token of regard.

Henry issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; and by discovering some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III., the anti-pope at that time, he endeavoured to terrify the enterprising though

prudent pontiff from proceeding to extremities against him. On the other hand, Becket not only issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, but also abrogated and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon; and he declared that he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself, solely that the prince might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.

At length a reconciliation was effected between the king and the primate; and Becket was allowed to return, on conditions which may be esteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making further submission, be restored to all their livings; and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for concessions which trenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict with which his kingdom had been threatened. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that on one occasion he humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted his horse.

Whilst the king was expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, he had associated his son, prince Henry, in the royalty, and had caused him to be crowned by the archbishop of York. Becket, elated by the victory which he had gained over his sovereign, on his arrival in England suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, who had assisted at the coronation of the prince.

When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux, where the king then resided, and informed him of the violent proceedings of Becket,

he was vehemently agitated, and burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for the primate's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly at the same time at Saltwood, near Canterbury; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against their violence, he immediately proceeded to St. Benedict's church to hear vespers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and having cloven his head with many blows, retired without experiencing any opposition. Such was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of religion.

The intelligence of Becket's murder threw the king into the greatest consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had to apprehend from so horrible an event. However, the rage of Alexander was appeased, by the ministers of Henry making oath before the whole consistory of their sovereign's innocence, and engaging that he would make every submission which should be required of him. Becket was afterwards canonized by the pope; and pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with heaven.

Henry, finding himself in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, undertook an expedition against Ireland. That island, about the middle of the twelfth century, besides many small

tribes, contained five principal sovereignties, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and, as it had been usual for one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince, who seemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity: but his government, .ll obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measures either for the establishment of order, or for defence against foreigners.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, having rendered himself obnoxious by his licentious tyranny, had been expelled his dominions by a confederacy, of which Connaught was the chief. The exiled prince applied to Henry for succour, who gave Dermot no other assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul; who stipulated, for this assistance, a promise that he should marry his daughter Eva, and be declared heir to all his territories. Dermot also engaged in his service Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and obtained their promise of invading Ireland: he himself privately returned to his own state, concealed himself in a monastery which he had founded, and prepared every thing for the reception of his English allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. That gentleman landed in Ireland with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergast, who, about the same time, brought over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the siege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himself master of the place. Soon after Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, composed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions: the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit, and give hostages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not



content with being restored to his kingdom of Leinster, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aspired to the sole dominion of Ireland.

In prosecution of these views, he sent over a messenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promise, and displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Strongbow first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights, and seventy archers; and as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse and a body of archers, joined them a few days after, the English made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland.

Henry, jealous of the progress of his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English; and that monarch himself landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights. The adventurers appeased him by offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown; and the Irish being dispirited by their misfortunes, nothing more was necessary than to receive their submission. The whole island was formally annexed to the English crown; and Henry, after granting to earl Strigul the commission of seneschal of Ireland, returned in triumph to England.

The king had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poictou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealousy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of embittering his future life, and disturbing his government.

Young Henry had been persuaded by Lewis of France, that by the ceremony of coronation, in the life of his father, he was entitled to sovereignty. In

consequence of these extravagant ideas, he desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy; and on the king refusing to grant his request, he fled to Paris. Whilst Henry was alarmed at this incident, his uneasiness was increased by the conduct of his queen, Eleanor, who was not less troublesome to her present husband by her jealousy, in regard to the fair Rosamond and others, than she had been to her former by her gallantries. She communicated her discontents to her two younger sons, Geoffery and Richard; persuaded them that they were also entitled to the present possession of the territories which had been assigned them, and induced them to flee secretly to the court of France. Thus Europe saw with astonishment three boys scarcely arrived at puberty, pretend to dethrone their father, a monarch in the full vigour of his age, and plenitude of his power.

The king of England was obliged to seek for auxiliaries in the tribes of banditti, who, under the name of Brabançons, or Cottereaux, proffered their swords to the most liberal employer. At the head of twenty thousand of these hardy and lawless ruffians, and the few troops that he had brought from Ireland, he attacked and defeated the French army, and crushed the insurgents in Brittany. He continued his negotiations in the midst of victory, and offered to his undutiful sons the most liberal terms; but these were rejected by the confederates, who depended on the league they had concerted with the king of Scotland, and several of the most powerful barons of England.

In consequence of that league, the king of Scotland broke into the northern provinces with a great army of eighty thousand men; and Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the canonized ashes of Thomas à Becket. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day,

and watched all night the holy reliques. He also assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, soon after received the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots, in which William their king was taken prisoner, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas à Becket.

This victory was decisive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. In a few weeks all England was restored to tranquillity. Lewis, the king of France, was obliged to consent to a cessation of arms, and engaged with sincerity in a treaty of peace; and Henry, after granting to his sons much less favourable terms than he had formerly offered, received their submissions. It cost the king of Scots the ancient independency of his crown, as the price of his liberty. William stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions; and the English monarch engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England had over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction between the kingdoms.

A few years after, Henry found his eldest son again engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against him. But while the young prince was conducting these intrigues, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Turenne, where he died full of remorse for his undutiful behaviour to his father.

A crusade had been once more projected; but Philip, who filled the throne of France, and was jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard. Philip demanded that Richard should be crowned king of England, be immediately invested with all his father's transmarine dominions, and espouse Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had

been already affianced. Henry refused to accede to these stipulations ; but experiencing a reverse of fortune, he was at length obliged to submit to the rigorous terms, which, under the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, were offered to him.

The mortification, however, which Henry endured on this occasion, was increased by discovering that his fourth son, John, who had ever been his favourite, had secretly entered into the unnatural confederacy which Richard had formed against him. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding his last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day on which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he could never be prevailed on to retract. The agitation of his mind threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign ; and he was buried at Fontevrault.

Henry was the greatest prince of his time for wisdom and abilities, and the most powerful, in extent of dominion, of all that had filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish ; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment, both of body and mind, which renders a man either estimable or amiable. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and abilities in war ; he was provident without timidity ; severe in the execution of justice without rigour ; and temperate without austerity.

The remorse of Richard for his undutiful behaviour towards his father, influenced him in the choice  
[189] of his servants after his succession. Those who had favoured his rebellion were on all occasions treated with disregard and contempt ; whilst the faithful ministers of Henry, who had opposed the enterprises of his sons, were continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master.

The love of military glory impelled the king to act, from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the

Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation; when some Jews, who had presumed, contrary to the orders of the king, to approach the hall in which he dined, were dragged forth, and put to death, and vengeance fell on their innocent brethren. Instantly, their houses were broken open, their effects plundered, and themselves slaughtered. The inhabitants of other cities followed the example of the people of London; and in York, five hundred Jews, who had retired into the castle, finding themselves unable to defend it, murdered their own wives and children, and, setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames.

Richard, regardless of every other consideration than the expedition to the Holy Land, endeavoured to obtain supplies for the exigencies of so perilous a war, by every expedient which he could devise. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greatest trust and power. He yielded up for ten thousand marks the vassalage of Scotland, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick. He even declared, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. He left the administration in the hands of Hugh bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp bishop of Ely; and, accompanied by all the military and fiery spirits of the kingdom, set out for the frontiers of Burgundy, where he had engaged to meet the French king.

In the plains of Vezelay, Richard and Philip reviewed their forces, and found their combined army amount to one hundred thousand men; and after repeating their vows of friendship to each other, they separated, Richard embarking at Marseilles, and Philip at Genoa. They reached Messina about the same time, and passed the winter in Sicily, where several quarrels broke out between the troops of the different nations; and these were communicated to the two kings, who, however, waiving immediate jealousies, proceeded to the Holy Land.

The English army arrived in time to partake in the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for more than two years by the united force of all the

Christians in Palestine. The siege of Acre was pressed with redoubled ardour ; but the harmony of their chiefs was of short duration. The opposite views of Richard and Philip produced faction and dissension in the Christian army, and retarded all its operations. But as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners ; and the gates of Acre were opened to the conquerors.

On the surrender of this place, Philip, disgusted with the ascendancy acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France, under the plea of a bad state of health. He left, however, to the king of England, ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged by oath not to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence ; but he no sooner reached home, than he proceeded, though secretly, in a project which the present situation of England rendered inviting.

Immediately after Richard had left England, the two prelates, whom he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other, and threw the kingdom into confusion. Longchamp, naturally presumptuous, and armed with the legantine commission, hesitated not to arrest his colleague, the bishop of Durham, and governed the kingdom by his sole authority. At length, he had the temerity to throw into prison Geoffrey, archbishop of York. This breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such an universal ferment, that prince John summoned the guardian before a council of the nobility and prelates. Longchamp, conscious of his error, fled beyond sea, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor, and chief justiciary ; but his commission of legate still enabled him to disturb the government. Philip not only promoted his intrigues ; but entered  
1192] into a correspondence with John, to whom he promised his sister Alice in marriage, and the possession of all Richard's transmarine dominions. John was with difficulty deterred from this enterprise by the vigilance of his mother, and the menaces of the council.

The jealousy of Philip was excited by the glory

which the actions of Richard gained him in the east. The king of England obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field of battle; he recovered Ascalon, and advanced within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise; but long absence, fatigue, disease, and want, had abated the ardour of the crusaders. Every one, except the king of England, expressed a desire of returning into Europe. Richard was forced to yield to their importunities; and he concluded a truce with Saladin, by which the Christians were left in possession of Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, and were allowed a free pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

As Richard was acquainted with the intrigues of Philip, he ventured not to pass through France on his return, but sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, and endeavoured to pursue his route through Germany. At Vienna he was arrested by orders of Leopold, duke of Austria, and by him he was sold to the Emperor Henry VI., who affected to consider him as an enemy, on account of an alliance which he had contracted with Tancred king of Sicily. Thus Richard, who had filled the world with his renown, was confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons.

The king of France prepared to avail himself of his misfortunes. Philip entered into negotiations with prince John, who stipulated to deliver to the king of France a great part of Normandy, and received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions. In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, and by the treachery of John's adherents overran a great part of it; but he was repulsed from the walls of Rouen, by the gallantry of the earl of Leicester. Prince John was not more successful in his attempt in England: though he made himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, yet finding the barons every where averse to his cause, he was obliged to retire again to France.

In the mean time, Richard, in Germany, suffered every kind of insult and indignity; he was accused by Henry, before the diet of the empire, of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of af-

fronting the duke of Austria before Acre ; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the king of France ; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, after deigning to apologize for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with, and the emperor finding it impracticable to detain the king of England longer in captivity, agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand marks; or about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money.

The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch, who was crowned anew at Winchester, as if to wipe off the ignominy of captivity. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John in these terms: "Take care of yourself—the devil is broken loose." John, however, anxious to disengage himself from an associate whose fortunes seemed declining, threw himself at his brother's feet, and implored his mercy. "I forgive you," said the king, "and hope I shall as easily forget your injuries, as you will my pardon."

The king of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity ; and during five years after the king's return, the two sovereigns were engaged in a series of faithless negotiations and desultory warfare. The cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, was employed in changing a truce into a durable peace, when the death of Richard put an end to the negotiation.

Vidomer, viscount of Limoges, having found a treasure, it was claimed by Richard, as his superior lord ; and that nobleman was besieged by the king in the castle of Chalons. As Richard approached to survey the works, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The wound was not dangerous ; but the unskillfulness of the surgeon rendered it mortal. The king, sensible that his end was approaching, sent for Gourdon, and said, "Wretch, what have I ever done to you, to induce you to seek my life ?" The prisoner coolly replied, "You killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers : I am



now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments ; but I shall endure them with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world from such a nuisance." The mind of Richard was softened by the near approach of death, and the magnanimity of Gouidon : he ordered him to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him ; but Marcadée, one of Richard's generals, privately seizing the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him.

Thus died Richard, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age. The most shining parts of his character are his military talents, and his personal courage, which gained him the appellation of "*Cœur de Lion*," or "*the Lion-hearted*." He was, however, a passionate lover of poetry ; and some poetical works of his composition are still extant. He left behind him no issue ; and by his last will, he declared his brother John heir to all his dominions, though by a formal deed before he embarked for the Holy Land, he had named as his successor, his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey, elder brother of John, who was now only twelve years of age.

The barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, 1199] Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of Arthur, and applied for assistance to the French monarch. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and to dismember his dominions, embraced the cause of the young duke of Brittany. John, after being acknowledged in Normandy and England, returned to France, in order to conduct the war against Philip. Nothing enabled the king to bring matters to a happy issue so much as the selfish and intriguing character of the French monarch. Constantia, the mother of Arthur, was jealous that Philip intended to usurp the entire dominion of the provinces which had declared for her son. She, therefore, secretly carried off her son from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, restored the provinces which had adhered to him, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy. As Philip, after this incident, saw that he could not carry on the war with success, he enter-

ed into a treaty with John, in which the limits of their territories were adjusted; and, to render their union more permanent, the king of England gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, in marriage to Prince Louis, Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri.

Thus secure as he imagined, on the side of France,  
 1200] John indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleme, a lady with whom he had become much enamoured. Though his queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive, and Isabella was betrothed to the count of Marche, the passion of the king overcame every obstacle; he persuaded the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having procured a divorce from his wife, he espoused Isabella, regardless of the menaces of the pope, and of the resentment of the injured count.

John had not the art of attaching his barons either  
 1201] by affection or by fear. The count of Marche taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy, and obliged the king to have recourse to arms in order to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, and to quell the rebels; but he found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges; but John, by menaces, engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest to pay the price of their exemption from service. The force which the king carried with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him greatly superior to the malcontents; but, elated with his superiority, he advanced claims which gave an universal alarm to his vassals, and diffused still wider the general discontent. The king of France, to whom the complainants appealed for redress, interposed in behalf of the French barons.

Whilst matters were thus circumstanced, the duke of Brittany, who was rising to man's estate, joined the

king of France and the revolted nobles. Impatient of military renown the young prince had entered Poitou with a small army, and had invested Mirabeau, in which was his grandmother, queen Eleanor, when John attacked his camp, dispersed his army, and took him prisoner. The king represented to Arthur the folly of his pretensions and required him to renounce the French alliance; but the brave, though imprudent youth, maintained the justice of his cause, and asserted his claim not only to the French provinces, but to the crown of England. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince might hereafter prove a dangerous rival, ordered him to be despatched; but when he found that his commands had not been obeyed, the cruel tyrant stabbed him with his own hands, and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

All men were struck with horror at this inhuman deed; and from that moment the king, who was now detested by his subjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons in his dominions. As John had got into his power his niece Eleanor, sister to Arthur, the Bretons chose for their sovereign Alice, a younger daughter of Constantia by a second marriage. They also solicited the assistance of Philip, who received their application with pleasure, summoned John to a trial, and on his non-appearance, declared him to have forfeited to his superior lord all his fiefs in France.

The king of France perceived the opportunity favourable for expelling the English, or rather the English king, and of re-annexing to the French crown so many considerable appendages, of which, during several ages, it had been dismembered. Philip extended his conquests along the banks of the Loire, while John consumed his hours at Rouen in pastimes and amusements. "Let the French go on," said he, "I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire." Yet, instead of fulfilling this vaunt, he meanly applied to the pope, Innocent III., who ordered Philip to stop the progress of his arms, and to conclude a peace with the king of England. Philip, however, instead of obeying the orders of the pope, laid siege to Chateau Gaillard, the most considerable for-

gress on the frontiers of Normandy, which was taken by a sudden assault in the night. When the bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, the whole province was open to the inroads of Philip. The French king proceeded to invest Rouen, the inhabitants of which demanded thirty days to advertise their prince of their danger. Upon the expiration of that term they opened their gates; and Philip, leading his victorious army into the western provinces, soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou. John made a feeble attempt to recover his transmarine dominions, by landing a considerable army at Rochelle; but the approach of Philip threw him into a panic, and he deserted his troops, and returned to England with shame and disgrace. The mediation of the pope procured him a truce for two years with the French monarch; but almost all the transmarine provinces were wrested from him; and the church, which, at that time, declined not a contest with the most powerful monarchs, took advantage of John's imbecility.

1207] Innocent the Third, a prelate of a lofty and enterprising genius, attempted to convert the superiority yielded him by all the European princes into a real dominion over them. A dispute respecting an election to the see of Canterbury, afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming a right to nominate the primate of England. Availing himself of this opportunity, he commanded the monks or canons of Christ-church, who had hitherto possessed that important privilege, to choose, on pain of excommunication, cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but connected by interest and attachment to the see of Rome. In vain the monks represented, that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be highly irregular; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they could not abandon. One only persevered in his opposition; the rest, overcome by the menaces and authority of the pope, complied with his mandate.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this interference of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ-church, whom he expelled the monastery. When it was intimated to him that if he persevered

in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict, the king burst out into violent invectives, and swore if the pope attempted such a measure, that he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and confiscate all their estates. These sallies of passion, however, were disregarded by the Roman pontiff, who, sensible that John had lost the confidence of the people, at length fulminated the sentence of interdict.

The execution of this sentence was calculated to strike with awe the minds of a superstitious people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground, but were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; marriage was solemnized in the church-yards; and every circumstance carried symptoms of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terrors, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; and treated with the utmost rigour the adherents of the church of Rome. Though some of the clergy, from the dread of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, yet they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded, both by themselves and the people, as men who betrayed their principles, and sacrificed their conscience to their fears or their interest.

As the interdict had not reduced the king to obedience, and the people had not risen in rebellion, 1209] the court of Rome determined to proceed to excommunication. John was now alarmed at his dangerous situation. In a conference at Dover, he offered to acknowledge Langton as primate, to submit to the pope, and to restore the exiled clergy; but Langton demanding the full reparation for the rents of their confiscated estates, the king broke off the conference. Innocent immediately absolved John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance; declared every one excommunicated who held any intercourse with him; deposed him from his throne; and offered the crown of England to the king of France.

Philip was seduced by interest to accept this offer of the pontiff. He levied a great army, and collected in the ports of Normandy and Picardy a fleet of one thousand seven hundred vessels. To oppose him, John assembled at Dover, an army of sixty thousand men; a force sufficient, had they been animated with zeal: but the minds of the common people were impressed with superstition; the barons were all disgusted with the tyranny of the king; and the incapacity and cowardice of John augmented his difficulties. The obstinacy of the humbled monarch at length gave way, when Pandolf, the pope's legate, represented to him the certainty of his ruin, from the disaffection of his subjects, and the mighty armament of France. John now agreed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose. He passed a charter, in which he declared he had, for the remission of his own sins, and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair; agreeing to hold those dominions as feudatories of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks. He did homage to Pandolf in the most abject manner: he fell on his knees before the legate, who was seated on a throne; swore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the money which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter; whilst the legate, elated by the triumph of sacerdotal power, trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom.

When Pandolf returned to France, he informed Philip, that John had returned to obedience under the apostolic see, and even consented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and that, as his kingdom now formed a part of St. Peter's patrimony, it would be impious in any christian prince to attack him. Philip was enraged on receiving this intelligence, and threatened to execute his enterprise against England, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate; but the English fleet, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, attacked the French in their harbours, and by the destruction of the greater part of their armament, compelled Philip to abandon the enterprise.

The introduction of the feudal system into England by William the conqueror, had infringed on the liberties enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons, and had reduced the people to a state of vassalage, and in some respects of real slavery, to the king or barons. The necessity also of entrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank were commonly subjected; and England, during a course of an hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unknown, in the same degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry the first, that he might allure the people to exclude his elder brother Robert, had granted them a charter favourable in many particulars to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry the second had confirmed it; but the concessions of all these princes had remained a dead letter; when John, equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, provoked the people to form a general confederacy, and to demand a restoration of their privileges.

Nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate formed the plan of reforming the government, and paved the way for it, by inserting a clause in the oath which he administered to the king, before he would absolve him from excommunication, "that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, and abolish the wicked ones, and maintain justice and right in all his dominions." Soon after he showed to some of the barons a copy of the charter of Henry the first, which, he said, he had found in a monastery, and exhorted them to insist on its renewal. The barons swore they would lose their lives sooner than desist from so reasonable a demand. The confederacy now spread wider; and a more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton at St. Edmund's-Bury, under colour of devotion. The barons, inflamed by the eloquence of the prelate, and incited by the sense

of their own wrongs, took an oath before the altar, to adhere to each other, and to make endless war on the king, till he should grant their demands. They agreed that they would prefer in a body their common petition; and that, in the mean time, they would enlist men and purchase arms, and supply their castles with necessary provisions.

On a day appointed, the barons appeared in London, 1215] and required the king, in consequence of his oath before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, to renew the charter of Henry, and confirm the laws of St. Edward. The king alarmed at their zeal and unanimity, as well as their power, asked for a delay, which was granted. The interval was employed by John in appealing to the pope against the violence of the barons. Innocent, who foresaw that if the administration should fall into the hands of a high-spirited nobility, they would vindicate the liberty and independence of the nation, exhorted the prelates to employ their good offices in putting an end to civil discord, expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the barons, and advised the king to grant such demands as should appear reasonable.

Though the barons perceived that the pope was inimical to their interests, yet they had advanced too far to recede from their pretensions; and they foresaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would avail little against them. At the time, therefore, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, they met at Stamford, and assembled their forces, consisting of about two thousand knights, besides retainers and inferior persons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced in a body to Brackley, within twenty miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided; and there they received a message from the king, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously required from their sovereign. They delivered to the messengers a schedule containing the chief articles of their demands; which was no sooner shown to John, than he burst into a furious passion, swearing he would never grant such privileges as must reduce himself to slavery.

The confederated nobles, informed of his answer,



proceeded without farther ceremony to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton, were admitted into that of Bedford, occupied Ware, and entered London without opposition. They laid waste the royal parks and palaces; and all the barons, who had hitherto appeared to support the king, openly joined a cause which they had secretly favoured. So universal was the defection, that the king was left at Odiham, in Hampshire, with a retinue of only seven knights; and after trying several expedients, and offering to refer all difference to the pope, he found himself at last obliged to yield without reserve.

A conference between the king and the barons was held at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines; a place which has ever since been celebrated, on account of that great event. After a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility rather suspicious, signed and sealed the famous deed called **MAGNA CHARTA**, or the **GREAT CHARTER**, which either granted or secured very important liberties to the clergy, the barons, and the people. The articles of this charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and also involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, providing for the equal distribution of justice and the free enjoyment of property.

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the execution of the charter. John also allowed the confederates to choose from their own body twenty-five members, to whose authority no limits were prescribed, either in extent or duration. All men throughout the kingdom were obliged, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who should make reports of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the great charter.

John apparently submitted to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty; but he only awaited a proper opportunity for annulling his concessions. He retired to the Isle of Wight, where he meditated the most fatal vengeance against his enemies. He se-

cretly sent his emissaries to enlist foreign troops, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his service; and he despatched a messenger to Rome, to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, issued a bull, by which he annulled the whole charter, as unjust in itself, and derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it; he prohibited the king from paying any regard to it; and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such iniquitous proceedings.

As the foreign forces arrived along with this bull, the king, under the sanction of the pope's decree,\* threw off the mask. The barons, enticed into a fatal security, had taken no rational measures for re-assembling their armies. The king was master of the field: his rapacious mercenaries were let loose against the estates, the tenants, the houses, and parks of the nobility; nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages, and castles reduced to ashes, the consternation and misery of the inhabitants, and the tortures exercised by the soldiers to cause them to reveal their concealed treasures. The king, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waste on each side of him, and considered every part of the country, which was not his immediate property, as hostile, and the object of military execution.

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, 1216] employed a remedy no less desperate. They applied to the court of France, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, as their sovereign, provided he would protect them from the violence of the tyrant. The prospect of such a prize rendered Philip regardless of the menaces of the court of Rome, which threatened him with excommunication if he attacked a prince under the protection of the holy see; but he refused to intrust his son and heir to the caprice of the English, unless they would

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\* To the honour of Langton the primate, he refused to publish the papal mandate.

deliver to him twenty-five of their most illustrious nobles, as hostages for their fidelity; and having obtained this security, he sent over Lewis with a numerous army.

In consequence of that young prince's appearance in England, John's foreign troops, being mostly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party; his castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; and Dover was the only place which resisted the progress of Lewis. But the union between the English and French was of short duration; the preference of Lewis to the latter soon excited the jealousy of the former; and the French began to apprehend a sudden reverse of fortune. The king was assembling a considerable army, with an intention of fighting one great battle for his crown; but passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high-water, and not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased an indisposition under which he then laboured; and though he reached the castle of Newark, he soon after died, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. He left two legitimate sons, Henry and Richard, the eldest of whom was only nine years old, and the other seven.

The character of John is a complication of vices equally mean and odious; cowardice, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable. By his misconduct he lost the flourishing provinces of France, the ancient patrimony of his family; he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage, under the see of Rome; and he died when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life in prison, or in seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

## CHAPTER V.

*The reigns of Henry III., Edward I. and Edward II.*

FORTUNATELY for Henry III., as well as for the nation, the earl of Pembroke was, at the time of 1216] John's death, mareschal of England, and at the head of the armies. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty to John, was chosen protector of the realm, during the king's minority, by a general council of the barons. That he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, he made him grant a new charter of liberties, which, though mostly similar to that extorted from John, contained some alterations. This was followed by a charter of forests; which declared offences committed in the king's forests no longer capital, but only punishable by fine and imprisonment.

