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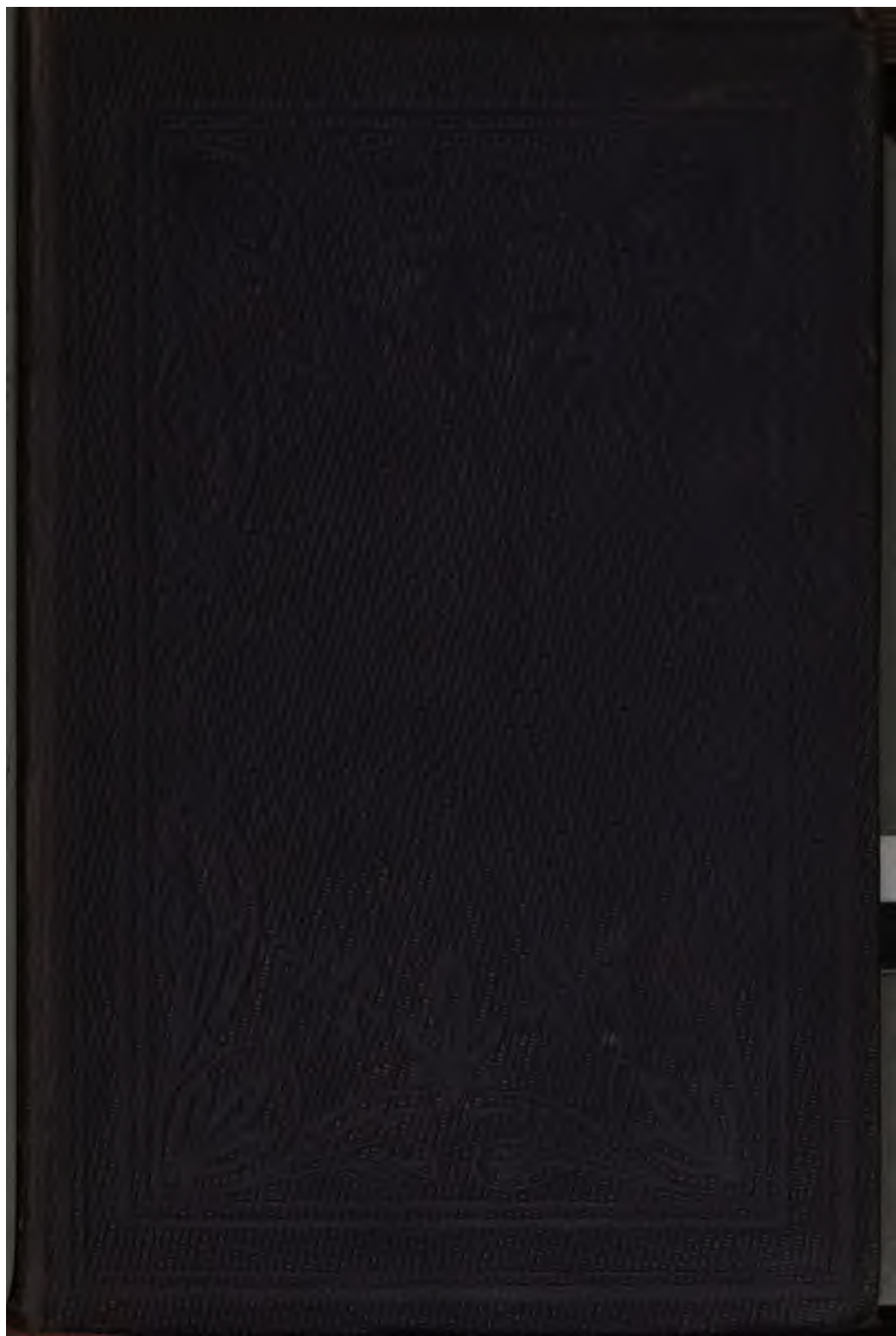
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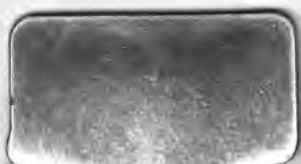
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OF
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THE
LIFE AND MARTYRDOM
OF
SAINT THOMAS BECKET,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
AND LEGATE OF THE HOLY SEE.

By JOHN MORRIS,
CANON OF NORTHAMPTON.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.

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PREFACE.

THE life of St. Thomas of Canterbury requires no introduction. Panegyric and preliminary explanation are equally unnecessary, for he is not a man the circumstances of whose career are but little known. Every one will look for the most entire sympathy with him and his cause in the following pages, and the writer cordially acknowledges that he entertains, and is proud of, this feeling. At the same time, he hopes that no one will think that because the Saint, whose life he has ventured to write, is a hero in his eyes, he has recorded one word that he did not consider to be completely borne out by the ancient authorities. In so controverted a part of history, he has laid modern books aside, and has relied for his facts on contemporary writers alone; and his endeavour has been to enable the reader to weigh for himself the evidence on which his own judgment has been formed.

Whenever the writer has had occasion to insert letters which had already appeared in an English dress from the pen of Mr. Froude, he has given them

in that gentleman's admirable translations; but he has ventured to alter their wording, when he found that they were not as close a rendering of the originals as he could wish. In the chronology of the life, he has felt himself bound to depart in some instances from the view taken by Mr. Froude and his editors.

In conclusion, the writer has to express his sincerest thanks to his friend, Signor Ferdinando Platner, of Rome, for the sketch that ornaments this volume, as well as to Provost Husenbeth, Rev. Dr. Oliver, Canon Rock, Mr. Duffus Hardy, and other friends, to whose kind assistance he is greatly indebted.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, NORTEAMPTON,

June 1859.

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THE LIFE
OF
ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.



CHAPTER I.

GILBERT AND MATILDA.

ONE of the most conspicuous and familiar objects in the neighbourhood of London is the high hill and pointed spire of Harrow. The church, which is now so marked a feature in the landscape, has not lasted as many years as the record of the tale we are about to tell. Its predecessor was doubtless as much in harmony with its site as that which we now see, for the taste of church-builders of that age was as unflinching as if it had been an instinct. Guided by this landmark, two horsemen, in the year 1142, or thereabouts, made their way from London to the court of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, which was at the archiepiscopal manor of Harrow-on-the-Hill.

The one was a plain serving-man, whose name was Ralph of London. The other was scarce distinguishable from him by his dress, as the simplicity of the times dictated to the son of an impoverished London

merchant; but his tall handsome figure, and large bright eye, beaming with the happy anticipation of a new and congenial mode of life, his free and self-possessed seat upon his horse, and the air and bearing of a gentleman in his every movement, betrayed to an observer what the humble equipments of both and the familiarity of intercourse between them would have concealed, that the younger was the master, and the other his attendant. The somewhat awful interview with the Archbishop, on which so much depended, was postponed to the morrow; and they sought the shelter of a hostelry in Harrow. Doubtless an unusual bustle prevailed in the little country village from the presence of the Archbishop with his train; still something in the appearance of our humble travellers seems to have attracted the notice of their hostess; for when the next morning came,¹ she told her husband that she had dreamt during the night that one of the new comers had covered their parish-church with his vestments. The good man, who did not know who they were, said, "Perhaps it portends that one of them will be some day lord of this church and village." The figure which had impressed itself on the imagination of the dame was that of Thomas Becket, the future Archbishop of Canterbury and martyr.

This is by no means the only event in the early annals of his life of an unusual character which his many contemporary biographers have placed on record. The tale, however, which is the best known connected with his parentage, is behind none of them in singularity,¹ while it surpasses them all in poetic beauty; but, unfortunately, its romantic character is its sole claim to insertion. It is impossible to refrain

from relating the legend, although its first appearance is in a compilation the date and authorship of which are equally unknown. It runs thus :

His father Gilbert was a citizen of London, who, in the flower of his youth, took upon him the Lord's cross, and set forth for Jerusalem accompanied by a faithful servant of the name of Richard. They fell into the hands of the Saracens, and were set to work as slaves in chains for a grandee who is called Amirald *Some* year and a half had goneby, and Gilbert had made no little progress in the favour of his master, being constantly called to stand before his table, to be questioned on all that could gratify an Oriental curiosity respecting the countries and inhabitants of the West. His daughter was often a listener at these conversations, and her admiration for Gilbert was at length betrayed when she heard that he would willingly die for his faith. She offered to become a Christian, if he would make her his wife. Gilbert was a cautious soul ; and, fearing some womanish craft, put her off with fair words. An opportunity of escape from his bondage at length came, of which he and his companions availed themselves. The poor maiden who was left behind, strong in her love, and forgetful of her people and her father's house, one night set forth alone in search of the Englishman who had fled. Her knowledge of any language but her own was confined to the two names "London" and "Becket;" and these, as she wandered on, she incessantly repeated. At length, associating herself with returning pilgrims, she reached the city, the name of which she had learned from Gilbert as that of his home. Following still the

Sopane

method that had brought her thus far, she was pursued by a crowd of idle children; when Richard, the serving-man, passing through the street, caught the sound of his master's name, and happily recognised her. Gilbert hardly seems to have been delighted at the news, though surely the poor thing's "womanish craft" was simple enough now; but his prudence being still predominant, he ordered Richard to place her under the charge of a matronly neighbour, while he betook himself to St. Paul's, to ask his Bishop's counsel. By the advice of the prelate, who happened to be in conference with his brother Bishops,—after the maiden had been duly instructed in the Catholic faith, and solemnly baptised, the story says, "by six Bishops,"—he took her to wife. The legend does not end here; but adds, that on the day after the wedding Gilbert was seized with a longing desire to revisit the Holy Land; and his bride having gained from him the cause of his sadness, she gave her consent to his departure, if only he would leave Richard to be her interpreter.

During his absence the son was born of whose life this story forms the introduction; whom, on his return at the end of three years and a half, he found all that his heart could wish. Thus far the fable,² which is not mentioned by one of the many contemporary biographers of our Saint, whose simple assertion³ is that he was the son of Gilbert and Matilda Becket, citizens of London; and this is what he says himself in his letters when he had occasion to speak of his parentage.

Previous to his birth,⁴ his mother dreamed that the river Thames flowed into her bosom. Startled by so unusual a dream, she went to consult a learned

religious, who, having forewarned her that dreams were not to be attended to, nor a woman's visions made much of, told her that in Scripture *water* signified *people*, but that he could not undertake to interpret her vision. She dreamt again⁵ that when she was visiting Canterbury Cathedral to pray there, her child prevented her entrance. This time, however, she did not return to consult her adviser, fearing lest he should reproach her with folly.

As the time of his birth drew near,⁶ it seemed to his mother as if twelve stars of unusual brilliancy had fallen into her lap. It is also said⁷ that she dreamt that she was bearing Canterbury Cathedral; and that when the Saint was born, the nurse, as she held him, exclaimed, "I have an archbishop in my arms."

He was born on Tuesday December 21st, in the year 1117;⁸ and after Vespers, on the same day, he was baptised by the name of St. Thomas the Apostle, whose festival it was. On the very day of his birth⁹ a fire broke out in his father's house, which did great damage to the city. A writer¹⁰ of those times says, that the only drawbacks to a residence in London were the prevalence of drunkenness and the frequency of fires.

He was still the subject of his mother's sleeping as well as waking thoughts. After his birth she dreamt¹¹ that, on upbraiding the nurse for leaving her child uncovered in the cradle, she was told that a beautiful red-silk quilt was over him; and that when she examined the beauty of its needlework, she found, on trying with the nurse to unfold it, that the room in which they were, the street, and eventually "the great space of the open plain of Smithfield," were too

small to permit them to do so: a voice the while telling them that they tried in vain, for that all England could not contain it.

It was an admirable thing for St. Thomas, and one that left a deep impression on all his life, that the mother from whom he received his earliest instructions should have been of a devout and gentle nature. He used himself to say,¹² that with the fear of the Lord, he had learnt from her two prominent devotions. The one was a great love of the holy Mother of God, whom he was accustomed to invoke as the guide of his paths and the patroness of his life, and in whom, after Christ, he was thus taught to place all his confidence; the second was a great compassion for the poor. And for these two virtues he was always remarkable.

A pretty little story, showing how our Blessed Lady returned the affection of her young client, is recorded by Herbert de Bosham,¹³ one of his most intimate friends, to whom he himself told it. When quite a child, as he was recovering from a violent fever, it seemed to him that a lady, tall of stature, with a calm countenance and beautiful appearance, stood by his bedside, and having consoled him by a promise that he should get well, gave two golden keys into his hands with these words: "Thomas, these are the keys of Paradise, of which thou art to have the charge."

At an early age¹⁴ he was placed under the care of Robert, Prior of Merton, of the Order of Canons Regular, who was ever after his faithful friend and spiritual guide, his confessor while he was chancellor, and finally a witness of his martyrdom. While St.

Thomas was under him, an event occurred which proves that not his mother only, but also his father, had been taught by God the future greatness of their son. One day Gilbert went to see him; and as the boy came into the room, the father made a most humble reverence and obeisance to his son. The good prior, indignant at this, said, "Old man, you are mad; what are you doing? Do you throw yourself at the feet of your son? The honour you do to him, he ought to do to you." Gilbert answered the prior secretly, "Sir, I know what I am doing; for this boy will be great before the Lord."

Though his father was but a London merchant, and his mother in all likelihood had never been out of England, there is a singularly Eastern tone in these stories characteristic of the times, springing in part, perhaps, from the intercourse with the Holy Land that frequent pilgrimages promoted. In many things Englishmen of those days showed much of an Oriental temperament,¹⁵ which their successors of the present time have not inherited.

The parents of the Saint, at the time of his birth, were in moderate if not affluent circumstances. His father was a Norman,¹⁶ who had been sheriff of London. His friends, as far as we have any record of them, were all Normans. Frequent fires and other misfortunes, we are told, reduced Gilbert's family from the wealthy position it had formerly held; but the change of his circumstances does not seem to have alienated his old friends from him. A rich and well-born soldier of the name of Richier de l'Egle is particularly mentioned as having frequented his house, with no little influence on the mind of the

youthful St. Thomas. He was especially fond of hunting and hawking, and from him St. Thomas acquired a taste which he never entirely lost.

In company with Richier, an adventure¹⁷ befell him in which the hand of God may well be held to have interfered to save so precious a life. They were riding together, following their hawks, when they came to a rapid mill-stream, which was crossed by no better bridge than a foot-plank. De l'Egle, in the eagerness of sport, urged his horse over it, closely followed by St. Thomas, who had his cloak wrapt tightly round him, with his hood¹⁸ over his head. As he reached the middle of the bridge, his horse's foot slipped, and horse and boy together fell into the stream. He was drawn quickly down by the current, and was in imminent danger of being crushed by the mill-wheel. The man in charge of the mill, knowing nothing of what was going on, suddenly turned off the water. The shouts of De l'Egle, which the noise of the wheel had hitherto prevented being heard, now drew the attention of the miller, who rescued St. Thomas from his dangerous position.

There is another account¹⁹ of this occurrence, which says that he leaped into the water after his hawk, forgetful in his eagerness of his own danger. Either form of the story is in close accordance with the naturally ardent and impetuous character of the Saint. There is a local tradition, which says that the scene of this providential rescue is a spot now called Wade's Mill, between Ware and St. Edmund's College. His pious mother was much struck by this deliverance; and she added it to the other wonders on which she pondered, which led her to the conclusion that God

had great designs in store for her son. One of her religious practices is very beautiful. She was accustomed²⁰ at certain seasons to weigh her child, placing in the opposite scale bread, meat, clothes, and money, and other things which were necessary for the poor, and then to distribute all to those who were in want. In this way she always strove to commend him to the mercy of God and the protection of the Blessed Mary ever a Virgin.

It was a sad day for the Saint when he lost this watchful and loving mother. Matilda died when he was twenty-one years old; and Gilbert not long surviving her, he was left to his own resources,—his father's means having become too restricted to leave him much of an inheritance. He had previously studied at Paris; not, however, we may be very sure for the motive which has been recently assigned; for it could hardly be necessary for the son of the Norman Gilbert Becket, or for the companion of the "noble and very rich" Richier de l'Egle, to go abroad that he might lose his Saxon accent. He spent his twenty-second year,²¹—that is, 1139,—without an occupation, in his father's house. This was after his return from Paris; for it was to his mother he principally owed his liberal education; and the account of the state of his father's means, after Matilda's death, does not seem such as to lead us to think that he could then afford his son the advantage of a foreign residence. He then went to live with Osbern²² Witdeniers, a relation of his, and a very wealthy man, who probably held high office in the city, as St. Thomas is said²³ to have been "clerk to the sheriffs." With him he lived for three years, spending his time in keeping

the merchant's accounts, and acquiring business-like habits which were eventually to benefit both State and Church.

It was not, however, a position much to his taste; but still it needed long deliberation, and much urging on the part of his friends, to induce him to apply for employment to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

We get a curious glimpse into St. Thomas's life, if not about this time, yet at least before he rose to wealth and dignity; and it comes to us in an equally curious manner. Amongst the miracles which took place by the Saint's intercession soon after his martyrdom, is the following, with the simply told narrative²⁴ of which this necessarily desultory chapter may close. A poor girl of about fifteen had suffered agonies from a most fearful cancer. From harvest-time to the month of March it had grown worse and worse, and at length her illness seemed to have had a fatal termination. She lay in her bed without food, her limbs drawn up, her eyes open and glazed, and altogether giving no sign of life. At length, towards nightfall, when she had been thus for three or four days, a neighbouring woman who was very fond of her came in, and thinking her certainly dead, said, "How came you to let the poor child die in her bed? Why did you not place her on sackcloth, after the Catholic custom?" On this, the body, which had stiffened, was laid out in the courtyard of the house, covered with a sheet and surrounded with lights as usual. Her father, Jordan, of Plumsted in the diocese of Norwich, worn out with his grief and his day's work, had dropped asleep; but thus awakened, he cried out, "Is Cecilia dead?" The woman replied, "She

most certainly is dead." On which the father began: "O blessed Thomas, martyr of God, pay me now for the service I once so heartily did you; pay me now for my service; now I am in want of it. I served you heartily before you werè raised to worldly honours; pay me now for my service. Remember, blessed martyr, when you were ill in Kent, in the house of Thurstan the cleric, how heartily I served you: wine and beer and strong drinks you could not touch, and I ransacked the neighbourhood for some buttermilk for you to drink. Pay me for my service. Then you had only one horse, and I took care of it. Pay me for my service. Remember, martyr, all the trouble I took for you: you are not so poor, that I should have served you for nothing." And so he spent half the night, saying, till he was quite hoarse, "Pay me for my service."

The holy martyr heard him; and Cecilia moved her hand from under the sheet, and tried to speak. The next day she took some nourishment; on the third the cancer dried up; and in three weeks, without medicine of any kind, she was quite well. William, the Bishop of Norwich, examined the priest of the place and many witnesses; and, on her going on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the shrine of the Saint at Canterbury, sent with her testimonial letters attesting the miracle.

CHAPTER II.

THE COURT OF CANTERBURY.

ST. THOMAS was introduced into the Archbishop's service under very favourable auspices. Not only had Theobald a personal acquaintance with the Saint's father, who was like himself a native of the village of Tierrie in Normandy, but Gilbert was familiar with priests and other officials of the Archbishop's court and household, whom he had been in the habit of entertaining. Two brothers from Boulogne, Baldwin the Archdeacon and Master Eustace, interested themselves with the Primate in his favour. But St. Thomas was principally induced to place himself under Theobald's protection by the representations of one of his officials called Baillehache, who had been long intimate with Gilbert.

The court of the Archbishop of Canterbury was the centre of almost all the learning and ability of the kingdom. Amongst those who composed it when St. Thomas joined their number was the future Archbishop of York, as well as the men destined ultimately to hold most of the episcopal sees of the kingdom. The early education of our Saint seems to have been of a desultory character; and he keenly felt his inferiority in learning to those by whom he was now surrounded. His natural genius being of a very high order, and his perseverance indomitable, it was not long before he rendered himself as fit as any of his

competitors for whatever office or undertaking might be intrusted to him. He was remarkable for the acuteness of his bodily senses. It was matter of frequent comment through his life, that scarcely any thing could be said in his presence, however far off, or in however low a tone, but he could hear it if he chose to listen. So, too, there was nothing which could affect the sense of smell, which would not immediately either offend or gratify him, from however great a distance. His eye was remarkably large and clear, and his glance so quick and comprehensive that nothing escaped him. He was unusually tall, with a prominent and slightly aquiline nose. His countenance was beautiful, and his expression habitually calm. The vivacity of his conversation and his fluency, combined with the refinement of his language, spoke at once of the high qualities of his natural gifts, and of the tone of his education.

After a while, when Theobald came to know him thoroughly, and to value him as he deserved, he made him a member of his council, and trusted him highly; but at first his position in the Archbishop's favour was endangered by the jealousy of one whose hostility continued through life, even when they both of them filled archiepiscopal sees. Roger de Pont l'Evêque showed²⁵ his jealousy of the Saint on their first being thrown together by derisively calling him *Cleric Baillehache*, from the name of the man at whose instance he had joined the Archbishop's household. The allusion to an axe in the Norman name leads one of his biographers to say, that "he would one day prove to be an axe to hew Roger and his accomplices from the company of the just." Twice he was the

cause of the Saint's banishment from the Archbishop's court, ere he was yet firm in the favour of that prelate. On each occasion he was restored to his position by the influence of Walter, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was his steady friend through life.

In a short time his noble qualities so endeared him to the Archbishop, that he employed him in the conduct of the most delicate and important matters. King Stephen was seated on the throne of England; and his brother, the well-known Henry of Blois, was Bishop of Winchester. Pope Innocent, who had celebrated in 1139 the General Council of a thousand Bishops, called the Second of Lateran, which was attended by Theobald and four other English Bishops, had made Henry of Blois his legate in England. In virtue of this authority, Henry held two synods in the year 1142, about which time St. Thomas joined the Archbishop. However, the possession of the legatine power by a suffragan was not found to work well, and the two prelates interested went to Rome to submit the question to the Holy See. This was in 1143, the year in which Pope Innocent died. The political state of Rome was most unsettled; and as the Sacred College felt the danger of an interregnum, the chair of Peter was vacant only a day. However, Pope Cœlestine II. reigned but six months; and, after another vacancy of one day, Lucius succeeded.

When St. Thomas visited Rome in company with Archbishop Theobald, the Holy Father was probably at the Vatican, under shelter of the Castle of St. Angelo, which was in the hands of those who were faithful to him. Trastevere then, as ever, prided itself on its fidelity; while the rest of the city was in

a very turbulent state. Such a position of affairs can hardly have been favourable to the discussion of the business which led them to Rome. Theobald was doubtless successful, for we have no further mention of Henry as legate; and the Archbishop presided in that capacity over the next council which was held in England. As, however, this synod was not before the year 1151, we do not know whether his success was immediate.

It would be very interesting to know where St. Thomas lodged in the Eternal City; but we have nothing to guide us to the spot. The hospital, the munificent foundation of John and Alice Shepherd, was not founded for the next two hundred years; it was then dedicated, as its successor the English College now is, to the Blessed Trinity, in honour of our Saint. The Anglo-Saxon establishment, of which the memory is preserved in the name of Santo Spirito in Sassia, and with which are connected the names of Ina, Ethelwolf, Alfred, and Canute, still existed,²⁶ but in great poverty. The other English foundations were all of a later date than St. Thomas's visit.

There was another matter of considerable importance, the management of which may very probably have been intrusted by Theobald to St. Thomas. It was one which rose into still greater consequence when the Saint had succeeded his master and patron in the see of Canterbury,—the precedence of that church over the archbishopric of York, and the right of the northern metropolitan to have his cross borne before him in the province of Canterbury. The Archbishop of York had from time immemorial been called Primate of England, while the Archbishop of Canter-

bury was only distinguished from him by the title of Primate of all England. In order, therefore, to secure the real primacy of the one prelate over the other, the petition to the Holy See took the form of a request that the Archbishop of Canterbury might, by virtue of his office, enjoy legatine power, or, as it was called, be the *Legatus natus* of the Holy See,—a dignity that was ultimately conferred.

In these negotiations Theobald received powerful assistance from St. Bernard. When, in the reign of Innocent, he had wished to visit the Holy See, and had been prevented, St. Bernard wrote a letter²⁷ to the Pope, in which he spoke very highly in his praise. The death of Lucius in 1145 was the occasion of the election of Bernard, a Cistercian abbot, who became famous as Pope Eugenius III., not less by his own deeds than through the writings of his saintly namesake. In the very first letter which the holy abbot of Clairvaux addressed to the new Pope, he took the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the prelates of York and Winchester, in what he there styles “the ancient quarrel relating to the legatine office.” It is pleasant to think that it is extremely probable that St. Thomas may, in his journeys to and from Rome, have called at Clairvaux to see his powerful advocate St. Bernard, and be himself the bearer of his letters to the Holy See; and that thus a personal affection may have sprung up between those two Saints.

The turbulence of Rome still continuing, Pope Eugenius visited France; and in 1148 he left Paris, where King Louis had given him a royal reception, for Rheims, to which city the Bishops of the univer-

sal Church had been summoned by mid-Lent to celebrate a council. Owing to the influence of Henry of Winton, who was perhaps angry at the loss of his legateship, and who wished to subject the Archbishop to the anger of either the king or the Pope, King Stephen refused Theobald permission to attend the council. The Archbishop, however, managed to escape the guards who had been set to prevent his leaving England; and alone of all the Bishops of that country, except three, whom the king sent to excuse the rest, he attended the synod. He was accompanied by St. Thomas, who himself has recorded that Theobald was received with much honour by the Pope, and thanked by him in full synod, "because he had come to the council rather swimming than sailing."²⁸

The king forced Theobald to leave England again after his return from the council; and he stayed at St. Omer's, where he consecrated Gilbert Foliot Bishop of Hereford, with the assistance of the Bishops of Amiens and Cambray. From this place, by the authority of Pope Eugenius, England was placed under an interdict, until, by the mediation of some of the Bishops and nobles, the king made his peace with the Archbishop.

St. Thomas had at this time another journey to Rome, on a matter of the very greatest public importance. It was Stephen's wish that his son Eustace should be crowned king during his own lifetime, in order to secure the succession. This was contrary to the Convention of Winchester, by which it was settled that the crown, which was to remain with Stephen for his life, was to descend to Henry. The proposed coronation of Eustace was expressly forbid-

den by the Pope; and the chronicler²⁹ tells us that this prohibition, which secured the crown without dispute to Henry, had been gained by "the subtle prudence and cleverness of Thomas, a cleric of London." Gregory the Cardinal-Deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing the career of Henry II., had recommended a different course, saying³⁰ that "it was easier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail." When it was found that Theobald was inflexible in his obedience to the Pope's command, Stephen sent Roger de Pont l'Evêque to Rome; but his embassy was unsuccessful.

Meanwhile St. Thomas was advancing in ecclesiastical preferment. He was presented by John, the Bishop of Worcester, to the church of St. Mary Lit-tory;³¹ a term which one author has understood to mean Shoreham, and another St. Mary-le-Strand. As a reward for his service, the Archbishop gave him the church of Otford. He afterwards had a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and another at Lincoln. His biographer also says that the Archbishop gave him leave to go beyond the sea, and that he studied the canon law for a year at Bologna, where the celebrated Gratian was his instructor, and afterwards at Auxerre. Here it was that he imbibed that exact knowledge of the Church's laws and rights, which enabled him in after years to fight her battles as a less skilful lawyer could hardly have done.

When Walter, the Archbishop's brother, was made Bishop of Rochester, in 1147, Roger de Pont l'Evêque became Archdeacon of Canterbury, and on the 10th of October 1154 Theobald consecrated him Archbishop of York; and so he became successor to St. William, as that saint had foretold. The archdeaconry of Can-

terbury thus rendered vacant, Archbishop Theobald conferred³² upon St. Thomas, the highest dignity in the Church in England after the bishoprics and abbasies, and worth one hundred pounds in silver. He succeeded Roger in another piece of preferment of value and ecclesiastical rank, being made the Provost of Beverley. At this time the Saint was ordained deacon.

The close of the year 1154 is remarkable in English annals for the death of King Stephen, whose son Eustace had died in its course; and for the accession to the Papal throne of the only Englishman who has ever worn the triple crown, Nicholas Breakspeare, a native of St. Alban's, who took the title of Pope Adrian IV.

CHAPTER III.

THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

ON the 17th December Henry II., in his twenty-first year, was crowned King of England at Westminster by Archbishop Theobald, the legate of the Holy See. He could not fail to be aware of the part which had been taken by St. Thomas to secure his succession. Through his influence the Holy See had forbidden the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown Eustace; and he doubtless took a leading part in the negotiation by which the Primate and the Bishop of Winchester had procured from Stephen an acknowledgment of the right of Henry to succeed to the crown. We are therefore not astonished to learn that, when St. Thomas was put forward by Archbishop Theobald as worthy of high place about the young king's person, he should at once have been promoted to the chancellorship of England. This was in 1155, when he was thirty-eight years old, and consequently considerably the king's senior.

The dignity of the office which he now filled was such, that the famous Peter of Rémy³³ calls him "second to the king in four kingdoms." The chapel-royal was in his care; he had the custody of the great seal, and with its reverse we are told he was at liberty to seal his own documents; his place in the councils of the sovereign was most important; and by

an abuse which then prevailed, he administered the revenues of all vacant bishoprics and abbacies.

The talents of St. Thomas had now³⁴ full scope to manifest themselves. Within three months of the king's coronation, an evil which had its rise in the disturbed reign of Stephen was vigorously remedied. Many foreign adventurers, principally Flemings, of whom the most notorious was William de Ipre, created by that king Earl of Kent, were driven out of England; and the destruction of many castles which had served to harbour wrong-doers in troubled times restored a sense of security to the country. The chancellor showed similar energy in the restoration of the palace of London, which had become dilapidated. It is recorded as a marvel, that so many hands were employed, that the work was completed between Easter and Whitsuntide.

There can be no doubt that St. Thomas had a singular taste for magnificence; and now, not merely were the means for its gratification abundantly supplied, but it became almost a duty in consideration of the position which he filled. Probably in all history there is no parallel to the place he held as the favourite of his sovereign. Preferment of all kinds was heaped upon him; indeed there was nothing he might not have had if he had chosen to ask for it. To the ecclesiastical offices, of which he already held so many, there was added the deanery of Hastings; and among those of a more secular character, he received the wardenship of the Tower of London, with the military service attached to it; the castlery of Eye, with its honour of seven-score soldiers; and the castle of Berkhamstead. Thus the chancellor had feudal rights

over considerable territories and bodies of men ; and it would seem that many nobles and knights voluntarily submitted themselves to him as "his men," in the language of the times, and paid him homage, saving their fealty to the king. His retinue was further swelled by the presence in his household of the sons of many of the nobility, who were sent to learn from him and from those whom he attracted about him how to fit themselves for the court and the battle-field. A little later King Henry intrusted to him the education of his eldest son, perhaps the greatest possible mark of confidence.

Every thing about him was of the most costly description ; his purveyors were reckless of expense in providing for his table, and the very bit in his horse's mouth was wrought in silver. His hospitality was unbounded. His own table was never without guests of the highest rank ; while in the lower part of the hall room was found, not only for his own large retinue, but also for very many who stood in need of his hospitality when frequenting the king's court. It is a curious trait of the manners of those times, that every day his dining-hall was strewed with fresh straw or hay in the winter, and in the summer time with rushes or green boughs ; for the floor had to serve as a seat for those guests who thronged the hall in greater numbers than the benches round the walls could accommodate. When the guests had dined, a plentiful meal was set before vast numbers of the poor who took their places, towards whom his open-handed generosity was so remarkable, that worldly people counted it almost superstition. The wretched and the oppressed were admitted to him without delay ;

and in his judicial capacity he was renowned for the justice done and the mercy shown to poor suitors.

The king's household could scarcely bear comparison with that of his clerical chancellor; his very magnificence, however, was made to redound to the glory of his royal master. On one occasion ambassadors came into England from the King of Norway. As soon as the chancellor heard of their arrival, he sent officials to bring them to the court with all honour, and at his own expense.

The importance of Henry's continental dominions rendered it necessary that the court should be held on either side of the Channel. The chancellor fitted up three ships in a style worthy of the king's acceptance, and offered them to him as a present. When he himself would cross, six or more ships sailed in company; and any one who was waiting for a passage was sure to be able to obtain it in the chancellor's train.

His recreation, after the many and varied duties of his office, was of that description in which the Norman nobles were accustomed to indulge, and for which he had long ago acquired a taste. His amusements were thus in his horses, hounds, and hawks; forgetful of his place in the Church's hierarchy, and giving him much cause of self-reproach in his after-life. He was also fond of the game of draughts.

There is something very characteristic in the light-hearted sportiveness of the familiarity that existed between him and his youthful king. They were more like two schoolfellows than a great sovereign and his first minister. Henry would sometimes enter the chancellor's dining-hall on horseback, perhaps with

an arrow in his hand, as he was going to or returning from the chase; and we can imagine the stir among the motley crowd of retainers as the king would at one time drink to his chancellor's health, and then ride away again; or at another time, leaping over the table on the dais, seat himself by his side, and thus become an unexpected guest.

A story is told which puts before us the frolicsome terms on which they lived. One cold winter's day they were riding together in the streets of London, the nobles and their other attendants having dropped behind to a considerable distance, to leave them more free, when the king spied a poor old man shivering, half-clad, in the cold. "Poor old fellow," said the king, "do you see how cold he looks? would it not be a famous alms to give him a thick warm cloak?" "A very proper thought, and a royal one too," replied the unsuspecting chancellor. On coming up to the old man they stopped, and Henry quietly asked him whether he would not like to have a good cloak. The poor man did not know them, and did not believe that they could be in earnest. "You shall give this great alms," said the king, as he turned to the chancellor; and so saying, laid hold of his beautiful new cloak of scarlet and gray, and tried to take it off his shoulders, so that quite a scuffle ensued. The attendants hastened up, lost in astonishment, and found the king and his chancellor so struggling as to be hardly able to keep their saddles. It is needless to say who came off victorious; and the poor old man went on his way loudly praising God for his good fortune, and clad in the chancellor's grand cloak by the king's own hand. The courtiers heard the story, and

laughed long and loud, as in duty bound. Not that they forgot to offer the chancellor their own cloaks in lieu of the scarlet and gray which had been given away. Enough, however, of these lighter matters; it is full time we turned to more serious thoughts connected with the time of the chancellorship of our Saint.

We have mentioned the luxury and prodigality of his table. It is true that he was a man of refined tastes, and perhaps fastidious delicacy; the habits of his whole life had made him so: it is no less true that in the midst of such profuseness he was singularly moderate. He had, moreover, practices of austerity which would scarcely have been looked for under his splendid exterior. He often bore the discipline from the hands of Ralph, the Prior of Holy Trinity, when he was in the neighbourhood of London; and when he was at Canterbury, from the hands of Thomas, a priest of St. Martin's. Robert, the venerable Canon of Merton, under whom he had been brought up, was still his confessor; and he bore testimony to Fitz-Stephens, one of the Saint's most careful biographers, that all through this most trying portion of his life, in spite of the license of Norman manners and the snares of the court, his life remained perfectly pure. An anecdote of one³⁵ who suspected that it might be otherwise not only confirms this opinion of his virtue, but gives us also a glimpse of further secret austerities.

Once, when he was in attendance on the king at Stafford, the suspicions of his host Vivien the cleric were aroused by the attentions which he fancied were paid to the chancellor by a lady of the name of Anice

de Stafford, who was remarkable for her beauty, and whose reputation had suffered in consequence of her intimacy with the king. Wishing to ascertain the truth, he secretly, in the dead of the night, entered his guest's chamber with a lantern. The bed he found was undisturbed; but on looking round the room with his light, he saw the Saint asleep on the hard floor at the foot of the bed, partially undressed. His sleep was the heaviness of exhaustion, and his inquisitive host was enabled to withdraw unobserved.

In Holy Week the chancellor was accustomed to make what we, in modern phrase, should call a three days' retreat; and for this purpose he selected the religious house of the Canons of Merton, for whom he ever entertained kindly feelings from the time when he lived a student amongst them. The good Canons were taken into the king's favour now that a child of their house had become a royal favourite. During his retirement at Merton, one of the chancellor's customs was, on Maundy Thursday after Tenebræ, and on Good Friday until noon, to visit the neighbouring village-churches on foot, disguised in a cloak, with but one companion to show him the way.

One of the most important events of his chancellorship was his famous mission to ask the King of France to espouse his daughter Marguerite to Prince Henry, the heir-apparent of England since his brother William's death. The bridegroom-elect was a child of five years of age, and the little princess was but three; and it was thirteen years before the marriage was completed. This embassy was conducted with a magnificence of which we have but few parallels even in the records of such ceremonial occasions. His im-

mediate retinue consisted of two hundred members of his own household, clerics, seneschals and servitors, knights and esquires, as well as the sons of noblemen who were in his suite with their respective attendants, all gaily equipped. Huntsmen led hounds in leashes, and falconers carried hawks upon their fists. Eight wagons conveyed all the requisites for the journey, drawn by five high-bred horses; at the head of each horse was a groom on foot, "dressed in a new tunic." A spare horse followed each wagon. Two were laden with beer in casks bound with iron, to be given to the French, "who admire that kind of drink," as Fitz-Stephens tells us, adding that "it is wholesome, clear, of the colour of wine, and of a better taste." The chancellor's chapel-furniture had its own wagon, his chamber had one, his pantry another, his kitchen another; others carried provisions, and others again the baggage of the party; amongst them, four-and-twenty suits of clothing for presents, as well as furs and carpets. Then there were twelve sumpter-horses; eight chests containing the chancellor's gold and silver plate; and besides a very considerable store of coin, "some books" found room. The sumpter-horse which led the way was laden with the sacred vessels of the chapel, and the altar ornaments and books. Beneath every wagon was an English mastiff, and a monkey rode on each sumpter-horse's load.

The order of march was as follows: some two hundred and fifty young Englishmen led the way in knots of six or ten or more together, singing their national songs as they entered the French villages. After an interval came the huntsmen with their dogs; then the wagons, iron-bound and covered with hides,

rattled over the stones of the streets ; at a little distance followed the sumpter-horses with their quaint riders. After another interval the esquires followed, carrying the shields of the knights and leading their chargers ; then other esquires ; after them the falconers, carrying their birds ; afterwards seneschals, masters and servants of the chancellor's household ; then the knights and clerics, all riding two and two ; lastly came the chancellor himself, surrounded by his intimate friends. "What must the King of England be," said the French as he went by, "if his chancellor travels in such state?"

The King of France, wishing to take upon himself the entertainment of his guest, issued orders at Paris that nothing was to be sold to any of the ambassador's followers. When the rumour of this came to his ears, he sent on people secretly to the villages round Paris to purchase for him all that he could require. On his arrival, when he entered the Temple, where he was to lodge, his purveyors met him with the information that they had laid in stores sufficient to keep a thousand men for three days. Such open-handed expenditure had never been seen in Paris before. On one occasion a dish of eels for his table cost a hundred shillings ; and the "English chancellor's dish" passed into a proverb.

The scholars and masters of the schools of Paris waited upon him, doubtless not forgetful that he had himself studied among them ; and even the citizens who had debtors among the English students threw themselves upon his generosity. His prodigality in making presents was unbounded ; he gave away nearly every thing ; all his gold and silver plate, and all the

changes of clothing he had brought with him for that purpose : " to one he gave a gray cloak, to another one of furs ; to this one a palfrey, to that one a charger ;" no one left him empty-handed. What wonder that his embassy should have been perfectly successful ?

It was not only in peaceful negotiations that the splendid liberality and the skilful diplomacy of our chancellor were apparent, for in truth they were not less conspicuous in the time of war. In the siege of Toulouse, where there were assembled forces from Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Brittany, and Scotland, as well as from England itself, the chancellor's own troops were ever prominent. He was followed by seven hundred knights of his own household. Had his advice been adopted, the war would have been brought to a very speedy conclusion. The King of France had thrown himself into Toulouse with a very insufficient garrison. The chancellor proposed an immediate assault ; but Henry, though he did not mind waging war against the King of France, who was his feudal lord in virtue of his continental dominions, yet scrupled to attack his person. In the chancellor's opinion, Louis had laid aside all claims to the character of feudal superior when he went to war with the King of England. However, the French army was not long in reaching the scene, when the Kings of England and Scotland withdrew their forces from before Toulouse, after they had taken Cahors and several castles. In order to retain these, the chancellor, together with Henry of Essex, the king's constable, volunteered to remain. Clad in breast-plate and helmet, he headed his troops, and took three

highly fortified castles which were reputed impregnable. He also crossed the Garonne ; and when the whole province was confirmed in its obedience to the king, he returned to England in high favour and honour.

On a later occasion, when the seat of the war was in the Marches, between Gisors, Trie, and Courcelles, on the boundaries of the English and French territories, besides the seven hundred knights of his own household, the chancellor brought into the field twelve hundred knights and four thousand men, maintaining them at his own expense for forty days. Every knight received from him three shillings a day, to furnish himself with horses and esquires. The chancellor's knights were the foremost in every enterprise in the whole English army. They used to sound the sally and the retreat on slender trumpets which were peculiar to their troop, and the sound of which soon became familiar to both armies. Their prominence was due to the chancellor's personal courage and prowess. On his return from his embassy to France, he had taken prisoner Guy de Laval, a noted freebooter. We have seen him in his armour leading the troops in the neighbourhood of Toulouse ; and now we hear of him engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter with a valiant French knight, Engelramne de Trie, whom he unhorsed, making a prize of his charger.

In spite of his valour when engaged in war against him, King Louis of France had almost as great a friendship for him as his own sovereign. Once, when he was confined by a serious illness at St. Gervase in Rouen, the two kings came together to visit him. One day, during his convalescence, he was sitting

playing a game of chess, wearing a cloak with sleeves, which had, we suppose, a very secular air. Aschetinus, the Prior of Leicester, on his return from Gascony, where the king's court was, went to see him. It was always characteristic of our Saint, that he suffered his friends to speak to him as freely as they chose; even though it should be to find fault with him. The Prior of Leicester accordingly began: "What do you mean by wearing a cloak with such sleeves as those? You look more like a falconer than a cleric. Yet cleric you are, in person one, in office many, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dean of Hastings, Provost of Beverley, Canon of this place and of that, procurator too of the archbishopric, and as the current report goes at court, Archbishop to be." In the course of the conversation the chancellor said, "I know three poor priests in England, any one of whom I had rather see promoted to the archbishopric than myself; for I know my lord the king so intimately, that I am sure I should have to choose between his favour and that of Almighty God, if I myself were to be appointed." This interview happened after Theobald's death, a period which we have not yet reached; but it is here introduced as descriptive of the manner of his life during his chancellorship.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHANCELLOR'S POLICY.

It would be neither easy nor justifiable to attempt to clear St. Thomas from all blame in the scenes we have just witnessed. The argument which would excuse him for his warlike occupations on the score of the manners of the age, is not, it is true, altogether without weight; let the reader estimate its value for himself. Still, though this may palliate, it cannot justify so signal an infringement of the Church's canons. Beyond question it is not edifying to read of the Archdeacon of Canterbury,—the first unmitred dignitary in England, a churchman by all the ties of his plurality of benefices, and a deacon in orders,—as “clad in breastplate and helmet,” in successful tilt unhorsing the valiant Sir Engelramne, “with lance in rest and charger at gallop.” However, the most important view of the matter, that which his own conscience took, is sufficiently satisfactory. In after days, when every thing was weighed by him in the balance of the sanctuary, his lamentation was, “*De pastore avium factus sum Pastor ovium.*” The worldliness of his former life was his principal regret, without any special remorse in reference to deeds of arms, which in our times would be held to induce irregularity, and to render an application to the Pope necessary for absolution.

The vigour and energy of character, which led him to promote the war by appearing in person at the head of his troops, induced him to co-operate with the king in more than one scheme for procuring funds to carry it on, which are quite indefensible in their nature. Towards the close of St. Thomas's chancellorship, the bishopric of London fell vacant by the death of Richard de Beaumes, a relative of Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of Hereford. The see was soon offered by the chancellor to Gilbert himself, who afterwards occupied it, but who now refused it in consequence of the disgraceful condition annexed to the offer of the translation. The letter is still extant³⁶ in which Gilbert excuses himself to the king for his refusal. "The lord chancellor requests me," he says, "to undertake the charge of the bishopric of London, and with part of the income to maintain myself and my household as its Bishop, and to reserve the rest for my lord the king, to be spent as the Spirit of God shall prompt him." It is greatly to Gilbert's credit that he should have refused to do what he well calls "a grievous injury to his soul." The revenues of the see, on its falling vacant, were confiscated to the king's treasury, by an abuse which had been forsworn in more than one coronation-oath; and the charge of them was intrusted to the chancellor, who administered the widowed see by the clerics of his household. It may be that this offer to the Bishop of Hereford was only "that he should take charge of the bishopric" as administrator during the vacancy of the see, which would of course render the proposal far less reprehensible, as it would be but retaining a part of what the king was accustomed wholly to confiscate; and it is not an impro-

bable supposition that St. Thomas, who, as we know, used his influence with the king to prevent long vacancies, may in this instance have been able to gain nothing more liberal to the Church than the compromise here offered. Still it must be confessed that Gilbert's subsequent translation to this very see, and his evident indignation at the offer, render it probable that the transaction was as wrong as it at first sight appears to have been. As far, however, as the doubt is a fair one, it is but just that St. Thomas's reputation as chancellor and statesman should have its full benefit.

Another evil of the same kind, but more grievous, because its effects were more widely felt, was what Archbishop Theobald called, in a letter³⁷ he wrote to accompany his will when he felt his end was approaching, "the custom of second subsidies, which our brother the Archdeacon has imposed upon the churches." This "custom" was the enactment of an unjust and illegal tax upon the clergy for the prosecution of the war. In this there can be little doubt St. Thomas co-operated with Henry. Still, it must be remarked that those were not times when the king could be blamed with impunity; and therefore Theobald's phrase, that these subsidies were imposed by the chancellor, must not be taken to mean that he was their author. John of Salisbury,³⁸ than whom probably a better-informed authority could not be cited, later on, when of course this proceeding was brought as a precedent or a reproach against St. Thomas, replied to the objection, "But perhaps it will be said that the imposition of the tax, and the whole, in short, of this disturbance, is to be attributed

to the Archbishop," as he was when this was written, "who then had complete influence over the king, and made this suggestion to him. Now I know that this was not the case, for he only allowed the measure to pass, he did not sanction it. Inasmuch, however, as he was the instrument of injustice, it is a suitable punishment to him that he should be persecuted now by the very person whom he then preferred to his Supreme Benefactor."

There can be no doubt that Archbishop Theobald's object in recommending St. Thomas to the king, was the hope that he might be able to influence his master in those many matters in which the strong hand of the State had interfered from time to time with the liberty of the Church. Not that there was any specific understanding on the subject, but that St. Thomas's principles were well known to the Archbishop, and had been long tested in his many years of ecclesiastical service. The position he now held was one of great delicacy and difficulty. The king's temperament was fiery in the extreme; and opposition, or even a show of independence, drove him to great lengths. Beyond a doubt St. Thomas always had the liberty of the Church at heart, and through him, while he was chancellor, she was spared much oppression.

We have some instances to detail in which the chancellor used his powerful influence with the king in behalf of churchmen who had incurred his displeasure. The first case is that of Nicholas, Archdeacon of London. The cause of the king's irritation with him has not come down to us, but the arbitrariness with which he was treated is very characteristic of King Henry II. His relations were ordered into

exile, and his house was seized to be sold for the king's benefit. The good chancellor did not rest until, on the very day on which it came to his knowledge, he had obtained for the Archdeacon a free pardon and his recall.

His good offices were employed in behalf of other dignitaries and on a more important cause. On the accession of Pope Alexander, and the breaking out of the schism, Hugh the Archbishop of Rouen at once espoused the cause of the rightful Pope, and sent his nephew and Archdeacon, Gillot, to his suffragan Bishops to induce them to profess the same obedience. The king was very angry that it had not been left to him to take the initiative in this great question. He did not dare to do any thing directly against the Archbishop, who was much respected; but he ordered the house of Gillot to be pulled down. St. Thomas interfered, representing that, though the house belonged to Gillot, it was there that he himself was accustomed to lodge; endeavouring thus to save the Archdeacon's property without irritating Henry by opposition.

The next day the king heard that the Bishop of Le Mans had followed the example of the Archbishop of Rouen, and acknowledged Alexander to be the lawful Pope without so much as consulting him. The royal marshals went straight to the Bishop's hostelry, where they cut the halters and turned loose his horses; and having carried his baggage into the streets, they deprived him of his lodging, and drove him in disgrace from court. The king then had briefs prepared, giving orders that the Bishop's house at Le Mans should be immediately pulled down. As

soon as he had signed them, he held them up in his hand before the large company of nobles and ecclesiastics who were present at his court, saying, "It will not be long before the good people of Le Mans hear something about their Bishop." This was at Nieu-market; and as the King of France was there also, the consternation produced by this violent conduct was very widespread. The chancellor knew that it was quite useless to attempt at once to pacify Henry. The great thing was to gain time; so, on despatching the messengers, he privately instructed them to take four days for the journey, which was usually made in two. The next day the chancellor sent some of the Bishops to intercede with the king; but they found him inexorable; and later in the day some others went, and suffered a similar repulse. By and by the chancellor went himself, and renewed his entreaties on the following day. When the king thought that there had been time for the execution of his commands, he gave way, and permitted counter orders to be issued. These were at once despatched by a fleet messenger, who was warned, as he valued the chancellor's patronage, not to rest either day or night till he reached Le Mans. He arrived just in time; the former messengers had already delivered their letters, but the Bishop's house was not yet touched. Henry was afterwards glad enough to hear of the device which had thus saved him from the evil consequences of his own anger. Such anecdotes as these show us sufficiently clearly the character of the king with whom he had to deal, and lead us to wonder that during his chancellorship no greater injuries were inflicted on the Church.

From the extreme difficulty of his position we are hardly surprised at the statement³⁹ that "he would, even with tears, tell the Archbishop and his friends that he was wearied of his very life, and that after the desire of salvation there was nothing he so longed for as to be able to disentangle himself without disgrace from the snares of the court; for though the world seemed to flatter him in every thing, yet he was not unmindful of his condition and duty, and thus he was obliged on the one hand to strive for the safety and honour of the king, and on the other for the needs of the Church and the Bishops both against the king himself and against his enemies also, and by various arts to elude their various stratagems."

The Chronicle of Battle Abbey gives an account of a matter in which St. Thomas, as chancellor, was officially interested, and which has often been quoted as an example of his readiness, at this period of his life, to side with the king against those principles of which he was afterwards the champion and the martyr. When, however, the *ex-parte* character of that chronicle is borne in mind, and the fragmentary shape in which the only speech of his in the cause of any importance has come down to us, there does not seem to be any thing here to modify the judgment that the other acts of his chancellorship induce us to form.

Some modern writers have drawn from these facts conclusions most adverse to the character of St. Thomas. They say that one of two deductions is inevitable: either when he took the king's side in these acts of aggression on the Church he was sincere; and then the presumption is, that his sudden change of policy when made Archbishop was but a hypocritical

scheme for furthering his own ambition : or he was insincere in the part which he played when chancellor, the object of such double-dealing being to lead the king to think him hearty in his cause, and so to obtain his promotion to the coveted archbishopric.

This dilemma is as illogical as it is unjust. We have already shown that there is another manner of accounting for St. Thomas's conduct, which is historically far more probable than either of those thus objected. There is no reason whatever for supposing that his principles were not those of a true churchman during the intermediate time, spent in his chancellorship, between the days when he became the favourite of the Holy See as Archbishop Theobald's minister, and the later times when he was the Church's champion. If any of his biographers speak of a change in him at his consecration, it is a change, not of principle, but of manner of life; from worldliness to asceticism, from the courtier to the ecclesiastic and the saint.

And as for ambition prompting such hypocrisy, it must needs have been an ambition to fall instead of to rise, to become less instead of greater in any worldly sense : for what to an ambitious man was the primacy, especially if he was resolved to resign the chancellorship, when compared with the chancellorship itself, as it was when he held it? It is idle to say that he aimed at subduing the temporal order to the spiritual, and placing himself over both as the head of the nobler ; for his subsequent struggle was for the canonical independence of the clergy, and not for their advancement to temporal power. And what could the chancellor, and such a chancellor, gain by desiring a change? Like Joseph in the house of

Pharaoh, it was but in the royal throne that he was the king's inferior: knights and nobles swore fealty to him, reserving only their allegiance to the sovereign; he was the head of all the administration of justice; he had the command of the army; he could dispose of the whole kingdom at his pleasure; he was supreme as the king's prime-minister: would it not have been an ambition too short-sighted to be attributed to him, to throw away such a rule in the king's name in order to risk a contest with so powerful a sovereign for ever so brilliant a pre-eminence?

The truth undoubtedly is, that St. Thomas clearly understood and knew how to manage the king's passionate temper. He knew how hopeless it was to resist him in his paroxysms of rage, and we consequently find him allowing the storm to pass over without attempting to combat it. There were occasions when he stood by and sorrowfully saw things done of which he could not approve, but with which he was not called on by his position to interfere, and which prudence, and the fear of destroying his influence and his means of good, taught him, whether in mistaken judgment or not, to bear with patiently: and if there were occasions when he showed more of the statesman and courtier than of the dutiful son of the Church, these instances were but few in number, and not of such a character as to overthrow our conclusion that St. Thomas, though as yet no saint according to the high and heroic estimate of the Church, still showed in his difficult position as chancellor the material of which saints are made.

With such copious information before us respecting his chancellorship, we cannot be surprised that

the biographer⁴⁰ of those who have held that high office should call him "one of the most distinguished men of any race that this island has ever produced." Manifesting from his childhood a singular love for truth; his heart ever full of compassion towards the poor and needy; with the gentlest spirit of condescension towards the timid and the humble, yet showing an indomitable courage and will in resisting the oppressor; though bred in moderate circumstances, living amidst an unrivalled profusion of wealth and magnificence as if he had been accustomed to it from his cradle; checking the rapacious tendency of a king and a court against the Church, and yet, in spite of his natural vehemence of disposition, with such prudence that he has shared the blame of what he could not avert; advancing daily in the fear of God and in Christian perfection, and yet so unaffectedly and unostentatiously that his very virtue is questioned; leading an interior life of a sanctity that in some respects falls little short of the heroic:—we have before us one who, had he now died, and these details had reached us, we had justly regarded as one of the brightest and noblest characters in our history. How much happier we are, in being able to regard this as but the preface, the ushering-in of a far brighter and nobler destiny. In his after life the blemishes that we have observed are washed away. If he has been unjust to the Church, he atones for it by vindicating justice for her from the most violent and powerful. If he has forgotten the indelible character imprinted on his soul by holy orders, he is about to set to all men an example of the life a churchman should lead. If he has lived in too great magnificence for "the

servant of a lowly Lord," he does penance in the cowl of Citeaux. If he has had too great a love for popularity, or too much sense of human respect, he will shortly be mocked at and deserted, as well by Bishop as by noble, in the Church's cause. And all the hardy virtues we have seen in him hitherto will flourish in their native climate of adversity; he who is just will yet be justified, and he who is holy will yet be sanctified; and all will be crowned by a death which, as that of the saints, will be precious in the eyes of the King of the Martyrs and of the Divine Author and Guardian of the immunities of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEATH OF THEOBALD.

IN 1158 King Henry and his chancellor crossed over into France, where they were magnificently received by King Louis at Paris.⁴¹ The Saint's politic negotiations gained from the French king what was felt to be a very great advantage towards the consolidation of Henry's continental dominions. The latter sovereign was permitted, as seneschal of the King of France, to enter Brittany and exercise martial law on all who were disturbing the peace of that country. This was the King of England's first entry into Brittany; and he took occasion of it to gain possession of Nantes. King Louis returned his visit; passing through Le Mans to Mont St. Michel, and thence to Bayeux, Caen, and Rouen, where he was received with a magnificence equal to his own. It was in the next year, 1159, that the war of Toulouse occurred, on which we have already dwelt so much.

In 1160 Theobald began to feel that his long reign in the chair of St. Augustine was drawing to a close. We must dwell for a short time on the cares that beset him, and rendered his last days anxious; for they will serve excellently to put us in possession of the feeling that existed respecting the relations of the crown to the Church when the see of Canterbury fell vacant.

One of the abuses against which the aged prelate struggled, and, through his foresight in placing St. Thomas with the king, not without success, was the long vacancy of bishoprics ; which, though involving churches in widowhood, and leaving the people without a pastor, was an easy and tempting manner of recruiting the royal treasury. His spirit, preparing to give an account of his stewardship, would indeed have been grieved if he could have foreseen what St. Thomas a few years afterwards thus⁴² described to Pope Alexander: "To say nothing of the way in which the king treats the churches of Canterbury and Tours, of which you have heard, and of which I wish you knew still more, now for some time past he holds in his own hands seven vacant bishoprics in our province and that of Rouen, nor will he suffer pastors to be there ordained. The clergy of the kingdom are given up to his officials, to be trodden down and treated as a prey." It became a current saying, during a seventeen years vacancy, that Lincoln would never have another Bishop.

Robert Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, died in 1159; and Theobald was very anxious that his see should be filled. He was a wealthy man, who had been presented in the first year of King Henry's reign; and John of Salisbury leads us to understand that his appointment had been uncanonical,⁴³ if not simoniacal. This renders intelligible the following passage in a letter⁴⁴ from Archbishop Theobald to the king; which is interesting as showing, as several others of his writings also do, the misgivings with which the primate sank into his grave: "The children of this world suggest to you to diminish the authority of the

Church, in order to increase your royal dignity. They are certainly your majesty's enemies, and provoke the indignation of God, whoever they may be. It is He who has extended your boundaries; it is He who has advanced your glory. It is wicked in you to diminish the glory of your Lord and Benefactor; it merits chastisement, and the severest chastisement beyond doubt it will receive;—nay, by God's grace there shall be no chastisement, for by His help it shall not be done. The spouse of the Church addresses you by my mouth. Peter, the shepherd of all, the prince of the Apostles, addresses you; and all the saints earnestly beseech you, that if you would have them for the patrons and guardians of your realm and reign, you would permit a pastor to be ordained according to the Lord for the church of Exeter, and would strive to rescue it from shipwreck. It was the first in the kingdom to which you looked. See, I beg, my lord, what has come of it. You know whom He excluded from the Church, who drove out those who sold doves; and God forbid that any one should enter in whom Christ shut out. I pledge myself a surety for St. Peter, that the honour which you show to him he will repay a hundredfold, even in this world." This, which sounds almost as a voice from the tomb, apparently produced but little effect; for the king would have appointed Robert Fitz-Harding, an illiterate and useless person, if the canons of Exeter had not refused to elect him.

The Archbishop's wish, which he prosecuted with great fervour, was that the see might be given to Bartholomew, then archdeacon of that church; for whom, he said, he was willing to pledge himself to the king. It is edifying to be able to add that Bar-

tholomew knew nothing of the application thus made in his behalf.⁴⁵ Theobald pressed his request on Henry with the energy of a man who feels that he has no time to lose. He himself wrote⁴⁶ to the chancellor; and another still more urgent letter to St. Thomas was from John of Salisbury, who says that the Archbishop was beginning to be dispirited as to his personal influence with Henry. He was then ill in his bed. The letter adds that they had heard that the king had conferred the income of three vacant bishoprics on St. Thomas, but that such a report had not caused them to doubt of his mediation; for they had none of them forgotten the advantages which Lincoln, York, and many other churches had received at his hands. Theobald had the consolation of communicating,⁴⁷ by means of his faithful John of Salisbury, this appointment to Bartholomew; and he sent for him, that he, with Richard, Bishop-elect of Coventry, might be consecrated, if not by him, at least in his presence. His brother Walter,⁴⁸ Bishop of Rochester, consecrated the Bishop of Coventry in the chapel into which Theobald was carried; but Bartholomew's consecration was postponed until he had done homage to the king. He crossed the sea, and returned with all haste; but Theobald had died before his arrival. The Bishop of Rochester consecrated him at Christ Church, Canterbury, at the request of the prior and community.