These charters diffused so much satisfaction as evidently to affect the cause of Lewis. The distrust which the French prince manifested of the fidelity of the English encouraged the general propensity towards the king. A large detachment of the French was routed near Lincoln; and their fleet suffered a considerable defeat off the coast of Kent. After these events, the malcontent barons hastened by an early submission to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion; and Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, readily consented to conclude a peace on honourable conditions, promising to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulating, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution of their honours and fortunes. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal influence with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous no-

bleman. But the licentious and powerful barons, having once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages. They retained by force the royal castles; they usurped the king's demesnes; they oppressed their vassals; and they protected the worst kind of banditti, in their robberies and extortions, in defiance of legal government.

As Henry approached to man's estate, his character [1227] became every day better known, and he was found incapable of maintaining a proper authority over the turbulent barons. Gentle, humane, and merciful, even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in nothing else, but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill calculated to maintain peace. His resentments, though hasty and violent, were not dreaded, while he was found to drop them with such facility; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with constancy.

That able and faithful minister, Hubert de Burgh, was in a sudden fit of caprice dismissed by Henry, and exposed to the most violent persecutions. Among other frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantments. Hubert was expelled the kingdom, and was again received into favour, and recovered a great share of the king's confidence; but he never showed any inclination to reinstate himself in power or authority.

Hubert was succeeded in the government of the [1223] king and kingdom by Peter, bishop of Winchester, a Poictevin by birth, no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles, and violent conduct, than by his courage and abilities. Through his advice, Henry invited over a great number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, who, he believed, could be more safely trusted than the English. Every office was bestowed on these strangers, who exhausted the revenues of the crown, and invaded the rights of the people. A combination of the nobles formed against this odious ministry, was broken by the address of Peter;

the estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated, without a legal sentence or trial by their peers; and when the authority of the Great Charter was objected to the king, Henry was wont to reply, "Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?" To this it was justly answered, "You ought, sir, to set them the example."

So violent an administration as that of the bishop of Winchester could not be of long duration; yet its fall proceeded from the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmond, the primate, attended by many other prelates, represented to the king the pernicious measures of Peter, and required the dismissal of him and his associates under pain of excommunication. Henry was obliged to submit; but the English were not long free from the dominion of foreigners. The [1236] king, having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country, whom he enriched by the most arbitrary exactions upon his subjects.

The foreign enterprises of Henry were equally disgraceful with his domestic government. In a war with Louis IX., he was stripped of what remained to him of Poictou. His want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, obliged him to sell all his plate and jewels. When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked, where he should find purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word," said he, "these clowns who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities."

The grievances under which the English laboured from the faults of the king, were considerably increased by the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. About 1229, pope Honorius demanded, and obtained, the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. In the year 1240, Otho the legate wrested large sums from the prelates and convents, and is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. The king, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance those exactions.

The successful revolt of the barons from king John had rendered them more sensible of their own importance. The parliament, which seems to have had some authority in this reign, refused an aid, unless [1255] Henry would promise, at the same time, a redress of civil and ecclesiastical grievances, and ratify the great charter in the most solemn manner. To this the king consented; but, misled by his favourites, he soon resumed the same arbitrary measures of government.

The conduct of Henry afforded a pretence to Simon [1258] de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, for attempting to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand which held it. This nobleman had espoused Eleanor, dowager to William earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king. His address gained him the affections of all orders of men; but he lost the friendship of Henry from the usual levity and fickleness of that prince. He was banished the court, recalled, and again disgraced by the king. Being too great to preserve an entire complaisance to Henry's humours, and to act in subserviency to the minions of that prince, he found more advantage in cultivating his interest with the public, and in inflaming the general discontents. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the great charter; and a quarrel which he had with William de Valence, the king's half-brother, and chief favourite, determined him to give full scope to his ambition. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high constable, Roger Bigod, earl mareschal, and the earls of Warwick and Gloucester. To them he exaggerated the oppressions exercised against the lower orders of the state, the violations of the barons' privileges, and the continual depredations made on the clergy; and he appealed to the great charter, which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent the return of those grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who at the expense of their blood had extorted that famous concession from the crown; but he lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage to be wrested from them by a weak prince and insolent parasites.

These topics were well suited to the sentiments of the company, and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their sides. The king, struck with their unusual appearance, asked, whether they intended to make him their prisoner; Roger Bigod replied in the name of the rest, "That he was not their prisoner, but their sovereign; but that, as he had frequently acknowledged his past errors, and had still allowed himself to be carried into the same path, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances." Henry, partly allured by the hope of supply, partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand, and promised to summon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government.

This parliament, which, from the confusion that attended its measures, was afterwards denominated the "mad parliament," chose twelve barons, to whom were added twelve more from the king's ministers. To these twenty-four unlimited authority was granted to reform the state; and as Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was in reality transferred, all their measures were taken by his influence and direction. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county, who should inquire into the grievances of the people, and inform the assembly of the state of their particular counties; that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders of each county; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm.

The earl of Leicester and his associates, having proceeded so far to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in this popular course, or granting the king those supplies which they had promised, provided for the



extension of their own authority. They displaced all the chief officers of the crown; and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their place. The whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they obliged every man to swear, that they would obey and execute all the regulations of the twenty-four barons; and they chose a committee of twelve persons, who, during the intervals of the sessions, were to possess the whole authority of parliament.

But the stream of popularity rapidly turned against them. Whatever support the barons might have derived from the private power of their families, was weakened by their intestine jealousies and animosities. A violent enmity broke out between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester; the latter, more moderate in his designs, was desirous of stopping or retarding the usurpations of the barons; but the former, enraged at the opposition he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in English affairs, and retired into France.

On the death of the earl of Gloucester, who, before 1263] his decease, had joined the royal party, Leicester entered into a confederacy with Llewellyn, prince of Wales. Llewellyn invaded England with an army of thirty thousand men, but was repulsed, and obliged to take shelter in the north of Wales. The Welsh invasion was the signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms. Leicester secretly passed over into England, collected all the forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. The power of Leicester's faction increased to such a height, that the king, unable to resist it, was obliged to seek an accommodation. He agreed to confirm the provisions of Oxford, and reinstated the barons in the sovereignty of the kingdom. The latter summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the plan of government; and, in that assembly, they produced a new list of twenty-four barons, whose authority they insisted should continue, not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of prince Edward.

This prince, the life and soul of the royal party, had been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at

Windsor; and that event had chiefly determined Henry to submit to the ignominious conditions imposed on him by the barons. Edward, however, having recovered his liberty by the treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family. The number of his friends, and the clamour of the people for peace, obliged the earl of Leicester to consent to a second negotiation; and it was agreed by both sides to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

This virtuous prince had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and at Amiens, in the presence of the states of France, of the king of England, and of Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial. He annulled the provisions of Oxford, restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the nomination of the great offices; but he ordered that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, and declared that his award was in no wise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former charters.

This equitable sentence was rejected by Leicester [1264] and his confederates, who determined to have recourse to arms, in which they were assisted by the city of London. The king and the prince, finding a civil war inevitable, prepared themselves for defence, and summoned to their standard their military vassals; while Leicester, having been reinforced by a great body of Londoners, determined to stake the fate of the nation on a decisive engagement. Leicester conducted his march with so much skill and secrecy, that he had nearly surprised the royalists in their quarters at Lewes in Sussex; but the vigilance and activity of prince Edward soon repaired this negligence. With the van he rushed upon the Londoners, who, from their ignorance of discipline, and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the ardour of Edward and his martial companions: they were broken in an instant, and chased off the field for four miles. But when Edward returned from the pursuit, he was astonished to find the ground covered with the dead bodies of his friends, and still more to hear that his father, and his uncle Richard, king of the Romans, had been

defeated and taken prisoners. In this exigency, the gallant prince was obliged to submit to Leicester's terms, which were laconic and severe. He stipulated, that Edward, and Henry d'Allmaine, the son of the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves as pledges in lieu of the two kings; that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that the king of France should name six Frenchmen, who should choose two others of their own country; and these two should appoint one Englishman, and that these three persons should be invested with full powers to make what regulations they should deem necessary for the settlement of the kingdom.

The prince and young Henry accordingly delivered themselves into Leicester's hands, who sent them under a guard to Dover castle; but he had no sooner got the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France; and Leicester summoned a parliament, composed altogether of his own partisans, who voted the royal power should be exercised by nine persons to be chosen and removed by the majority of three, Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. By this plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands, as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester. Leicester, however, summoned a new parliament in London. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men, which in former ages had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly esteemed [265] the epoch of the house of commons in England, and it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any representatives sent to parliament from the boroughs.

The earl of Gloucester, becoming disgusted with the arbitrary conduct of Leicester, retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales; Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford; and that he

might add authority to his cause, he carried both the king and prince along with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He furnished him with a swift horse, and appointed a small party to receive the prince, and guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of his guards; and making matches between their horses until he thought he had tired them, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, bade them adieu, and reached his friends.

The royalists, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms. Leicester finding himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom, surrounded by his enemies, and barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down, wrote to his son, Simon de Montfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief. Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded; but the prince, making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severn in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who availed himself of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leicester's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much used among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by sickness and desertion, and was soon broken by the victorious royalists; while his Welsh allies, accustomed only to a desultory kind of war, immediately took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. Leicester himself, asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, with his eldest son, Henry, Hugh le Despenser, and about an hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle;

and being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life : but crying out, " I am Henry of Winchester, your king," he was rescued and carried to a place of safety.

The victory of Evesham, with the death of Leices-  
 [1266] ter, proved decisive in favour of the royalists ; but they used it with moderation. No sacrifices of national liberty were made on this occasion ; the great charter remained inviolate ; and they carefully abstained from all those exertions of power, which had afforded so plausible a pretext to the rebels. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory.

Prince Edward, finding the state of the kingdom  
 [1270] tolerably composed, was impelled by his avidity for glory, by the prejudices of the age, and by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. He sailed from England with an army ; but when he arrived at Tunis, he found Lewis had died from the heat of the climate and the fatigues of the enterprise. Not discouraged, however, by this event, he continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour, and revived the glory of the English name.

In the mean time his absence from England was productive of the most fatal consequences ; the laws were not executed ; the barons oppressed the common people with impunity ; and the populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness. The old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant son to return, and to assist him in awaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble and irresolute hands. At last, overcome by the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he visibly declined, and expired at Edmondsbury, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and fifty-sixth of his reign ; the longest reign that is to be met with in the English annals, except that of our late sovereign. He left two sons, Edward, his successor, and Edmond, earl of Lancaster ; and two daughters, Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, duchess of Brittany. The most obvious circumstance of Henry's character is, his in-

capacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his ministers and favourites, as when a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises. Hence, too, were derived his profusion to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variableness of his conduct, his hasty resentments, and the sudden return of affection. Greater abilities with his good dispositions would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain them.

Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the  
 1272] Holy Land, where he had been wounded with a poisonous dagger, when he received intelligence of the death of his father. As he was assured of the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent near a year in France, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in that country. At length he arrived in England, where he was received with the most joyful acclamations, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury.

The king immediately applied himself to correct those disorders which civil commotions had introduced. By a rigid execution of the laws, he gave protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the barons. He appointed a commissioner to inquire into crimes of all kinds; and the adulteration of the coin of the realm being imputed chiefly to the Jews, he let loose on them the whole rigours of his justice. In London alone, two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for this crime; fifteen thousand were robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom; and since that period they have never been so numerous in England.

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had entered into all the  
 1276] conspiracies of the Montfort faction against the crown, and refusing to do homage to the new king, Edward levied an army to reduce him to obedience. Llewellyn retired among the hills of Snowdon; but Edward pierced into the heart of the country, and obliged him to submit at discretion. He did homage, and permitted his barons to swear fealty to the crown

of England; and he also relinquished the country between Cheshire and the river Conway. However, the insolence of the English, who oppressed the inhabitants of the districts ceded to them, raised the indignation of the Welsh, who again took to arms. Edward advanced into Wales with an army which could not be resisted. Llewellyn was surprised and slain, with two thousand of his followers; and his brother David, after being chased from hill to hill, was at last betrayed to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and bringing him to a formal trial before all the peers of England, he ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged as a traitor, for defending the liberties of his native country. The Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; and the laws of England were established throughout the principality.

The king, sensible that nothing cherished military  
1284] glory and valour so much as traditional poetry, collected all the Welsh bards, and barbarously ordered them to be put to death. It is said that Edward promised to give the Welsh a prince, a Welshman by birth; and that he invested in the principality his son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon. Thus Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

Edward had contracted his son to Margaret, the heir  
1291] to the Scottish throne, and by this means hoped to unite the whole island into one monarchy; but this project failed of success by the sudden death of that princess; and the vacant throne was claimed both by John Balliol and Robert Bruce. Each of the two claimants possessed numerous adherents; and in order to prevent a civil war, it was agreed on to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the king of England. The temptation was too strong for the virtue of Edward. He purposed to lay hold of the present opportunity, to revive, if not to create, his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland. Accompanied by a great army, he advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament and the competitors to attend him in the castle of Norham, on the southern bank of the Tweed. He informed them that he was come thither to determine the right of the two competitors

to their crown; that he was resolved to do strict justice to each party; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of liege lord of the kingdom.

The Scottish barons were moved with indignation at the injustice of this unexpected claim: but they found themselves betrayed into a situation, in which it was impossible for them to make any defence for the independence of their country; and the king interpreting their silence into consent, addressed himself to the competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgment of his superiority. At length, after long deliberations, Edward pronounced in favour of Baliol, to whom, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, all the Scottish fortresses were restored. However, he proceeded in such a manner, as made it evident that he aimed at the absolute dominion of the kingdom. He encouraged appeals to England; and obliged king John to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. Baliol, though a prince of a gentle disposition, was greatly provoked at this usage; he determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberties; and the war which soon after broke out between France and England afforded him a favourable opportunity.

A petty quarrel between a Norman and English  
1293] sailor had been speedily inflamed into a national enmity. Barbarities were committed on the crews of Norman and English vessels; the sea became a scene of piracy between the two nations; and so numerous were the fleets engaged, that fifteen thousand Frenchmen are reported to have perished in one action. Philip sent an envoy to demand reparation; but not obtaining a sufficient satisfaction, he summoned Edward as his vassal, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; and on his refusal, Guienne, by a formal decree, was declared forfeited, and annexed to the crown of France. Some impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which Edward raised by emptying the jails, but which was soon after defeated with great slaughter; and England was at the same time menaced with an invasion from France and from Scotland, whose kings had entered into a secret alliance.



The expenses attending these wars obliged Edward  
 1235] to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and to introduce into the public councils the lower orders of the state. He issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough ;\* "as it is a most equitable rule," says he, "that what concerns all should be approved of by all and common dangers be repelled by united efforts." This noble principle seems to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and to have laid the foundation of a free and equitable government ; and from this period may be dated the regular establishment of the different branches composing the house of commons, the precedent of Leicester in the former reign being rather an act of violence than of authority.

Edward employed the supplies granted him by his people, in making preparations against the hostilities

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\* The charges of the deputies were borne by the borough which sent them. They sat apart from the barons and knights, who disdained to mix with such mean personages. After they had given their consent to the taxes required of them, they separated, even though the parliament continued to sit. However, the union of the representatives from the boroughs gave gradually more weight to the whole order ; and it became customary for them, in return for the supplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of any particular grievance ; and the king, by adding to the petitions the sanction of his authority, bestowed validity upon them. But it was soon discovered, that no laws could be fixed for one order of men, without affecting the whole : and the house of peers, therefore, with reason, expected that their assent should be expressly granted to all public ordinances.

With the most frequent partition of property, the knights and lesser barons sunk into a rank still more inferior to the great nobility ; while the growth of commerce augmented the private wealth and consideration of the burgesses : and as they resembled the knights of shires in representing particular bodies of men, it no longer appeared unsuitable to unite them together in the same house, and to confound their rights and privileges. This event took place in the 16th of Edward III. or forty-eight years from the time when burgesses were first summoned to parliament. Thus the third estate, that of the commons, reached at length its present form ; it gradually increased in importance ; and in its progress made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants of liberty and equal rights, flourish in the kingdom.

1296] of his northern neighbours. He summoned John to appear before him as his vassal; and on his refusal, he marched with thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse to chastise his contumacy. Some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with Edward by an early submission; and the king crossed the Tweed without opposition, took Berwick by assault, and detached the earl of Warrenne with twelve thousand men to besiege Dunbar. The Scots, who advanced against Warrenne with their main army, were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men. Dunbar surrendered; and after a feeble resistance, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the English. All the southern parts were immediately subdued. The spirit of the nation was broken by misfortunes; and the feeble and timid Baliol hastened to make his submission, and solemnly resigned his crown into the hands of Edward. That sovereign marched to Aberdeen and Elgin without opposition; and having reduced the whole kingdom to an apparent state of tranquillity, he returned to the south. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland. Baliol was carried to London, and lay two years in the Tower, and then submitted to a voluntary banishment to France, where he died in a private station.

Edward was not equally successful in his attempt to recover Guienne; and, at length, Philip and he agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface. This was the last of the 1298] sovereign pontiffs that exercised an authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes; and these exorbitant pretensions, which he had been tempted to assume from the successful example of his predecessors, but of which the season was now passed, involved him in so many calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catastrophe, that they have been secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by his successors in the apostolic chair. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of their differences by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying

because, proceeded to give a sentence between them, in which they both acquiesced. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself, who now was a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English; and Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations; and though they were both finally disappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcilable to the principles of an interested policy.

Warrenne retiring into England, on account of his bad state of health, left the administration of Scotland entirely in the hands of Ormesby the justiciary, and Cressingham the treasurer. The former distinguished himself by his severity; the latter had no other object than the amassing of money by rapine and injustice. They treated the Scots as a conquered people; and, in consequence, the bravest and most generous spirits of the nation were exasperated to the highest degree against the English government.

Among these was William Wallace, a man descended from an ancient family, whose courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accomplish, the deliverance of his native country. Finding himself obnoxious to the administration, he had fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes, or bad fortune, or avowed hatred to the English, had reduced to the same necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force, with heroic courage, and patience to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons. Beginning with small attempts, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises; and he discovered equal prudence in securing his followers, and valour in annoying the enemy. All who thirsted after military fame, or felt the flame of patriotism, were desirous to partake his renown; and he seemed to vindicate the na-

tion from the ignominy into which it had fallen by its tame submission to the English.

Wallace resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government, and concerted the plan of attacking Ormesby at Scone; but the justiciary, apprized of his intentions, fled hastily into England, and all the other officers of Edward followed his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who took up arms in every quarter. Warrenne, collecting an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, advanced to Stirling, and found Wallace encamped on the opposite banks of the Forth. He prepared to attack the Scots in that position, and ordered his army to cross a bridge which lay over the Forth. Wallace, allowing a number of the English to pass, attacked them before they could be formed, and pushed them into the river, or destroyed them with the sword. Warrenne was obliged to retire into England; and Wallace, after receiving from his followers the title of guardian, or regent, broke into the northern counties of England, and extended his ravages to the bishopric of Durham.

Edward, who received in Flanders intelligence of these events, hastened his return; and having collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, he marched with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men to the northern frontiers. The Scots were distracted by faction and animosity. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility; and that hero, sensible of their jealousy, and dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine discords, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of followers, who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenach, men of eminent birth, who fixed their station at Falkirk, where they purposed to abide the assault of the English.

The English archers, who began about this time to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field, afterwards threw the pikemen into disorder, and thus rendered the assault of the English lancers and cavalry more easy and suc-

successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and driven off the field with prodigious slaughter. In this general route Wallace kept his troops entire; and retiring behind the Carron, he marched leisurely along the banks of that river. Young Robert Bruce, the grandson and heir of him who had been competitor for the throne, who, in the service of England, had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, appeared on the opposite banks; and distinguishing the Scottish chief, he called to him, and desired a short conference. He represented to Wallace the fruitless and ruinous enterprise in which he was engaged, and the unequal contest between a weak state, deprived of its head and agitated by intestine discord, and a mighty nation conducted by the ablest and most martial monarch of the age. If the love of his country was his motive for perseverance, his obstinacy tended only to prolong her misery; if he carried his views to private grandeur and ambition, he ought to reflect, that so many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their families, would never submit to personal merit. To these exhortations Wallace replied, that, if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was because no leader had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station; that the blame lay entirely with the nobility, and chiefly with Bruce himself, who, uniting personal merit to dignity of family, had deserted the post which both nature and fortune invited him to assume; that the Scots, possessed of such a leader, might hope successfully to oppose all the powers and abilities of Edward; and as for himself, he was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate when they could not otherwise be preserved, than by receiving the chains of a haughty victor. The gallantry of these sentiments was felt by the generous mind of Bruce; and he secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause of his oppressed country.

The battle of Falkirk had not completed the sub-  
 1299] jection of the Scots. They chose for their re-  
 gent John Cummin, who surprised the English  
 army, and routed them after an obstinate conflict;  
 and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew  
 the conquest of the kingdom.

The king prepared himself for the enterprise with his usual vigour and abilities. He marched victorious from one extremity of Scotland to the other, and compelled even Cummin himself to submit to his authority. To render his acquisition durable, he abrogated all the laws and customs of Scotland, endeavoured to substitute those of England in their place, entirely raised or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity, and hastened wholly to abolish the Scottish name.

Wallace himself was at length betrayed into Edward's hands, by his friend Sir John Monteith; [1305] and the king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity, should have induced him to respect similar qualities in an enemy, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered the hero to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and a traitor, though he had never sworn fealty to England; and to be executed on Tower-hill. Such was the unworthy fate of Wallace, who, through the course of several years, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

The barbarous policy of Edward failed of the ob- [1306] ject to which it was directed. The Scots were enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised on their gallant chief; and it was not long ere a more fortunate leader presented himself to conduct them to victory and to vengeance. Robert Bruce, whose conference with Wallace on the banks of the Carron has been already noticed, determined to revive the pretensions of his family, and to aspire to the vacant throne. Edward, being apprised of his intentions, ordered all his motions to be strictly watched. An intimate friend of Bruce, not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, sent him by his servant a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to his sagacity to discover the meaning. Bruce immediately contrived to escape, and in a few days arrived at Dumfries, the chief seat of his family interest, where he found a great number of the Scottish nobility assembled, and among the rest John Cummin with whom he had formerly lived in strict intimacy.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them; and still more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country. These generous sentiments, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, impressed the minds of his audience; and they resolved to use their utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; and Bruce, already apprised of his treachery, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, and attacking him in the cloisters of the Gray Friars, ran him through the body.

The murder of Cummin sealed the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles. The genius of the nation roused itself; and Bruce was solemnly crowned at Scone by the bishop of St. Andrews. The English were again expelled the kingdom; and Edward found, that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, must yet be afresh subdued. To effect this, he assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, when he [307] unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle, in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. With his last breath he enjoined his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. Edward II. was in the twenty-third year of his age when he ascended the throne. He was of an agreeable figure, and of a mild and gentle disposition; but the first act of his reign blasted the hopes which the English had entertained of him. Equally incapable of, and averse to business, he entered Scotland only in retreat: he disbanded his army, without attacking Bruce: and by this conduct, he convinced the barons that the authority of the crown was no longer to be regarded, and that they were at liberty to practise every insolence with impunity.

Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, by his insinuating address, his elegance of form, and his lively wit, had gained an entire ascendant over the young Edward; and the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and made his son promise never to recall him. No sooner,

however, did the young Edward ascend the throne, than he recalled Gaveston, gave him the whole earldom of Cornwall, married him to his own niece, and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt this object of his fond affections. The haughty barons were offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth they despised, and who eclipsed them in pomp and splendour. In a journey to France, to espouse the princess Isabella, Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm; but on his return with the young queen, Isabella, who was of an imperious and intriguing disposition, finding her husband's capacity required to be governed, thought herself best entitled to perform the office, and was well pleased to see a combination of the nobility formed against the favourite.

Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the  
[1308] king, was at the head of the party among the barons. That nobleman entering the parliament with his adherents in arms, required the banishment of Gaveston; and Edward was obliged to submit; but instead of sending him to his own country, he appointed him lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The king, unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return; and deeming matters sufficiently prepared for his purpose, he ventured to recall Gaveston, and went to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland. However, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, the barons, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, compelled Edward to devolve on a chosen junto the whole authority both of the crown and the parliament; and among other regulations sanctioned by this committee, Gaveston was forever banished the king's dominions.

As soon, however, as Edward, by removing to York, had freed himself from the barons' power, he recalled Gaveston from Flanders; and the barons, highly provoked at this measure, flew to arms, with the earl of Lancaster at their head. Edward left his favourite in the castle of Scarborough, which was obliged to surrender to the earl of Pembroke. From thence Gaveston was conducted to the castle of Dedington,



near Banbury, where, being left with a small guard, he was surprised by the earl of Warwick; and, without any regard to the laws, the head of the unhappy favourite was struck off by the hands of the executioner. When the king was informed of Gaveston's murder, he threatened vengeance on all those who had been active in that bloody scene; but being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he listened to terms of accommodation, and granted the barons a pardon of all offences.

1313] Immediately after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses; and in a short time, nearly the whole kingdom acknowledged his authority. The castle of Stirling, the only fortress in Scotland which remained in the hands of the English, was closely pressed; and to relieve this place, Edward summoned his forces from all quarters, and marched with an army of an hundred thousand men. At Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, Bruce with thirty thousand hardy warriors, inured to all the varieties of fortune, and inflamed with the love of independence, awaited the charge of the enemy. A hill covered his right flank, and a morass his left; and along the banks of a rivulet in his front he dug deep pits; planted them with stakes, and covered the whole with turf. The English, confident in their superior numbers, rushed to the attack without precaution. Their cavalry, entangled in the pits, were thrown into disorder; and the Scottish horse, allowing them no time to rally, attacked them, and drove them off the field with considerable loss. While the English forces were alarmed at this unfortunate event, an army appeared on the heights toward the left, marching to surround them. This was composed of wagoners and sumpter-boys, whom Robert had supplied with military standards. The stratagem took effect; a panic seized the English who threw down their arms, and fled, and were pursued to the gates of Berwick. Besides an inestimable booty, the Scots took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whose ransom was a new accession of strength to the victors.

This great and decisive battle secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed the throne of Bruce,

1315] whilst it shook that of Edward, whose defeat encouraged the nobility to insist on the renewal of their ordinances. After the death of Gaveston, the king's chief favourite was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of high rank, and noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, but was not endowed either with moderation or prudence. His father, who was of the same name, was a nobleman venerable from his years, and qualified, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and his minion; but Edward's attachment rendered the name of Spenser odious; and the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, formed plans for his destruction.

The claim of Spenser to an estate, which had been settled on the illustrious family of Mowbray, was the signal for civil war. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms; and by menaces and violence they extorted from the king an act of attainder against the Spensers, and of indemnity for themselves. This being effected, they disbanded their army, and separated, in security, as they imagined, to their respective castles. Edward, however, having assembled an army, dropped the mask, and recalled the Spensers, whose sentence he declared to be illegal and unjust. Lancaster, who had hastily collected thirty thousand men, fled with his forces towards the north; but being intercepted at Boroughbridge, after a slight action, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the king. Edward, though gentle by nature, remembered on this occasion the fate of Gaveston; and Lancaster, mounted upon a lean horse, and exposed to the derision of the people, was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, where he suffered decapitation.

Edward, after another fruitless attempt on Scotland, concluded a truce for thirteen years with Bruce, whose title to the crown was thus virtually, though not tacitly, acknowledged. He was, however, still embarrassed by the demands of his brother-in-law, Charles the Fair, who required him to appear and do homage for the fiefs which he held in France. The queen had been permitted to go to Paris, and endeavour to adjust in an amicable manner the differences with her brother. On her arrival in France, Isabella was sur-

founded by a number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction. Among these was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who, by the graces of his person and address, quickly advanced in the affections of the queen, and at last triumphed over her honour. The king, informed of these circumstances, required her speedily to return with the young prince Edward, who was then with his mother in Paris; but instead of obeying his orders, she publicly declared that she would never set foot in England till Spenser was removed from his presence and councils.

This declaration procured Isabella great popularity [526] in England, and threw a veil over her treasonable enterprises; and having affianced young Edward with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, she enlisted three thousand men, sailed from the harbour of Dort, and landed, without opposition, on the coast of Norfolk. She was immediately joined by several of the most powerful barons; and to render her cause popular, she renewed her declaration, that her sole purpose was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spensers.

The king, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to a sense of duty, departed for the west, and was hotly pursued to Bristol by his own brother, the earl of Kent, and the foreign forces under John de Hainault. Disappointed in the loyalty of those parts, he passed over into Wales, leaving the elder Spenser governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was without trial condemned to death by the rebellious barons. He was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces and thrown to the dogs; and his head was sent to Winchester, where it was set upon a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace. Edward himself attempted to escape to Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he was discovered, and committed to the custody of the earl of Leicester, in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial.

The diabolical Isabella, in order to avail herself of  
1327] the prevailing delusion, summoned in the king's  
name a parliament at Westminster. A charge  
was drawn up against Edward, in which, though framed  
by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his want of  
capacity, or his misfortunes, could be objected against  
him. The deposition of the king, however, was voted  
by parliament; and the prince his son was placed  
on the throne.

But it was impossible that the character and conduct of Isabella could long be mistaken. The gross violation of every duty and every tie soon estranged from her the minds of men; the proofs which daily broke out of her criminal commerce with Mortimer, increased the general abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy in publicly bewailing the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the most stupid and most prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the de-throned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity and veneration; and men became sensible, that all his misconduct, which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the natural imbecility, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touched with those generous sentiments; and besides treating his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained still more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and Mautravers and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the instruments of his murder. But as this method of destruction appeared too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he

secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, instantly to despatch him. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he [1327] then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley castle, and putting themselves in possession of the king's person, they threw him on a bed, and holding him down with a table, thrust into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inserted through a horn, that no external marks of violence might be seen on his person. The dreadful deed, however, was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming.

Thus died Edward II., than whom it is not easy to imagine a more innocent and inoffensive man, nor a prince less capable of governing a fierce and turbulent people. Obligated to devolve on others the weight of which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear, he wanted penetration to choose ministers and favourites qualified for the trust.

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## CHAPTER. VI.

### *The Reign of Edward III.*

THE party which had deposed the unfortunate monarch, deemed it requisite for their security, to obtain an indemnity from parliament for all their proceedings. All the attainders, also, which had passed against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, were easily reversed during the triumph of their party. A council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament, consisting of five prelates and seven lay lords; and the earl of Lancaster was nominated guardian of the young king, Edward III.

Mortimer, though not included in the regency, rendered that council entirely useless, by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority. He never consulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility on any public measure; and he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to those of royalty. Ed-

ward, who had attained his eighteenth year, repined at the fetters in which he was held by this insolent minister; but so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer, that he was obliged to conduct the project for subverting him with the greatest secrecy and precaution. The queen-dowager, and Mortimer lodged in the castle of Nottingham; the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction, the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation; and such was the notoriety of his infamous conduct, that without trial, or examining a witness, he was sentenced to be hanged on a gibbet at the Elms, in the neighbourhood of London. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings; and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a visit once or twice a year, she never regained any credit or influence.

Edward, having now assumed the reins of govern-  
 1332] ment, applied himself to redress all those grievances which had proceeded from the late abuse of authority. The severity with which he caused justice to be administered, soon restored the kingdom to internal tranquillity; and in proportion as the government acquired stability at home, it became formidable to its neighbours. Edward made a successful irruption into Scotland, for the purpose of reinstating Edward Baliol in possession of the crown of that kingdom; and in an engagement at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick, the Scots were defeated, with the loss of nearly thirty thousand men.

It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown  
 1337] of France could never descend to a female, and this maxim was supposed to be confirmed by a clause in the Salic code; but the king of England, at an early age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable

to that of Philip de Valois, the cousin german, who had been unanimously placed on the throne of France. His own claim, however, was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that it is probable Edward would never have prosecuted it, had not some jealousies and misunderstanding arisen between the two monarchs.

Determined to engage in this chimerical attempt, the king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence; the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nothing was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable, but the accession of Flanders; which Edward procured by means rather extraordinary and unusual.

After consulting his parliament and obtaining its consent, Edward, accompanied by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, passed over to Flanders. The Flemings, as vassals of France, pretending some scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord, Edward assumed the title of king of France; but he did not venture on this step without hesitation and reluctance, and a presage of the calamities which he was about to inflict and entail on both countries.

The first attempts of the king were unsuccessful; but he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the difficulties of an undertaking. By confirming the ancient charters, and the privileges of boroughs, he obtained from the parliament a considerable supply; and with a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, he again embarked for the continent. Off Sluise he was encountered by a French fleet, consist-

ing of four hundred vessels. The inferiority of the English in number, was compensated by their nautical skill, and the presence of their monarch. The engagement was fierce and bloody; and the Flemings, near whose coast the action took place, issued from their harbours, and reinforced the English. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken; and thirty thousand of their men perished. Numbers now flocked to the standard of Edward; and with an army of above an hundred thousand men, he invested Tour-nay. That place had been provided with a garrison of fourteen thousand men; but after the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty host, with the intention of avoiding a decisive action, but of throwing succours into the place. Both armies continued in sight of each other without engaging; and, whilst in this situation, Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, interposed her good offices in order to prevent the effusion of blood. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip; and her pious efforts prevailed on them both, though they could not lay aside, at least to suspend their animosities, by subscribing a truce for twelve months.

Edward returned to England, deeply chagrined at the unfortunate issue of his military operations; and he vented his ill humour on the officers of the revenue and collectors of taxes. In order to obtain a new supply from the parliament, the king had been obliged to subscribe to nearly the same restrictions as had been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II. No sooner, however, was he possessed of the necessary supply, than he revoked and annulled his concessions; and he afterwards obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute, which imposed those restrictions. Edward had experienced so many mortifications in his war with France, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views.

John III., duke of Brittany, having no issue, was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. For that purpose, he bestowed his



niece, whom he deemed his heir, in marriage on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France; and all his vassals, and among the rest the count of Montfort, his brother by a second marriage, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns. But on the death of the aged duke, the count of Montfort made a voyage to England; and offering to do homage to Edward as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward immediately saw the advantages attending this treaty; and it required a very short negotiation to conclude an alliance between two men, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

Soon after, however, Montfort fell into the hands of his enemies, was conducted as a prisoner to 1342] Paris, and shut up in the Louvre. This event seemed to put an end to his pretensions; but his consort assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign, and entreated them to resist an usurper, who had been imposed on them by the arms of France. Inspired by the noble conduct of the princess, the states of Brittany vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. The countess shut herself up in Hennebont, which was invested by Charles of Blois, who, after several reiterated attacks, was compelled to abandon the siege on the arrival of succours from England.

After the death of Robert of Artois, whom the king of England had despatched to Brittany with a considerable reinforcement, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Montfort. The king landed at Morhian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men, and commenced the three important sieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz; but by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. The duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip king of France, appeared in Brittany at the head of an army of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. Edward was obliged to concentrate his forces, and to entrench himself before Van-

mes, where the duke of Normandy soon after arrived and in a manner invested the besiegers. The English drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea, and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy; and, in this dangerous situation, Edward willingly accepted the mediation of the pope's legates, and concluded a truce for three years. By this truce all prisoners were to be released, the places in Brittany to remain with their present possessors, and Vannes was to be sequestered into the hands of the legates, to be afterwards disposed of according to their pleasure.

The truce, however, was of very short duration; and each monarch endeavoured to inculcate the  
 1344] other for its infraction. The parliament, whom Edward affected to consult on all occasions, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted supplies for the renewal of the war. The earl of Derby, with an English army, was sent into  
 1345] Guienne; but Edward, informed of the great danger to which that province was exposed from the duke of Normandy, prepared a force for its relief. He embarked at Southampton, with his son the prince of Wales, and the flower of his nobility; but the winds proving contrary, he was prevailed on to change the destination of his enterprise; and ordering his fleet to sail to Normandy, he safely disembarked his forces at La Hogue. Edward spread his army over the whole country, defeated a body of troops that had been collected for the defence of Caen, and took and plundered that rich city. He moved next towards Rouen; but he found the bridge over the Seine broken down, and the king of France encamped on the opposite bank with an army of one hundred thousand men.

Edward perceived that the French intended to inclose him in their country; and therefore, by a secret and rapid movement, he gained Poissy, passed the Seine, and advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. But as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before; all the bridges on that river were either broken down or strongly guarded; and an army was stationed on the opposite banks. The promise of a reward induced a peasant to betray the interests of his country, and to inform

Edward of a ford below Abbeville. The king threw himself into the river at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain. As the rear-guard of the English passed, the French army under Philip arrived at the ford; and Edward, sensible that an engagement was unavoidable, adopted a prudent resolution. He chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Crecy,\* drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the prince of Wales, and under him by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, and other noblemen; the second, by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the third, by the king himself. His flanks were secured by trenches; and according to some historians, several pieces of artillery were placed in his front.

The French army imperfectly formed, and already fatigued and disordered, arrived in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; and at the head of the third was Philip himself, accompanied by the kings of Bohemia, of the Romans, and of Majorca, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince of Wales. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill; and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince was slain or wounded? On receiving an answer in the negative, "Return," said he, "to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him: I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able without my assistance, to repel the enemy." This speech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired

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\* The battle of Crecy, which was fought Aug. 26, began at six o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till dark.

them with fresh courage : they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count of Alençon was slain. In vain the king of France advanced with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave son ! persevere in your honourable cause : you are my son ; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day : you have shown yourself worthy of empire."

In this battle there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, besides about thirty thousand of inferior rank : many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The former was blind from age ; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train ; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers ; and his motto these German words, *Ich dien, I serve* : which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, he limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais ; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before that place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with every thing necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king

and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine. This siege employed him nearly twelve months; and during this interval, there passed in different places many other events, all of which redounded to the honour of the English arms. In vain Philip attempted to relieve Calais at the head of two hundred thousand men. That fortress was now reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants; but Edward insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should atone for the obstinacy of the rest, by submitting their lives to his disposal, and by presenting, with ropes about their necks, the keys of the city. This intelligence struck the inhabitants with new consternation. At length, Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded, declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions: the generous flame was communicated to others; and the whole number was soon completed. They appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors; but at the intercession of his queen Philippa, these excellent citizens were dismissed with presents.

To secure the possession of Calais, Edward ordered all the inhabitants to quit the town, and peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably secured that important fortress so long to his successors. Through the mediation of the pope's legates, he soon after concluded a truce with France; and on his return to England, he instituted the Order of the Garter. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign. A vulgar story prevails, but is not supported by authority, that, at a court-ball, the king's mistress, the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and Edward taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, "Evil to him that evil thinks;" and in memorial of this event, he instituted the Order of the Garter, with these words for its motto.

During the truce between France and England, Philip de Valois died, and was succeeded in the throne by his son John who was distinguished

by many virtues, but was destitute of that masterly prudence which the situation of the kingdom required. The chief source of the intestine calamities of France was Charles king of Navarre, who received the epithet of "wicked," and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation, though he possessed talents of the very first order, if they had been honourably directed. This prince did not conceal his pretensions, in right of his mother, to the throne of France, and increased the number of his partisans throughout the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles, the eldest son of John, who was the first that bore the name of dauphin. But Charles was made sensible of the folly and danger of the connexion; and in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the latter were immediately led to execution; and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. Philip, the brother of the king of Navarre, flew to arms, and implored the protection of England; and as the truce was expired, Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. Whilst the king himself ravaged Picardy, the Scots, taking advantage of his absence, collected an army for an incursion against England. Edward, therefore, returned to defend that kingdom against the threatened invasion; and after burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh, he induced Balliol to resign the crown of Scotland into his hands, in consideration of an annual pension of two thousand pounds.

In the mean time, young Edward, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, had arrived 1355] in the Garonne, with three hundred sail. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he reduced all the villages and several towns of Languedoc to ashes. In a second campaign, at the head of twelve thousand men, he penetrated into the heart of France; when he was informed that the French king was approaching with an army of sixty thousand men.

Near Poitiers, prince Edward prepared for battle with equal courage and prudence; but the most splendid military qualities could not have extricated him,

if the French had availed themselves of their superior numbers, and contented themselves with intercepting his provisions. So sensible, indeed, was the prince of his desperate condition, that he offered to purchase his retreat by ceding all his conquests, and by stipulating not to serve against France for seven years; but John required that he should surrender himself prisoner with one hundred of his attendants. The prince rejected this proposal with disdain, and declared that England should never be obliged to pay the price of his ransom.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, the prince of Wales strengthened by new entrenchments the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and contrived an ambush of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself.

John also arranged his forces in three divisions; the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip, his fourth and favourite son, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges; and in order to open this passage, the mareschals Andreben and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each side with their arrows; and being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown; one of the mareschals was

slain, the other taken prisoner, and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. In the critical moment the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge, or for their own safety, carried them off the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed by that whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat, which soon turned into a flight. The division under king John was more numerous than the whole English army; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front; a fierce battle ensued, but at length that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him; the nobles fell by his side one after another; his son, scarcely fourteen years of age, received a wound whilst fighting valiantly in defence of his father. The king himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter. Several who attempted to seize him suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank; but being told that the prince was at a distance, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself, together with his son, to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras.

The moderation displayed by Edward on this occasion, has for ever stamped his character. At a repast prepared in his tent for his prisoner, he served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue; he stood behind the king's chair, and refused



to be seated. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were buried in oblivion; and John received when a captive, those honours which had been denied him when on a throne.

The prince of Wales concluded a truce of two years  
1357] with France, that he might conduct the captive king with safety into England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, on a black palfry. In this situation he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as if he had voluntarily paid him a visit.

The captivity of John produced in France the most horrible anarchy. Every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows; and licentiousness reigned without control. At length, in a conference between the English and French commissioners at Bretigni, a peace between the two nations was concluded on the following conditions. It was stipulated that king John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold;\* that the king of England should forever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors, and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Aginois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, and John his connexions with the Scots; and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a security for the execution of these conditions.

John no sooner regained his liberty, than he prepar-  
1360] ed to execute the terms with that fidelity and honour by which he was characterized. How-

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\* About a million and a half of our present sterling money.

ever, notwithstanding his endeavours, many difficulties occurred in fulfilling his purposes; and, therefore, in order to adjust some disputes, he formed a resolution of coming over to England. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design; but he replied, "that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast of princes." John therefore came to London, and was lodged in the Savoy, where he fell sick and died.

John was succeeded in the throne by Charles the [1364] Dauphin, who immediately directed his attention to the internal disorders which afflicted his kingdom. His chief obstacle proceeded from large bands of military adventurers, who had followed the standard of Edward, but who, on the conclusion of peace, refused to lay down their arms, persevered in a life of rapine, and associating themselves under the name of "companions," were a terror to the country. At length, they enlisted under the standard of Du Guesclin, who led them against Peter the Cruel, king of Castile. Peter fled from his dominions, sought refuge in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered countries, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine. That prince promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch, and recalled the companions from the service of Henry of Transtamare, whom they had placed on the throne of Castile. Henry encountered the English prince at Najara, and was defeated with the loss of more than twenty thousand men. Peter was restored to the throne; but the ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward returned to Guienne, with a diminished army, and his constitution fatally impaired by the climate. The barbarities exercised by Peter over his subjects, revived all the animosity of the Castilians; and the tyrant was again dethroned, and put to death.

Prince Edward, by this rash expedition, had involved himself in so much debt, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on Aquitaine a new tax on hearths. The people, disgusted by this measure, carried their complaints to Charles, their ancient sove-

reign, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government. By the treaty of Bretigne, the king of France had renounced all claims to the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English; but, on this occasion, Charles affected to consider himself as superior lord of those provinces, and summoned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and justify his conduct to his vassals. The prince briefly replied, that he would come to Paris, -but that it should be at the head of sixty thousand men.

Charles fell upon Ponthieu, while his brothers, the dukes of Berri and Anjou, invaded the southern provinces. In one action, Chandos, the constable of Guienne, was slain; and in another, the Captal de Buche was taken prisoner. The state of the prince of Wales's health rendered him unable to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity; and his increasing infirmities compelled him to resign the command of the army, and return to his native country. Edward, from  
1370] the necessity of his affairs, was obliged to conclude a truce, after seeing almost all his ancient possessions in France ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais.

The decline of the king's power corresponded not with the preceding parts of it. Besides the loss of his foreign dominions, he felt the decay of his authority at home. During the vigour of age, he had been chiefly occupied by war and ambition; but, in his latter years, he began to indulge himself in pleasure. After a lingering illness, the prince of Wales died, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and unstained by any blemish. His valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit; his generosity, humanity, affability, and moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre not only on the rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period either of ancient or modern history. The king survived about a year this melancholy incident: he expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; and the people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward the Third, and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest,\* the most glorious also in the annals of their nation. The ascendancy which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and natural enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his government, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, induced them to submit with pleasure to his dominion; and his valour and conduct rendered them successful in most of their enterprises. His foreign wars were neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose; but the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the "Fair Maid of Kent," daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent," who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. By her, the prince of Wales had a son, Richard, who succeeded his grandfather.

The second son of king Edward was Lionel, duke of Clarence, who, dying while still young, left only one daughter, married to Edward Mortimer, earl of Marche. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called

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\* It is the longest reign in English history, excepting that of George the Third.

from the place of his birth : he was created duke of Lancaster ; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created duke of York ; and the fifth was Thomas, who received the title of duke of Gloucester. By his queen, Edward had also four daughters, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, all of whom arrived at years of maturity, and married.

During the reign of Edward, the parliament rose to greater consideration than it had experienced in any former time ; and even the house of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to assume its rank in the constitution.

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince, was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward's reign, and which limited the cases of high treason to three principal heads : conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### *The reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.*

RICHARD II., the son of Edward the Black Prince, 1377] was only eleven years of age when his grandfather died ; and as the late king had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behooved the parliament to supply the defect. On this occasion, the commons took the lead ; and at their requisition the house of lords appointed a council of nine, to whom they gave authority for a year to direct the public business, and to inspect the education of the young prince. The government was conducted entirely in the king's name ; no regency was expressly appointed ; and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster.

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancas-

ter to the crown of Castile made that kingdom persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland maintained such close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. Charles the Fifth, indeed, was dead, and his son Charles the Sixth was a minor. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany; and the duke of Gloucester, with only two thousand cavalry, and eight thousand infantry, penetrated into the heart of France; but, though the French were overawed by the former successes of the English, these enterprises proved in the issue unsuccessful.

The expenses of these armaments greatly exhausted the English treasury; and the parliament imposed a tax of three groats on every person above fifteen years of age. This impost produced a most serious revolt. A spirit of independence had been excited among the people, who had this distich frequently in their mouths:

“When Adam delv’d and Eve span,  
“Where was then the gentleman?”

At this time the tax-gatherers demanded of a blacksmith of Essex, payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be under the age assigned by the statute. One of the collectors offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and laid hold of the maid; which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian’s brains with his hammer. The spectators applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was time to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their liberty. The people flew to arms; and the sedition spread from the county of Essex into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surry, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. The leaders, assuming the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hoh Carter, and Tom Miller, committed the most outrageous violence on the gentry and nobility that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. The mutinous populace, amounting to one hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath, under their leaders, Tyler and Straw, broke into the city, and required of the king the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in

market-towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent of lands, instead of the services of villanage.

These requisitions were complied with; and charters to that purpose were granted to them. A party of the insurgents, however, broke into the tower, murdered several persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of the mob, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, when they were to murder all the company, except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, fearlessly came into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, unable to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him to the ground, where he was instantly despatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard displayed on the occasion. Ordering his company to stop, he advanced alone against the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader!" The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him: he led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city, and peaceably dismissed them with the same charter which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thousand strong. The rebels were obliged to submit; the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the Duke of Gloucester, a

prince of genius and ambition, was extremely disagreeable to his disposition; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke. Gloucester and his associates, however, framed a commission which was ratified by parliament, and by which the sovereign power was transferred to a council of fourteen persons for a twelve month. The king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned; and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to perceive that it was the intention of the party to render it perpetual. However, in less than a twelve month, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern the kingdom by his own authority, he was resolved  
 1389] to exercise his right of sovereignty. By what means the king regained his authority is unknown; but he exercised it with moderation, and appeared reconciled to his uncles.

However, the personal conduct of Richard brought him into contempt, even whilst his government seemed, in a great measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, and addicted to low pleasures, he spent his time in feasting, and dissipated in idle show, or in bounties to worthless favourites, the revenue which should have been employed in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank, and admitted all men to his familiarity. The little regard which the people felt for his person, disposed them to murmur against his government, and to receive with readiness every complaint suggested to them by the discontented or ambitious nobles.

Gloucester soon perceived the advantages afforded him by the king's dissolute conduct; and he determined to cultivate the favour of the nation. He inveighed with indecent boldness against every measure pursued  
 1397] by the king, and particularly against the truce with France. His imprudence revived the resentment which his former violence had kindled; the precipitate temper of Richard admitted of no deliberation; and he ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested, and carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody. In a parliament which was im-



mediately summoned, an accusation was presented against the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, who had appeared against their sovereign, in an hostile manner, at Haringay Park. The earl of Arundel was executed, and the earl of Warwick banished, though the crime for which they were condemned had been obliterated by time, and by repeated pardons. A warrant was issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial ; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy ; though it afterwards appeared, that he had been suffocated by the order of Richard.

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding arose among the noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The duke of Hereford, son of the duke of Lancaster, accused the duke of Norfolk of having privately epoken many slanderous words of the king. Norfolk denied the charge, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted ; but when the two champions appeared in the field, the king interposed, and ordered both the combatants to quit the kingdom ; assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual, and another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

Hereford conducted himself with so much submission, that the king shortened the term of his exile four years ; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately into possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return. However, the king's jealousy was awakened by being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king ; and on the death of the duke of Lancaster, which happened soon after, Richard revoked his letters patent, and seized the estate of Lancaster. Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public ; and he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour. His misfortunes were lamented ; the injustice which he had

suffered was complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses of the government.

While such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger, earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish with the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England. Every place was in commotion: the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of sixty thousand men. This army was farther increased by the accession of that assembled by the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the realm; and the duke of Lancaster, thus reinforced, was now entirely master of the kingdom.

The king, receiving information of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of twenty thousand men; but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. Sensible of his danger, he privately fled to the isle of Anglesea, where the earl of Northumberland, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint castle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaster, who was there received by the acclamations of the mutinous populace. The duke first extorted a resignation from Richard; but as he knew the result of this deed would appear the result of force, he also procured him to be deposed in parliament for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. The throne being now declared vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having made the sign of

the cross, pronounced these words, which we shall give in their original idiom, because of their singularity: "In the name of the Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances: als I that am descendit by right line of the blode coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes, to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by default of governance, and ondoying of the gude laws."