In Bartholomew's election, the solicitude of Theobald's last moments was successful. Coventry had had an unusually short vacancy; but, in spite of all his efforts, he left London, Worcester, and Bangor without Bishops.

As his end drew near, he felt the absence of the king and St. Thomas very deeply. His letters to both of them, pleading to be allowed to see their faces once more before he died, are very touching. Again and again⁴⁹ he writes to the king: "We petition your majesty that it may please you, as we believe it to be the pleasure of God, that you would return to your own peculiar people. Let their loyalty move you, and the affection of your children, from whom the sternest parent could hardly bear to be so long separated; let the love of your wife move you, the beauty of the country, and that union of delights we cannot enumerate; and, not to forget my own case, let my desolation move you, for my age and sickness will not let me wait long for your desired coming. In this hope I wait; and with many a sigh I say to myself, 'Will not my Christ give me to see him whom at my desire He gave me to anoint?'" And then he begs that the king will at least send him his Archdeacon. "He is the only one we have, and the first of our council. He ought to have come unsummoned; and unless your need of him had excused him, he had been guilty of disobedience before God and man. But since we have ever preferred your will to our own, and have determined to further it in all that is lawful, we forgive him his fault; wishing him to remain in your service as long as you need him, and ordering him to give his whole zeal and attention to your wants: but permit him to return as soon as ever you can spare him." And this he unites to his prayer for the church of Exeter, beseeching with equal energy *de remittendo cancellario, et promovendo negotio Exoniensis Ecclesiæ.*

In the same tone he writes to St. Thomas, anxious beyond measure to see him, but warning him not to incur the king's displeasure; for he doubted his own influence, and he reminded him that favour for the sake of the dead, amongst whom he expected soon to be numbered, was not to be relied upon. John of Salisbury at the same time writes to say⁵⁰ that he had never known the Archbishop equally anxious about any thing, so that they had even thought of forcing St. Thomas to return by threat of censures. But they had been induced to be patient by the report, the importance of which they would be the last to undervalue, of the perfect unanimity between the king and the chancellor. "It is publicly said that you have one heart and one soul, and that your friendly familiarity is so strong, that you like and dislike the same things. The whole court hangs upon your counsel."

The wish so fervently expressed was not gratified. What the dying prelate longed to press upon the king and the chancellor, if he had been permitted to see them, is sufficiently clear from the letters⁶¹ which accompanied his will. Besides the question of subsidies, he urged that none of his ecclesiastical arrangements should be interfered with, excommunicating any one who might venture to do so. Under a similar censure he forbade any interference with his church of Canterbury, especially any alienation of its lands; he requested that the king would permit his property to be divided amongst the poor, towards whom he had during life always shown great charity; and he wrote most earnestly to Henry respecting his own successor. "I beseech you to hear me, as you would have God

hear you at your last breath. I send you and your children a blessing from our Lord Jesus Christ; and do you, I pray, send my desolate ones your majesty's consolation. I commend to you the holy church of Canterbury, from which, by my ministry, you received the reins of government, that you may defend it from the attacks of wicked men: and to me, who, though unworthy, have yet, by God's help, ruled it as best I knew how, give as successor such a pastor as may not be unworthy of so great a see, who may delight in religion, and the merits of whose virtue may find favour with God. Your faithful servant must give you counsel; and, before the Lord and His saints, this is my counsel: Seek not in this matter what is your own, but the Lord's; for I answer to you for Him, that if you will have a faithful care for His cause, He will greatly advance yours."

Theobald had been Archbishop two-and-twenty years when he died, on the 18th of April 1161. He was buried in the mother-church of England, soon to be rendered so famous by the death and relics of his immediate successor. Nineteen years after his death his tomb was opened, and his body was found to be entire and uncorrupt. His soul we trust is with God. His see was vacant for one year, a month, and fourteen days; and when next there was an Archbishop, it was St. Thomas of Canterbury.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW ARCHBISHOP.

THE year of Theobald's death passed over quietly, the revenues of the see being as usual⁵² intrusted to the chancellor's care. The free-spoken Prior of Leicester has already shown us that the current belief was that the chancellor was to be Theobald's successor.

In the spring of 1162, King Henry determined to send St. Thomas over into England to provide against the incursions of the Welsh, and on other public business of importance. Just as the chancellor was about to start upon his journey, he went to salute the king at the Castle of Falaise in Normandy. Henry took him on one side, and said, "You do not yet know altogether the cause of your journey. It is my will that you should be Archbishop of Canterbury." On this the chancellor, looking down at his dress, which was gay, said with a smile, "What a religious man, what a saint you wish to place in that holy bishopric and over so famous a monastery! I am certain that if, by God's disposal, it were so to happen, the love and favour you now bear towards me would speedily turn into the bitterest hatred. I know that you would require many things, as even now you do require them, in church matters, which I could never bear quietly; and so the envious would take occasion to

provoke an endless strife between us." The king was utterly unmoved by this, and in the chancellor's presence instructed the nobles who were to accompany him in his mission, that they were to intimate this his desire to the monks of Canterbury and to the clergy of the kingdom. He then turned to one of them in particular, Richard de Luci, whose position about the king's person was very confidential, and said to him, "Richard, if I lay dead on my bier, would you not strive that my eldest son Henry should be crowned king?" He replied, "My lord, I would with all my might." "I wish you to take as much pains," rejoined Henry, "for the promotion of the chancellor to the see of Canterbury." A few years later the expressions that he had here used often recurred to the mind of St. Thomas as almost prophetic, and during his exile his companions frequently heard him allude to them or recount them. They accord precisely with what he had said to the Prior of Leicester.

In the month of May⁵³ the king sent three Bishops, with Richard de Luci and Walter his brother the Abbot of Battle, to Canterbury, to summon the prior and monks to hold an election. When they were assembled in the chapter-house, Richard addressed the community, enlarging upon the king's filial devotion to the church of Canterbury, which induced him without further delay to send them free leave to elect; and in conclusion pointing out to them the necessity there was that the object of their choice should be acceptable to the king.

The summons was to London, that they might there meet the Bishops of the province at West-

minster;⁵⁴ and thither accordingly Wibert the prior and the senior monks of the chapter betook themselves. The electors speedily came to the conclusion that their wisest course would be to consult the king's representatives as to the person who would be most acceptable to him. They did not immediately elect the chancellor when he was proposed to them by Richard de Luci. It was not any repugnance to St. Thomas personally that led them to hesitate; but it was their feeling, as religious, that the successor of the apostle of England should be a child of St. Benedict, as Theobald and the majority of those who had filled that throne had been. His intimacy with the king appears to have been regarded from two different points of view. Some thought that it was calculated to promote harmony between the Church and State; while others considered it dangerous, as destroying the independence which alone could hope to resist any undue encroachments of the civil power. Though doubtless the expression of the king's will was contrary to that perfect freedom of election which the Church desires, and to which she has a right; yet, from all that has come down to us, it would seem that there was no such direct influence or intimidation of the electors used as would nullify the election, as there had been in Stephen's reign in the case of St. William of York. Quite enough there was to raise a suspicion of its canonical character, and this St. Thomas himself represented in the strongest terms a few years afterwards to Pope Alexander. However, as far as the forms go, all seems valid; and at the close of the election Wibert announced to the Bishops and abbots, who, together with the priors of conven-

tual houses, and the earls and other nobles, with the king's officials, were assembled together at Westminster by royal mandate, that they had elected Thomas, the lord chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.

There was but one dissentient voice raised at this announcement. Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, was the only one who was dissatisfied. The report⁵⁵ was very widespread that he was himself ambitious of the vacant primacy. The belief in the justice of this charge receives much strength from the fact that when, after St. Thomas's martyrdom, the primacy once more fell vacant, he had again to defend himself from the same accusation in a long letter⁵⁶ to the king. However, finding himself alone and unsupported, he changed his tactics,⁵⁷ and became the loudest in praise of the election. For this reason some well-informed writers⁵⁸ deny that he ever disturbed the unanimity with which the name of St. Thomas was received. It must be borne in mind that Gilbert was not himself an elector; for it was the privilege of the community of Christ Church to elect the Archbishop, who was *ex officio* their abbot also. Gilbert was present as one of the suffragan Bishops of the province.

The king had written⁵⁹ to say that he would hold himself bound by whatever was done by Prince Henry, who, even before his coronation, is sometimes called the young king. The Bishops therefore went to the prince; and he, as well as the officials to whom the king had written on the subject, gave full assent to the election. Henry of Winchester, the brother of the late King Stephen, then said: "The lord chan-

cellor, our elect, has now been long in the palace of the king your father, and has had the highest place in the kingdom, having had the whole realm at his disposal, so that nothing has been done save by his will : wherefore we beg that he may be given over to the Church of God and to us, free, and absolved from every obligation of the court, from every complaint and calumny, and from all claims ; so that from this hour henceforward, unshackled and free, he may attend to the things of God. For we know that the king your father has delegated to you his powers in this matter, and that he will ratify whatever you ordain." This petition was fully granted, and St. Thomas was given over to the Church free from all secular obligations hitherto contracted.

The objections that St. Thomas had previously made⁶⁰ to his appointment had been overruled by the arguments and authority of Henry of Pisa, Cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, who was the Pope's legate in France. As soon, therefore, as the proceedings of the election were concluded in London, he set out for Canterbury, to be consecrated in the metropolitan church. He was accompanied by a great number of Bishops and nobles ; his position as the head of the English hierarchy, as well as prime minister of the crown, naturally attracting multitudes, and rendering them anxious to do him all honour. During the journey he called Herbert de Bosham aside, who now appears for the first time personally in the history,⁶¹ though evidently already on familiar terms with the Archbishop-elect ; and told him privately that in a dream that night a venerable person had stood beside him and given him ten ta-

lents. Herbert tells us that he attached no meaning to it at the time, but that afterwards he bethought him of the good servant in the Gospel who doubled the talents intrusted to him. The tenor of his meditations by day is betrayed to us by the dreams of the night. How to trade with his ten talents his meditations taught him, and he who was faithful over the few is now the ruler over many.

In the course of the same journey he bade Herbert always come and tell him in confidence what others might say of him, and if he thought him wrong in any thing, at once to point it out to him; "for," he added, "four eyes see more clearly than two." And Herbert thinks that he gave the same commission to others also. The Saint was, indeed, losing no time. The powerful will, which had made him without a rival in worldly matters, was now brought to bear with all its force on the work of his own sanctification. These glimpses of the passage of a noble soul to spiritual heroism are inexpressibly precious.

On Saturday in Whitsun-week⁶² he was ordained priest in Canterbury Cathedral by his old friend Walter, Bishop of Rochester, "the Vicar of the Church of Canterbury for ordinations and dedications." For the honourable office of consecrating the primate in the solemn function which had been fixed for the following day, there were several claimants. Roger, the Archbishop of York, anxious we must suppose for his dignity, rather than desirous of showing any affection for the Archbishop-elect, though he was not himself present, sent messengers to put in his claim to perform the consecration. The Bishops acknowledged that it was an ancient right of the see

of York; but it was overruled in this instance, because Roger had made no profession of subjection or due obedience to the church of Canterbury. A Welsh Bishop also put in a claim, on the ground that he was the oldest Bishop, having been the first consecrated of the living hierarchy. Walter of Rochester claimed the right in virtue of his being the chaplain of the Archbishop. Some spoke for the Bishop of Winchester, who was cantor or precentor in Canterbury Cathedral. The bishopric of London was vacant; but the chapter wrote to petition that the Bishop of Winchester, who was administering Sacraments in London during the vacancy of the see, might be selected. This request was acceded to out of respect for the venerable Henry of Blois, Walter giving way under a protest that it should be accounted no precedent against the rights of the church of Rochester.

Thus, on the Octave of Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, the 3d of June 1162, St. Thomas was consecrated a Bishop in his metropolitan church by Henry of Winchester, in the presence of nearly all his suffragans, as well as of a vast multitude of abbots, religious, clerics, and nobles, Prince Henry himself⁶³ being there. St. Thomas decreed that the Feast of the Blessed Trinity should be observed every year as a solemn festival in his church of Canterbury.

From his high position both as brother of King Stephen and legate for several years of the Holy See, the Bishop of Winton had gained a very wide experience of public affairs. Few were better fitted to judge of the course the new Archbishop would be obliged to pursue. His speech to the prince is a very distinct intimation of the view that he had taken;

but immediately⁶⁴ after the consecration he expressed himself far more plainly. "Dearest brother," he said, "I give you now the choice of two things; beyond a doubt you must lose the favour of the earthly or of the heavenly King." Raising his hands and looking up to heaven, as he knelt for the blessing of his consecrator, our Saint replied, with an earnestness that brought tears to the eyes of both, "By God's help and strength I now make my choice, and never for the love and favour of an earthly king will I forego the grace of the King of Heaven." When the news, years afterwards, reached Henry of Blois, that the head he had that day anointed had in that same church received the death-wound of martyrdom, he exclaimed, "Thank God that it was my privilege to consecrate him!"

St. Thomas was still but Archbishop-elect. He had received in his consecration the plenitude of the sacerdotal power; he had been raised to that order to which by Divine right priests are subject; but jurisdiction flows from the See of Peter only, and that jurisdiction which the canon law gives to Archbishops-elect St. Thomas as yet had, and no more. The symbol of the completeness of metropolitan authority, which is a delegation of power over brother Bishops from him who has power over all, is the pallium, which is blessed by the Pope on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul, and which, from the shrine where it is then placed, is said to be sent "from the body of blessed Peter."

Immediately after St. Thomas had been consecrated, he sent his messengers to Montpellier, where Pope Alexander III. then was. They were six in

number, and amongst them was the treasurer of York, the Abbot of Evesham, one of the monks of Canterbury, and John of Salisbury. They were the bearers of letters from the Bishops, from the prior and community, and from the king, relating what had been done, and praying for the pallium. It was readily granted by the Pope,⁶⁵ and solemnly received by St. Thomas on St. Laurence's day, the 10th of August, after the usual oath, at the high altar of his cathedral. He went barefoot to meet those who were bringing this symbol of his dependence on the Apostolic See; a fitting act of devotion for the beginning of his reign as Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARCHBISHOP IN HIS CHURCH.

THE sacrament of holy orders wrought a glorious work in the soul of St. Thomas. Hitherto we have called him Saint by anticipation ; now it is his well-deserved, hardly-earned title. Nor does it seem too much to say, with the knowledge of the detail of his life as a prelate which has been preserved for our edification, that even if it had not pleased God to mark His love for him by conferring upon him the crown of martyrdom, he would have been held forth to us by the Church as a confessor, as so many of his predecessors in his see have been ; and we had still venerated, though with one honour wanting, St. Thomas of Canterbury. But, thank God, that honour too was not withheld, and in the brightness of the glory of the martyr the dignity of the confessor has been absorbed ; so that while for the one we have the Church's unerring judgment, for the estimate of the other we are left to our convictions.

The change of external circumstances affecting our Saint was very great. When the multitude of prelates and nobles who had attended the consecration had left Canterbury, he remained in the church to which he was now wedded. Hitherto he had lived at court and in camp the life of a Norman noble of the highest rank, surrounded by all the appliances of the

greatest luxury and magnificence, as remarkable for worldly grandeur as for his unblemished life. Now he had suddenly become not only the first of the hierarchy of a great kingdom, but the resident superior of a large religious house. The internal government of the monastery of Christ Church was carried on by the prior ; but the Archbishop was the head or abbot of the community.

The outlines of his life were derived from the Rule of St. Benedict, by which the monks were governed ; but the manner in which those outlines were filled up was his own, and very characteristic of him. The first duty that was quite new to him was attendance at choir. Matins broke in upon every night's rest ; for the recitation of this part of the divine office always occupied the dead of the night. When this was over,⁶⁸ thirteen poor men were daily taken into a private room, where the Saint washed and kissed their feet, and then waited on them, serving up to them with his own hands a plentiful meal. They were dismissed about daybreak, each with four pieces of money. His object in selecting so early an hour for this act of humility and charity was that it might be strictly private, as well as that he might not be hindered from performing it by other occupations. The custom was maintained even in his absence, for then one of the convent guestmasters took his place. We shall form some idea of the assistance the poor received from one of the greater monasteries, on learning that when these thirteen poor men left, on whom the Archbishop had attended in person, twelve others were treated by a guestmaster with equal hospitality, differing only from the first in this, that they did not

receive the alms in money ; and that later on in the morning, at nine o'clock, a plentiful meal was set before one hundred poor persons, who were then called "prebendaries" or pensioners.

At daybreak St. Thomas retired to his room ; and after a short time given to sleep, he aroused himself promptly, and while others were resting themselves after the nightly interruption of their repose by the divine office, he was intent on the study of the sacred Scriptures. That this study might be more fruitful as well as safe, he was attended at this hour by Herbert de Bosham, who tells⁶⁷ us that his holy master had thus singled him out for this intimate intercourse with him. The Saint's devotion for the Holy Scriptures was so great, that often when out riding, he would draw up, and call Herbert to confer with him on some point of sacred learning. At such times he would say, "Oh that I could lay aside the cares of the world, and in peace and quietness attend to sacred studies ! how carefully I would atone for the time I have lost !" In his full loose sleeves he would carry a few pages, that so he might ever have by him the means of his favourite occupation, when he had a little occasional or accidental leisure. He surrounded himself by persons skilled in all kinds of ecclesiastical learning, from whose conversation he derived much profit. The result of this was seen in the quickness wherewith he prepared himself for that important portion of the duty of a Bishop,⁶⁸ preaching both to clergy and people.

After the striking exhibition of diffidence and humility shown in this reliance on the assistance of another, the instructor to whom the Saint showed

such docility left him ; and until nine o'clock no one was permitted to disturb his union with God under any pretext whatever. Of this precious time God and the saints and angels were the sole witnesses. At nine he came out of his room, either to say Mass, or to assist at it. " For he did not say Mass every day ; and this was, as he himself said, not through negligence, but reverence."

While St. Thomas received the sacred vestments for Mass from the ministers, his changing countenance, and the tears in his eyes, betrayed how deeply his heart was affected at the solemn act of offering sacrifice, like a good pontiff, for his own sins and those of his people. During the early part of the Mass, which is called the Mass of Catechumens, to preserve himself from distraction while the ministers were singing, he would read some devout book. His favourite on these occasions was a little prayer-book composed, with much unction and devotion, by his blessed predecessor Anselm of holy memory. He generally said one collect in the Mass, sometimes three, but very seldom more. He was careful that his Mass should be short ; and Herbert, in whose words these interesting details are given, assigns, as the reason for his saying it rapidly, one with which he must have been familiar, inasmuch as it is given in the Rubric of the Sarum Missal when exhorting the priest not to dwell too long on his *Memento*, " for fear of distractions and suggestions by evil angels ;" adding that thus he verified in the august sacrifice of the Gospel the words spoken of its shadow and type, " Ye shall eat it in haste ; for it is the Phase, that is, the pass-over of the Lord." Those who frequently assisted at

his Mass can bear witness to the tears and sighs the presence of his Lord drew from him, and to the very great devotion with which he celebrated. "When he was alone," says another of his intimate friends,⁶⁹ "he shed tears in wonderful abundance; and when he stood at the altar, he seemed in very presence in the flesh to see the Passion of the Lord. He handled the divine Sacraments with great reverence, so that his very handling of them strengthened the faith and fervour of those who witnessed it."

All his monks knew that Theobald's successor was sure to prove an able Archbishop; but many of them must have feared lest he should be a worldly one. The heartiness of his adoption of a strictly devout and religious life must have speedily removed all their misgivings; and yet, singularly enough, there was one point which for a while offended them. But one thing recalled the magnificence of the chancellor, and that was his dress.⁷⁰ It may have been that he retained his gay attire in order to conceal the interior change that was taking place within him, and to secure himself from the observation of the court. It was at this very Pentecost of his consecration that he first put on his hair-shirt; it was not, therefore, from a worldly feeling that he did not conform himself in dress to his new manner of life. The monks, however, might well be scandalised at the incongruity of his attending choir in his gay secular dress. With the freedom which he ever allowed and encouraged in his friends, in a manner so characteristic of his greatness of mind, one of the religious, who was more intimate with him than the others, reproved him for it, and undertook to relate to him a dream that one of the

community had had regarding it. "Go tell *the chancellor*," a grave and venerable personage had seemed to say to him, by the title he made use of marking his indignation, "to change his dress without delay; and if he refuse to do so, I will oppose him all the days of his life." To the reproof St. Thomas made no reply, but he burst into tears.

By the close of the year in which he was consecrated he had laid aside⁷¹ his valuable and coloured dress, with its foreign and variegated furs, and put on a black cappa, which was closed all round and reached his feet, and which was made of a material of little value, and was adorned with lambswool instead of fur. This dress he was in the habit of frequently changing, in order that he might give away those that he had worn to clothe the poor. The black cappa he continued to wear all his life, with a surplice of fine linen over it.⁷² He is described as wearing it at Northampton, and he was in it when he was martyred. Some writers tell us that between the two habits, the one of penance, known as yet to none but his spiritual director, and the other, even more humbly ecclesiastical than his dignity required, he wore the dress of a monk; and they thus describe him as being at once an example to the cleric, the monk, and the hermit: but this would seem to be an anticipation of the Cistercian cowl which he received at Pontigny, blessed by the Pope, and which also he wore at his martyrdom.

The black cappa with lambswool, and the linen surplice, was not the monastic habit of his monks of Christ Church. It was that of the Black Canons Regular, to which order Merton belonged. When a

boy there at school, he had doubtless worn the same habit as the religious among whom he lived. It was therefore natural that, being surrounded by a chapter of religious, and sitting on a throne which had been rarely occupied save by religious, when he sought to show even by his habit that he had devoted himself to the service of God, not being himself a Benedictine, he should resume that habit which he had worn when young, and with which were associated his recollections of strictness and holiness of life.

The Saint was accustomed to wear his stole openly and constantly;⁷³ and his object was that he might ever be ready to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He was remarkable for his devotion to this sacrament, and for his readiness at all times to administer it. Bishops in those days⁷⁴ would give Confirmation even on horseback. St. Thomas always alighted for that purpose, but would often administer the sacrament in the open air. At several places, where he was known to have done so, crosses were afterwards set up by the roadside, and became famous for miracles. The custom of constantly wearing his stole he discontinued during his exile; but he resumed it on his return to his province, shortly before his death.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP IN HIS PALACE.

WE have not yet followed our Saint through the whole of a day's occupations in his new home. We now pass from the more private acts of devotion to the public details of his life; we accompany him from the choir and the altar to the refectory and the episcopal chancery.

He may be said⁷⁵ almost to have dined in public, so many sat down to table with him. He occupied the middle place at the dais at the end of the hall: on his right were placed his personal companions, whose character is well shown by the title by which they have come down to us, as his *eruditi*; on his left sat the monks and religious. His soldiers and other lay retainers dined at a separate table, lest they might be annoyed by having to listen to the book which was read aloud during the Archbishop's dinner. He would not permit musical instruments to be played during the meal; a custom then so general, that in almost every dining-hall a gallery was built for the purpose: but he would occasionally interrupt the reading to discuss some question of interest, often a point from Holy Scripture, with his friends.

Though valuable plate of gold and silver was spread upon his table, as it had been under former Archbishops, his heart was no longer set on magnificence. His temperance was worthy of note, and his modera-

tion was the more striking from the necessity that the habits of many years imposed upon him that his food should not be coarser than that to which he had been accustomed. One day,⁷⁶ a person who was dining with him remarked with a smile on the delicacy of his food; the natural warmth of disposition and energy of the Saint speak in his characteristic answer: "Certes, brother, if I am not mistaken, you take your bean with greater eagerness than I the pheasant before me." Herbert quietly bears witness that the rebuke was deserved. "This person lived with us awhile," he says; "and, though he did not care for delicacies, for he was not used to them, he was truly a glutton of grosser food." Of such things, however, he eat very sparingly; and while he would taste the wine that was set before him, and the dishes that were brought to table, his principal food was bread, and his usual drink was water in which fennel had been boiled.

As he sat at table, his large clear eye would wander round the room; and if he saw that any one who had a claim to a more honourable position had by accident been seated in a low place, he would atone for it by sending him a share of his own cup and his own dish. He was also watchful that the domestics each performed their duty; and if any one were neglectful, he was certain to receive a reprimand in due time and place. The Saint was sure to notice the absence of any one of his own companions. If a stranger came to visit him, he did not place him amongst them, lest some word might be dropped in their conversation which it was not advisable should be overheard; unless it should happen to be some person remarkable rather for his piety and learning than for dignity,

whom St. Thomas would invite by name. Others were honourably entertained at another table, where the Saint would send them frequent marks of his attention. Herbert adds, that it was the custom of his predecessors, which he followed, not to have any one about him as a cleric, much less as a counsellor, who was bound by special obligations to the king, in consequence of the difficulty such a person would feel if any misunderstanding should arise between the king and the Archbishop.

He never sat down without a number of poor having places assigned to them in the refectory; and his table was the more liberally furnished that a plentiful meal might remain for distribution. He had always been renowned for the exercise of hospitality and for a profuse liberality, and the poor were not the losers by the reduction of splendour in his mode of life. A beggar⁷⁷ never left his door empty-handed. Theobald, his pious master, had doubled the alms which his predecessors had been in the habit of distributing; St. Thomas doubled those of Theobald, and he devoted to the same pious uses all the tithes which he received from any source. He would also send to hospitals and poor colleges sometimes four or five marks, sometimes gifts of provisions. He caused his attendants to visit the sick and aged; of these many became his daily pensioners; and, as winter came on, he gave away an abundance of warm clothing.

These details of his bountiful almsgiving have led us away once more from the order of his day; we have brought it, however, nearly to a close. After dinner he retired with his friends into his private room, when a portion of time was devoted to confer-

ences on ecclesiastical subjects. Occasionally,⁷⁸ when he found that he required it, he would sleep for a little while in the afternoon.

One of his favourite resorts was the cloister, where he might often be seen like one of the monks, perusing some book. The infirmary also was very attractive to him; and he would delight to attend to the wants of the sick religious. He always had a great love for the religious orders, and this he would show by the respect and veneration monks ever received from him. In the Ember week in September after his consecration he held an ordination; and in no one of his duties as Archbishop was he more careful or anxious than in his choice of subjects for holy orders. His anxiety on another point soon appeared; for he would speak to his companions on his determination never to confirm the election of an unfit person to a bishopric; and he would regret, frequently and earnestly, the appearance of unfitness in his own case, saying, when his friends would console him by instances of others who under such circumstances had made excellent Bishops, that they were miracles of the grace of God. On this point, however, his determination was not tried; the only two persons consecrated by him were well worthy of the episcopal dignity.

With a judicial office he was of course familiar; and that which he had held, in those early days of equity, was not unfit for an ecclesiastic. Now, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he was also a judge; and this, the highest Church court of the realm, was scarcely inferior in importance to the secular judgment-seat of the chancellor. His qualities fitted him in a high degree for the office of a judge: his resist-

ance to the injustice and insolence of the powerful was almost proverbial ; and his impartiality was such, that Fitz-Stephens,⁷⁹ who was an official in his chancery, tells us that " the letters and prayers of the king himself were of no use to a man unless he had right on his side." With witnesses he was a patient and careful listener, and his questions were shrewd and penetrating. His judgments were promptly given ; but of all his good qualities his integrity receives the highest praise, as if it were not in those times too common a virtue. If he was aware that a man had a cause pending in his court, he invariably refused to receive from him any present, even of the value of a farthing, except the offer were of articles of food, which could not well be refused. A similar course was enjoined, both publicly and privately, upon all his officials, except only the advocates who practised there. There is a story told of a certain abbot, who went from one to another who were in a position to help him with the offer of a present, which, to his astonishment, every one refused. Happily the good man might rely on the justice of his cause ; for he went away, we learn, successful in his suit, with his gold in his pocket, and the words of Ecclesiasticus on his lips : " Blessed is the man who has not gone after gold." There was no fee for the sealbearer, nor for signatures, nor for the notary ; and there was nothing exacted for sealing-wax, paper, or seal. " For," says Herbert, " whose image and superscription does the seal bear, that it should be bought and sold ?" The seal⁸⁰ that drew forth this remark, fragile though the substance was on which it was impressed, has come down to us. It represents the figure of the Arch-

bishop, fully vested, wearing a mitre of unusual form, and having in his left hand a short pastoral staff, the crook turned inwards, and corresponding precisely with the description of that pastoral staff which was preserved for centuries among the relics at Canterbury, of pear-wood, with the head of black horn. The inscription simply announced that it was "the seal of Thomas, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury."

A few words must yet be added to this personal sketch on the subject of his mortifications. His self-denial with regard to food and sleep has already been mentioned, and a hair-shirt has been alluded to; but nothing has yet been said of the unusual severity of this instrument of penance. It was not merely a hair-shirt, but drawers of the same rough material, that he wore; and this mortification was increased in a very singular degree, if there is no exaggeration in the accounts⁸¹ which tell us that at the time of his martyrdom it was found to be infested with vermin. It is not that it was never changed, for two others were amongst his effects when they were ransacked by his murderers; and we are further told that its existence was during his lifetime known only to Robert of Merton his confessor, and to "Brun son vaslet," whose business it was to wash and prepare it for him.

CHAPTER IX.

GILBERT POLIOT.

A REPORT of the great change in St. Thomas's manner of life, misrepresented and distorted by the malice of the courtiers, reached the ears of King Henry in Normandy, and doubtless caused him some uneasiness. This feeling was increased by a message⁸² which he soon received from St. Thomas, resigning into his hands the great seal and the office of chancellor. By this the king was much mortified, probably because he regarded it as a proof that the Saint was laying aside whatever might be an obstacle to his freedom of action, in case any dissension should arise between the Crown and the Church. As a mark of his displeasure, he urged upon him the immediate resignation of the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, and his delay in complying with the injunction the king never entirely forgave. It is to be presumed that the fear lest such a man as Geoffrey Bidel should be a thorn in his side, was the cause of his retaining that high dignity for a while.

At the same time there arose a still graver cause of dissension. The Archbishop had received from the king, according to the explicit statement of Fitz-Stephens,⁸³ leave to reclaim all estates of the church of Canterbury which had been alienated by his predecessors or were occupied by laymen. He entered upon this course, in itself no attractive one, moved by a sense of duty; for he had sworn in his consecra-

tion oath to defend the property of his church, which was, as he well knew, inalienable. In those cases where the injustice was notorious, he took possession,⁸⁴ without any judicial process or sentence, of the estates which had been usurped. One of them was a fief with the feudal burden of seven soldiers, which had been taken possession of by William de Ros on the death of Archbishop Theobald. The clearness of the right here exercised is shown by the fact that his judgment was never reversed.

Another instance⁸⁵ was that of the Earl of Clare, who was related to most of the noble families of England. The Archbishop claimed his homage in virtue of Tunbridge and its honour, a league around which was called the ban-league. The earl offered to pay the homage, if he might leave unmentioned the plea on which it was due; which offer the Archbishop refused. A claim was also made, not only to Saltwood and Hethe,⁸⁶ but to the custody of Rochester Castle, the deed of grant of William the Conqueror being produced. Some of the parties who were offended by these proceedings crossed over to the king to complain of the Archbishop, but by no means violently; for they felt that Henry was still the friend of St. Thomas, and they regarded him as still too powerful at court to be offended or injured with impunity.

The meeting between King Henry and the Archbishop proved that the courtiers had been wise in their caution. A few days before Christmas in the year 1162, that of the consecration, the king returned from his continental dominions, and landed at Southampton. He was met by his son Prince Henry and by St. Thomas. The manner in which the Arch-

bishop was received spoke of all the former affection which had subsisted between them. The prince and St. Thomas entered together into the room where the king was; on which Henry embraced the Saint with his ancient cordiality, seeming almost to neglect his son in his joy at seeing his old friend. It must be remembered that if the new and edifying life the Saint had adopted caused the king to entertain misgivings, as no doubt it did, it also caused a very general feeling of satisfaction at his elevation, which reflected credit on the king's choice; and thus his vanity was flattered.

After a short interview on the first day, the Archbishop left the king, who was wearied with his voyage; but on the day following they began the journey to London, riding together the whole way engrossed in private conversation. St. Thomas spent Christmas in London, as he had not time to return to his own see for the festival; and he celebrated Mass in St. Paul's Cathedral, there being at that time no Bishop of London.

One of the earliest ecclesiastical acts performed after the king's return was the translation of Gilbert Foliot to the vacant see. To the postulation (as it is technically termed) of the Chapter of London, of which Ralph de Diceto, the chronicler, was then Archdeacon, the Pope assented, dating his letter from Paris, the 19th of March;⁸⁷ and as the apostolic mandate was warmly seconded by a letter from the king, and most affectionately and urgently by another from St. Thomas, Gilbert was enthroned in St. Paul's Cathedral on the 28th of April 1163, a few days only before he left England in the train of his

metropolitan for the council the Pope had summoned to assemble at Tours on the 19th of May.

Gilbert, however, plays far too important a part in our history for us to miss the opportunity given us by his promotion to the highest ecclesiastical position he was destined to attain, of saying a few words drawn from his own writings respecting his previous life. It will then be seen that it was quite natural for St. Thomas to congratulate himself, as he does,⁸⁸ on the nearness of the new Bishop of London to Canterbury, and that he was quite justified in hoping to find in him a powerful assistant in the Church's cause.

Gilbert Foliot is commonly called a Cistercian monk, whereas he was truly of the order of Clugny. His first⁸⁹ religious promotion was to be prior of the famous house in which he had made his profession. He was then made Prior of Abbeville. He attended⁹⁰ the Abbot of Clugny to the great second Council of Lateran in 1139, under Pope Innocent II., where Archbishop Theobald was also present. In the same year he was made Abbot of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. He was now in a position of considerable influence, and his correspondence shows that he was quite conscious of it. Amongst his letters while Abbot of Gloucester, we have⁹¹ one to Pope Celestine II. in behalf of Nigel Bishop of Ely; another to Pope Lucius II. for Joceline Bishop-elect of Sarum; a third to Pope Eugenius III. in behalf of Roger de Pont l'Evêque, though a cleric in the court of Archbishop Theobald; to whom also, in a fourth, he writes for the Bishop of Lincoln; a fifth requests that the Pope would command the

Bishop of Salisbury to bless the Abbot of Cernely; in a sixth, he commends the Abbey of Malmesbury to Pope Eugenius; in another, he boasts to the Bishop of Llandaff of the effect of his intercession; and again, he writes to the Pope for the Bishop-elect of Arras. On another occasion,⁹² he speaks of the many and important affairs wherewith he had been intrusted by the Pope. In similar terms he writes⁹³ to the Empress Matilda and to Archbishop Theobald. In all this, too, his principles were most strictly those of a churchman. The instances⁹⁴ in which he asks for the exercise of the spiritual sword are almost too numerous to quote: he maintains⁹⁵ inviolate all Papal privileges; he warmly praises⁹⁶ the Holy See; and sentences like the following,⁹⁷ which is taken from a letter to the Empress Matilda, are of frequent occurrence in his correspondence: "Let not your serenity be disturbed, if we obey the apostolic mandate, to depart from which we judge to be as a sacrilege. In all things, therefore, in which we can and ought, we are prepared to obey your commands. But if in any thing Church authority is offended, we have a full excuse, when that is exacted from us which we ought not to do." His abilities were of a high order, as his correspondence shows; and his talents and leading position were aided by a great reputation for personal austerity and sanctity of life.

It was but natural that such a man should be advanced to the episcopacy. He was consecrated⁹⁸ Bishop of Hereford, on the 5th of September 1147, at St. Omers, by Theobald, during the time when the Archbishop was exiled by King Stephen for having assisted at the Council of Rheims in spite of the

king's command to the contrary. We have his letter⁹⁹ of thanks to Pope Eugenius for his consecration. He had previously¹⁰⁰ been made by the Pope vicar or administrator of the church of Hereford; and he had given an early example of vigour, by placing it under an interdict on account of the contumacy of the Earl of Hereford. His correspondence in this, his new dignity, is of the same character with that which has gone before. He thus¹⁰¹ writes to the Pope: "We know, dearest Father in Christ, we know that not to obey the apostolic commands is to apostatise, and that it is truly like a sacrilege to oppose your will. Far be it from one of the faithful, far be it from a Catholic, far be it especially from a son, who is bound in many ways, and subject to you by the benefits which he has received from your munificence." He writes¹⁰² with great boldness in favour of the freedom and privileges of the Church, and in one instance¹⁰³ he threatens to excommunicate an official for summoning the Dean of Hereford before his tribunal. In two cases¹⁰⁴ we find him exercising powers as Papal delegate; and, later, he was made vicar¹⁰⁵ of the diocese of Worcester. One of his last acts as Bishop of Hereford was to petition¹⁰⁶ the Holy See to authorise the translation of the body of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.

Fitz-Stephens¹⁰⁷ says that the king's object in asking the Pope to place Gilbert at London was, that he might have his advice against the Archbishop. This does not, however, appear to be a probable motive, and must have been suggested to the historian by the part subsequently taken by Gilbert. If the king foresaw that he would be on his side in the

coming struggle, he must have been singularly clear-sighted. At least the Bishop's antecedents were not such as to lead him to expect it; and, in his letter to him, he mentions only the excellent advice which he had heretofore frequently received from him, "for the dignity of his own person, the state of his kingdom and public business." It is also mentioned in Pope Alexander's letter that the king wished to make him his confessor. St. Thomas urges¹⁰⁸ upon him his new dignity with warmth and affection. "To this we earnestly beg our brother's attention, that the contemplation of our love may be a more affectionate invitation than the necessity of obedience; that thus he who is united to us by sincere love may by neighbourhood be conveniently at hand for our wants and those of the Church of God." And in another letter,¹⁰⁹ apparently after some remonstrance on Gilbert's part, St. Thomas writes to him still more flatteringly, telling him that he had been chosen because of his experience and conduct as Bishop of Hereford, and that he looked for the greatest assistance for the church of Canterbury from him. He also expresses his regret that he cannot remain in London to receive him with due honour.

His reputation for austerity of life rose with him from dignity to dignity; so that the Pope himself, in the September following this translation, in a letter¹¹⁰ written from Bourges, after urging upon him to give the king good counsel, begs of him to mitigate his austerities for the sake of his health, which was so valuable to the Church. "We have heard and learnt from many trustworthy persons that you weaken and afflict your flesh above what is fitting and expedient,

neither eating meat nor drinking wine for your health's sake. It is to be feared that if you take from your frame what is necessary for it, you will succumb under so great weakness; and from your loss, from which God defend us, the Church of God would suffer a great injury, while from your life and conversation she has gained no slight advantage." The new Bishop of London gave an early proof that St. Thomas had not been mistaken in his estimate of his zeal, by writing a very warm letter¹¹¹ to Pope Alexander, praying him to preserve the ancient primacy of Canterbury over York, and especially not to suffer the archiepiscopal cross of the latter see to be borne in the province of Canterbury.

CHAPTER X.

A LULL BEFORE THE STORM.

CANTERBURY was now the home of St. Thomas, and since he had resigned the great seal, he was no longer obliged to be in attendance on the court. Whatever uneasy feeling may have remained on the mind of the king in consequence of that resignation, to all external appearance their friendship was still unbroken, and another token of it was given by a visit which Henry paid to St. Thomas at Canterbury previous to his departure from England for the Council of Tours. The king assisted at the Palm-Sunday procession; and the historian of Canterbury records¹¹² that there occurred a storm so violent, that the canopies which were erected, as usual, through the streets to shelter the procession were blown down. The Saint probably returned to London with the king; for he attested the letter,¹¹³ dated from Windsor, in which Henry urged Gilbert Foliot to consent to the translation which the Pope had authorised. This must have been early in April, and Easter Sunday in that year was the 24th of March.

As we are told¹¹⁴ that the Archbishop took this opportunity to restore the young prince, now a little more than eight years old, to the king his father, it would seem as if up to this time he had continued to be responsible for him as his tutor and guardian. After spending some days in familiar intercourse with

them both, St. Thomas went to Rumel on the coast of Kent, which was one of his own villages, to wait for a fair wind. He was detained for a few days, and then crossed over with a splendid retinue to Gravelines on the Flemish coast. Herbert de Bosham was one of his attendants, and records with what enthusiasm he was every where received. On landing he was met by Philip Earl of Flanders; and on the next day the nobles of the country came to do him honour and to vie with one another in offering their services. With similar honours he passed through Normandy and the continental dominions of the King of England, being every where received as if he were the king himself. He arrived at Tours three days before the opening of the council. As he approached, the whole city went out to meet him, and not the citizens only, but also the dignified ecclesiastics who were assembled from all parts of Christendom. The very Cardinals themselves broke through the Roman etiquette and went out some distance, leaving but two of their number with the Holy Father. St. Thomas went straight to the palace of the Pope; but the crowd of those who followed him was so great, that his Holiness was obliged to leave the room in which he was for one of the great halls for the reception. He was received with the greatest kindness by the Holy Father; and the interview is the more interesting, as Pope Alexander III. had never before seen him, whom it was his privilege afterwards to canonise. This audience was but short, as the Saint was suffering from the fatigue of his journey. He went with his retinue to the king's castle, which was near the Pope's palace, and had been prepared for his reception.

On the following day the Archbishop was visited by great numbers, both of ecclesiastics of all ranks and countries and also of nobles, but more particularly by all who held office under the King of England, knowing the favour with which he was regarded by that monarch. The council was attended by 17 Cardinals, 124 Bishops, and 414 Abbots. The English hierarchy was represented more numerously than usual, but three¹¹⁵ being unable to attend, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Lincoln. The Archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans sat on the Pope's right hand; and on his left was Roger de Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York, with the Bishop of Durham his only suffragan, Carlisle being then vacant. The synod was held in the church of St. Maurice, on the 19th of May, being the octave of Pentecost, and consequently the anniversary of St. Thomas's consecration. The synodical sermon was preached by a prelate who played an important part in the future events of this history, Arnulph Bishop of Lisieux. The most important act of the council was the solemn excommunication of Octavian the Antipope and his adherents. Several of the privileges of the church of Canterbury were renewed at the prayer of St. Thomas.

It is highly significant of the tone of mind of our Saint at this time, and a proof of his quick-sighted anticipations of the struggle that was in store for him, that he should have felt so great a devotion for his holy predecessor St. Anselm. We have already heard of his attachment to the writings of this saintly doctor; but his interest in his memory was no doubt strengthened by the circumstances of his life and

conflict with William Rufus, with which St. Thomas had the keenest sympathy. To promote his canonisation, therefore, he determined to petition the Pope in the Council of Tours; and with this view he caused John of Salisbury to write the Life of St. Anselm, which is still extant among his works.¹¹⁶ After his return to England, he received from the Pope apostolic letters,¹¹⁷ dated Tours, June 9th, in which he says that he had received so many petitions for canonisations (among which was the cause of St. Bernard), that he had deemed it prudent to delay. He now, however, conferred upon St. Thomas special powers to convoke the Bishops and Abbots of the province, and having examined with them the life and miracles of St. Anselm, to proceed by their advice in the canonisation as especially delegated by the Holy See. The subsequent troubles prevented any such proceeding.

Not very long after his return from the Council of Tours, the Archbishop consecrated with much pomp and solemnity the well-known abbey of Reading. This noble foundation, which was due to the munificence of King Henry I., who was there buried, held a place scarcely second to any amongst the glorious religious houses of England; and certainly among the events of its history none are more interesting than its consecration by St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was founded to receive the famous relic of the hand of St. James the Greater, which was brought from Germany by the Empress Matilda, together with the imperial regalia. The vicissitudes of the long history of this precious treasure well merit an historian.

Later in the same year our Saint's natural love of magnificence was again instrumental in throwing lustre on the great functions of the Church. Of this we have a more detailed and minute account than of the former. Pope Alexander had not long before canonised an English saint. On the 7th of February 1161 apostolic letters¹¹⁸ from Anagni placed St. Edward in the list of holy confessors, whose title he had earned, as it were, as his surname. On the receipt of these letters, Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, caused the appropriate Mass to be sung in honour of the newly canonised saint, as had already been done by a Cardinal in the presence of the Pope. He would at once have proceeded to translate the holy relics, if the king, who was then abroad, had not expressed his wish that this ceremony might be delayed until he could himself be present.

On the day being fixed, in the October after the king's return to England, the Abbot made the necessary preparations. He considered it needful that the tomb should be previously opened. Several times he essayed to do this, and each time his heart failed him through reverence for those most august relics of a temple of the Holy Ghost. At length, one morning after matins, the Abbot, the Prior, and several of the monks who had been specially chosen, remained in the choir when the other religious retired. Having prepared themselves by fasting, they now added prayers, and litanies, and psalms. The Abbot and Prior, taking two of the monks with them, and leaving the rest in prayer before the high altar, went barefoot and vested in albs to the tomb of St. Edward; and when it was opened, they saw the sacred

body clad in a robe of cloth of gold, with purple shoes, and wearing a coronet of wrought gold upon his head. A long white beard, slightly curling, rendered his appearance very venerable. When they had recovered from the awe which first struck them, the other monks who had been left before the altar were called ; and they found that the body, which had been buried there very little less than a century, had been preserved by God from all corruption. The vestments were stained by the stone which they had touched so long, and the dust had fallen in, but this was easily wiped away. They lifted him from where he lay, and wrapped him in a precious silk ; and then they laid him in a new wooden chest or shrine as they had found him, save that the Abbot Laurence took the ring from his finger as a precious relic.

The 13th of October was the day chosen for the translation ; and as St. Edward died on the 5th of January, the Vigil of the Epiphany, when, at the instance of Cardinal Howard,¹¹⁹ the Feast of St. Edward was extended by the Ven. Pope Innocent XI. to the Universal Church, the anniversary of the translation was chosen for the festival. Besides the Archbishop of Canterbury, there were present eleven of the suffragans, as well as three Bishops from Normandy. The nobility were headed by eight English earls. When the great personages present had satisfied their devotion by gazing upon the holy treasure, it was carried in solemn procession through the cloisters on the shoulders of the king and nobles, before it was placed by the hands of St. Thomas in the shrine in Westminster Abbey, which still preserves it for us. The Archbishop left amongst the treasures of the

church, as an offering to St. Edward, an image of the Blessed Virgin wrought in ivory.

There is but one more event to record in which St. Thomas and King Henry harmoniously co-operated. We have seen how, even in the days of his chancellorship, St. Thomas had used all his influence with the king to restrain him from the crying sin and tyranny of the Norman monarchs, the usurpation of vacant bishoprics. It is not to be supposed that now he was Archbishop, he should feel less warmly on the subject. He therefore urged upon Henry the duty of permitting the vacant sees to be filled by canonically-chosen pastors. He was successful; and he had the gratification of consecrating two worthy prelates on the only occasions when he was called upon to perform this important part of his duties as metropolitan: Roger, the son of the Earl of Gloucester, was made Bishop of Worcester; and Robert de Melun, an Englishman,¹²⁰ who had earned his surname by the success with which he had conducted his schools on the Continent, and who had had John of Salisbury and other famous men amongst his disciples, was made Bishop of Hereford in the place of Gilbert Foliot. They were consecrated in Christ Church, Canterbury, after due profession of canonical obedience, Roger¹²¹ on the 26th of August, and Robert de Melun¹²² on the 22d of December. Before the latter date, however, important events had occurred, which influenced in the highest degree the whole future life of our Saint.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST WRONGS.

THE storm did not break altogether without warning. The conduct of the courtiers had resembled the vane, which before a gale shows the variableness of the wind. The large isolated drops, too, had fallen; for no little offence had been taken at some of the actions of the Primate. And yet in these cases St. Thomas was clearly in the right. Surely he is not to be blamed for having "afforded the only instance which has occurred of the chancellorship being voluntarily resigned, either by layman or ecclesiastic."¹²³ If love of power had been his passion, by retaining the chancellorship, and uniting with it the highest ecclesiastical position in England, he might have held, without a single act of meanness, or the practice of one of the low arts by which men so often rise, the very highest place possible of attainment by an English subject. But God had other work in store for him; the freedom of the Church was in danger, and he was the champion raised up in its defence. His eyes, so clear-sighted naturally, were enlightened by Divine grace; and as he saw his work before him, he set himself manfully, ay and like a Saint as he was, to perform it.

Another act, or rather chain of actions, besides the resignation of the great seal, had irritated the court. St. Thomas had recalled all grants of Church

lands made by his predecessors ; and had taken steps to vindicate to the Church all the property that had been still more unjustly, because arbitrarily, taken from her. The ground of this proceeding was, that previous Archbishops had exceeded their powers in granting Church lands, so that their alienation was invalid ; for they were the stewards only, and not the lords or owners, of the Church's patrimony, which, having been given to God, could be alienated only by the Pope as the Vicar of Christ. It would be but special pleading to defend St. Thomas in this matter, by saying that he had received the royal license to recall these grants, for he knew that the king, with all the weight of the civil power, could not sanction or validate such alienations of Church property ; but still it is right to record that the king was aware of St. Thomas's intentions, and permitted them, and that consequently to make them a ground of quarrel or complaint would be most unjustifiable. Thus far, however, the courtiers alone have to be accused. The king seems not to have allowed any thing that had yet happened to create more than a passing irritation against his former favourite ; though he probably felt a strong suspicion that matters would not rest here.

Such an anticipation was well founded. All had not been done that was required to vindicate for the Church what was her own ; nor was it likely that a Prelate, who had begun his career as nobly as St. Thomas had done, would rest contented as if his work were finished, when it was, in truth, but scarcely begun. His next acts brought him into direct collision with the king, but in no rash or injudicious manner ; for he gave way up to the very confines of duty,

and much beyond what we should have expected of him. It seems to have been preceded by another warning. It is related¹²⁴ that he preached a very eloquent sermon before the king, the subject of which was the distinction between the spiritual power and the temporal, and the immeasurable superiority and higher order of the one over the other. This was a truth which courtier Bishops had not too often preached, and one, moreover, not likely to be acceptable to a king of the despotic Norman race. Its proclamation by an Archbishop of Canterbury must have recalled to many minds the preaching of St. Anselm; and to some it must have brought a presentiment of the recurrence of that famous contest in which the weak had overcome the strong, in accordance with the promise made to the Roman Church, "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; and on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder."

It was a privilege¹²⁵ of the Archbishop of Canterbury to present to all benefices in country places belonging to his barons or monks. In the exercise of this power, he conferred the church of Eynesford upon a cleric named Laurence. William of Eynesford, the lord of the manor, expelled Laurence's people; for which St. Thomas excommunicated him. The king immediately wrote to the Archbishop, bidding him absolve him. The answer might have been anticipated, that it was not for a king to decide who should be absolved, any more than who should be excommunicated. The king was so angry at the answer, that he would not see the Archbishop, nor communicate with him, except by messengers; and, for the sake of peace, St. Thomas absolved the offender. The king,

who was then at Windsor, said, when he heard of it, "Now he no longer has my favour."

Another question, in which Henry seems to have taken part against the Archbishop, arose somewhat earlier. Clarembald had been elected Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury; but on his application to be blessed to that dignity by the Primate in the usual manner, he stipulated that it should take place in his own abbey church, and not in the cathedral; and that it should be without any profession of subjection or canonical obedience. St. Thomas refused to perform the ceremony, and Clarembald appealed to Rome. The king seems to have been inclined to favour¹²⁶ the rebellious Abbot-elect.

A more important matter, and one which an impetuous monarch would feel far more deeply, occurred soon after. In it St. Thomas appears as the opponent of despotic tyranny, and in a singularly favourable light to modern eyes. A species of tax¹²⁷ had sprung up through custom, which, in its origin, seems to have been little else than a kind of black mail, a composition with tyrannical officials. It consisted of two shillings on every hide of land, which was paid to the sheriffs, on the condition that they should defend the contributors from the exactions of their subordinates. At a parliament held at the royal palace of Woodstock, the king demanded that this tax should for the future be paid into the treasury, by which means a very large revenue would be obtained. None dared to speak but the Archbishop, who firmly but quietly told the king that the tax in question was but a voluntary offering, which his sheriffs should receive as long as they did their duty; but that if they did not

do so, it should not be paid ; and by no law could its collection be enforced. The king, in one of his sudden and characteristic fits of anger, exclaimed, " By God's Eyes it shall be enrolled." St. Thomas answered, " By the reverence of those Eyes by which thou hast sworn, my lord the king, not a penny shall be paid from my lands, nor from the rights of the Church." On the constancy of the Archbishop it depended whether the country and posterity should be illegally burdened or no. Certainly the collision would not help to close the growing breach between the Primate and the king.

The personal hostility which King Henry was now beginning to entertain against St. Thomas, soon found vent in an attack upon the liberties of the clergy. This was a part of the king's policy of self-aggrandisement, in which he had been restrained by the Saint whilst he exercised an influence over him.

The most important of the cases of ecclesiastical trials for crimes, of which Henry made use in his attack on that provision of the common law of Christendom that enacted the immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, was the case of Philip de Brois, of which we have the accounts of five writers.¹²⁸ He was a canon of Bedford, who had been accused of the murder of a soldier ; and having been canonically tried in the diocesan court of Lincoln, had been acquitted. Simon Fitz-Peter, one of the king's itinerant justices at Dunstable, attempted to bring him to account before his own court ; on which Philip, losing his temper, insulted the justice. Simon forthwith went to London, and laid the case before Henry, who fell into one of his usual fits of rage, and swore his favourite

oath, that he would hold every insult to his officer as offered to himself. The king ordered the trial to be held ; but St. Thomas, who was present, resisting the summons of a cleric before a lay court, offered to try him at Canterbury ; and the king, most reluctantly consenting, deputed several Bishops and barons as the Archbishop's assessors. Philip pleaded that he had already been tried and acquitted of the graver offence ; but he acknowledged the insults to the justice. The court held the first plea good ; and for the minor offence inflicted the very severe sentence of forfeiture of the revenues of his stall for two years to the treasury, and that he should make satisfaction in the ordinary humiliating manner to the insulted magistrate. The king complained of the sentence ; and when the Bishops had declared that they had punished Philip above his deserts for the sake of peace and the king's honour, he exclaimed, with his usual temper, " By God's Eyes, *Par les Oilz Deu,*" as his Norman oath ran,¹²⁹ " you shall swear that you have not spared him because he was a cleric." They were ready to take the oath required ; but the king proceeded further by summoning the Council of Westminster.

Unhappily this was not the only case in which the scandalous conduct of some members of the clergy gave the king a pretext for his attack upon the Church. Fitz-Stephens mentions two more. One was a cleric of Worcestershire, who was accused of having violated a young lady, and murdered her father. St. Thomas caused his Bishop to keep him in custody, lest he should fall into the hands of the king's justices. The sentence upon this prisoner is not recorded ; we are not even told whether he was ultimately found guilty.

The punishment inflicted upon the other cleric is very terrible. He had stolen a silver chalice from one of the Archbishop's churches in London, St. Mary *in foro*. The king wanted him to be tried by the secular power ; but St. Thomas degraded him, and, to please the king, he was also branded.

This sad catalogue is concluded by one other case. A priest of the diocese of Salisbury was accused of murder ; and on his trial before his diocesan, on the accusers failing to prove their case against him, he was put to the ordeal, and being unsuccessful, he was sentenced by the Bishop, on St. Thomas's recommendation, to be degraded, deprived of his benefices, and confined for life in a monastery of strict penance. Herbert, who tells this,¹³⁰ also alludes to the sentence of banishment having followed degradation in the case of some other clerical delinquent.

Degradation involves the total loss of every ecclesiastical privilege and immunity, and the degraded cleric becomes as amenable to secular tribunals as any layman. This sentence seems to have been freely inflicted for grave offences, if we may judge by the cases before us. In examining them, to judge how far they justify the assertion frequently made of the corrupt state of the clergy of the time, it must in fairness be remarked, that they are taken from all parts of England, and that they are drawn from an exceedingly numerous body of men ; for the clergy of England at that time was a far greater body than the secular and regular clergy of any country in Europe now. In all we have five cases recorded. In the first we have a priest accused of murder, and insult to a judge ; he is acquitted of the first charge, and severely punished

for the second. In the second case we have an accusation of rape and murder; but the issue of the trial has not reached us. Sacrilegious theft, in the third case, was punished by degradation and branding. The accusation of murder in the fourth is unsustained by evidence; and the man, who in our time would be acquitted, was subjected to an ordeal, which resulted in a sentence of degradation, deprivation, and imprisonment for life. In the last case we hear only of a sentence of degradation and banishment.

We cannot accuse of laxity a body by some few members of which vice is committed, but only that in which it passes unpunished; and certainly if the cases we have given prove the existence of vice, they prove also the severity of the punishment that followed, even in an excessive degree of rigour. It was not, therefore, because ecclesiastical immunity had become a shelter for criminals that the king was induced to attempt its overthrow; his hatred of it arose because it placed a limit to his despotic power.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COUNCIL OF WESTMINSTER.

HENRY summoned the Bishops to a council at Westminster, at which Herbert de Bosham says¹³¹ he was present. The proceedings opened¹³² by the king's complaint of the exactions of the Archdeacons, who, he said, made money by people's sins; and he demanded that no Archdeacon should try any one, however guilty, without the knowledge of his royal official. He then changed the subject. "My thoughts," said he, "are thoughts of peace, which is nevertheless much disturbed in my kingdom by the wickedness of the clerics, who commit many robberies and murders. Therefore, my lord of Canterbury, I demand your consent and that of your brethren, that clerics who are taken in crimes be straightway degraded, and given over to my officers to receive corporal punishment, without any defence from the Church. And I also demand that one of my officials be present at the degradation, to prevent the culprit's escape."

St. Thomas, who was unable to obtain the delay of a day for deliberation, took counsel with his brethren in the episcopacy; and it at once appeared that, in the great contest which was now beginning, none would have courage to stand by him. The other Bishops proposed to yield to the king; justifying the double punishment, first in the spiritual court, and then in the secular, on the ground of the higher dignity of

the clergy. The Archbishop replied, that it was unjust to condemn a man twice for the same fault, and that the ecclesiastical sentence was in itself adequate. He added, that the liberty of the Church was in danger, for which a Bishop should be prepared to give his life. To this the Bishops answered, "Let the liberty of the Church perish, lest we perish ourselves. Much must be yielded to the malice of the times." This was an allusion to the German Antipope. The reply aroused St. Thomas's zeal. "Who hath bewitched you, O foolish Bishops? Much must be yielded to the malice of the time, I grant; but are we to add sin to sin? It is when the Church is in trouble, and not merely in times of peace, that a Bishop must dare to do his duty. It was not more meritorious for Bishops of old to give their blood for the Church, than it is now to die in defence of her liberty. I declare, God be my witness, that it is not safe for us to leave that form which we have received from our holy fathers. Nor can we expose any one to death, for we are not allowed to take any part in a trial of life and death."

The king soon heard what had passed. Finding that, through St. Thomas's firmness, he could not gain his point, he suddenly advanced a new demand. He required a promise that they would in all things observe his royal customs. After consultation,¹³³ St. Thomas answered that he and his brethren would do so, *saving their order*. The king, enraged at the condition, put the same question to the other Bishops; and received the same answer from all, except Hilary of Chichester, who, frightened at the king's anger, promised to observe them *in good faith*. This change,

which was made on his own authority, gained him nothing; for the king insulted him, and, turning to the Archbishop and Bishops, he declared that they were in a conspiracy against him, and renewed his demand for an absolute and unconditional promise. St. Thomas pleaded that in his oath of fealty he had sworn to give him "earthly honour, *saving his order*," and that in the term "earthly honour" the royal customs were included; that the condition "saving his order" was universal throughout Christendom, and that he would not depart from it. It was now late at night; and the king left the room without saluting the Bishops, who, after an anxious day, returned to their lodgings. On their departure, Hilary, the Bishop of Chichester, received a severe rebuke from St. Thomas, for daring to change the phrase they had agreed upon without consulting him or the other Bishops.

Early in the morning¹³⁴ the king sent to demand of St. Thomas the restoration of the forts and honours of which he had had charge from the time of his chancellorship, and the Saint at once resigned them. The king left London at a very early hour, without the knowledge of the Bishops, several of whom were thoroughly overpowered with fear of the consequences of his anger.

Arnulph¹³⁵ Bishop of Lisieux, a very clever but a time-serving prelate, had come over into England to obtain a reconciliation with the king, who had borne him some ill-will. Anxious to ingratiate himself and to show his zeal, he proffered his advice in this conjuncture how St. Thomas could best be overcome. His idea was that the Saint's firmness rested on the support of the other Bishops; and he recommended

the king to attempt to win them over first. This task was not very difficult, for some of the most frightened had followed Henry when he left London. The first to join the king's party were, Hilary of Chichester, Roger of York, and Gilbert of London. Hilary was doubtless moved by the pusillanimity of which he had already given proof; the Archbishop of York probably by the unfortunate rivalry which had long existed between the two primacies, fostered by the personal animosity Roger had entertained against St. Thomas ever since he had nicknamed him Clerk Baillhache; but what moved Gilbert of London? Perhaps it was some feeling of disappointed ambition; perhaps it was a fear for his possessions and his power; but whatever caused it, Gilbert's first false step was taken, and henceforward the Bishop became the champion of the world against the Church.

Roger of Pontigny, who had admirable opportunities of hearing of all these occurrences from the mouth of St. Thomas and his companions not long after they happened, gives¹³⁶ an account of a curious interview between the king and the Archbishop, which took place subsequent to the Council of Westminster. The king summoned the Saint to meet him at Northampton, intending to see whether he could not by his own influence induce him to give up the obnoxious condition. As the Archbishop was nearing Northampton, the king sent him out word (it was not known with what particular motive) that he was to wait for the king at the spot where he was; for, as both were attended by a numerous suite, Northampton could not hold them. The Archbishop turned aside into a field, and before long Henry joined him. The prelate took

care to be the first to make his salutation. Their horses began to kick and neigh, which prevented their meeting till they had changed them; and then they withdrew apart. The king thus began: "Have not I raised you from a mean station to the height of honour? It seemed but little to me to make you the father of the kingdom, and even to prefer you to myself. How comes it that you have so suddenly forgotten all the proofs of my affection for you, that you are now not only ungrateful, but my opponent in every thing?"

"Far be it from me, my lord," was the Saint's reply. "I am not ungrateful for the favours which I received, not from yourself alone, but from God through you; wherefore far be it from me to be ungrateful enough to resist your will, as long as it agrees with the will of God. Your worthiness knows how faithful I have been to you, from whom I look but for an earthly reward; how much more, then, must I do faithful service to Almighty God, from whom I have received what is temporal, and hope for what is eternal! You are my lord, but He is your Lord and mine; and it would be good for neither of us that I should leave His will for yours; for in the awful judgment we shall both be judged as the servants of our Lord, and one will not be able to answer for the other. We must obey our temporal lords, but not against God; for St. Peter says, we must obey God rather than man."

Then said the king: "I do not want you to preach me a sermon just at present. Are you not the son of one of my rustics?" St. Thomas answered, "In truth I am not sprung of royal race; no more was blessed

Peter, the prince of the Apostles, on whom the Lord deigned to confer the keys of heaven, and the headship of the universal Church." "It is true," said the king; "but he died for his Lord." The Primate replied, "I too will die for my Lord, when the time comes." Henry retorted, "You trust too much to your elevation." "I trust," he answered, "in the Lord; for cursed is he that putteth his trust in man. I am ready for your honour and good pleasure, saving my order; as of old, so also now. But on the matters relating to your honour and the good of your soul you should have consulted me, whom you have always found faithful and useful in your counsels, and not those who have raised this flame against me, though I have never injured them. You will not deny, I think, that I was faithful to you when I was in sacred orders; much more, then, ought you to expect to find me faithful when raised to the priesthood." The king continued to urge that the saving clause should be omitted; and the Saint refusing, they parted.

The active service of Arnulph of Lisieux was by no means confined to the shrewd advice which had already had such serious consequences in the isolation of St. Thomas. Diceto says¹³⁷ that, in company with Richard Archdeacon of Poitiers, he crossed the Channel six times in three months, in different embassies to the Holy See, all of which had for their object to put the demand regarding the royal customs in a favourable light before the Pope and Cardinals.

Meanwhile¹³⁸ Hilary of Chichester, the Earl of Vendome, and Robert de Melun, Bishop-elect of Hereford, had expostulated in vain at Lentham with

St. Thomas. Their advice had more weight when it was backed by the authority of letters, of which Philip, the Cistercian Abbot of Alms,¹³⁹ was the bearer. He asserted that he came from Pope Alexander, bringing the recommendation that the Archbishop should yield for the sake of peace. Roger of Pontigny¹⁴⁰ gives as the contents of the apostolic letters, that they urged great moderation and submission to the king; that the Church was in trouble in the troubles of its head, and that prudence must avert a similar trouble from befalling England. Thus, the Abbot observed, the responsibility now rested with the Pope. He also brought letters from the Cardinals, who said that the king had assured them that he sought for submission for the sake of his dignity in the eyes of the kingdom, and not with a view to draw any consequences from it to the detriment of the Church. The Saint, who was then at Harrow, was persuaded by these assurances; and going to Woodstock,¹⁴¹ where the king was, he promised to omit the phrase that had given so much offence.

The king¹⁴² was somewhat pacified by this absolute promise, and he behaved a little more graciously towards our Saint; but still not as he used to do. He said that he wished, as the opposition had been public, that the obligation to observe the customs in this form should be accepted in an equally public assembly before the Bishops and peers; and with this view, he summoned the Parliament, or Council of Clarendon, from which the customs or constitutions in dispute ultimately took their name.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COUNCIL OF CLARENDON.

ON the 29th of January¹⁴³ 1164 the Council of Clarendon assembled. Meanwhile doubts had entered the mind of St. Thomas as to the trustworthiness of the assertions of the Abbot of Alms, that the king would not use the promise against the Church if it were unconditionally made; and he determined not to renew it in public. For prudence sake he tried to keep this determination private; but it reached the king's ears, whose rage returned with redoubled violence. It now showed itself in demonstrations worse than verbal threats: armed men¹⁴⁴ thronged the council-chamber, and fear filled every heart save his whom they were meant to intimidate. Amongst the Bishops were two who had particular reason to fear the king's anger, Joceline of Salisbury and Roger of Worcester;¹⁴⁵ the latter, who was a young Bishop and a relative of the king's, is described as having incurred the royal displeasure by the freedom with which he had corrected Henry's excesses. These two prelates came to St. Thomas, and with tears in their eyes implored him to have mercy on them; for their lives depended on his reconciliation with the king. The Saint encouraged them as best he could, but refused to comply.

They were succeeded by two noblemen, Robert Earl of Leicester, and the king's uncle, Reginald Earl

of Cornwall, who assured him that the king was prepared to proceed to extremities, and besought him to save their royal master and themselves from the disgrace of such a course. The Saint answered: "It would not be a new nor an unheard-of thing if we did die for the Church, since a countless host of saints have so taught us by word and example: God's will be done." The threats of the nobles shared the fate of the entreaties of the Bishops.

He was next visited by two knights of the Temple¹⁴⁶ of great reputation and influence: Richard of Hastings, the grand master of the English Templars, and Hostes of Boulogne. They represented to him once more that which had had such weight with him in the mouth of the Abbot of Alms. They assured him that what Henry felt was, the disgrace of being worsted in the contest; and they solemnly pledged themselves that the king would not attempt to injure the Church, and that nothing more should be heard of the constitutions.

Moved by their earnest solicitations and protestations, after consulting the other Bishops, and accompanied by them, he went to the king and said, "My lord the king, if the controversy between us had been of my personal rights, then I never would have opposed your will; but your excellency must not be astonished if I am more scrupulous in the cause of God. With a lively hope in your prudence and moderation, I assent to what is required of me, and *in good faith* promise to observe the customs;" and he added the clause "*in the word of truth*," which was accounted equivalent to an oath.¹⁴⁷

The words¹⁴⁸ were scarcely out of St. Thomas's

mouth when the king said with a loud voice : " You have all heard what the Archbishop has promised me on his own part ; it now only remains that at his bidding the other Bishops should do the same." " I will," replied the Saint, " that they should satisfy your honour as I have done." On this the other Bishops rose and gave their consent, save only (singularly enough, after the effort he had made to obtain the Saint's submission) Joceline of Salisbury, who, when the Bishops had resumed their seats, asked the Archbishop whether he ought to promise as they had done, and on receiving the reply that he ought, he did so. The king shook his head at Joceline and rebuked him, telling him that he was always in opposition to him. In spite of the assurance of the Templars, St. Thomas was in doubt how the matter would end; and the king's conduct showed that he had judged rightly.

Henry now said, " I suppose that every one has heard the promise that the Archbishop and Bishops have made, that the laws and customs of my kingdom may be better kept and observed. In order that for the future there may be no more contention on the subject, let my grandfather Henry's laws be committed to writing." Our Saint observed, that he was one of the youngest present, and could not be supposed to know what they were ; besides that, as it was getting late, and the matter was of great importance, it would be better to adjourn until the following day. This was assented to.

On the next day, the constitutions were compiled by Richard de Luci and Joceline de Baillol, which have given so sad a notoriety to the Council of Clar-

endon. They¹⁴⁹ were read aloud; and St. Thomas, after consulting Herbert and his other divines, made the following objections to them. The first provides that all causes of Church advowsons and presentations, whether between laymen or clerics, be tried in the King's court. The Saint's objection to this was twofold: first, that by it clerics would be drawn before a civil tribunal; and secondly, that the subject-matter was purely spiritual and ecclesiastical.

The third constitution declares, that clerics, when summoned by the king's justice, shall appear in his court on any accusation; and when found guilty, that the Church should not protect them. St. Thomas's remark was: "By this wicked canon, clerics are brought before a secular judgment-seat both in criminal and civil matters. Christ is judged anew before Pilate."

The next constitution was, that no Archbishop, Bishop, or other person, should leave the kingdom without the king's license. St. Thomas objected that this would put a stop to pilgrimages to the holy places, and render the kingdom but a spacious prison. Besides, supposing the Pope to summon a council, and the King of England to be in opposition to him and to forbid prelates attending, as they must obey God rather than men, must they not obey Christ's Vicar in spite of the prohibition? "It was but proper," he added, "to apply for the king's leave before their departure; but to bind yourself by an oath to do so was irreligious and wrong."

The seventh constitution says, that no one who holds in chief of the crown, nor any of the royal household, can be excommunicated, nor their lands

placed under an interdict, without the king's leave. By this decree the Saint declared that the Church was simply degraded, and the power was taken from her, which she received from God, of binding and loosing even kings themselves.

The eighth constitution ran thus: Appeals, if any arise, are to be taken from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, and thence to the Archbishop. And if the Archbishop do not show justice, in the last instance they are to be brought to the king, by whose order the suit is to be ended in the Archbishop's court, and the cause can proceed no further without the king's leave. The Saint replied, without hesitation, that an Archbishop who should consent to this would be guilty of perjury, for when he received the pallium he took an express oath not to hinder appeals to the Pope; adding that it would be a sad day when the refuge of all the oppressed was taken from them, and they were not able to have free recourse to the Mother of all Churches, the Church of Rome.

The twelfth constitution began as follows: When archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, or priories, in the king's dominions fall vacant, they must be left in his hands, that he may receive all their revenues. The Saint made answer, that the treasury was not the place for the property of the poor; and that although this practice had certainly sometimes prevailed, yet that the Church must always expostulate and resist as far as lay in her power, but never give her consent.

The same constitution continued: When the time is come to consult for an appointment to a church, the king shall summon the principal persons of that church, and in the chapel-royal the election shall be

held. The Saint was far too attached to liberty not to expostulate against a form of election so novel and so uncanonical, saying, that to sanction such a diversity from the rest of Christendom in his island church would be to start a schism, as well as to overpower by the weight of the king's authority all liberty of election.

The king then demanded that the Archbishop and Bishops should affix their seals to the constitutions; which was not only to exact the promise to observe the royal customs, which they had already given, but it was requiring them to acknowledge *this interpretation* of what those customs truly were. The Archbishop's¹⁵⁰ answer was prompt: "By the Lord Almighty, during my lifetime seal of mine shall never touch them." On this the king's officials prepared three copies on the same sheet; and tearing it in the usual way, they gave one copy to St. Thomas, one to the Archbishop of York, and the third they kept for the royal archives. St. Thomas took his copy: it was that from which these extracts have been taken; and it was subsequently placed, as we shall see, in the hands of the Pope.

The Bishop of Poitiers, very shortly after these events, wrote to St. Thomas in terms that show that the conclusion to which we have arrived was that also of his contemporaries, that our Saint neither signed nor sealed the constitutions of Clarendon. "I give God endless thanks," he writes,¹⁵¹ "that, as I know for certain from the excellent testimony of others, and now from your own, you never did absolutely promise to observe, as their author boasts, nor did you sign as others did, those detestable and profane customs which have made their appearance in our days."

He turned his back upon the court at the close of another eventful day, and went in the direction of Winchester. Contrary to his usual habit, he rode alone, apart from his suite, in deep meditation. As they rode on,¹⁵² his attendants began to talk in a low voice amongst themselves on the events of the day. Some said that what the Saint had done was necessary on account of the grave character of the time; others were indignant that the liberties of the Church should be at one man's beck. Alexander Llewellen,¹⁵³ who carried the archiepiscopal cross, spoke up louder, to the alarm of the rest. "Public power disturbs every thing. Iniquity rages against Christ. The synagogue of Satan profanes God's sanctuary. The princes have sat, and united together against Christ. No one is safe who loves the truth. In the world's judgment they only are wise and venerated who blindly follow the king. This tempest has overthrown the columns of the Church; and during the shepherd's folly, the sheep are scattered before the wolf. Now that the chief has fallen, where will innocence be? who will stand? who will triumph in the battle?"

"To whom does this apply, my son?" said the Archbishop.

"What virtue has he retained," he replied, "who has betrayed his conscience and his fame? It applies to you, who have to-day betrayed your conscience and your fame; and in an example left to posterity, which is hateful to God and contrary to justice, you have stretched out your consecrated hands to observe impious constitutions, and you have joined with wicked ministers of Satan to the overthrow of the liberty of the Church."

The Saint groaned, and, acknowledging his sin, expressed his horror of it, and declared himself unfit for the altar. "By my sins I have brought the Church of England into slavery, which my predecessors ruled with such prudence in dangers as great as these: and this has rightly come in my time, who was not taken, as they were, from the Church, but from the court; not from the cloister, nor from any place of religion, nor from the school of the Saviour, but from Cæsar's service: a proud vain man, a feeder of birds, I have been made the shepherd of the sheep: of old the favourer of actors and the follower of hounds, now the pastor of so many souls. Truly my past life was far from advancing the safety of the Church; and now these are my works. I plainly see that I am deserted of God, and fit only to be cast out of the holy see which I fill."

Herbert consoled him as best he could, by showing how God often makes even falls conducive to sanctity. He reminded him of St. Peter, who rose by falling. "One thing only remains: if, as you say, you have fallen basely, rise the more bravely; be cautious, strong, and valiant. And know for a certainty that the Lord will be with you, as He was with David the king and prophet, who had been an adulterer and a betrayer; as He was with the prince of the Apostles, who had apostatised; as He was with the holy and apostolic woman, who had been a sinner; and lastly, as He was with the great doctor of the Gentiles, who was first above all men a persecutor of the Church. You, too, were a Saul: now, if you desire to be a Paul, the scales have fallen from your eyes, and your Jesus will show Himself to you openly, to

teach you what great things you must bear for His Name."

The Saint was thus somewhat consoled, looking more, as Herbert modestly says, to the love and fidelity of the speaker than to the value of the words. Herbert, looking back, saw Hilary Bishop of Chichester following them. St. Thomas, remembering that he had been the first to give up the clause "saving his order," said to Herbert, "Let him follow, and so let Satan get behind us."

The holy prelate took the earliest opportunity of sending to the Pope at Sens for absolution for his fault. Meanwhile, for about forty days,¹⁵⁴ he abstained from offering the Holy Sacrifice of the altar. It may have been even longer, for the Pope's letter is dated April 1st, 1164. The Holy Father reminded him of the difference between sins of deliberation and malice and those of ignorance or frailty. "If, then, you have committed any thing of which you have now remorse of conscience, we counsel you to confess it, whatever it be, in penance to a discreet and prudent priest: and after this, the merciful Lord, who looks more to the heart than to the actions, will, with His usual pity, forgive you. And we, trusting in the merits of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, absolve you from that which you have committed, counselling and bidding you that on this account you no more abstain from Mass."

If St. Thomas's own tender conscience had not judged him so hardly, we had certainly formed a gentler judgment of his fall. For the constitutions of Clarendon he was in no way responsible, though he evidently accounted himself so when the promise

which he had made to observe the customs came to bear this interpretation. Still he had hitherto had nothing to lead him to anticipate so violent an exposition of the royal customs as the sixteen constitutions presented. The king's demands had been comparatively moderate. St. Thomas had resisted the infliction of a civil sentence upon an offending cleric in addition to ecclesiastical degradation, and this he might fairly expect to be included under the royal customs; but what could lead him to anticipate the iniquities of Clarendon? Of assent to those, at least, he is perfectly guiltless.

But he doubtless committed an act of grave imprudence, endangering he knew not how far the liberty of the Church; and for this he did noble expiation. Twice he was persuaded, against his own better judgment, that the king wanted nothing but a submission in public to leave the victory with him, and that he had no ulterior designs upon the Church. St. Thomas knew King Henry better; and here the imprudence lay. The king had never assured him so: it had been but asserted for him by others who had a point to gain. Nor could St. Thomas throw the blame of his concession on the Holy See. If we may judge by the letters¹⁵⁵ which have come down to us, Pope Alexander, while ever urging on St. Thomas extreme moderation and submission to the king, invariably qualifies it with the important condition, "saving the honour of the ecclesiastical order." It is not probable that the letters of which the Abbot of Alms was the bearer, which were written when the danger was less striking, would be of a different tenor.

Such would be the judgment of a Catholic on the fall of St. Thomas. The spirit which has generally moved modern historians would, if it were consistent, find still less to blame. Some writers find fault with the Saint for yielding when he did, others for not yielding sooner. On their own principles they are equally inconsistent. The first, in order to place the conduct of the Saint in a really blameworthy light, are obliged to rely upon singularly insufficient evidence, or to distort the facts of history. Thus some, trusting to the mendacious pamphlet afterwards written by Gilbert Foliot,¹⁵⁶ accuse him of a wilful and deliberate perjury; while others assert that he signed, though he afterwards refused to seal, the constitutions of Clarendon.

A Protestant is more consistent, who blames St. Thomas for refusing his immediate and absolute consent. In his eyes, to make an exception in favour of his order is to falter in his allegiance; and he fondly persuades himself that the constitutions of Clarendon, identical in spirit and almost in the letter with the modern statute-law of England, were in reality the ancient customs¹⁵⁷ of the realm: as if it were possible in those days for any thing to be the unwritten common law of the land which was contrary to the coronation oath of the sovereign, or to become law in spite of the protests of the Church, who was herself a component part of the constitution of the country. The king had no claim to exact more than the oath of fealty gave him. Now, besides the assertion of St. Thomas, which we have given above, we have a singular proof from the constitutions of Clarendon themselves what the terms of the oath were; that is, what

the profession of obedience and submission was which the king had a right to exact from a prelate according to the law of the land. The twelfth constitution, after speaking of vacant sees and of elections in the manner we have already quoted, says: "And there the elect, before he is consecrated, shall do homage and fealty to our lord the king, as to his liege lord, of life and limb, and his earthly honour, *saving his order.*" Even by those who do not see as Catholics see, St. Thomas should be regarded as the opponent of a tyrannical effort of one estate to triumph over another, and under a specious pretence really to introduce a change in the constitution.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEGOTIATIONS.

THE first effort of the king to crush our Saint, after the Council of Clarendon, was to send¹⁵⁸ the Bishop of Lisieux and the Archdeacon of Poitiers to the Pope, to try to gain from him that the Archbishop of York might be legate in England instead of St. Thomas. The Pope replied,¹⁵⁹ that York had ever been subject to Canterbury; "and shall be," he added, "as long as I live." The king hardly listened to their answer, but immediately despatched Geoffrey Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and John of Oxford to the Pope, to renew the same request. On the refusal of his Holiness, they represented to him, on their knees, the precariousness of the life of St. Thomas, if the king were to be irritated by another repulse; and to save the life of the Saint, which he believed to be in danger, the Pope gave them the letters transferring the office of legate¹⁶⁰ to the Archbishop of York; but¹⁶¹ the messengers were hampered by a promise which they made in the king's name, and which they offered to confirm by an oath, that they would not deliver them without the knowledge and consent of St. Thomas. Even with these terms, which rendered the concession absolutely nugatory, the messengers would fain return rather than empty-handed. After showing the letters about for a short

time, as if to lead people to believe that he had received power over the Saint, the king, who had never made much of them, returned them to the Pope. The Holy Father, who had much regretted¹⁶² that he granted the letters at all, received them with such satisfaction as to cause no little astonishment. They reached him on the same day with the news of the death of Octavian, the Antipope, which event gave some hope of peace to the Church. The letters and messages which the king's ambassadors brought were, according to the account of apparently two different witnesses, who were residing at the court, of the humblest tenour; though the report reached the Bishop of Poitiers that they were indignant and abusive. These messengers pretending that it was necessary for them to return immediately, the Cardinals of Naples, Porto, and Pavia, who took a part adverse to St. Thomas, petitioned the Pope with much energy, though quite unsuccessfully, for ampler and more absolute letters, conferring the office of legate upon the Archbishop of York.

On another point the decision of the Holy See was more adverse to St. Thomas. We have seen that Clarembald, the Abbot-elect of St. Augustine's, had refused to receive the blessing of the Saint, unless it were in his own church, and without any profession of obedience. To gain this and some other points, which we have yet to mention, St. Thomas sent to the Pope at different times several of his most faithful followers, who afterwards bore exile and hardships with him, as the Bishop of Poitiers, Master Henry, Gunter of Winton, whom Herbert¹⁶³ calls "a simple, faithful little man," Hervey of London, who died on

such an embassy, and several others. Many of the Saint's letters to his friends, and their accounts in return to him, are extant, and from one of them¹⁶⁴ we learn how anxious he was upon this and some other points. If the chronological arrangement of these letters were not so open to doubt, it would be far easier to write the history of these events. As it is, it would seem as if the letter¹⁶⁵ of the Pope to Clarembald, dated Montpellier, July 10th, must have been the first answer, and that an entirely favourable one, to the Saint's petition; but that afterwards the abbot-elect had shown to the Pope the privileges granted by the Holy See to the Abbey of St. Augustine, and that in consequence of them an imperative order was issued to St. Thomas to perform the Benediction, with the addition, that if he delayed, the Pope would send for Clarembald, and perform it with his own hands. The moderation of the king's messengers, mentioned above, probably promoted this measure. Eventually Clarembald was deprived by Alexander III.¹⁶⁶

Another matter which was referred by St. Thomas to the Holy See was the intrusive custom of Roger of York, who would have his cross, the mark of archiepiscopal authority, borne before him in the province of Canterbury. The Pope's letters from Montpellier, July 13th,¹⁶⁷ had conferred on him the privilege, as his predecessors had enjoyed it; but in some later copy, or other letters obtained from the Pope by Roger, the words *per totam Angliam*¹⁶⁸ were by an oversight inserted. These were recalled by letters from Sens, dated January 21st.

There was yet another question which St. Thomas carried for solution to the Pope. It had been raised

at the Council of Tours; but now that he felt that Gilbert Foliot was taking an undutiful part against him, he much wished to exact from him a fresh profession of canonical obedience, which in those days was a matter of considerable moment, being a personal obligation similar in its nature to feudal homage amongst laymen. Gilbert on his consecration to Hereford had made his profession to Theobald as his Archbishop; and St. Thomas wished him now to repeat it to him, the plea being his translation to London. The argument¹⁶⁹ which the Bishop of Poitiers used to the Pope was, that if the translation had been to another province, it would absolve from the former profession, and render a second necessary. This was, however, overruled as bad canon law, by which the first profession held until the person making it became subject to another jurisdiction; and consequently a second profession could not be required from Gilbert, unless it were the local custom of that church to make a personal profession to the Archbishop himself, and not to him and to his successors in his office.

John of Salisbury, who had been banished¹⁷⁰ for the sake of St. Thomas by the king, probably soon after the Council of Clarendon,¹⁷¹ wrote to the Saint as soon as he reached Paris, telling him that, to his astonishment, he found the affairs of the two councils, which had been then held, widely known, and much exaggerated. On these reports reaching his ears, Louis, the king of France, offered St. Thomas a safe refuge in his country. The Saint answered,¹⁷² that while there was no one on the face of the earth, save the King of England, in whom he had greater trust,

or towards whom he entertained more well-merited gratitude, than the King of France, he was bound to refuse the gracious offer; for there was some hope of peace being restored between himself and his sovereign. "And do you, if it please you," the letter concluded, "if you should happen to speak with him, blame him for ever thinking evil of a man who has served him so much and so faithfully, who has ever loved him with a true love, and upon whom he has conferred so many honours." The efforts to promote peace here spoken of seem to have had a partial or temporary success, for in a subsequent letter to the King of France St. Thomas tells Louis that there is but one thing to disturb the newly restored and perfect peace between himself and the king, and that was a report which annoyed the king, that the Archbishop had denounced him to the Pope and to the King of France as a prosecutor and oppressor of the Church; and St. Thomas begs Louis to bear witness that the report was untrue. The fact was, that the king's actions had been abundantly sufficient to give birth to such a report, and St. Thomas had done nothing more than state his case. About this time the Saint wrote to King Henry himself,¹⁷³ in a tone quite calculated to attain his end, urging upon him that God would never leave the state of the Church in England unavenged, and promising him every blessing in God's name if he would remedy its evils.

St. Thomas has never received the credit he deserves for the efforts which he made at this time for the restoration of peace. The account just given of his correspondence with King Louis is a proof of his exertions. Another is afforded by the way in which

he met the mediation of the Bishop of Evreux. This prelate, who was the son of the Earl of Warwick, and was afterwards raised to the archbishopric of Rouen, had gone to the king at Porchester,¹⁷⁴ who had told him that in one way only could peace be restored, and that was by the Archbishop's gaining from the Pope a confirmation of the customs. St. Thomas, fearing to give the king a fair cause for complaint, actually sent such a request to the Pope, considering that the liberty of the Church was safer in the hands of his own superior and the Church's head than in his own. This may have been the moment of the pacification of which St. Thomas speaks to King Louis. As the Saint had anticipated, the Pope absolutely refused¹⁷⁵ any such confirmation. And this was followed by another letter, in which the Pope bade St. Thomas, "in virtue of obedience, that if the King of England should ever demand any thing of him against the liberty of the Church, that he should not dare to do it; and that he should not bind himself to any thing especially against the Roman Church, nor take any new form of promise or oath, beside that which Bishops were accustomed to take to kings. And that if he had taken any such oath, that he should not keep it, but at once recall it, and be reconciled for so sinful a promise to God and the Church."

Thus was St. Thomas prudently warding off, as far as was in his power, the coming trouble; but in spite of all his efforts it advanced apace upon him. Meanwhile, by the Pope's order,¹⁷⁶ prayer was offered up to God for him in holy Houses, where the odour of St. Bernard's sanctity was yet fresh, Citeaux, Clairvaux, and Pontigny.

CHAPTER XV.

THE COUNCIL OF NORTHAMPTON.

ON the ultimate failure of negotiations, St. Thomas attempted to obtain a personal interview with the king, and with this intention he went to Woodstock.¹⁷⁷ He was not admitted into the royal presence, and retired towards Canterbury. He then went to Romnel,¹⁷⁸ intending to try to cross the sea and visit the Pope, in spite of the illegal, though royal, prohibition of Clarendon. Accompanied by two or three of his personal attendants, he made two attempts¹⁷⁹ in the night to cross the Channel; but without success, either on account of the unfavourable wind, or through the fear of the sailors, who represented it as unfavourable, and that a return was necessary, lest they should be punished by the king for having assisted the Archbishop. The time was not yet come in God's purposes for the shepherd to be separated from his flock.

On a report of his flight, a panic seized his followers, who accordingly separated. One of them, bolder than the rest, went to the Archbishop's own room at Canterbury, and there sat after dusk on the following evening pondering in sadness on his master's fortunes. When it was very late, he said to a boy who was with him, "Go and shut the outer door of the hall, that we may sleep more safely." The boy

went out with a light, and saw the Archbishop sitting in a corner and alone; on which he ran away in a fright, thinking he had seen a ghost. The cleric would not believe him till he came himself, when he found St. Thomas, who, after some refreshment, summoned a few of the monks of Canterbury, and told them the whole state of the case.

The next morning some of the king's officers arrived to confiscate his property; but when they found that he himself was there, they retired in confusion. The king was greatly relieved when he heard that the attempt to cross the Channel had not succeeded; for he had every reason to fear that the result of a personal interview between St. Thomas and the Pope would be that the country would be placed under an interdict.

The Archbishop once more went to Woodstock, where he was admitted to see the king, who concealed in a great measure his hostility to the Saint, though to St. Thomas's practised eye it was sufficiently evident. Of the recent attempt to leave England he merely said, as if in joke, that he need not have tried to go, as if the country were not large enough to hold them both. The interview was but short; but the impression was left clearly enough on St. Thomas's mind, and expressed by him to his intimate friends, that the time was now arrived when he must either give way disgracefully, or fight the battle bravely. His resolution had long been taken.

The king summoned a full parliament to assemble at Northampton. It would appear that the Archbishop was not summoned in the usual way, as his dignity deserved, but as a culprit, to answer before

the king, and even that not personally, for the king would not write to him, but through the sheriff of Kent. The pretext for this indignity was, that he had not appeared personally before the king when cited to show why he had not done justice in his own court to John the marshal. This man had laid a claim before the Archbishop to Mundeham, a portion of the archiepiscopal manor of Pagaham.¹⁸⁰ The king had previously made a law, that if in the process of a cause either party felt themselves aggrieved, they could stay all proceedings, and carry the cause by appeal to a higher court, if the party thus appealing could take oath that justice was not done. Of this power the marshal availed himself; but in spite of the remonstrances of the judges of the Archbishop's court, he produced from under his cloak a book of songs, and on that he made his oath. He complained to the king that justice had been refused to him on account of his fidelity, and obtained a summons against the Archbishop to appear in the king's court on the feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross. On the day named the Archbishop did not appear; but he sent four of his knights, bearing his own and the sheriff's attestations to the invalidity of the appeal. The king was very angry with the Archbishop for not appearing in person, and he would hardly let his knights go free, even on bail. At the instance of the marshal the Archbishop was peremptorily summoned to Northampton, to answer, as well for the original cause, as for the contempt.

On Tuesday the 6th of October 1164, St. Thomas arrived at Northampton. He was met on the way by some of his domestics, who told him that the

king had permitted his lodgings to be occupied ; on which he despatched word that he would come no further, if this were not rectified. Henry accordingly gave the requisite order. St. Thomas availed himself of the hospitality of the monks of St. Andrew's ; which monastery was then in all the glory of its restoration by Simon de St. Liz, the Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. On the day when he entered, the king was out hawking, so that they did not meet.

On the following morning, the Saint, after his Mass and Hours, went to the castle, where he waited in the antechamber while the king heard Mass. On his entrance St. Thomas rose to meet him, and showed himself ready to receive the customary salutation of a kiss, if the king should offer it ; but he did not do so. The Archbishop's first request was for leave to visit the Pope, which was absolutely refused. He then requested that William de Curci might be removed from one of his lodgings ; to this the king assented. He then said that he had come to obey the summons in the case of John the marshal. Henry replied that he was in London in his service, but that he would soon appear. Nothing further was transacted on that day ; but the king bade St. Thomas return to his lodgings, warning him that on the following day the cause would be tried.

On the second day, that is, the Thursday, the parliament assembled. All the Bishops of England were there, except Rochester and another who had not yet arrived. There were likewise several Bishops of the king's dominions in Normandy, besides the earls and barons. The Archbishop was accused of

the contempt of his non-appearance to the king's summons in the case of the marshal. The Saint's reply was, that his absence had been caused by illness,¹⁸¹ and that he had sent his knights to represent him; but it was not listened to, and Henry pressed for judgment. The parliament decided that the homage and observance of earthly honour, to which the Archbishop was sworn, had laid upon him the obligation to attend at the royal summons; and they sentenced him for the contempt to the confiscation of all his moveable property to the king's mercy. This was apparently held equivalent to a fine of five hundred pounds of silver, for thus the penalty is stated by other writers. We are told that a difficulty arose in pronouncing judgment between the Bishops and the barons, both parties acquiescing in the sentence through fear of the king, yet neither wishing to bear the odium of such a proceeding. The barons pleaded that the spiritual order ought to pronounce a sentence affecting one of themselves; the Bishops, on the other hand, replied, that it was altogether a secular judgment; that they were not there as Bishops to try their own superior, but that they sat as peers of parliament and the equals of the barons on the trial of a peer. The king began to be angry at such a question being mooted, and the Bishop of Winchester was obliged, though much against his will, to pronounce the sentence. St. Thomas at first thought of resisting it, as emanating from an incompetent tribunal; but he was persuaded not to allow a mere question of money to stand between himself and Henry. He therefore offered bail for the sum, which was accepted, the Bishops standing his sureties,

with the exception of Gilbert Foliot, whose refusal was remarked.

On the conclusion of the question of contempt, the case of John the marshal was brought forward; but whether it was that the Archbishop's statement was too strong to be answered, or that the king was anxious to enter into the more vexatious questions which he had in store, it is plain that it was not proceeded with. We are told¹⁸² that the marshal lost within the year his two sons, whom the portion of Church property he aimed at would have gone to enrich, and that he himself soon followed them to the grave, which St. Thomas attributed to the anger of God and St. Anselm.

Another cause was brought forward against the Saint on the same day. The king demanded the restoration of three hundred pounds, which the Archbishop had received from the Castelry of Eye and Berkhamstead. The Saint first pleaded that he had not been summoned to render any such account; but he did not refuse to reply that he had spent the money in question, and very much more, while he was chancellor, in the repairs of the Tower of London and of the castles in question. The king declared that he had not authorised any such expenditure, and demanded judgment; on which St. Thomas, still determined that money matters should be no pretext against him, offered as bail for the sum the Earl of Gloucester, William of Eynesford, and another of his feudal retainers. This closed the day's proceedings.

Friday began with a new demand on the part of the king. He claimed repayment of five hundred marks which had been lent to St. Thomas during the

war at Toulouse, and for other five hundred for which he had stood surety for him in a loan from a Jew.¹⁸³ To this was added the astounding demand that he should immediately account for the incomes of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys, which had been paid into the Chancery while he was in office. St. Thomas expressed himself as totally unprepared for any such application, which had come upon him without warning, and he begged to be allowed to consult his suffragans and clerics. In this the king acquiesced. The irremediable character of the breach being now, however, apparent to all, his soldiers and military retainers being anxious to retain the king's favour deserted our Saint; on which he supplied their place by the poor and needy, and he triumphed much in the exchange.¹⁸⁴

Saturday was spent in consultation with the Bishops at one time, and the Abbots at another. The character of the demand made upon St. Thomas may be estimated from the fact, that it was accounted equivalent to the enormous sum of thirty thousand marks. Henry of Blois, the Bishop of Winchester, who had consecrated him, and who always took a lively interest in him, reminded him of the declaration of the prince in the king's name at his election, that the Church was to receive him free from all secular obligations; and this the venerable Bishop could the better do, as he had himself at that time elicited the declaration. On the king's disallowing it, and declaring that he had been no party to any such liberation, and that he had never ratified it, and St. Thomas being reminded that all his moveable property had already been confiscated, the generous Bishop offered the king two

thousand marks on his behalf; but they were refused. After this their consultations were much divided. Those who knew Henry's mind best, declared that he would never be satisfied until St. Thomas resigned the archbishopric. Hilary of Chichester, who was so inclined to favour the king, that St. Thomas, looking back upon these times from his exile, said that he had held amongst them the place of Judas the traitor, is reported to have said, "Oh, that you were only Thomas, and not Archbishop!" Henry, he declared, had said that the kingdom should not contain him as king and St. Thomas as Archbishop, and by a resignation only of his see could peace be restored. Others, however, expressed their hopes that the Church would suffer no such disgrace at his hands; and they were the advisers who knew St. Thomas best.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIGHT.

SUNDAY was comparatively a day of rest. St. Thomas remained within doors, taking diligent counsel with such as were best able to advise him, and scarcely giving himself time for refreshment. The next day was looked forward to by all as that on which the issue of these exciting proceedings would be seen. But in the middle of the night St. Thomas was taken ill with a violent pain in the side, so that to give him any relief they were obliged to place heated pillows where the pain was. This was an illness to which the Saint was subject, particularly in times of unusual anxiety; and it was from the natural chilliness of his constitution, and his liability to this *mal de flanc*,¹⁸⁵ that he was accustomed always to wear such a very unusual quantity of clothing. The pain lasted through the greater part of Monday, and prevented him from attending the parliament; and the king, believing the illness to be feigned, sent several nobles to see whether it were true. The Archbishop promised them, that if he were not better the next day, he would be carried to the court in a litter rather than stay away. However towards night he recovered.

The following day, Tuesday the 13th of October, was one of great moment in the life of St. Thomas, in the history of the Church in England, and, it

might be added, of the town in which these great events happened; for it is owing to the heroism of St. Thomas on that day shown at Northampton, that the diocese of which that old town is now the see has been placed under his patronage. The town yet bears traces of its ancient devotion to St. Thomas in its hospital and its well, which bear his name; and the very castle in its ruins is revered by a Catholic, not for its olden glories and royal pageantry, but because it was hallowed by the trial of St. Thomas. The blessed Saint cannot but look down with favour on the scene of the struggle, which he called, after St. Paul and the early martyrs, "fighting with beasts;" especially since it has been placed under his protection by the Rome that he loved, by the Holy Apostolic See whose champion he there was.

It was the anniversary of the solemn day¹⁸⁶ when all England had assembled in Westminster Abbey, and St. Thomas had translated the relics of St. Edward the Confessor. The festival of the 13th of October is the dearer to us from the association of St. Thomas with the great Saint we then venerate, whether we think of him at Westminster doing honour to St. Edward, or at Northampton bearing his witness for the Church and for Christ.

A rumour had been current that in the course of that day violent measures would be taken against his person. Some of the courtiers, who had an affection for him, had warned him of it; and the Bishops, calling upon him very early in the morning, attempted to make use of this fear to induce the Saint to resign. They pointed out the certainty of his condemnation for high treason, on account of his rejection of the

royal customs ; and they asked what use there was in his archbishopric when he had incurred the hatred of the king. His answer was characteristic : "Brethren, you see how the world opposes me ; but I mourn still more that the children of my Mother should fight against me. For even if I were to hold my peace, after ages would tell how you have left me alone in the contest, and how twice in these two days you have judged me, who, sinner though I be, am your Archbishop and father. And now I gather from what you say, that you are ready to assist in passing, not a civil sentence merely, but also a criminal one, against me ; but I command you all, in virtue of your obedience and under peril of your order, not to be present in any judgment against my person. And lest you should so do, I appeal to our Mother the Church of Rome, the refuge of all the oppressed. If, as the rumour runs, secular hands are laid upon me, I order you, in virtue of obedience, to use ecclesiastical censure in behalf of your father and Archbishop. Be sure of this, that though the world should roar, the enemy rise up, or the body tremble (for the flesh is weak), yet, by God's help, I will not be base enough to give way, nor to desert the flock intrusted to me."

On this Gilbert Foliot immediately appealed to the Holy See against his precept, that they should use censures in case of violence being shown to him ; and the Bishops left, excepting Henry of Winchester and Joceline of Salisbury, whose sympathies were altogether with the Saint, though they were afraid to show it. When he was left alone, he prepared himself for the contest like a true Bishop.

He entered¹⁸⁷ the church, and said the Mass of

St. Stephen at the altar of the Protomartyr with very great solemnity and devotion. His tears so blinded him, that more than once he was obliged to break off the prayers unfinished. Two things were particularly noted in this Mass by the king's party: that he had chosen one the Introit of which began with the words, "For the princes sat and spake against me;" and that he celebrated, though it was not a festival, with his pallium, which was unusual.

The Saint would have gone to the court vested as he was, if some of the Templars with whom he was intimate had not persuaded him not to do so. His wish was, he said, to let the court see who he was, whom it had twice judged. At their urgent entreaty, he laid aside his mitre and pallium: he threw his black cappa¹⁸⁸ as a canon-regular over the sacred vestments, and, looking to the trial before him, he carried concealed about his person the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. On the way to the castle he said to his cross-bearer, Alexander Llewellyn, that he regretted that he had not come as he at first proposed. When he dismounted from his horse, he took his cross into his own hand, and so entered the castle. Gilbert, the Bishop of London, was standing in the gateway at that moment; and Hugh de Nunant, Archdeacon of Lisieux, who was in the Archbishop's train, said to him, "My lord of London, why do you suffer him to carry his cross?" The Bishop answered, "Good man, he always was a fool, and always will be." Robert de Melun, whom he had consecrated Bishop of Hereford, met him as he was entering, and begged to be allowed to act as his cross-bearer; but he would not permit it.

The king was in an inner room. The Archbishop advanced to the council-chamber and took his usual place, still holding his cross. The Bishops surrounded him; Gilbert Foliot being the nearest to him. The attention of all was riveted upon him, when the Bishop of London said that he looked as if he were prepared to disturb the world. "You carry your cross," he said; "now, if the king were to draw his sword, what hope would there be of peace?" St. Thomas answered, "If it could be so, I should wish always to carry it in my own hands; but I know what I am now doing. I would preserve God's peace for myself and the Church in England. Say, if you like, that if you were here, you would think otherwise. If my lord the king were now, as you say, to draw his sword, it would be but a bad token of peace." St. Thomas was probably thinking, Fitz-Stephens tells us, of the troubles of the Council of Clarendon.

The Bishops were summoned to the king, and remained in the inner room for a long time. The Archbishop of York arrived late purposely, that he might not be identified with the king's council, and he had his archiepiscopal cross carried before him; and this he did in virtue of a fresh appeal to the Pope against a prohibition which he had recently received from Rome. They were no sooner assembled than the king bitterly complained of the manner of St. Thomas's entry, saying, that so to bear his cross was to treat him as if he were not a Christian king. The courtiers then took up the accusation, declaring that he had always been vain and proud, and that his present act was an insult not to the king merely, but to the whole kingdom; and the cry that he was perjured and

a traitor became so loud, that it impressed with a sense of imminent danger those who remained in the council-chamber with our Saint: so much so, that on some persons leaving the room where the king was and entering the lower room, St. Thomas and those who were with him immediately made the sign of the cross.

Herbert de Bosham sat at the Saint's feet, and Fitz-Stephens was not far from him. They each¹⁸⁹ relate to us a few words that they interchanged with St. Thomas at that trying moment. The latter reports that Herbert bade him in a low voice have his sentence of excommunication ready, if any of them should dare to lay hands upon him. Fitz-Stephens overheard it, and observed in a little louder tone, "Far be it from him; not so did the Holy Apostles and Martyrs of the Lord, when they were taken; rather, if it should so happen, let him pray for them and forgive them, and possess his soul in patience. If he should suffer for justice' sake and for the liberty of the Church, then, by God's grace, his soul would be at rest and his memory in benediction. But if he should pass sentence against them, all men will think that through anger and impatience he had done all he could to avenge himself." John Planeta, who was standing by, and Ralph de Diceto, then Archdeacon of London and afterwards Dean, the well-known historian, were both of them affected to tears.

Herbert's advice was such as we should have expected from his impetuous disposition, as we see it on several occasions when he appears on the scene before us, and in which he resembles not a little the Saint his master. He tells us that some of the ushers with rods and wands passed into the room where they were,

pointing with threatening gestures at the Archbishop and his companions; on which, while the others crossed themselves, St. Thomas stooped down and said to Herbert, "I am afraid for you; but do not be afraid for yourself, for you shall share my crown." Herbert answered, "We must neither of us fear; for you have raised a noble standard, by which not only the powers of earth but those of the air are overthrown. And," he added, "remember that once you were the standard-bearer of the king of the Angles, and were never overcome: it would indeed be a disgrace to be overcome now when you are the standard-bearer of the King of the Angels."

After a while, Fitz-Stephens attempted to speak to the Saint again, but a king's marshal standing by prevented him; on which, by raising his eyes and moving his lips, he made signs for him to look up at the crucifix he was carrying, and to occupy himself in prayer. St. Thomas understood him; and several years afterwards, when he was an exile in France, he met Fitz-Stephens, then on his way to the Pope at St. Benedict's on the Loire, and told him what a consolation his hint had been to him.

The Bishops were meanwhile, by the king's leave, taking counsel together; for they were not prepared to join with the nobles in passing sentence upon their Archbishop, and yet they did not see how they could otherwise avoid the king's anger. They at length agreed to propose, if they were permitted, to be absent from this judgment, to appeal to the Holy See against the Primate for perjury, and to pledge themselves not to rest until he was deposed. They told Henry how the Archbishop had appealed from their former sen-

tences to Rome. On this the king sent several barons to inquire of the Saint whether he acknowledged this appeal; for he was his liege subject, and was bound by an especial oath at Clarendon to his Constitutions, in which it was enacted that Bishops should assist at all judgments except those of blood. They were also to ask whether he would give bail that he would abide by the sentence of the court regarding the accounts of his chancellorship.

St. Thomas answered thus: "I am bound, my lords, to the king my liege, by homage, fealty, and by oath: but the oath of a priest is ever accompanied by justice and equity. In all devout and due subjection, I obey the king for God's sake in all things saving God's obedience, the Church's dignity, and the honour of a Bishop in my person. I am not bound to give any account of my chancellorship, for I was summoned only for the cause of John the Marshal. I remember and acknowledge that I have received many dignities and offices from the king, in all of which I have served him faithfully on both sides of the Channel; and I rejoice to think that after spending all my income in his service, I incurred debts for him also. When, by God's permission and the king's favour, I was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, before my consecration I was delivered over by the king to the church of Canterbury free from all secular claims; though now in his anger he denies it, yet you and most ecclesiastics in the kingdom know it well. I call upon you, then, to testify to this truth to the king; for it would not be safe, though it is according to law, for me to bring witnesses against him; neither need I do it, for I am not now pleading my

cause. If since my consecration I have not made the progress I could have wished, I do not impute it to the king or to any one else, but solely to my own sins. Yet God can give grace to whom and when He wills.

“I can give no sureties for the accounts. All the Bishops and my friends have already been bound ; nor ought I to be held to find bail in a cause which has not been adjudged against me. As to the prohibition I have placed upon the Bishops, I acknowledge that I told them that they had condemned me too severely for a single absence which was not contumacious ; and therefore I appealed against them, forbidding them during this appeal to judge me for a secular cause committed before I was Archbishop : and I again appeal ; and I place my person and the church of Canterbury under the protection of God and of my lord the Pope.”

At the close of this dignified address, the nobles returned to Henry in silence. Others, however, of his partisans were not so respectful. Some said, talking to one another, but loud enough for St. Thomas to hear, “King William, who conquered England, knew how to tame his clerics. He put in prison his own brother Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux, who rebelled against him. He cast Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury into a black dungeon. And Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, our king’s father, caused Arnulf Bishop-elect of Sééz and many of his clerics to be mutilated, because he had counted himself as elected to Sééz without his consent.”

When the king received St. Thomas’s reply, he urged the Bishops by their fealty to him to take part in the sentence the barons were about to pronounce.

They objected the Archbishop's prohibition, which Henry declared had no force against the express provisions of Clarendon. The Bishops urged that they would be placing themselves in the power of the Primate, and that it was therefore for the good of the king and the kingdom that he should acquiesce in their absence. At length he yielded; and they entered the room where the Archbishop was, and took their places near him. Robert of Lincoln was weeping, and some others could hardly restrain their tears.

Whilst the debate was continuing in the inner chamber, Roger Archbishop of York passed through, calling to two of his clerics who were in the council-chamber, Master Robert le Grand and Osbert de Arundel, "Let us go away; for we ought not to see what will soon be done with my lord of Canterbury." "No," replied Master Robert, "I will not go till I see what God wills in his regard; for if he should strive unto blood for God and His justice, he could not have a finer or better end." The Archbishop of York went away, and Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter fell at St. Thomas's feet. "My father, have pity on yourself, have pity too on us; for the hatred against you is our destruction. The king has just issued a decree, that whoever should take your side should be accounted guilty of high treason." It was further reported, that Joceline of Salisbury and William of Norwich were to be mutilated for resisting the king; and they also had pleaded with the Archbishop for their own safety. St. Thomas replied to Bartholomew: "Fly hence; for you savour not the things that be of God."

After the entrance of the Bishops, Hilary of Chichester thus addressed St. Thomas: "My Lord Archbishop; saving your grace, we have much to complain of you. You have placed us your Bishops between the hammer and the anvil by this your prohibition; of disobedience to you on the one hand, and of the king's anger on the other. Lately, when we were assembled at Clarendon, his highness urged upon us the observance of his royal dignities; and to prevent mistake, they were shown to us in writing. At length we gave them our assent; you in the first place, and afterwards we, your suffragans, at your command. When our lord the king bade us swear to them, and affix our seals, we replied that a priest's word was sufficient, and that we had pledged ourselves to observe his dignities in the word of truth, in good faith, without deceit, and lawfully. The king was therewith content. But now you force us to go against them by forbidding us to be present at a judgment when he requires it of us. From this oppression, and lest you should injure us further, we appeal to the Pope, and under a protest we obey your prohibition."

St. Thomas answered: "I hear what you say, and, by God's help, I will attend the appeal. At Clarendon nothing was granted by me, or by you through me, but saving the honour of the Church. For, as you yourselves say, we added these three clauses, *in good faith, without deceit, and lawfully*, by which the dignities which our churches have by papal law were secured. Whatever is against the Church or the laws of God cannot be kept *in good faith and lawfully*; nor has any Christian king a dignity which is

the destruction of the Church's liberty, to which he has sworn. Besides, these very royal dignities our lord the king sent in writing to the Pope for confirmation, by whom they were returned condemned. The Pope then taught us what to do; for we are ready with the Roman Church to receive what he receives, to reject what he rejects. Furthermore, if we fell at Clarendon, for the flesh is weak, we must take courage, and in the strength of the Holy Ghost contend against the ancient enemy, who is ever striving to make him fall who stands, and to prevent him from rising who has fallen. If, then, *in the word of truth*, we swore to what was unjust, you know that an unlawful oath is not binding."

The Bishops, being exempted from joining in the judgment, sat apart. In a short time the barons appeared, leaving but a very few of their number with the king. St. Thomas was about to rise to them as they entered; but Herbert whispered to him, that to receive them sitting would impress them with a deeper sense of the truth that they were judging their father, and would become him better who was carrying his cross. The Archbishop remained quiet, and gave no sign of fear on their drawing near. The two earls, Robert of Leicester and Reginald of Cornwall, who had so often come to him from Henry, were the foremost.

The Earl of Leicester began: "The king commands you to render up your accounts, as you yesterday promised to do. Otherwise hear your judgment." "Judgment?" said the Archbishop. He then rose, and continued, "Son and earl, hear me first. You know, my son, how intimate I was with our lord the

king, and how faithfully I served him. It therefore pleased him that I should be advanced to be Archbishop of the church of Canterbury. God knows, I willed it not, for I knew my own weakness: and rather for the love of him than of God I gave way, which to-day is clear enough, when God and the king have both deserted me. Still, in my promotion, when I was elected before Henry, the king's son and heir, who was appointed for that purpose, the question was asked, How did they give me to the church of Canterbury? And the answer was, Free from all worldly ties. I therefore am not bound, nor will I plead, respecting them." "This is different," said the earl, "from what the Bishop of London told the king. But how will you avoid his judgment? You are his subject, and have many castles and possessions in fief and barony." The Archbishop answered:¹⁹⁰ "I have nothing in fief or barony; for whatever kings have given to the Church, they have given as a free alms; and the king himself in his privileges has declared and confirmed the same. Wherefore, by the authority and office which God's ordinance and the law of Christendom give me over you, I forbid your passing judgment upon me." The Earl of Leicester replied: "Far be it from me to transgress the command of such an authority to my soul's detriment; I now hold my peace, and as far as I am concerned, I leave you free." He then turned to the Earl of Cornwall, and said to him, "You hear that the Archbishop in God's name has imposed silence upon me; do you, therefore, what remains, and say what the king has ordered." He answered, "I will not venture upon what was not ordered me." The Earl of Leicester then said, "I

beseech you, my lord, to wait until your answer is brought to you." "Am I, then, a prisoner?" St. Thomas asked. "No, by St. Lazarus, my lord," was the earl's answer, with his usual oath. The two noblemen were moving away, when St. Thomas added, "Son and earl, yet listen. By as much as the soul is more worthy than the body, by so much are you bound to obey God and me rather than your earthly king. Neither law nor reason permits children to judge and condemn their father. Wherefore I decline the judgment of the king and yours, or that of any one else; for, under God, I will be judged by the Pope alone, to whom before you all I here appeal, placing the church of Canterbury, my order and my dignity, with all thereto belonging, under God's and his protection. And you, my brethren and fellow-Bishops, who have served man rather than God, I summon to the presence of the Pope; and so, guarded by the authority of the Catholic Church and of the Holy See, I go hence."

Some of those who stood by called him perjured and traitor; on which he turned upon them and said, that if it were lawful, and his priestly orders did not forbid it, he would defend himself against them by appeal to arms from such charges. He left the council-chamber, still bearing his cross; and as he passed through the hall, a multitude of people of all sorts collected there insulted him. In the middle of the hall was a quantity of firewood; and he stumbled over a bundle of faggots. Randulph de Broc called out against him, "The traitor is going away;" and he, with several others, threw straws and other trifles after him. The Earl Hamelin, the king's illegitimate

brother, called the same things after him; to which he answered, "If I were¹⁹¹ a soldier, my own hands should prove you false."

When in the court, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the castle-gate, which they found locked.¹⁹² But one of his servants, by name Peter de Mortorio, saw a bunch of keys hanging up; and the first that was tried proved to be the right one. Outside the gate, when it was opened, they found a great multitude of people; some suffering from the king's evil, who were waiting for the exercise of that healing power which St. Edward the Confessor had bequeathed to his descendants, and others in fear and anxiety lest he should have been killed. They raised a loud cry on seeing him: "Blessed be God, Who has saved His servant from the face of his enemies." Herbert could not find his horse in the crowd, so the Archbishop took him up behind him to the Monastery of St. Andrew. They were accompanied by the poor; and the Saint had some trouble to guide his horse, hold his cross, and give his blessing to the crowds who fell upon their knees as he passed. He called it, as it truly was, a glorious procession; and that evening the poor were admitted in great numbers to dine with him.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FLIGHT.

THE cross that had been borne so prominently that day found its resting-place by the altar of our Blessed Lady. The Saint there prayed for some time; and then rising up, he asked whether it were yet time for None. Learning that the hour was past, he sang None and Vespers, and then went to dinner. At the meal it was seen how few of his followers remained. Of a retinue of about forty who had come with him scarcely six were left; but their place was filled by the poor. He sat a long time at table, and was very cheerful. William Fitz-Stephens said, "This has been indeed a sad day." "The last," St. Thomas replied, "will be sadder." And then, after a while, he added the following saintly exhortation to his followers: "Dwell in silence and in peace. Let no sharp word proceed from your mouth. If any one speak against you, do not answer him; but suffer him to speak evil of you. The superior part is to suffer, the inferior so to act. We are masters of our own ears, as they are of their tongues. The evil is not spoken against me; but against him who, when evil is spoken, recognises it in himself."

When the king was informed, as it was believed by the Bishop of Hereford, as St. Thomas was leaving the castle, that the courtiers were saying and doing

things insulting to him, he ordered proclamation to be made through the streets, that no insult should be offered to him, nor any of his followers be in any way interfered with. It does not seem unnatural to suppose that the king was anxious that these insults, though doubtless pleasing to him, as his own conduct towards the Saint sufficiently shows, should not be attributed to himself; for this he knew would be a strong presumptive argument against him in the eyes of the Pope and of all Christendom.

While the Saint was still at table, the leaders amongst the Bishops of the opposition to him and of subserviency to the king, Gilbert of London and Hilary of Chichester, came to him to say that they had found out a reconciliatory course. They urged that it was but a money question between him and the king. If, then, he would leave for a time two of his manors, Otford and Mundeham, in the king's hands as a pledge or surety, they thought that he would not retain them, nor urge his claim for the money, and would restore the Archbishop to favour. The Saint answered, "Heccham, I am told, was once a manor of the church of Canterbury; and the king now retains possession of it. I have, then, a claim to its restitution; though under these circumstances it is more than I can hope for. Nevertheless, sooner than resign the ancient rights of the church of Canterbury over even that manor to the king, to put an end to my troubles or to recover his favour, I would undergo any danger, or even death." And so saying, he laid his hand upon his head. Did he already know where his death-wound would be inflicted? The two Bishops went to Henry, and reported to him what the

Archbishop had said, and thus increased his anger against the Saint. These false brethren must have known what St. Thomas would answer; and their use of what he had replied proves that their wish for reconciliation was feigned, and that they really strove to urge matters to extremities.

During their meal the book that was read aloud was the Tripartite History on the persecution of Liberius; and when the text happened to be quoted, "When they persecute you in one city, fly to another," St. Thomas raised his eyes, and meeting those of Herbert, his flight was understood between them, though no word was uttered by either. Before he left the table, he ordered his bed to be carried into the church, and placed behind the high altar; which was done before them all. They sat until nightfall, when, after grace, St. Thomas sent the three Bishops, Roger of Worcester and Robert of Hereford whom he had consecrated, together with Walter of Rochester his chaplain, to the king, to request leave to depart on the morrow, and a safe-conduct to enable him to visit the Pope. They found Henry in high spirits; but he refused to give any answer until the following day. This reply was considered to be ominous of danger; and the impression was confirmed by secret messages from some of the king's privy-councillors.

We are told that the Saint had spent one of the former nights in the church in vigil and prayer with his clerics, taking the discipline¹⁹³ and genuflecting at the name of each Saint in the Litany. Some of them, thinking that he was about to repeat this pious exercise, asked leave to watch with him. He said:

“No, I would not have you troubled.” His chamberlain, by name Osbern, was placed to prevent any one coming to that part of the church, his instructions being to say that the Archbishop was fatigued with his day’s work and was not to be disturbed; and when¹⁹⁴ the monks came to sing Compline, they did so in a low voice, believing him to be asleep behind the high altar. The Saint took into his confidence two lay brothers who were in his train, named Robert de Cave and Scailman, and a faithful domestic of his own called Roger de Brai,¹⁹⁵ and bade them prepare what was necessary for his departure. Lest suspicion should be excited, he directed them not to take any of his own horses, but to procure others for their use. These men performed their part well; and four good horses were kept in waiting outside the monastery-gate, as if they belonged to strangers who were visiting within.

The Litanies were said, and a genuflection made at each Saint’s name; and then St. Thomas gave his parting instructions to his faithful Herbert. He was to go to Canterbury; and after collecting what he could of the Archbishop’s income, to make the best of his way to St. Omer’s in Flanders, and await the Saint’s arrival at the famous Monastery of St. Bertin; for thither he proposed to go, if capture or death did not prevent him. Herbert mentions with emotion that the Saint gave into his particular charge a book for which he had an affection, for fear lest, when his property was rifled, as he might expect after his departure, it might be lost: showing what he valued most of all the precious and magnificent things by which he was surrounded when in state. Poor Her-

bert was thus, to his distress, left behind, and separated from his beloved master.