The earl of Northumberland made a motion in the house of peers with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had deposed. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, since Henry was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard, in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with his friends and partisans. It was easy to foresee, that he would not long remain alive in the hands of his barbarous and sanguinary enemies. Historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and despatched him with their halberts. But it is more probable, that he was starved to death in prison, since his body was exposed in public, and no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign; and left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

Richard appears to have been incapacitated for government, less for want of natural parts, than of solid judgment and good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expenses; fond of idle show and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure. If he had possessed the talents of gaining or of overawing his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign; but when the nobles were tempted, by his want of prudence or of vigour, to resist his authority, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation.

Henry the Fourth, in his very first parliament, had  
1399] reason to see the danger attending that station  
which he had assumed, and the obstacles which  
he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocra-  
cy, always divided by faction, and at present inflamed  
with the resentments consequent on such recent con-  
vulsions. The peers, on their assembling, broke out  
into violent animosities against each other; forty  
gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown  
on the floor of the house, by noblemen who gave mu-  
tual challenges; and *liar* and *traitor* resounded from  
all quarters. The king had so much authority with  
these doughty champions, as to prevent all the com-  
bats which they threatened; but he was not able to  
bring them to a proper composure, or to an amicable  
disposition towards each other.

The utmost prudence of Henry could not shield him  
from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him  
from every quarter. The connexion of Richard with  
the royal family of France, made that court exert its  
activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death;  
but the confusions which the French experienced at  
home, obliged them to accommodate matters, and to  
conclude a truce between the two kingdoms.

The revolution in England proved also the occasion  
of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, de-  
scended from the ancient princes of that country, had  
become obnoxious on account of his attachment to  
Richard, in consequence of which Reginald lord Grey  
of Ruthyn, who was connected with the new king, had  
seized his estate. Glendour recovered possession by  
the sword; the Welsh armed on his side; and a long  
and troublesome war was kindled. As Glendour com-  
mitted devastations on the estate of the earl of Marche,  
Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led  
out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the  
Welsh chieftain. Mortimer's troops were routed; and  
the earl himself, still in his minority, was made pris-  
oner; and Henry, though he owed his crown to the  
Piercies, to whom the young nobleman was nearly re-  
lated, refused to the earl of Northumberland permis-  
sion to treat for his ransom with Glendour.

The critical situation of Henry had induced the  
Scots to make incursions into England; and Henry

desirous of taking revenge, conducted his followers to Edinburgh ; but finding the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, and disbanded his army. In the following year, Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner, as was Mordack earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, with many others of the gentry and nobility.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on one side, and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne ; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life, and conferred other gifts on that family, yet these favours were considered as their due : the refusal of any other request, was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Percy, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman ; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour ; he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief ; he roused up all his partisans to arms ; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When hostilities were ready to commence, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick ; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The king had fortunately a small army on foot. He ap-

proached Piercy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages [1403] where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight: his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself in the highest degree; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Piercy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. While the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction that were killed, belonged to the king's party. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners: the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury; the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and valour.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole object in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. Most of the other insurgents were treated with equal lenity. Northumberland, however, having formed a new conspiracy against the king, was killed in an engagement at Bramham, in Yorkshire. This success, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies: and this prince, who had mounted the

throne by such unjustifiable means and held it by such an exceptionable title, by his valour, prudence, and address, had obtained a great ascendancy over his subjects.

Though Henry entertained a well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, yet he allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman. However, with a design of weakening the pretensions of the earl of Marche, he procured a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs—male; but the long contest with France had displayed the injustice of the Salic law; and the parliament, apprehensive that they had destroyed the foundations of the English government, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family.

But though the commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown, their efforts against the church was still more extraordinary. In the sixth of Henry, being required to grant supplies, they proposed in plain terms to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. The king, however, discouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues. The commons were not discouraged by this repulse: in the eleventh of the king, they returned to the charge with more zeal than before: they made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a-year, and contained eighteen thousand ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and one hundred hospitals; besides twenty thousand pounds a-year, which the king might take for his own use; and they insisted, that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by fifteen thousand parish-

priests, paid after the rate of seven marks a piece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. To this unjust and chimerical proposal, the king gave the commons a severe reply.

The king was so much employed in defending his crown, that he had little leisure to look abroad. His health declined some months before his death; and though he was in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster 1413] (20th March,) in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. The prudence, vigilance and foresight of Henry IV. in maintaining his power, were admirable; his command of temper was remarkable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation, though pernicious in after-times, rather salutary, during his own reign, to the English nation. He left four sons, Henry his successor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark.

The jealousies to which the deceased monarch's situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he regarded with distrust even his eldest son, whom, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded from public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies of every kind. There remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking and plundering the passengers in the streets and highways. This extreme dissoluteness was not more agreeable to the father, than would have been his application to business; and Henry fancied he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, which had degraded the character of Richard. But the nation regarded the young prince with more indulgence: they observed in him the seeds of generosity, spirit and magnanimity; and an incident which happened, afforded occasion for favour-



able reflections. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence did not overawe the chief-justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of his own character, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour; and the spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, and make reparation of his error by acknowledging it.

The memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation; and the first steps taken by the young prince, confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence; and the chief-justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their satisfaction; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

At this time, the Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and military talents, and had acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesi-

astical severity. The archbishop applied to Henry for permission to indict lord Cobham; but the prince, averse to sanguinary methods of conversion, endeavoured, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the Catholic faith. But he found that nobleman firm in his opinions; and Henry's principles of toleration could carry him no farther. The primate indicted Cobham, and, with the assistance of his suffragans, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham escaped from the Tower; and his daring spirit, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, prompted him to attempt the most criminal enterprises. He appointed a general rendezvous of his party, in order to seize the person of the king, and put their religious enemies to the sword; but Henry, apprized of their intentions, apprehended such of the conspirators as appeared, and rendered the design ineffectual. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy: of these some were executed; and Cobham himself, who had fled, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt upon the gibbet.

Charles the Sixth, king of France, after assuming the reins of government, had discovered symptoms of genius and spirit; but the unhappy prince being seized with an epileptic disorder, his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired; and the administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy. The latter procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, with all the violence of party rage, made war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority.

These circumstances concurred to favour an enterprise of the English against France. Henry, therefore, assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; and relying on the aid of the duke of Burgundy, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, with six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot. He obliged

that city to capitulate after a gallant defence. The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no other enterprise ; and as he had dismissed his transports, he was under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. By this time a numerous French army, of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was assembled in Normandy, under the constable d'Albert. Henry, therefore, offered to purchase a safe retreat at the expense of his new conquest of Harfleur ; but his proposals being rejected, he marched slowly and deliberately to the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the same ford that had proved so auspicious to his predecessor Edward. The ford, however, was rendered impassable, by the precaution of the French ; but he was so fortunate as to surprise a passage near St. Quentin, over which he safely carried his force. After passing the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, he observed the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that an engagement was inevitable. The enemy was four times more numerous than the English, and was headed by the dauphin, and all the princes of the blood.

Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and of the Black Prince at Poitiers. The king drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded his flank, and patiently awaited the attack of the enemy. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced against the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who, from behind that defence, safely plied them with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The heavy ground hindered the force of the French cavalry ; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay ; and the English fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, being unable to flee or defend themselves, were slaughtered without resistance. Among the slain were the constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, and the count of Marle ; and among

the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richmont, and the marshal of Boussicant. The killed, on the side of the French, are computed to have amounted to ten thousand men; and the prisoners to fourteen thousand.

1415] The person of chief note, who fell among the English, was the duke of York; and their whole loss is said not to have exceeded forty men.

During the interruption of hostilities which followed this engagement, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war. The count of Armagnac, created constable of France, prevailed on the king to send the queen to Tours, and confine her under a guard; and her son, the dauphin Charles, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac. In concert with her, the duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a powerful army, and at last liberated the queen, who fixed her independent residence at Troyes, and openly declared against the ministers, who, she asserted, detained her royal consort in captivity. In the mean time, the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris. Lisle Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city, and headed the insurrection; the person of the king was seized; the dauphin escaped with difficulty; and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor, and the principal adherents of the Orleans party, were inhumanly put to death.

Henry the Fifth again landed in Normandy, at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Having subdued all the lower Normandy, he formed the siege of Rouen, of which, at length, he made himself master. The duke of Burgundy was assassinated by the treachery of the dauphin; and his son thought himself bound to revenge the murder of his father. A league was concluded at Arras between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy, who agreed to every demand made by that monarch. By this treaty, which was concluded at Troyes, in the names of the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy, it was stipulated, that

1420] Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared heir of the monarchy, and immediately entrusted with the reins of government, and that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that

France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; and that Henry should join his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, for the purpose of subduing the adherents of Charles the Dauphin.

To push his present advantages, Henry a few days after espoused the princess Catherine, carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital. He then turned his arms with success against the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troyes, had assumed the title of Regent. That prince, chased beyond the Loire, almost entirely deserted by the northern provinces, and pursued into the south by the English and Burgundians, prepared to meet with fortitude the destruction which seemed inevitable. To crown the prosperity of Henry, his queen Catherine was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by equal rejoicings in Paris and in London.

The glory of Henry, however, had now reached its summit. He was seized with a fistula, a complaint which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. Sensible of his approaching end, he devoted the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and family, and to the pious duties of religion. To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he left the regency of France; to the duke of Gloucester, his younger brother, he committed that of England; and to the earl of Warwick he entrusted the care of his  
1422] son's person and education. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

Henry the Fifth possessed many eminent virtues, which were unstained by any other blemish than ambition and the love of glory. His talents were equally distinguished in the field and the cabinet; and whilst we admire the boldness of his enterprises, we cannot refuse our praise to the prudence and valour by which they were conducted. His affability attached his friends to his service; and his address and clemency vanquished his enemies. His unceasing attention to the administration of justice, and his maintenance of discipline in the armies, alleviated both to

France and England the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short and splendid reign was almost entirely occupied. The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs were genteel, and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises. He left by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son, not full nine months old; whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond; the second, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### *The Reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Edward V.*

DURING the reign of the princes of the house of Lancaster, the authority of parliament had been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than in any former period. Without attending to the strict letter of the deceased monarch's recommendation, the lords and commons appointed the duke of Bedford *protector* or *guardian* of the kingdom; they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother; and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince were committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge.

The conquest of France was the first object of the new government; and, on a superficial view of the state of affairs, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the English. Though Henry was an infant, the duke of Bedford was the most accomplished prince of his age; and the whole power of England was at his command. He was at the head of armies accustomed to victory; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age; and besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of Paris, and of almost all the northern provinces.

But Charles, notwithstanding his present inferiority, possessed some advantages which promised him success. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy; and all Frenchmen, who knew the interest, or desired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as their sole resource. Though only in his twentieth year, he was of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just, though not a very vigorous understanding. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his remissness did not proceed from the want of ambition or personal valour.

The resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles, still continued; and the duke of Bedford, that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

But the Duke of Bedford was not so much employed in negotiations as to neglect the operations of war. A considerable advantage was gained over the French, in the battle of Crevant, by the united forces of England and Burgundy. In the mean time, the duke of Bedford was engaged in the siege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor, finding his resources exhausted, agreed to surrender the town, if not relieved by a certain day. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place; and collecting an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots, he entrusted it to the earl

of Buchan, constable of France. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that the place had already surrendered; but he immediately invested Verneuil, which he carried without difficulty. On the approach of the duke of Bedford, Buchan called a council of war, in order to deliberate on the conduct necessary to be pursued. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat; but a vain point of honour determined the assembly to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

In this action, the numbers of the contending armies were nearly equal; and the battle was fierce and well disputed. At length, the duke of Bedford, at the head of the men at arms, broke the ranks of the French, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory complete and decisive. Verneuil was surrendered next day by capitulation.

The fortunes of Charles now appeared almost desperate, when an incident happened which lost the English an opportunity of completing their conquests. Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heiress of these provinces, had espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy. The marriage had been dictated by motives of policy; but the duke of Brabant's weakness, both of body and mind, inspired the countess with contempt, which soon proceeded to antipathy. Impatient of effecting her purpose, she escaped into England, and solicited the protection of the duke of Gloucester. The impetuous passions of that prince, and the prospect of inheriting her rich inheritance, induced him to offer himself to her as a husband; and he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himself master of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy resented the injury offered to the duke of Brabant, his near relation, and marched troops to his support; the quarrel, which was at first political, soon became personal; and the protector, instead of improving the victory gained at Verneuil, found himself obliged to return to England, that he might try, by his councils and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester.

The pope annulled Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloucester; and Humphrey, despairing of



success, married another lady, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. This affair, however, left an unfavourable impression on the mind of Philip, and excited an extreme jealousy of the English. About the same time, the duke of Brittany withdrew himself from the alliance with England; his defection was followed by that of his brother, the count of Richemont; and both these princes joined the standard of their legitimate sovereign, Charles the Seventh.

Indignant at the conduct of the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bedford, on his arrival in France, secretly assembled a considerable army, and suddenly invading the province of Brittany, compelled its sovereign to renounce his alliance with France, and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Being thus freed from a [1428] dangerous enemy, the English prince resolved to invest the city of Orleans, which was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, as to afford an easy entrance into either. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the earl of Salisbury, who had greatly distinguished himself by his military talents during the present war. On the other hand, the French king reinforced the garrison, and replenished the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucur a brave and experienced officer.

The earl of Salisbury approached the place with an army of ten thousand men, and was killed by a cannon-shot in a successful attack on the fortifications. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command: and being reinforced by large bodies of English and Burgundians, he completely invested Orleans. The inclemency of the season, and the rigour of the winter, could not overcome the perseverance of the besiegers, who seemed daily advancing to the completion of their enterprise. In order to distress the enemy, the French had ravaged and exhausted the whole surrounding country: and the English were compelled to draw their subsistence from a considerable distance.

A convoy of provisions was escorted by Sir John Falstoffs, with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men. Falstoffs, being attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois, drew up his men behind the wagons; when the French were defeated by their own impetuosity, and five hundred of them perished on the field.

Charles had now only one expedient left for preserving this city. The duke of Orleans, still a prisoner in England, had prevailed on the duke of Gloucester and his council to consent to a neutrality in his demesnes, which should be sequestered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy; but this proposal was rejected by the duke of Bedford, who replied, that "he was not in a humour to beat the bushes, whilst others ran away with the game." This answer disgusted the duke of Burgundy, who separated his forces from those of the English; but the latter pressed the siege with increased ardour; and scarcity was already experienced by the garrison and inhabitants.

Charles, almost reduced to despair, entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his army into Dauphiné and Languedoc; but he was diverted from his purpose by the intreaties of his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess of prudence and spirit, and by the remonstrances of his beautiful mistress, the celebrated Agnes Sorel.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a country girl, called Joan d'Arc, who was a servant in a small inn, and who, having been accustomed to ride the horses of her master's guests to water, had acquired a degree of hardihood, which enabled her to endure the fatigues of war. The present situation of France was the common topic of conversation. Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, fancied that she was destined by heaven to re-establish the throne of her sovereign; and the intrepidity of her mind led her to despise the dangers which would naturally attend such an attempt. She procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs; and declared to him, that she had been exhorted by visions and voices to achieve the

deliverance of her country. Baudricourt, either equally credulous himself, or sufficiently penetrating to foresee the effect such an enthusiast might have on the minds of the vulgar, gave her an escort to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

On her arrival, she is said to have distinguished Charles, though he purposely remained in the crowd of his courtiers, and had divested himself of every ensign of royalty; to have offered him to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed; and to have demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a sword which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fire-bois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by its particular marks. Charles and his ministers pretended to examine her claims with scrupulous exactness; and her mission was pronounced authentic and supernatural by an assemblage of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then residing at Poitiers.

To essay the power of Joan, she was sent to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men were assembled to escort it. The holy maid marched at the head of the troops, and displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, on which was represented the Supreme Being holding the globe of the earth. The English affected to deride the maid and her heavenly commission; but the common soldiers were insensibly impressed with horror, and waited with anxious dread the issue of these extraordinary preparations. In this state of the public mind, the earl of Suffolk durst not venture an attack; and the French army returned to Blois without interruption. The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard, and was received by the inhabitants as a celestial deliverer. A second convoy approached the city, on the side of Basse; and the wagons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English, who, formerly elated with victory, and impatient for action, beheld the enterprises of their enemies in silent astonishment and religious awe. The maid seized the critical moment, and exhorting the garrison to attack the enemy

in their intrenchments, the English were successively chased from their posts with the loss of above six thousand men. In vain did the English generals oppose the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence; the English had lost their wonted courage and confidence, and were seized with amazement and despair.

Unable to remain longer in the presence of a victorious enemy, the earl of Suffolk raised the siege, and retired to Jergeau, which was attacked by the French, under the command of Joan. On this occasion, the maid displayed her usual intrepidity, and led the attack. The place was obstinately defended; but the English were at length overpowered, and Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner. The remainder of the English army, commanded by Falstoffs, Scales, and Talbot, were pressed by the constable Richemont. They were overtaken at the village of Patay; and oppressed by their fears, they immediately fled. Two thousand of the English were slaughtered; and both Scales and Talbot were made prisoners.

The maid had fulfilled one part of her promise; and she now strongly insisted that the king should be crowned at Rheims. The city itself lay in a distant part of the kingdom, and was in the hands of the English; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons. However, Charles resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess; and he set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. Troyes and Chalons opened their gates to him; and he was admitted into Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed. From this act, as from a heavenly commission, Charles seemed to derive an additional title to the crown, and many towns in the neighbourhood immediately submitted to his authority.

The abilities of the duke of Bedford were never displayed to more advantage than on this occasion. 1430] He put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence; he retained the Parisians in obedience by alternately employing caresses and menaces; and he had the address to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had begun to waver in his fidelity. The French army, which con-

sisted chiefly of volunteers, soon after disbanded ; and Charles, after having possessed himself of Laval, Lagny, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges. Bedford caused Henry the Sixth to be crowned and anointed at Paris, and exacted an oath of allegiance from all who lived in the provinces still possessed by England.

After the coronation of Charles at Rheims, the maid of Orleans declared that her mission was now fulfilled ; but the count of Dunois exhorted her to persevere till the English should be finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, she had thrown herself into the town of Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Bedford, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a sally, she was deserted by her friends, probably out of envy ; and being surrounded by the enemy, she was taken prisoner. The duke of Bedford purchased the captive from John of Luxemburg, into whose hands she had fallen, and commenced a prosecution against her, which, whether undertaken from policy or revenge, was equally barbarous and dishonourable. She was tried for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic ; and though harassed by interrogatories for the space of four hours, she betrayed no weakness or womanish submission, but answered with firmness and intrepidity. However, she was convicted of all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy ; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people ; and she was sentenced to be burnt in the market-place of Rouen. The inhuman sentence was accordingly executed ; and the unhappy victim expiated by her death the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and her country.

The affairs of the English, instead of being advanced by this inhuman act, became every day more ruinous ; and the abilities of Bedford were unable to prevent the French from returning under the obedience of their legitimate sovereign. The duke of Burgundy determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own had descended ; 1435] and a congress was appointed at Arras, in which were adjusted the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. Soon after this transaction, the Duke of Bedford expired, a prince of great abilities and many vir

tues, and whose memory is chiefly tarnished by the execution of the maid of Orleans. After his death, the court of Henry was distracted by the rival parties of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester : and it was seven months before the duke of York, son to the earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford. On his arrival in France, the new governor found the capital already lost. The Parisians were attached to the house of Burgundy ; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, they returned to their allegiance under their native sovereign. Lord Willoughby, with an English garrison of fifteen hundred men, retired into the Bastile ; but his valour and skill only served to procure him a capitulation, by which he was allowed with his troops a safe retreat into Normandy.

The cardinal of Winchester had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France, and had represented the utter impossibility of pushing farther the conquests in that kingdom ; but the duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not be induced to relinquish all hopes of subduing France. However, the earl of Suffolk, who adhered to the cardinal's party, was despatched to Tours to negotiate  
1443] with the French ministers. As it was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace, a truce for twenty-two months was concluded ; and Suffolk proceeded to the execution of another business, which seems to have been rather implied than expressed in the powers granted to him.

As Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known. He was found to be of the most harmless, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity ; and hence it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now, however, reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen. The duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac, but the cardinal and his friends cast their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem ; a princess

accomplished both in person and mind, of a masculine spirit, and an enterprizing temper, which she had not been able to conceal even in the privacy of her father's family. The earl of Suffolk, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, this nobleman ventured of himself, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his services in concluding it. The princess immediately fell into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

This generous prince, ill-suited to court intrigues, but possessing in a high degree the favour of the public, had received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating the public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away, by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. A charge of this ridiculous nature seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess

was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and the others were executed. As these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their usual practice in such trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince who was thus exposed to mortal injuries.

These sentiments of the public made the cardinal and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whom they had so deeply injured. In order to effect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondsbury. As 1447] soon as Gloucester appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison: he was soon after found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies.

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is said, gave him more remorse in his last moments, than could be naturally expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt is uncertain: her usual activity and spirit made the people conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened, soon after, an event of which she and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore incontestibly the whole odium.

The article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had been hitherto kept secret; but as the court of France strenuously insisted on its performance, orders were now despatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Frances Surienne, governor of Mans, to surrender that place. Surienne, questioning the authenticity of the order, refused to comply; but a French army, under the count of Dunois, obliged him to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses, in that province. Surienne, at the head of his



garrisons, retired into Normandy; but the duke of Somerset, who was governor of that province, refused to admit him; and this adventurer marched into Brittany, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised. The duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord; and Charles remonstrated with Somerset, who replied that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne. Charles refused to admit of this apology, and insisted that reparation should be made to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained; and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he estimated the loss at no less a sum than one million six hundred thousand crowns.

Sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England, he was determined to take advantage of it; and, accordingly, Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies: 1449] the first commanded by the king of France himself; the second, by the duke of Brittany; the third, by the duke of Alençon; and the fourth by the count of Dunois. The conquest of Normandy was speedily finished by Charles. A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; and the English were expelled from a province which they had held for three centuries.

The palpable weakness of Henry the Sixth had encouraged a pretender to the crown of England; and the English were doomed to pay, though late, the penalty of their turbulence under Richard the Second, and of their levity in violating, without any necessity, the lineal succession of their monarchs. All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct: but Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects have fal-

len into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild disposition. he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France; and though recalled by the intrigues and superior interest of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland; and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, however, had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other; which last inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster, with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliance too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order. Among the rest he was nearly allied to the earl of Warwick, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the King-maker.

This nobleman had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity of his expense, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquest over men's affections the more certain. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his expense in the different manors and castles which he possessed; and he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown.

The humours of the people, set afloat by a parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of the duke of Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but an insurrection in Kent was attended with more dangerous consequences. One John

Cade, a native of Ireland, a man of low condition, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of the people, and assumed the name of John Mortimer. On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard; and he inflamed their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances. Cade advanced with his followers towards London, and encamped on Blackheath; and transmitting to the court a plausible list of grievances, he promised that when these should be redressed, and Lord Say the treasurer, and Cromer sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council, perceiving the reluctance of the people to fight against men so reasonable in their pretensions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers. But being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial, he found that after the commission of this crime, he was no longer able to control their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were disobeyed. Proceeding to acts of plunder and violence, the citizens became alarmed, and shut their gates against them; and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentishmen were so discouraged by the blow, that upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon, however, was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence: a price was set on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were punished with death.

The court suspected that the duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, to sound the dispositions of the people towards his title and family; and fearing that he intended to return from Ireland with an armed force, the ruling party issued orders

debaring him entrance into England. The duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with only his ordinary retinue ; but finding himself an object of jealousy, he saw the impossibility of remaining a quiet subject, and the necessity of proceeding forwards in support of his important claim. His partisans, therefore, were instructed to maintain his right by succession, and by the established constitution of the kingdom ; and the arguments adduced by his adherents and those of the reigning family divided and distracted the people. The noblemen of greatest influence espoused the part of the duke of York ; but the earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government ; and the earl of Westmoreland, though head of the family of Nevil, was prevailed on to support the cause of Henry.

The public discontents were increased by the loss of the province of Gascony, which was subdued by the French ; and though the English might deem themselves happy in being freed from all continental possessions, they expressed great dissatisfaction on the occasion, and threw all the blame on the ministry. While they were in this disposition, the queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, had a tendency to inflame the public mind, as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown. The duke, however, was incapable of violent councils ; and even when no visible obstacles lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell about this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, and finding themselves unable to resist the York party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent to the tower the duke of Somerset, who had succeeded to Suffolk's influence in the ministry, and who had soon become equally the object of public animosity and hatred ; and they appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with

powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Yet the duke, instead of pushing them to make farther concessions, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad consequences in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the animosities of faction to rise and ferment, it proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

The enemies of the duke of York soon found it in their power to make advantage of his excessive caution. Henry being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, was moved to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the duke, to release Somerset from the tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers to which he might be exposed, if he submitted to the annulling of the parliamentary commission, levied an army; but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Alban's, 1455} in which the Yorkists, without suffering any material loss, slew about five thousand of their enemies. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness; and he was only obliged, which he regarded as no hardship, to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster, which lasted for thirty years, and which is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England.

An outward reconciliation was effected, by means of the archbishop of Canterbury, between the two parties; but it was evident, that the contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's, and their companions on both sides took part in the

quarrel ; a fierce combat ensued ; the earl, apprehending his life to be aimed at, fled to his government of Calais, which gave him the command of the only regular force maintained by England ; and both parties, in every country, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms.

The earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces. A small rivulet ran between the two armies ; and when the van of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly attacked them, and put them to the rout ; and obtaining a complete victory, he reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow. To the same place, the earl of Warwick brought a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend ; but when the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the night time, and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day, without striking a stroke. The duke fled to Ireland ; the earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders, escaped to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men soon drew to him partisans ; and the friends of the house of York, in England, kept themselves every where in readiness to rise on the first summons.

After meeting with some success at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York ; and being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people, to London. A battle was fought at Northampton, and was soon decided against the royalists, of whom the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and sir William Lucie, with many other persons of quality, were killed in the action or pursuit. Henry himself was again taken prisoner ; and as the innocence and simplicity of his manners had procur-

ed him the tender regard of the people, he was treated with abundant respect.

A parliament was summoned in the king's name at Westminster, where the duke of York soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince stated to the house of peers his own claim to the crown, and exhorted them to do justice to the lineal successor. The lords remained in some suspense, but at length declared in favour of the duke of York. They determined, however, that Henry should possess the dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government should in the mean while remain with Richard; and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy.

But Margaret, whose high spirit spurned at the compact, was not remiss in defending the rights of her family. After the battle of Northampton, she had fled with her infant son to the north, where her affability, insinuation, and address, among the northern barons, raised her an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies. The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of five thousand men; but on his arrival at Wakefield, finding himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, he threw himself into Sandal castle; and was advised by the earl of Salisbury and other prudent counsellors, to remain in that fortress, till his son, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance. But the duke, who possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree, thought that he should be forever disgraced, if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He therefore descended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was alone sufficient to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment, who fell on the hack of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain and undisputed. The duke himself was killed in the action; and his head, by Margaret's orders, was fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his pretended title. There fell near three thousand Yorkists in

this battle; the duke himself was greatly and justly lamented by his own party. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men; but Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick at St. Alban's; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party.

The queen, however, reaped no great advantage from this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other side; and collecting the remains of Warwick's army, he was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior force. Sensible of her danger, she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north; and Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens. Instead of confining himself to the narrow limits to which his father had submitted, he determined to avail himself of his popularity, and to assume the name and dignity of king. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then asked, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York, for their king? They expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election; and the  
1461] new king was on the subsequent day proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward the Fourth.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. a



monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king, both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities : but whether his queen, and his ministers, were not also guilty of some great abuses of power, it is not easy for us at this distance of time to determine. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction ; those of York were denominated from the white ; and these civil wars were thus known over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

Queen Margaret assembled an army in Yorkshire ; and the king and the earl of Warwick hastened with forty thousand men to check her progress. In a skirmish for the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, the Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter. The earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army ; and kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier. And, to show the greatest security, a proclamation was at the same time issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire ; but menacing the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle.

The hostile armies met at Tooton ; and a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter. The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great bloodshed and confusion ; and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit : among these were the earl of Westmoreland and his brother, sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was

brought a prisoner to Edward; and was, soon after, beheaded by martial law at York. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland; and on Margaret's offering to the Scottish council to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of king James, the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne.

But as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government. That assembly no longer hesitated between the two families; they recognised the title of Edward, and passed an act of attainder against Henry and Margaret, against their infant son Edward, and their principal adherents.

However, Lewis the eleventh of France, a prince of an intriguing and politic genius, sent a body of two thousand men at arms to the assistance of Henry. These enabled Margaret to take the field; but though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster, she received a check at Hedgley-moor from lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, who was so encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham; and obtained a complete victory over them. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was singular: Margaret, fleeing with her son into a forest, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among

them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took an opportunity of plunging with her son into the depths of the forest. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him, and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence to her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate nor so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a year; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower. The preservation of his life was owing less to the generosity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, and the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government; but the amorous temper of the prince led him into an act which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne. Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the duchess of Bedford, by her second marriage with Sir Richard Woodville and widow of sir John Grey of Groby, who had been slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and whose estate had been confiscated, seized the opportunity, when the king was on a visit to the duchess of Bedford, of throwing herself at his feet, and entreating his pity for her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected Edward; and he was reduced, in his turn, to the posture of a suppliant at

the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady was either averse to dishonourable love, or inflamed with ambition; and the caresses and importunities of the young and amiable Edward proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, increased by opposition, carried him beyond all bounds; and he offered to share with her his throne as well as his heart. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton; and the secret was carefully kept for some time, from motives of policy, which at that time rendered this proceeding highly dangerous and imprudent.

The king had a little before cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, ensure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negotiation more successful, the earl of Warwick had been despatched to Paris, where the princess then resided. This nobleman had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England. But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation; and an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. A rebellion arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name; but the king defeated the army of the rebels, took their leader prisoner, and ordered him immediately to execution.

Edward had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence the king's second brother, who had married the earl's eldest daughter, that he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels; but these malcontents, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, whence they embarked and made sail towards Calais.

The king of France, jealous of the alliance entered into between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received Warwick with the greatest demonstrations of regard, and hoped to make him his instrument for re-establishing the house of Lancaster. Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement dictated by mutual interest was soon concluded between them. Edward, however, foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant materials. He employed a lady in the train of the duchess of Clarence, to represent to the duke that he had unwarily become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had formed a connexion with the murderers of his father, and the implacable enemies of his family. Clarence, struck with the force of these arguments, on a promise of forgiveness, secretly engaged to abandon the Lancastrian party. Warwick also was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother, the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. Warwick availed himself of a storm to cross the channel, and with a small body of French troops, landed at Dartmouth, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke.

Edward though brave and active, had little foresight. He had made no preparations for this event; 1470] and he had even said, that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick on English ground. However, the prodigious popularity of that nobleman, the zeal of the Lancastrian party, and the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward, who had been employed in suppressing an insurrection in the north, now hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery; but the marquis of Montague, having communicated the design to his adherents, took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king had just time to get

on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynn in Norfolk, where finding some ships ready, he instantly embarked. Thus, the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

Immediately after Edward's flight, Warwick hastened to London; and delivering Henry from his confinement in the Tower, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity; and every thing now promise a full settlement of the English crown in the family of Lancaster. However, Edward being assisted by the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, though in a covert way, he set sail for England; and impatient to take vengeance on his enemies, he made an attempt to land with his forces, which did not exceed two thousand men, on the coast of Norfolk; but being there repulsed, he sailed northwards, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his former claims and pretensions. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting, and of giving battle, to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. His numerous friends facilitated his admission into the capital; and his entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, again fell into the hands of his enemies.

The king soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who, being reinforced by his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, and his brother the Marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the vicinity of London. His brother Montague seems to have remained attached to the interests of his family, but his

son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and deserted to the king in the night time, carrying over a body of twelve thousand men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of accommodation offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged 1471] to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obstinacy on both sides; and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. Warwick engaged that day on foot, and was slain in the thickest of the engagement; his brother underwent the same fate; and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated; and the army was entirely dispersed.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower: king Henry died in that confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or a violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the

duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands ; but the universal odium which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now utterly extinguished ; and Edward was firmly established on the throne of England. This prince was active and intrepid in adversity, but unable to resist the allurements of prosperity. He now devoted himself to pleasure and amusement ; but he was roused from his lethargy by the prospect of foreign conquests. He formed a league with the duke of Burgundy to invade France ; and, for this purpose, the parliament voted him a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound, which produced only 31,460*l.* ; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three-quarters of another ; but as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of *benevolence* ; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry the Third and Richard the Second, had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand  
1475] archers ; but all his hopes of conquest were damped, when he found that the constable St. Pol, who had secretly promised to join him, did not receive him into the towns of which he was master, nor the duke of Burgundy bring him the smallest assistance. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to the pacific overtures of Lewis, who consented to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a-year during their joint lives. It was farther stipulated, that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The articles of this treaty were ratified in a personal interview which the two monarchs had at Pacquigni, near Amiens. This treaty was little honourable to either of these monarchs ; it discovered the imprudence of Edward, and the want of dignity



in Lewis, who, rather than hazard a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute. The most honourable part of it was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died.

Edward abandoned himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions; but an act of tyranny, of which he was guilty in his own family, has met with general and deserved censure. The duke of Clarence, after all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship. He was also an object of displeasure to the queen, as well as to his brother, the duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, and the most unrelenting ambition. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, of whom several were put to death for the most trivial offences. Clarence, instead of securing his own life by silence and reserve, was open and loud in exclaiming against the iniquity of their persecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the Tower, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the house of peers, on charges the most frivolous and futile. A sentence of condemnation, however, was a necessary consequence in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The house of commons were no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him. The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower; a whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.

All the energies of Edward's reign seem to have terminated with the civil wars: his spirit afterwards sunk into indolence and pleasure. Whilst, however, he was making preparations for a war against France, he was seized with a distemper of which he died in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. Besides five daughters, Edward left two sons; Edward prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth.

The king, on his death-bed, had entrusted the regency to his brother, the duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north; and he recommended to the rival nobles peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son. But he had no sooner expired, than the jealousies of the parties broke out; and each of them endeavoured to obtain the favour of the duke of Gloucester.

This prince, whose unbounded ambition led him to carry his views to the possession of the crown itself, prevailed on the queen, by professions of zeal and attachment, to countermand the order which she had issued to her brother, the earl of Rivers, to levy a body of forces, and to direct him to bring up the young king from Ludlow to London, with only his ordinary retinue. In the mean time, the duke of Gloucester set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and after being met by the earl of Rivers, who had sent his pupil forward to Stony Stratford, they all proceeded on the road the next day to the king; but as they entered Stony Stratford, the earl of Rivers was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester, together with sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, and instantly conducted to Pomfret.

On intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, the queen fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. But Gloucester, anxious to have the duke of York also in his power, employed the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who, duped by the villain's artifice and dis-

simulation, prevailed on the queen to deliver up the prince, that he might be present at the coronation of his brother.

The council, without waiting for the consent of parliament, had already invested the duke of Gloucester with the high dignity of protector; and having so far succeeded in his views, he no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure, which was promptly executed.

The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham, by specious arguments, and offers of great private advantages, and obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. Knowing the importance of gaining lord Hastings, he sounded him at a distance; but finding him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, he determined on his destruction. Having summoned a council in the Tower, whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation, the protector asked them, what punishment those deserved that had plotted against *his* life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was entrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others their associates: see to what a condition they have reduced me, by their incantations and witchcraft;" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that

witch Shore; you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He struck the table with his hand:—armed men rushed in at the signal:—the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation; and Hastings being seized, was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber-log, which lay in the court of the Tower.

After the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. A report was industriously circulated, that Edward, before espousing the lady Elizabeth Gray, had been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, and that consequently the offspring of the last marriage were illegitimate. In an assembly of the citizens convoked for the purpose, the duke of Buckingham harangued the people on the protector's title to the crown; when, after several useless efforts, some of the meanest apprentices raised a feeble cry of "God save King Richard!" This was deemed sufficient; and the crown was formally tendered to Richard, who pretended to refuse it, but was at length prevailed on to accept the offer. This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical: the murder of the two young princes, who were smothered by hired ruffians in the Tower, and whose bodies were buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.\*

## CHAPTER IX.

### *The Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*

THE first acts of Richard were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown; but the person, who, from the greatness of his services, was best entitled to favours under the new govern-

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\* In the reign of Charles II. the bones of two persons were found in the place above mentioned, which exactly corresponded by their size to the ages of Edward V. and his brother; and being considered as the undoubted remains of these princes, they were deposited in Westminster Abbey, under a marble tomb.

ment, was the duke of Buckingham; and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable, and received a grant of the forfeited estate of Bohun, earl of Hereford. It was, however, impossible, that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham. Certain it is, that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government.

By the exhortations of Morton, hishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, the duke cast his eye toward the young earl of Richmond, as the only person capable of opposing an usurper, whose murder of the young princes had rendered him the object of general detestation. Henry earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been for some time a great object of jealousy. He was descended from John of Gaunt, and was nearly allied to Henry VI.

As all the descendants of the house of York were now either women or minors, it was suggested by Morton, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation, was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.; and the queen-dowager, finding in this proposal the probable means of revenge for the murder of her brother and her three sons, gave her approbation to the project. But this conspiracy could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; he immediately levied troops, and summoning Buckingham to appear at court, that nobleman replied only by taking arms in Wales. At that very time, however, there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this ex-

traordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury, and was instantly executed.

The king, fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament [1484] in which his right to the crown was acknowledged; and his only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales. To gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen-dowager, who ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had murdered; but this princess having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime which the usual tenor of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother. She even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partizans, and among the rest, to her son the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive. The court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation; and Richard thought that he could easily defend himself during the interval till it arri-

ved, when he had the prospect of a full and secure settlement.

But the crimes of Richard were so shocking to humanity, that every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by his bloody and faithless hand. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, who, dreading treachery, made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII. gave him assistance and protection; and he sailed from Harfleur in Normandy with a small army of about two thousand men, and landed without opposition at Milford-haven in Wales.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Except the duke of Norfolk, scarcely any nobleman was attached to his cause; but the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, were lord Stanley and his brother sir William. When he employed lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself; and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double that number. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either

Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands sir William Bradon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismounted sir John Cheyney; he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, 1485] surrounded Richard, who fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities. His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, and several other persons of high rank. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood; it was thrown carelessly across a horse; caried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators; and interred in the Grey-Friars church of that place. All historians agree, that Richard was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for his purposes; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, hump-backed, and had a harsh, disagreeable countenance; so that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.

The victory at Bosworth was entirely decisive; and the earl of Richmond was immediately saluted with acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" He accepted the title without hesitation; and asserting his claim to the throne as heir to the house of Lancaster, he determined never to allow it to be discussed. Though bound by honour, as well as by interest, to complete his alliance with the princess Elizabeth, yet he resolved to postpone the nuptials till after the ceremony of his coronation, lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own



title by the house of Lancaster. In order to heighten the splendour of the coronation, he bestowed the rank of knight-banneret on twelve persons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper, earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The parliament assembled at Westminster, and proceeded to settle the entail of the crown. No mention was made of the princess Elizabeth: it was voted, "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide, in the king, and "that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body;" but Henry pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster.

The parliament had petitioned to the king to espouse the princess Elizabeth, under the pretence of their desire to have heirs of his body; and he now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance, from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal endearment.

The king now resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous, in

hopes of curing by his presence and conversation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that viscount Lovel, with sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester; but this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and having joined to them all his own attendants, he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford, who published a general promise of pardon to the rebels. This had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself, and after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but being taken thence, the elder was executed at Tyburn, and the younger obtained a pardon.

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent. But his government had become in general unpopular; and the source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest of a subtle and enterprising genius. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's govern-

1496] ment, by raising a pretender to his crown ; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, the son of a baker, who was endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition. Him, Simon instructed to personate the earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, who had been confined in the Tower since the commencement of this reign ; and the queen-dowager, finding herself fallen into absolute insignificance, and her daughter treated with severity, was suspected of countenancing the imposture.

In Ireland the scene of it first was opened. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman acknowledged him ; the people of Dublin tendered their allegiance to him, as to the true Plantagenet ; and the whole island followed the example of the capital.

Henry, perplexed by the news of this revolt, first seized the queen-dowager, whom he confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey, where she ended her life in poverty and solitude. He next exposed Warwick through the streets of London ; but though this measure had its effect in England, the people of Ireland retorted on the king the reproach of having shown a counterfeit personage.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on slight foundations. John earl of Lincoln, son of the duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy ; and having established a secret correspondence in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him ; and he lived in the court of his aunt the duchess of Burgundy.

That princess, the widow of Charles the Bold, after consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer ; and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading

England, as well from the hopes of plunder as of revenge.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, Henry drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favour; but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe, by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave assistance to the royal army. The hostile armies met at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle which was bloody and obstinately disputed. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of 1488] their followers; and as Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the same fate.\* Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was only committed to close custody; and Simnel being too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment, was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

The duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family, and rather irritated than discouraged by the ill-success of her past enterprise, propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Planta-

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\* Doctor Mavor, in his HISTORY OF ENGLAND, gives the following probable account of the death of this distinguished nobleman, on the authority of the late Mr. Thomas Warton, who received his information, as well as could be recollected, from Dr. Dennison, a witness of what is related:—"The Walls of this nobleman's once magnificent seat at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, of which some ruins still remain, being pulled down for the sake of the materials, early in the last century, a secret chamber was discovered with a trap-door, and in it a skeleton of a person in complete armour was found. From hence it was supposed, and on probable grounds, that this was the body of lord Lovel, who, after escaping from the battle of Stoke, took refuge in this place, and from some cause, not now to be accounted for, was left to perish in his concealment."

genet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower, and was still alive; and finding this rumour greedily received by the people, she sought for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

Warbeck, a renegade Jew of Tournay, who had visited London in the reign of Edward IV., had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand god-father to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbeck's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbeck returned to Tournay, whence Perkin his son, by different accidents, was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension; and Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

The war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for this impostor to try his success; and Ireland, which still retained its attachment to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet drew to him partisans among that credulous people

The news soon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt; and Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes; and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final success.

When peace was concluded between France and England, Charles consented to dismiss Perkin, who retired to the duchess of Burgundy. That princess put on the appearance of distrust; and it was not till after a long and severe scrutiny, that she pretended to burst out into joy and admiration, and embraced Perkin as the true image of Edward, and the sole heir of the Plantagenets. Not the populace alone of 1493] England gave credit to Perkin's pretensions; men of the highest birth and quality turned their eyes towards the new claimant; and sir Robert Clifford and William Barley made him a tender of their services.

The king, informed of these particulars, proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that catastrophe; but as only two of the persons employed by Richard, in the murder of his nephews, were now alive, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders, from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to establish the fact beyond all doubt and controversy. He was, however, more successful in detecting who this wonderful person was, who thus advanced pretensions to his crown. He engaged Clifford, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets entrusted to

him; and such was the diligence of his spies, that in the issue the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him, with the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation, of the pretended duke of York; and this latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation.

Several of the conspirators were immediately arrested. Some of inferior rank were rapidly arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason; but more solemnity was deemed necessary in the trial of sir William Stanley, one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom. After six weeks delay, which was interposed to show that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians, however, are not agreed as to the precise nature of the crime for which he suffered.

The fate of Stanley struck the adherents of Perkin with the greatest dismay; and as the imposter found that his pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of six hundred men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England. Information being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion: they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new-levied forces who had taken arms against the established authority, refused to entrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed; and killing some, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners, who were tried and condemned, and executed by orders from the king.

This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence; a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings, who had been sent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection, summoned a parliament at Dublin, and obtained the passing of that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which, during three centuries, established the paramount authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the former laws of England were made to be in force in Ireland; and no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it had previously received the sanction of the council of England.\*

After being repulsed from the coast of Kent, Perkin retired to Ireland; but tired of the wandering life he was compelled to lead in that country, he passed over into Scotland, where he was favourably received by James IV. who gave him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley. The jealousy which subsisted between England and Scotland, induced James to espouse the cause of the imposter, and to make an inroad into England; but Perkin's pretensions were now become stale even in the eyes of the populace; and James perceiving that, while Perkin remained in Scotland, he should never enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart.

After quitting Scotland, Perkin concealed himself in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers,

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\* By the act of union between Great Britain and Ireland, these regulations, which had long been the object of jealousy and contention, were happily rendered obsolete.



Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen ; and by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition had been lately manifested, in resisting the levy of a tax imposed for the purpose of repelling the inroads of the Scots. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin, in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard ; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard the Fourth, king of England. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter ; and finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place ; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking.

When Henry was informed that Perkin had landed in England, he expressed great joy at his being so near, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with sir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter, and the king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

Perkin being persuaded, under promise of pardon, to  
1498] deliver himself into the king's hands, was conducted, in a species of mock triumph, to London. His confession of his life and adventures was published ; but though his life was granted him, he

was still detained in custody. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and fled to the sanctuary of Shyne. He was then imprisoned in the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had, from his earliest youth, been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a fatuity, which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread also of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance. Perkin, by this new attempt, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy: and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, acknowledging his imposture to the last.

It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwick; and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accused of forming designs to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people. Warwick confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the sentence was executed upon him. This act of tyranny, the capital blemish of Henry's reign, occasioned great discontent; and though he endeavoured to alleviate the odium of this guilt, by sharing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur, while any male descendant of the house of York remained; this only increased the indignation of the people, at seeing a young prince sacrificed to the jealous politics of two subtle tyrants. There was a remarkable similarity of character be-

tween these two monarchs: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever arose between them. The king completed a marriage, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; but this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope. This marriage was, in the event, attended with the most important consequences. In the same year, another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James king of Scotland. Amidst these prosperous incidents the queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her was augmented by the harsh treatment which it was thought she experienced from her consort.

Uncontrolled by apprehension or opposition of any  
 1503] kind, Henry now gave full scope to his natural propensity; and his avarice, which had ever been the ruling passion of his mind, broke through all restraints. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament; that assembly was so overawed, that during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, the commons chose Dudley their speaker, and granted him the subsidies which he demand-

ed. By the arts of accumulation, this monarch so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed at one time the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

The decline of his health induced the king to turn his thoughts towards that future existence, which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficiently to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors. However, death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom 1509] he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

The reign of Henry the Seventh was, on the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He loved peace without fearing war; and this acquired him the regard and consideration of foreign princes. His capacity was excellent, though somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart. Avarice was his ruling passion; and to gratify it, he sacrificed every honourable principle.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated for many good laws which he established for the government of his subjects; but the most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence;

because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who would be more obsequious.

It was during this reign, that Christopher Columbus discovered America; and Vasquez de Gama passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. It was by accident only that Henry had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries. However, he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westward, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America, towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude, Newfoundland, and many other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the "Great Harry;" which was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science, and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time, the purity of the Latin was revived; and the art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements. The invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war; and mighty innovations were soon after made in religion. Thus a general revolution was produced in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men gradually entered on that career of commerce, arts, science, government, and police, in which, with the exception of some pauses, they have ever since been persevering.

## CHAPTER X.

*The Reign of Henry VIII.*

THE accession of Henry the Eighth spread universal joy and satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who, even 1509] in the eyes of men of sense, gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. Hitherto he had been occupied entirely in manly exercises and the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made in each, gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults of ungarded youth, which would be corrected by time.

The chief competitors for favour were the earl of Surrey, and Fox, bishop of Winchester. The former was a dexterous courtier, and promoted that taste for pleasure and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch. The vast treasures amassed by the late king, were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry; or if he intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. And though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity for more useful and interesting acquirements.

Epsom and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to trial; and their execution was less an act of justice, than for the purpose of gratifying the people. Henry, however, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, paid such deference to former engagements, as to celebrate his marriage with the infanta Catherine, though her former marriage with his brother was urged by the primate as an important objection.

At this time, when the situation of the several powerful states of Europe promised, by balancing each other, a long tranquillity, the flames of war were kindled by Julius II. an ambitious and enterprising pontiff, who determined to expel all foreigners from Italy, and drew over Ferdinand to his party. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism; and he also gave him hopes, that the title of "Most Christian King," which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England. Impatient also of acquiring distinction in Europe, Henry joined the alliance, which the pope, in conjunction with Spain and Venice, had formed against the French monarch.

Henry's intended invasion of France roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league, which subsisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed, that were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry, prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and to prove himself her true and valorous champion. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France, the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed; and though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable, and gave warning of the danger to his master.

Henry, ardent for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north. He had now got a minister who flattered him in every scheme to which his impetuous temper inclined. Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butch-

er at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the favour and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII.; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and was considered at court as a rising man. The death of Henry retarded his advancement; but Fox bishop of Winchester cast his eye upon him, as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation. This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be content to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gayety in which Henry passed his careless hours.

The king soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display themselves. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take



the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority of his condition.

A considerable force having sailed over to Calais, Henry prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. He was accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility; but of the allies, on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone performed their engagements, and invaded France. The emperor Maximilian, instead of reinforcing the Swiss with eight thousand men, as he had promised, joined the English army with a few German and Flemish soldiers; and observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself into his service, and received one hundred crowns a-day, as one of his subjects and captains, though, in reality, he directed all the operations of the English army.

Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy, was reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions and ammunition, when eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon, made a sudden irruption into the English camp, deposited their burden in the town, and again broke through the English without suffering any loss in this dangerous enterprise. But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, for the purpose of opposing him. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was

fought; but more commonly the "Battle of Spurs," because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs, than of their swords or military weapons.

After the capture of Terouane and Tournay, the king returned to England, and carried with him the greater part of his army. Success had attended him in every enterprise; but all men of judgment were convinced that this campaign was, in reality, both ruinous and inglorious to him.

The success which attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and after passing the Tweed with an army of fifty thousand men, he ravaged the parts of Northumberland nearest to that river, and employed himself in taking several castles of small importance. The earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who had encamped on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. Surrey feigned a march towards Berwick; and the Scottish army having descended the hill, an engagement became inevitable. A furious action commenced, and was continued till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men; but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could no where be found.

The king of Scotland, and most of his chief nobles, being slain in the field of Flouden, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of reducing that kingdom to subjection: but he discovered on this occasion a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and compassionated the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard the Third; and Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln.

Peace with Scotland enabled Henry to prosecute  
 1514] his enterprise against France, yet several incidents opened his eyes to the rashness of the undertaking; and the duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, was ready to take advantage of this disposition. He represented, that as Lewis was a widower without male children, no marriage could be more suitable to him than that with the princess Mary, the sister of Henry. The king seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears; and Longueville received full powers from his master for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs.

The espousals of Mary and Lewis were soon after celebrated at Abbeville; but the monarch was seduced into a course of gayety and pleasure, very unsuitable to the declining state of his health, and died in less  
 1515] than three months after the marriage. He was succeeded by Francis, duke of Angouleme, who had married the eldest daughter of Lewis.

The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation and haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence. He preferred him to the archbishopric of York, and allowed him to unite with it the sees of Durham and of Winchester; while the pope, observing his great influence over the king, and desirous of engaging him in his interests, created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content, however, with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, and the richness of his apparel.

Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, and averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment,

than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during the time he filled this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

The title of legate, which was afterwards conferred on Wolsey, brought with it a great accession of power and dignity. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court, and on which he conferred a kind of inquisitorial and censorial power, even over the laity; and directed it to inquire into all actions, which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. The abuse, however, of this court, at length reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and  
1519] amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian, the emperor, died; a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to canvass too late.

Francis and Charles professed from the beginning to carry on this rivalry without enmity; but all men perceived that this moderation would not be of long duration; and when Charles at length prevailed, the French monarch could not suppress his indignation at being disappointed in so important a pretension. Both

of them were princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. Charles reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrisled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; but he was heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, and impolitic. Francis, well acquainted with his character, solicited an interview near Calais, in hopes of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and, as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, he cheerfully adjusted the preliminaries of the interview. The two monarchs met in a field within the English pale, between Guisnes and Andres; and 1520] such was their profusion of expense, as procured to the place the name of *the Field of the Cloth of Gold*.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt and tournament. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this

challenge, advanced into the field on horseback; Francis, surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those dangerous pastimes. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they deemed it expedient.

Henry afterwards paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines; and the artful Charles effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He secured Wolsey in his interests, by assuring him of his assistance in obtaining the papacy, and by putting him in immediate possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Placentia.

The violent emulation between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. Henry, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprized of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. On Francis rejecting the terms proposed, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor, the result of the private views and ambitious projects of the cardinal.

An event of the greatest importance engrossed at this time the attention of all Europe. Leo X., by his generous and enterprising temper, having exhausted his treasury, in order to support his liberalities, had recourse to the sale of indulgences. The produce of this revenue, particularly that which arose from Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was farmed out to a merchant of Genoa. The scandal of this transaction, with the licentious lives which the

collectors are reported to have led, roused Martin Luther, a professor of the university of Wittemberg, who not only preached against these abuses in the sale of indulgences, but even decried indulgences themselves, and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope. Finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing and discourse ; and in a short time, all Europe was filled with the voice of this daring innovator.

As there subsisted in England great remains of the Lollards, the doctrines of Luther secretly gained many partisans ; but Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and therefore opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him. He even wrote a book in Latin, against the principles of Luther ; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard ; and conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith* ; an appellation still retained by the kings of England.

Henry having declared war against France, Surrey  
1522] landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy ; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The war with France, however, proceeded slowly for want of money. Henry had caused a general survey to be made of his kingdom, and had issued his privy seal to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums : he soon after published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan ; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and two upon the laity. The parliament, which was summoned about this time, was far from complaining of these illegal transactions : but the commons, more tenacious of their money than their national privileges, refused a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments ; a sum computed to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue ; and they only voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a-year and upwards, of

two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a-year and upwards, one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty shillings a-year, and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a-head. The king was dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons; and on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to Wolsey's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

A new treaty was concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France; but the  
1524] duke of Bourbon to whom Charles confided a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny, was obliged, after an ineffectual attempt on Marseilles, to lead his forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy. Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies; but, ardent for the conquest of Milan, he passed the Alps, and laid siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important  
1525] place proved fruitless. Fatigue and unfavourable weather had wasted the French army, when the imperial army, commanded by Pescara, Lannoy, and Bourbon, advanced to raise the siege. The imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Francis's forces were put to the rout, and himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was obliged at last to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

Henry was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed con



dition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures. He concluded an alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions. Charles, dreading a general combination against him, was at length prevailed on to sign the treaty of Madrid. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy.

The more to cement the union between Henry and Francis, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which the former agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for disturbing the tranquillity of the two nations. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. Thus, the terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became the object of jealousy to the English.

The marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty; the prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and with some doubts that naturally arose in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse. The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the

course of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaic law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. Thus the king was impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen, and had acquired an entire ascendant over Henry's affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. Henry's scruples or aversion had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind no wise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne: and as every motive of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make application to pope Clement, and sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. Clement was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor; and when the English secretary solicited him in private, he received a very  
1528] favourable answer. After Clement had recovered his liberty, he granted a commission, to try the validity of the king's marriage, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey; but in conformity with the pope's views and intentions, the former deferred the decision by the most artful delays. At length, the business seemed to be drawing near to a period: and the king was every day in expectation of

a sentence in his favour, when the menaces and promises of Charles proved successful; and Clement suspending the commission of the legates, adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome.

Wolsey had long foreseen the failure of this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require from him the great seal, which was delivered by the king to sir Thomas More. All his furniture and plate were seized; and the cardinal was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton court.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, a man remarkable for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper, falling one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation. Cranmer observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. The universities of France, of Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna, with those of Oxford and Cambridge, gave their opinion in the king's favour; and the convocations both of Canterbury and York pronounced Henry's marriage invalid. But Clement, who was still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome.

After Wolsey had remained some time at Esher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond; but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal, therefore, took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character to arrest him for high treason, and

to conduct him to London, in order to take his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery, and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey, where he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, among other expressions he used the following words to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed.

A new session of parliament was held, together with  
 1531] a convocation; and from the latter a confession was extorted, that "the king was the protector, and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England." In the next session, an act was passed against levying the annates or first-fruits; and it was also voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded.

Having proceeded too far to recede, Henry private-  
 1533] ly celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event gave great satisfaction to the king. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony and divorces; and Henry finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage, and informed Catherine that she was hereafter to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales.

The parliament enacted laws which were totally subversive of the papal authority in England. But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown. The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs for ever.

An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note who scrupled the oath of succession: and the king ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on 1534] the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; and in this memorable act they acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend, all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority, or jurisdiction." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason; and they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefits of the English laws.

Though Henry had rejected the authority of the see of Rome, yet the idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and for more reasons than one, he was indisposed to encourage the opinions of the reformers. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers. Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late inno-

vations. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him one of its principal supporters.

In the mean time, the king, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority. The ambiguity of his conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects. The books composed by the Lutherans were secretly imported into England, and made converts every where; but a translation of the Scriptures, by Tindal, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp, was justly deemed one of the most fatal blows to the established faith.

Though Henry neglected not to punish those who adhered to the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, yet he knew that his most formidable enemies were the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Some of these were detected in a conspiracy; and the detection instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishments on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour to deprive the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other titles that of supreme head of the church; it was inferred that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many

priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. Impelled by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, Henry proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his tyranny.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII. in the papal throne, excommunicated the king and his adherents, deprived him of his crown, and gave his kingdom to any invader; but he delayed 1536] the publication of this sentence till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry it into execution. However, an incident happened, which seemed to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, of a lingering illness, in the fiftieth year of her age. She wrote a very tender letter to the king, a little before she expired, in which she gave him the appellation of her most dear lord, king, and husband; and she concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of a personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France; but Henry was rendered indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, both by his experience of the duplicity, and insincerity of that monarch, and the ill success that he met with in his invasion of Provence.

Henry, conscious of the advantages of his situation, determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues, and for that purpose he delegated his supremacy to Cromwell, who was then secretary of state, and who employed commissioners to inquire into the conduct and deportment of the friars. If we may credit the reports of the commissioners, monstrous disorders were found

in many of the religious houses. Henry had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visiters was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions, which had long been the objects of the most profound veneration. An act was, therefore, passed, by which three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their reveñues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a-year, were granted to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority!

But while the supporters of the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification in the fate of their patroness Anne Boleyn, who lost her life by the rage of her furious husband. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue was thereby disappointed. The king's love was transferred to Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his new appetite. In a tilting at Greenwich, the queen happened to drop her handkerchief, an incident probably casual, but interpreted by the king as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately arrested several persons, in the number of whom was lord Rocheford, the queen's brother; and next day he ordered the queen to be carried to the Tower. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; and the chief evidence adduced against them was, that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed, before some company. Unassisted by counsel, the queen defended herself with great judgment and presence of mind; and the spectators pronounced her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given against both her and Rocheford; and when the dreadful sentence was pronounced, lifting up her hands to heaven, she exclaimed, "O Father, O Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." After being beheaded, her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree.



made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. The innocence of Anne Boleyn cannot reasonably be called in question; and the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the day after the execution. The parliament had the meanness to declare the issue of both his former marriages illegitimate; and the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without issue, he was empowered by his will to dispose of the crown.

A convocation which sat at the same time with the parliament, determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures, and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; auricular confession, and penance, were admitted; but no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared. The real presence, however, was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine; while the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitable to the new principles. These articles of belief were formed by the convocation, corrected by the king, and subscribed by every member of that society; whilst not one, except Henry, adopted these doctrines and opinions. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and amounted to about twenty thousand men; but the duke of Suffolk appearing at the head of some forces, with secret assurances of pardon, the populace was dispersed and a few of their leaders suffered. The northern rebels were more numerous and more formidable than those of Lincolnshire. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: they took an oath that their only motive proceeded from their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of restoring the

1537] church, and of suppressing heresy. The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the rebels. Aske, with many other chiefs, was put to death; and an amnesty was granted to the people.

Not long after this prosperous issue, Henry's joy was crowned by the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward; yet his happiness was not without alloy, for in two days after the queen died. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester; sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford; sir William Fitzwilliams, high-admiral, was created earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russell, lord Russel.

Henry's rapacity, the consequence of his profusion, produced the most entire destruction of the monasteries; a new visitation of them was appointed; and the abbots and monks were induced, in hopes of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violent measures; but Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures; he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. The court of Rome saw this sacrilegious plunder with extreme indignation; and Henry was frequently reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian.

The king was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have delayed his opposition against Rome, but some new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, yet he was no less dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been entire and unshaken. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; and every departure from this principle, he held to be heretical and detestable.

Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, drew up objections against the corporeal presence; and when cited by Cranmer and Latimer, instead of recanting, he ventured to appeal to the king. Henry, not displeased with an opportunity of exerting his supremacy, and displaying his learning, accepted the appeal. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty, and with the prelates and temporal peers on each side of him. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference; and the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics; Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer; Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal; six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley; and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and, therefore, if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him. Lambert's executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberds, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *none but Christ, none but Christ*; and with these words he expired.

Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, Henry began to think of a new marriage; and Cromwell proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes. The marriage was at length concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, however, found  
[1540] her utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; and swore that she was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. His aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and the king, who found that great clamour had on all hands arisen against the government, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred, hoping by so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects. Another more powerful cause, however, brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no other expedient than a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been in enmity with the minister, obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell at the council-table, on an accusation of high-treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death, on the most frivolous pretences, a man whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. When brought to the place of execution, Cromwell avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew

that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, yet he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and he was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one; a circumstance that reflects the highest lustre on his character.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Anne had formerly been contracted, by her father, to the duke of Lorraine; and Henry pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce. The convocation was satisfied with this reason, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and Anne, blest with a happy insensibility of temper, accepted of a settlement of three thousand pounds a-year, and gave her consent to the divorce.

An alliance contracted by Henry with the emperor, and his marriage with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, were regarded as favourable incidents to the catholics; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. A fierce persecution commenced against the protestants; but whilst the king exerted his violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics, who denied his supremacy; and hence it was said by a foreigner in England, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.

Henry had thought himself very happy in his new marriage; the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the old duchess of Norfolk, had been admitted to her bed. Three

maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. The queen being questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry convoked a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny; and the two houses, having received the queen's confession, voted a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time, they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. Henry himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason. However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular enactment, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After this, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her untimely end, she died unpitied.

James, king of the Scots, having incurred the resentment of Henry, a manifesto soon paved the way to hostilities; and the duke of Norfolk, at the head of twenty thousand men, passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso; but on the approach of James, with thirty thousand men, the English repassed the river, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England; but his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but he sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance. This army, however, was ready to dishband, when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility, who were all sent to London. James, being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living, and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: many 1542] miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age.

Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. The Scottish nobles, who were his prisoners, readily assented to the proposal; and after delivering hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials should not be completed, they were allowed to return to Scotland. A negotiation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales; and equitable conditions were quickly agreed on; but Beaton, the cardinal primate, who acted as minister to James, was able, by his intrigues, to confound this measure. He represented the union with England as the certain ruin of the ancient religion; and as soon as he found a war with that kingdom unavoidable, he immediately applied to France for assistance during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. The influence of the French in Scotland excited the resentment of Henry, who formed a close league with the emperor; and war was declared against Francis by the allies.

In order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France, Henry summoned a new session of parliament, which granted him a subsidy. About the 1543] same time, the king married Catherine Parr, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the reformed doctrines. On the other hand, the king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament, which, after declaring the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, first heirs to the crown, restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. Such, however, was the caprice of the king, that while he opened the way for these princesses to ascend the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which declared them illegitimate!

Henry sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland



The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh, the gates of which were soon beaten down; and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The earl of Arran, who was regent, and Beaton the cardinal, were not prepared to oppose so great a force; and they fled to Stirling. The English marched eastward, laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England.

This incursion inflamed, without subduing the spirit of the Scots; but Henry recalled his troops, in consequence of his treaty with the emperor, by which those two princes had agreed to invade France with above one hundred thousand men. The city of Boulogne was treacherously surrendered to Henry; but the emperor, after taking several places, concluded a peace with Francis at Crepy, where no mention was made of England; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, obtained, at a great expense, an unimportant acquisition.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted  
1545] feebly, and with various success; and the war with France was not distinguished by any memorable event. The great expense of these two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land; the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property. By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues

Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile parliament.

Henry employed in military preparations the money  
1546] granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French: but as no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party, both came to an accommodation. Commissioners met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes; and it was agreed, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king had now leisure to attend to domestic affairs. He was prevailed on to permit the Litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and Cranmer taking advantage of Gardiner's absence on an embassy to the emperor, attempted to draw him into farther innovations; but Gardiner wrote to Henry, and retarded for some time the projects of Cranmer. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and when admitted into the council-chamber, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and

protection. The council were confounded ; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms ; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy.

But though Henry's partial favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, induced him to punish with severity every other person who differed from him in opinion. Ann Ascue, a young lady of merit as well as beauty, who was connected with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on the real presence ; and, after being subjected to the torture in the most barbarous manner, she was sentenced to be burned alive, with four others condemned for the same crime. When they were all tied to the stake, they refused the pardon that was offered on condition of recantation ; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames that were to consume them.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Ann Ascue saved the queen from this peril, yet that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. Henry's favourite topic of conversation was theology ; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument ; and, being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel ; and the king, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his bigoted counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. Sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed, she paid her usual visit to the king, who entered on the subject most familiar to him, and who seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation,

and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill-suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by their creation, were made subject to men. It belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified by his judgment and learning to choose principles not only for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so, *Ly St. Mary*," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, *Kate*; and better fitted to give than receive instructions." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him on topics whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then we are perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness.

The reputation which the duke of Norfolk had acquired in war, his high rank, and his influence as the head of the catholic party, rendered that nobleman obnoxious to Henry, who foresaw danger, during his son's minority, from the attempts of so potent a subject. His son, the earl of Surrey, had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier; but having declined the hand of the daughter of the earl of Hertford, and even waived every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he entertained the design of espousing the lady Mary. Actuated by those suspicions, the king gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, who, on the same day, were confined in the Tower.

Surrey was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians, who were suspected to be spies, of corresponding with cardinal Pole, and of quartering on his escutcheon the arms of Edward the Confessor, a practice which had been justified by the authority of the heralds. Notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, a venal jury condemned him for high-treason; 1546] and their sentence was soon after executed upon him. The innocence of Norfolk was, if possible, still more apparent than that of his son, yet the house of peers, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. The king was now approaching fast towards his end, and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons to expedite the bill. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired the preceding night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign with the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days, all those near him plainly saw his end approaching, yet no one durst inform him of his condition. At last sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the event. He expressed his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's band, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise, in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to lady Elizabeth. The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of for-

feiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son.

A catalogue of this prince's vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incidental to human nature; violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, and presumption; yet, he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. Notwithstanding his cruelty and extortion, he seems to have possessed to the last, in some degree, the love and affection of his people. Indeed, his exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude; and his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### *The Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.*

EDWARD, at his accession, was little more than nine years of age; and as his majority was fixed at the 1547] completion of his eighteenth year, his father had appointed sixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the kingdom. Among these were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy-seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Toustal, bishop of Durham; with other officers of state, and two or three private persons. To these executors, with whom was intrusted the regal authority, were associated twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them.

No sooner were the executors and counsellors met, than it was suggested that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head to represent the royal majesty. Though this was a departure from the late king's will, yet the measure was carried; and the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle. In their next measure, they

showed a greater deference to Henry's intentions. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal, and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; and sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edward Sheffield, were raised to the dignity of barons.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and the latter taking advantage of some illegal proceedings of which the former was guilty, the council declared that Southampton had forfeited the great seal, that a fine should be imposed upon him, and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure. The removal of Southampton, however, did not satisfy the ambition of Somerset. He procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., and produced a total revolution in the government. He named himself protector, with full regal power, and appointed a council consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton, reserving a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure, and of consulting with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture whatsoever.

Somerset had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and he took care that all persons intrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles. In his schemes for advancing the reformation, he had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes. A visitation was made of all the dioceses in England by a mixture of clergy and laity; and the chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The person that opposed, with greatest authority, these advances towards reformation, was

Gardiner, bishop of Worcester, who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. He represented the perils of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. For this freedom he was sent to the Fleet-prison, and treated with some severity.

In Scotland, one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, and celebrated for the purity of his morals, and his extensive learning, employed himself with great success in preaching against the ancient superstitions. Beaton, the cardinal primate, resolving to strike terror into all other innovators, by the punishment of so distinguished a preacher, caused him to be arrested. The unhappy man was condemned to the flames for heresy, and suffered with the usual patience. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal, who was assassinated soon after the death of Wishart. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the cardinal's palace, and craved the assistance of Henry, who promised to take them under his protection.

To fulfil this promise, and to execute the project which the late king had recommended with his dying breath, the protector levied an army of eighteen thousand men, with which he invaded Scotland. The Scottish army, double in number to that of the English, posted themselves on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. Having reconnoitred their camp, Somerset found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, to Arran, the governor of Scotland, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. The Scots rejected the demand, and quitting their camp, advanced into the plain, with the hope of cutting off the retreat of the English. Somerset, pleased to behold this move



ment of the Scottish army, ranged his troops in order of battle. The Scots were defeated with the loss of about ten thousand slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; while not more than two-hundred of the English fell in this engagement. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

Somerset was desirous of returning to England, where he heard that some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. On his arrival, he summoned a parliament, in which all laws were repealed that extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the 1548] twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. By these and other appeals, some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined; a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

The greater the progress that was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had so far departed from ancient principles. The hostile attempts, too, which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland, had served only to inspire the Scottish people with the utmost aversion to an union. The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments prevail, called a parliament, in which it was proposed that the young queen should be sent to France. Accordingly, the governor received a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, and the title of duke of Chatelrault; and Mary embarked on board some French vessels, arrived at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

The mortification of Somerset, on the failure of his

project for an union with Scotland, was increased by the intrigues of his own family. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition and great abilities, by his flattery and address, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him so immediately upon the demise of the late king, that had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her influence with her husband, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The first attempt of the admiral was a direct attack upon his brother's authority, by procuring from the young king a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; but, finding himself prevented in his design by the parliament, he was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother. His ambition, however, could not be easily checked. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as an obstacle to his aspiring views, he made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth; and as Henry had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, he is supposed to have aimed at effecting his purpose by the most criminal means. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and it was supposed, that he could on occasion muster an army of ten thousand men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests sir John Sharrington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprized of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon his brother, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he was easily persuaded, by

the earl of Warwick, to deprive him of the office of admiral, and to commit him to the Tower.

Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother; but as Seymour made no other answer to all his friendly offers, than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles, and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestibly proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him.

But the administration had at that time, an easy instrument of vengeance in the parliament; and a session being held, Seymour was proceeded against by bill of attainder. The bill was passed in the upper house without undergoing any objections; but in the House of Commons, some members objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence, and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. At length, however, the bill passed; and the sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset himself, who was much blamed on account of the violence of these proceedings.

1549] In this session, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, was established by parliament; and an act was also passed, permitting the marriage of priests, who had hitherto been enjoined celibacy.

Scarcely any institution can be considered less sa

avourable to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars. The convents, however, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though the alms which they distributed gave too much encouragement to idleness, yet the suppression of them was felt and regretted. These grievances were at this time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home; pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage; whole estates were laid waste by enclosures; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom.

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry; which, as it was difficult for them to shake off their former habits of indolence, they were, in fact, unwilling to employ.

Loud complaints were heard in every part of England; and these were succeeded by acts of open violence. The rising was simultaneous, as if a general conspiracy had been formed by the people. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and some other counties, were quieted by mild expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences. In Devonshire, the rebels, who amounted to ten thousand, were attacked and defeated near Exeter by lord Russel, who had been sent to disperse them. In Norfolk, the insurgents amounted to twenty thousand, and were headed by one Ket, a tanner. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels; he therefore sent the earl of Warwick, at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; by

which means he afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit; and Ket was hanged at Norwich.

But though these insurrections were quickly subdued, they were attended with serious consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The Scots took the fortress of Broughty, and compelled the English to evacuate Haddington; and the French recovered all the conquests which Henry had made on the continent, with the exception of Boulogne.

Somerset, despairing of the assistance of the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but his enemies in the council opposed all proposals for a pacification. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance; they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Other lords and gentlemen joined the malcontent councillors.

Somerset was sent to the Tower; and articles of indictment were preferred against him. He was prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he even subscribed this confession. The paper was given into parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a-year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl-marshal. The prosecution against

him was carried no farther ; and his fine was remitted by the king. Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

When Warwick and the council of regency began  
1530] to exercise their power, they found themselves embarrassed by the wars with France and Scotland ; and therefore a pacification was effected, by which France bound herself to pay four hundred thousand crowns for the restitution of Boulogne ; and the English agreed to restore to Scotland Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

In all other respects, than an intention of marrying  
1551] the king to a daughter of the king of France, a violent persecutor of the protestants, the council was steady in promoting the reformation. Several prelates still adhered to the Romish communion, and were deprived of their sees on pretence of disobedience. The princess Mary declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish the ancient religion ; and Edward, who had been educated in a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, lamented his sister's obstinacy, and bewailed his fate in suffering her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

Various schemes attempted by the council for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the ambition of Warwick. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue ; and as sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted in the late reign, Warwick procured a grant of the estate, with the title of duke of Northumberland.

Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, Northumberland determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his ambition. The alliance between the two families had produced no cordial union. Northumberland secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman ; and the unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions, which his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy.

In one night, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites, and some others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design of raising an insurrection in the north; and that he had once projected the murder of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke. Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high-steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high-treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors. The proof seems to have been lame in regard to the treasonable part of the charge; but the prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; and he was accordingly condemned to death for felony.

Care had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends. The prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained to the [1552] last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, less eminent for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit, had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion ; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted from a sense of duty, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset ; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison ; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against that prelate, and passed with slight opposition ; but when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers. These demands being refused, they rejected the bill.

This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland to the prevalence of Somerset's faction ; and it was therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament, and to summon a new one. This expedient answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had, in the interval, been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay-commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland.

The young prince showed a disposition to frugality ; but such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds ; and as the king's health was declining very fast, the emptiness of the exchequer was an obstacle to the ambitious projects of Northumberland. That nobleman represented to Edward, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by



act of parliament; that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late-king's will; that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion; that the succession next devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk; that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a crown; and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and, above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigoted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore an affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without also excluding the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a second marriage, having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

The appearance of symptoms of a consumption in Edward made Northumberland more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king; and by artifice he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief-justice of the common pleas, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, were accordingly summoned to the council, where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters-patent. They hesitated to obey, and desired time to consider. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry the Eighth had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council; and they were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should be immediately after granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance.

When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, the prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy-counsellors should set their hands to the patent; and the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fear of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king.

After this settlement was made, with so many insuspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and, to make matters worse, his physi-

cians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all his bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree; and he expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

The English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, with application to study and business, and a capacity to learn and judge, with an attachment to equity and justice.

During the reign of Edward, the princess Mary had been regarded as his lawful successor; and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, 1553] the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys, who, it was foreseen, would reign under the name of Jane, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and, in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had the art to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their council, and the consolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her. She immediately made haste to retire; and she arrived at Framlingham in Suffolk, where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession.

She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person; and she despatched a message to the council, requiring them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland found that farther dissimulation was fruitless; and he approached the lady Jane with the respect due to a sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of the transactions which had taken place; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received the intelligence. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and accomplished talents. Her heart, full of a passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had no room for ambition. She even refused to accept the crown, and pleaded the right of the two princesses; and she at last yielded rather to the intreaties than the reasons of her father and husband.

Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. In the mean time, the people of Suffolk paid their attendance on Mary. They were much attached to the reformed religion; and as she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements. Even a fleet, which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare in her favour.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not which way to turn. He had levied forces which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance he knew had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented

that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that he only was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take the command of the troops. The counsellors attended him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, God speed you!"

The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmondsbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which amounted to double the number. The counsellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement, and to return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her; and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction.

The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment; and the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse. The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel, sent to arrest him, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldest son; lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his

younger sons; sir Andrew Dudley, his brother; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk owed his liberty to the contempt of his incapacity; but Northumberland was too powerful and dangerous to be pardoned; he pleaded guilty, and was executed. Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him. Sentence was also pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guildford; but the execution of it was at present deferred.

The joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir did not prevent the people from feeling great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and the nation dreaded not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before she discovered her intentions. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, and others, were reinstated in their sees; and Cranmer, whose merits to the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable, was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with lady Jane, and pronounced guilty of high-treason. The execution of the sentence, however, did not follow: and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Several English protestants, foreseeing a persecution of the reformers, took shelter in foreign parts; and affairs wore a dismal aspect for the reformation. In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condi-

tion in which it had been left by Henry ; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry the Eighth. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed : and this act of justice was more reasonable, than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority.

Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they were determined not to submit tamely to her pleasure in the choice of a husband. There were three matches, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was the earl of Devonsbire, whose person and address had visibly gained on the queen's affections ; but that nobleman neglected the advantage, and attached himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister : the second was cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, but who, having contracted habits of study and retirement, was represented to the queen as unsuitable to the business of a court : the third was Philip, son of the emperor Charles V. ; and this alliance was not only desired by the emperor, but strenuously recommended by Gardiner, who had become prime-minister, and was readily embraced by Mary herself. The commons were alarmed that the queen had resolved to contract a foreign alliance ; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

After the parliament was dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion were openly put in execution. The mass was every where re-established ; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent ; but

1554] the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur, of England. It was agreed that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

These articles, however, gave no satisfaction; and complaints were every where diffused that England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependent dominions. Some persons, more turbulent than the rest, formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's rebellion was soon suppressed; and he was obliged to fly into France. Suffolk endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester: but being closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, he was taken and carried prisoner to London. Wyatt was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone, in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with five



hundred Londoners commanded by Bret. The Londoners, however, deserted to Wyatt, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country; and Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city.

After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wyatt was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, but finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had however imprudently wasted so much time, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost; and his followers insensibly falling off, he was taken prisoner near Temple bar, and soon after executed, with about four hundred of his adherents.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve Elizabeth in some appearance of guilt, committed her to the Tower: but the princess made so good a defence before the council, who examined her, that the queen found herself under the necessity of releasing her. In order, however, to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock.

This rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Grey and her husband. She was warned to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered no-wise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines who harassed her with perpetual disputation. The lady Jane, however, had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister in the Greek lan

guage; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband lord Guildford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required: their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be forever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity. She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: she gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the scaffold she made a speech to the spectators, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated; and then, with a steady and serene countenance, she submitted to the stroke of death.

The duke of Suffolk was tried and condemned, and soon after executed; and the Tower and all the prisons were filled with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation rendered objects of suspicion

The queen, finding that she was universally hated, determined to deprive the people of resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms.

The ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble; and for the purpose of facilitating this object, the emperor distributed above four hundred thousand crowns in bribes and pensions among the members. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech, in which he observed, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor. The parliament, however, who knew her extreme hatred to Elizabeth, and the probability of her making a will in her husband's favour, and thereby rendering England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy, refused to acquiesce in Gardiner's proposal; and, the more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes, they passed a law, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy, or by any other means."

The queen, finding the parliament less subservient than she wished, finished the session by dissolving them; and she employed all her thoughts on receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. She waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how

haggard she was become ; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

At last, news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton. A few days after they were married at Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill-calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address ; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible ; but this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition ; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master of England. For the purpose of obtaining this favourite object, she summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant ; but the hatred to the Spaniards still prevailed, and the queen failed in the endeavour to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown. That assembly, however, was more obsequious in regard to religion : it had reversed the attainder of cardinal Pole, who had come over invested with legantine powers from the pope ; and who, after being introduced to the king and queen, invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part ; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church ; and praying their majesties to intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue made

perfondly give credit to every appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Great rejoicings were made on this occasion; but the nation remained somewhat incredulous. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; 555] and the king and queen, finding that they could obtain no farther concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them.

The success of Gardiner in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, had raised his character above that of Pole, who was regarded rather as a good man than a great minister. The latter was very sincere in his religious principles, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with the catholic doctrines; whilst Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement. Yet the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which in reality he regarded with great indifference.

The arguments and views of Gardiner were more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip; and the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of deserved detestation.

Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning, was the first victim of the persecutors. This man, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to recant: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is

said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife, thus adding insult to cruelty.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked; but he was heard to pray, and to exhort the people, till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance.

Sanders was burnt at Coventry: a pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his former friends and parishioners. Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. The imputed crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was their refusal to acknowledge the doctrine of the real presence.

Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of

he exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

It is impossible to enumerate in this work all the cruelties practised in England during the three years that these persecutions lasted. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocess. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished."

The tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of their faith against all the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour, when brought to the stake was thrown into such agitation by the torture that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate, who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

These barbarities, committed in the name of a religion which abjures them, excited horror in the nation, and rendered the Spanish government daily more odious. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, ordered his confessor to deliver, in his presence, a sermon in favour of toleration; but this shallow artifice failed of the desired effect, and the court threw off the mask. An attempt was made to introduce the Inquisition into England; and a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy; but the court devised a more expeditious and summary method of support-

ing orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declaring, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay be executed by martial law."

In the space of three years, it is computed, that two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock. However, Paul IV., who now filled the papal chair, insisted that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing. This demand had little influence on the nation, but operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church-lands, which were still in the possession of the crown; and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England.

Persecution had now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths



the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

The spirit of opposition which prevailed in parliament, was the more vexatious to Mary, as Philip, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had left her, and gone over to Flanders. The indifference and neglect of her husband, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied loans and exacted contributions with the greatest rapacity; and this at a time when she was at peace with all the world, and had no other occasion for money than to supply the demands of a husband, who attended only to his own convenience, and showed himself indifferent to her interests.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor Charles V., who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain

pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. Philip, finding himself threatened with a war with France, was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was extremely averse to the measure, yet she was incapable of resisting her husband's importunity. But she had little weight with her council, and still less with her people; and a new act of barbarity, of which she was guilty, rendered her government extremely unpopular.

Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him, and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; and by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, and terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that his recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent him orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Whether Cranmer had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, he sur-

prised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance, or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within himself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. Cranmer was undoubtedly a man of great merit. He was adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him use-

ful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and his learning and capacity entitled him to the esteem of mankind.

After Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole was installed in the see of Canterbury, and placed at the head of the church of England; but, though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, his authority was too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and her counsellors. In order to engage the nation in the war between France and Spain, Philip had come to London; and he told the queen, that if he were not gratified in this request, he would never more set foot in England.  
 1557] After employing menaces and artifices, Mary's importunity prevailed; war was declared against France; and preparations were made for invading that kingdom.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds; and in order to support the war, the queen levied money by the most arbitrary and violent methods. She obliged the city of London to supply her with sixty thousand pounds on her husband's entry; she levied, before the legal time, the second year's subsidy voted by parliament: she issued anew many privy-seals, by which she procured loans from the people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual, by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hood-winked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

The king of Spain's army, after the junction of the English, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the duke of Savoy, who commanded it, suddenly invested St. Quintin. The constable, Montmorency, approached the place with his whole army; but being attacked

by the besiegers, he was totally defeated and made prisoner. By this event, the whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; but the cautious temper of Philip allowed the French time to recover their spirits, and no other enterprize of moment followed this decisive victory.

Calais, which the English had held above two hundred years, was unexpectedly invested, and at-  
1558] tacked by the duke of Guise, who in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, though it had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The loss of this valuable fortress occasioned loud murmurs among the English, who complained of the improvidence of the queen and her council.

The Scots, excited by the French, began to infest the borders; and the English were obliged to look to their defence at home, rather than think of foreign conquests. In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

This close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. The commons, without making any reflections on the past exactions and extortions, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crownlands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years.

During this whole reign, the nation were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her appeared on every occasion; and it required all the prudence of that princess to prevent the effects of Mary's jealous disposition. Being asked her opinion of the real presence, the net for catching the protestants, she is said to have replied as follows:

"Christ was the word that spake it,  
He took the bread and brake it;  
And what the word did make it,  
That I believe and take it."

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. Negotiations for peace were entered into between the kings of France and Spain; and the armies in Picardy were put in winter quarters till the princes should come to some agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip, that of Calais and its territory to England; but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of Mary's death. She had long been in a declining state of health; and the loss of Calais, and the absence of her husband, brought on a lingering fever, of which she died, 1558] after a short and inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, the fruits of bad temper, and a narrow understanding, attach to her character; and amidst this complication of vices, we can find no other virtue than that of sincerity.

Under her reign, the naval power of England was so inconsiderable that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to the repairing and victualling of the fleet, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges.

## CHAPTER XII.

*The reign of Elizabeth.*

ELIZABETH had displayed great prudence during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger to which she was exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before 1558] Mary's death; and when that event was notified to them, scarcely an interval of regret appeared: the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth; long and happily may she reign!" The people, less actuated by faction, expressed a joy still more general and sincere. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, Elizabeth buried all offences in oblivion; but when the bishops came to make obeisance to her, she turned away from Bonner, as from a man polluted with blood.

In notifying her accession to Philip, she expressed to him her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her; and that monarch, hoping by means of Elizabeth to obtain that dominion over England of which he had failed in espousing Mary, made her proposals of marriage. To these, however, she returned an obliging, but evasive answer.

The education and conviction of Elizabeth determined her to pursue the measures of the reformation; and she frequently deliberated with sir William Cecil on the means of restoring the protestant religion; but she resolved to proceed with cautious steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging a violent invasion on the established religion. She recalled those who had fled; she set at liberty those who had been confined on account of religion; she ordered a great part of the service to be read in English; and after enjoining all the churches to conform to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. By her affability and address, she gained the affections of her subjects;

and she delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble.

The elections had gone entirely against the catholics; and the houses met in a disposition to gratify the queen. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII." This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she did not follow the example of Mary, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly passed against her own legitimacy.

The first bill brought into parliament was for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained, a bill was next passed, annexing the supremacy to the crown, which was vested with the whole spiritual power; and whoever denied, or refused to acknowledge the queen's supremacy, was subjected to certain pains and penalties. A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion, in which, it may be easily imagined, the champions of the former were entirely triumphant. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on bringing a bill into parliament for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Thus in one session, without any violence or tumult, the whole system of religion was changed, and placed on another foundation.

The commons also voted the queen a liberal subsidy; but when, in an importunate address, they besought her to fix her choice of a husband, she rejected the proposal, and observed that England was her husband, and the people her children. She added, that she desired no higher character than to have it inscribed on



her tomhatone, "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the national religion, negotiations for peace were carried on between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure a restitution of Calais to England, So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed to conclude a peace with Henry ; and he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction. But Elizabeth, sensible of the low state of her finances, ordered her ambassadors to conclude a peace with Henry on any reasonable terms. It was agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years ; but it was evident, that this was only a colourable pretence for abandoning that fortress. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared serious grounds for misunderstanding. The king of France ordered his son and daughter-in-law to quarter the arms of England on all their equipages and liveries ; and as the queen of Scots was next heir to that throne, Elizabeth plainly saw, that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Soon after Francis II. succeeded to the throne of France, and still continuing to assume without reserve the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies ; and the jealousy thus excited against the queen of Scots terminated only with the life of the unfortunate Mary.

The present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded Elizabeth a favourable opportunity both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety. Popery was still the religion of the state in that country ; but the English preachers, who took shelter in Scotland on the accession of Mary to the throne of England, had filled the whole kingdom with horror at the cruelties of the catholics ; and by their means the reformation in that country had acquired additional strength, and even threatened the established religion.

About this critical time, when the queen-regent, agreeably to the orders received from France, had been proceeding with rigour against the protestants, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had imbibed from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the natural ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert themselves for its subversion. A tumult immediately succeeded; and, in a short time, a civil war raged through the whole kingdom.

The leaders of the reformers, who had assumed the title of the congregation, solicited succours from Elizabeth; and the wise council of the queen did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men, under the command of lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. The court of France, sensible of the danger, offered the immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but she resolutely replied, that she would never put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions. Accordingly, she concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, and receiving from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

The appearance of the English soon decided the  
 1560] fate of the contest; and a treaty was speedily concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French should immediately evacuate Scotland, and that an amnesty should be granted for all past offences. Soon after, the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and established the presbyterian form of discipline, though Mary refused to sanction their statutes.

Francis IV. died soon after, and Mary, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country; and she applied to Eliz

abeth for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England; but she received for answer, that till she had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. To this Mary replied with indignation, "With God's permission, I can return to Scotland without her leave;" and embarking at Calais, she passed the English fleet in a fog, and arrived safely at Leith. Though a widow, yet she was only in her nineteenth year; and by her beauty, and the politeness of her manners, she was well qualified to gain the affections of her subjects, who rejoiced at her arrival among them. Her first measures were calculated to establish order in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; but there was one circumstance which bereaved Mary of the general favour that her agreeable manners and judicious deportment entitled her to expect. She was still a papist; and this exposed the helpless queen to unmerited contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. In particular, John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, triumphed in the contumelious abuse of his sovereign, whom he usually denominated Jezabel.

The queen of Scots, destitute of the means of resistance, and pressed by a turbulent nobility and a bigoted people, found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was the preservation of a friendly connexion with Elizabeth. Secretary Lidington was, therefore, sent to London to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and both sovereigns assumed the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth, finding that Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her subjects, employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She furnished the arsenals with arms, fortified the frontiers, promoted trade and navigation, and by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting the same to the merchants, she acquired to herself the titles of the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas.

Though Elizabeth kept aloof from marriage, yet she was not only very averse to appoint any successor to the crown, but was resolved, as much as was in her power, that no one, who could pretend to the succession, should have any heirs or successors. The lady Catherine Grey, younger sister to lady Jane, having privately married the earl of Hertford, and proving pregnant, they were both committed to the Tower. As Hertford could not prove their nuptials within the time limited, the issue was declared illegitimate; and the earl was confined for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing the queen from all apprehension of heirs and claimants from that quarter, procured him his liberty.

At this time, the two great rival powers of Europe were Spain and England. The bigotry and intolerant 1562] spirit of Philip placed him at the head of the catholic party; while Elizabeth, from her religious opinions, and the conduct which she pursued, was considered as the bulwark and support of the protestants. The civil and religious contests by which France was divided, rendered that country an object of vigilance both to Philip and Elizabeth: the former supported the established government and religion; while the latter lent her aid in protecting the Hugonots, or protestant party, which had taken arms under the prince of Condé. Three thousand English took possession of Havre and Dieppe; but the latter place was so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics; and though the English troops in it behaved with great gallantry, the place was taken by assault, and the whole garrison put to the sword.

It was expected that the French catholics would immediately have formed the siege of Havre; but the intestine divisions of the kingdom diverted their attention to another object. By the influence of Elizabeth, a considerable body of protestants had been levied in Germany; and the Hugonots were enabled to take field against their enemies. A famous battle was fought at Dreux; and in this action, Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, by a singular fatality, fell into the hands of their enemies.

The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral Coligni, collecting the remains of the army, and inspiring every breast with his own invincible courage, subdued some considerable places in Normandy.

The expenses incurred by assisting the Hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer, and obliged her 1563] to call a parliament. As the life of Elizabeth had been endangered by the small-pox, a little before the meeting of that assembly, the commons, on the opening of the session, again entreated the queen to choose a husband, whom they promised faithfully to serve; or, if she entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be appointed by an act of parliament.

This subject was very little agreeable to the queen, who, considering the inconveniences likely to arise from declaring in favour either of the queen of Scots or the house of Suffolk, determined to keep both parties in awe by maintaining an ambiguous conduct. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the commons, whom she told, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that, for the sake of her people, she would be contented to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and that she could not die with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

In the mean time, the duke of Guise had been assassinated before Orleans, and Condé and Montmorency had come to an agreement, that a toleration should be granted anew to the protestants. The interests of England were disregarded in the treaty; and Havre, which had been some time in possession of the English, was obliged to capitulate to the arms of France. Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight do not appear in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters, by agreeing that the hostages which the French had previously given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored on the payment of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

The peace with Scotland still continued; and even

a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman, which would remove all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding between them. At last she named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall.

Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; and, by means of these accomplishments, he was able to blind the sagacious Elizabeth, and to conceal from her the great defects which marked his character. He was proud, insolent, and ambitious, without honour or principle. The constant and declared attachment of Elizabeth to him, had emboldened him to aspire to her bed; and the proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him. Indeed, it is probable, that the queen had no serious intention of effecting this marriage, and that her design was merely to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance; for when Mary, in the hopes of being declared successor to the crown, seemed to listen to the proposal, Elizabeth receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival.

After two years spent in evasions and artifices, Mary married lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, her cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII.; and as he was, after his spouse, next heir to the crown of England, this marriage seemed to strengthen and unite both their claims.

Elizabeth was secretly not displeased with this marriage, though she would rather have wished that Mary had remained single; yet she menaced, protested and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, and for encouraging the discontents of the Scottish nobility and clergy, to whom she promised support in their rebellious enterprizes.

Mary, however, was no sooner informed of the designs forming against her by the duke of Chatelault the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn,

and some others, than she assembled her forces and obliged those rebel noblemen to leave their country, and take shelter in England.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, disavowed all connexions with the Scottish malcontents, and even drove them from her presence. The banished lords had now recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and Mary seemed inclined to restore them to favour; but her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid the greatest deference, advised her by no means to pardon the protestant leaders.

The cardinal of Lorraine had been a chief instrument in forming an association between Philip and Catherine of Medicis, for the extermination of the protestants; and he took care that the measures of the queen of Scots should correspond with the violent counsels embraced by the other catholic princes. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attainting the banished lords, who were saved from the rigour of the law only by the ruin of Mary herself.

The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so precipitate, that while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had not observed that the qualities of his mind by no means corresponded with the excellence of his person. He was violent, insolent, and ungrateful; addicted to low pleasures, and incapable of the sentiments of love and domestic endearment. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had granted him the title of king, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts; but observing his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality; and the young prince, enraged at her imaginary neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour.

There happened to be in the court one David Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician, of mean birth, who, by his professional talents, and the arts of address, had insinuated himself into the favour of Mary. He became her secretary for French despatches; he was consulted on all occasions; favours of honour or emolument could be obtained only through his inter-

cession; and his insolence and rapacity drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom.

On the change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Darnley's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to excite in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature; and the king, by the advice of several of the courtiers, determined on the assassination of Rizzio. Mary, in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and others of her servants, when the king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair. Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, rushed in after him; and Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress for protection; but in spite of her cries, and menaces, and entreaties, Douglas struck a dagger into the body of Rizzio, who was then dragged into the anti-chamber, and despatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy queen, informed of his fate, immediately dried up her tears, and said she would weep no more, but think of revenge.

The conspirators applied to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite, and that nobleman pacified Mary; but she was implacable against her husband, whom she rendered the object of universal contempt. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, where Mary was delivered of a son; and Sir James Melvil was sent with the intelligence of this happy event to England. Melvil tells us, that Elizabeth had given a ball to her court at Greenwich the evening of his arrival in London, and was displaying all her usual spirit and gayety; but when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped, and she complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a son, while she was only a barren stock.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England, where her conduct also procured her universal esteem; but these flattering prospects were suddenly blasted by her egregious indiscretion at least, or, as some are still inclined to suppose, by her atrocious guilt.



The earl of Bothwell was a man of considerable power in Scotland, but of profligate manners. He had acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and reports were spread of too great an intimacy between them, though Bothwell was a married man. These reports gained ground from the increased hatred of the queen towards her husband, who, sensible of the neglects which he underwent, had it in contemplation to retire into France or Spain.

While affairs were in this unpleasant situation, Darnley was seized with an illness of an extraordinary nature; and the queen visiting him during his sickness, treated him with great tenderness, and a cordial reconciliation seemed to have been brought about between them. The king, naturally uxorious, put himself implicitly into her hands; and as the concourse of people about the court might disturb him in his infirm state of health, Mary assigned him a lodging in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field. In this situation, the queen gave him marks of kindness and attention, and lay some nights in a room below his; but, on the 9th of February, she told him, that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city of Edinburgh was alarmed by a great noise; and it was discovered, that the house in which the king lay had been blown up by gunpowder, and that his dead body had been carried by the violence of the explosion into a neighbouring field.

The general opinion was, that Bothwell was the author of this horrible crime; and the earl of Lenox, Darnley's father, implored speedy justice against him and the other assassins. Mary allowed only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair; and as Bothwell still possessed the confidence of the queen, and enjoyed his former authority, Lenox entertained just apprehensions from the power, insolence and temerity of his enemy. As, therefore, neither accuser nor witness appeared at the trial, Bothwell was absolved from the king's murder; but the verdict in his favour was attended with circumstances which strongly confirmed the general opinion of his guilt. Mary, having gone to visit her son at Stirling, was

seized by Bothwell, and ostensibly carried off against her will, with the avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Some of the nobility sent the queen a private message, that if she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her; but the queen professed herself satisfied with Bothwell's conduct, and granted him a pardon for the violence committed on her person, and for all other crimes.

Soon after this infamous transaction, Bothwell obtained a divorce from his wife, and Mary, with indecent precipitation, raised him to her bed and to her throne. Elizabeth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages, against the marriage; the court of France did the same; but Mary paid no regard to the advice she received, and seemed to scorn the united censures of Europe.

At length the spirit of the nation was roused; and lord Hume, with a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwell in the castle of Bothwick. They found means, however, of making their escape; but Mary was obliged to put herself into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace, who reproached her for her crimes, and who held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband and the distress of her infant son. Bothwell, meanwhile, found means to reach the Orkneys, whence he escaped to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, and losing his senses, died about ten years after, in extreme misery.

Mary was sent under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, where the associated lords refused Throgmorton, the English ambassador, all access to her; and various schemes were proposed for the treatment of the captive queen. In the mean time, the earl of Murray was appointed regent, and Mary signed a deed, by which she resigned the crown in favour of her son. In consequence of this forced renunciation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.; and he was soon after crowned at Sterling, where the earl of Morton took the coronation oath in his  
 1568] name. Mary, however, found means to escape from Lochleven; and being joined by many of

the nobility, an army of six thousand men was assembled, in a few days, under her standard. The regent instantly took the field against her; and, coming to an engagement at Langside, near Glasgow, the queen's forces were entirely defeated.

The unhappy Mary fled from the field of battle, with a few adherents, to the borders of England; and rashly confiding to some late specious professions of Elizabeth, she embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland; whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London, to notify her arrival, to request leave to visit Elizabeth, and to crave her protection.

Elizabeth, seeing her rival thus in her power, attended rather to the dictates of policy than generosity. She sent lord Scrope and sir Francis Knollis to inform her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign could not be complied with, till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder. On receiving this intelligence, Mary burst into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would submit her cause to the arbitration of her sister of England. The regent of Scotland too professed his readiness to abide by the determination of Elizabeth. Mary was removed to Bolton, in Yorkshire, and placed under the care of lord Scrope; and the issue of this affair was regarded as an object of the greatest moment to the interests and security of Elizabeth. Commissioners were appointed on the part of England, of Mary, and of the regent, representing the king and kingdom of Scotland, and met at York, where this grand inquiry commenced. Under pretext, however, that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of the commissioners, Elizabeth removed the conferences to Hampton court.

When Murray, the regent, was called upon for proofs of his charge against Mary, he produced before the commissioners some love-letters and sonnets, and a promise of marriage to Bothwell, before his trial and acquittal, all written in the hand of the queen of Scots. These were incontestible evidences of her imprudence, and of her criminal correspondence with Bothwell, however they may be considered in regard to her consent to the murder of her husband; but as

Mary had instructed her commissioners not to make a defence, if any thing were advanced that touched her honour, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to a foreign tribunal, though she professed her readiness to justify her innocence to Elizabeth in person, the conferences terminated, and no decision was given.

The queen of Scots was now removed from Bolton to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and put under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes, that she would either resign the crown, or associate her son with her in the government, and leave the administration in the hands of Murray during her son's minority; but the high-spirited Mary declared, that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland; and she insisted either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or give her liberty to retire into France. Elizabeth, however, refused both these proposals, and determined to detain her still a captive.

The duke of Norfolk, the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility, and the most powerful subject in England, was at this time a widower; and his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared desirable to several of his friends and those of that princess. The scheme was made known to Norfolk, who, afraid of disclosing his intentions to Elizabeth, endeavoured to increase his interest in the kingdom, by engaging the nobility to favour the measure. Mary was applied to on the subject, and returned a favourable answer. The kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of the measure; and though Elizabeth's consent was always held out as a previous condition of finishing this alliance, it was apparently the duke's intention to render his party too formidable to be resisted.

Elizabeth was not entirely unacquainted with the plan, and even intimated to the duke the necessity of caution; but he wanted either prudence or courage to make known to her his full intentions; and when the court of England received certain information of this dangerous combination, the alarm became extreme. Norfolk and many of his friends were arrested; and the queen of Scots was removed to Covent

ry, and all access to her, for a time, was more strictly prohibited.