The night was dark and rain was heavily falling, so that every one was within doors, and objects could with difficulty be distinguished. Guards had been set, as they had previously ascertained, at all the gates of the town except the north gate, and to that, which was the nearest to St. Andrew's, St. Thomas, with his three companions, quietly passed through the streets of Northampton. His last preparation¹⁹⁶ had been to take off his stole, which he had constantly worn since his consecration; and he took nothing with him except his pallium and his archiepiscopal seal. He wore his usual black cappa, and his hair-shirt next to his skin was his armour. In the course of that night's ride, the cappa became so heavy with the wet, that twice he had a piece cut off to make it lighter. By morning he reached a village on the Lincoln road called Graham, about five-and-twenty miles from Northampton and half way to Lincoln. He here was able to sleep a little; and after this rest he pushed on the remaining distance to Lincoln. He lodged with a fuller of the name of Jacob; and here he changed his dress for that of a lay brother, and determined to pass by the name of Brother Christian. Two of his companions were brothers of the order of the Canons Regular of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, commonly called Gilbertines, which accounts for his taking refuge almost exclusively in their monasteries. Taking boat on the river which passes through Lincoln, he reached a solitary place in the midst of the waters called the Hermitage, belonging to the nuns of the Order of Sempringham.

This was a distance of some forty miles by water. As the place was one where he was very safe from pursuit, he remained there for three days. The faithful lay brother was once so overcome by seeing the Archbishop sitting at his solitary meal of a few herbs, that he was obliged to leave him for a while, lest his tears should distress the Saint. Robert de Cave alone had accompanied him, Scailman and Roger having been sent by land from Lincoln to Sempringham ; but they rejoined him later.

It is now time that we should return for a few minutes to Northampton, before we follow St. Thomas on his further wanderings. One of his companions, whom he had left behind, and who knew nothing of his intended flight, afterwards told Herbert and others that he had that night a dream in which he heard a voice sing those verses of the Psalm, "Our soul has escaped like a sparrow from the snare of the fowlers : our snare is broken, and we are delivered." The story is worth repeating from the pleasure it affords us to introduce the words of that text.

In the morning, the Bishop of Winchester, unconscious of what had taken place, came to speak with the Saint. On his inquiring of Osbern, the chamberlain, how the Archbishop was, he received for answer : "He is well ; for last night he left us, and is gone we know not where." With a deep sigh, and tears in his eyes, the venerable Bishop said, "And God's blessing go with him !" When the flight first came to the king's ears, he was silent through anger ; and at length he said, "We have not yet done with him : " and he then gave special directions that all

the ports should be carefully guarded, to prevent his leaving the kingdom. A council was then held; and it was determined that, in order that his flight might seem to have been unnecessary, and only done to irritate the king, all the Archbishop's possessions should be secured unmolested, and none of his officials be removed during the appeal. The Bishops, who had already pledged themselves to Henry to carry on the appeal before the Pope, were ordered to get ready; and the following were selected for the journey: Roger the Archbishop of York, Gilbert of London, Roger of Worcester, Hilary of Chichester, and Bartholomew of Exeter. To their party were added Richard of Ilchester, John of Oxford, and Guy Rufus, all ecclesiastics; and amongst the laymen, William Earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gundoville, Reginald of St. Valerie, and Henry Fitzgerald, a royal favourite. Henry gave them letters to Louis King of France, and to Philip Earl of Flanders, begging them not to receive into their kingdoms a traitor, who had fled from his country, Thomas, *the late* Archbishop of Canterbury.

It is ever delightful to be able to connect the memories of Saints together; and the following account of St. Gilbert of Sempringham deserves grateful admission into the life of St. Thomas. After the flight of the Archbishop, it soon became bruited abroad that houses of the Gilbertine Order had given him refuge; for it was, as he himself tells us,¹⁹⁷ the religious order that he preferred above all others. St. Gilbert, then in his 73d year, was cited before the king's justiciars, and accused of having sent a sum of money to the assistance of St. Thomas in his

need. Fearful punishments had been decreed against all who had dared to *abet the traitor*; and St. Gilbert had but a sorry prospect if he were found guilty. The judges, probably moved by the universal respect in which the aged founder of the Order of Sempringham was held, and by the fame of his sanctity, offered him an immediate release from all proceedings, if he would but swear that the accusation was untrue. This he absolutely refused to do; but when he was ultimately released, he voluntarily declared that truly the case was so; but that to have taken the oath required of him, would have been to have created an impression that he thought it wrong to act in the way that had been laid to his charge. This great Saint lived to hear of the martyrdom and canonisation of the Archbishop, in whose holy cause he so sympathised; and he went to join him in heaven, after he had spent a century of holy years on earth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXILE.

WHEN St. Thomas left the Hermitage, he went to St. Botolf's,¹⁹⁸ which was ten miles off; and thence by water to Haverolot, a place also belonging to the Canonesses of St. Gilbert. He now directed his course towards Kent;¹⁹⁹ and as he would henceforward be passing amongst people who were likely to be acquainted with his personal appearance, he only travelled by night. He stopped at Chikesande, in Bedfordshire, on his way southwards. This was another house of Gilbertine Canons; and one of them, of the name of Gilbert, he added to his party. This resting-place of our Saint had a celebrity in after times, and the miracles there wrought were a testimony of Whose cause it was for which St. Thomas was a wanderer. At length he reached a village belonging to his see, named Eastry, close to Sandwich, and about eight miles from Canterbury. Here he was lodged in the priest's house, from which a little window opened into the church; and here he assisted at Mass without the knowledge of the people or even of the priest who celebrated. A cleric, who had been trusted with the secret, brought the Pax, or kiss of peace, to him from the altar. It would have been affecting to see the devotion with which, from his place of concealment, the Saint gave his episcopal

benediction at the end of Mass to the faithful, who were unconscious of his presence.

On All Souls' Day, Monday the 2d of November,²⁰⁰ nearly three weeks after the memorable Tuesday at Northampton, a little before daybreak, St. Thomas embarked at Sandwich, on board a small boat which had been prepared for him by the priest who had given him shelter. The very same day the Bishops and other messengers from the king also embarked at Dover. The weather was very stormy, and our Saint must have been in great peril in his open boat; for the ship that carried the Bishops was driven back into port, and their danger had been such, that the Bishop of London had taken off his cappa and cowl through fear of shipwreck. St. Thomas landed towards evening, on the sand at low water, at a part of the coast called Oie, about a league distant from Gravelines, which seaport town they purposely avoided. They went on foot in the direction of Clairmarais as far as they could; until at length the Saint, who was unaccustomed to the heavy dress and shoes of a lay brother which he wore, and who was wearied out by the roughness of the passage, sat down on the roadside, and declared that he could go no farther unless they carried him or found him something to ride upon. After some seeking, they at length found a boy, whom they begged to go and hire a beast. He went to the nearest village; but remained away so long, that they were much frightened lest he should have given some notice which should betray them. The Saint had, however, fallen several times, and his hands were bleeding, so that they were obliged to await the result. At length

the boy returned, leading by a straw halter an ass without a saddle, which they were glad to hire for a piece of silver. They threw a cloak over the animal, and thus St. Thomas rode for about two miles: he then found it easier to walk. In passing through a village, a woman who saw him was much struck with something unusually noble in the expression of his face; and seeing his fatigue, she ran into her house to find a stick to offer him. Finding nothing at the moment but one which had been used as a spit and on which fish had been hung, and the state of which betrayed the uses to which it had been put, she ran out and offered it to him; and he thanked her for it earnestly with all gratitude. A little further on, a knot of young men were standing together, one of whom had a hawk on his hand. St. Thomas forgot for a moment where he was; and looking at the bird with his old manner, drew forth the exclamation from one of them, "If I am not mistaken, that is the Archbishop of Canterbury!" Brother Scailman promptly answered him, "Did you ever see the Archbishop of Canterbury travelling in that fashion?" The fright, one of his biographers observes, was probably satisfaction enough for the momentary vanity.

At the house where he slept on the Monday night, which was a grange belonging to the monks of Clairmarais, he sat at the meal in the lowest place, and was called by his companions Brother Christian. The host, however, noticed a practice which we have already recorded of him as Archbishop, that of sending to others portions of what was set before him. From his platter, he gave some food to the children and to the people of the house; which caused the host

to look at him narrowly. He could not help noticing his great height, his broad and calm forehead, and particularly his long and beautiful hands. It had already been rumoured thereabouts that the Archbishop of Canterbury had fled from Northampton; he therefore called his wife, and told her his suspicions. She no sooner had heard it than she ran in; and after looking at him for a while, she went to her husband, smiling and saying, "Certainly, good man, it is he." The good hostess then became very zealous, bringing her nuts and apples and cheese, and placing them before Brother Christian. Poor Brother Christian would gladly have dispensed with these kind attentions; but she was indefatigable.

After supper the host drew near all smiles. Brother Christian asked him to sit down by him on the bench; but he refused, and sat on the floor at his feet. After a little, he said, "My lord, I give God thanks that you have come under my roof." Brother Christian replied, "Why, who am I? Am I not a poor Brother called Christian?" "I know," replied the host, "that, whatever you are called, you are a great man, and Archbishop of Canterbury." St. Thomas no longer concealed himself; but the next day, to keep his host from talking about him and so betraying him, he took him with him part of the way with them to Clairmarais, a Cistercian monastery near St. Omer's, and about twelve leagues from the spot where he landed.

The cause of all these precautions was the hostility of the Earl of Boulogne. The King of England had been a party some years before to a sacrilegious marriage between this Matthew Earl of Boulogne

the brother of Philip Earl of Flanders, and Mary of Blois, daughter of the late King Stephen, who was Abbess of Romsey. St. Thomas, when he was chancellor, had opposed this marriage; and the dislike for him which the earl had then conceived was quite reason sufficient to render it necessary for him to remain concealed.

Herbert de Bosham, with some others of the Saint's followers, had obeyed the directions he had given before leaving Northampton; and had now been awaiting him for four or five days at the neighbouring monastery of St. Bertin. The very night of his arrival, Herbert came to see his master; and his delight at meeting him was tempered by his compassion for the toils and perils he had undergone. St. Thomas recounted to him how he had travelled by night and on foot; how he had put on the habit of a lay brother, in which he saw him; and all that had befallen him under the name of Brother Christian. On Herbert's showing himself much moved by the change of his master's circumstances, St. Thomas answered: "If we have received good from the hand of the Lord, why should we not receive evil?" This brought to Herbert's mind the text, "The just man will never be sorrowful, let what may happen to him." Their conversation must have been not without its share of amusement when St. Thomas recounted to his faithful friend his adventure the night before with his host and hostess. Herbert's account of the way in which he had been able to fulfil the commission intrusted to him was very brief. The king's order, issued with an intent to injure the Saint, had been productive of good; for if proclamation had not been

made that his goods and followers were not to be molested, Herbert would not have been able to leave the country or to bring any thing with him. As it was, he had succeeded in bringing a few silver vessels and a hundred marks in money; a sufficiently scanty supply for an exile of indefinite duration. St. Thomas was, however, very thankful for this assistance, and hopeful for the future.

The king's party arrived at St. Omer's on the same day with the Saint; and as it was publicly known that St. Thomas was expected at the Monastery of Clairmarais, it was thought better that he should not remain there, lest, if his enemies came, they might find in his fallen state matter for exultation. Accordingly, after Matins that very night, he took boat, and was conveyed to a solitary place surrounded by marshland called Eldeminster, which was venerated as having once been a hermitage of St. Bertin. Towards morning, as they were going, one of his party said to him, "My lord, you are weary with travelling, and we are coming to most hospitable people, who will rejoice over your escape; do them the favour, on your arrival, of allowing them to break the abstinence." "No," said the Archbishop, "to-day is Wednesday, and we must abstain." "But, my lord," the other still urged, "we must not put them to trouble, and perhaps they have no supply of fish." "That is for God to provide," said St. Thomas; and as he said the words, a great fish, called a brenna,²⁰¹ leapt into the Saint's lap; which incident made them very merry till they reached their destination. He remained at the hermitage for three days; and on the fourth, at the pressing invitation of

Godeschal, the Abbot of St. Bertin's, he took up his abode in that monastery.

Meanwhile apparently Richard de Luci had been separated from the rest of the royal party, and had been sent with the king's letter to the Earl of Flanders. On his return he visited the Archbishop, and tried every argument to induce him to return with him to England. Finding his persuasions without effect, he tried threats. St. Thomas stopped him, saying, "You are my man, and ought not to speak to me so." Richard retorted, "I give you back my homage;" to which the Saint said, "You never borrowed it from me." After this St. Thomas sent two abbots to the Earl of Flanders, to request a safe-conduct and free passage through his territory. The earl's answer showed that Richard de Luci had persuaded him to take part with his relative King Henry; for he sent word that he would take counsel upon the matter, and added that he had power enough to keep an Archbishop within his dominions. Milo, the Bishop of Terouenne, an Englishman by birth, coming on a visit to St. Thomas, the Saint consulted with him what had better be done on this ominous answer. They purposely protracted their interview until night; and when it was dark the Bishop rose as if to leave, the Archbishop accompanying him to the door with torches. St. Thomas then ordered the lights to be taken away, as if he had a few more words to say in secret to the Bishop; and as soon as the attendants were gone, he mounted a white horse which the Bishop had had prepared, and they rode away together to the Bishop's cathedral city, where they arrived that night. The next day he safely reached Soissons,

where he had previously bidden his followers rejoin him. He was thus safe from the Earl of Flanders, and within the territory of the King of France.

The remainder of the king's party, on the day after their arrival at St. Omer's, carried Henry's letter to Louis, whom, after three or four days' travel, they found at the royal castle of Compiègne. On reading the phrase, "*Thomas the late Archbishop of Canterbury*," King Louis demanded of them again and again who had deposed him. At length he said, "Truly I am as much a king as the King of England; yet I could not depose the very least of the clerics of my kingdom." St. Thomas had despatched Herbert and another trustworthy person of his suite to follow the king's messengers diligently, travelling always at the distance of a day's journey from them, so that accurate information might be had of all their proceedings. Consequently, on the day after the departure of the king's Bishops, Herbert and his companion reached Compiègne. They were admitted to an immediate audience; and when Louis learnt that they formed part of the Archbishop's household, he kissed them and received them very graciously and kindly. The relation of all that St. Thomas had undergone moved him very much, the more that he had formed a friendship for him when he was chancellor. Louis then told them the purport of the King of England's letter, and what answer he had given to it. He added, "Before King Henry had so hardly treated so great a friend of his and a person of such station as the Archbishop, he should have remembered the verse, 'Be ye angry and sin not.'" Herbert's companion amused the king by answering, "My lord,

perhaps he would have remembered it if he had heard it as often as we do in the canonical hours." The next morning, before their departure, the king had taken counsel with those about him, and promised the Archbishop security and protection in his kingdom, declaring that it was an ancient glory of the crown of France to protect and defend exiles, and especially churchmen, from all persecution. Herbert and his companion, much delighted with their perfect success, did not pause to send the Archbishop word of the refuge that was open to him ; but, according to their instructions, hastened on after King Henry's messengers ; and they reached Sens, where Pope Alexander III. was staying, on the day after their opponents.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE POPE.

THE messengers of the King of England had urged Louis to write to the Holy Father in their favour, trying to persuade him to take part against the Archbishop by some very unworthy motives, as, that he now had in his power the man who in the war of Toulouse had acted with such vigour and effect against him. So far from acquiescing in their request, he called Franco, the Pope's Almoner,²⁰² who was staying with him at Compiègne, and charged him with a message to the Holy Father in favour of St. Thomas. In fact, the sympathy for the cause of the exiled Primate was there so widespread, where King Henry had no power to repress and counteract it, that the English Bishops and other nobles who were on their way to the Pope considered it unsafe to proceed openly; so they put William de Albenni, the Earl of Arundel, into the chief place, and all the others rode as if they were members of his household and train. On the day after their arrival at Sens, Herbert and his companion reached it also; and on that very evening they had an audience of Pope Alexander. They related to the Holy Father, with all devotion and humility, in the Archbishop's name all that he had undergone during and since the Council of Northampton; and the Pope's fatherly and compassionate heart was so moved, that he said with

tears, "Your lord is yet alive, you tell me; he can, then, while still in the flesh, claim the privilege of martyrdom." As they were very weary, the Pope soon dismissed them with his apostolic benediction much consoled.

On the following day the Holy Father held a consistory of Cardinals, to give public audience to the ambassadors of the King of England. Herbert and his companion were also present. Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of London, was the first to speak. "Father," he said, "the care of the whole Catholic Church is yours: those who are wise, your prudence directs and strengthens; those who are unwise, your apostolic authority corrects. Your wisdom will never account him to be wise who trusts to his own wisdom, while he overthrows the concord of his brethren, the peace of a kingdom, and the devotion of a king. Not long since a difference arose between the State and the priesthood; the occasion was unimportant, and a little moderation would have checked it all. But my lord of Canterbury, trusting to his own private opinion and neglecting our counsel, has urged matters unnecessarily far, without considering the malice of the times or the harm that might come of it; and thus he has entangled himself and his brethren. And if we had given our assent, matters would have become worse. But when we withheld it, as we were bound to do, for him to persist was to cast a reproach upon the king, upon ourselves, and, I might say, upon the whole kingdom. And, as if to heap infamy upon us, without any violence having been shown to him or a threat used against him, he fled; even as it is written, 'The wicked man flieth when no man pursueth.'"

The Pope interrupted the speaker: "Spare, brother." "Shall I spare him, my lord?" said the Bishop. The Holy Father continued: "Brother, I did not say spare him, but spare thyself." At this rebuke Gilbert was so discomfited as to be unable to proceed.

Hilary of Chichester, who was renowned as a good speaker, then began: "My lord and father, your blessedness is ever careful to restore to a state of peace and concord whatever has been wrongfully done to the harm of many, lest one man's immoderate presumption should destroy many, and create a schism in the Catholic Church. To this point his lordship of Canterbury has been inattentive, when he left the mature counsels of others to bring trouble and anxiety upon himself and his followers, the king and the kingdom, the clergy and people. Such a course a man of such authority *ought* never to have followed." In this last sentence Hilary used the word *oportuebat*, and he repeated it in the next; adding to his error by treating it as a personal verb. "Neither *ought* his followers to have joined with him, if they had been wise." This repetition of his mistake caused a general laugh; and one of the bystanders saying, in allusion to the sound of the word he had used, "You have come to a bad *port*," he suddenly broke off his speech.

The Archbishop of York was more careful. "Father, no one can be better acquainted with my lord of Canterbury than myself. From the beginning I have known that it was his nature never to leave an opinion which he had once formed. It is therefore easy to believe that his present obstinacy rests on insufficient grounds. The only remedy for this that I can think of is, that your discretion should lay

a heavy hand upon him. I will detain your Holiness no longer."

The Bishop of Exeter followed. "Father, it is not necessary for me to say much. This is a cause which can never be terminated in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. We therefore beg that you will send legates to England to hear and adjudge this cause between the Archbishop and the king." After this the Bishops sat in silence.

The Earl of Arundel was standing amongst the soldiers; and when he found that no one else was willing to speak, he asked a hearing. He thus began in his Norman-French: "My lord, we unlearned people know nothing of what the Bishops have said. We must therefore say, as well as we can, why we have been sent. It is not that we should contend with nor insult any one, especially in the presence of so great a man, to whose authority all the world rightfully bows; but that in your presence, and in that of the whole Roman Church, we might present to you the devotion and love which our lord the king ever has borne and still bears towards you. By whom, I ask, does he represent it? By the greatest and noblest of his dominions; by Archbishops and Bishops, earls and barons: and if he had any greater and nobler than they, he would have sent them to testify his reverence for you and the Holy Roman Church. To this we may add, that when your Holiness was but newly promoted, you experienced his fidelity and devotion in the way in which he placed himself and all he had at your service; and we firmly believe, that in the unity of the Catholic Church over which you rule, one more faithful than he could not be found,

nor one more anxious to preserve peace. Nevertheless my lord the Archbishop of Canterbury is equally perfect in his own degree and order, prudent and discreet in the matters which concern him, but, some people think, too sharp. Now unless there were this dissension between the king and the Archbishop, the State and the priesthood would both rejoice in a good king and an excellent Prelate. This is what we petition, that your Holiness would do all that can be done to remove this dissension, and to restore peace and tranquillity." The earl's moderate speech was very well received, and produced a favourable impression.

The royal ambassadors urged their king's request that St. Thomas might be sent back into England, and that one or two Cardinals might be deputed with full legatine powers to adjudge the whole matter on the spot. Henry felt, and truly, that while the Archbishop was out of his dominions his cause had nothing but its own merits to trust to. His wish to have St. Thomas once more in his power, and the hope that the choice of the Cardinal to fill the office of Legate might fall on some member of the Sacred College who was favourable to himself; or if this were not the case, that bribery and the other thousand arts in which a court is practised might help forward the result, were motives sufficient to induce him to urge this measure. The Pope represented that the Archbishop himself was now not far off; and that if the king's representatives would but wait for his coming, the cause could be tried by himself in person. The Bishops replied that their instructions were imperative, and that they were bound to depart with their answer in three days' time, without waiting for the

Archbishop. The Pope was very unwilling to delegate judges in the matter from whom no appeal should lie to himself; "this," he said, "is my glory, which I will not give to another." But his position was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy in refusing the king's request. From the time of his own accession to the Chair of St. Peter, an Antipope, upheld by the power of the emperor, had led many of the children of the Church from their allegiance to himself. Recent events in England showed that the power of King Henry was sufficient to plunge all his extensive dominions into schism, if he should become personally alienated from the Pope; and the Holy See has ever borne with every thing that was not in itself sin to avert sin. Some of the ambassadors secretly showed²⁰³ the great danger of such a schism; and some of the Cardinals, amongst whom William of Pavia was prominent, recommended a course conciliatory to the King of England. But these motives and this advice were not sufficiently powerful to induce the Pope to send St. Thomas into the power of his enemies, from whom he had with such difficulty escaped in order that he might lay the Church's cause before the Church's head; and consequently, when their three days were expired, the king's ambassadors returned without success. Their departure was accelerated by a fear lest the strong feeling against them in the kingdom of France might place themselves or their property in danger.

We left St. Thomas at Soissons, unconscious of the success of Herbert de Bosham's interview with King Louis. The day after, the king himself happened to come to the same place; and learning that

St. Thomas was there, he went to visit him, and showed the most lively compassion and interest in his circumstances. Before Louis left him, he made an offer to supply him with all that he could need ; but the Archbishop said that he was provided for the present, though the time might come when such help would be necessary for him. Learning that he was on his way to the Pope at Sens, he ordered his officials to afford him every assistance.

During the stay of St. Thomas at Soissons many personages of great importance in France, principally ecclesiastics, amongst whom was Henry the Archbishop of Rheims, the brother of King Louis, came to visit him to show their sympathy ; and some of them accompanied him to Sens, so that he travelled through France with a party of more than three hundred horsemen. The Archbishop's numerous suite, travelling on one bank of a river towards Sens, were seen by the king's messengers from the other bank on their return ; and the latter thought it better to send back one of their number, Guy Rufus Dean of Waltham, to follow to Sens, to report how St. Thomas was received by the Pope and Cardinals.

The sympathy with the Saint's sufferings which the Holy Father had shown to Herbert, led him to receive St. Thomas with great affection. After spending several days at Sens, the Saint thought it was time for him to explain to the Holy Father how the steps which he had taken had become necessary ; and for this he could choose his own opportunity, for the Pope had left the opening the subject to his own discretion. It was not in the public Consistory, but in the Pope's own room, on an occasion when the Car-

dinals were present, that St. Thomas related the whole history of the Constitutions of Clarendon, acknowledging openly his own fall; and he concluded by producing the very copy which he had then received from the king's officials. As the Pope had never seen them before, we must suppose that the purport only of some of them had been sent to him for confirmation at an early period of the dispute. They were now read aloud; and the Pope's sentence upon them was, that while there were some among them that the Church might tolerate, there were others that were of such a character that nothing could save them from condemnation. The Holy Father then spoke with some severity of the Saint's former consent to them; but he praised his wish to bring them in person to the Holy See, of his sincere devotion towards which his recent sufferings were a sufficient pledge.

St. Thomas seems, ever since he spoke at Northampton of the share that the king had had in his election, to have had in view the step which he now took. He resigned the Archbishopric of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope, expressing his sense of the manner in which the king's declaration of his wishes might have influenced the election; adding, that to have resigned before, when the Bishops urged him to such a course to gratify the king, would have been an abandonment of the Church's cause. Some of the Cardinals were very anxious that the most should be made of this opportunity of restoring peace to England, and they therefore advised that the resignation of St. Thomas should be accepted; that another, who would please the king better, should succeed him; and that he should be appointed to some other

dignified see. But others of the Sacred College felt how truly the cause of the Church was bound up with our Saint, and that if the royal power were permitted to make this inroad upon the Church's liberties, it would be impossible to prevent further aggression. The Holy Father therefore restored his archbishopric to St. Thomas, declaring that his conduct had shown him to be the fittest for the office. Having been now three weeks²⁰⁴ in the court of the Pope, it was time for them to choose a refuge; and the holy Cistercian Order furnishing the separation from the world and the constant service of God he required, the Abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy was chosen; and, having been first recommended to the abbot and brethren by the Pope, to their great joy and consolation, he entered the monastery, in which he was to spend the first two years of his exile.

CHAPTER XX.

PONTIGNY.

ST. THOMAS began his new life as an exile on the Feast of St. Andrew, 1164. He had chosen the Monastery of Pontigny²⁰⁵ because its resources were such, that his stay there with his followers would be no burden, and because it had a great reputation for hospitality, a character which those good Cistercians well deserved. They were kindness itself to the poor exiles, providing, as one who experienced their hospitality records, meat and other things for their guests, which their own rigid rule prevented them from sharing in themselves. When St. Thomas had spent three or four days there, he entered the chapter-house; and after recounting to them the cause of his church, he commended it and himself to their prayers. He and his followers lived in a series of monastic cells, near together; and he was waited upon by a monk named Roger, whom he ordained priest, and who afterwards wrote a very interesting biography of the Saint.

The time was now come that St. Thomas had longed for all his life. He often said, that when he was Lord High Chancellor of England he had desired a quiet and retired life, that he might devote himself to sacred studies; and when he became Archbishop of Canterbury, he felt still more the need of that learning, which, except in leisure that he could not then command, he could never acquire. He now

studied canon law, under Lombard of Piacenza, that he might the more successfully prosecute the cause of the Church; but it was not long before he found from his own experience, what his good friend, John of Salisbury,²⁰⁶ afterwards wrote to him, that such studies in one in his position had a tendency to check spirituality; and he therefore studied far more copiously the great science of dogmatic theology. His readings in the Holy Scripture with Herbert de Bosham were resumed; and this study acquired such charms for him, that soon, after the Office in choir, he always had some book of Scripture in his hands, the Psalter and the volume of Epistles being his favourites. Though this manner of life was consolatory after the trying scenes he had lately passed through, yet at Pontigny the Saint had to bear crosses of great severity, in addition to the thought of the sad state of his spouse the church of Canterbury during this his separation from her.

The Pope had sent a messenger to King Henry to accompany the Bishops and others on their return; and they found him on Christmas Eve at Marlborough. He was so angry that the Holy Father had not consented to his request, that St. Thomas should be sent back into England, to be there tried by legates delegated by the Pope with plenary powers, that by a public decree²⁰⁷ he confiscated all the possessions of the Archbishop and church of Canterbury; and he passed a sentence of banishment against all the relations of St. Thomas, against all his household, and even against all the relatives of his followers. Our Lord permitted this decree to be issued on Christmas Day, the anniversary of His own entrance upon His

homeless exile; as if to console all who were suffering such hardships for His sake. The decree further enjoined, that an oath should be exacted from every person thus exiled, that they would go personally to St. Thomas at Pontigny; for the king well knew how his tender heart would be wounded at the sight of such suffering inflicted on all who were dear to him, and for no motive but their connection with him. The decree was cruel; but it was rendered still more cruel by Randolph de Broc, the old enemy of St. Thomas, to whom its execution was intrusted. The very next morning, with the king's apparitors and officials, he appeared at Lambeth, where the oath was exacted from every one who had any connection with the Saint, that they would leave England with the first fair wind, and that they would not tarry by the way until they had shown themselves in their misery to St. Thomas. Those who had given him a night's shelter during his wanderings, and even the relations of his clerics, were treated in the same manner; delicate females and children, and even infants in arms, not being excepted; so that the whole number amounted to not less than four hundred. A few escaped actual banishment; but their condition in England was as hard to bear. They wandered about in dread of arrest; their friends feared to see them, for it was dangerous to speak with them; and there was a penalty against those who harboured or helped them. A priest, named William of Salisbury, was imprisoned in Corfe Castle for six months. Three others, who were more wealthy, bought off the persecution against them: Stephen of Elvatoria and Alured of Wathemestede, each for one hundred pounds;

Thurstan of Cromdon paid one hundred marks, after he had been confined for an entire day in a filthy gaol in London amongst thieves. Few, if any, escaped as easily as William Fitz-Stephens, the biographer, who wrote a rhyming prayer, supposed to be addressed to Almighty God by the king; and presenting it to his majesty in the chapel at Bruhull, it took the king's fancy, and he was not afterwards molested.²⁰⁸ The Bishop of London might, if he had been so inclined, have relieved the destitution of such at least of the Archbishop's clerics as were deprived of their ecclesiastical revenues; for Henry placed them in his hands, and his official, Robert Uscarl, was very diligent in making the most of the benefices, though not for the advantage of the rightful owners. It was not until he had been frequently reproached by the Pope with this connivance with the king's injustice, that the Bishop of London ceased to hold these benefices. Towards the close of the year he transferred them to the royal treasury.

St. Thomas also felt very much a decree²⁰⁹ by which the king forbade his name to be publicly mentioned in the prayers of the Church. It was remarked of Gilbert Foliot, as a specimen of his policy, that while St. Thomas was in disgrace, he omitted his name from the prayer, but when there was some expectation of a reconciliation, he reinserted it. So, again, some time afterwards, when the king and his son, or, as he was called, the young king, were in accordance, he used to pray "for our kings;" but when they quarrelled, he resumed the old form, "for our king."

Many of those who were thus cruelly exiled, espe-

cially those whose sex or age rendered the journey very difficult, were absolved²¹⁰ by the Pope from the oath which had been extorted from them, of at once seeking St. Thomas. These, therefore, stayed in Flanders. But as the number of exiles was very great, the Saint's noble heart was wrung by the frequent arrivals at the Abbey of Pontigny of these sufferers, who had offended neither God nor man. The news of such a measure of persecution struck all Europe with astonishment. It was not long before powerful and wealthy people, even those who were personal strangers to the Saint, offered their assistance; and in this work of charity, as might be expected of them, the great nation of France was prominent. Some were sent by the Archbishop to a considerable distance with letters commending them to the protection of lay persons and ecclesiastics; and before very long the poor exiles found that Christendom would not let them suffer any thing in addition to the violent breach of every tie that bound them to their country and their home.

The effect produced upon St. Thomas himself was very great. We have already mentioned that he habitually wore a hair-shirt, and that he was in the habit of very frequently receiving the discipline in secret. In addition to these rigours, with which he prepared his soul for the crosses God destined for him, he now attempted an austerity in his diet, to which he had been unaccustomed all his life. The sluggishness of his circulation, which rendered so much clothing requisite, made it imperative on him to take nourishing food; and for the same reason, he found the use of hot spices,²¹¹ like cloves and ginger, absolutely

necessary, even in considerable quantities. In like manner, the wine that was provided for him was always of good quality; though he used it with the greatest moderation. He had ever been sparing, though his food had been delicate; but now he bade the lay brother who served him bring him the simple conventual fare amongst the dishes which they prepared for him. That it might not be observed that he ate nothing but herbs, he dined apart from his followers. After a few days of this unaccustomed austerity, he fell ill. On one occasion, when Herbert went to him for his usual study of Scripture, finding that he was seriously unwell, he urged him very much to say what was the cause of the illness. St. Thomas attempted to change the subject; but at length, in answer to his friend's importunity, he said that he was not certain, but that he imagined that his illness was owing to this change in his manner of living. He was induced to lay this aside and resume his former diet, when his health was soon restored. The Saint was not, however, content with the mortification of his assiduous study and the simplicity of his new convent home; but the very coldness of the stream that flowed past the monastery was made by him an instrument of penance, to subdue his flesh and to bring himself into subjection.

While St. Thomas was at Pontigny,²¹² he requested the Holy Father, who was still at Sens, to send him the habit of a monk. The Pope blessed one of thick rough cloth, and forwarded it to the Archbishop, with a message to the effect that he had sent him such a one as he had, and not such as he

could have wished. He was invested with the habit privately by the Abbot of Pontigny. Alexander Llewellyn was standing by; and when he saw that the capuce or hood was disproportionately small, he said in his dry way, "It is serious enough, but whether it is regular or not I am sure I do not know. It is plain that my lord the Pope has not fitted over well the hood to the cowl." St. Thomas said with a laugh, "It was done on purpose, lest you should mock me again, as you did the other day." "How and when was that, my lord?" said he. "The day before yesterday, when I was vesting for Mass and had put the girdle on, you asked what stuck out so behind. Now you would call me humpbacked, I suppose, if my hood were over-large. So, you see, I am only protected against your gibes." The fact was, that the hair-shirt which the Saint wore from his neck to his knees was very thick and stiff, and gave him an appearance of greater size than he really had; for though his face was full, he was really very thin.

The Saint made use of his stay in this religious house to get copies made for the church of Canterbury of all the best books in the French libraries. He also was at some pains to ascertain what privileges different great churches had obtained from the Holy See, in order that he might gain as many of them as possible for his own.

Meanwhile time was rolling on, and messengers were constantly passing between the parties who were engaged in this struggle. Apparently at first both the Pope and St. Thomas seemed to consider it very advisable that some little time might pass by, in order that the king's anger might cool down. After a while,

the Pope, seeing no improvement, gave great weight to St. Thomas's cause by making him his Legate over England. In the course of his second year at Pontigny, he felt that the time was come for him to exercise the power committed to him. He chose a Cistercian Abbot of one of the dependencies of Pontigny, of the name of Urban, a person described as admirably fitted, from his gentle and winning manners, for the office;²¹³ and by him he sent letters to the king. The Pope had forbidden St. Thomas to use his powers until the Easter (April 24th) of 1166 should be past; and in the interval he had written to urge Gilbert Foliot to use all his influence with the king to induce him to repent. The application had been quite fruitless; but Gilbert had used²¹⁴ all his sophistry to put Henry's conduct in a favourable light before the Pope. The letter²¹⁵ which St. Thomas sent by Urban soon after Easter was of the gentlest and most conciliatory tenor. "My lord, the daughter of Sion is held captive in your kingdom. The Spouse of the great King is oppressed by her enemies, afflicted by those who ought most to honour her, and especially by you. Oh, remember what great things God has done for you; release her, reinstate her, and take away the reproach from your generation." This short extract will show the style of the letter, the bearer of which speedily returned, without having been able in the least to move or soften the king.

Another extract will show the yet gentle though stronger tone in which the Saint wrote his second letter²¹⁶ to Henry. "Now I am straitened above measure; for a spiritual power has been assigned to me by the same God under whom you hold temporal

dominion; and my office constrains me to address your Majesty in a manner which as yet my exile has prevented. It is my duty to exhort you, nay, to warn and rebuke you, lest, if any thing you have done amiss, which, indeed, you have, my silence may endanger my own soul." This letter being as fruitless as that which preceded it, one of a still more solemn character was sent, and by a messenger whose appearance and reputation would add to its weight. A monk of the name of Gerard had won for himself, by his austerities, the surname of The Discalced. He was a man whose particular gift it was to reconcile those who were at variance, and he was further remarkable for a very apostolic liberty of speech. Gerard, with another religious, took charge of the Archbishop's letter,²¹⁷ of which the following is an extract: "You are my liege lord, and as such I owe you my counsels; you are my son in the Spirit, and I am bound to chasten and correct you. . . . Let my lord, therefore, if it please him, listen to the counsels of his subject, to the warnings of his Bishop, and to the chastisements of his father. And first, let him for the future abstain from all communion with schismatics. It is known almost to the whole world with what devotion your Majesty formerly received our lord the Pope, and what attachment you manifested to the See of Rome; and also what respect and deference were shown you in return. Forbear, then, my lord, as you value your soul, to withdraw from that see its just rights. Remember, moreover, the profession you made to my predecessor at your coronation, and which you deposited in writing upon the altar at Westminster, respecting the rights and liberties of

the Church in England. Be pleased also to restore to the see of Canterbury, from which you received your consecration, the rank which it held in the time of your predecessors and mine; together with all its possessions, its villages, castles, and farms, and whatever else has been taken by violence, either from myself or my dependents, lay as well as clerical. And further, allow us to return in peace and quietness to the free discharge of our duties.

“Should your Majesty be pleased to act in this manner, you will find me prepared to serve you as a beloved lord and king, faithfully and devotedly, with all my might, in whatsoever I am able,—saving the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and saving my order. *But otherwise, know for certain that you shall feel the vengeance of God.*”

A sharp answer to this letter proved to the Archbishop that the king's heart was not by any such measures to be softened towards him. These three extracts of letters have been given, not only on account of their importance as the hearty efforts of the Saint for reconciliation before he proceeded to stronger measures, but also that they may leave upon the reader's mind the impression which the perusal of the whole correspondence would produce, that the Archbishop never resorted to vigorous remedies before every effort to render them unnecessary had been made without effect. St. Thomas was now very anxious; for he felt that the time had arrived when he could be no longer silent regarding the wrongs of his see before the Church and Christendom. The power of the keys was in his hands, as Archbishop and Legate; and he dared not leave it inactive. How

these thoughts must have moved him, as he prayed and fasted and did penance for the conversion of the king! how his heart must have burned within him, as he worked²¹⁸ with the simple Cistercian brethren in the hay-field and the harvesting, and in all their outdoor labours!—for he must have felt what a responsibility lay upon him of using rightly the great powers intrusted to him. What wonder that his heart should have failed him, and in his humility that he should have thought, as we are told he did think, of resigning his archbishopric into other hands? The dismay at such a proposal of those who, as well as himself, were suffering for the Church, and their lively sense that it would be a desertion of the cause of God, persuaded him that it was a suggestion of the tempter, and that this was a time when personal feelings could not be allowed to interfere with deeds to be done in God and for God.

CHAPTER XXI.

VEZELAY.

KING HENRY had been urged by his hostility to St. Thomas very far towards flagrant schism. That the remark that the Saint made in the letter last quoted was very gentle, when compared to the lengths which the king had gone, is sufficiently plain when we read the opening sentence of Henry's letter²¹⁹ to Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, who was the greatest amongst the followers of the emperor and the Antipope. "I have long wished for an opportunity to recede from Pope Alexander and his perfidious Cardinals, who dare to uphold against me the traitor Thomas, once Archbishop of Canterbury." Though he never actually carried into full effect the wicked intentions here expressed, yet it was confidently asserted that he had sent John of Oxford and Richard of Ilchester as his ambassadors to the emperor, to pledge his word that he would bring "fifty Bishops" to obey the Antipope; and he knew full well to what spiritual censures such rebellious and schismatical proceedings subjected him. This consciousness, therefore, together with the many causes of complaint which the Church previously had against him, led him, with much reason, to fear that some sentence would be passed against himself, and perhaps against the whole country. He held consequently several councils on the Continent; one more especially at Chinon, where, after complaining bitterly

of the letters which St. Thomas had written to him, and of similar letters to the Empress Matilda his mother, he used with tears words which have a terrible prominence on the page of history ; for they are, by a singular coincidence, the very same as those which, four years later, led to the martyrdom of St. Thomas. He declared²²⁰ that the Archbishop would take away his body and soul ; and he called the knights around him traitors, for they had not zeal or courage enough to relieve him from the molestations of one man. On this the Archbishop of Rouen rebuked his majesty with some warmth ; yet, from the very gentleness of his disposition, with less severity than God's cause demanded.

The Bishop of Lisieux, who was ever temporising, recommended an immediate appeal, as the only means of preventing the Archbishop from passing sentence ; and Henry consenting, the singular spectacle was shown to the world, of the king who was at war with the Holy See, and who had made laws to prevent appeals, himself appealing to that authority. To the Bishop of Lisieux was added another courtier, the Bishop of Séz ; and they hoped, by hastening to the Archbishop, and giving notice of the appeal, to be able to delay matters until Low-week in the following year. The Archbishop of Rouen accompanied them ; professing, however, that he did so in order that he might seize every opportunity to promote peace, and not as taking any part in the appeal. The Saint had timely notice²²¹ of their coming from one of his friends who was at King Henry's court ; and not wishing to see them, he left Pontigny.

St. Thomas spent three days at Soissons, keeping

vigil by night at three celebrated sanctuaries there. The first was a shrine of our Blessed Lady; the second of St. Drausius, the patron of champions, and much frequented by knights about to engage in judicial combats from all France and Italy;²²² and the third that of St. Gregory the Great, some of whose relics were there venerated. On the 3d of June, the day after the Ascension, he went to Vezelay.²²³ On the same day he received a message from King Louis, testifying to an illness of the King of England, which had prevented him from attending a conference between them, for which Henry had been very anxious. The Saint consequently postponed his intention of passing censure upon the king. At the petition of the Abbot and the community, St. Thomas celebrated the High Mass on the festival²²⁴ of Pentecost; and after the Gospel, he mounted the pulpit and preached an energetic sermon. After it, he publicly explained what were the real causes at issue between himself and the king, and his own fruitless efforts for a reconciliation; to the astonishment of all, but more especially of his own followers, whom he had not informed of what he was about to do. With every mark of the deepest emotion, he warned King Henry by name of the sentence hanging over him. This he afterwards told Herbert he was obliged by his conscience to do.

But if the king escaped the censure he deserved, several lesser offenders were punished. John of Oxford was excommunicated by St. Thomas as Papal legate for two offences: for schism, in communicating with the emperor and with Reginald Archbishop of Cologne; and for usurping the deanery of Salisbury, against the Pope's command. Equally publicly, before

the large concourse of people assembled from all nations, St. Thomas excommunicated Richard of Ilchester,²²⁵ then Archdeacon of Poitiers, Richard de Luci, Joceline of Baillol, Randolph de Broc, Hugh of St. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, for various just causes; and he also published a decree excommunicating *ipso facto* all who should injure the church of Canterbury. Finally, he suspended Joceline the Bishop of Salisbury, for manifest disobedience, because he had conferred the deanery of his church on John of Oxford; though he had been duly warned that he was not to give it to any one whom the king might name, but to wait until the Canons of Salisbury, who were in exile with St. Thomas, could unite with the rest of the chapter to exercise the right which belonged to them of electing their Dean.

In addition to these sentences, he published anew the Pope's condemnation of the following Constitutions of Clarendon, excommunicating any one who should act on their authority:

1. That a Bishop may not excommunicate any tenant of the king without the king's license.
2. That a Bishop may not punish any person of his diocese for perjury or breach of faith.
3. That clerics be subjected to lay tribunals.
4. That questions of churches or tithes be tried by laymen.
5. That no appeals be made for any cause whatever to the Apostolic See, except with the permission of the king and his officials.
6. That no Archbishop, Bishop, or other dignitary, may attend a summons from the Pope without the king's leave.

These, he said, were not the only enactments of Clarendon which are against the Divine law and the constitutions of the holy Fathers. The Archbishop absolved all the Bishops from the unlawful promise which they had made of observing these constitutions; and wrote²²⁶ to them all to that effect, as the Holy See had given him instructions.

The Bishops of Lisieux and Séez, with the Archbishop of Rouen, as has been already intimated, did not find St. Thomas at Pontigny when they came with notice of the king's appeal. When he returned, he found the formalities of the notice awaiting him; and though many of his followers advised him to disregard the appeal as being invalid, yet he determined to do nothing whatever without the Pope.

All the parties concerned appealed to the Pope from St. Thomas's sentence. Gilbert Foliot interceded with the king that the Bishop of Salisbury might have leave to do so; and the words in which he makes the request²²⁷ show how sadly he was changed from the fervent religious of Clugny and Gloucester, or the zealous Bishop of Hereford. Two clerics consequently arrived at Pontigny;²²⁸ one on the part of the Bishop of Salisbury, and the other on that of John of Oxford. The latter denied that his master had had any schismatical intercourse with the emperor or with Reginald of Cologne; and said that, as a member of the household of one of the clerics of the chapel-royal, he was charged to inform the Archbishop that the king himself instituted an appeal, for the term of which he named the second Sunday after Easter of the following year. St. Thomas replied, that he came without any proof that he was sent by the king; and still further,

that as he confessed to having communicated with John of Oxford, an excommunicated person, he was himself excommunicate ; and therefore that his appeal was invalid.

The Bishops met on the 24th of June ; and they also appealed, naming next Ascension Day as the term. They wrote two long letters;²²⁹ one to St. Thomas, and the other to the Pope. St. Thomas and his followers read in these letters the style and spirit of Gilbert Foliot ; and in a very full answer²³⁰ to them the Saint says so. This drew from Gilbert's pen a letter,²³¹ which was in all probability never sent ; for it, and it alone, of all the letters on the subject, is not noticed either by St. Thomas or any of his correspondents ; a letter which is so calumnious, that its very falsehood is regarded by one modern writer as a proof of its spuriousness ; a letter which probably never was delivered on account of its very calumny, the exposure of which could not have been difficult ; and which has provided modern opponents of St. Thomas, who consider its being unanswered as a proof of its unanswerableness, with matter for what they very truly call a view of the conduct of St. Thomas through the whole controversy, from the beginning to the end, very different from that to be found any where else.

These lesser appeals were all unsuccessful. When *Bonus Pastor* Sunday of 1167 came,²³² Joceline of Salisbury did not appear to prosecute his appeal ; and the Pope confirmed the suspension, and all the other sentences passed at Vezelay. He also commanded the Archbishop to condemn all who had usurped Church property ; and though he did not give any

especial directions regarding the king, yet he expressly left the Saint's own ecclesiastical powers free; and he wrote to the Bishops, warning them that all such sentences he would uphold.

The stay of St. Thomas at Pontigny was now coming to an end, owing to the machinations of the King of England. Although the appeals were pending, the king immediately sent over into England Walter de Lisle, who is described as a good man, and an unwilling bearer of such orders, with commands that all the ports should be very strictly watched, lest any sentence passed by the Archbishop should find admission. In another parliament at Clarendon, he exacted²³³ an oath from the Bishops and nobles, that they would not give the Archbishop any assistance, nor receive any letters from him; and he also included in the oath the receipt of any letters from the Pope, and appeals to any one save himself. In the September following, on Holy-Cross Day (the 14th), the general chapter of the Cistercian Order was held as usual. The king sent them a letter to the effect that they were harbouring one of his enemies; and warned them that, as they valued their possessions in his dominions on either side of the Channel, they should cease to do so. After the three days of the chapter, Gilbert, the Abbot of Citeaux, the Bishop of Pavia, who had once been a monk of the order, and several other Abbots, came to Pontigny. They showed the Saint the letter which they had received; and added, that they did not send him away from amongst them, but they left the matter to the dictates of his own prudence and affection for their order. The meaning of this message was sufficiently plain; and St.

Thomas replied, that he would certainly go elsewhere; and that he trusted to the Lord, who feeds the birds of the air and clothes the lilies of the field, to provide for him and his fellow-exiles. On the following day the Abbots departed, leaving Guarine de Galardim, the good Abbot of Pontigny, and his charitable community full of sorrow at their approaching loss, and of compassion for the homeless Prelate and his household. The true sympathy and warm active charity of this noble abbey more than compensates to us for the want of heroism shown by the chapter of Citeaux. The Abbot, who had been summoned to Sens by the Pope, that he might introduce our Saint to him, and who had so gladly and hospitably received him, had been consecrated at Montpellier by the Pope himself to the archbishopric of Lyons in the August of the previous year; but his successor had inherited his charity and his hospitable spirit as well as the abbatial mitre and staff.

While St. Thomas was at Pontigny, he received from God a foreknowledge of what was to happen to him. One day,²³⁴ after he had said Mass, while he was making his thanksgiving before the altar of St. Stephen with that fervour which distinguished all his devotions to the Blessed Sacrament, he heard a voice, which called, "Thomas! Thomas!" He answered, "Who art Thou, Lord?" And our Lord said to him, "I am Jesus Christ, thy Lord and thy Brother; My Church shall be glorified in thy blood, and thou shalt be glorified in Me." When the Saint was leaving the church, he found that he had not been alone, as he thought, but that the Abbot was waiting for him by one of the columns, and had heard all. The Saint

bound him to silence on the subject until the promise should be accomplished.

The successor of this Abbot received a similar intimation ; for²³⁵ on the day of his departure from Pontigny, the good Guarine accompanied the cavalcade on its way; and it was remarked that St. Thomas, who was usually very cheerful in travelling, was now very sorrowful, keeping apart from his companions and fellow-travellers. The Abbot urged him very much to tell him what was the matter, upbraiding him freely for the effeminacy of his attachment, as it seemed to him, to the home he was leaving. At length the Saint, under a promise of secrecy, told him that the cause of his sorrow was a revelation he had received, in a vision the night before, of the martyrdom by which this trouble was to end. "Yet," he said, "I am not so sorrowful for the revelation, for which I rather give the Most High all the thanks in my power ; but I grieve for those who follow me, and have borne so much for me, for I know for a certainty that when I am struck down, the sheep will have no shepherd." The Abbot smiled, and said, "So, then, you are going to be martyred. What has a man who eats and drinks to do with martyrdom?" His answer was saintly in its humility: "I know that I am too fond of worldly pleasures ; but the Lord is good, who justifies the wicked, and He has deigned to reveal this to me, who am all unworthy." He then recounted the vision, that in some church, he knew not where, he was defending his cause before the Pope and Cardinals, the Pope being on his side, but the Cardinals against him, when four soldiers rushed in, and in that same church attacked him, and cut off that part of his

head that was anointed at his consecration, now marked by his tonsure; and from this he gathered that it was God's will to make known to him that by a hard though precious death he would glorify Him. He told this vision afterwards to another Abbot also, under similar conditions of secrecy; and after his martyrdom both these witnesses made it public. With what fervour St. Thomas must have spent the four years that were to intervene, with this sense of his coming martyrdom ever before his eyes, we may piously conceive.

On his departure, he made a promise²³⁶ to the monks that a successor of his should recompense them for their goodness to him. When Cardinal Stephen Langton received shelter from them, while excluded from his see by King John, he made a grant to the abbey of fifty marks sterling from the revenues of the benefice of Romnel. To this St. Edmund, under similar circumstances, added ten; and the blessed Archbishop Boniface of Savoy,²³⁷ in 1264, out of gratitude to them for the refuge thus afforded to three Archbishops of Canterbury,²³⁸ gave them the whole of the tithes of the same rectory. But the fulfilment of St. Thomas's prophecy was a far nobler treasure; and he was understood by the monks to have referred to the holy relics of St. Edmund, of which their church was and still is the resting-place; and this is asserted in the bull of his canonisation by Pope Innocent IV.²³⁹ The first cure performed at St. Edmund's tomb was that of a poor cripple, whom the monks called Thomas, out of gratitude to our Saint.

CHAPTER XXII.

SENS.

WHEN the exiles were left together, on the announcement having been made which led to the decision to leave Pontigny, the question was discussed whither they now should go. They seem to have been very cheerful in their difficulty, one of them saying, to the amusement of the others, that they must go where they could, as they could not go where they would. Herbert's mind reverted to the interview he had had with King Louis; and he reminded St. Thomas of the promises and offers which that king had made to him at Soissons two years before, which he had declined at the time. The Saint said, "It would seem, my brother, that you are looking out for the pleasures of a city and a king's court, which hardly suit our bonds in the Gospel." He was, however, persuaded that, as they had no choice left, it would be better to send Herbert on another visit to King Louis, as his first had been so successful. The king was travelling when Herbert found him; and on the motives that made St. Thomas wish to move being told him, he cried out to those around him, "O religion, O religion, where art thou? Those whom we believed to be dead to the world, fear its threats; and professing to despise the things that perish, for their sake turn back from the work of God which they had taken in hand, and drive God's exile from them." Then, turning to Herbert,

he said, "Salute your lord the Archbishop, and promise him in my name, that though the world and those who are dead to the world desert him, I will not. Let him tell us what city or castle or other place of our dominions he would prefer, and he shall find it prepared for him." The city of Sens, while Pope Alexander had resided there, had been frequently visited by them, and seemed to them to combine all that they could wish; St. Thomas therefore chose the royal abbey of St. Columba, a small distance from Sens, famous as the resting-place of the relics of the holy virgin from whom it takes its name. Here he remained, living at the expense of the King of France,²⁴⁰ from St. Martin's Day, November 11th, 1166, until his exile was exchanged for martyrdom.

After Easter in 1165, that is, when St. Thomas had been about six months at Pontigny, Pope Alexander departed from Sens on his way back to Rome, in answer to the request made to him by the Roman clergy and people. He left Montpellier after the Assumption, and entered Rome on the 23d of November, amidst unusual festivities. He was not left there long in peace; for in the following year the schismatical Emperor Frederic Barbarossa besieged the city, in order that he might place the Antipope on the chair of St. Peter. The siege being successful, the Pope was obliged to leave Rome; and he went in the disguise of a pilgrim to Gaeta, where the latest of his successors has also taken refuge, and from thence to Benevento. It was not until 1171, when St. Thomas's labours were over, that he returned to Rome. Alan says, that on the Pope's departure, the Archbishop accompanied the Holy Father as far as Bourges; and it is difficult to

see how the further assertion of the same biographer can be otherwise than true, that this was the last time that they met upon earth.

It was not only with the hospitable monks of Pontigny that the exiles met with kindness. William, the Archbishop of Sens, and the clergy and people, received them with much joy; and they were entertained in so kind a manner in their new home, that Herbert, who is the only one of St. Thomas's biographers who was with him at this time, writes with much feeling the praises of "sweet France." Who can yet tell what graces that country has received and still receives from the glorified martyr, with whom in his trouble the warm-hearted nation so nobly sympathised?

The king's appeal had for some time past been prosecuted. He had sent John of Oxford to the Pope, who managed to convince the Holy Father that he had been guiltless of schismatic intercourse with the emperor and his adherents; and who justified himself for having accepted the deanery of Salisbury, in spite of the Pope's prohibition, by the extraordinary statement that he had been forced to accept it by the king. However, he resigned it into the Pope's hands; and the Holy Father absolved him from his excommunication, and himself conferred the deanery upon him. Having been thus successful with his own affairs, he prosecuted with great apparent success those of his master. The king's request was, that legates might be appointed to hear and adjudge the whole case, especially requesting that the Cardinal William of Pavia might be one of them.

St. Thomas had also his messengers and represen-

tatives with the Pope. He represented in several letters that the King of England had imprisoned a priest, who is called William the Chaplain, whose brother was on one occasion the bearer of letters; and the Saint argued that the king was therefore *ipso facto* excommunicate. He also pleaded very warmly against any legates being sent, and especially against William of Pavia. "May it please your Holiness not to expose our innocence to peril at the hands of my lord William of Pavia, through whom our persecutors boast that they will cause us to be deposed. Whether he is to come with such powers, we know not; but this we know, that unless compelled by your Holiness, we shall never trust ourself to any judge except your Holiness. Far be it from the Church of God that such things should be accomplished, as a priest, who is one of the clerics of our above-named friend and lord, but just now has promised to the King of England, that as legate he will determine the cause at issue between us to the king's liking. The brother of the priest who is in prison will communicate the rest. May it please your Holiness to compassionate ourself and them, and the whole Church of God." Similar letters²⁴¹ were sent to the Cardinal Henry of Pisa, at whose persuasion, it will be remembered, St. Thomas accepted the archbishopric; and to the Cardinals Hyacinth and Boso, who had been his consistent friends in the Sacred College.

On the 9th of October in this year, 1166, by letters dated²⁴² Anagni, the Pope had made St. Thomas his Legate over all England, save only the diocese of York. Of these letters the Saint sent two copies²⁴³ to England; one to the Bishops of Hereford and Wor-

cester, who on the whole had shown themselves the most sensible of their duty to their Archbishop, and on whom he had an especial claim as their consecrator, and the other to the Bishop of London, especially commanding them to communicate them to their fellow-suffragans and to the Bishop of Durham. The latter was placed in the hands of the Bishop of London at the altar at St. Paul's on the festival day, probably the 25th of January 1167. Its authority produced a great impression upon him, and he wrote to the king²⁴⁴ in this strain. "The high authority by which we are now opposed and overwhelmed, compels us to have recourse to your Majesty for counsel and support. No appeal can suspend an apostolical mandate, which admits of no alternative but to obey or be guilty of disobedience. . . . Your Highness will provide against the disgrace, nay the extinction, which threatens us, if you grant us your royal permission to obey the apostolical mandate and pay the amount of Peter's pence, and of your royal clemency make restitution to the clerics; and if you give the Bishops a command that, in case the Archbishop's letters contain any matter contrary to the customs of the country, they may appeal at once to the Pope or to the legates who are expected." Poor Gilbert must have bitterly experienced by this time how hard it is to serve two masters as different as God and mammon. Well might he write²⁴⁵ to the Pope, "To tell the truth in a few words, while matters are in this state between my lord the king and his lordship of Canterbury, it is impossible for me or for any other Bishop in this kingdom to obey the commands of the one and avoid the insupportable anger of the other."

The next news, however, which came from Rome was by no means so favourable. St. Thomas had not been long at Sens when his messengers returned, who had been sent to oppose the appeal which John of Oxford was promoting in the king's name. They reported his absolution and restoration to the deanery of Salisbury, and that he had succeeded in obtaining from the Pope that legates should be sent, and that the Cardinals, William of Pavia, priest of St. Peter's Chains, and Otho, deacon of the Church of St. Nicholas in the Tullian Prison, should be appointed. This was arranged towards the close of the year. The particular powers with which these Cardinals were to be intrusted it was not very easy for St. Thomas to ascertain. The letter²⁴⁶ which the Holy Father wrote to him to announce the appointment spoke of the peace which he hoped they would be able to effect between himself and the king, bidding him give way in any thing that would promote agreement, "saving your own and the Church's honour," as the letter twice qualifies it; and it advises him to trust William of Pavia, for he had solemnly promised the Pope to do his utmost to promote an understanding. The Pope's letter²⁴⁷ to the Bishops speaks more plainly of the powers of these legates, as "*persons de latere nostro*, with fullness of power to hear this cause and such others as they shall judge expedient, and to terminate them canonically, as the Lord shall enable them." He added faculties by which any one whom St. Thomas had excommunicated might be absolved in danger of death, under the usual conditional oath of submitting themselves to the judgment of the Pope in case of recovery. In like manner, in his let-

ter²⁴⁸ to the king, the Pope says that he has sent them "in the fullness of power," and that he had "committed to them the fulfilment of his own office in all things, with that fullness which the Roman Church was accustomed to delegate." Whether copies of these letters reached St. Thomas may well be doubted, especially as the last contains a request to the king to keep it secret. But John of Oxford returned with such boastings of his success, that the Saint and all his friends were frightened lest the Holy Father should have given his consent to some measure which should result in the loss of the liberty of the Church.

The following account²⁴⁹ of the arrival of John of Oxford in England is from St. Thomas's own pen. The facts mentioned in it were related to him by the Bishop of Hereford's chaplain, a canon regular and a trustworthy person, whom the Bishop had sent over to make his excuses to the Archbishop for not appearing, in answer to three summonings which he had received from St. Thomas to appear in person before him by the Purification. "On his landing, he found our brother the Bishop of Hereford waiting for a wind to cross the water, and in concealment; for the king's officers would have prevented his crossing openly. On finding him, he forbade him to proceed, first in the name of the king, and then of his Holiness the Pope. The Bishop then inquired, as I am assured by his messenger, who came afterwards to excuse his lordship's non-appearance, 'whether he had any letters to that effect.' He asserted that he had, and that the Pope forbade him, and the other Bishops as well, either to attend our summons or obey us in any thing till the arrival of the Pope's Legate *à latere*,

who had been obtained by the king, and was coming with full powers to determine the matter on which they had appealed, and the principal cause and all its incidents. The Bishop insisted on seeing the letters; but he said he had sent them on with his baggage to Winchester, about twelve miles from Southampton. On considering the matter, the Bishop sent back his cleric to Winchester, Master Edward, in whose veracity I confide; and he saw the letters in company with the Bishop of London, who was likewise waiting to cross the water. When the Bishop of London saw them, he said aloud, as if unable to restrain himself, 'Then Thomas shall be no more Archbishop of mine.' John of Oxford added, that his own person was privileged, so that we had no power to excommunicate him, or even rebuke him, except in the Pope's presence; and that he might present the deanery of Salisbury to any one he pleased; and that our authority was in all points curtailed till the legates' arrival."

This news produced the greatest consternation amongst all St. Thomas's friends. The Saint's own warm disposition led him to feel it deeply, and to express himself on the subject strongly. The letter from which the above extract is taken was written to John of Canterbury, one of his retinue who was representing him at Rome, and it contains the following reflections, which place before us in a strong light his disappointment and anxiety :

"If this is true, then without doubt his lordship the Pope has suffocated and strangled, not only our own person, but himself and every ecclesiastic of both kingdoms, yea, both churches together, the French

and the English. For what will not the kings of the earth dare against the clergy under cover of this most wretched precedent? And on what can the Church of Rome rely, when it thus deserts and leaves destitute the persons who are making a stand in its cause, and contending for it even unto death? And what if any thing should befall his Holiness the Pope, while the king and others are in possession of these privileges and exemptions? They will be transmitted to posterity, from whose hands none will be able to wrest them. Nay more, let the Church say yea or nay, other princes will extort like privileges and exemptions for themselves, till in the end the liberty of the Church perishes, and with it the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops. For none will be at hand to coerce the wickedness of tyrants, whose whole efforts are at this day concentrated against God's Church and ministers. Nor will they desist till these are reduced to like servitude with the rest.

“However, the result is as yet unseen; what we do see is, that whether the above assertions are true or false, we, at any rate, are troubled above measure. No obedience or respect is now shown us in any thing, either by the Bishops or Abbots, or any of the clergy; as if our deposition was now a settled thing. Of one thing, however, let his lordship the Pope assure himself; no consideration shall induce us to enter the king's territories as a litigant, nor to accept our enemies as our judges, especially my lord of Pavia, who thirsts for our blood, that he may fill our see, which, as we understand, is promised him in case he rids the king of us. There is another thing that grieves us. The great men of France,—nobles,

Bishops, and other dignitaries,—as if despairing of our cause, have sent back our unhappy co-exiles, whom their charity has sustained; and these must perish of cold and hunger, as some, indeed, have perished already. Be careful to impress all this upon his lordship the Pope, that if, as we even yet hope, some zeal of God remains with him, he may take steps to relieve us.”

John of Salisbury wrote the Holy Father a strong letter²⁵⁰ on the subject; but the representation which doubtless produced the greatest effect at Rome was that written²⁵¹ by Humbert the Lombard, Archdeacon of Bourges. This dignitary, who was promoted²⁵² to the archbishopric of Milan, his native town, and ultimately to the Chair of St. Peter under the title of Urban III., was now one of the clerics of the Holy Roman See, and a great friend of St. Thomas. He urged upon the Pope first the anger of the King of France, who declared that “his Holiness could not have given him greater molestation if the cause for which he was sending legates had been to take away his own crown.” After saying that the result was, that “the sweet savour of his Holiness’s name was in part impaired,” he adds, “and what makes matters still worse, it seems the general belief that the day of victory for his lordship of Canterbury and your Holiness was at hand. For the king was so terrified when the day of appeal had lapsed, that he asserted that the Bishops had not engaged in it by his commands or advice, and that he would take no part with them in the matter. The Bishops, too, were in such a strait, and in such dread of an interdict, that some were sending messengers to his lordship of Canter-

bury, and others were on their way to attend his summons, when John of Oxford, as if with legatine authority, forbade them to obey in your Holiness's name. On this occasion the Bishop of Hereford was recalled, when he was actually at the sea-side waiting to cross." Finally, he says that he "has often heard it asserted, and in many quarters, that the king's whole hope rests in your Holiness's misfortunes, and in what I pray God of His infinite mercy long to avert—your death; for he asserts that he will never recognise your successor till all the dignities and customs of his realm have been acknowledged by him. And now it is believed that these legates have been demanded by him only in subtlety, that for the time he may evade excommunication and his realm an interdict; and that thus he hopes, during your Holiness's life, to render void the Archbishop's authority, till he can make terms with your successor."

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLAIRVAUX.

MATTERS were not, however, really as bad as they seemed. John of Oxford was well known to St. Thomas to be so reckless and unscrupulous a person, that he currently went amongst the Archbishop's friends by the nickname of "the Swearer." Two of the king's envoys, John Cumin and Ralph of Tamworth, who left Rome on the 1st of January, and reached Poitiers by the Purification, told²⁵³ the Bishop of that place, who was one of St. Thomas's greatest friends, that John of Oxford ingratiated himself with the Pope, by suggesting that peace might be restored between the Archbishop and the king, if any one could be found to negotiate it faithfully; having the effrontery to say, that he would undertake to do this himself. For this reason the other royal envoys loudly called him a traitor to the king; because for his own ends he promised to do what the king regarded as impossible. But after a while what was rumoured and suspected from the beginning became certain, that John of Oxford had gone much further, and in the king's name had sworn to all the Archbishop could have wished, before the Pope granted the legation, with a view to pacification. Thus writes²⁵⁴ John of Salisbury to Milo Bishop of Terouenne: "We hope in our Father, Who is Lord of all, that before long He will turn this storm into a gentle breeze; although

the Church's enemies boast that a worse shipwreck awaits us. It is not true to say that the Church of Rome has turned against us, and that our lord the Pope has assented to all the petitions of the King of England. Perhaps people were misled by finding that those who had been excommunicated were absolved at the return of John of Oxford ; and that he himself, as if he had done right in communicating with the schismatical emperor, had had the deanery of Salisbury restored to him from the Pope's own hand. But any one who paid attention to what was done at Rome would see, that though the Pope was deceived, he always faithfully upheld our cause and the Church's. Before John was absolved, he publicly swore (and I hope he did not perjure himself) that he had done nothing amongst the schismatics against the faith of the Church, or the honour and service of the Pope. He then produced commendatory letters and petitions from the king, which said that he was to be believed with the credit that was due to the king himself. Acting on this authority, he committed to the judgment of the Pope the cause at issue between the king and the Archbishop, respecting the wicked customs, that at his pleasure they should have all force or none, and that peace should be concluded with the Archbishop on the terms the Pope might dictate. When he had confirmed this with an oath, he obtained from his Holiness a promise that the legates should be sent. It is reported that they have been stopped on their way, in consequence of the discovery of the Swearer's treachery." How far King Henry was responsible for obtaining favours from the Pope on conditions which he never meant to fulfil, it

is hard to say ; most probably, John of Oxford, finding his powers ample, preferred an apparent success, gained through an unscrupulous oath, which he must have known his master would not ratify, to returning unsuccessful. Besides, the moment was critical. The legatine powers conferred upon St. Thomas were bringing the Bishops to a sense of their duty ; and the king, who found the battle difficult with the Archbishop alone, would have been unable to contend with the clergy of the kingdom, if united. It was therefore essential to gain some concession from the Pope, which should hamper St. Thomas, at least for a time ; and it was gained, though with a terrible violation of the sanctity of an oath.

When these things reached the Pope's ears, notwithstanding the letters of remonstrance which have been already given, he was very unwilling to give up all hope of a reconciliation. John of Oxford had written to him to say that the King of England had liberated such ecclesiastics as he had imprisoned ; and that he was willing to confirm to the Church all that liberty which she had had in his realm in the time of King Henry his grandfather. This phrase, which makes its appearance now for the first time, though it is afterwards repeated, is but a quibble ; for the king professed to claim the Constitutions of Clarendon on the very ground that they were customs. Still it seemed to the Pope that peace might be concluded, and he therefore wrote²⁵⁵ from Rome, on the 7th of May 1167, to the Cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho, that their first duty was to console the Archbishop, and that their only task was to arrange this reconciliation to the satisfaction of both parties ; com-

manding them not to set foot in King Henry's dominions until the reconciliation had taken place. Similar instructions were sent to them from Benevento, on the 22d of August. This was practically to take away the powers of the legates, and to restore his liberty to St. Thomas; and Lombard, who went to meet them at Chateau-roux, wrote²⁵⁶ to the Archbishop, that, as far as he could learn from them in person, such was the case.

St. Thomas must have been aware that the Pope had withdrawn the powers of the legates prior to the date of the Pope's letter to them in May; for²⁵⁷ on Palm Sunday, after the procession and sermon, at which the Saint assisted, at Clairvaux, he excommunicated Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of London, for contumacy and disobedience. The Archbishop's letters²⁵⁸ were carried by two messengers, whose names were Berengarius and William Bonhart, the latter of whom²⁵⁹ has described to us their delivery. On Ascension Day they went together to St. Paul's cathedral, at the high altar of which a priest named Vitalis was singing Mass. At the offertory, Berengarius went up to the altar, and kneeling down placed the Archbishop's letters in the priest's hands, who turned to receive them, thinking that he was about to make an offering. Berengarius then held his hands firmly, until he had bidden him, in the name of the Pope and the Archbishop, to give one copy to the Bishop, and the other to the Dean; and he commanded him not to proceed with the Mass, nor William of Norhall the deacon, nor W. Hog the subdeacon, whom he called as witnesses, to continue to assist at it, until the letters were read aloud. Berengarius then turned to

the people, and said in a loud voice, "Take notice, that Gilbert the Bishop of London has been excommunicated by Thomas the Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Apostolic See." When the people heard this, some tried to stop Berengarius, others insulted him; but William Bonhart covered him with his cloak, and, mingling with the crowd²⁶⁰ who poured out of the church, they got safe to their lodgings. Some of the people nearest the altar asked the priest whether the city was placed under an interdict; and on learning that it was not, they asked no more questions. Vitalis did not wish to continue the Mass until the letters were read; but the deacon went to Nicholas the Archdeacon, who said, "Would the priest stop his dinner if a messenger were to bid him cease to eat, in the Archbishop's name?" They continued the Mass, the letters being only read privately. The king's officials instituted a strict search for Berengarius both in the city and the country, but without success. He afterwards went to York, bearing letters from the Pope; and he managed to escape arrest.

The danger which Berengarius risked was very serious. He was a layman, and not literate; but he is described as a young man who would expose himself to peril, and who was not afraid even to die for God's sake. A very strict watch was kept up along the coast, so that the chance of escaping detection was but small; and when taken, the Archbishop's messenger had to expect not only the severe penalties of high treason²⁶¹ that had lately become law, but also whatever else Henry's irascible temper might choose to order on the spur of the moment. An extract from a letter,²⁶² showing what the great Henry Plan-

tagenet could become in a paroxysm of rage, will not be out of place here. "Richard de Humet ventured to say something that seemed like favouring the Scotch; and the king broke out into open abuse, calling him a traitor outright. In his fit of passion he flung down his cap, undid his belt, threw from him his cloak and robes, tore the silk covering off his couch, and, sitting down as if on a dunghill, began to chew stalks of straw." The same writer says, "It was at Toucques that his lordship the Pope's messenger was taken; he is still imprisoned and in chains. Here, too, the Lord saved Master Herbert out of the hands of his pursuers. Surely he should not have exposed himself so on a matter of such little consequence." Another specimen of the king's temper is given us in the fate of a bearer of a letter to the king. "You know, I conclude," writes²⁶³ Nicholas of Mont-Rouen, "in what a strait the messenger was who delivered the letter to the king. His fingers were thrust into his eyes, as if to tear them out, till the blood flowed; and hot water was forced down his throat, till he confessed that the letter came from Master Herbert. He is not yet released from prison; though the king has received an order to that effect from his mother."

The fear of being subjected to violent usage was, under such circumstances, quite enough to deter people from carrying the Archbishop's letters; and the wonder is, rather how so many reached their destination in safety, than how in some cases no one could be found to take them. This is enough to account for the three warnings which the canon law requires not being served on the Bishop of London previous to his

excommunication, and for the formal notice of it being after such an interval. He had, however, known of it long before. He had assembled at Westminster the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury, Richard of Ilchester, Laurence the Abbot of Westminster, Guy Rufus the Dean of Waltham, and the barons of the Exchequer. The Bishop of Exeter sent him a preliminary message that he must not offer him the usual salutation of a kiss; but on their meeting, and Gilbert offering it, Bartholomew did not refuse it. The object of the Bishop of London was to try and induce his brother of Exeter to join him in an appeal; but he did not succeed. Joceline of Salisbury, in the course of the proceedings, made use of the insulting phrase, in reference to the sentence passed upon him, "If Buinard the Archbishop, or any fool of an Archbishop of mine, were to order me to do any thing that I ought not to do, do you think I should do it?"

The Bishop knew perfectly well that the sentence was pending, although the citations could not, in consequence of the severity of the watch that was kept, be legally and formally delivered. He wrote²⁶⁴ to Joceline of Salisbury, to warn him that he was to be included in the coming censure; and at the beginning of Lent they both appealed to the Pope, naming as the term of the appeal the 9th of February 1168. This they certified to St. Thomas. It was, however, the opinion²⁶⁵ of the canonists who advised the Saint that the appeal was invalid, as being captiously made in order to avoid justice: on Palm Sunday, therefore, he excommunicated Gilbert; and in the document²⁶⁶ which announced it to the Dean and clergy of London he threatened, unless satisfaction was made by them in

the interval, on Ascension Day to excommunicate also Geoffrey Ridel, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert his vicar, Richard of Ilchester, Richard de Luci, William Giffard, Adam de Chere, and all who should have either usurped Church property or urged the king to injure the Church or banish the innocent, and all who should have injured the Pope's messengers or his own. The names were added of all who were excommunicated at the same time with the Bishop of London: they were, the Bishop of Salisbury; Hugh Earl of Norfolk; Randulph de Broc; Thomas Fitz-Bernard; Robert de Broc, a cleric; Hugh of St. Clare; Letard of Norfleece, a cleric; Nigel de Sacville; and Richard the brother of William of Hastings, who had usurped the church of Manech. There are several names found here which are amongst the excommunicates of Vezelay, which is accounted for by the rumour which reached the Archbishop, that John of Oxford had obtained their absolution. He had, in truth, as we have seen, obtained but a very conditional one, which was very freely interpreted; for several were absolved²⁶⁷ at Holy Trinity in London, under pretext that they were in danger of death, as they were about to join the war against the Welsh.

The Bishop of London²⁶⁸ was in the country, at a place called Stubbehuthe, when he learnt what had happened in his cathedral. On the Saturday following he met the Chapter, which had been summoned for that day; and after much conference, Vitalis was ordered to produce the letters,²⁶⁹ which he did, giving the Bishop and the Dean those respectively intended for them. The Bishop read his aloud, knitting his eyebrows, and pronouncing the words with difficulty

through vexation. When he had finished the letter, he began to argue against it under the following heads :

“The first head is from the Old Testament. Adam sinned in Paradise. God did not sentence him at once, but suffered him to depart ; then cited him, saying, ‘Adam!’ then rebuked him, saying, ‘Where art thou?’

“The second head from the New Testament. It is said to Peter in the Gospel, ‘If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him in private;’ afterwards, ‘before two or three;’ thirdly, ‘tell it to the Church;’ then, lastly, reckon him incorrigible, ‘let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican.’

“It will not do for the Archbishop to say, ‘I could not cite the Bishop of London.’ It appears he could ; if he could do the greater, that is, excommunicate, he could do the less, that is, cite.

“Not to be appealed from is the privilege only of the Pope. I am safe, therefore, by my appeal ; and in the sacred name of the Most Holy Trinity, I dash this deed of his to pieces against the rock on which the Church is founded.

“In all criminal cases, four persons are necessary, —the accuser, the accused, the witnesses, the judge ; these he confounds in his eagerness against me, accusing, witnessing, judging all himself. Hence it is clear that, if he could, he would be executioner too.

“He puts his sickle into another man’s harvest ; for he has no power over my person or my church : over my person, because I never made profession of obedience to him, nor yet obeyed him, nor yet made profession to the church of Canterbury in the name

of this church of London ; over my church, because the church of London reasserts the right which was only taken from it by a pagan invasion,—that is, of being the archiepiscopal see. This I am prepared to prove, and on this ground I renew my appeal.

“ If it is true, as he says, that he holds his power from the Pope as legate, neither will that assist him ; for he is not yet within the limits for which his commission is granted.”

The Dean, Archdeacon, and all the canons and priests of St. Paul’s, joined the appeal ; but the canons of St. Bartholomew’s, St. Martin’s, and Holy Trinity refused. Finally, the Dean caused the letter sent to him to be read.

Whatever validity there might be in canon law in the other points of the Bishop’s appeal, one of those above mentioned was particularly disgraceful. When he was translated from Hereford to London, he refused to make a fresh profession of obedience, on the express plea that it was not requisite, since that made by him on his promotion to Hereford was still in force. St. Thomas carried the question with him to Pope Alexander when they both went to the Council of Tours ; and, with the express provision that it should be no prejudice to the Archbishop or his church, Alexander decided²⁷⁰ the cause in Gilbert’s favour. It was, therefore, literally true that he had not personally made any profession to St. Thomas, for when made Bishop of Hereford, his profession was made to Theobald ; nor had he in the name of the church of London professed obedience to Canterbury ; but he had been exempted from both on the express condition that he should not claim the exemption which he now pretended.

The Bishops soon held a meeting at Northampton, on Trinity Sunday. The object was to induce²⁷¹ them to renew the appeal which the Bishops of London and Salisbury had made at the beginning of Lent. When the Bishop of Durham, who sat first, was asked, he answered that he had not been present when the appeal was made, nor had he received any citation; that he would, however, consult his metropolitan, the Archbishop of York; and after due deliberation, he would do whatever he might, saving God's honour and his own. The evasion was highly approved by the other Bishops, who were unwilling to take a bolder part than they were forced into against St. Thomas. They were also probably deterred by the pretensions to independence of Canterbury, which Gilbert had mixed up with his appeal, and which, especially on the Continent,²⁷² excited the liveliest indignation.

The Bishop of Exeter was next asked what he thought; and he replied, that his brother Bishops had made the appeal without his knowledge; that if they appealed, they would be uniting themselves with excommunicated persons; and that if the Pope should confirm the sentence, there was great danger, which nothing should induce him to encounter. If, however, it were for the good of the Church, and if by the king's favour he might leave the kingdom, he would appeal against any fresh injury which might be feared, but not against any already inflicted. For his part, if any sentence of his superior directed against himself were to come to his knowledge, he would bear it obediently. This answer strongly excited the ridicule of Gilbert Foliot.

The Bishop of Winchester was requested to send an answer to Northampton to these same points that were proposed to his brethren. His reply was this : "The Divine law binds a man who is summoned to a higher judge not to appeal to an inferior ; and he who appeals, is in duty bound to carry on his cause. Now I, who am worn out by sickness and old age, am summoned by the Lord, and am therefore unfit for appeals to an earthly tribunal. I pray you to excuse my joining in appeals which may bring me under an anathema." Roger of Worcester, who was himself on St. Thomas's side, records these proceedings ; and adds, that these two Bishops, Bartholomew of Exeter and Henry of Winchester, incurred by their answers the suspicions of the king's party, and were for the future excluded from their cabals. Going further still than this in the direction of obedience, four Bishops published the letters²⁷³ proclaiming Gilbert's excommunication, the Bishop of Norwich in his first synod, and the Bishops of Lichfield, Winchester, and Chichester, on the day after they received them.

Though Gilbert was unsuccessful with his fellow-Bishops, he had recourse to the king, who wrote him a letter from St. Macaire on the Garonne, in Gascony, giving him leave to appeal. Henry also wrote to the Pope in his behalf, of which letter the following is an extract : "I cannot adequately marvel that your wisdom should hand me over to what I consider most injurious molestation, who am a devoted son of the Church of Rome, ever ready to submit to justice. Now he who desists not to afflict the innocent, has added a fresh injury to the multitudes that preceded it. Supported, as he says, by your Holiness's autho-

city, he has just now excommunicated the Bishops of London and Salisbury unconvicted, uncited, unadmonished, and while an appeal was pending; and to several of my friends he holds out a threat of the same treatment, without any reasonable provocation. At all this I am not less indignant than if I had been the object of his sentence myself. It seems to me that your fatherly goodness has, as it were, cast me off; that you have ceased to regard the sufferings of your son, and will permit my wicked adversary to march against me as he pleases."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CARDINAL-LEGATES.

THE sentence on Geoffrey Ridel, amongst others, which was threatened at Clairvaux, was carried into effect on Ascension Day. It gave one of the Bishops whom St. Thomas had consecrated an opportunity of showing his sense of duty. Roger,²⁷⁴ the son of the Earl of Gloucester, a near relation of the king, was Bishop of Worcester; and to him has been attributed the glory of being the only Bishop who was willing to be banished for St. Thomas's sake. Geoffrey Ridel retained his place in the chapel-royal, notwithstanding his excommunication. The Bishop of Worcester happened to go to court, where he was well received by the king; who was content to listen to his remonstrances, though he would not be guided by them. One day they entered the chapel, where the king was about to hear Mass. The Bishop was in his place, when he saw the Archdeacon of Canterbury come in; on which he immediately left the chapel. Henry was astonished and angry; yet, though he knew the motive well enough, he sent a messenger to him, to bid him come back and explain why he had gone away. Roger sent him the cause for answer; when he received another message from the king, to bid him leave the kingdom with all speed. The Bishop sent for his retinue, and ordered them to follow him, which they did as soon

as they could get their baggage together; and he then sent word to the king that he already had his foot in the stirrup,²⁷⁵ and that he would leave the country directly. After a while, the king broke out into insults and threats; on which one of those about him mustered courage enough to expostulate: "My lord, what have you done? You have banished a Bishop who is closely united to you in faith and blood. If I might say so, you have not done well. Besides, you have given the Archbishop what will please him best; and the Pope, who has had no reason for blaming you yet, will now have a cause to do so, placed in his way by yourself. You grieve your friends, and rejoice your enemies, by banishing an innocent man, not to say a Bishop." The king was moved, and sent a horseman after the Bishop; who, however, refused to return. He then sent others, and finally, a party mounted on fleet horses, with an earl at their head, with orders to bring the Bishop back, whether he would or no. Roger returned, and spoke in plain terms to the king; and ever after, while the Bishop was there, the Archdeacon never entered the chapel nor the king's presence.

The Bishop of Hereford, who was the other prelate whom St. Thomas had consecrated, did his best to obey his Archbishop's summons; but being prevented doing so by the king's officials, he returned home, and took the matter so much to heart, that an illness came on which terminated fatally. He died²⁷⁶ on the 28th of February 1167. The see was kept vacant for six years; when Robert Foliot, a cousin of Gilbert's, who was at this time²⁷⁷ Archdeacon of Oxford, succeeded him.

The Pope sent the following letter²⁷⁸ to St. Thomas on the subject of the excommunications, dated from Benevento the 19th of June: "We marvel greatly that, at the time when your envoys and others from our well-beloved son in Christ, Henry the illustrious King of England, were still present at our court and waiting our determination, you should have thought fit, ourself not consulted, to utter any sentence against the dignitaries of the realm. Moreover, although we doubt not your general prudence and circumspection, yet it often happens that persons see less clearly in their own cause than in the cause of others; and for this reason, as we are unwilling that your sentence should be revoked but by your own deed, we advise, counsel, and exhort you, as a beloved brother, that in order to mitigate the king's displeasure, you of your own will suspend it, till such time as you learn from our envoys whether the said king is willing to be reconciled, and to realise the promise of your recall.

"It becomes ourself and you to wait with patience, and to tolerate him with all gentleness of spirit, for the space of two or three months, that we may leave him without excuse. If you do not think fit to accede to this our request, and things turn out not according to your wish and expectation, but, which God avert, to the contrary, you must attribute the result to yourself, and not to us. But if, according to our wish and suggestion, you suspend the sentence till the arrival of our envoys, and the king still persists in his obstinacy, in that case, before the departure of the envoys, you shall be at liberty unhesitatingly to revive the sentence without incurring the

risk of our displeasure. Yea, rather you may look to us for every support and assistance."

This letter seems to take for granted the validity of the censures in spite of the want of the three canonical citations or monitions, probably from the notoriety of the offences and the impossibility of serving the warnings. At the request of the Legates,²⁷⁹ the Saint consented to withdraw the sentence while there was any hope of peace.

The year 1167 was far advanced before the Cardinals arrived who had been named Legates in the previous December, but whose powers since May had been restricted to a mere mediation. Cardinal Otho wrote²⁸⁰ from Montpellier, where he was waiting for his co-legate William of Pavia, that his journey had been long because it had been necessary to go to Venice in disguise, owing to the state of Italy, where the emperor was with his troops; and that he had stayed some time at Brescia, his native place. This Cardinal St. Thomas did not dread as a mediator, as he did his colleague William of Pavia, who also wrote,²⁸¹ but in a style that made the Saint seriously uneasy. Considering that they had no powers whatever, but were simply peacemakers, the following sentence left the impression that its writer intended to assume an authority that did not belong to him, which, as he was notoriously a partisan, might have serious consequences: "Our venerable brother Otho, Cardinal Deacon, and ourself are on our way to his (the king's) territory, with a commission to determine the questions at issue between your lordship and himself, as shall seem to us best for the interests of the Church of God; and we would seriously press your

lordship, as far as in you lies, to avoid all steps that may tend to widen the breach, but zealously to cooperate in whatever may facilitate an arrangement." To this letter St. Thomas prepared two several answers, but they were never sent; for John of Salisbury, whom the Saint consulted respecting them,²⁸² freely condemned them, as far too severe and not respectful enough to be sent to a Cardinal-Legate; and he himself²⁸³ suggested a substitute. There is scarcely any thing so beautiful in the life of St. Thomas as the spirit in which he received and encouraged John of Salisbury's constant and free criticisms on himself.

As the Cardinals had to pass by Sens, they naturally visited St. Thomas first. They had to thank²⁸⁴ the intercession of the Saint with King Louis for their liberty of passing through France, which that king was strongly inclined to refuse. They then went on to visit King Henry, who was at Caen; with whom²⁸⁵ they spent a long time without sending the Archbishop any account of their proceedings. This was quite in accordance with the idea which the friends of St. Thomas entertained, that the king's sole object was to protract all negotiations, and that he was insincere in treating about terms of reconciliation at all. However, St. Thomas was summoned by them to a conference, to be held on the 18th of November,²⁸⁶ on the confines of France and Normandy, at a spot between the towns of Trie and Gisors.

On the night before the conference the Archbishop dreamed, as he told his companions on the way, that poison was offered him in a golden cup. In

the course of the day, they thought they saw it verified in the person of the Cardinal William of Pavia, whose proposals were plausible and elegantly put, though they were destructive of the liberty of the Church. The King of France was himself present at the interview, and he had provided for the Archbishop's accommodation. In a letter, in which²⁸⁷ St. Thomas himself describes this interview to the Pope, he says that his enemies tried to wear him out with journeys and expenses; and that, as he and his fellow-exiles had but three horses at their disposal, he was obliged to ask for another week, besides the ten days' warning which the Legates gave him. At this slight delay,²⁸⁸ King Henry, it would be hard to say why, took offence.

At the interview, the Legates were attended only by the Archbishop of Rouen, the King of England having kept about him such of the English Bishops as he had summoned, who were all St. Thomas's greatest enemies,—the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Salisbury. To these, for appearance sake, the Bishop of Worcester was added. The Legates opened the conference, as we know from the report²⁸⁹ of both parties to the Pope, and from John of Salisbury's account to his friend the Bishop of Exeter, by propounding the king's inflexibility, the badness of the times, the necessities of the Church, which, in every part of the world but France, was beset with enemies. They spoke, too, of the many favours the king in times past had delighted to heap upon the Saint; and they recounted the wrongs of which Henry now complained. Amongst the latter he reckoned the war which had broken out between himself and both the King of

France and the Earl of Flanders, which he attributed to St. Thomas. They then recommended great moderation and a display of loyalty on the part of the Saint, and ended by asking his advice how they might themselves hope to recover the favour of the king, whose displeasure they had incurred when he found that their powers were not as extensive as John of Oxford had led him to expect.

St. Thomas opened his reply by thanking themselves and the Pope for the interest they took in his affairs. He expressed himself as ready to show to the king all such humility and loyal obedience as was consistent with the honour of God and the Apostolic See, the liberty of the Church, the dignity of his office, and the preservation of Church property; and, if this seemed too much or too little, he promised to be guided by the advice of the Legates, as far as his circumstances and profession permitted. With regard to the war, in order to deprive such reports of any colour of probability, for a long time past he had purposely abstained from all personal intercourse with the King of France, the only recent instance being the interview in which he had obtained a safe-conduct for the Legates at their request. This matter was further confirmed the next day by the appearance of King Louis in person before the Legates; and he there asserted on oath that the Archbishop of Canterbury had always counselled peace, on such terms as should secure the honour of the two kings and the tranquillity of their people.

William of Pavia then said, that "inasmuch as we are not better than our fathers," the Saint might promise to observe to King Henry whatever customs

his predecessors had observed to former kings. As, however, this was plainly but another though indirect way of expressing assent to the Constitutions of Clarendon, the very defence of which was that they *were* ancient customs, according to the king's interpretation, St. Thomas was obliged to refuse to make any such promise. The Cardinal of Pavia then recommended the Saint to resign his see; which, he answered, would be to abandon the cause of the Church. He also refused to return to Canterbury without any thing being said on either side of the subjects in dispute, quoting the English proverb, "Silence gives consent."

They then proceeded to ask, whether the Saint would submit to their judgment as to the points in dispute between himself and the king. The question placed him in the dilemma of submitting to an arbitrator like the Cardinal William of Pavia, whom he knew to be a partisan of the king's, or of refusing an arbitration in what might seem a factious manner. His answer was, that before any such arbitration should take place, restitution must first be made of all the Church property which had been unjustly taken away; and that then he would be prepared to submit to the judgment of any one whom his Holiness might appoint.

The Legates finally asked the Archbishop if, in case of another appeal being made by the Bishops, he would consent to their hearing evidence upon it, and adjudging it. The Saint had already heard a rumour of the nature of this appeal, which it was proposed to make in the name of the Bishops of England; although, as he was aware, but a very few were assembled at Rouen,

and of the other Bishops most had known nothing of it; while of those who did, many disapproved it, as being rather an evasion than an appeal: for which reasons he answered, that he had received no instructions from the Pope upon the subject; but that on receiving them, he would return such an answer as he might judge reasonable. In conclusion, the poverty of himself and his friends disabled them from undertaking law-suits and expensive journeys; nor would he consent to encroach on the bounty of the King of France by asking him to maintain them in hired houses.

The Archbishop parted from the Legates with mutual expressions of good-will. It was hardly to be expected that a reconciliation should take place in consequence of this conference; for it must be borne in mind that the powers of the Legates would then immediately have revived, to the great detriment of the cause of St. Thomas.

The Cardinals²⁹⁰ now returned to the king. On the Thursday after the interview, they arrived at the monastery of Bec; the day after, at Lisieux; the third day, at St. Pierre-sur-Dives; the fourth day, that is, the Sunday before Advent, they passed through Argenton. The king came out two leagues to meet them; and welcoming them cordially, attended each to his house.

The day following, that is, Monday the 27th of November, early in the morning, after Mass, they were invited to attend the king, and entered the council-chamber with the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots who had admission. On their reappearance, after a space of about two hours, the king came out

as far as the outer door of the chapel, and there said publicly in the hearing of the Legates, "I trust my eyes may never light upon another Cardinal." In such haste was he to get quit of them, that, since their house was at some distance, he would not wait the arrival of their horses, but mounted them upon the first that could be found near the chapel. Thus the Cardinals took their departure, with four attendants at the most.

The Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots stayed with the king, and re-entered the council-chamber, where they remained till evening. After this, they visited the Cardinals, all in evident confusion; then, after remaining some time, they returned to their houses. The day following they were closeted with the king till twelve o'clock; then visited the Cardinals; then returned to the king, and again to the Cardinals, carrying secret messages backwards and forwards. The day after, that is, the vigil of St. Andrew, the king rose at daybreak, and went out to hunt and hawk, so that it was surmised that he absented himself on purpose. Very early the Bishops met at the chapel-royal, and adjourned to the council-chamber; here they deliberated in the king's absence, and then withdrew to the church, near which the Cardinals lodged.

When the Cardinals had taken their seats to hear what was proposed, and the others were arranged on each side, the Archbishops of Rouen and York, the Bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Bayeux, London, Chichester, and Angoulême, with very many Abbots, and a great multitude both of clergy and laity, at length the Bishop of London rose, his pointless and inelegant oration sufficiently evincing the troubled state of his mind. He opened it as follows :

“Your lordships have heard that letters were brought to us from his Holiness the Pope, which we have now in our hands, in which his Holiness signified to us, that on receiving your summons we should come to meet you, for that your lordships were intrusted with full powers to decide the cause now pending between his lordship the king and my lord of Canterbury, and also that between the Bishops of England and the same Archbishop.

“In consequence, as soon as we heard of your arrival in these parts, we hastened to meet you, ready to abide by your decision, and to take our parts as well in accusation as defence. In like manner, my lord the king is prepared to ratify any sentence which you may pronounce respecting himself and his lordship of Canterbury. Since, then, no impediment is raised on the part either of the king or of your lordships or of ourselves, to thwart his Holiness’s instructions, let the blame rest where it is due.

“But because, with his accustomed precipitation, the Archbishop strikes before he threatens, suspends and excommunicates before he admonishes, for this reason we anticipate his headlong sentence by an appeal. We have appealed already before this, and we renew our appeal now; and in this appeal all England includes itself.”

He then spoke of the claim raised by the king for the sum of forty-four thousand marks on account of revenues which passed into St. Thomas’s hands as chancellor; and he was witty at the Saint’s expense, saying, that he apparently believed that promotion remitted debts, as baptism does sins. He proceeded to the danger of a schism, in case of severe measures against

the king ; and he complained that the Archbishop defamed the king respecting the statutes of Clarendon, protesting publicly that the king would relax the statute which forbade appeals ; that it was only for the sake of the poorer clergy that he had enacted it ; that what had irritated him most was their ingratitude ; and that if the cause was civil, they should contend before a civil judge ; if ecclesiastical, they might choose their own court, and contend as they would.

Lastly, he said that St. Thomas imposed unfair burdens upon him, commanding him to disperse his briefs through England, and that forty couriers were not enough for this ; and, as a further grievance, that he had withdrawn from his jurisdiction nearly forty churches, on the ground that they had formerly paid rents to Holy Trinity or St. Augustine's ; and that he had his Dean in the City of London to keep a look-out on the Bishop, who was in this manner more aggrieved than any other Bishop.

The Legates stated that they had no powers to act as judges over the Archbishop, but only as mediators : on which, the Bishops named St. Martin's as the term of their appeal, that is, November 11th, 1168. The Bishop of Salisbury joined in the appeal, in his own name and that of the Bishop of Winchester. A cleric of Geoffry Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, appealed in the name of his master ; so, probably to ingratiate himself with the king, did one of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who had been sent to the court to implore Henry's protection against the exactions of the infamous Randolph de Broc.

When all was over, the Cardinals sent two messengers to St. Thomas, who, on the day after the Feast of

St. Lucy, December 14th, delivered to him letters²⁹¹ prohibiting him, in the Pope's name and their own, from acting in disregard of the appeal until the Pope had been consulted.

The Bishops also sent two messengers, Walter, precentor of Canterbury, and Master Joceline, chancellor of Chichester, to announce the appeal, and renew it in the Archbishop's presence; but he would not give them a hearing; first, because one of the Bishops was London, whom he regarded as excommunicate, and had denounced as such to the Cardinals; secondly, because they had held communion with excommunicates whose absolution had been fraudulent.

The Archbishop wrote back to the Cardinals, that he well knew, and that they could not be ignorant, how far their commands were binding on him; and that by God's grace he should act as he thought most for the interest of the Church. He sent them also a verbal message by their messengers and his own, finding fault with their conduct for manifold and obvious causes. Likewise he called on them to fulfil the Pope's instructions about the excommunicates, either urging them to satisfaction, or replacing them under sentence.

The Cardinals left the king on the Thursday following the first Sunday in Advent. On their departure, the king entreated them most humbly that they would intercede with the Pope to rid him of St. Thomas altogether. In asking this, he shed tears in the presence of the Cardinals and others. William of Pavia seemed to weep too; but Cardinal Otho could scarcely conceal his amusement.

CHAPTER XXV.

“MEANWHILE.”

THE departure of the Cardinals left matters balanced much as they were before their arrival, although eventually their commission resulted in the most serious reverse St. Thomas experienced. He had now cause of complaint to the Pope,²⁹² that the Legates had, as far as their power went, suspended him from all authority. On the other hand, the king was apparently not unwilling to give up the two most obnoxious articles of Clarendon: that which prevented appeals to the Pope, and that which required the clergy to plead in the secular courts, even in ecclesiastical causes. The Cardinals, however, still continuing in the neighbourhood, application was made to them for absolution by persons, who, after being excommunicated by St. Thomas, had been absolved in England. This absolution had been principally obtained from the Bishop of Llandaff, on John of Oxford's return from Rome, in virtue of a fraudulent interpretation of the powers sent by the Pope in favour of those who were in peril of death, and who should make oath to obey the orders of the Holy See on their recovery. All parties now regarding these absolutions as invalid, the Cardinals, William and Otho, issued²⁹³ orders to the Bishops of Norwich and Chichester to repeal them after a similar oath. The Pope, who had been informed by St. Thomas of what had taken place, ordered²⁹⁴ them to

replace the censure, unless the parties should at once make restitution of the Church property they had usurped. This letter was sent to²⁹⁵ the Legates by St. Thomas, first, copies by a canon regular of St. John's, and then the originals by Osbert, a subdeacon of the Holy See; but the Cardinals said that the Church revenues had been received by the king's mandate and authority, and therefore that, as long as they were in his territory, it was impossible to do justice on the usurpers. Cardinal Otho was now plainly either over-persuaded by his colleague, or over-awed by the king, for the present proceedings are inexcusable.

With regard to the proposal of William of Pavia, that the Saint should be translated to another see, which had been taken up in some quarters rather warmly, and amongst others, to St. Thomas's great mortification, by the Bishop of Worcester, he wrote in these striking terms: "We wish our lordship the Pope and our other friends to know, and do you take care to impress it upon them, that sooner than suffer ourself to be torn from our Mother the Church of Canterbury, which has nourished and raised us to our present station, God the inspector of hearts knoweth we would consent to be slaughtered. Let them waste no labour on such a prospect, for there is no calamity which we would not prefer to that. You may inform them also, that if every other grievance were removed, yet so long as that man retains the possession of our own, or any other church in his dominions, we would rather die any death than basely live and suffer him to enjoy them with impunity." In a letter²⁹⁶ written not very long before, the Saint had represented to the

Pope that the king held in his own hands no less than seven vacant bishoprics in the two provinces of Canterbury and Rouen.

Meanwhile messengers on both sides were constantly going to and from Benevento, where the Pope was. To use Herbert's graphic words,²⁹⁷ “ The threshold of the Apostles was worn by our messengers and by our adversaries : both parties run to and fro, hurry and bustle. Some of both die on the way, but others succeed them, and on both sides the number increases. And to speak of our own people only, the multitude of our fellow-exiles afforded us such a supply of messengers, that it seemed as if God had permitted so many to be banished for our advantage. Here was a poor archbishop and his ragged and wretched fellow-exiles showing a brave resistance to citizens and kings, to cardinals and persons of wealth ; and I then at least learned that gold and silver cannot be brought into comparison with a man of learning and energy, let him be poor as he may.”

John of Salisbury wrote²⁹⁸ the following account of the proceedings at Benevento to the Bishop of Exeter, with whom he kept up an active and friendly correspondence : “ Both parties were courteously received ; but the king's envoys, as their cause was worse, so their pomp and ostentation was greater ; and when they found that they could not move his lordship the Pope by flattery or promises, they had recourse to threats ; intimating that the king would follow the errors of Nouredin, and enter into communion with a profane religion, sooner than allow Thomas to act any longer as Bishop in the Church of Canterbury. But the man of God could not be shaken

by terror any more than seduced by flattery. He set before them the alternative of life and death, and said that, though he could not prevent their choosing the way of those that perish, despising the grace and patience of God, yet by the grace of God, for his part, he would not recede from the right way. Their spirit then quickly subsided; and, as they perceived that they could not make any progress this way against justice, they sent envoys to the King of Sicily, with the king's letters which they had brought as their credentials, in the hope that the King and Queen of Sicily might aid them in obtaining something from his lordship the Pope to the prejudice of the Church. But his most Christian Majesty the King of the French, presaging this wicked policy, had written to the Archbishop elect of Palermo, identifying himself with the cause of the Church and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. What has been the success of either party is as yet unknown. In the mean time messengers arrived from the Legates whom the King of England had procured from the Pope, but did not at all agree in their accounts; for whatever one said in the Pope's court, the other unsaid. But there is nothing certain known about these either, as to the answers they will bring back to their respective masters. Supplication was made to the Pope, on the part of the king and the Legates, backed with other interest, in behalf of the Bishop of Salisbury; and at length it was conceded that the Pontiff would pardon him his offence, and write to his lordship of Canterbury, requesting and counselling him to take off the sentence of suspension, and to receive him back into his favour and affection, on condition that he gives security in

his own person, and sends two of the principal clerics of his church, the Dean being excepted, to make oath that the Bishop has ordered them, and not afterwards revoked the order, to swear in his name and stead that he will make satisfaction to the Archbishop for his contumacy and misconduct. From this it may be surmised that the Pope was either ignorant of the sentence of the Legates, by which they absolved the aforesaid Bishop, or that he did not think fit to ratify it. The same Bishop had before obtained letters nearly to the same effect, which, however, did not impose upon him the oath; but these he did not think fit to use, either because they were displeasing to the king, or else that they were not considered sufficient. What award each party would bring back was unknown, when the bearer of the aforesaid letters returned; but his lordship the Pope has written to his most Christian Majesty that he will not fail the Church of God nor his friend of Canterbury, whenever he can uphold him with justice.”

Various conferences were now held between the principal nobles of both kingdoms, and finally between the two Kings of England and France, at Mantes, on the 21st of May, the Sunday after the Ascension, with a view to promote peace. Probably about this time, though it may very possibly have happened in one of the previous years, an effort²⁹⁹ was made by the intercession of King Louis to reconcile some of the Archbishop's followers to King Henry, that so the revenues of their benefices, of which they stood in great need, might be restored to them. Henry gave them a safe-conduct for going and coming to and from Angers, where he had spent

Easter. On Low Sunday the king gave them audience. The first who was introduced was John of Salisbury, who, after saluting the king, begged for a peaceable restitution of his benefices, as he had never wilfully offended him, but was ever ready to be faithful and loyal to him, as his earthly lord, saving his order. On the king's part it was answered him, that he was born in the king's dominions, that his relations there had their subsistence, and that there he himself had risen to riches and station: therefore, as a subject of the king, he ought to have been faithful to him against the Archbishop and every one else. An oath was then proposed to him, that he would be faithful to the king in life and limb, and in preserving his earthly honour against all men; and expressly that he would lawfully keep his written customs and royal dignities, let the Pope, or the Archbishop, or his own Bishop, do what they might. He replied, that he had been brought up from his youth by the Church of Canterbury, that he was sworn to the obedience of the Pope and of his Archbishop, and that he could not desert them, nor could he promise to observe the customs; but he was willing to pledge himself to receive whatever the Pope and the Archbishop received, and to reject what they rejected. This did not satisfy the king, so he received orders to leave. This unsuccessful visit, John of Salisbury afterwards³⁰⁰ complained, cost him thirteen pounds and two horses, which he could ill afford. He had previously consented to leave the Court of the Archbishop, but he had constantly refused the terms that were now offered to him.

Master Herbert de Bosham was called for, and

entered. The king said to those near him, “Now we shall see a specimen of pride.” Tall and striking in person, he had on a dress peculiarly calculated to set it off; a tunic, and above it a mantle of the green cloth of Auxerre hanging over his shoulders, and reaching, after the German fashion, to his ankles. After the usual salutation, he took his seat; was interrogated in the same manner with John, and made for the most part the same answers. On mention of loyalty and the Archbishop, he said that the Archbishop above all men was most especially loyal, for that he had not suffered his majesty to go astray unwarned. Of the customs he said as John had, and added that he wondered the king had put them in writing. “For in other kingdoms likewise there are evil customs against the Church; but they are not written, and for this reason there is hope, by God’s grace, that they may become disused.”

The king, wishing to take him in his words, asked, “And what are the evil customs in the kingdom of our lord the King of France?”

Herbert. “The exaction of toll and passage from the clergy and pilgrims. Again, when a Bishop dies, all his movable goods, even the doors and windows of his house, become the king’s. So, in the realm of the King of the Germans, though these and similar evil customs exist, they are not written.”

The King. “Why do you not call him by his proper title, the Emperor of Germany?”

Herbert. “His title is King of Germany; and when he styles himself emperor, it is ‘Emperor of the Romans, the ever-august.’”

The King. “This is abominable. Is this son of

a priest to disturb my kingdom and disquiet my peace?"

Herbert. "It is not I that do it; nor, again, am I the son of a priest, as I was born before my father entered orders; nor is he a king's son, whose father was no king when he begat him."

Here Jordan Tarsun, one of the barons sitting by, said, "Whosoever's son he is, I would give half my barony he were mine." This speech made the king angry, but he said nothing. After a little he dismissed Herbert, who withdrew.

Philip de Calve, or Caune,³⁰¹ entered next. He was by birth a Londoner, and for two years before the Archbishop's exile he had studied in the Holy Scriptures at Tours, at which place he had also taught law. He was a man of great reading and very eloquent, but in poor health, and on this account he had not accompanied the Archbishop, nor had he been sent to Rome, nor mixed up in proceedings against the king. All this was explained to Henry, and he had influential advocates, who reported to his majesty that he had said, when he had heard that his property in England had been confiscated on the Archbishop's account, "Good God, what does our good king look for from me?" The king was anxious not to seem to have granted nothing graciously, so he remitted the oath which had been proposed to the others, and restored Philip to his favour and to his possessions. He then rose, and turned to other business.

If it was in this year, 1168, that this attempt was made to restore the Archbishop's followers to Henry's favour, its resumption was rendered impossible by the news which reached the king from the Pope in the

middle of the summer. His envoys,—Clarembald, the Abbot elect of St. Augustine’s, whom, it will be remembered, St. Thomas had refused to bless as abbot several years before ; Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury ; Simon de la Chartre, and Henry of Northampton,—had unexpectedly returned with letters from the Pope, not only confirming the prohibition placed upon St. Thomas by the Legates, which was a virtual suspension, but actually suspending the Archbishop by his apostolic authority. It was conveyed to the king in these words :³⁰² “ We, however, are unable to forget our fatherly affection for your person, but wish in all things, as far as duty will permit, to honour and attend to you as a Catholic prince and most Christian king ; and in the sure hope and belief that your discreet prudence will perceive how in the things of God and those which pertain to the Church, it is more glorious to be conquered than to conquer ; and confiding that He, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, will deign to mitigate your indignation, we have laid our commands on the Archbishop, and altogether inhibited him from attempting, on any account, to put forth either against yourself, or your land, or the nobles of your realm, any sentence of interdict or excommunication, until you take him back into your favour, and he is reconciled to you, or from presuming in any matter to aggrieve you.

“ And since it is certain that those letters, which we last addressed to your magnificence by your envoys, a year ago, are for the future without force ; if, in the mean time, the aforesaid Archbishop shall in any matter presume to aggrieve yourself or the nobles of your realm, you are at liberty to show these present letters

in attestation of our pleasure, and to demonstrate that you and yours are beyond the reach of his attacks."

If the Holy Father thought that an appeal to the king's generosity or honour was likely to be successful, when he pointed out to him that "it was more glorious to be conquered than to conquer," he must have been sadly disappointed. He published the letter³⁰³ as widely as he could, sending it to all the churches and dignitaries of both kingdoms; although the Pope only gave him liberty to do so, "if the Archbishop should aggrieve him;" and although his envoys had sworn that it should be kept secret, and the Pope had commanded them so to keep it, in virtue of their obedience and under peril of an anathema; so that Master Geoffrey, one of the clerics of the Cardinal, William of Pavia, openly protested, "that they had perjured themselves and incurred an anathema."

The Pope has never been suspected for a moment of being moved by any inferior motive; but the king was so elated with this his triumph, that he could not refrain from naming those of the Cardinals who had accepted his gold, and those personages who were his agents in dispensing bribes. John of Salisbury wrote to Master Lombard, who was with the Pope, "Would that my lords the Cardinals were within hearing of the French; among whom it has become a proverb, that the princes of the Church are faithless and companions of thieves, *Ecclesie principes infideles, socii furum*,³⁰⁴ for they authorise the plunder of Christ's patrimony, to share in it themselves." The same writer also says to the Bishop of Poitiers,³⁰⁵ "The king himself told the Bishop of Worcester, that he and the other Bishops were exempted from the juris-

diction of the Archbishop; and bade them fear no threats, for that he had his lordship the Pope and all the Cardinals in his purse. So elated is he, that he boasts openly of having at last obtained the prerogatives of his grandfather, who was, in his own realms, at once apostolic legate, patriarch, and emperor, and whatever else he chose."

The letter³⁰⁶ of the Holy Father to St. Thomas announcing the step he had taken, is dated Benevento, the 19th of May. It differs in a material point from that sent to the king. In the latter the suspension ran, "until you take him back into your favour, and he is reconciled to you;" in that to the Archbishop it was, that his powers were suspended, until he should receive other apostolic letters to empower him to act; which were promised, if peace had not been arranged before the beginning of next Lent. The Pope had always confided much in the reality of the promises of reconciliation so freely made by the King of England's envoys; and he probably thought that the step he was now taking would have the desired result, and at once end the suspension of the Archbishop.

The following was St. Thomas's expostulation³⁰⁷ with the Pope on what was by far the hardest trial he had yet had to bear:

"O my father, my soul is in bitterness; the letters by which your Holiness was pleased to suspend me have made myself and my unhappy fellow-exiles a very scorn of men and outcast of the people, and, what grieves me worse, have delivered up God's Church to the will of its enemies.

"Our persecutor had held out sure hopes to the

Earl of Flanders, and others of the French nobility, that he meant to make peace with us ; but his messengers arrived with new powers from your Holiness, and all was at an end. What could our friends do for us when thus repulsed by your Holiness's act, and smitten down as with the club of Hercules ?

“ Would that your Holiness's ear could hear what is said of this matter by the Bishops, nobles, and commons of both realms, and that your eye could see the scandal with which it has filled the French court. What is there that this man may not now look for, when, through agents famous only for their crimes, he has circumvented those who have the key of knowledge, overthrown the ministers of justice, and seared the majesty of the Apostolic See ? This king, whose sole hope rests on the chance of your Holiness's death or mine, has obtained the very thing he wishes,—a fresh delay, in which one or other of those events might happen. God avert them !

“ But your Holiness counsels me to bear with patience the *meanwhile*. And do you not observe, O father, what this *meanwhile* may bring about, to the injury of the Church and of your Holiness's reputation ? *Meanwhile*, he applies to his own purposes the revenues of the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, and will not suffer pastors to be ordained there ; *meanwhile*, he riots in uncontrolled insolence against the parishes, churches, holy places, and the whole sacred order ; *meanwhile*, he and the other persecutors of the Church make their will their law ; *meanwhile*, who is to take charge of the sheep of Christ, and save them from the jaws of wolves, who no longer prowl around, but have entered the fold, and devour and tear and slay, with

none to resist them? For what pastor is there whose voice you have not silenced, and what Bishop have you not suspended in suspending me?

“This act of your Holiness is alike unexampled and unmerited, and will do the work of tyrants in other days as well as yours. Your Holiness has set an example ready to their hands; and doubtless this man and his posterity, unless your Holiness takes steps to order it otherwise, will draw it into a precedent. He and his nobles, whatever be their crime, will claim, among the privileges of the realm, exemption from any sentence of excommunication or interdict till authorised by the Apostolic See; then, in time, when the evil has taken root, neither will the Supreme Pontiff himself find any in the whole kingdom to take part with him against the king and his princes.” *

There is yet another passage of this magnificent example of apostolic liberty which must be given, notwithstanding its length, as it is valuable for the instances which it recites of royal tyranny and usurpation.

“Some may say, perhaps, that it was out of hatred to myself personally, that the customs were introduced. But in truth, from the very day of the king’s accession to power, he took up the persecution of the Church, as it were an heirloom. Was I Archbishop when his father prohibited the envoys of the blessed Eugenius from setting foot on his territory? Was I Archbishop when Gregory, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing this man’s tyranny, persuaded my lord Eugenius to permit the coronation of Eustace, King Stephen’s son, saying, that a ram was more

easily held by the horns than a lion by the tail? Your Holiness will recollect this history, and likewise the letters which were then procured by him who is now at York, and joins the king in my persecution, yea, aims at overthrowing the Church's liberty. Was I Archbishop when, taking offence at an appeal, the king transferred the Church of Bosham to the Bishop of Lisieux, who by his rhetoric and his flatteries still holds it,³⁰⁸ to the injury of the church of Exeter? And what success had the Bishop of Chichester against the Abbot of Battle; when, on his daring to speak before the court of apostolic privileges, and to denounce the Abbot excommunicate, he was forthwith compelled to communicate with him in the face of all present, without even the form of absolution, and to receive him to the kiss of peace? For such was the king's pleasure and that of the court, which dared not to oppose his will in any thing. And this, most Holy Father, happened in the time of your Holiness's predecessor as well as of mine.

"And now, let those who attribute all this to hatred of myself, name, if they can, any instance in this man's time, in which the authority of the See of Rome has availed any single person in his realm, so as to procure justice against himself or his favourites. Truly I can recollect none; though I could name many whom his hatred of the See of Rome has brought into jeopardy.

"Achardus, Abbot of St. Victor's, was elected Bishop of Sééz. What prevented his consecration, except that his election had been confirmed by Pope Adrian? And why did the king consent afterwards to his being made Bishop of Avranches, except that

no election had preceded his own choice? Frogerius too, in like manner, was not elected to the see of Sééz, but intruded into it: and all this before my promotion.

“And yet I doubt not that this struggle for the Church’s liberty would long ago have been brought to a close, unless his wilfulness, not to use a harsher term, had found patrons in the Church of Rome. God requite them as is best for His Church and for themselves. The Almighty, All-just Lord God judge between them and me. Little should I have needed their patronage, if I had chosen to forsake the Church and yield to his wilfulness myself. I might have flourished in wealth and abundance of delicacies; I might have been feared, courted, honoured, and might have provided for my own in luxury and worldly glory, as I pleased. But because God called me to the government of His Church, an unworthy sinner as I was, and most wretched, though flourishing in the world’s goods beyond all my countrymen, through His grace preventing and assisting me, I chose rather to be an outcast from the palace, to be exiled, proscribed, and to finish my life in the last wretchedness, than to sell the Church’s liberty, and to prefer the iniquitous traditions of men to the law of God.

“Such a course be for those who promise themselves many days, and in the consciousness of their deserts expect better times. For myself, I know that my own days are few; and that unless I declare to the wicked man his ways, his blood will shortly be required at my hands, by One from whom no patronage can protect me. There silver and gold will be profitless, and gifts that blind the eyes of wise ones.

“We shall soon stand all of us before the tribunal of Christ, and by His Majesty and terrible judgment I conjure your Holiness, as my father and lord, and as the supreme judge on earth, to render justice to His Church and to myself, against those who seek my life to take it away.”

Surely these last two paragraphs were penned by the Saint when the revelation of his coming martyrdom was vividly before his mind, as was doubtless also the conclusion of a letter³⁰⁹ to the Bishop of Hereford, written probably about the time he left Pontigny, in which he thus speaks: “Now to end all as it ought to be ended, since the Lord has shown us what and how great things we have to suffer for His Name’s sake and for the defence of His Church, we have need that you, and the church committed to your care, should pray without ceasing for us; that where by our merits we fail, we may by your prayers and by those of the saints under your rule be able to endure, and thus deserve to obtain grace everlasting.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE KINGS.

THE remonstrances which St. Thomas thought it right to address to the Pope were accompanied by letters³¹⁰ in a similar strain from the King and Queen of France and from other influential personages. The result was a renewal of the assurance³¹¹ on the Pope's part, that, at the time named, St. Thomas should be left free to exercise his powers against the king. The Cardinals³¹² were recalled; and they left not without some sense that the cause of the Church had sadly suffered in their hands. In a final interview with King Henry, Cardinal Otho strongly pressed upon him the duty of restoring the Archbishop. His reply was, that as to the customs, he and his children would be content to claim only those which a hundred men from England, a hundred from Normandy, a hundred from Anjou, and so from his other dominions, would prove on oath to have been claimed by his predecessors. Or, if this condition displeased the Archbishop, he said he was willing to abide by the judgment of three Bishops from England, and three from his continental dominions, naming Rouen, Baieux, and Le Mans. Or, if this were not enough, he would submit to the arbitration of his lordship the Pope, but only for himself and not for his heirs. He refused, however, to make any restitution whatever of the property of the Arch-

bishop and his friends. The Cardinals were glad to leave King Henry's dominions; for the time was running rapidly on, and they were much afraid lest, if Lent came, and St. Thomas then passed some spiritual sentence upon the king, their own persons might not be safe.

The Holy Father had received such strong assurances from Henry that he was about to be reconciled to St. Thomas, both under his own hand and by his envoys, that he had regarded it as certain to take place shortly, and accordingly he had given it in the first instance as the period of the suspension of the Saint's powers. As the Lent was now approaching which he had defined as the term to St. Thomas, he thought it might be productive of good to send an embassy to the king. Accordingly, Simon prior of Montdieu, Engelbert prior of Val de St. Pierre, and Bernard de Corilo a monk of Grammont, were sent³¹³ to be the bearers of commonitory letters warning him of the sentence which would now surely fall upon him if he did not at length do his duty by the Church, and fulfil his promise of being reconciled to the Archbishop. By their mediation, a conference was brought about between St. Thomas and King Henry.

Many efforts had been made and conferences held with a view to restoring peace between England and France. At length terms were finally arranged and peace was concluded at a meeting³¹⁴ between the two kings in a plain near Montmirail in the Chartraine, on the Epiphany, January 6th, 1169. King Henry was now in earnest in his desire of peace, and, by the mediation of Earl Theobald and Father Ber-

nard of Grammont, the kings joined hands and interchanged the kiss. About the same time, the King of England had received letters commonitory from the Pope in behalf of St. Thomas through the three religious messengers. Henry on his part had given hopes of peace, if the Archbishop would make a show of submission. For this reason, they counselled King Louis to invite St. Thomas to the colloquy.

Before the conference began, St. Thomas was surrounded by his friends, who, almost unanimously, tried to induce him to make his submission to King Henry absolutely, adding no condition or clause, and leaving all the matter in dispute to the king's mercy and generosity. St. Thomas had proposed to substitute for the phrase, "saving his order," the similar but more solemn clause, "saving God's honour." At this time, one came in and told him that he had heard the King of England say, that he was only waiting to be reconciled to the Archbishop, to take the cross on his shoulder and go to Jerusalem; adding, what had deceived the Saint years ago, but was hardly likely to entrap him now, that he only wanted a verbal consent, before the King of France and the others who were by, for the sake of his own honour. As St. Thomas was entering in to the conference, while it was unknown whether he was persuaded or not by the arguments and entreaties of all around him, Herbert de Bosham managed to thrust himself in amongst the crowd of great people to whisper a warning to the Saint that, if he omitted the clause "saving God's honour" now, he would be sure afterwards to repent it as bitterly as he had done his omission of the former clause in England. There was not

time for him to answer by more than a look, when they were in the presence of the kings.