The conspirators, among whom were the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, appealed to arms; and about four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse took the field, and expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England. The duke of Norfolk, however, not only discountenanced these proceedings, but employed all his interest to suppress the rebellion; which being effected in a short time, the queen was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she released him from the Tower, and only exacted a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.

After an interval of five years, a new parliament was assembled, in which appeared the dawn of spirit and liberty among the English. The puritans agitated several questions respecting religion; and Strickland, a member of the house of commons, moved a bill for the amendment of the liturgy. This was highly resented by the queen, who was, if possible, still more jealous of what regarded religion, than of matters of state. She summoned Strickland before the council, and prohibited him from appearing in the house of commons; but finding that her conduct was likely to excite a great ferment, she sent him permission to give his attendance in parliament. Elizabeth, however, would not allow the parliament to discuss any matters of state, and still less to meddle with the church. For a long period, the chief business for which parliament was assembled, was to grant subsidies, to attain and punish the obnoxious nobility, and to countenance such great efforts of power as might be deemed somewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the sovereign. The queen, as she was determined to yield none of her power, was very cautious in asking the parliament for any supply. She endeavoured, by a rigid frugality, to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown; or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents and monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

The bigotry of Philip, and the inhuman severity of his representative, the duke of Alba, had filled the

Low Countries with confiscation, imprisonment, exile, and death. Elizabeth gave protection to all the Flemings who took shelter in her dominions, and reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures which were before unknown. Alva, whose measures were ever violent, entered into a scheme with the Spanish ambassador, and one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, for uniting the catholics and Mary queen of Scots in a confederacy against Elizabeth. The duke of Norfolk, despairing of the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, was tempted to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the captive queen. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; and the duke gave his consent to enterprises still more criminal.

The new conspiracy had hitherto escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and of Cecil, now lord Burleigh; but one of the duke's servants betrayed his master; and the evidence of the bishop of Ross proved the guilt of Norfolk beyond all doubt. A jury of twenty-five peers passed sentence upon him; but the queen hesitated to put the sentence in execution. At length, 1572] after a delay of four months, the fatal warrant was signed; and Norfolk died, acknowledging the justice of his sentence.

The queen of Scots was charged by Elizabeth as the cause of these disturbances; and though Mary endeavoured to justify herself, the queen was little satisfied with her apology, and the parliament applied for her immediate trial; but Elizabeth forbade them to proceed farther in the affair, and only increased the rigour and strictness of her confinement.

The same views which engaged the queen to support the Hugonots in France, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip kept her in awe, and obliged her to deny the Flemish exiles an entrance into her dominions. The people, however, enraged by the cruelty, oppression, and persecution under which they suffered, flew to arms. Holland and Zealand revolted; and under the auspices of the prince of Orange, the whole Batavian provinces united in a league against the tyranny of Spain. By a solemn embassy, the Flemings offered Elizabeth the sove-

reignty of these provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence ; but as she was never ambitious of conquests, or of new acquisitions, she declined the proffered sovereignty. The queen, however, sent the revoltors a sum of money, and concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings. It was farther agreed, that the new States, as they began to call themselves, should enter into no alliance without her consent, and if any discord should arise among them, it was to be referred to her arbitration. She was desirous of making the king of Spain believe, that her sole motive for entering into a treaty with the States, was to prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms of France ; and Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen, and waited for an opportunity of taking his revenge.

Elizabeth was extremely anxious to support an interest in Scotland, because that country alone afforded her enemies the means of attacking her, and because she was sensible that the Guises had engaged Mary to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip. That prince, under the name of the pope, sent a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland ; but they were soon obliged to surrender ; and when the English ambassador complained of the invasion, he was answered by similar complaints of the piracies committed by Drake in the new world.

This brave officer, setting sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four men, passed the Straits of Magellan, attacked the Spaniards in South America, and captured many rich prizes. He was the first Englishman that completed the circumnavigation of the globe ; and he returned safely to his native country, after a voyage of more than three years.

In order to avert the resentment of Spain, the queen  
1580] was persuaded to disavow the enterprise ; but she determined to countenance this gallant officer, on whom she conferred the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet at Greenwich, on board the ship which had performed such a memorable voyage.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou nearly twenty-five years younger than the queen, became a suitor of Elizabeth. He came over to England in order to prosecute his suit; and the reception which he met with made him expect complete success. On the anniversary of her coronation, the queen was observed to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. Reflections, however, on the probable consequences of this marriage, filled the mind of the queen with anxiety and irresolution; but, at length, prudence and ambition prevailed over her affection; and she dismissed the duke with some apologies. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women and of islanders.

The affairs of Scotland again strongly engaged the attention of the queen. A conspiracy of the discontented nobles was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of 1582] James at Ruthven, a seat belonging to the earl of Gowry, one of the conspirators. The king wept when he found himself a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: it is better that boys weep than bearded men." This expression James never forgave; but he acquiesced in his own detention, and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church, and a convention of the estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's confinement, she wrote in the most pathetic manner to the queen, entreating her to raise them both from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled. This humble application produced little effect, though some ostensible steps were taken; but James, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, and fleeing to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The opposite party found themselves unable to resist, and were offered a pardon on their submission. Some of



them accepted the terms ; but the greater part left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth.

The queen sent Walsingham into Scotland, on purpose to penetrate the character of James ; and as James excelled in general discourse and conversation, that minister conceived a higher opinion of his talents than he really deserved ; and from the favourable report of his capacity, Elizabeth was inclined to treat the young king with more respect than she had hitherto done. The revolutions in Scotland, however, would have been little regarded, had not the zeal of the catholics daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. Many of the plots which had been discovered, were imputed to the intrigues of Mary ; and the parliament passed a resolution " to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty." The queen of Scots was sensible that this was intended against her ; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she desired leave to subscribe this resolution.

During the same session, a conspiracy was discovered, which greatly increased the animosity  
1584] against the catholics. One William Parry, who had received the queen's pardon for a capital crime, was instigated by some Romanist of high rank and authority to attempt the life of the queen, by shooting at her while she was taking the air on horseback. The conspiracy, however, was betrayed by one of his associates ; and Parry being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, and suffered the punishment of death.

About the same time, the prince of Orange perished at Delft, by the hands of an assassin ; and the States sent a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth, however, again declined the sovereignty, but entered into an alliance with the States, and sent the earl of Leicester with a considerable army to their relief.

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an en-

emy as the king of Spain, by her open aid to the revolted Flemings, took care to secure herself on the side of Scotland, by forming an alliance with James for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. But the unfortunate Mary, whose impatience of confinement and unsubdued spirit, together with her zeal for popery, impelled to the most desperate acts, engaged in designs against Elizabeth, which afforded her enemies a reason or pretence for effecting her complete ruin.

Ballard, a Romish priest, encouraged by the hopes of succours from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, came over to England, and bent his endeavours to effect at once an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person to whom he confided his intentions was Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, who was ardent in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. Babington employed himself in increasing the number of the associates in this desperate undertaking; and he communicated the project to Mary, who approved highly of the design, and who observed, that the death of Elizabeth was necessary, before any other attempt should be made. Ballard, however, being arrested, his confederates became alarmed, and took to flight; but being seized they were tried, condemned, and executed.

The lesser conspirators being thus despatched, measures were taken for the trial of the queen of Scots, who was conducted to Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton. A commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, was appointed and empowered to pass sentence on Mary, who was described in the instrument as late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland.

On this awful occasion, Mary behaved with great dignity. She protested her innocence, and declared that Elizabeth had no authority over her, who was an independent sovereign, and not amenable to the laws of England. Her objections, however, were overruled; her letters, and the confessions of the conspirators, were produced in evidence against her; and a few days after, sentence of death was pronounced against her. Both houses of parliament ratified this

sentence, which was certainly illegal, if not unjust; and they urged the queen to consent to its publication and execution.

Elizabeth, however, affected great reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, and asked if it were not possible to secure the public tranquillity, by some other expedient than the death of the queen of Scots; but when foreign powers interfered, and interceded in behalf of the unfortunate Mary, Elizabeth became obdurate, and determined to execute the sentence. The interposition of James, who remonstrated in very severe terms in favour of his mother, was unavailing; and Elizabeth, tired with importunity, and dreading the consequences, ordered Davison, her secretary, privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made to rescue Mary. She signed the warrant, and commanded Davison to procure the great seal to be affixed to it; but when Davison told her that the warrant had passed the great seal, she blamed his precipitation. Davison acquainted the council with the transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off the warrant, promising to take on themselves the whole blame of the measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was despatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed on the queen of Scots.

Mary, informed of this commission, though somewhat surprised, betrayed no symptoms of fear. The night before her execution, she called in all her servants, drank to them, and bade them a solemn farewell. Next morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet; and having declared her resolution to die in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, her head was severed from her body by the executioner. Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year  
 1587] of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments, both of body and mind. The beauty of her person, and the charms of her address and conversation, rendered her the most amiable of wo-

men. Whether we consider her faults as imprudences or crimes, certain it is, that she was betrayed into actions which can with difficulty be accounted for, and which admit of no apology or extenuation. In her numerous misfortunes, we forget her faults; and the accomplishments which she possessed render us insensible to the errors of her conduct.

When Elizabeth was informed of the execution of Mary, she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. She wrote an exculpatory letter to James; and she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried for a misdemeanor. He was condemned to imprisonment during the pleasure of the queen, and to pay a fine which reduced him to beggary.

The dissimulation of Elizabeth, however, was too gross to deceive any person; and James and his nobles breathed nothing but revenge. When, however, James began coolly to reflect on the consequences of a war with England, and that he might thereby forfeit the certain prospect of his succession to the English throne, he stifled his resentments, and gradually entered into a good correspondence with the court of England.

While Elizabeth insured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, accounts were received of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of this kingdom. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, Philip had for some time been equipping vessels of uncommon size and force, and filling them with stores and provisions. The most renowned nobility of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprise; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and confident of success, had already denominated this armament "The Invincible Armada."

Elizabeth, finding that she must contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, made preparations for resistance; and though her force seemed very inadequate to oppose so powerful an enemy, every place in the kingdom discovered the greatest readiness in defending their liberty and religion, by contributing ships, men, and money. The gentry and nobility vied with each other in the same generous en-

reer; and all the loans which the queen demanded were immediately granted.

Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of distinguished abilities, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. A small squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, second son of the protector Somerset, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The troops were disposed along the south coast; and a body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to cover the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hudson; and these were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and marching whithersoever the enemy should appear. Men of reflection, however, entertained the greatest apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age.

The queen was sensible that next to her popularity, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the zeal of the people for the protestant religion, and their abhorrence of popery. She reminded the English of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain; and of the bloody massacres in the Indies, and the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries; and a list was published of the several instruments of torture, with which, it was pretended, the Spanish armada was loaded. The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, she exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their God, declaring that she would rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. By this spirited conduct she excited the admiration of the soldiery; the attachment to her became enthusiastic; and all swore to defend the glorious cause in which they were engaged.

The armada, after sailing from Lisbon, suffered considerably from storm; but the damages being repaired, the Spaniards again put to sea. The fleet consisted

of one hundred and thirty vessels, of which one hundred were galleons, and of larger size than any before seen in Europe. On board were upwards of thirty thousand men, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. Ffingham, who was stationed at Plymouth, had just time to get out of port, when he saw the armada advancing towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from one extremity to the other. As the armada advanced up the channel, the English hung on its rear, and soon found that the largeness of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, passed over the heads of the English.

The armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor, in expectation that the duke of Parma would put to sea and join them. The English admiral, however, filling eight of his smaller ships with combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards were so much alarmed, that they immediately cut their cables, and fled with the greatest precipitation. The English, whose fleet now amounted to one hundred and forty sail, fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

The Spanish admiral, defeated in many rencounters, and perceiving the inevitable destruction of his fleet, prepared to return homewards; but conducting his shattered ships by the circuitous route of Scotland and Ireland, a violent tempest overtook them near the Orkneys. Many of the vessels were wrecked on the western isles of Scotland, and on the coast of Ireland; and not one half of this mighty armament returned to Spain.

The discomfiture of the armada begat in the nation  
1588] a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain; and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the expense of the adventurers. Among those who signalized themselves in these expeditions, were Drake and Norris, Grenville, Howard, and the earls of Essex and Cumberland.

The war in the Netherlands still continued; and

the king of Navarre, a protestant, ascending the throne of France by the title of Henry IV., a great part of the nobility immediately deserted him, and the king of Spain entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In this emergency, Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who sent him aid both in men and money; and the English auxiliaries acquired great reputation in several enterprises, and revived in France the fame of their ancient valour.

This war did great injury to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expense to England; and the queen summoned a parliament in order to obtain a supply. However, it is evident that Elizabeth either thought her authority so established as to need no concessions in return, or she rated her prerogative above money. When sir Edward Coke, the speaker, made to her the then three usual requests of freedom from arrests, access to her person, and liberty of speech, she declared that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons, nor refuse them access to her, provided it were upon urgent occasions, and when she was at leisure from other important affairs; but that they were not to speak every one what he listeth, and that the privilege of speech extended no farther than a liberty of ay or no.

Henry IV. renounced the protestant religion, and was received by the prelates of his party into the catholic church; and Elizabeth assisted that monarch to break the league which had been formed against him, and which, after his conversion to popery, gradually dissolved.

Though the queen made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, yet the severest blows which he received from England, proceeded from naval enterprises. James Lancaster, with three ships [1594] and a pinnace, took thirty-nine Spanish ships, sacked Fernambouc on the coast of Brazil, and brought home a great quantity of treasure. Sir Walter Raleigh was less successful in an expedition to Guiana, a country which he undertook to explore at his own expence. Sir Francis Drake engaged in an enterprise against Panama; but the Spaniards obliged the English to return without effecting any thing; and

Drake, from the vexation of this disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he died.

This unsuccessful enterprise in America determined the English to attack the Spanish dominions in Europe. A powerful fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying upwards of seven thousand soldiers, besides Dutch auxiliaries, set sail from Plymouth; and after a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian, on the western side of Cadiz, resolved to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash; but the earl of Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise. Effingham, the commander-in-chief, appointed sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Thomas Howard, to lead the van; but Essex, contrary to the injunctions of the admiral, pressed forward into the thickest of the fight; and landing his men at the fort of Punta, he immediately marched to Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried, sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, induced him to stop the slaughter. The English obtained immense plunder; but they missed a much greater, by the Spanish admiral setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained by this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats.

The king of France concluded a peace with Spain; and the queen knew that she could finish the war on equitable terms with Philip. Burleigh advised her to embrace pacific measures; but Essex, whose passion for glory rendered him desirous that the war should continue, urged that her majesty had no reason to fear the issue of the contest, and that it would be dishonourable in her to desert the Hollanders, till their affairs were placed in greater security. The advice of Essex was more agreeable to Elizabeth; and the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he, indeed, been endowed with caution and temper, he might soon have engrossed the entire confidence of his mistress; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to implicit deference; and in a dispute with the queen, he was so heated by the argument, and so entirely forgetful of the rules both of civility and duty, that he turned his back upon her in



a contemptuous manner. Elizabeth, naturally prone to anger, instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suitable to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submission due to her sex and station, Essex clapped his hand on his sword, swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry the Eighth himself, and immediately withdrew from court.

The queen's partiality, however, soon reinstated him in his former favour; and the death of Burleigh, equally regretted by his sovereign and the people, seemed to ensure him the confidence of Elizabeth.

Soon after the death of this wise and faithful minister, Philip the Second expired at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, had transferred to his daughter, married to the archduke Albert, the title to the Low Countries; but the States considered this deed only as the change of a name; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as they had done against that of Philip.

The authority of the English in the affairs of Ireland had hitherto been little more than nominal. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and enemies; and the treatment which they experienced, rendered them such, and made them daily become more intractable and more dangerous. Insurrections and rebellions had been frequent in Ireland; and Elizabeth tried several expedients for reducing that country to greater order and submission; but these expedients were unsuccessful, and Ireland became formidable to the English.

Hugh O'Neale, who had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone, embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and entered into a correspondence with Spain, whence he procured a supply of arms and ammunition. A victory obtained over sir Henry Bagnal, who had advanced to relieve a fort besieged by the rebels, raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer

1599] of his country. The English council were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland should be opposed by vigorous measures; and the queen appointed Essex governor of that country, by the title of lord-lieutenant, and gave him the command of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse.

On his landing at Dublin, Essex was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprise. Instead of leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy, he wasted the season of action in reducing Munster; and when he assembled his troops for an expedition into Ulster, the army was so averse to this enterprise, and so terrified with the reputation of the Irish rebel, that many of them counterfeited sickness, and many of them deserted. Convinced that it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid a decisive action, Essex hearkened to a message sent him by Tyrone for a conference. The generals met without any of their attendants; a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. A cessation of arms was concluded till the next spring, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken by either party on giving a fortnight's notice. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals of peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable conditions; and it was afterwards suspected, that he had commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

Elizabeth was highly provoked at the unexpected issue of this great and expensive enterprise; and Essex, informed of the queen's anger, set out for England, and arrived at court before any one was apprized of his intentions. Though covered with dirt and sweat, he hastened to the presence-chamber, and thence to the privy-chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who had just risen. After some private conversation with her, he retired with great satisfaction; but, though the queen had thus been taken by surprise, she ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined by the council.

Essex professed an entire submission to the queen's will, and declared his intention of retiring into the country, remote from courts and business ; but, though he affected to be cured of his ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, threw him into a distemper which seemed to endanger his life. The queen, alarmed with his situation, ordered her physicians to attend him, and also to deliver him a message, which was probably more efficacious in promoting his recovery, than any medicines that could be prescribed. After some interval, Elizabeth allowed her favourite to retire to his own house, where, in the company of his countess, he passed his time in the pursuits of elegant literature.

Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines ; and as his patent was nearly expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it ; but Elizabeth, whose temper was somewhat haughty and severe, denied his request. Essex, whose patience was exhausted, burst at once all restraints of prudence ; and observed, " that the queen was now grown an old woman, and become as crooked in her mind as her body." Some court ladies carried this story to the queen, who was highly incensed against him ; but his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor, were still more provoking to Elizabeth, than the sarcasms on her age and deformity. James, however, disapproved of any violent method of extorting from the queen an immediate declaration of his right of succession ; and Essex, disappointed in his project, formed a select council of malcontents at Drury-house, where he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms, chiefly for the purpose of removing his enemies and settling a new plan of government.

Receiving a summons to attend the council at the treasurer's house, Essex concluded that the conspiracy was discovered, or at least suspected. He, therefore, rashly sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords ; and in his way to the city, he cried aloud, " For the queen ! for the queen ! a plot is laid for my life !" the citizens flocked about him in amazement ; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infants, and exhorted

them to arm instantly, no one showed a disposition to join him. Essex, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and forced his way to his own house; where he appeared determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but after some parley, he surrendered at discretion.

He and his friend the earl of Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death; but Southampton's behaviour was more mild and inoffensive, and he excited the compassion of all the peers.

After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflection of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. The present situation of Essex excited all the tender affections of Elizabeth: she signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness: but as he made no application to her for mercy, she finally gave her consent to his execution. Essex was only thirty-four years of age, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. Some of his associates were tried, condemned, and executed; but Southampton was saved with great difficulty, though he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

In Ireland, Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex, had effected the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulsion of the Spaniards. Many of the chieftains, after concealing themselves during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to the mercy of the deputy. Tyrone himself, after an unsuccessful application to be received on [1603] terms, surrendered unconditionally to Mountjoy, who intended to bring him a captive to England. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. Some incidents had happened which revived her tenderness for

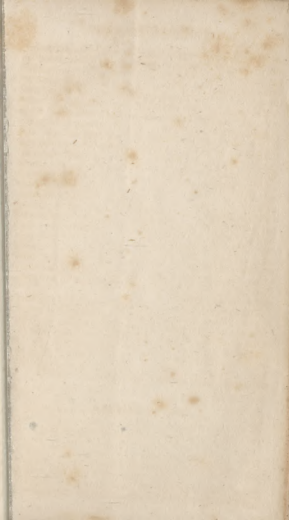
Essex, and filled her with the greatest sorrow. After his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; and assured him that into whatever disgrace he might fall, if he sent her that ring, she would afford him a patient bearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, had reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, ascribing the neglect to his invincible obstinacy, at last signed the warrant for his execution. The countess falling into a dangerous sickness, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen burst into a furious passion; and shaking the dying countess in her bed, cried out, "God may pardon you, but I never can."

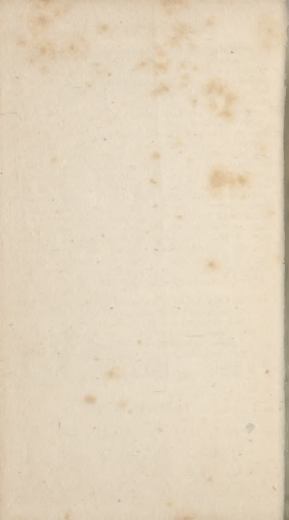
From that moment, Elizabeth resigned herself to the deepest and most incurable melancholy; she even refused food and medicine; and throwing herself on the floor, she remained there ten days and as many nights, declaring life an insufferable burthen to her, and uttering chiefly groans and sighs. Her anxious mind had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council being assembled, commissioned the lord-keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her majesty's pleasure with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that "she had held a regal sceptre, and desired no other than a royal successor." Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that "she would have a king to succeed her, and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?" Soon after, her voice failed, and her senses were lost; and falling into a lethargic slumber, she gently expired, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

So dark was the cloud which overspread the evening of that day whose meridian splendour dazzled the

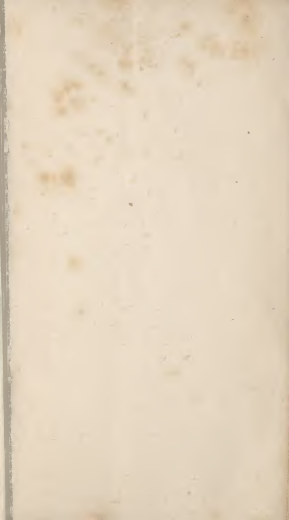
eyes of Europe. The vigour, firmness, penetration, and address of Elizabeth, have not been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne ; but a conduct less imperious, more sincere, and more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a complete character. Her heroism was exempt from rashness, her frugality from avarice, and her activity from the turbulence of ambition ; but the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger, were infirmities from which she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity ; but we perceive a want of that softness of disposition, that lenity of temper, and those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished and adorned. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances ; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success. Her wise ministers and brave warriors share the praise of her success ; but, instead of lessening, they increased the applause which she justly deserves. They owed their advancement to her judgment and discrimination.

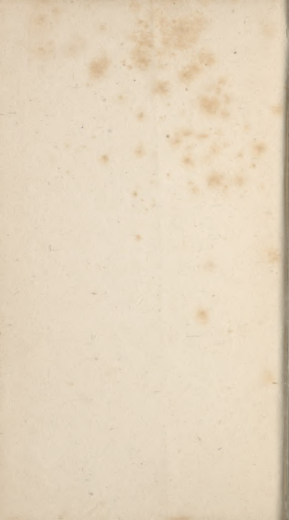
The maxims of her government were highly arbitrary ; but these were transmitted to her by her predecessors ; and she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed. A well-regulated constitutional balance was not yet established ; and it was not without many severe struggles, and some dreadful convulsions, that the people were allowed the blessings of liberty.

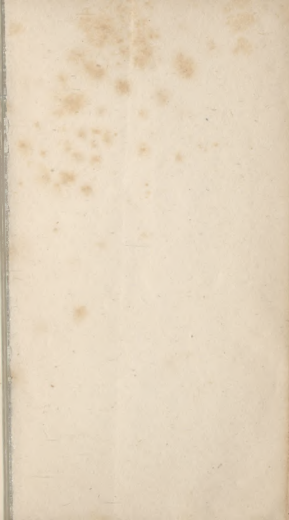


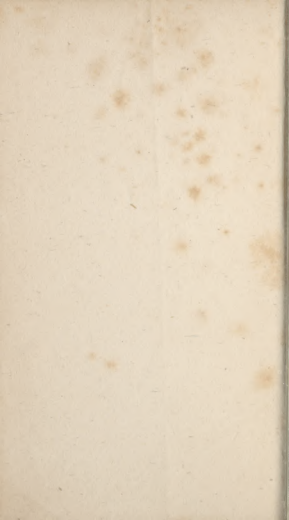


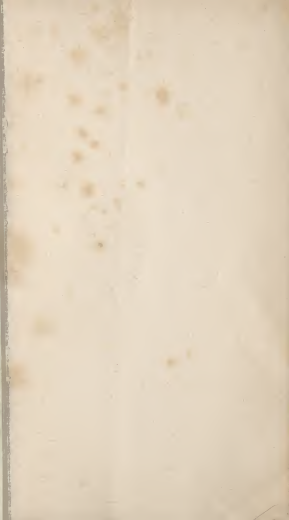


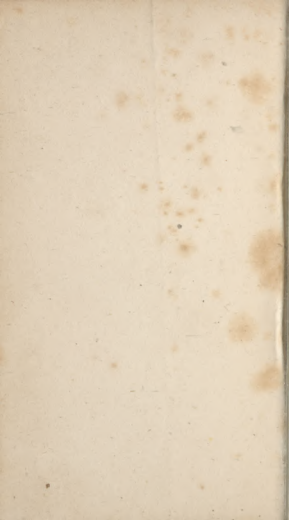












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