When he saw his sovereign, he threw himself on his knees before him, and in this he was imitated by his firm friend William, the son of Earl Theobald, now Archbishop of Sens; Hugh having died since the Saint went to live in that city. The king raised him up, when he said, "Have mercy on me, O my lord; for I throw myself on God and your majesty, for God's honour and yours." King Henry had only been anxious for a reconciliation with the Archbishop as long as he thought it would promote his treaty with the King of France, so he at once took offence at the phrase touching the honour of God, which had been introduced. He began to speak in a contumelious and insulting manner to the Saint, saying, amongst other things, that while he was chancellor he had received oaths of homage and fealty from all sorts of persons on both sides of the Channel, that he might supplant his king and become lord of all. The Saint began to reply; but Henry interrupted him, and turning to Louis said, "My lord, see how foolishly and how proudly this man deserted his Church, for he ran away by night, though neither I nor any one else drove him out of the kingdom. And now he persuades you that his is the cause of the Church, and that he suffers for justice' sake, and thus he has deceived many great people. Now, my lord the king, and holy men and princes who are present, I ask for nothing from the Archbishop, but that he should keep those customs which his five immediate predecessors (some of whom are Saints and are famed for miracles) all observed to mine, and to which he

himself has assented: let him again, in your presence, as a priest and a Bishop, pledge himself to these without any subterfuge. The sole cause of dissension between us is, that he infringes them, and that at Vezelay, that famous place, on a high festival he has condemned some of them, and excommunicated those who observe them."

This speech produced a great effect. Some people called out, "The king humbles himself enough." The Archbishop was silent for a while, when Louis said, in a way which delighted the friends of the King of England, "My lord Archbishop, do you wish to be more than a Saint? Or better than Peter? Why do you doubt? Here is peace at hand." St. Thomas replied: "It is true that my predecessors were better and greater than I, each in their time, and although they did not uproot every thing that lifted itself against God, yet they did destroy some things. And if any of them exceeded or fell short in any thing, in such a matter they set us no example. We blame Peter for denying Christ, but we praise him for risking his life in opposing Nero. Our fathers have suffered because they would not withhold the Name of Christ; and shall I, to recover a man's favour, suppress Christ's honour?" "This phrase," King Henry said, "I will never receive, lest the Archbishop should seem to wish to save God's honour, and not I, who desire it still more." St. Thomas reminded the king that the oath of fidelity contained the clause, "saving my order;" on which he rose in anger, and withdrew. The Pope's envoys followed him, being bound to serve upon him other letters of the Pope of a severer character, in case the reconciliation were not effected;

but they postponed it when the king began to say to them that on their counsel he would do what he had avoided in the conference, lest it should not seem a free act on his part. He promised that if they could induce the Archbishop to swear to the customs, he would correct any thing that might seem harsh and intolerable in them, by the advice of religious men whom he would summon. He also boasted with an oath that there was no church in the world which had such liberty and peace, and that there was no clergy in such honour as those in his dominions, though a more impure and wicked set did not exist ; being for the most part sacrilegious, adulterous, highwaymen, thieves, men guilty of rape, arson, and homicide: and for every lie he found a witness amongst the clergy and laity about him.

On this they went to the Archbishop, whom they found surrounded by French, English, Normans, Bretons, and Poitevans, whom they joined in praying him to consent to omit the vital clause. "Why," they urged, "should we be better than our fathers?" The Saint replied, that the blessed Anselm was the only one of them who had been urged to profess the customs, and he had been driven into exile. At length they left St. Thomas, and told the kings of his firmness, which was called obstinacy ; after which, as night was coming on, the two kings mounted and departed together, without saluting the Archbishop. King Henry boasted as he rode that that day he had been avenged of his traitor. Some of the courtiers let the Archbishop hear them say that he was always proud, wise in his own eyes, a follower of his own will and opinion ; that the worst thing that had happened

to the Church was the choice of him for a ruler, and that through him she would soon be destroyed altogether, as she now was in part. The Saint made no reply whatever ; which shows, if one may venture to say so, how much good his exile had done to his spiritual life, and how much more his naturally vehement temper was under control than it was when he was subjected to similar reproaches at Northampton. He answered, however, his old friend John, the Bishop of Poitiers, " Brother, take care that the Church of God be not destroyed by thee ; for by me, by God's favour, it shall never be destroyed."

The majority even of his own followers were led away by the current feeling, and were jealous of losing the restoration to their homes, which had seemed just within their grasp. As they were riding away after the conference, the horse of one of them named Henry de Hoctune,³¹⁵ who was riding just before the Archbishop, stumbled, on which the rider called out, loud enough for the Saint to hear, " Go on,—saving the honour of God, and of Holy Church, and of my order." Here again the Archbishop, much as he was pained, did not speak. When, however, they drew up to give their horses breath, the Saint said to his clerics : " Beloved companions, who have suffered every thing with me, why do you so think and speak against me ? Our return and restoration is but a little thing : the liberty of the Church, of which the king says nothing, is of far greater consequence. At length I will accept the best peace I can, but you never yet saw such short bargaining." Herbert, however, took a better tone, by reminding his master of the text, " Him will I honour who honoureth Me."

They arrived at Montmirail before the King of France. King Louis usually came to visit the Saint on his return, but to-day he did not do so. It was noticed that now, when, according to the threats of one of the earls after the conference, it was probable that France would no longer afford them shelter, the Saint was far more cheerful than usual. On the following day King Louis remained behind; but early in the morning the Archbishop left Montmirail for Chartres on his way back to Sens. As they went, people asked who it was that was going by; and when they heard that it was the Archbishop of Canterbury, they pointed him out to one another, saying, "That is the Archbishop who yesterday would not deny God or neglect His honour for the sake of the kings." The fame of the conference had already spread far and wide. The Archbishop, who overheard what was said, was much touched, and looked at Herbert, who tells us that this frequently happened as they were travelling in France.

The Bishop of Poitiers was sent after the Saint to Etampes, to beg him once more, for the sake of peace, to leave matters unreservedly to the king. The answer was as before, that he would do so, saving God's honour, and the order, honour, and liberty of the Church; but that he would promise nothing to the injury of the law of God. The Bishop returned to the king; and in order to pacify him, he modified the answer, saying, that the Archbishop would trust his cause to him above all mortals, but that he prayed him as a Christian prince to provide for the Church's honour and his own. Henry was overjoyed to accept such terms; and the Bishop wrote³¹⁶ to St. Thomas,

telling him, that the king invited him to an audience at Tours on the Feast of St. Peter's Chair, January 18th, about a fortnight after the conference of Montmirail. St. Thomas's answer, which was a very affectionate one to the Bishop personally, refused absolutely any further conference, until, according to the Pope's command, he was freely restored to his church and the royal favour. That this was not to be expected, was shown by the king's answer to the Pope's envoys, as by them described to the Pope, "That perhaps it might be the advice of his friends to restore him his church, but that to take him back into favour he never would; for that then he should make void the privilege his Holiness had granted him, by which the Archbishop's power was suspended till he was taken back into favour."

When the king learned from Bernard de Corilo that the purport of the Pope's second commonitory letters was the restoration of the Archbishop's powers over himself and the kingdom, he secretly sent other messengers to the Holy See. Another conference of the two kings was held, at which the Pope's envoys delivered the second letter. It was with the greatest difficulty that Henry could be brought to accept it by the persuasion of his councillors; but though they induced him to abandon the word *customs*, yet he still declared that the only terms on which St. Thomas might return in peace, were a simple promise, "in the word of truth, that he would do what his predecessors had done." They told him that the Archbishop would still require the insertion of his saving clause, and that he *could* not observe such things as the Pope had condemned at Sens, when he had been

absolved from his obligation or promise to observe the customs. Henry then said that he would summon the Bishops of England, and consult with them, as he had usually done ; but he refused to write any answer to the Pope. He left the Pope's envoys with anger, excepting Bernard de Corilo, whom he took aside, promising to visit Grammont very soon, and to follow the advice of the Prior.

St. Thomas's full powers were now restored ; but the envoys begged him not to use them until it was seen what effect the conference of Grammont might have.

At length, most thoughtful people perceived that St. Thomas was only acting with common prudence, when he refused to omit the *salvo* of God's honour. Bernard of Grammont said to Herbert: "I would rather have my foot cut off, than that your lord the Archbishop should have made peace at that conference, as I and all the others advised him."

A still more important point was the return of King Louis to his former friendliness. The Archbishop's party went back from Chartres to Sens, which was a two days' journey. Three days after their arrival, they were talking together, and asking one another where they should go. The Archbishop was as cheerful as if he had no misfortunes, and he returned the condolences of the party with quiet laughter and pleasantry. "I am the only one aimed at ; when I am disposed of, they will not persecute you, so seriously at least. Be not so alarmed." They assured him that he was the only one they were concerned for. "O," he replied,³¹⁷ "I commit myself to God's keeping, now that I am shut out of both kingdoms. I

cannot betake myself again to those Roman robbers; they are always despoiling the miserable. Let me see,—I have heard that they are a more liberal people in Burgundy near the river Saône. I will go there on foot with one companion; perhaps when they see us, they will take compassion on our forlorn condition, and give us subsistence for a time, till God interposes for us. God can help His own in the lowest misery: and he is worse than an infidel who distrusts God's mercy." No sooner was this said, than the mercy of God appeared at the very door. A servant of the King of France requested the presence of the Archbishop at court. "In order to expel us from the kingdom," exclaimed one of the party. "You are no prophet," said the Archbishop, "nor the son of a prophet: do not forbode evil." They went accordingly.

When they arrived, Louis was sitting and looking downcast; nor did he rise up, as his custom was, to meet the Archbishop. This was an ominous beginning. After a silence of a considerable time, the king bent his head down, as if he was reluctantly meditating the Archbishop's expulsion, and every one was in painful suspense, expecting the announcement, when all at once he sprang forward, and with sighs and tears threw himself at the Saint's feet, to the astonishment of the whole party. The Archbishop raised him up; and when he had recovered himself, he said, "O, my lord, you were the only clear-sighted one amongst us." He sighed and repeated, "O, my father, you were the only clear-sighted one amongst us. We were all blind, and gave you advice repugnant to God's law, and surrendered God's

honour to the pleasure of a man. I repent, my father, I deeply repent. Pardon me, and absolve me from this fault. I offer myself and my kingdom to God and to you, and I promise henceforward, as long as I live, not to fail you or yours." The Archbishop gave him absolution and his blessing, and returned with his suite to St. Columba's abbey in great joy. And the king was as good as his word.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE POPE'S ENVOYS.

ST. THOMAS was now in a better position than he had yet been. King Louis was more firmly his friend than ever, and his powers were now fully restored to him, both by the lapse of the term for which they had been suspended, and by the publication of the Pope's second letter to the king. It will be remembered that Gilbert Foliot had been solemnly excommunicated by him, but that the Pope and his Cardinal-Legates having requested, in order to facilitate negotiations for peace, that he might be absolved, the Archbishop had complied. That sentence was now reimposed,³¹⁸ and several others were again denounced, of whose absolutions doubt had always existed. The following names are mentioned by St. Thomas in a postscript³¹⁹ to a letter addressed to a great friend of his amongst the Cardinals, Humbald, Bishop of Ostia, and Dean of the Sacred College, afterwards Pope Lucius III. They had previously been excommunicated on Ascension Day, two years before. They were Geoffrey Archdeacon of Canterbury, Robert his vicar, Richard of Ilchester, Richard de Luci, William Giffard, and Adam de Cherings. It is to be feared that much attention was not paid to these sentences; so that the contagion spread in such a way that we are told,³²⁰ that in the king's chapel hardly any one was to be found to give him the *pax*, except

persons under either the major or minor excommunication,—the first incurred by sentences passed upon them by name, and the second by communicating with those who were excommunicated. It did not, however, pass unnoticed,³²¹ that Robert and Nigel de Sacville, the king's sealbearers, who had been excommunicated at Vezelay, died young; and that Robert the vice-archdeacon of Canterbury and the priest of Chierlewde died of such grievous ulcers, that they seemed stricken by the hand of God.

It was mentioned that King Henry sent other messengers to the Pope, when Bernard de Corilo told him the contents of the second commonitory letter. It was³²² their business to see what money could effect in his favour. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had been so unsuccessful in his invasion of Italy, that the threat to join the Antipope was now less likely to be carried out than it had been. Henry's present object was to see what advocacy his money could buy. He offered the Milanese three thousand marks and a thorough repair of their fortifications, if they would join the other states, which he was attempting to corrupt, in prevailing on the Holy See to depose or translate the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the same conditions he promised the citizens of Cremona two thousand, and those of Parma and Bologna one thousand each. To the Pope he offered a release from all the demands the Romans made on him, and ten thousand marks besides; and allowed him to appoint what pastors he would, as well in the church of Canterbury, as in all other sees now vacant in England. A letter³²³ of the Saint's of this date shows what dioceses were in this condition. "He has now

for five years," he writes, "held the revenues of our see and all our goods, besides the bishoprics of Lincoln, Bath, Hereford, and Ely. The possessions of Llandaff he has squandered on his knights; the Bishop of Bangor he will not suffer to be consecrated, and that see has been ten years without a Bishop."

On all his offers proving ineffectual, he tried next what the power of the King of Sicily could do for him; but neither the Bishop of Syracuse with all his efforts, nor yet the labours of Robert Earl of Basseville, and the other host of intercessors, nor the great power, weight, and influence which that king possessed with the Pope, in consequence of the generous way in which he had helped the Holy Father in his late troubles at Rome, could effect his wishes. His envoys were at last dismissed in disappointment, having obtained nothing but a promise that the Pope would send fresh envoys to mediate a peace. The persons selected were very acceptable to St. Thomas, being Gratian, a subdeacon and notary of the Holy See, a nephew of Pope Eugenius III., and Vivian Archdeacon of Orvieto,³²⁴ and advocate in the Roman courts. They were bound by an oath to abide by prescribed terms of peace, which they were on no account to exceed. It was also in their instructions that their expenses should not be defrayed by the king, unless peace were granted; nor were they to remain a day beyond the time appointed them. These precautions against bribery were, at least in the case of Gratian, perfectly successful; for when his mission was over, he returned with the highest reputation for integrity.

On the feast³²⁵ of the Assumption, August 15th,

1169, the letters of the new envoys reached the king at Argenton. He was much troubled on reading them; and on the following day he sent John of Oxford and Reginald, the one the Dean, the other the Archdeacon, of Salisbury, to meet the envoys, who on the 23d of August reached Domfront. On hearing of their arrival, two excommunicates of the king's party, Geoffrey Ridel and Nigel de Sacville, left the town in haste, doubtless fearing lest they should be treated as such by Gratian and Vivian. That very day, late in the evening, King Henry returned from the forest, and visited the envoys before he went to his own house. He behaved towards them with all honour, reverence, and humility. While they were exchanging their first compliments, Prince Henry, who had been hunting with his father, arrived with his youthful train blowing their hunting-horns, and bringing the stag they had killed as a present to the envoys.

The next morning, at about six, the king again waited on them, and they attended him to the apartments of the Bishops of Séz and Rennes. After some delay, John Dean of Salisbury and Reginald the Archdeacon were admitted, and soon after the Archdeacon of Llandaff. These remained in conversation together till three in the afternoon: they were standing, and spoke sometimes gently, sometimes loudly and angrily. The king's object was to obtain the absolution of the excommunicate clerics, without their taking the oath. Just before sunset the king came out, very wroth, complaining bitterly that the Pope had never listened to his requests in any thing, and said with defiance, "By God's eyes, I will do something else." Gratian answered mildly, "Threaten

not, my lord; we fear no threats, for we come from a court which is accustomed to dictate to emperors and kings." Then a convocation was held of all the barons and white monks that were in attendance, and nearly all the chapel-royal; and the king called on them to witness the greatness of the offers he had made, namely, the restitution of the archbishopric, and the restoration of peace. At last he left them somewhat pacified, and he appointed that day week for giving a definite answer.

On the day named, August 31, the Archbishops of Rouen, Bourdeaux, and all the Bishops of Normandy, met by appointment at Baieux, and the Bishop of Le Mans accidentally joined them. The Bishop of Worcester arrived on the following day; the Bishop of Poitiers excused himself, as he was holding a synod, but promised to come when it was over. The envoys presented the Pope's letters praying for the Archbishop's return and reconciliation. After a tirade against the Saint, which was the king's only reply, he concluded by saying, "If I grant any of his lordship the Pope's requests for that person, I shall deserve many thanks for it."

The day following, the Bishops met the envoys at a place called Le Bur. Immediately on their arrival, they all entered the park together. The king began by a demand, in private, for the absolution of his clerics, without their taking the oath. This the envoys positively refused; on which Henry immediately mounted his horse, and swore in the hearing of all, that never again would he listen to the Pope or any one else in behalf of the Archbishop. The prelates who were present entreated the envoys, for the love of God, to

concede this point; which they accordingly did, though most reluctantly. The king then again dismounted. Soon after, when all in the park were collected, Henry remarked, that he wished them all to know that it had not been through him that the Archbishop had left England, and that he had often recalled him, that he might explain his conduct, but he had always refused; in the present instance, however, in compliance with the Pope's prayers and commands, he would restore his archbishopric to him in peace, and allow all to return that had been banished on his account. This concession he made about three o'clock in the afternoon, and afterwards was very cheerful and went through much other business.

Later on he returned to the envoys, requesting that they would go to England to absolve the excommunicates who were in that country. Their refusal made him angry, but he urged one of them at least to go, or to commission one of their clerics, and he would pay their expenses himself. This too Gratian refused, and the king shouted angrily, "Do what you will, I care not for you or your excommunication one egg." He then mounted his horse and rode off; but on the Archbishops and Bishops following him and remonstrating, he once more returned. The sum of their deliberations was, that the Bishops should write to the Pope, testifying that in their presence the king had offered the Archbishop peace, and that he was ready to comply with every command of his Holiness, but that the difficulty was raised on the part of the envoys. Much time was wasted in the composition of the letter, and at last the king determined to leave them, quite out of patience. The Bishops then informed

him that the envoys had previously shown them a mandate from the Pope, commanding every one to obey whatever they might decree. The king answered, "I know, I know, they will interdict my kingdom; but shall not I, who can take a strong castle a day, be able to take one cleric, if he publishes the sentence?" However, on one or two points being conceded, the storm blew over, and Henry said, "Unless you make peace this night, you will never get to this point again;" and then calling all together, "It behoves me to do much at the request of my lord the Pope, who is my lord and father; and therefore I restore his see to the Archbishop, as well as my favour to him, and to all who are banished on his account." The envoys and all the others returned thanks, and the king added, "If I have been deficient in any thing to-day, I will make it up to-morrow."

The next day, Sept. 1, they met at the same place at noon, and after a long discussion about the absolution of the excommunicates, whether they should or should not take the oath, it was at last agreed that Geoffrey Ridel, Nigel de Sacville, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard should place their hands on the Gospels, and declare in the word of truth that they would obey the instructions of the envoys. A request was then made that all the Church property which the king had alienated might remain with its new holders. This was, however, refused. Then it was proposed that the Bishops should draw up in writing the terms of peace to which the king had consented. The king had insisted on the expression being allowed, "that the Archbishop should hold his church to the honour

of the king and his posterity ;” and this the envoys had thought unobjectionable. But on the conference breaking up, about nine o’clock at night, the king insisted that there should be inserted in the terms, “saving the dignity of his kingdom ;” but Gratian refused to consent to this on any condition whatsoever. It was, in fact, the introduction of the Constitutions of Clarendon into the negotiation, which we should have said had been as yet unmentioned, were it not that, by suggesting the change, the king showed what meaning he had attached to the apparently simple and innocent phrase which the envoys had allowed.

On the 8th of September, the envoys retired to Caen, whence they sent to the king to say that they would permit the clause he had requested, if “saving the dignity of the Church” were also introduced. This was refused ; and Henry charged them with inconsistency for rejecting a qualification which, he maintained, they had in the first instance admitted. They then gave the king a month for consideration, warning him that at the expiration of that time, the sentence of the Archbishop would be again put in force with respect to the persons whom they had absolved. The month passed, and affairs being thus restored to their former state, Gratian returned, leaving Vivian behind. The Archbishop of Sens accompanied him to the Pope, which frightened King Henry much, as he regarded these two dignitaries as his most powerful opponents. He accordingly despatched other messengers in his own behalf to the Holy Father. The Archbishop of Rouen wrote to complain of the envoys, and so also did some of the Bishops of Normandy,

who seem to have become more strongly partisans of the king, as those of England returned to some sense of their duty.

For the greater part of a year all restriction had been taken off from the exercise of the highest ecclesiastical power which St. Thomas could use; he was, moreover, Legate of the Holy See; but he had been very patient, and had waited until all hope of the king's repentance was gone. He felt that the time was now come; so he issued letters³²⁶ to the principal religious houses in England, and to the Bishops or other officials of the different dioceses, ordering them by his own authority and that of the Apostolic See, if the king should not repent and make amends to the Church by the feast of Our Lady's Purification, Feb. 2d, 1170, to publish the interdict he laid upon them. By this sentence all sacraments and rites of religion of every kind were prohibited, save only baptism for infants, and penance and the Holy Viaticum for the dying; Low Mass would be permitted for the consecration of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick, but the doors were to be closed, the laity excluded, and no bells rung. The religious would also be at liberty to recite the Divine Office in a low voice, under similar restrictions. The same letters, besides denouncing those who were actually excommunicated, pronounced a similar sentence, to date from Christmas, unless before that time they had given satisfaction, against John of Oxford Dean of Salisbury, Guy Dean of Waltham, John Cumin, Ralph Archdeacon of Llandaff, and Wimar, a priest attached to the person of Earl Hugh. Other letters³²⁷ of a somewhat similar tenor, but declaring the interdict to begin fifteen days

after their publication, were intrusted to some of the French Bishops, but they never were actually published.

The king did his utmost to prevent their admission into England, threatening those who introduced them with the severest punishments. He decreed³²⁸ that if the bearer were a regular, his feet should be cut off; if a cleric, he should be blinded and mutilated; if a layman, he should be hanged; and if a leper, be burned. He caused an iniquitous oath to be administered throughout the country, that the letters of the Pope and the Archbishop should not be received, nor their commands obeyed. Maud, Countess of Devonshire,³²⁹ the daughter of Baldwin de Reivers, is recorded as having refused to take any such oath, or to permit any of her vassals to do so. The Archbishop of York also resisted it; but the other Bishops were weak enough to permit it to be administered in their dioceses. St. Thomas sent secretly to absolve from the obligation of observing it all who had been forced into taking it.

The presence of Gratian, and of William Archbishop of Sens, at Rome at the same time, and the conduct of St. Thomas, frightened the king. The course adopted by the Saint probably had not the same effect as the issuing of actual letters of interdict, as, at the very least, when the term named had expired, a declaratory sentence would be necessary to prove that the king had remained contumacious; but it was certainly a warmer earnest of what would surely follow than any thing that had as yet happened. If Henry asked for another interview with the King of France, he could hardly hope it would be granted; he therefore determined on a measure which would bring

about a conference, even unsolicited. He entered the territories of King Louis in the guise of a pilgrim to the shrine of the glorious martyr St. Denys, which he declared would be an opportunity of seeing, for the first time, the young prince, Philip; as it was not right that he should be a stranger to the son of his feudal lord, the King of France. His scheme completely succeeded; for Louis hastened at once to Paris to entertain him; Henry having also pretended that, if he had an opportunity, he would intrust Prince Richard to his guardianship. Henry at the same time consented to terms which satisfied Vivian, and led him to urge St. Thomas very warmly³³⁰ to join the conference of the kings to be held at St. Denys, on Sunday November 16th, assuring him that he would be met with the hymn, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to my lord of Canterbury."³³¹ King Louis preferring a similar request, St. Thomas consented, and promised to meet Vivian at Corbeil on the Friday.

When the King of England had visited the shrine of St. Denys, on the 18th of November, where he made an offering³³² of a magnificent cope, and four-and-twenty gold pieces, Vivian, in a preliminary interview,³³³ tried to obtain from him a ratification of the promise which he had just made of the terms on which he would now consent to a reconciliation. The king, however, behaved in so unsatisfactory a manner, that Vivian complained openly both before his face and to St. Thomas of his evasive conduct, declaring that he had never met with such a liar; or, as he expressed it in writing³³⁴ to the Pope, "He is sophistical and captious in every word he says about the Church." As

Vivian had shown himself the most favourable to the king of the last two envoys, this strong declaration of his was counted of some importance.

At the foot³⁸⁵ of the hill of Montmartre, between Paris and St. Denys, was a chapel called the Holy Martyrdom, marking the spot where St. Denys was put to death. Here St. Thomas was praying, as King Henry returned from St. Denys. A messenger came to hurry him, saying that the two kings and Prince Philip were waiting in the plain near the chapel. His reply was, that it was becoming in a priest to proceed with gravity. St. Thomas advanced his petition³⁸⁶ through the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Séez, and Vivian, that the king would restore his royal favour to him and his, together with their possessions and goods which had been seized; offering in turn to show him every kind of deference which is due from an Archbishop to a king. The prelates who were mediating required that the Saint should expressly name all such possessions of the see of Canterbury as he required to be restored. Length of absence, and the great difficulty of intercourse with England, rendered it impossible for him to say what the king and his officials had alienated; the Saint therefore demanded the restoration of every thing which Theobald had held, and all which he had himself possessed at the time he attended the Council of Tours. Three things, however, in particular he named: first, those lands which Henry of Essex had held under the Archbishop, on the plea that the king, as his feudal lord, having resumed the lands which that nobleman had held under the crown on the occasion of his attainder, the same proceeding ought to be extended to the arch-

bishopric. The fief of William de Ros the king had usurped, contrary to his royal oaths; and of this St. Thomas demanded restitution, as well as of the Church property bestowed upon John the Marshal, whose name appeared so prominently at the beginning of the Council of Northampton. The mediators expressed their confidence of being able to obtain this from the king, without which St. Thomas declared his determination to remain in exile, disdaining, as he said, to purchase peace for himself with the goods of the Church. Of obtaining restitution of the revenue and movable property of which the king had possessed himself they were less sanguine, amounting, as it was calculated to do, to thirty thousand marks; though some of them thought that perhaps a thousand marks might be paid, to enable the Archbishop and his companions to meet the expenses of their return. Urged especially by the King of France not to permit a money question of a personal character to hinder a reconciliation between himself and his king, the Saint said that he would be contented with a part only of what was due to him.

King Henry, on his part, declared that he readily forgave all the offences of which he had complained, and that in the matters now proposed he was willing to abide by the decision of the King of France, or of the clergy of France, or the University of Paris. On hearing this, the Saint professed himself satisfied; but he stated at the same time, that he would rather settle the affair amicably than by litigation, and he therefore made his petition in writing,²³⁷ to prevent future misunderstanding and evasion, framing it in such moderate terms, "that it was obvious to all that he would

refuse no conditions of peace which were not absolutely intolerable for the Church."

Some time before, the Saint, foreseeing the probability of negotiations being ultimately successful, and of the king finally consenting to such terms as he could accept, had consulted the Holy Father what pledge or guarantee he ought in such a case to require. The Pope had advised him to ask the king for the kiss of peace, thinking it unbecoming for a priest to require an oath from his own sovereign. St. Thomas, therefore, now sent to ask Henry to ratify his good intentions towards him by the kiss. The king's message in reply was brought without remark by the mediators to St. Thomas, who was still in the chapel, that he would have done so with pleasure, if he had not one day in a rage publicly sworn never to admit the Archbishop to the kiss again, even if he should be reconciled to him; and that this oath was now his sole reason for refusing, not that he retained any ill-will whatever. His reply to the written petition was, that the Archbishop should enjoy in peace all that *his predecessors* had enjoyed, as well as all *his own* possessions; by which phrase he seemed, to those who were not familiar with the circumstances, to concede every thing, while in fact, it was intended not to include the Church property which St. Thomas had himself recovered, soon after his consecration, as well as the benefices which had fallen vacant during his exile. King Louis said, before Vivian and many others, that unless the kiss were granted, he would not advise our Saint to put foot in England, though Henry should give him a sum of gold equal to a king's ransom; and Earl Theobald added, that to do so would

be mere folly. King Henry did not wait for any reply, but set off abruptly for Mantes, about twelve leagues from Paris, during the whole of which ride that evening he uttered frequent reproaches against the Archbishop. Prince Philip met him on the road, but their interview was far from cordial; and King Louis, who accompanied him to Mantes, was offended that he had not received charge of Prince Richard, afterwards our Cœur de Lion, which had been the pretext of their meeting. Henry was not, however, content to break off the negotiations; so, as a bribe to induce him still to try to bring about some arrangement, he sent Vivian twenty marks, which were scornfully rejected. Giles Archdeacon of Rouen, John of Oxford, and John of Sééz, went to the Pope to endeavour to prevent the measure so much dreaded by Henry, of legatine power over his continental dominions being conferred upon the Archbishop of Sens.

St. Thomas again lodged in the Temple, the very place where he had lived when he visited Paris in all his magnificence as chancellor. In the evening of the conference, as he was leaving the chapel where it had been held, one of his party came up to him and said, "To-day we have treated of the peace of the Church in the Martyrdom, and I believe that by your martyrdom only will the Church attain peace." The Saint briefly answered, "Would that even by my blood she might be freed!"

After Matins that night in the Templars' Choir, the companions of the Saint came to expostulate with him on the present state of his affairs. While any thing vital had been at stake, they said, they had been proud to bear their share of his confessorship; but

now the king had withdrawn his demand for any oath, without the usual *salvo* of God's honour and the Church's dignity; he had now consented to make restitution of all Church property, and there was nothing to be exiled for, since his refusal to give the kiss of peace might fairly be accounted a personal matter, like the repayment of the stolen revenue, which the Archbishop had consented to forego.

While these matters were going on, which at length rendered a reconciliation probable, news³³⁸ came from England that the Bishops were beginning to act a more manly part. Geoffrey Ridel the Archdeacon of Canterbury, together with Richard Archdeacon of Poitiers, and other officials, summoned all the Bishops and abbots to London in the king's name, to give security that they would observe the new edict, and receive no messenger from the Pope or the Archbishop without the royal permission; nor obey any interdict, if such should be promulgated, nor pronounce an anathema against any of the king's subjects. However, none of the Bishops, nor any abbot, except Clarembald, the intruded Abbot of St. Augustine's, chose to obey the summons. The Bishop of Winchester publicly protested, and declared that while he lived he would, at all costs, obey the Apostolic decrees, and those of the church of Canterbury, to which he had professed his fealty and obedience; and the noble old man charged all his clergy to do likewise. The Bishop of Exeter followed his example, prepared to obey in all things; and he took refuge in a religious house till the storm should pass over. The Bishop of Norwich, though expressly forbidden in the king's name, excommunicated Earl Hugh and some others, according to

the instructions he had received, even in the presence of the royal officials. On descending from the pulpit, he placed his pastoral staff upon the altar, saying that he would see who dared to extend a hand against the Church and its possessions. He also entered a religious house, to live with the community. The Bishop of Lichfield declared his readiness to execute all the orders of his ecclesiastical superiors; and, to secure himself from the officers, took refuge in the Welsh part of his diocese.

Fresh messengers³³⁹ were now sent by King Henry to the Pope, to retract all that had been before demanded, and instructed to leave the arrangement of the terms of reconciliation entirely to the judgment of the Holy Father. The Bishop of Auxerre, and other Norman Bishops, took the opportunity of trying to bring about another interview between the king and the Archbishop. St. Thomas was accordingly on his way³⁴⁰ to the place of meeting, and had reached Pontisare with his companions, when they were informed that the king had abruptly broken his engagement, and would wait no longer at the place of conference. This sudden change was brought about by the return of some of the king's messengers from Rome, asserting, though untruly as it turned out, at least in the manner they reported, that the Holy Father had consented to the absolution of the Bishop of London, and the other excommunicates. The king was so elated, that he left, declaring that he was going to make arrangements for the coronation of his son. He accordingly returned to England.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUTRAGE AND PEACE.

THE report of the absolution of the excommunicates which King Henry's messengers had brought him, and which served so completely to unmask his insincerity in the late negotiations, was not altogether without foundation. The Pope, probably giving credence to Henry's last expressions of submission, and wishing to conciliate him still further, selected two of the Norman Bishops, who had shown themselves of late to be his friends, the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nivers; and to them he intrusted the care of concluding the negotiations, and of absolving the excommunicates. From this last power, however, the case of the Bishop of London was excepted; and in the other cases two conditions were required for its lawful exercise, the *certain hope* of reconciliation, and the exaction of the usual oaths. These two Bishops were instructed by the Pope to urge upon the king the immediate fulfilment of the offers made by him at the late conference; and on his refusal, they were ordered, after a notice of forty days, to lay the kingdom under an interdict.

St. Thomas warned³⁴¹ the Bishop of Nivers, that Henry's first object would be to obtain the absolutions; and that when he had once gained his point thus far, they would be unable to make any further progress with him. The two Bishops, when urged by Henry,

neglected the condition imposed upon them by the Pope, which made a certain hope or immediate prospect of reconciliation a necessary preliminary, and complied with the king's request. Meanwhile Gilbert Foliot had been pleading his own cause with the Pope in person; and he was so far successful, that the Holy Father removed the exception in his case, which had prevented him from benefiting by the powers conferred on the two Bishops. He hastened to the Archbishop of Rouen, by whom he was at once absolved, without the presence of the Bishop of Nivers, as the Pope's letter required, and that with all publicity, on Easter Day 1170. Foliot regarded it as a great triumph; and by way of showing this openly, he even pontificated³⁴² with all solemnity in St. Thomas's own church of Canterbury. These events drew the following letter³⁴³ from St. Thomas, addressed to one of the Cardinals.

"I would, my beloved, that your ears were within hearing of my countrymen, and that you knew the contemptuous sayings against the Church of Rome which are being chanted in the street of Ascalon!

"I know not by what fortune it has come to pass, that the side of the Lord is always sacrificed at the court of Rome: Barabbas escapes, and Christ is crucified. By the authority of the court, our exile, and the sufferings of the Church, have been protracted to the end of the sixth year. Your lordships have condemned the wretched and homeless, and for no other reason, I speak it from my conscience, than because they are feeble and Christ's little ones, and will not recede from the justice of the Lord; on the other hand, you have absolved the sacrilegious, the mur-

derer, the robber, persons who have not repented, and whose absolution, I say it freely, Christ being my authority, would not hold in the sight of God, though it were St. Peter that pronounced it. In St. Luke's gospel our Lord commands, that 'if thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him; and if he is penitent, forgive it him; and if seven times a day he sin against thee, and seven times a day he turn to thee, saying, I repent, forgive it him.' Think you the words of Christ are idle where He says, 'if he is penitent,' and 'if he turn to thee, saying, I repent'? Surely in the day of judgment He will not admit that His words were idle; nor will He pass over those uncondemned, who, against the form He prescribes, presume, by vain absolution, to justify the wicked, without confession or penance, and to save alive the souls that should not live.

"And now I have done. For the rest I commit to God His own cause, that God for whom I am proscribed and exiled. Let Him act by me as He sees best. It is my intention to give the court no further trouble in this matter. Let those seek its protection who are strong in their iniquity, and who, after trampling justice under foot and leading innocence captive, return glorying in the shame of the Church."

The words of this letter breathe in every line the same ardent soul that led him when a boy to leap into the brook after his hawk, or in later times taught him to put on the terrible hair-shirt, and to bear severe scourgings three or four times in the day; ever in earnest, there is still the same impatience of obstacles that hinder the end he has in view, as when he buckled on his armour and laid lance in rest for his

master's cause, which ever became his own : his Master now is God, and God's cause is his cause ; he looks singly to its attainment, and with apostolic liberty he speaks ; for " where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty."

The king's threat that he would go to England and hasten the coronation of the prince, was not an idle one. For some time past he had entertained this wish, apparently with the view of hindering, in some degree, the effect of personal sentence of excommunication against himself. His difficulty in this project was, that the coronation of the sovereign was one of the undoubted prerogatives of the see of Canterbury. Reginald of Salisbury³⁴⁴ advised him to request the Pope to empower some other Bishop to perform the ceremony ; and on his replying that he believed it to be impossible to obtain such a favour, Reginald answered, " Our lord the Pope will act like a dolt and a fool, if he does not grant your petition." The request may have been made and have met with success ; for two letters of Alexander's are still extant,³⁴⁵ empowering Roger, the Archbishop of York, to crown the young prince. Their genuineness, however, is very questionable. The plea which Henry urged in his own excuse afterwards, and which doubtless was the pretext used at the time to justify the usurpation, St. Thomas learned³⁴⁶ from the king's own lips, and he related it to the Pope. It would seem, then, that after Theobald's death, while Canterbury was vacant and St. Thomas still chancellor, Henry had entertained the wish that his son might be crowned, though he was then a child but six or seven years old. Roger de Pontl'Evêque was in such

disfavour that St. Thomas was able to remind Henry that he had said, that he would rather his son were beheaded, than that he should have Roger's "heretical hands" laid upon him. In order to prevent any claim on the part of the Archbishop of York to exercise this great function during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, Henry applied to the Pope that his son might be crowned by any Bishop whom he might choose. This faculty he now brought forward in favour of the very Prelate whom it had been obtained to exclude. St. Thomas, on the other hand, previous to the negotiations respecting the absolution of the Bishop of London, had received from the Holy Father letters,³⁴⁷ dated February 26th, and still earlier from Anagni, in November; others again from the Lateran, April 5th, forbidding any one but the Archbishop of Canterbury to perform the ceremony. St. Thomas did his best to send these letters into England; but the watch that was kept up was so vigilant, that it would appear that no copy escaped until the very Saturday before the coronation. They were then delivered³⁴⁸ to the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, only to be entirely disregarded.

After the return³⁴⁹ of St. Thomas to the Abbey of St. Columba, near Sens, he told Herbert one morning that he was convinced that Prince Henry would not live long; for as he lay sleepless, after matins, thinking of the king, his greatness and wonderful prosperity, and while musing especially over what might be the future fate of Prince Henry, his former pupil, to whom he was much attached, and of one of his brothers, either Richard or Geoffrey,—as he was dropping off to sleep, he heard a voice which said,

“ Mors tulit una duos, tulit altera sed male patrem.”

Herbert says that St. Thomas never wrote a line in his life, not having been taught to versify when young; and he adds, that he thought he had lived to see the fulfilment of the verse. The story is interesting, as showing the feelings of affection the Saint still entertained for the prince, whom he calls “our Henry,” notwithstanding the ceremony which was then being performed at Westminster, of which that prince was the central figure.

The king summoned³⁵⁰ the Bishops and barons to meet in London on Sunday, June 14th. The queen was not to leave Normandy, and for some unexplained reason the Princess Margaret was to remain with her; but Richard of Ilchester was sent to hasten the prince's movements, as his father was waiting for him on the English coast; and he speedily crossed the Channel, attended by the Bishops of Bayeux and Séez. When the Sunday came, Prince Henry, who had been previously knighted by the king, was crowned by the Archbishop of York; and, as if to render the outrage more flagrant, not only was the usual coronation oath to maintain the liberty of the Church omitted, but another was substituted in its place,³⁵¹ to observe the royal customs.

Immediately afterwards, Henry returned to Normandy. Before he had left for England, he had ordered the Bishop of Worcester to be present at the coronation; the Bishop accordingly went to Dieppe. The king had crossed, when the queen, who remained at Caen with Richard de Humet, the Justiciary of Normandy, fearing lest he should interfere with the coming invasion of the Archbishop's rights, sent him fresh directions not to cross the Channel; and she

ordered the provost of Dieppe and the shipowners not to permit his passage. When Henry, on his return, was approaching Falaise, the Bishop went out for three miles to meet him. The king began at once to insult him: "Now you are plainly a traitor. I myself ordered you to be present at my son's coronation; and, though I named the day, you have chosen to be absent: you have shown plainly enough that you have no love for me, nor for my son's promotion. Now I see that you favour my enemy, and hate me and mine: but you shall no longer have the revenues of your bishopric; I will take them away from you, for you have shown yourself unworthy of bishopric or benefice. Truly you never were the son of the good Earl Roger, my uncle, who brought you and me up together in that castle, and had us there taught our letters and our manners." The Bishop, in reply, mentioned the simple fact of the prohibition which he had received when in the port; but the king would not believe him, and said, still in a violent passion, "The queen is in the castle at Falaise, and Richard de Humet is not far off; do you quote them as your authorities?" "Certainly not the queen," said the Bishop; "for if, through fear of you, she should suppress the truth, you would be in a greater rage with me; and if she were to confess it, you would be shamefully mad with that noble lady. I am not of sufficient consequence that for my sake she should hear one rough word from you. It is well I was not present at that coronation, which was offensive to God, not on the prince's account, but on the prelate's; and if I had been there, I would not have suffered it to be performed. You say that I am not the son of Earl Roger. Whether

I am or not, I cannot tell; but you do not show by your gratitude that that same Earl Roger, my father, was your uncle, who brought you up as became your birth, and after fighting your battles, offensive and defensive, with King Stephen for sixteen years, was at last taken prisoner on your account. If you had thought of these things, you never would have reduced my brothers as you have. You have reduced the tenure and honour of a thousand men, which your grandfather the great King Henry gave to my father, to a fief of two hundred and forty, and thus injured my brother the earl. Then my younger brother, who has the reputation of a brave soldier, you have suffered to fall into such poverty, that on that account he has left secular life and service, and has taken the perpetual vow, with the ensign and habit of the Hospital of Jerusalem. These are the advantages you confer on your relations and friends; thus you requite those who deserve well of you. As for your threat of taking away the revenues of my bishopric,—take them, if you are not satisfied with those of the archbishopric and six vacant sees and many abbeys, which you receive to the peril of your soul, and turn to secular uses the alms of your fathers, the good kings, and the patrimony of Jesus Christ." These words, and more of the same sort, were said in the hearing of all who were riding with the king. A knight of Aquitain, who did not know the Bishop, asked who was speaking; and on being told who it was, he said, "It is lucky for him that he is a Churchman; if he were a soldier, the king would not leave him two acres." Another, thinking to please Henry, reproached the Bishop bitterly; but the king, turning to him in

indignation, loaded him with the foulest abuse, saying, among other things, "You vile fellow, do you think that because I say what I like to my cousin the Bishop, you or any other person may insult or threaten him? I can scarcely keep my hands off your eyes; it is too bad for you and the others to abuse a Bishop." They arrived at their resting-place; and after dinner the king and the Bishop talked apart amicably on the subject of a reconciliation with St. Thomas. To the honour of the Bishop of Worcester be it recorded, that he took every opportunity of sending assistance to our Saint; and while the justiciaries made this a frequent pretext for persecuting abbots and other ecclesiastics, they never dared to molest the Bishop on that account.

All this time, the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nivers were doing nothing to bring Henry to terms, in conformity with the Pope's instructions. They had been ordered to follow a monition of an interdict by the sentence itself within forty days, if the king did not ratify his former proposals; and the very power of absolving the excommunicates, which they had used, was only conferred to be employed in case of the certain hope of reconciliation. The Archbishop of Sens wrote to the Pope to complain of their dilatoriness; and in consequence, fresh letters came from the Holy Father, ordering them to bring the king to a conference within twenty days, and then, within forty more, to lay the kingdom under interdict. These letters were sent, in the first instance, to St. Thomas, who, for reasons which have not come down to us, delayed to forward them. The two Bishops made a faint and ineffectual attempt to cross the Channel while the king was in England; but on his

return, they had the conference with him which the Pope required. It seems singular that the coronation of the prince is nowhere spoken of as an offence committed *by the king* against the Archbishop's rights; but, as will be subsequently seen, the prelates who performed it were alone punished as guilty. Henry consented at once to all the terms which had been proposed at Montmartre, repeating, however, his refusal to take or give the kiss of peace. The Pope had suggested that in this case the Archbishop might receive the kiss from Prince Henry, or, as he is henceforward called, the young king; but St. Thomas did not ultimately press for that sign of amity in the subsequent negotiations.

From this moment the question arises, which is of such vital consequence to the character of King Henry II., and on which his personal responsibility for the martyrdom of St. Thomas really depends, whether, that is, he was sincere in his desire for a reconciliation, and in the arrangements which he now concluded. It must be acknowledged, that his refusal to give the kiss is not the only suspicious circumstance which leads us to doubt how the oath, which he took before his absolution, after the martyrdom, could have been sincere. We are told,³⁵² that "some one wrote to him to ask, 'Why is the Archbishop kept out of the kingdom? He had far better be kept in than kept out.' The hint was given to one who understood it. The king forthwith arranged a conference to treat of a peace, and there conceded every thing which before he had refused." Then, beyond doubt, the *apparent* object of the coronation of his son is precisely that which is suggested by the same writer:

“But first he caused his son to be crowned with all despatch, on account of a certain result which might possibly take place; so that, if a crime were committed, the kingdom could not be punished on his account, seeing that he would be no longer the king of it.”

On the 16th of July,³⁵⁶ the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nivers went to inform St. Thomas, who was still at Sens, of Henry's readiness to comply with the terms which were required of him. The Kings of England and France held a conference on the 20th and 21st, in a plain between the two castles of Viefui and Freitval, on their borders; which plain the poor exiles afterwards learnt was called by the inhabitants Traitors' Meadow. The Archbishop of Sens had pressed St. Thomas to attend this conference, in company with himself and the two Bishops, adding, that a peace could never be effected between them while they kept aloof from one another. The Saint was, in the first instance, very unwilling to attend unbidden; but at last he acquiesced. The kings settled their affairs without making any mention of the Archbishop of Canterbury; so that, after their second day's conference, his clerics returned to him, bringing news that the business was over, and the kings on the point of retiring; and it was greatly feared that they, who had attended uninvited, would retire disgraced. In the interval, however, the Bishops, who had accompanied the Saint, had been interceding with the king, who consented to an interview on the following day, which was the feast of St. Mary Magdalen. He promised to abide by the Pope's commands in every point, excepting the matter

of the kiss, adding, on his oath, that if he refused, it was not from any design against St. Thomas: and, calling God to witness this, he prevailed on the Archbishop of Sens to pledge himself for its truth. He even said, that he would yield in this point, however reluctantly, rather than part finally at variance. The Archbishop of Sens returned to the Saint, and told him how gracious the king had seemed both in his manner and words; and intreated him not to mar the prospect of returning kindness by insisting on the kiss; adding that Henry had promised publicly, that, on returning to his own dominions, he would receive him with the kiss, and every demonstration of gratitude. The Saint "was prepared even to lay down his life for his sheep,"—a phrase used in a letter describing these circumstances, which shows how little credit St. Thomas's friends attached to the king's protestations; and he therefore yielded to the advice of the Archbishop of Sens; and late in the evening his answer was laid before Henry.

That night³⁵⁴ the King of England was the guest of the King of France. The following allusion to the coming day was heard to pass between them: "Tomorrow," said King Henry, "that thief of yours shall have peace, and a good one too." "What thief, pray," replied Louis, "by the saints of France?" "That Archbishop of Canterbury of ours," was the answer. King Louis rejoined, "I wish he were ours as well as yours; you will please God and man if you make a good peace with him, and I shall be ever grateful to you."

On the morning³⁵⁵ of the feast, July 22, at dawn of day, the king, with a vast multitude in his train,

set out for the spot which had been agreed on by himself and the King of France for the interview. King Louis was not himself present. St. Thomas arrived rather later, attended by the Archbishop of Sens and Earl Theobald. The other French also, who had attended the conference between the kings, crowded to the spectacle in great numbers. At the first sight that Henry caught of the Saint's approach, he darted forward from the midst of his party, and made straight up to him with his head uncovered, in order to be the first to give the salutation. They exchanged greetings, offered right hands, and embraced; so that some thought the king had broken the oath which they had heard him swear, that he would not admit the Archbishop to the kiss. Henry then retired with the two Archbishops; and St. Thomas addressed him respecting the injuries done to himself and the Church, in a discourse which the Archbishop of Sens declared was most moving and pertinent. After this, the king and the Saint conversed together for the greater part of the day, so long, indeed, as to weary out all who were in attendance. The anxiety and attention with which they were watched by the bystanders may be gathered from the fact, that it was remarked³⁵⁶ that St. Thomas shifted frequently from side to side in the saddle, which they afterwards knew to have been caused by the irritation occasioned by the hair-drawers that he wore. At length, however, a sight was seen which struck all with amazement. St. Thomas, on a sudden, dismounted, and knelt at the king's feet; the king sprung from his horse in haste, and taking hold of the stirrup, obliged the Saint to remount, saying with emotion, "My Lord Arch-

bishop, what more? Let us renew our old intimacy; let us henceforth be friends, and forget our past enmity. Only, I beg of you, give me honour in the sight of those who are standing by."

He then passed over to his party, and said, "Now that the Archbishop has shown such good intentions, if I, in my turn, did not show as good, I should indeed be the worst of men, and should verify all the evil that has been said of me. I believe I can do nothing wiser or better than try to surpass the Archbishop in kindness, charity, and good offices." It is only just to Henry's impulsive character to believe him to have been in earnest for the moment.

The king then withdrew, and St. Thomas was able to explain to his friends what had caused so striking a termination of the conference. After the other subjects had been spoken of, St. Thomas said, that it was necessary for the king's own welfare and that of his children, as well as for the preservation of the power which God had given him, that he should make formal reparation to his mother, the church of Canterbury, for his late most grievous injustice to her, in having, by an enormous violation of her most ancient privilege, and contrary to the Pope's letter, caused his son to be crowned by the hands of the Archbishop of York; a prelate blind, headstrong, and presumptuous enough, to perform that rite in another Archbishop's province. For some time the king showed a reluctance to admit this charge, and said, though not, he protested, in any spirit of contention, that an Archbishop of York had crowned William the Conqueror, and a Bishop of Hereford had done the same for King Henry his grandfather, so

that he might conclude that it was open to a king to choose the prelate who should crown him. The Saint showed in reply, that, in the first instance, Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had never received the pallium, so that the see was, to all intents and purposes, vacant; and that, in the second case, Archbishop St. Anselm being in exile, the Bishop of Hereford was his deputy, and the Archbishop of York had made no claim. And further, that on the return of St. Anselm, his royal grandfather had acknowledged the rights of Canterbury by requesting to be crowned anew by him. Henry rejoined, that he had had leave from the Pope to choose any Bishop for the ceremony; but St. Thomas reminded him that when that leave was granted, there was no Archbishop of Canterbury, that its object had been to exclude this very Roger, and that, at any rate, the later prohibitions of the Pope revoked the former concessions. He did not say these things from any wish to lower or disgrace the prince, whose success and glory, on the contrary, he desired, and would endeavour to promote by every means in the Lord, as in Stephen's time he had laboured hard to maintain the king's own right to the crown.

Henry, with a look of good-humour, and in a cheerful tone, replied, "You have a double right to love my son; for I made you his father, as you may remember, and gave him into your hands. And his love for you is such, that he cannot endure the sight of any of your enemies. He would have used coercion to them before now, only his reverence and dread of me prevented him. But as soon as he has the opportunity, I know he will take vengeance, and a severer

one even than he ought. I doubt not that the church of Canterbury is the noblest of all the churches of the west; she consecrated me; and so far from wishing to deprive her of her rights, I will in this instance, as you advise, take measures for her relief, and restoration to her ancient dignity. But as for those who up to this time have betrayed the interests of both of us, I will, with God's help, answer them as traitors deserve." He added, that St. Thomas should crown Margaret, his son's wife, and as an acknowledgment of the rights of his church, he should repeat the coronation of the young king. This it was which made the Saint leap from his horse; there was apparently no longer any thing to separate him from his flock.

Those who were present were called together, and before them Henry declared that he restored to the Archbishop his royal favour, together with his church, and all its possessions entire. It was arranged that one of the Saint's clerics should go to the king before long for a letter to his son, which should empower and command a full restitution; and Herbert was the one to whom this matter was confided. As many of the co-exiles of the Saint as were there then came forward, and did obeisance at the king's feet; and he promised to reinstate them all.

After consulting with the Archbishop of Sens and his other friends, St. Thomas drew up a memorial recounting the points to which the king had consented, amongst which the case of the coronation was particularly specified. This was presented through the Archbishop of Sens, and was ratified by the king. That Henry expressly and publicly consented to the

punishment of the Bishops, who had merely executed his will, is perfectly certain ; but as it is a point of the very greatest consequence, since the anger that led to the martyrdom was excited by the course here agreed to by the king himself, and as, just before his death, St. Thomas solemnly reminded Fitz-Urse of this very consent, it will be well to insert the words of another witness. "I was present," writes³⁵⁷ Theobald Earl of Blois to the Pope, "I was present when the King of England received the Archbishop of Canterbury with every sign of peace and good-will. In my presence his lordship of Canterbury complained to the king of the coronation of his son ; and as he was conscious that he had inflicted an injury, he promised satisfaction. Complaint was then made of the Bishops who had dared to place the new king on the throne, against the right and honour of the church of Canterbury ; and the king gave him free and lawful power over them, that, at your Holiness's pleasure or at his, sentence might be pronounced against them. These things I saw and heard, and I am ready to attest and confirm them by an oath, or in whatever other mode you may prefer."

St. Thomas and the king, when these concessions had been publicly made, conversed together alone till evening, as familiarly as in the days of their friendship ; and it was agreed on parting, that the Saint should return to pay a visit of thanks to the King of France and his other benefactors, and to arrange his affairs ; and then go and stay with Henry, previous to embarking for England, to show how perfectly their intimacy was restored. St. Thomas, however, subsequently determined to wait in France till he heard from the

envoys he was about to send that restitution was actually made; for as long as the king retained a foot of Church land, he could not trust his sincerity.

As he was leaving, the Bishop of Lisieux openly said that, as the king had taken his followers into favour again, the Saint ought to adopt a similar course towards all who had opposed him. He answered that the cases could not be classed together; but that, as far as it was possible, he wished to be in peace and charity with all; and, having first consulted with the king, he would endeavour that every thing should be so arranged with reference to the honour of God and the Church, that if any failed in obtaining absolution (which God forbid), the blame would be chargeable upon themselves only. Geoffrey Ridel Archdeacon of Canterbury stepped in, and began some swelling reply, when the king, to prevent any revival of old animosities, drew the Saint out of the crowd, begging him not to mind what such persons said. He then asked the Archbishop's blessing, which concluded the conference.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DISAPPOINTMENT.

ST. THOMAS wrote³⁵⁸ at once to inform the Pope and Cardinals of the reconciliation which had taken place. It is a striking proof how well King Henry was understood by them, that their joy was mingled with mistrust. As Cardinal Albert³⁵⁹ expressed it, "the Ethiopian does not easily change his skin, nor the leopard his spots." Events soon showed that Henry was determined to be consistent with himself, and violate his engagements, however recent and however solemn.

Messengers were sent over into England by St. Thomas, carrying letters from the king to his justices, ordering restitution to be made of the Church property. Such benefices as had fallen vacant during the exile of the Saint had been given away. In the first instance,³⁶⁰ Henry's nominees were ejected, and the clerics appointed by St. Thomas obtained possession; but they were soon dispossessed again, and the intruders reinstated. It was also remarked by thoughtful observers, as an important sign of the king's intentions, that the Archbishop's Michaelmas rents were received by the royal officers as before. The messengers of the Saint wrote³⁶¹ to him from England, to the effect that all his friends whom they had met despaired so completely, that even when they showed them the king's letters, with his great seal hanging to them, and declared that they had themselves been present at the

reconciliation, and even stated this on oath, they could hardly obtain credence. The only person whom they could get to co-operate with them was Robert, the Sacristan of Canterbury. They had had interviews with the young king, but without any satisfactory result. The date of this letter is in the first week of October. It was forwarded³⁶² by St. Thomas to the Pope, with the complaint that nothing had yet been gained from Henry but bare words. John of Salisbury and Herbert de Bosham had previously³⁶³ been sent to the king himself. They had found him in Normandy; but as he was suffering from a tertian fever, it was long before they could see him on the subject. At their last interview, Henry said to John of Salisbury, "O, John, I will never give you the castle, unless I see you behave to me differently than you have yet behaved." This was an application either for Rochester Castle, or for Saltwood, the fief of Henry of Essex, which Randolph de Broc occupied.

When St. Thomas heard that the king was about³⁶⁴ to give an interview to one of his firm friends, Theobald Earl of Blois, he determined to be present. It took place at Tours, on the 12th of November. The evening before, the Archbishop arrived; but it was noticed that though the king came out to meet him, he did not look kindly upon him or his companions. Nigel de Sacville, whose name had figured in some of the lists of the excommunicated, was the king's seal-bearer, and one of his clerics, and had received from his master the church of Harrow, which was one of the vacant benefices. Fearful of being obliged to restore it, he was not over-anxious for peace. The king thought, the next morning, he should have some

difficulty in refusing the kiss of peace to the Archbishop, if they should hear the same Mass; but Nigel de Sacville relieved him of his difficulty, by recommending him to have a black Mass celebrated, in which the *Pax* is not given. After Mass,³⁶⁵ as usual, the *Salve Sancta Parens* was said in honour of our ever-blessed Lady; after which the priest kissed the text of the Gospel, and carried it to the Archbishop, and then to the king, for them to kiss. St. Thomas then said, "My lord, I have come to you in your own dominions, now give me the kiss according to your promise." The king said, "Another time you shall have enough."

On another occasion, the Saint met the king at a castle near Blois, in order that he might carry out the advice of the envoys, and see as much of him as possible, in order to confirm the reconciliation. In the course of familiar and cheerful conversation, Henry said to him, "O, why do you not do my will? I certainly would put every thing into your hands." When St. Thomas repeated this to Herbert, he told him, that it reminded him of the saying in the Gospel, "All this will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Even before St. Thomas's last letter reached the Pope, his Holiness was determined to enforce the terms of the reconciliation which had been concluded. On the 9th of October, he issued letters³⁶⁶ to the Archbishops of Rouen and Sens, and the Bishop of Nivers, enjoining them to threaten the king with an immediate interdict; and all occupiers of Church lands were ordered to make restitution forthwith, under pain of excommunication. Full powers,³⁶⁷ excepting

only the persons of the king, the queen, and the princes, were lodged in the Saint's hands, as Apostolic Legate. Sentence³⁶⁸ of suspension was also pronounced by the Pope against the Archbishop of York and the other Bishops who were present at the coronation; while the Bishops of London and Salisbury were replaced under the excommunication from which they had been absolved. In these letters the substitution by the Bishops, on that occasion, of the Constitutions of Clarendon for the Coronation Oath was naturally dwelt on by the Pope as an additional cause for the punishment which was inflicted; for several of those constitutions had been condemned by him. St. Thomas, in his letter of complaint against the king,³⁶⁹ requested the Pope to withdraw the mention of the constitutions, as being particularly calculated to irritate him; while the part taken by the Bishops in the young king's coronation was abundantly sufficient cause for their censure, and one in which Henry had acquiesced. He also begged that the sentences of all the Bishops, but that of the Archbishop of York, might be intrusted to his discretion. The Pope consented;³⁷⁰ and as he urged St. Thomas to return to England,³⁷¹ in spite of the king's non-fulfilment of his engagements, the Saint now prepared for his departure.

The French nobles³⁷² provided him and his companions with every thing that was necessary, with such liberality, that when he actually started there were more than a hundred horses in his train. His farewell visit to King Louis was very affectionate and moving. He must indeed have found it difficult to express his gratitude for the truly royal treatment he had received from him. In their conversation, the

Archbishop showed his sense of the danger to which he was now exposing himself. "We are going to England," he said, "to play for heads." "So it seems to me," said Louis. "My Lord Archbishop, if you followed my advice, you would not trust yourself to your king, as long as he refuses the kiss of peace. Remain ; and as long as King Louis lives, the wine, the food, and the wealth of France shall never fail you." The Saint answered, "God's will be done;" and they parted with tears, to meet again, we may hope, in that land where even a cup of cold water given in the name of a disciple does not lose its reward.

The parting words of St. Thomas to the Bishop of Paris were: "I am going to England to die." And, indeed, stories were afterwards told which showed that some people really believed that such a fate was deliberately prepared for him. A priest, named Richard de Halliwell, was told in confession by one of the sergeants of the king's court, that he had with his own hands sealed the letters which were sent to England to command the death of the Archbishop, and that Nigel de Sacville had written them ; and he added, that he had confessed this before to an English Bishop and asked for a penance, but the Bishop had said, "What for? you did your lord's command;" and, as if he had done no harm, enjoined him nothing. Another anecdote is also very significant. Reginald de Warenne one day entered the chapter of the Canons of Southwark, with whom he was very intimate, and said to them, "Pray heartily to God for me, for I have great need of it. Soon, perhaps, you will hear that something has been done in England,

such as never before has been heard of; but, as far as I am concerned, it is quite against my will; but I am not my own master."

The Saint wrote⁸⁷³ to Henry in the following terms, expressive of the same tone of mind as pervaded his farewell to King Louis. After showing what procrastination there had been in making restitution, he said, "Meantime, Randolph violently outrages the property of the Church, collects our stores into the castle at Saltwood, and, as we have been informed by those who can prove it, has, in the hearing of many, boasted that we shall not long enjoy our peace; 'for that, before we have eaten a loaf of bread in England, he will take away our life.' Your highness knows that voluntarily to overlook a wrong is to participate in the guilt. Yet is this Randolph plainly relying on your countenance and authority; for how else could he venture so far? What was the answer he returned to your son's letters? We leave this for your discretion to reflect upon, when you are informed of it.

"Forasmuch, however, as there are plain indications that, through hatred of our person, the mother of the British churches is in danger of perishing, we, in order to save her from this fate, are prepared, God willing, to surrender our life into the hands of Randolph and his accomplices in persecution; yea, and to die a thousand deaths for Christ's sake, if His grace enables us. I had intended, my lord, ere now to have returned to you, but the necessities of the afflicted Church draw me to her side. With your favour and permission, I purpose returning to her; perhaps, unless your timely pity ordain it otherwise, to die for

her. Yours, whether we live or die, now and ever in the Lord."

When the part that was actually taken by Randolph de Broc in the martyrdom is remembered, this letter cannot but be regarded as very remarkable. His parting with King Henry is thus told. "Go in peace," said the king; "I will see you at Rouen or in England as soon as I can." St. Thomas said, "My lord, my heart tells me that you will never see me again alive." "Do you think I am a traitor?" "No, my lord," was the simple answer. The Saint then went to Rouen at the king's request.

John of Salisbury³⁷⁴ went before him into England, where he landed on the 12th of November. Three days before, a mark had been set on all the Archbishop's effects, and his officials had been excluded from all share in the administration of the property. Also, an edict had been published in all the ports, forbidding any of the Archbishop's friends to leave England, under penalty of exile and proscription. John of Salisbury was received by both clergy and people of Canterbury with great honour, and presided, in the Archbishop's name, over a synod which was held there on the 18th of November, a few days after his arrival. He had a gracious audience of the young king; but he saw too many signs of the insincerity of the reconciliation which had been made, not to believe the general report that the rancour against them, which had been nominally softened, was in reality more vigorous than ever. The Christmas rents followed those of Michaelmas into the king's coffers.

The pretext³⁷⁵ which Henry alleged for not meeting St. Thomas at Rouen was, that the men of Au-

vergne had sent to request succour to repel an attack which they expected from the King of France. He sent in his stead the notorious John of Oxford. When St. Thomas saw him, he said that times were indeed changed when the Archbishop of Canterbury was to receive protection from him. The Archbishop of Rouen said that he had received no instructions from the king to accompany him, and that as all was safe enough, it was not necessary. He also gave him three hundred pounds as a gift. The king urged his immediate departure by letter. "Inasmuch as many things are told me respecting your lordship's delay, which perhaps are not true, I think it expedient for you to take your departure for England with all speed." He had also received letters from the Pope, exhorting him to return fearlessly to his church, and fulfil his ministry. They left³⁷⁶ Sens on the Feast of All Saints, with which day the seventh year of their exile began.

They chose the port of Wytсанд or Ouessant, in the territory of Boulogne, for their embarkation. From this place he forwarded the Pope's letters³⁷⁷ of censure to the Bishops by a person named Osbern, but that for the Archbishop of York was intrusted to a nun named Idonea, doubtless as a messenger less likely to be suspected. The letter³⁷⁸ which St. Thomas wrote to her on the subject is well worthy of insertion.

"God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty. The pride of Holofernes, which exalted itself against God, when the warriors and priests failed, was extinguished by the valour of a woman: when Apostles fled and denied their Lord, women attended Him in His sufferings, followed Him after His death, and received the first-fruits of the

Resurrection. You, my daughter, are animated with their zeal; God grant that you may pass into their society. The spirit of love hath cast out fear from your heart, and will bring it to pass that the things which the necessity of the Church demands of you, arduous though they be, shall appear not only possible but easy.

“Having this hope, therefore, of your zeal in the Lord, I command you, and for the remission of your sins enjoin on you, that you deliver the letters which I send you from his Holiness the Pope to our venerable brother Roger Archbishop of York, in the presence, if possible, of our brethren and fellow Bishops; and if not, in the face of all who happen to be present. Moreover, lest by any collusion the original instrument should be suppressed, deliver a transcript of it to be read by the bystanders; and open to them its intention, as the messenger will instruct you.

“My daughter, a great prize is offered for your toil; remission of sins, a fruit that perisheth not,—the crown of glory, which, in spite of all the sins of their past lives, the blessed sinners of Magdala and Egypt have received from Christ their Lord: The Lady of Mercies will attend on you, and will entreat her Son, Whom she bore for the sins of the world, God and man, to be the guide, guard, and companion of your steps. He, Who burst the bonds of death, and curbed the violence of devils, is not unable to restrain the impious hand that will be raised against you. Farewell, bride of Christ, and ever think on His presence with you.”

The Bishops were found by the messengers at Canterbury, preparing to cross the sea; and they sub-

mitted to the sentences which were thus pronounced against them, the Archbishop of York of suspension, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury of excommunication. To his very great satisfaction, the news of their having received the letters was brought to St. Thomas while he was waiting at Wytsand for a fair wind.

One day they walked down to the beach to see the ships in which they were to cross, when a vessel arrived from England. They asked the sailors what was there said about the Archbishop's return? They were told, that every one was much pleased. But Herbert was taken aside by one of them, whom he thought was the captain, who said: "Wretched people, what are you doing? Where are you going? Certainly to your death; so say all who know any thing about it, and every body expects it: and, besides, there are soldiers in the very port where you are going to land, waiting to take the Archbishop, and those who are with him." Herbert told St. Thomas what he had heard; and the Saint took the advice of his companions. Gunter of Winton, a good and simple soul, who had been very faithful to the Archbishop, recommended that they should wait until the storm caused by the suspensions passed over, saying, "If the country is moved by it now, what will it be when the king has heard of it?" Herbert's opinion was, that it was impossible to go back again into Flanders; and he said, that a death in such a cause would be a glorious martyrdom. St. Thomas briefly answered him, "Your speech seems faithful; but it is hard, and who shall fulfil it?" He then said, "Truly, Gunter, I see the land; and, by God's help,

I will enter the land, though I know for certain that my death awaits me." To a similar account, given him by Milo Dean of Boulogne, he replied, "Did you tell me I were to be torn limb from limb, I would not regard it; for I am resolved that nothing shall hinder my return. Seven years are long enough for a pastor to have been absent from the Lord's sorrowing flock. I will only ask my friends (and a *last* request *should* be attended to), that if I cannot return to my church alive, they will carry me into it dead."

On another occasion, when one of his clerics asked him what they were waiting for, and why they did not embark, he said, "Forty days will not pass after your entrance into the country, that you will not wish you were any where in the world rather than in England."

On Tuesday the 1st of December, very early in the morning, he embarked. Knowing that Dover was beset with soldiers, he ordered the vessel to be steered for Sandwich, a fief of his own,³⁷⁹ and the very port from which he had sailed on All Souls' Day, 1164. His ship could be distinguished from the others by the archiepiscopal cross, which was erected as he approached the shore. The poor people caught sight of it, and collected in great numbers: some ran into the water to receive him; others knelt for his blessing; many wept; and some cried out, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the father of the orphans, and the judge of the widows."

The retainers of the three Bishops, under the command of Randolph de Broc, Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervase de Cornhelle, the sheriff of Kent, who had been awaiting his arrival at Dover, soon

heard of his landing; and hastening to Sandwich, with scarce a salutation to the Archbishop, began to demand why, on his very first entrance, he had begun by suspending and excommunicating the king's Bishops. The Saint answered quietly, that the king would not be offended by it; for he had received his permission to punish the injury to his church, which those Bishops had committed. On hearing that the king had known of what he had done, they became a little more moderate; but they demanded the absolution of the Bishops. St. Thomas postponed the matter till he reached Canterbury; and John of Oxford protesting in the king's name against all violence, the soldiers, who had their armour on under their capes and tunics, retired. However, before they left, Reginald demanded that, if there were any foreigner among them, he should take the oath of allegiance to the king, which was exacted in the case of those who were suspected to be spies. It happened that Simon, the Archdeacon of Sens, was in the Archbishop's company; but as the oath made no mention of the Pope, and was not usually imposed upon the clergy, the Saint would not suffer it; and the sensation caused by his arrival prevented them from enforcing it.

The six miles which he had to go from Sandwich to Canterbury were passed over in a sort of triumphal procession, owing to the vast crowds, especially of the poor, who thronged the roads to welcome him. Some threw their garments in the way, crying, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." The parish priests led out their parishioners in procession to meet him, with the Cross preced-

ing them ; and they knelt for his blessing, while the air resounded with the same joyful cry. Though the distance was so short, the concourse was so great, that they were late in reaching Canterbury.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RETURN.

THE Saint entered into his cathedral city amidst every sign of rejoicing. The bells were ringing merry peals ; the cathedral was decked out ; the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, dressed themselves in their silks and gayest clothing ; a public entertainment was prepared for great numbers ; a numerous procession, with his own conventual chapter, attended him into the town ; the churches resounded with the sound of the organs, chants, and hymns, and the halls with trumpets ; and the whole place was overflowing with joy. He entered straightway into the church ; and people remarked that his face shone as he did so with an outward splendour, as his heart was on fire with a holy gladness. He went to his episcopal throne, and there received the religious to the kiss of peace. Men were crying with joy all around ; and Herbert went up to him, and said, " My lord, we do not now mind when you may have to leave the world ; for this day the Church, the spouse of Christ, has conquered in you." He made no answer, but simply looked at Herbert. In the chapter-house, he preached a beautiful sermon on the text, " We have here no abiding city, but seek one to come ;" he then entered his palace, after a day of great solemnity.

The next morning, the soldiers came, accompanied by the chaplains of the three Bishops, to ask for

absolution from the censures. "He had not come," they said, "in peace, but in fire and sword; treading his fellow-Bishops under foot, and treating them as his footstool, uncited, unheard, unjudged." They said too, "that his suffragans had gone to the sea, that they might receive him in the procession with the church of Canterbury; but that they had unexpectedly and undeservedly found themselves dressed in certain black garments, of which, if his lordship pleased, they must be ridded before they should present themselves." He answered that "the peace of sinners was no peace; for there was no true peace except to men of goodwill. Jerusalem, abounding in luxury and self-indulgence, said to herself, 'It is peace;' but the Lord in His pity wept over it, because the vengeance of God hung over it and was hidden from its eyes." With regard to their objections against the sentence, they must remember that it was passed by the Pope, and that it was not for them to call the acts of his Holiness in question. "I understand the meaning of this application: if I have not the power of absolving them, they will consider me a legate with curtailed powers; if I have the power, they will try by secular violence to extort absolution from me. I am setting no snares for them." As, however, they were very urgent for the absolution, the Saint finally promised that, after ascertaining the king's wishes, and consulting the Bishop of Winton and others of his brethren, he would consent for the sake of peace to accept their oath to obey the judgment of the Pope, and would take on himself the responsibility of doing what he could, subject, of course, to his Holiness's approbation; and that he would receive them as brothers, with Christian love.

To this proposal the Bishops objected, as unconstitutional, and derogating from the dignity of the crown ; but on its being represented to them that the Pope himself had required a similar oath from them on their former absolution, the Bishops of London and Salisbury were prepared to give way ; but the Archbishop of York persuaded them to throw themselves on the king's patronage, and excite the jealousy of the young king, as though it were the Saint's object to effect his deposition. The Archdeacons of Canterbury and Poitiers were on the point of crossing ; but the former was now left behind to repair to the new king, and, as far as possible, poison his mind against his former guardian. The Bishops crossed the Channel ; and, at their suggestion, six of the dignified clergy from each vacant see in the province were summoned to attend the king on the Continent, and go through the forms of an election before him, which, it is unnecessary to say, would be invalid and uncanonical. This scheme, of which St. Thomas had been informed by his messengers in England while he was yet abroad, was frustrated by his martyrdom.

When the Archbishop had been eight days at Canterbury, he sent Richard, the Prior of St. Martin's at Dover, who was his immediate successor in the archbishopric, to the young king, to say that he was about to come to pay his homage to him as his new sovereign. He was thus prompt because he was anxious immediately after this visit to begin his visitation of the diocese, from which he had been so long separated. He took with him three magnificent high-stepping chargers, richly caparisoned, as a present for his young lord.

The Bishop of Rochester, his old friend Walter, Archbishop Theobald's brother, met him in procession with his chapter and clergy. As he entered London, he was conducted by another procession to St. Mary's, Southwark, a church of the canons regular. The multitude of people of every class who came out to meet him was incalculable. The poor scholars and clerics of the city went out for about three miles; and when he came in sight, their *Te Deum* rent the air. The Saint, who scattered his alms freely on the way, was lodged in the palace of the Bishop of Winchester. The canons received him at the door of St. Mary's; and intoning the *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israeli*, the vast multitude took up the chant and continued the canticle. A crazy woman named Matilda, amidst the general joy, called out repeatedly, "Archbishop, beware of the knife."

The next day, Joceline of Louvaine,³⁸⁰ younger brother of Adeliza, the queen of Henry I., came to him, in the young king's name, to order him to return at once to Canterbury. The Archbishop asked if it was the king's intention to exclude him from his presence and confidence. "His commands were what I told you," Joceline replied, and left him haughtily. As he was passing out, he met a rich citizen of London whom he knew, to whom he said, "And are you come to the king's enemy? I advise you to go home quickly." He made answer, "We do not know whether you reckon him the king's enemy; but we have heard and seen the letters of the king, who is over the water, respecting the reconciliation;³⁸¹ if there is any thing more behind, we know nothing about it."

About the feast³⁸² of St. Lucy, December 13, the

Saint was at Harrow, his own manor, which Nigel de Sacville had usurped. He sent from thence to his friend Simon the Abbot of Alban's, closing his letter with the words, "that he never had needed consolation so much as then." The Abbot came to him, and was most affectionately received. After they had talked over all that the Saint had undergone abroad, the Abbot said, "By God's grace, it is all now happily ended." St. Thomas sighed; and taking the Abbot's hand under his cappa, and pressing it, he said, "My friend, my friend, I will tell you my case as to another self: things are very different with me to what men think. New persecutions are beginning. The king and his son (who is my only hope) are devising fresh injuries." The Abbot said, "How can this be, holy father?" With a deep sigh, and looking up, the Saint answered, "Well enough, well enough I know to what matters are tending." When they parted, St. Thomas bade the Abbot pray for him to his holy martyr-patron, and promised to remember him in his prayers. "I will go," he added, "and celebrate such a feast in my church as the Lord shall provide me."

A messenger came from Canterbury, to say that Randolph de Broc had laid hands on a ship of his, laden with wine, and had cut the cables, carried off the anchors, killed some of the sailors, and imprisoned the others in Pevensey Castle. The Saint immediately sent the Abbot of St. Alban's and the Prior of Dover to complain of this outrage to the young king; and, at his command, the ship was ordered to be restored.

The Archbishop was accompanied by five mounted soldiers as an escort, on account of the unsafe state of

the roads. It was reported to King Henry, that he was marching about England with a great army, besieging the towns, and intending to drive the young king out of the country.

At Wrotham, on the first evening of his return towards Canterbury, a poor priest named William, who said Mass at Chidingston, came to him, and in a private audience, which he had requested, said, "My lord, I bring you some relics of St. Laurence, St. Vincent, and St. Cecilia, as St. Laurence told me to do in a vision."

St. Thomas. "Brother, how do you know that they are the relics of those saints?"

William. "My lord, in my vision I asked St. Laurence for some sign; for I said, that otherwise you would not believe me; and St. Laurence told me that you lately put your hand to your breast, and found the hair-shirt torn which you wear next your skin; and while you were deliberating whether you should have that one repaired or a new one made, you soon put your hand in again, and found it whole."

St. Thomas. "In virtue of obedience, I command you to tell nobody, as long as I live."

William. "So be it;" and he added, "I am a poor man, and I serve in another man's church; think of me."

St. Thomas. "Come to me four days after Christmas, and I will provide for you." He then went away.

Randulph de Broc and Gervase de Cornhelle, who had privately had the names reported to them of some of those who had gone in procession to meet the Archbishop, summoned the priors and more distin-

guished citizens. They pretended that the king commanded that they should give bail to appear when called upon, to answer for having gone out to meet a traitor. The priors and ecclesiastics would not attend ; but many citizens did. They replied, that they had not seen any letters from the king, nor even from the justices ; and that they were the king's liege men, and responsible to him alone, and not to them.

The Saint must have been on his last journey towards his see on his birthday, St. Thomas's Day, when he reached his fifty-fourth year. As soon as he arrived at Canterbury, he dismissed his five soldiers. The De Broc family, in order to provoke him, hunted¹³⁸³ in a chase of his without permission, and killed a stag ; they also carried off several of his dogs and kept them. One day before Christmas, Robert de Broc, who had been a cleric, and then a white monk, and had apostatised and returned to the world, waylaid a train of the Archbishop's pack-horses, and set a nephew of his, John de Broc, to cut off the tail of one of them, on the king's highway. The poor mutilated beast was brought for the Archbishop to see.

All along the road which he had travelled, miracles were wrought after his martyrdom, more particularly in the places where he had stopped to give confirmation to children, to mark which spots crosses were erected. The most famous was at Newington.

The three Bishops who had crossed the sea found the king at his palace, called Bur, near Bayeux. When counsel was asked of them, Roger of York said, " Ask your barons and soldiers ; it is not for us to say what ought to be done." At last some one said, " My lord,

as long as Thomas lives, you will not have good days, nor peaceful kingdom, nor quiet times." The Bishops complaining that it was a shame to the king and his realm, that they should be so suspended from their offices that they were hardly allowed to bless their food; and declaring, that if the king did not put a stop to the Archbishop's presumption, it would grow much worse; Henry fell into one of his terrible fits of rage, so that he was scarcely conscious of what he said. He repeated again and again, "What slothful wretches I have brought up in my kingdom, who have no more loyalty to their king than to suffer him to be so disgracefully mocked by this low-born cleric!" saying which, he left the council-chamber.

Four knights immediately departed together. Their names were, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, or the Breton. After swearing to carry out the end of their conspiracy, they separated; and it was remarked, that though they left different ports of France, and entered England at different places, they arrived at the same hour at Saltwood Castle. The king, after their departure, summoned the barons into his chamber, to complain that the Archbishop had entered his country like an invader; that he had suspended the Archbishop of York and the Bishops, and excommunicated others, for their services to himself; that he had disturbed the whole kingdom, and intended to deprive him and his son of their crowns; and that he had obtained from the Pope a privilege giving him and the Bishops the disposal of benefices, without regarding the advowsons of the earls or barons, or even of the king. The Earl of Leicester was the first to speak: "My lord, the

Archbishop and the Earl, my father, were intimate friends; but be assured that, from the time he took himself out of your kingdom and favour, he has not seen a messenger from me, nor I from him." Engelgere de Bohun, the uncle of the Bishop of Salisbury, and himself excommunicate, said, "I do not know what you can do with such a man, except you bind him with a wicker rope, and hang him on a cross." William Malvoisin, nephew of Eudo Earl of Brittany, was the third speaker: "Some time ago," he said, "I was at Rome, on my return from Jerusalem. On questioning my host concerning the Popes, I learnt that a Pope had once been killed for his intolerable haughtiness and insolence."

As soon as this debate was ended, the king sent William Earl of Mandeville, Seiers de Quincy, and Richard de Humet, in search of the four who had left. The report was, that they were to seize the Archbishop. Earl William and Seiers went as far as the coast, but did not cross. Richard went to another port and crossed. The young king was at Winton. Richard sent to Hugh de Gundeville and William Fitz-John, his guardians, to come without his knowledge to Canterbury, with the troops of the royal household. He himself lay in wait on the coast, that the Archbishop might be taken, if he attempted to fly; and William and Seiers did the same on the other side of the Channel.

The four knights reached Saltwood on Monday the 28th. We must therefore now return to St. Thomas, whom we have accompanied to Canterbury. On Christmas night he sang the Gospel of the Nativity after matins, according to the rite still in use

in the Benedictine Order; and he celebrated the midnight Mass himself. He also sang the High Mass on the festival, and before it he preached a beautiful sermon on the text which so much occupied his thoughts: "On earth peace to men of good will." When he came to speak of the holy Fathers of the church of Canterbury, the confessors who were there, he said that they had one Archbishop who was a martyr, St. Elphege; and that "it was possible that they might soon have another." The tears burst from his eyes, and his sobs interrupted his words. All in the church were deeply moved; sobs and groans of sorrow were heard, and amongst them a low murmur, "Father, why do you desert us so soon? To whom do you leave us desolate?" Checking his tears, the Saint in a loud clear voice excommunicated Robert de Broc, whom he had summoned by a messenger to do penance; but the contumacious sinner had sent for answer, by a soldier named David de Ruminel, that if he were excommunicate, he would act as such. He involved in the same sentence the usurpers of his two churches, Harrow and Thierlewd.

Christmas Day in that year fell upon Friday; and St. Thomas, proceeding from the church to the refectory, thought it more religious to eat meat than to abstain, in honour of the joy of Christmas, for which alone the Church suspends the precept of abstinence. On both the following feasts of St. Stephen and St. John the Saint sang Mass. On the former day he sent off three of his attendants, Herbert de Bosham, Alexander "the Welshman," as they called him, his cross-bearer, and Gilbert de Glanville, who had not been very long in his service. Herbert was sent to

the King of France, the Archbishop of Sens, and others of the Saint's friends. He left at night through fear of treachery, with many tears; his own conviction being confirmed by the Saint's words, that he, who had borne so much with his master, would never see that master's face again upon earth. The others were the bearers of a letter³⁸⁴ to the Pope, the last its writer ever sent to the Holy See, of which he had been the unflinching champion. In it he told the Pope of all that had lately taken place; and he added, that a plan was in progress, of which he had had some notice from his messengers before he returned to England; that six dignitaries of each vacant church had been summoned before the king to go through the form of election of their Bishops, whom he would be obliged to refuse to consecrate; and thus a pretext would evidently be furnished for rekindling animosities. The concluding words of the letter were, "May your Holiness fare well for ever, dearest father!" Two other messengers also left him, Richard his chaplain, and John Planeta, who had been with him at Northampton, with instructions to the Bishop of Norwich to absolve the priests on the domains of Earl Hugh Bigod, who had incurred the lesser excommunication by their intercourse with excommunicated persons. They were to take oath to send, within a year, two of their number to the Pope, in their name, to accept their penance from his Holiness.

The Saint did not forget the poor priest William, who had come to him at Wrotham. He sent William Beivin, who knew him, in search of him, to see whether he was arrived at Canterbury. As he was not found, the Saint gave to William Beivin, to be given

to the priest, a deed, conferring upon him the chapel of Penshurst, to which he had added an excommunication to any one who should dare to hinder its fulfilment. In virtue of this deed, the priest received the benefice after the martyrdom; the young king saying, when he heard of the miracle, that he would not incur the Saint's excommunication.

On this Sunday, St. John's day, St. Thomas received a letter from a friend of his among the courtiers, warning him of his coming fate.

The soldiers of the castles round Canterbury, Dover, Rochester, Saltwood, and Blechinglee, were on the alert, and the castles put into a state of defence; perhaps to prevent any vengeance being taken by the people for what was now about to happen. It was on the 28th of December that the four conspirators reached Saltwood, where they would learn from their host that Robert de Broc, the apostate monk, had been solemnly excommunicated on Christmas Day. They spent the long winter night in concerting their scheme; and early in the morning of the next most memorable day, which after ages were to know as the Feast of the Holy Martyr St. Thomas, they set out with the De Brocs for Canterbury. They went to St. Augustine's Abbey, outside the walls, the intruded abbot of which, Clarembald,³⁸⁵ who had been a constant enemy of the Saint's ever since his refusal to bless him in his abbacy, received them. They remained there all the morning. They had sent, at an early hour, to collect as many soldiers as they could from the castles and the neighbourhood. With about a dozen men-at-arms, they rode from St. Augustine's to the Archbishop's palace; others being dispersed.

about the town, with orders, in the name of the king, to summon all the soldiers they might find, and to command every one else not to stir from their houses nor to move, happen what might. Their place of rendezvous was the house of one Gilbert, not far from the gate of the palace, where they ultimately assembled.

A soldier, who was sworn to the conspiracy, told Richard, one of the cellarers or bursars of the monastery, that the Saint would not see Tuesday night. Richard repeated what he had heard to St. Thomas, who smiled and said, "They are threats." Reginald, a citizen of Canterbury, also told him that the murderers had landed and were making their preparations. The Saint shed tears, and said, "They will find me ready to die; let them do what they like. I know, my son, and am certain that I shall die a violent death; but they will not kill me outside my church."

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when the four conspirators, with their small troop of soldiers, reached the palace. Before another hour and a half had elapsed, the soul of St. Thomas of Canterbury was safe in heaven,

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BIRTHDAY.

THE Saint had spent his last morning well. His matins³⁸⁶ he had recited at midnight in his room, with several of his clerics and of the monks; and when the divine office was over, he opened a window, and stood for a long time silently looking out into the night. At length he suddenly turned to his companions, and asked what o'clock it was, and whether it would be possible to reach Sandwich before day-break. They replied, that it was yet very early, and that there was time to go a great deal further than that, which was but seven miles. On this, they heard him say to himself, "God's will be done in me: Thomas will wait, for whatever God has in store for him, in the church over which he presides."

He had assisted at Mass in the cathedral; and he had remained several hours in the chapter-house, in close spiritual conference with two of the monks, who were remarkable for their piety. He went to confession; and his great contrition, and his obedience in the fulfilment of his penance, was deemed worthy of record. Three times on that day he received the discipline: his foreknowledge of his martyrdom probably leading him to anticipate the amount of mortification of this severe kind which he was accustomed to inflict upon himself every day. He dined at three o'clock in the afternoon; and doubtless there was that

day a double tenderness in his large clear eye as it roamed over the hall to see what was needed, whether by his clerics on one side of him, or his monks on the other. Amongst these were John of Salisbury, and William Fitz-Stephen ; and probably with them the visitor Edward Grim, a cleric of Cambridge. With the monks were Benedict, afterwards Abbot of Peterborough, and Gervase the historian. Doubtless his confessor and early instructor, Robert, the Prior of Merton, had an honourable place. His dinner consisted of a pheasant : and one of the monks said to him, " Thank God, I see you dine more heartily and cheerfully to-day than usual." His answer was, " A man must be cheerful who is going to his Master."

When dinner was over, and the grace chanted, the Saint retired to his private room to hold his usual conference with his friends ; for evidently he had resumed all the routine of his life, as he used to practise it at Canterbury, before his exile. He sat upon the bed, and his clerics and some of the monks were on either side of him. The crowd of persons, principally the poor, who had as usual dined with him, were still waiting about in the courtyard. Those who had served at the Archbishop's dinner were themselves dining, when the four knights, followed by one attendant, Randulf, an archer, entered by the open and hospitable doors. William Fitz-Nigel, the Archbishop's seneschal, who was about to leave his service, and in the end acted a very unfaithful part, met and recognised them, and showed them the way to the room in which the Archbishop was. As they passed through the hall, the servers invited them to dine ; but they declined. Fitz-Nigel, entering the Arch-

bishop's room, told him that four of the king's household knights were without, wishing to speak with him. "Let them come in," was the answer of the Saint, who continued his conversation with the monk he was talking to, without looking towards them. As they entered, those who were nearest to the door saluted them as usual; and they returned the salutation in a low tone of voice. They went close up to the Archbishop, and seated themselves on the floor at his feet, without offering him any salutation, either in their own or the king's name. Randolph, the archer, sat on the floor behind them.

After a pause, which drew the attention of all, the Saint quietly saluted them, calling William de Tracy alone by his name. They took no notice of the salutation, but looked at one another in silence; until at length Fitz-Urse contemptuously said, "God help you." The colour rose in the Saint's face; and Fitz-Urse continued, while his companions still held silence, the play of their countenances showing what was passing in their minds, "We are come to you with the commands of the king over the water; say whether you will receive them in private, or in the hearing of all?" "As you wish," said the Archbishop. "No; as you wish," rejoined Fitz-Urse. The Saint ordered all to leave the room, at Fitz-Urse's ultimate request. The door-keeper ran up, and opened the door, so that those who were in the next room could see both the Archbishop and the knights. As soon as Fitz-Urse had begun to speak of the absolution of the Bishops, the Saint said, "These are not things to be kept secret;" and, not wishing to place himself in their power, called the doorkeeper, and ordered him to

send in the clerics and monks, but not to admit any lay persons. The knights afterwards confessed, that while they were in the room with him alone, they had thought of killing him with his archiepiscopal cross, which stood by, as there was no other weapon at hand. When his friends re-entered the room, the Saint said to the knights, "Now you may tell your lord's will, in their presence." Reginald Fitz-Urse answered, "As you have chosen to make these things public, instead of private, we can satisfy you, and tell these people. My lord the king says, that he made peace with you in all cordiality ; but that you have not kept it. He has heard that you have gone through his cities with bands of armed men ; and you have excommunicated the Archbishop of York, and the other Bishops, for crowning the young king. You must go to Winton, and do your duty to your lord and king." "And what am I to do?" said the Saint. "You ought to know better than we," was the answer. "If I knew, I would not say I did not know ; but I believe that I have done my duty towards him." "By no means," retorted Reginald ; "there is much to do, much to mend. The king's commands are, that you go to the young king, and take the oath of fealty, and swear to make amends for your treason." The Saint said, "What am I to swear fealty for? And what is my treason?" Neglecting the latter question, Fitz-Urse answered the former. "The oath of fealty is for the barony which you hold of the king ; and all your foreign priests, too, must take the same oath of allegiance." St. Thomas answered, "For my barony I will do my duty ; but know that neither I nor my clerics will swear any more oaths. There are enough

perjured and censured already. But, thank God, I have already absolved many, and I hope, by God's help, to free the rest." Reginald replied, "We see that you will not do any thing we propose. The king further orders you to absolve the Bishops." "I did not suspend nor excommunicate them," said the Saint; "but it was done by the Pope. You must go to him." "But," said Reginald, "whether you did it or no, it was done through you." St. Thomas answered, "I confess I was not sorry that the Pope punished the offence against my church. As to my suffragans of London and Salisbury, I have already sent them word that I would absolve them, on their oath to observe the judgment of the Church; but they have refused. The same I am now ready to do. All that was done, was under the king's permission, which he gave me on the day of our reconciliation. I was on my way to the young king when I received his orders to return, for which I was sorry. So far from wishing to uncrown him, I would gladly give him three crowns, and broad realms."

Fitz-Urse became still more insulting. "What is that you say? It is an unexampled and unheard-of treachery, if the king has given any leave to suspend the Bishops, who were only present at the coronation at his own command. It never came into his mind. Yours is an awful crime, in feigning such treachery of our lord the king." "Reginald, Reginald," said the Archbishop, "I do not accuse the king of treachery. Our reconciliation was not so secretly done; for Archbishops and Bishops, many men of rank, and many religious, and more than five hundred knights were there, and heard it; and you yourself, Sir Regi-

nald, were there." "I was not there," he said; "I neither saw nor heard it." The Saint answered in a quiet tone of voice, "God knows it; for I am certain that I saw you there." He swore he was not there; and repeated that it was indeed a strange and unheard-of thing for him to accuse the king of treachery. "This cannot be borne any longer; and we, the king's liegemen, will not bear it any more." The other knights then broke silence for the first time, swearing again and again, by God's wounds, that they had borne with him far too long already.

John of Salisbury said, "My lord, speak in private about this." "There is no use," said the Archbishop: "they propose and demand things that I neither can nor ought to do."

Fitz-Urse. "From whom do you hold your archbishopric?"

St. Thomas. "Its spiritualities from God and my lord the Pope, its temporalities and possessions from the king."

Fitz-Urse. "Do you not acknowledge that you have it all from the king?"

St. Thomas. "By no means; but we must give what is the king's to the king, and what is God's to God." This made them the more angry. St. Thomas continued: "Since I have landed under the king's safe-conduct, I have suffered many threats, insults, and losses. For instance, my men have been made prisoners, and their property taken from them: Robert de Broc has mutilated one of my horses, and Randolph de Broc has violently detained my wine, which the king himself sent to England through his continental dominions. And now you come to

threaten me. I must say I think it very hard." Hugh de Morville said, "If the king's men have injured you or yours, why did you not tell the king, and not excommunicate them on your own authority?"

St. Thomas. "Hugh, how you hold up your head! If any one injures the rights of the Church and refuses to make satisfaction, I shall wait for no one's leave to do justice."

Fitz-Urse. "These threats are too much." Another shouted, "Threats, threats; will he put the whole land under an interdict, and excommunicate us all?" And another followed: "God be propitious to me, he shall not do it; he has excommunicated too many already." They leapt up, twisted their gloves, flung their arms about in a state of the wildest excitement, and altogether behaved like madmen. One rushed up to him and said, "We warn you, that you have spoken to the peril of your life." Reginald said, "Thomas, in the king's name, I distrust you." The Saint answered, "I know that you have come to kill me; but I make God my shield. You threaten me in vain. If all the swords in England were pointed against my head, your terrors could not move me from the observance of God's justice, and the obedience of our lord the Pope. Foot to foot you will find me in the battle of the Lord. Once I went away like a timid priest: I have come back by the advice and command of the Pope; I will never leave again. If I may fulfil my priestly office in peace, it is well for me: if I may not, God's will be done. Besides this, you know what there is between me and you; so I am the more astonished that you should threaten the Archbishop in his own house." He said this to

remind Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, and Hugh de Morville, that they had sworn fealty to him on their knees when he was chancellor. They shouted out, "There is nothing between us against the king." Reginald Fitz-Urse added, "We can well threaten the Archbishop, we can do more: let us go."

A great number of persons had now collected besides the ecclesiastics, especially some of the soldiers of the Archbishop's household, attracted by the loudness of the voices. Reginald turned to them and said, "We enjoin you in the king's name, whose liegemen and subjects you are, to leave this man." Finding that they did not move, he said, "We command you to keep him in safe custody, and produce him again when the king shall please." "I am easy to keep," said the Saint; "I shall not go away. I will not fly for the king, nor for any living man." He followed them to the door, saying, as he placed his hand upon his head, the very place where he afterwards received his death-wound, "Here, here, you will find me." He called to Hugh de Morville, who was the gentlest of the party, to come back, that he wanted to speak to him; but he would not listen. As they went out, they seized on the seneschal, William Fitz-Nigel, saying, "Come with us." Fitz-Nigel called out to the Archbishop, "Do you see, my lord, what they are doing to me?" He answered, "I see: this is their strength, and the power of darkness." The Saint then followed them a few steps from the room, asking them quietly to let Fitz-Nigel go, but without effect. They also seized, as they went, on another soldier of the Archbishop's, called Ralph Morin. They passed through the hall and the court to the house of Gilbert, where

their followers were, calling out loudly, with violent and threatening gesticulations, "Arms, men, arms!" Some of their soldiers had removed the Archbishop's porter from the great door, and placed one of their own men there, so that when they came pouring out, shouting, "The king's soldiers, the king's, the king's!" the great door was opened for them, and immediately afterwards it was shut. The wicket was left open, and William Fitz-Nigel, and Simon de Crioil, a soldier of Clarembald, the Abbot of St. Augustine's, kept guard on horseback in the court.

The Saint, on failing in his attempt to recall Hugh de Morville, returned to his room, and sat down again on the bed. John of Salisbury said to him, "My lord, it is a wonderful thing that you will take no one's counsel. What need was there for a man of your station to make them more angry by rising and following them to the door?"

St. Thomas. "What would you have me do, Dan John?"

John of Salisbury. "You ought to have called your council, and given them a milder answer. They only try to make you angry, to take you in your speech; for they seek nothing but your death."

St. Thomas. "Counsel is already taken. I know well enough what I ought to do."

John of Salisbury. "By God's blessing, I hope it is a good counsel."

St. Thomas. "We must all die, and the fear of death must not turn us from justice; I am more ready to die for God and justice, and the liberty of God's Church, than they are to inflict it on me."

John of Salisbury. "We are sinners, and not

ready for death; and I see no one who purposely wishes to die but you."

St. Thomas. "God's will be done."

Some said, that there was nothing to fear, that it was Christmas and they were drunk, and would have behaved differently if they had not dined: "besides, the king has made his peace with us." Others, however, thought that they would surely fulfil their threat. Some people rushed in, saying, "My lord, my lord, they are arming." He answered, "What matter? Let them arm." They could also hear the sound of wailing in the church, from a number of persons who had heard the proclamation to the soldiers to arm and hasten to the palace. The domestics ran down the stairs and across the hall towards the church, to get out of the way of the soldiers. The panic of most of them was complete, when they heard the noise of the crashing of a door and window in a passage which led from the orchard to one of the outer rooms. "My lord, go into the church," said the monks. "No," he replied, "do not fear; monks are too timid and cowardly." Some tried to drag him there. Others said that Vespers were being sung in choir, and he should go and assist at them. When he had moved a few steps, he stopped, because he saw that his cross was not borne before him as usual: and Henry of Auxerre then supplied the place of his absent cross-bearer. He made them all precede him; and once he looked round to the right, either to see whether the soldiers were following, or whether any one had been left behind. They could not go the usual way to the church, so they turned down a passage which had long been closed. One of the monks ran on

before to try and force the door open, of which they had not got the key, when the two cellarers or bur-sars of the monastery, Richard and William, came up through the monks' cloister, into which the passage led, and tore off the bolt, and so opened the door. So unexpected an interference seemed quite like a miracle. The door was shut behind them, which the Saint did not much like. Twice he paused in the cloister, and once in the chapter-house, trying to compose his companions and overcome their panic.

When the monks in the choir heard the armed men, and saw two terrified boys who rushed in among them, they were thrown into confusion. Some continued in prayer, while others fled to the door by which the Archbishop was entering. Not knowing what might have happened, they were overjoyed to see him; and said, "Come in, father, come in, that we may suffer together and be glorified together. Console us by your presence." He answered, "Go on with the divine office." As they still remained about the door, he said, "As long as you keep in the entrance, I will not enter." They gave way, and the people who were crowding forward being pushed back, he said³⁸⁷ on the threshold, "What are these people afraid of?" They answered, "Armed men in the cloister." He replied, "I will go out to them." As he looked round, they begged him to go into the church and up to the sanctuary, that he might be defended by the sanctity of the place. This he refused to do. Some of the monks brought an iron bar to fasten the door. He said, "Go away, cowards; let the blind wretches rage: I order you, in virtue of obedience, not to shut the door; a church ought not to be

fortified like a castle." The monks, however, drew him in, and tried to fasten it. He immediately went to the door, saying, "Let my own people in;" and moving away those who were close to it, he opened it, and drawing in with his own hands those who were outside, he said, "Come in, come in quickly." He was now urged away by those around him; the door was, however, left open, opposing no barrier to the entrance of the soldiers, who were close at hand.

When the knights had first entered the Archbishop's room, they had on their capes and tunics over their coats-of-mail. These they took off under a large mulberry-tree in the garden, and put on their swords. Fitz-Urse armed himself in the porch before the hall, making Robert Tibia, the Archbishop's shield-bearer, help him. Osbert and Algar, and others of the Archbishop's servants, seeing the soldiers making these preparations, shut the hall-doors, and fastened them securely. The knights were not able to force them open; but Robert de Broc, who had become familiar with the place during its usurpation by Randolph, called out, "Follow me; I will take you in another way." He led them through the orchard, and tried to go straight by that entrance to the Archbishop's room. Not succeeding in this, he led them through the ambulatory, the wooden steps of which were under repair, that he might open the hall-door. The carpenters' tools were lying about, and Fitz-Urse seized an axe and the others hatchets. Breaking a door and a window, they got into the hall, and after severely wounding the servants who had closed the doors, they re-opened them. They then rushed over the palace, and not finding the Archbishop in his room, they fol-

lowed him rapidly through the cloister to the church. Fitz-Urse entered on the right hand, the other three on the left; they all had their swords drawn, while in their left hands they held the carpenters' tools they had picked up. They were so covered with their armour, their vizors being down, that nothing was visible of their persons but their eyes. Fitz-Urse shouted out, "This way to me, king's men!" They were followed by a number of their soldiers with weapons, though not in armour, and some of the townsmen of Canterbury, whom they had forced to join them.

It was about five o'clock on an evening in midwinter, and almost dark. If the Saint had chosen, he could have easily concealed himself, and so have escaped his death. But he had already said that the time for flight was past; so that he did not avail himself of the neighbouring crypt, nor of the hiding-places in the very accessible roof. John of Salisbury and the other clerics fled away, and hid themselves behind the altars, and wherever they could find refuge, leaving him with only three, Robert the Prior of Merton, William Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim. A little later the first two followed the others, leaving Grim alone with him. Whether this faithful cleric carried his cross at this time is not recorded, but the tradition, especially in pictures of the event, is so uniform, that it is not improbable that he took it from Henry of Auxerre, when the panic seized him.

The three who remained with him urged him up the steps which led from the transept towards the choir. The Saint said to them, "Leave hold of me, and go away; there is nothing for you to do here; let

God dispose of me according to His will." On the entrance of the soldiers into the church, one of them called to the monks who were with him, "Do not move." Another cried out, "Where is Thomas, the traitor to the king?" To this no answer was returned. Fitz-Urse said to one against whom he had run, "Where is the Archbishop?" The Saint instantly answered, having first made a slight motion of his head to the monks, "Here I am; no traitor, but the Archbishop." He came down the steps which he had ascended, and turned to the right, under the column by which he had been hidden from the knights on their first entrance. The altar of our Blessed Lady was thus on his right, and that of St. Benedict before him. Some one struck him on the shoulders with the flat of his sword, saying, "Fly, or you are a dead man." He answered, "I will not fly." The four knights now came up, with Hugh of Horsea, a subdeacon, named Mauclerc, calling out, "Absolve the Bishops immediately, whom you have excommunicated." He said, "I will do nothing more than I have already said and done."

The Saint then turned to Fitz-Urse,³⁸⁸ "Reginald, Reginald, I have done you many favours; do you come against me in arms?" "You shall know it," he said; and added, "Are you not a traitor?" The Saint replied, "I do not fear your threats, for I am prepared to die for God; but let my people go, and do not touch them." Fitz-Urse laid hold of his robe, knocking off his cap with his sword, saying, "Come, you are my prisoner." The Saint answered, "Do with me *here* what you will;" and he pulled the border of his cappa from his hand. They then tried

to put him on William de Tracy's shoulders, and carry him out of the church; but he stood firmly in his place, and Edward Grim assisted him. One of his assailants, probably Fitz-Urse, he laid hold of by his coat-of-mail, and nearly threw him down on the pavement, calling him by a name³⁸⁹ which reproached him for the immorality of his life, and adding, "You shall not touch me, Reginald; you are my man, and owe me fealty and submission." Fitz-Urse answered, "I owe you neither fealty nor homage, contrary to my fealty to the king."

Fitz-Urse, seeing that they could not drag him away, and beginning to be afraid of the interference of the people, who were assembled in the church for Vespers, flung down the two-edged axe which he had brought to force the door, and which was found there after the martyrdom, and waved his sword, crying out, "Strike, strike." When the Saint saw that the blow was coming, he joined his hands and covered his eyes with them, and bowing his head, said, "I commend myself to God, to holy Mary, to blessed Denys, and St. Elphege." The first severe blow was a slanting one. Grim attempted to ward it off, and received so grievous a wound that his arm was nearly severed. The blow nevertheless fell upon the Saint, and wounded that part of his head where the sacred unction had been poured at his consecration, which was marked by his tonsure. It then glanced upon the left shoulder, and cut through the vestments to the flesh. We know that this stroke was inflicted by William de Tracy, for he afterwards boasted at Saltwood that he had cut off John of Salisbury's arm; either the dim light or the excitement of the moment

having caused him to mistake the person whom he had wounded. Grim fled to the nearest altar, our Lady's or St. Benedict's, where several of the monks had also taken refuge.

The Saint wiped the blood that was falling from his head with his arm ; and when he saw it, he gave thanks to God, saying, " Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." The second blow, probably given by Fitz-Urse, made him fall first on his knees, and then on his face. His hands were still joined, and his cappa covering him down to his feet, he looked as if he were prostrate in prayer. He was lying towards the north,⁸⁹⁰ having fallen to the right hand, before the altar of St. Benedict. He breathed his last words in a low voice, but so as to be overheard by the wounded Grim, who alone records them. They were, " For the Name of JESUS, and the defence of the Church, I am ready to die." The third blow fearfully increased the wound made by the first. The fourth was dealt by Richard de Brito, who struck with such force that the sword was shivered on the pavement, saying, " Take that for the love of my lord William, the king's brother." This was an allusion to an incestuous marriage between William and the Countess of Warenne, which St. Thomas had prevented. Hugh of Horsea, the subdeacon, placed his foot on the Martyr's neck, and with the point of his sword drew the brains from the wound and scattered them on the pavement ; for De Brito's blow had so separated the crown of the head from the skull, that it was attached only by the skin of the forehead. Hugh de Morville contented himself with keeping back the people, and was the only one of the four

who did not strike the Martyr. Hugh le Mauclerc shouted out, "Let us go; the traitor is dead; he will rise no more." They all rushed from the church by the way by which they had entered, shouting the fatal watch-word to which the deed had been perpetrated, "The king's men, the king's men!"

CHAPTER XXXII.

ABSOLUTION.

WILLIAM DE TRACY afterwards confessed to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter,³⁹¹ that his heart failed him when all was over, and he dreaded lest the earth should open and swallow him up. They allowed themselves no time for reflection or remorse. Robert de Broc had not come into the church, but with some others had gone to the Archbishop's room to guard the effects. As the knights rushed away, they inflicted a severe wound on a French servant of the Archdeacon of Sens, for lamenting the Martyr. They then joined Robert de Broc, and broke open the Saint's chests and desks; the gold and silver as well as the books which they found, they took away. There was the gold chalice³⁹² with which the Saint said Mass, and Garnier records, a knife that was "worth a city's ransom," and his ring with a sapphire in it of singular beauty. All the documents, bulls of Popes, charters and privileges, and other papers, Randolph de Broc took possession of, to send to the king in Normandy. The soldiers roamed all over the palace, taking every thing of value, even precious stuffs which were intended for vestments for the church. They did not spare the rooms of the clerics, and they took from the stables the Archbishop's horses. All this spoil, which Fitz-Stephens estimated at two thousand marks, they divided amongst themselves. They found, to their

astonishment, amongst the Saint's things, two hair-shirts, which they threw away.

As soon as the report of what had happened got abroad, people flocked in. Their grief and horror at the double sacrilege was general,—we should have said universal, if Grim had not heard one, an ecclesiastic like himself, say that he was not a martyr, for he had died through his obstinacy. When the multitude of people had left the cathedral, the monks locked the doors. The holy body lay for some time deserted, when Osbert, his chamberlain, came, and cutting off a portion of his surplice, he placed it over the head. When it was known that the murderers were gone, the clerics and monks, with the servants and a number of the townspeople, surrounded the relics. The silence was broken, and the sobs and lamentations were the louder for the restraint that fear had hitherto placed upon them. They³⁹³ called him “St. Thomas;” and there was not one among them who was not marked with his blood, for they dipped their fingers in it, and under his invocation signed with it their foreheads and their eyes. They raised the body and placed it on a bier, to carry to the high altar. Beneath it they placed a vessel to receive the blood, which was still running from the wound. All were struck with the beauty of the face;³⁹⁴ the eyes and mouth were closed, the colour was fresh, and it appeared as if he were asleep. The blood had formed a sort of crown round his head, but the face was clear, save only a light graceful line which passed from the right temple across the nose to the left cheek. They covered the wound with a white linen cloth, and the cap was fastened on. Beneath the body, an iron

hammer and the axe were found. The people, in the confusion, made the best use of their liberty by filling little vessels with the blood, and tearing off pieces of their clothing and dipping them in it. No one was content who had not secured a portion of it. After a short time, one of the monks who was a goldsmith, named Arnald, went to the spot of the martyrdom with some others, and collected into a vessel all the brain and blood which were on the pavement; and to prevent any one from treading on the place, they brought some movable benches and put them all round. Vigil was kept all night, the monks saying in silence the commendation of the soul. Robert, the Prior of Merton, who, as his confessor, knew his austerities, showed the monks, who had no suspicion of any thing of the kind, how he was vested. He put his hand into the Martyr's bosom, and pointed out that his cappa, as a canon regular, covered his cowl as a monk, and that under this was his hair-shirt. The sight turned their sorrow into spiritual joy; they knelt down, kissed his hands and feet, and called him "St. Thomas, God's holy and glorious Martyr." Thus the morning found them, watching around the precious relics before the high altar. The night had set in dark and stormy, but later on a red light filled the sky.

The next morning, Robert de Broc was sent by Randolph with a message to the monks: "He died the death of a traitor, and the earth is rid of him; but he deserves no better treatment dead than alive. Put his body somewhere where it may not be known, or I will come and drag him out by the feet, and fling him piecemeal to the swine and dogs." The monks

hurriedly closed the doors, and carried the precious treasure into the crypt; and both on account of the haste which was necessary lest some further violence should be used, and out of reverence to the Martyr's blood with which the body was bathed, they refrained from washing it and anointing it with balsams, as was usually done to the Archbishops of Canterbury. Such was also the counsel of the Abbot of Boxley and the Prior of Dover, whom St. Thomas had summoned to advise him in the choice of one of the monks for the vacant office of prior of his monastery. They prepared, however, to bury him in his archiepiscopal vestments, and for this purpose they took off his black cappa with its white lambswool, and his fine linen surplice, which, enriched with the stains of his blood, were given to the poor. They were sold for a trifle, and came into the possession of William de Brunis,³⁹⁵ a worthy priest who lived in the neighbourhood of Canterbury. Under these came two other lambswool pelisses, which were also parted with; and Garnier speaks of them as reverently preserved as relics. Then came the Cistercian cowl that the Pope had blessed, with its sleeves cut short, that it might not be observed. When the bystanders saw the habit, they exclaimed, "See, see, he was a true monk, and we did not know it."

They buried him in the cowl, as well as in his hair-shirt, which, to their astonishment, extended down to the knees. This was covered with linen, and so made that it could be readily undone, to enable him to receive the discipline. The stripes³⁹⁶ which he had received on the morning of his martyrdom were clearly visible. This hair-shirt was alive with

vermin, the torment of which must have made his life a martyrdom. In the breast of the hair-shirt was the letter he had received on Sunday, warning him of his coming fate. He was vested in the vestments in which he had been consecrated; a simple superhumeral or amice, the alb, chrismatic,³⁹⁷ mitre, stole, and manipule: all these he had preserved for this purpose; he had also the tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, the pall with its pins, gloves, ring, sandals, and pastoral staff. The chalice as usual was placed with him in a new marble coffin in the crypt, before the two altars of St. John the Baptist and St. Augustine, the Apostle of England. The doors³⁹⁸ were then securely fastened, and the vessel containing the blood and brain was placed outside. The crypt remained closed until the Easter following. If any one was admitted, it was secretly done: but the miracles becoming exceedingly frequent, as a subsequent chapter will show, and their fame very widely spread, so that the memorable places were much visited, the crypt was thrown open at the urgent petition of the people, on the 2d of April, being the Friday in Easter week. Miracles followed in still greater numbers, and the report of them aroused anew all the hatred of the De Broc family. One day news was brought to the monks, that that night they were to be forcibly deprived of the treasure that they had learnt to prize so highly, the body of their great Martyr. They therefore moved it from the marble coffin into one of wood, which they hid behind the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and they watched all night in the church. Like the night after the martyrdom, there was a violent thunderstorm. The next day two more miracles took place, one of them at the altar of

the Blessed Virgin, where the Saint's body had been placed during the night ; so the monks, taking courage, restored the relics to the crypt, and built around the marble coffin the walls which still remain, most solidly constructed of large wrought stones, united with iron clamps and lead. There was a space of about a foot between the top of the coffin and the roof of this structure, and they left two openings or windows, through which the devout pilgrim might touch and kiss the coffin itself.

In consequence of the violation of the church, no Mass was said ; and the cathedral remained³⁹⁹ in its widowhood and mourning for a year all but ten days, till the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1171. The divine office was recited by the monks without chanting, in the chapter-house ; the altars were stripped, and the crucifixes veiled, as in Passion-tide. The power which had been conferred by the Pope upon the Cardinals Theodwine and Albert, of reconciling the cathedral, was by them transferred to the Bishops of Exeter and Lichfield, at the request of Odo, the new Prior.

When the account of the martyrdom reached the young king at Winton, he threw up his hands and his eyes to heaven, expressing his thanks to God that he had known nothing of it, and that none of his followers had been there. Doubtless his grief was sincere, for he had a true affection for his old guardian ; and whatever there had lately been that seemed unkind in his conduct, was done under the direction of his father and his counsellors.

King Henry had gone from Bur, where the words were spoken which caused the martyrdom, to Argenton

in Normandy. When he heard what had happened, he remained there for forty days in penance, on fasting diet, remaining solitary, and saying again and again, "O that it should have happened! O that it should have happened!" During this time he did not ride out, nor hear causes, nor summon councils, nor conduct any of the affairs of government. He sent messengers to Canterbury as well as to the Pope. The former were to say that he had given the knights no such commission, and that the body was to be properly buried; for though he had been opposed to him when alive, he did not persecute him now that he was dead, and that he forgave his soul the injuries he had committed against him. It is impossible to avoid one conclusion, that although it would probably be unjust to attribute the martyrdom to the will of King Henry II., or to consider as insincere his sorrow for it, as an act disgraceful to himself, and going further in severity than he would have gone; yet evidently he had no contrition whatever for the course he had pursued in the life of the Saint, nor any greater regard than before for the rights of the Church. In this sense, with the sole exception of the verbal retraction of the Constitutions of Clarendon at his absolution, the blood of St. Thomas was shed in vain.

John Cumin⁴⁰⁰ was at the court of the Pope when the intelligence arrived. He had come to try to obtain the absolution of the Bishops; and though, on his first arrival, it had cost him five hundred marks and hard entreaty to obtain an audience, yet he had nearly succeeded when the sad news came. Alexander Llewellyn and Gunter, who had left the Saint so shortly before his death, were the bearers of his

last letter. The report of the martyrdom reached them on their journey; and to their despatches to the Pope were added the strongest denunciations from the Archbishop of Sens⁴⁰¹ against the guilty Bishops, and against the king as the virtual murderer. Similar letters were written by King Louis⁴⁰² and other personages. The Holy Father on receiving the news shut himself up in grief, not allowing even his own suite to see him for eight days, and a general order was issued, that no Englishman should be admitted into his presence.

It was fully expected that on Maundy Thursday the Pope would excommunicate the king, and lay the realm under an interdict. On the Saturday before Palm Sunday, King Henry's messengers reached Tusculum, now called Frascati, where the Pope then was. They consisted of the Abbot of Wallace, the Archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, Richard Barre, Henry Pinchun, and a Templar. They were the bearers of letters⁴⁰³ from the king, framed in very offensive terms: "On his first entrance he brought not the joy of peace, but fire and the sword, while he raised a question against me touching my realm and crown. Besides, he was the aggressor upon my servants, excommunicating them without a cause. Men not being able to bear such insolence, some of those who were excommunicated, with some others from England, attacked him, and, what I cannot say without sorrow, killed him." Henry must have had a very faint idea of the way in which the death of St. Thomas would be felt by the Church, when he wrote that letter. It is simple effrontery to write to the Pope about "fire and sword," when the censures for the coronation

were passed by the Pope himself. Henry must have known that the excommunications were not "without a cause," for he had himself consented to them; and he must have said "others from England," in order to conceal from the Pope that the murderers left his own court in consequence of expressions used by himself.

The Holy Father would not admit the embassy to kiss his foot, nor would the Cardinals receive them. At length, by the influence of some of the king's friends, the Abbot of Wallace, and the Archdeacon of Lisieux, as the least suspected parties, were admitted to the consistory. When they named the king, and called him a devout son of the Roman Church, all the court cried out, "Hold, hold!" Late in the evening they went from the court to his Holiness, "to declare all the favours which the king had conferred upon St. Thomas, and the excesses he had committed against the crown." Alexander Llewellyn and Gunter were there, and the king's messengers made no impression, though they repeated before the Pope and Cardinals what they had said to the Pope in private. Maundy Thursday was coming on, and as yet nothing effectual had been done to stop the sentence which had been so long deserved. At length, by the advice of those Cardinals who had always been partial to Henry, the messengers declared to the Pope, that the king had empowered them to swear in the presence of the Holy Father, that he would obey his command, and would renew the same oath in person. This oath, which, if the king had been really contrite, would have been offered at first, and which would not have required the tone of apology in which his mes-

sengers mention it in their report to him, was solemnly taken by them all, as well as by the representatives of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, in the full consistory on Maundy Thursday, at three in the afternoon. The Pope then, in general terms, excommunicated the murderers of St. Thomas, and all who had given them counsel, aid, or assent, or had knowingly harboured them.

The Archbishop of Sens had been added to the commission before the martyrdom was known, and had received the same powers as the Archbishop of Rouen. The latter prelate now protested⁴⁰⁴ against any exercise of that legatine power, under pretext of an appeal to the Pope; but the Archbishop of Sens laid the king's continental dominions under an interdict, and notified what he had done to his Holiness. This sentence the king's messengers on their way to the Holy See had in vain attempted to avert. The Bishops of Worcester and Evreux, with Robert of Newburgh, reached Frascati a few days after Easter. After a fortnight they were summoned to hear the decision. The Pope confirmed the interdict published by the Archbishop of Sens, and forbade the king to enter the church, until Legates should arrive, whom he was about to send to judge of his dispositions. With great difficulty, by the intercession of some of the Cardinals, and, it was reported, by the help of a large sum of money, they succeeded in obtaining letters to the Archbishop of Bourges, with powers to absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury from their excommunication, on the exaction of the usual oath, if after a month from their receipt he did not hear that the Legates had crossed the Alps. These

Bishops, however, as well as the others, were to remain under their suspension. About the beginning of August⁴⁰⁵ the Bishop of London was so far absolved, but by the Bishops of Nivers and Beauvais, and the Abbot of Pontigny, at Gisors. On the 6th of December the Archbishop of York was freed from his suspension at Albemarle⁴⁰⁶ by the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Amiens, on his taking oath that he had not received the Pope's letters prohibiting the coronation before it was performed; that he had not bound himself on that occasion to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon; and that he had not wilfully caused the death of St. Thomas by word, by deed, or by writing. On the Bishop of London taking an oath to the same effect, he also was absolved at the same place, by the same prelates, on the first of May following.

In the month of August 1171, the king crossed the Channel on his way to Ireland. During his short stay in England he visited the venerable Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who upbraided him severely for his share in the death of St. Thomas. The Bishop died on the 27th of that month. The king gave orders,⁴⁰⁷ after his old fashion, that the ports on both sides of the Channel were to be diligently kept, and any one found bearing an interdict to be immediately imprisoned. He ordered that no cleric was to be permitted to leave the kingdom without an oath not to be a party to any measure against himself or the realm. He also added, that no one bearing letters was to have access to him. It was shrewdly conjectured, that one motive of his invasion of Ireland, in addition to his other schemes, was to be out

of the way, lest any ecclesiastical censures should be served upon him.

Cardinal Albert, by the title of St. Lorenzo in Lucina and Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and Theodwine, Cardinal of St. Vitalis, afterwards Bishop of Porto, were sent as Legates; but the reconciliation of Canterbury Cathedral was the only work which they performed in 1171. It was difficult, after all his precautions, to get access to King Henry; but their letters of warning being at length delivered, on Easter Tuesday the king returned to England, and, having sent messengers to the Legates to ask where they would meet him, they had an interview at the Abbey of Savigny. Its only result was, that Henry refused to do what the Legates required; and it was thought that he would return to England. The next day, however, Arnulf the Bishop of Lisieux, with the two Archdeacons, came to them to say that the king had given way. The Legates accordingly entered Avranches, in company with him, on the fifth Sunday after Easter.

“The great Norman cathedral of that beautiful city,” says a modern writer,⁴⁰⁸ “stood on what was perhaps the finest situation of any cathedral in Christendom,—on the brow of the high ridge which sustains the town of Avranches, and looking over the wide bay, in the centre of which stands the sanctuary of Norman chivalry, the majestic rock of St. Michael, crowned with its fortress and chapel. Of this vast cathedral, one granite pillar alone has survived the storm of the French Revolution; and that pillar marks the spot where Henry performed his first penance. It bears an inscription with these words:

‘ Sur cette pierre, ici, à la porte de la cathédrale d’Avranches, après le meurtre de Thomas Becket, Archevêque de Cantorbéry, Henri II, Roi d’Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, reçut à genoux, des légats du Pape, l’absolution apostolique, le Dimanche, xxii Mai, MCLXXII.’”

The young king came that he might express his assent to all that his father should do. On the Sunday before the Ascension, with his hand on the Holy Gospels, King Henry swore that he had neither commanded nor wished the death of the Saint; and, he voluntarily added, that he had grieved more for it than for his father and mother. Still, as he feared that his angry expressions had been the occasion to the sin, he vowed to accept whatever penance the Legates might inflict upon him.

They first⁴⁰⁹ made him swear that he would never leave the obedience of Pope Alexander and his successors, as long as they treated him like a Catholic and Christian king. His son Henry then took the same oath. The next clause was, that for a year, dating from Pentecost, he would pay for two hundred soldiers to be placed at the disposal of the Templars. He also vowed to take the Cross for three years, to date from the following Christmas; and in the summer to proceed in person to the Holy Land, unless the Pope gave him leave to remain. His joining the crusade was to be delayed for any length of time he might spend in fighting against the Saracens in Spain. He then swore that he would not hinder appeals in ecclesiastical causes to the Church of Rome, nor would he suffer them to be hindered; and that in good faith, without fraud or evil design, in order that the causes

might be judged by the Pope, and have their free course. He was at liberty, however, in the case of those whom he suspected, to require bail that they would do no harm while abroad to himself and his kingdom. The customs which had been introduced against the Church in his time he renounced on oath, promising not to demand their observance from the Bishops. That he did not mean to pledge himself to much by this clause appears from his own comment upon it, in a letter written by him⁴¹⁰ to the Bishop of Exeter previous to the meeting at Caen on the subsequent Tuesday: "These customs, I think, are very few, if any." The possessions of the church of Canterbury he swore to restore as they were the year before the exile of St. Thomas; and he finally promised his favour and restitution to all clerics or laics who had been deprived of them on account of the Saint.

The young king made oath that he would observe all that his father had sworn; and that, if he survived him, and the penance were unfulfilled, he would himself fulfil it. There were added some private penances of fasting and alms, which were not published. The Archbishop of Tours and his suffragans were present at Caen on the Tuesday after the Ascension, when the king repeated his oaths before a still larger audience than at Avranches; and he affixed his seal to the document⁴¹¹ which the Cardinals had drawn up and sealed.

When the king had given a free assent to all that was required of him, he added, "See, my lords Legates, my body is in your hands. Know for certain, that if you order me to go to Jerusalem or Rome or

St. James, or whatever else you may command, I am prepared to obey." The Legates then led him outside the church-door, where, kneeling, he was re-admitted into the church, from which he had been interdicted.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PENANCE.

THE four knights went back to St. Augustine's, and then to Saltwood, when they had done their worst. The ancient tradition says, that they were afraid to return to the king, for whose sake they had committed one of the greatest crimes on record. They went to Knaresborough,⁴¹² which belonged to Hugh de Morville, one of their number. No one would speak with them, eat with them, or drink with them: and the very dogs refused to eat of the fragments of their food. They remained there a year; and then went to the Pope, to receive from him their penance, by whom they were sent to Jerusalem. It is said, that they all died soon; and that there was good reason to hope that, by the intercession of the holy Martyr, they died penitent. A recent writer⁴¹³ has, however, carefully traced the facts of their subsequent history; and he has shown that "the murderers, within the first two years of the murder, were living at court on familiar terms with the king, and constantly joined him in the pleasures of the chase." They were unpunished, and their social position unaffected. Tracy showed the most contrition, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land. He also, "for the love of God, and of his soul, and of the souls of his predecessors, and for the love of blessed Thomas

the Archbishop and Martyr of venerable memory," founded a chaplaincy for the maintenance of a religious, who should say Mass in the cathedral, where he had committed the murder.

The King of France had complained, that his daughter Margaret had not been crowned as well as her husband. By the advice of the Cardinal Legates, and under the authority of the Holy See, that ceremony was performed at Winchester, on the 27th of August 1172, the anniversary of the death of the last Bishop of that city, by Rotrod, the Archbishop of Rouen, with the assistance of Giles Bishop of Evreux, and Geoffrey Provost of Chartres, as well as of a few of the suffragans of Canterbury. King Louis had especially petitioned the Pope, that the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury might not be allowed to be present.

These coronations, however, which were intended as a weapon against the Church, recoiled heavily upon the head of the king, who had promoted them. The young king began to assert his right to interfere, and claimed a power independent of his father. One of his first acts against him was to protest⁴¹⁴ to the Prior of Canterbury against the election of the new Archbishop being performed without his leave. It must be acknowledged, that it is impossible to feel any sympathy with the old king, who had behaved in this election just as he used to do, showing how unstable his amendment had been. The archiepiscopal see was vacant for two years and five months:⁴¹⁵ at first, the Prior was put off with fair words, when he begged for a free election; the king then tried to persuade him to name the Bishop of Bayeux, a man the

very opposite in character to St. Thomas. This failing, the Prior and Convent submitted three names to the king, through Richard de Luci; of these Roger Abbot of Bec was elected, who, however, absolutely refused to accept the dignity. The elections for the vacant suffragan sees now took place; and the names of those chosen to them prove that it was still easier to obtain promotion by having taken the king's part than by having suffered with the Martyr in the late struggle. Most of the new Bishops were the worst enemies of St. Thomas. Richard of Ilchester, and Geoffrey Ridel, who have been almost equally prominent as the king's partisans, so that they have been called more than once in this narrative "the two Archdeacons," were raised respectively to the sees of Winchester and Ely. John of Oxford, the not less notorious Dean of Salisbury, was made Bishop of Norwich. Reginald the Lombard, Archdeacon of Salisbury, who was originally in the service of the Saint, but who had deserted him⁴¹⁶ to take part with the king, and who had advised Prince Henry's coronation, became Bishop of Bath. The choice of Robert Foliot Archdeacon of Oxford for the cathedral of Hereford, shows the power of the recommendation of his cousin Gilbert of London, towards whom he had evinced⁴¹⁷ sympathy. The remaining nominations were, John Dean of Chichester for that see, and Geoffrey, the son of King Henry and Rosamond Clifford, who was raised from the archdeaconry to the episcopal throne of Lincoln. He never was consecrated, and was ultimately obliged by the Pope to resign. Finally Richard, the Prior of Dover, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury; and on the young king protest-

ing against the election, he went to Rome, where he was consecrated by the Pope.

The young king took up arms against his father ; and his example was followed by his brother, who was afterwards the famous Richard Cœur de Lion. These rebellions led King Henry to write his famous letter to the Pope, which furnished so striking a contrast to many of the actions of his own life, and showed how submissive he could be to the Holy See, when to be so furthered his interests, and did not interfere with his passions. "The realm of England is in your jurisdiction," he writes⁴¹⁸ to Pope Alexander ; "and I am bound to you alone by feudal obligation : let England now experience what the Pope can do ; and since he does not use the arm of flesh, let him defend the patrimony of Blessed Peter with the sword of the Spirit."

The young king threw himself into the arms of Louis of France and Philip Earl of Flanders, so that his father had enough to do in defending his Norman dominions. While thus engaged, William, the King of Scotland, invaded England,⁴¹⁹ successfully besieged Carlisle, and devastated all the North. Many of the powerful barons had declared for the young Henry, who, with the Earl of Flanders, was waiting only for a fair wind to invade England in force. Richard⁴²⁰ of Ilchester, the new Bishop of Winchester, was sent over to the king at Bonneville, on St. John's Day 1174, to request his return ; and so many messengers had preceded him, that the Normans said, when they saw him, "The next thing the English will send, will be the Tower of London."

King Henry immediately embarked, with his

queen, Eleanor, his son's queen, Margaret, and his son John, and his daughter Jane. The wind was very high; and the king openly prayed that, if his arrival in England would promote peace, both in the clergy and people, and only in that case, his voyage might be prosperous. He landed at Southampton on Monday the 8th of July; and neglecting public business altogether, though it was in so critical a state, he began his pilgrimage to St. Thomas. He fasted strictly upon bread and water; and avoiding the towns, made the best of his way with all speed to Canterbury. On the Friday following,⁴²¹ he came in sight of the city. He then leapt off his horse, and went the rest of the way on foot. From St. Dunstan's Church, outside the city, to the tomb of the holy Martyr, he walked barefoot, and dressed in the common woollen garments of a pilgrim. His footsteps along the streets were marked with the blood which flowed freely from his feet. He went to the church-porch;⁴²² and after praying there, he visited the scene of the martyrdom, which he watered with his tears. Having said his *Confiteor* before the Bishops who were present, he went with much reverence to the tomb, where he remained in prayer a very long time. The Bishop of London, after a while, spoke to all who were present in the king's name, saying, that he knew that his angry expressions had been made the occasion of the death of the Martyr, though he never intended them to be so; and that he also felt that he had been very wrong in his persecution of him during his life; and that he had therefore come to make full satisfaction. He begged their prayers, and trusted that his humble penance would be acceptable to God and St. Thomas.

He that day restored in full all the dignities and rights of that church, and whatever, either in that or other lands, in past times the church had freely held. He also offered a revenue of thirty pounds as a gift to the Martyr, for lights to be kept burning at the tomb. When the Bishop had finished saying what it must have been a great humiliation for himself to utter,⁴²³ the king ratified and confirmed it all.

His shoulders were then bared, and having bent his head down to one of the openings of the tomb, he received five strokes from each of the Prelates present, and then three from each of the monks, who exceeded the number of eighty. When this was over, and he had been absolved, he remained there on the bare ground for the whole night in watching and prayer, not suffering a carpet to be brought for him, nor even water to wash his bleeding and muddy feet.

This night a sister of St. Thomas appears in our history, almost for the first time. During the days of his worldly greatness we never hear of his relations, nor, if it had not been for his troubles, should we have known that he had any so nearly akin to him. Among those who were exiled for his sake, were his sister and her children; for the Pope thanked the monastery of Clermareis for the hospitality they had received; and St. Thomas wrote to his friends, Fulk Dean of Rheims, Richard Archbishop-elect of Syracuse, and Stephen the chancellor of Sicily, in behalf of his sister's sons.⁴²⁴ And now Rohesia, a sister of the Saint, probably still with the sentence of banishment unrevoked, certainly in poverty, comes⁴²⁵ to beg "mercy" of the king, who was praying to her brother. He made a grant to her

of a mill, the rent of which was ten marks a year, and which was enjoyed by her son after her. The Saint had another sister named Mary,⁴²⁶ of whom all that we know is, that she was a nun, and that after the martyrdom she was made Abbess of Barking.

After Matins and Lauds, he visited the altars of the upper church, and the relics of the saints there buried. He then returned to the crypt, to the tomb of St. Thomas. As soon as it was light on the Saturday, he asked for Mass; and having assisted at it, as well as having tasted some water in which a drop of the Martyr's blood had been diluted, he returned to London, with one of the phials of the same, which had already become⁴²⁷ the mark of the pilgrim to St. Thomas, as the palm was of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the scallop to St. James at Compostella.

The news soon came, that his son Henry, with the Earl of Flanders, had abandoned their intention of invading England, when they found that the king was returning. Freed from this danger,⁴²⁸ he had sent his forces against Earl Hugh Bigod, who had joined the insurrection at Norwich. He himself was detained, after his arrival from Canterbury, for a few days in London by sickness; when one midnight there was heard a violent knocking at the gate of the king's palace. In spite of the refusal of the porter to admit him, the messenger insisted, saying that he was the bearer of good news, which the king must hear that very night. At length, by his importunity, he gained admission into the king's very chamber. Going up to the bed, he aroused the royal sleeper, who demanded, "Who are you?" "I am the boy of your faithful Ranulph de Glanville," was the answer; "and he has

sent me to your highness with good news." "Is our Ranulph well?" asked the king. "My lord is well," he replied; "and he has taken prisoner your enemy the King of the Scots at Richmond." The king was stupefied by the news, and said, "Tell me again." After hearing the same report, he said, "Have you any letters?" On these being presented, the king glanced at them; and leaping from the bed, with his eyes wet with tears, gave thanks to God and St. Thomas. On the very Saturday⁴²⁹ on which the king left Canterbury, and at the hour at which he was hearing Mass at the tomb of St. Thomas, Alnwick Castle had been taken, and the King of Scotland made prisoner. Within three weeks of the pilgrimage and penance of the king, all the rebellions were quelled, and peace was restored⁴³⁰ throughout England.

The king had made his pilgrimage in consequence of a dream,⁴³¹ that he had no other way of obtaining peace but by a reconciliation with the holy Martyr. St. Thomas had himself had a vision on the subject, which he had thus related to Herbert de Bosham⁴³² during their exile. "I thought I stood," said the Saint, "on a very high mountain, and the king was in the plain beneath; when on a sudden I saw flying towards him all manner of birds of prey, which with their beaks and talons attacked him violently, and tore his royal robes off him, leaving him half stripped. There was a dark precipice behind him which he did not see, and towards which he was approaching as he was driven backwards by the onset of the birds of prey. When he was in this strait, one of the courtiers, whom the king had trusted, and advanced to

high places, turned his hand against him, tried to tear from him the rags the birds had spared, and to urge him over the precipice. The thought then came over me of all our old friendship; and coming down from my high mountain-top, as it seemed to me, in the twinkling of an eye, his peril and my compassion giving me wings, I was by his side. I had, I know not how, a lance in my hand, and I scattered the birds of prey; and clad the king in his royal robes once more, chiding the while the courtier who had shown such ingratitude, saying that of him, at least, the king had not merited such treatment." St. Thomas told the name of the courtier; but Herbert did not publish it, as he was still alive when he wrote. The Saint's brief commentary on his vision was, that he yet should help Henry in some of his troubles. When Herbert related this story to the king in after years, he was very urgent to know the name of the courtier; but Herbert refused to tell him.

In another private conversation⁴³³ Herbert, with his characteristic boldness, told him that the death of his sainted master was "for him and by him." The king quietly replied, without any signs of anger, "Your *for* I sorrowfully grant, but your *by* I boldly deny." We say, with Herbert, that on this matter "God, and God only, knows the truth." We now part from a king, whose passions were so ungovernable and produced such frightful effects, whose deliberate policy was the servitude of the Church, and whose penances were so striking and at the time so sincere, though it is to be feared that his amendment was never of long duration.

A few years later, another royal pilgrim came to

the tomb of St. Thomas; but without the feelings of remorse which had made the visit we have last related so penitential. In 1179, Philip,⁴⁸⁴ the son of Louis of France, then fifteen years old, fell ill, and a vision admonished the father that by the prayers of St. Thomas he should recover. He accordingly undertook this pilgrimage on his son's behalf, in spite of the danger of placing himself in the power of the King of England, with whom he was constantly at variance. On Wednesday, the 22d of August, he landed at Dover, where he was met by Henry, who accompanied him to Canterbury. They travelled on horseback by night, in the course of which journey they witnessed an eclipse of the moon. They were received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a large assembly of prelates and clergy, with much honour; and the French monarch spent a night at the tomb of the Saint, where he made an offering of a magnificent chalice of gold, and a hundred measures of wine, to be delivered annually cost free. Before leaving, he petitioned the chapter to be admitted into their fraternity; and he carried away with him the patent which conferred upon him what he had asked. On his return to France, on the following Sunday, he found that his son Philip had perfectly recovered.

Before we return to the sacred relics of St. Thomas, we must relate in a few words the little that we know of what happened to his faithful companions. John of Salisbury, whom St. Thomas had found in the service of the church of Canterbury, having been recommended to Archbishop Theobald by the glorious St. Bernard,⁴⁸⁵ and who had been the Saint's counsellor and friend in good report and evil report,

at home and in exile, in life and in death, was elected Bishop in 1176 by the chapter of Chartres, through their devotion to St. Thomas. On the 22d of July,⁴³⁶ the dean, precentor, and several of the clergy, came to Canterbury to announce their choice; and the Bishop-elect was conducted to the altar of the church in which he had seen his master die, for the *Te Deum* to be sung for joy. King Louis wrote⁴³⁷ to beg his acquiescence, and to say that the Archbishop of Sens was as anxious as himself. The devotion of John of Salisbury to St. Thomas was shown by his prefixing to every act of his episcopate, and to every letter he wrote, his title as, "John, by the divine condescension and the merits of St. Thomas, humble minister of the church of Chartres." He died on the 25th of October 1180.

Herbert de Bosham had been sent by St. Thomas to King Louis and the Archbishop of Sens, and he had left him on the Sunday night before his martyrdom. He remained abroad, when he heard of what had happened, for some time. To his pen is attributed the letter⁴³⁸ which the Archbishop of Sens wrote to the Pope, to pray that the king might be punished as the cause of the Martyr's death. He wrote⁴³⁹ to Pope Alexander himself some time afterwards, to complain that an oath was required of him, before he could return to England, to the effect that he would not leave the realm without the king's license, nor send letters beyond the sea; which oath, he said, John of Salisbury and Gunter had taken, but his conscience would not permit him to take. The Pope wrote him a very kind letter⁴⁴⁰ in reply, recommending him to the intercession of the Legates with the king, and call-

ing him "a special and devout son of the Church." After his return to England, and after the interviews with the king which we have mentioned, in which it is plain that he was quite restored to favour, he lived a long time, occupying himself in writing the life of St. Thomas, which was not finished until the pontificate⁴⁴¹ of Pope Urban III., fifteen years after the Saint's martyrdom. He complains sadly⁴⁴² of the neglect he suffered at the hands of the Bishops, who, he says, "worship the Saint's dead relics, but despise his living ones." He says, that the Saint once appeared to him, and told him that the verse of the Psalms which he must ever bear in mind was, "Redeem me from the calumnies of men, that I may keep Thy commandments." By a curious mistake, he has been confused by the majority of writers with Lombard of Piacenza, who was Cardinal-Archbishop of Benevento, so that he appears in many of the catalogues of English Cardinals. The author of this mistake is Christian Wolf, commonly called Lupus, who was the first to publish the Life⁴⁴³ and Correspondence of St. Thomas from the Vatican Ms., which Cardinal Baronius had used.

There are very few others of those who were with St. Thomas of whom there is any thing to tell. Those only received promotion who had not been remarkable for their zeal in the cause of the Saint. Gerard Pucelle, who, though a friend of St. Thomas, had been dangerously near schism in the beginning of the exile, and who accepted the king's terms before its close, was made Bishop of Coventry. Hugh de Nunant, Archdeacon of Lisieux,⁴⁴⁴ who appeared in the Saint's train at Northampton, but who was one of the king's

ambassadors to the Pope after the martyrdom, was the successor of Gerard Pucelle in that see. Gilbert de Glanville became Bishop of Rochester after the death of Walter, Archbishop Theobald's brother. He was sent by the holy Martyr to the Pope with his last letter; but he had been a very short time in his service. It is worthy of remark, that John of Salisbury is the only one of the Saint's prominent adherents who became a Bishop, and that his see was in France, in the very province of Sens in which they had spent their exile.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MIRACLES.

THE rapidity with which miracles followed upon the martyrdom is as remarkable as their number. The first⁴⁴⁵ was the case of a paralytic woman in Canterbury. Her husband was present at the martyrdom, and brought home, as all the faithful did that night, some linen dipped in the holy blood. When she had heard his account of the constancy of the martyr, and saw the stain of his blood, she was moved with so lively a faith, that she begged it might be washed, that water might be given her to drink in which it had been dipped. This was done; and she was immediately cured. The fame of this miraculous cure caused every one who came to set the highest value on the possession of some of the martyr's blood mingled with water. This it was that gave rise to the little leaden phials which have been already mentioned as the distinguishing mark of a Canterbury pilgrim.

Odo the Prior sent Philip Earl of Flanders a report⁴⁴⁶ of some of the miracles. The following sentence occurs in his letter, which certainly renders his testimony very trustworthy: "It is said that some lepers also have been healed; but I do not say so, because I have not seen them since they left us; though some have told me that they were much better as they were going away." He says that, on the third day after the martyrdom, that is, the Friday in that

week, Emma, the wife of Robert of St. Andrew, a soldier in Sussex, who was sick and blind, when she heard the account of the martyrdom, invoked the Saint; and before half an hour had passed, she had received her sight, and in a few days was perfectly well. This is also told⁴⁴⁷ by Grim and Benedict.

On the night of that same Friday, a priest of London,⁴⁴⁸ named William de Capella, who had lost his speech, was warned that he should go to the tomb of St. Thomas, and he should be there healed by a drop of the martyr's blood. He did so, and was cured accordingly. As speaking in favour of St. Thomas had been publicly prohibited, even by proclamation, probably by the De Brocs, this priest was very cautious in mentioning his cure.

William Belet, a soldier,⁴⁴⁹ of Ainesburne in Berkshire, was suffering from an arm and hand which were enormously swelled. On the Saturday after the martyrdom, as soon as he heard what had happened, he immediately invoked the Saint, praying that he might be restored to health. The following night he slept soundly, which he had not done for some time before; and when he woke he was perfectly well, without any pain, the swelling having disappeared.

A pious woman⁴⁵⁰ who lived an anchoretical life, who had never learnt to read or write, and who knew no Latin, except some Psalms, the Pater noster, and the Credo, was very sorrowful day and night on account of the martyrdom which had just happened. Sometimes she was favoured with ecstasies; and one day she sent to the monks of Canterbury a paper on which were written these words, which, she said, a very beautiful lady had spoken to her: *Noli flere pro*

Archiepiscopo: caput ejus in gremio Filii mei requiescit.
 "Weep not for the Archbishop; his head rests in the bosom of my Son."

A boy of fifteen years of age, who had been blind from his birth, received his sight at the tomb of the Saint. This is related by the Prior Odo, who thus concludes his letter: "There are others who were blind, deaf, dumb, lame, contracted, and suffering from other infirmities, who have been cured by the merits of St. Thomas, but which I cannot now touch upon, however briefly. The number of those who have been cured of fevers is without end."

The Saint appeared⁴⁵¹ to some persons, with the faint graceful line of blood from his right temple across the nose to the left cheek; and those who thus saw him described this mark as accurately as if they had seen his body. To others he appeared showing them that he was alive, and that his wounds had left but scars. This must have happened very soon, for it is mentioned in the letter⁴⁵² of the Archbishop of Sens to the Pope.

On the night⁴⁵³ of the martyrdom, one of the Saint's household saw him in his pontifical vestments going up the altar-steps, as if to say Mass; seeing the same thing on the second and on the third night, he said to him, "My lord, art thou not dead?" The Saint answered, "I died; but I am alive." Then said he, "If thou art truly alive and among the martyrs, why dost thou not show thyself to the world?" The Saint replied, "I carry a light; but it is not seen for the cloud which is interposed."

The De Broc family⁴⁵⁴ made every effort in the beginning to check the honour which was paid to

St. Thomas; so that these accounts were whispered in secret. But the fame of cures and other miracles increased so fast, and the concourse of people became so great, that they were obliged to give up the vain attempt of checking the devotion, and were forced to say, "All England is gone after him." When the doors of the crypt, which had been fastened when he was first buried, were opened at Easter, miracles increased so fast, that two volumes⁴⁵⁵ containing the account of them were kept at Canterbury. These were compiled by Benedict, who was afterwards Prior of Christ Church, and ultimately Abbot of Peterborough, whose contribution to our knowledge of the martyrdom is particularly valuable. The following miracle happened in favour of himself.

The king⁴⁵⁶ had entertained a great indignation against Benedict before he was made prior. When in that office, he was obliged to go to him on some of the affairs of the Church; but his threats made him fear to go into his presence. One night, after a day when Benedict had been insulted by the king and his officials, his majesty had a dream, which produced such an effect upon him, that he declared that he would not for any sum of money suffer the agony of such a dream again. He dreamt that he was crossing a very high bridge over a deep and rapid stream, when the plank on which his foot was gave way, and he fell through the bridge, to which he clung with desperation. The place, he thought, was lonely, and his strength was fast failing him; when, thinking all human assistance hopeless, he invoked the sacred names of JESUS and Mary and his patron saints. Then he thought that he added, "Help me, O Martyr of Christ; St. Thomas,

assist me. Do not remember the injuries of late ; for in the beginning I loved you above every one." He had hardly ended the words, when he imagined that Benedict came to him, and said, "The holy Archbishop, whom you have invoked in faith, has sent me to you;" and so saying, he rescued him. The king awoke; but he could sleep no more; and his dream had so shaken him, that it was past midday before he could rise. When the Prior came, Henry told him his dream; and he returned as hearty thanks to St. Thomas as if he had been really preserved from that death. The narrator says that, though it was but a dream, it had this reality about it, that the king received Benedict into favour, and gave him whatever he chose to ask.

On the 28th of January 1185, Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited Canterbury. While in England he told the following story to Herbert de Bosham, who has related it,⁴⁵⁷ and who must have written it almost as soon as it was told him: A monk of a religious house in Palestine, who had lived a most holy life, was near his end on the day on which St. Thomas was martyred. His singular piety had endeared him to his superior, who begged of him, with tears, that, if God permitted it, he would appear to him after death, and tell him of his state. The monk assented, and so died. A few days afterwards, in fulfilment of his promise, the brother appeared to his abbot, to tell him that he saw God, and that his soul was in heaven. "And that you may be certain and have no doubt, know that, as soon as I left the body, I was borne up by angels and saw the Lord; when soon there came a great and eminent man with a procession, beyond expression wonderful,

following him, surrounding him, and leading him, such that no man could number it for the multitude of the Angels, the laudable number of Patriarchs and Prophets, the glorious choir of the Apostles, with the countless army of Martyrs in their purple, and Confessors in white. He stood before the Lord like a martyr, with his head all torn and the blood trickling, as it seemed, through the wounds. And the Lord said to him, 'Thomas, thus oughtest thou to enter the court of thy Lord. The glory that I have given to Peter, the same will I give to thee.' And the Lord took a golden crown, of wonderful size, and placed it on the torn and wounded head. Know, then, for certain, that Thomas, the great Bishop of Canterbury, has died in these days, and so is gone to God. Meanwhile note what I have told you, and mark the time; for before long the reports of those who come hither will prove these things to be true. And now, since I have told you of the death of this glorious Martyr which has taken place, henceforward you must not doubt of my salvation." The abbot told every one what he had heard; and Heraclius affirmed to Herbert and to others, that he consequently knew of the martyrdom within a fortnight after it had happened, and that it was generally known throughout that country.

Edward Grim gives the following interesting account⁴⁵⁸ of a miracle which the Saint wrought in his behalf. It is the healing of the arm that was broken by William de Tracy, when Grim held it up to ward off the first blow from the head of the Martyr, who did not lift a hand in his own defence. The doctor had tried in vain for nearly a year to set the broken

bone; when one night the venerable Martyr stood beside him, and, taking hold of his arm, wrapped it in a wet linen cloth, saying, "Go; you are healed." The cloth was wetted with holy water and the Martyr's blood, and, by the favour of God and St. Thomas, the bones united and the arm healed. "A proof of its healing," says Grim, "is the arm itself, the hand of which has written these things for you to read. And God has done many other things," he continues, "to prove His love for our blessed Martyr: by cleansing the lepers, as we have ourselves seen; by putting devils to flight, by healing the dropsical, the paralytic, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the lame, and those suffering from all manner of sickness: in all of which things we are awaiting the faithful testimony of the church of Canterbury, in whose sight and knowledge all these things are known to have been done."

John of Salisbury writes⁴⁵⁹ to the Bishop of Poitiers to ask him whether he thought that they could not, even before his canonisation by the Pope, treat him as a martyr in the Mass and public prayers; or whether they ought to continue to pray for one whom God had honoured by so many miracles: "For in the spot where he suffered, and by the high altar where he was placed before his burial, and at his tomb, paralytics are cured, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, fevers are healed, men possessed by the devil are liberated, the sick of divers diseases are cured, those whom the devil makes to blaspheme are confounded." The monks of Canterbury could each day say, as one of them asserts,⁴⁶⁰ "We have seen wonderful things to-day."

From the vast number of accounts which might be here introduced, we have selected one or two others⁴⁶¹ on account of their connection with his successor St. Edmund. The Abbess of Lacoche was very ill of a fever. St. Edmund left her, after a visit, saying that he would send her a doctor who should cure her. He sent some relic of the blood of St. Thomas, and as soon as she had tasted it she recovered.

One day, before leaving England, St. Edmund saw St. Thomas in a vision; and, stooping down, he tried to kiss his feet. St. Thomas prevented him, drawing his foot away. When St. Edmund wept at this, St. Thomas said to him, "Why do you weep?" He answered, "Because my lips are not worthy to touch your feet." Then said St. Thomas, "Weep not, for the time is coming when you shall kiss me on the face."

Another miracle, of which John of Salisbury when Bishop of Chartres was witness, must not be omitted. It is reported in a hitherto unpublished⁴⁶² letter by the Bishop, which is addressed to Richard the Archbishop, Herlewin the Prior, Herbert the Archdeacon, and to the chapter, clergy, and people of Canterbury. Peter, a native of Chartres, and a servant of Earl Theobald's, professed a disbelief in the sanctity and miracles of St. Thomas. One day he was at work cutting stones for St. Peter's monastery at Chartres, when, as he and his fellow-workmen were resting, the conversation turned upon St. Thomas. All spoke of the Saint with reverence but this man, who took a morsel of bread in his hand, and said, "Now, if St. Thomas can, let him choke me with this, or make it poison to me." The others beat their breasts, and

made signs of the cross in horror of the blasphemy. The poor man soon left them, and went home, stricken dumb. The neighbours flocked in when they heard of what had happened; and, as he got rapidly worse and worse, they carried him, now half dead, into the church of the Blessed Virgin, and laid him on the tomb of St. Leobinus. The report soon spread; and from nine o'clock till Vespers the church was crowded. The Bishop, who tells the story, happened to be out of town; but coming in in the evening, the poor man's mother and friends ran and, kneeling before him, begged his help and counsel. He went straight to the church, and there found the dumb man beating his breast and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven. The Bishop had taken some of the blood of St. Thomas with him to Chartres. He now sent for it and some water. After praying before the relics, the Bishop gave him the reliquary to kiss, on which the man burst forth in a loud voice with the words, "St. Thomas, St. Thomas, have mercy on me!" He then drank some water in which the reliquary and a knife of the Saint had been washed by the Bishop, when, on being quite restored, he vowed a pilgrimage to St. Thomas in penance for his blasphemy, and in thanksgiving for his cure. He was himself the bearer of John of Salisbury's letter relating these facts.

The Pope deputed the Cardinals Albert and Theodwine to examine the miracles, and to make a report to him with a view to the Saint's canonisation. They could not have been very long in accumulating materials; for in their letter⁴⁶³ to the chapter authorising the reconciliation of the Church before the first year was past, they say that "God has shown how precious

the Saint's death was in His sight, and has illustrated his venerable memory with so many miracles, that the odour of his unguents is now spread through the whole body of the Church, and his virtue is commonly preached both in the East and West." Accordingly, at Segni, on the 21st of February, being Ash Wednesday, 1173, having taken counsel with the Cardinals and Bishops, the Pope himself solemnly singing Mass, Alexander III. canonised St. Thomas of Canterbury as a martyr for the cause of the Church of God.

The bull⁴⁶⁴ is remarkable for its praises of his life as well as of his martyrdom. "He who is glorious in His saints has glorified, after his death, this His Saint, whose laudable life, shining with great glory of merits, was at length consummated by the martyrdom of a glorious contest. And although no one can doubt of his sanctity, who attends to his praiseworthy conduct, and considers his glorious passion; yet our Saviour and Redeemer wished to give brilliant proofs of it by magnificent miracles, that so he, who has borne want and perils for Christ with the constancy of insuperable virtue, may now be known by all to have received the triumph of his labour and of his contest in eternal blessedness." It then relates how the Cardinal Legates had taken accurate information, and had sent the report of "numberless and great miracles." After announcing the canonisation, the bull orders the festival of St. Thomas to be observed throughout the world. This was sent to the Legates,⁴⁶⁵ together with apostolic letters⁴⁶⁶ to the chapter of Canterbury, which thus begin: "The whole body of the faithful must rejoice at the wonders of that holy and reverend man, Tho-

mas your Archbishop : but you must be filled with a fuller joy and exultation, since you often with your own eyes look upon his miracles, and your church has deserved to be rendered illustrious by the possession of his most holy body." The Pope also bids them, on some fitting day, with a solemn procession and concourse of clergy and people, place his relics on the altar or in some fitting shrine, "and try to gain by pious prayers his patronage with God for the salvation of the faithful, and the peace of the Universal Church." There is also extant a letter⁴⁶⁷ from Pope Alexander to the Bishop of Aversa, in the kingdom of Naples, informing him of the canonisation, which the Pope says had been done "after counsel taken with our brethren, and after many petitions from Archbishops and Bishops;" and he bids him inform the Bishops of the province, that they were to observe the feast of the holy Martyr.

St. Thomas was canonised before his see was filled; and Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter,⁴⁶⁸ writes at once to thank the Pope for the canonisation, and to recommend to him Richard, the Archbishop-elect. On the 7th of July,⁴⁶⁹ in the council that was held at Westminster, in the chapel of St. Catherine, for the election, the bull of canonisation was read, and then a solemn *Te Deum* was sung. The Bishops who had opposed him confessed their fault, and, in the name of them all, one Bishop sung the prayer, *Adesto, Domine* : "Hear, O Lord, our petitions ; that we, who of our iniquity acknowledge ourselves to be guilty, may be freed by the intercession of blessed Thomas, Thy Bishop and Martyr."

On the 5th of September 1174, the choir of Can-

terbury Cathedral was burnt, which had been built forty-four years previously by Prior Conrad. It was immediately much more magnificently rebuilt. The scene of the martyrdom was enlarged, the column against which the Saint had stood was taken away, and an altar erected, on which the two fragments of De Brito's sword were preserved. The chapel henceforward went by the name of "the Martyrdom," and the altar was called "the Sword's Point." The Priors, Benedict who recorded the martyrdom and miracles, and Alan who collected the correspondence, were very anxious to fulfil the Pope's injunction respecting the translation of the relics. Indeed, a letter of Alan's,⁴⁷⁰ written probably in 1185, proposes the following May for the solemnity. Still several years elapsed before it took place, probably on account of the time required to build a chapel and shrine fitting for so great a Saint. The site chosen⁴⁷¹ for it was the chapel of the Blessed Trinity, where he had said his first Mass, and where he frequently celebrated, both before and after his exile. He used to come here also to pray and to assist at the hours in choir. Behind the altar, on the right, was St. Odo, and on the left, St. Wilfrid, whose relics were translated; on the south, Archbishop Lanfranc was buried; and on the north, Archbishop Theobald. This chapel was entirely destroyed to make way for the magnificent structure which was to contain the shrine of St. Thomas.

By the year 1220 every preparation had been made. Cardinal Stephen Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury, and he celebrated the translation with a worthy magnificence.⁴⁷² The new shrine⁴⁷³ was behind the high altar, a gorgeous work of gold and

silver, set with precious stones, supported on stonework. Such a multitude of persons attended, that it was supposed that so many had never been collected in one place in England before. Two years previously the Cardinal-Archbishop had published an edict, declaring his intention, and he had collected from all his manors and possessions all that was possible for the entertainment of such vast numbers of persons. The youthful Henry III. was present, with⁴⁷⁴ Pandulf, the Legate, the Archbishop of Rheims, nearly all the Bishops of the realm, and some of France, in number twenty-three, as well as the abbots, priors, earls, and barons, besides the clergy and people. The summer-time was doubtless chosen for the convenience of pilgrims, who would always wish to attend one of his festivals, and that of his martyrdom was in mid-winter. The 7th of July became thus the feast of his translation.

In the sermon⁴⁷⁵ made by Cardinal Langton, probably on a recurrence of this solemnity, he says, that they purposely selected a Tuesday, as the day of the week on which the Saint had been martyred: they had not, however, adverted to the fact that it was the fiftieth year since that event; and they were much struck by the coincidence that the translation of St. Thomas happened on the anniversary of the day on which Henry II. was buried. A life of the Saint was compiled from his various biographers, which is now well known under the name of the *Quadrilogue*, probably for this occasion, and by the direction of Cardinal Langton. William, who was then Prior of Canterbury, published the letters⁴⁷⁶ of Pope Honorius III. by which he granted an indulgence of forty

days to all who should be present at the Translation or within the Octave, and subsequently another indulgence, to be perpetually in force, of one year and forty days, to all who should come to visit the church on the feast or within a fortnight after it. The same Pope had previously invited⁴⁷⁷ all the faithful to attend, in proper dispositions, on the solemn occasion. He then said, "The heavenly King, the Lord of Angels, has honoured in our time the realm of England more highly than others, and He has adorned the English nation with an especial prerogative; for while the world is in wickedness and the malice of men increasing, He has chosen from thence for Himself a man without spot, who priest-like, not only in a time of wrath was made a reconciliation,⁴⁷⁸ but when invited to the heavenly banquet, merited to taste that chalice of passion which the Lord drank. Let, then, the happy church of Canterbury sing to the Lord a new song, the church whose altar the martyr Thomas has purpled with his precious blood."

CHAPTER XXXV.

LEGENDS.

AN account of St. Thomas of Canterbury which should make no mention of the legends respecting him would be very incomplete. The first that would naturally deserve a place in this chapter is the account of the Saracen princess, who was said to have been the mother of the Saint. As this, however, has been already given, we may pass on ; adding merely that it naturally became a favourite subject for ballads, in the hands of whose writers the story slightly changed its shape. Gilbert is there⁴⁷⁹ said to have been urged to marry after his return to England ; and that at length he had consented, though grievously against his will, when the Saracen lady, who had procured his freedom when a captive in the East, arrived in her wanderings at his house on the very morning of the wedding.

The following extracts are taken from an exceedingly rare⁴⁸⁰ old *Lyfe of Saynt Thomas of Caunturbury*, printed by Rycharde Pynson. The spelling alone has been changed. It begins by saying that St. Thomas was born in the place where now standeth the church called St. Thomas of Akers. When forty-four, " he was sacred and stalled, and became an holy man, suddenly changed into a new man, doing great penance, as in wearing hair with knots, and a breech of the same down to the knees. Under his habit he wore the habit of a monk, and outward a clerk ; and did

great abstinence, making his body lean and his soul fat.”

We now make a leap to Sens. “And anon after, St. Thomas came to come on St. Mark’s Day at afternoon. And when his caterer should have brought fish for his dinner, because it was a fasting day, he could get none for no money, and came and told his lord St. Thomas so ; and he bade him buy such as he could get. And then he bought flesh, and made it ready for their dinner, and St. Thomas was served with a capon roasted, and his man with boiled meat. And so it was that the Pope heard that he was come, and sent a Cardinal to welcome him ; and he found him at his dinner eating flesh, which anon returned and told to the Pope how he was not so perfect a man as he had supposed, for, contrary to the rule of the Church, he eateth this day flesh. The Pope would not believe him, but sent another Cardinal, which, for more evidence, took the leg of the capon in his kerchief, and affirmed the same, and opened his kerchief before the Pope ; and he found the leg turned into a fish called a carp. And when the Pope saw it, he said they were not true men to say such things of this good Bishop ; they said faithfully that it was flesh that he eat. And after this, St. Thomas came to the Pope, and did his reverence and obedience ; whom the Pope welcomed, and after certain communications, he demanded him what meat that he had eaten, and said, Flesh, as ye have heard before, because he could find no fish, and very need compelled him thereto. Then the Pope understood of the miracle that the capon’s leg was turned into a carp, of his goodness granted to him and to all them of the diocese of Canterbury license

to eat flesh ever after on St. Mark's Day when it falleth on a fish-day, and pardon withal; which is kept and accustomed.

“And after, St. Thomas said Mass before the Pope in a white chasuble; and after Mass he said to the Pope, that he knew by revelation that he should die for the right of holy Church, and when it should fall, the chasuble should be turned from white to red.”

We now return to Canterbury. “On Christmas Day, St. Thomas made a sermon at Canterbury in his own church, and weeping, prayed the people to pray for him; for he knew well his time was nigh, and there executed the sentence on them that were against the right of holy Church. And that same day, as the king sat at meat, all the bread that they handled waxed anon mouldy and hoar, that no man might eat of it, and the bread that they touched not was fair and good for to eat. And these iiij knights aforesaid came to Canterbury on the Wednesday in Christmas week, about evensong time.”

“Then said Sir Reynold, ‘But if thou assoil [not] the king and us under standing the curse, it shall cost thee thy life.’ And St. Thomas said, ‘Thou knowest well enough that the king and I were accorded on Mary Magdalen's Day, and that this curse should go forth on them that had offended the Church.’ Then one of the knights smote him as he kneeled before the altar, on the head; and on Sir Edward Grim, that was his crozier, put forth his arm with the cross to bear off the stroke, and the stroke smote the cross in sunder, and his arm almost off, wherefore he fled for fear, and so did all the monks that were that time at Compline. And they smote each at him, that they

smote off a great piece of the skull of his head, that his brain fell on the pavement. And so they slew him and martyred him, and there cruelly that one of them brake the point of his sword against the pavement; and thus this holy Archbishop St. Thomas suffered death in his own church for the right of holy Church. And when he was dead, they stirred his brain; and after went into his chamber and took away his goods, and his horse out of his stable, and took away his bulls and writing, and delivered them to Sir Robert Broke to bear into France to the king. And as they searched his chamber, they found in a chest ij shirts of hair, made full of great knots; and they said, Certainly he was a good man. And coming down into the churchyard, they began to dread and fear the ground would not have borne them, and were sore aghast; for they supposed that the earth would have swallowed them all quick [alive]; then they knew that they had done amiss. And anon it was known all about how that he was martyred, and anon after took this holy body and unclothed him, and found bishop's clothing above, and the habit of a monk under, and next his flesh a hard hair full of knots, which was his shirt; and his breech was of the same, and the knots stuck fast within the skin, and all his body full of worms. He suffered great pain, and was thus martyred the year of our Lord XI.C.LXXI., and was liij years old. And soon after tidings came to the king how he was slain; wherefore the king took great sorrow, and sent to Rome for his absolution. And after that St. Thomas departed from the Pope, the Pope would daily look upon the white chasuble that St. Thomas had said Mass in, and that same day that he was martyred

he saw it turn into red ; whereby he knew well that that same day he suffered martyrdom for the right of holy Church, and commanded a Mass of *Requiem* solemnly to be sung for his soul. And when that the quire began for to sing *Requiem*, an angel on high above began the office of a martyr, *Lætabitur justus* ; and then anon after, all the whole quire followed singing forth the Mass of the office of a martyr. And then the Pope thanked God that it pleased Him to show such miracles for His holy Martyr, at whose tomb, by the merit and prayers of this holy Martyr, our blessed Lord there hath showed many miracles ; the blind have recovered there their sight, the dumb their speech, the deaf their hearing, the lame their limbs, and the dead their life. Therefore let us pray to this glorious Martyr to be our advocate, that by his petition we may come unto everlasting bliss. Amen.”

There is another very curious legend⁴⁸¹ connected with St. Thomas of Canterbury, which runs thus in the first person, as if it were related by the Saint himself : “ When I Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury fled from England into France, I went to Pope Alexander, who was then at Sens, where I showed him the evil customs and abuses which the King of England had introduced. One night, when I was in prayer in the church of St. Columba, I prayed to the Queen of Virgins to give the King of England and his heirs purpose and will of amendment towards the Church, and that Christ of His mercy would make him love the Church with a fuller love. Straightway the Blessed Virgin appeared to me, having in her bosom this golden eagle, and holding in her hand a little stone cruet. Taking the eagle from her bo-

som, she shut the cruet in it, and placed the cruet with the eagle in my hand; and spoke to me these words in order: 'This is the unction wherewith the kings of England should be anointed, not these who now reign and will reign, who are and will be wicked, and for their sins have lost and will lose much; but there are kings of England to come, who shall be anointed with this unction, who shall be kind and champions of the Church; for they will recover in peace the land which their fathers have lost, when they shall have the eagle with the cruet. For there shall be a King of England who shall first be anointed with this unction; he shall recover without force the land lost by his fathers, to wit, Normandy and Aquitaine. This king shall be the greatest among kings; and he shall build many churches in the Holy Land; and he shall put to flight all pagans from Babylon; and shall build therein many churches. As often as the king shall carry the eagle in his bosom, he shall have victory over his enemies; and his kingdom in like manner shall be increased. And thou shalt be a martyr.' Then I asked the Blessed Virgin to show me who should keep so precious a treasure; and she said to me, 'There is in this city a monk of St. Cyprian of Poitiers named William, who has been unjustly expelled by his Abbot from his abbey, and who is petitioning the Pope to compel his Abbot to restore him to his abbey. Give him the eagle with the cruet, for him to take it to the city of Poitiers; and let him hide it in the church of St. Gregory, near the church of St. Hilary, at the head of the church, towards the west, under a great stone. There it shall be found at a fitting time, and shall be the unction of the kings

of England.' The cause of the finding of this eagle shall be among the pagans. And all these things I gave him shut up in a vessel of lead." The old Ms. goes on to say, that "the above-written was accidentally found by my lord the King of England, on the vigil of St. Gregory, in the year of our Lord 1337, in an old chest. Walsingham⁴⁸² says, that King Richard II. found it in the Tower of London in 1399; and that Henry IV. was the first king who was anointed with this oil.

The last story we shall give is as probable as our last is improbable, yet we feel obliged to place it among the legends, as it seems contrary to the facts of St. Thomas's history. It is said,⁴⁸³ that when the Saint was at Lyons, he was asked to consecrate the church on the hill to our Blessed Lady, which has since become so famous as Notre Dame de la Fourvière. When the function was over, there was a little chapel close by, which he was asked to dedicate also. He inquired in whose honour it was to be consecrated. They told him that a titular Saint had not been chosen; but that he himself must select one. He thought for a few moments, and then said, "No," that he would not consecrate it; but that they must reserve it to be dedicated to the first martyr who should give his blood for Christ. The chapel was accordingly, in after years, dedicated to God in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

For a similar motive, in the want of fuller evidence, it seems necessary to reject the reason given, in the local history of Anagni by De Magistris, for the fact, that the canons of that cathedral erected an altar in honour of our Saint in the south aisle of the

lower church. It is there said, that in 1169, while Alexander III. was living in the canonica of that cathedral, St. Thomas himself arrived not long after the ambassadors of King Henry; and that during his stay there he always celebrated Mass in the basilica. Such a journey would surely have been betrayed at least in the voluminous correspondence, if not in the biographies of the Saint.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HONOUR AND DISHONOUR.

ST. THOMAS is not known to have left any writings except his letters. There are, however, two little hymns,⁴⁸⁴ one of which at least is attributed to him; and as they are interesting in themselves, they are here given.

“These are the Seven Temporal Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

‘ Gaude Virgo, Mater Christi,
Quem per aurem [*quæ auram* ?] concepisti,
Gabriele nuntio :

Gaude, quia Deo plena
Peperisti sine pœna
Cum pudoris lilio :

Gaude, quia Magi dona
Tuo Nato ferunt bona,
Quem tenes in gremio :

Gaude, quia reperisti
Tuum natum quem quæsisisti
In doctorum medio :

Gaude, quia tui Nati
Quem dolebas morte pati
Fulget resurrectio :

Gaude, Christo ascendente
Et in cœlum te tuente
Cum Sanctorum nubilo :

Gaude, quæ post Christum scandis,
Et est tibi honor grandis
In cœli palatio.’

“ We read that Blessed Thomas, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was wont to repeat with great devotion the Seven Temporal Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Once when he was saying these joys in his oratory, as he was accustomed, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and said, ‘ Why are you glad only for my joys which were temporal, and do not rather rejoice over the present joys which I now enjoy in heaven, which are eternal? Rejoice, therefore, and exult with me for the future. First, because my glory surpasses the happiness of all the Saints. Secondly, because as the sun gives light to the day, so my brightness gives light to the whole court of heaven. Thirdly, because all the hosts of heaven obey me, and ever honour me. Fourthly, because my Son and I have but one will. Fifthly, because God rewards, at my pleasure, all my servants, both now and hereafter. Sixthly, because I sit next to the Holy Trinity, and my body is glorified. Seventhly, because I am certainly sure that these joys will last for ever, and never end. And whoever shall honour me by rejoicing in these my joys, shall receive the consolation of my presence at the departure of his soul from the body, and I will free his soul from evil enemies, and I will present him in the sight of my Son, that he may possess with me the everlasting joys of Paradise.’ Blessed Thomas the Martyr aforesaid composed these seven joys, as they here follow.

“ These are the Seven Heavenly Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

‘ Gaude flore virginali
 Quæ honore speciali
 Transcendis splendiferum

Angelorum principatum,
Et sanctorum decoratum
Dignitate munerum.

Gaude Sponsa cara Dei,
Nam ut lux clara diei
Solis datur lumine,
Sic tu facis orbem vere
Tuæ pacis resplendere
Lucis plenitudine.

Gaude, splendens vas virtutum,
Tuæ sedis est ad nutum
Tota cœli curia :
Te benignam et felicem
Jesu dignam Gentricem
Veneratur gloria.

Gaude, nexu voluntatis
Et amplexu charitatis
Juncta sic altissimo
Ut ad nutum consequaris
Quicquid, Virgo, postularis
A Jesu dilectissimo.

Gaude, mater miserorum,
Quia Pater præmiorum
Dabit te colentibus
Congruentem hic mercedem,
Et felicem poli sedem
Sursum in cœlestibus.

Gaude, humilis beata,
Corpore glorificata,
Meruisti maxima
Flore tantæ dignitatis
Ut sis Sanctæ Trinitatis
Sessione proxima.

Gaude Virgo, Mater pura,
 Certa manens et segura
 Quod hæc tua gaudia
 Non cessabunt, non durescent,
 Sed durabunt et florescent
 In perenni gloria. Amen.

Ÿ. Exaltata es Sancta Dei Genitrix,
 R. Super choros Angelorum ad cœlestia regna.

Oratio.

O dulcissime Jesu Christe, qui beatissimam Genitricem Tuam, gloriosam Virginem Mariam perpetuis gaudiis in cœlo lætificasti, concede propitius ut ejus meritis et precibus continuis, salutem et prosperitatem mentis et corporis consequamur, et ad gaudia Tuæ Beatitudinis ac ejusdem Virginis feliciter perveniamus æternam. Per Te, Jesu Christe, Salvator mundi, qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'"

Dr. Smith, the Bishop of Chalcedon, quotes,⁴⁸⁵ from Parker's *History of St. Thomas*, that there was a hymn composed in his praise by St. Thomas of Aquin, which was sung daily. It is much to be regretted that it has not come down to us, for it would indeed have been pleasing to have connected the name of our Saint with that of his holy Dominican namesake, as we have had occasion in different ways to associate him with the memory of Saints Bernard and William and Gilbert, as well as Saints Anselm and Edmund.

Of the family of the Saint, who were scattered over Europe on their exile for his sake, two of his nephews were buried at Verona, which will probably account for the possession by that cathedral church of such a noble relic of St. Thomas, and the erection of a church in his honour in 1316. Some other re-

latives were at Rome, who, under Innocent III., finally settled at Fabriano, where, in the fourteenth century, two were born of the family, who imitated his sanctity and were raised to the dignity of the altar. Blessed John and Peter Becket⁴⁸⁶ were of the Augustinian Eremitical Order at Fabriano. The first went to Oxford about the year 1385, being then a Bachelor in Theology, to give lectures in that University, where he had assigned to him, by the general chapter of his order, held at Strigonia in Hungary on the 24th of May 1385, "the first place given to foreigners by the University of Oxford in the Lectureship of the Sentences." Various favours are recorded in the registry of the order, as conferred upon him by the general; amongst others that of going to London with one companion when he thought proper, of remaining in the convent at Oxford during the vacations, and of having a scribe. He returned with his master's degree, about 1392, to the convent where he had been professed, in which, on the 7th of May 1420, he had the full powers of the general delegated to him.

Blessed Peter Becket was chosen, in 1388, joint visitor of the convent of his order at Rimini, as a substitute for the famous Gregory of Arimino. In the following year he received leave to preach; but this occupation was not allowed to distract him from his studies, for in 1391 he was made second lecturer at Venice. Two years later he was permitted to visit the Holy Sepulchre; and his name reappears in the chronicles of the order, in 1421, as being allowed an attendant, probably because of his advanced age. It is said, that on his return from the Holy Sepulchre,

he awakened in his saintly relative a desire to visit those holy places also, and that they made their pilgrimage together. On their return, they built in their native town a church in honour of the Holy Sepulchre, with two chapels and five altars, on one of which the relics of the two holy religious ultimately rested. Their translation from the burial-place of the convent was owing to a miracle; for a bundle of dry thorns left between their graves budded and blossomed with numerous and beautiful flowers. They were moved to the convent church; and afterwards, in 1565, they were solemnly translated to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where their festival is kept on the 1st of January, the anniversary of their translation. The little church in which they are is now called by their name; and the wooden shrine in which their bodies rest is covered with paintings representing miracles wrought by their intercession, considered to be of about the date of 1450. In 1591 the community of Fabriano made a vow to observe their festival as a day of obligation for twelve years, to obtain their deliverance from pestilence and famine. Their claim to the title of Blessed, and the confirmation of the honour hitherto shown to them, were allowed by Pope Gregory XVI. on the 28th of August 1835.

The devotion to St. Thomas spread very rapidly. The earliest known representation of the Saint is executed in mosaic, in the church of Monreale, near Palermo, built by William the Good, King of Sicily, who began its erection in the very year St. Thomas was canonised. This king married Princess Jane of England, daughter of our Henry II., who arrived in Sicily in the year 1177.

In the cathedral at Anagni are preserved a full set of very beautiful vestments, given in the year 1200 by Pope Innocent III.; and on one of the dalmatics,⁴⁸⁷ amongst some representations of other English saints, is the martyrdom of St. Thomas. The local tradition is very strong that the Saint came thither in person during his exile; and an altar in the crypt, which has been removed to form a burial-place for the canons, is stated to be that on which he used to celebrate. In the choir-chapel an inscription⁴⁸⁸ on a picture, which may once have formed the door of a treasury, tells us that in 1325 they possessed a relic of him.

In the convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur, his martyrdom is represented on a mitre which formerly belonged to the celebrated Cardinal James de Vitry, the director and biographer of blessed Mary of Oignies, which he left in 1244 to the abbey of Oignies, whence at the death of the last prior they passed to Namur.

The first altar⁴⁸⁹ erected to him in Belgium was in the monastery of St. Laurence at Liège, by Abbot Eveline, "for the love which he bore him, as he studied with him at Paris." In Rome, the earliest altar known to have been raised in his honour is that in the⁴⁹⁰ chapel dedicated to him in the crypt or confession of the church of St. Alexius on the Aventine, which was consecrated, in 1218, by Pelagius, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, who placed therein some of his relics, together with those of several other saints. There is a fine relic at Veroli, preserved in a very handsome bust decorated by a canon of the church two centuries ago. A chasuble of the Saint is at

Courtrai, a chasuble and chalice are preserved at Dixmude, and a set of vestments at Sens; his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman has a mitre, and an apparel for an amice is at Erdington, both from the same treasury. Vast numbers of other relics have been honoured in different churches, but no longer survive the various storms which have assailed religion. The ring⁴⁹¹ which he wore when he was martyred was among the relics at Glastonbury: a hair-shirt⁴⁹² was shown in a reliquary in the English College at Douay, a small part in the abbey of Liesse, another⁴⁹³ in St. Victor's at Paris; a bone of his arm in the great church of St. Waldetrude at Mons; his chalice in the great nunnery of Bourbourg; his mitre and linen dipped in his blood at St. Bertin's at St. Omer; the rochet⁴⁹⁴ that he wore at his martyrdom was in the abbey of St. Martin, commonly called St. Judoc's; vestments in many other monasteries in the Low Countries.

Perhaps the most interesting relics which remain are those at St. Mary Major's at Rome. Baronius says⁴⁹ that the Cardinal Legates, Albert and Theodwine, brought back with them a portion of the pavement on which his brain had been scattered, and his tunic stained with blood, and that they were then placed in that church.

His shrine at Canterbury soon became the centre of unrivalled magnificence. Albert Archbishop of Livonia, when writing the⁴⁹⁶ account of the translation of St. Edmund, says that he believes that there was not in the whole world another for value or beauty like it. It is similarly described by all the writers who mention it, until the time of Henry VIII. A

single instance will be sufficient. It is a description⁴⁹⁷ written by a Venetian, who visited it about the year 1500, which was probably the time of its greatest splendour. "The tomb of St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury, exceeds all belief. Notwithstanding its great size, it is all covered with plates of pure gold; yet the gold is scarcely seen, because it is covered with various precious stones, as sapphires, balasses, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; and wherever the eye turns, something more beautiful than the rest is observed. Nor, in addition to these natural beauties, is the skill of art wanting; for in the midst of the gold, are the most beautiful sculptured gems, both small and large, as well as such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians, and cameos; and some cameos are of such a size, that I am afraid to name it; but every thing is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumb-nail, which is fixed at the right of the altar. The church is somewhat dark, and particularly in the spot where the shrine is placed; and when we went to see it, the sun was near setting, and the weather was cloudy: nevertheless, I saw that ruby as if I had it in my hand. They say it was given by a king of France."

The history of the church has been a series of undulations. Kings and nobles throw riches into her bosom, and then these very riches allure the covetous, and she is despoiled and becomes poor; and then offerings are made to her again, to become again in their turn the sacrilegious booty of the rapacious. The shrine of St. Thomas was not spared when the property of the Church in England fell into lay hands; and St. Thomas was himself so clearly its protector,

that the despoiler waged war against his very name. The following is the account given by a lawyer⁴⁹⁶ of this parody of the forms of law :

“ Henry VIII., when he wished to throw off the authority of the Pope, thinking that as long as the name of St. Thomas should remain in the calendar men would be stimulated by his example to brave the ecclesiastical authority of the sovereign, instructed his attorney-general to file a *quo-warranto* information against him for usurping the office of a saint, and he was formally cited to appear in court to answer the charge. Judgment of *ouster* would have passed against him by default, had not the king, to show his impartiality and great regard for the due administration of justice, assigned him counsel at the public expense. The cause being called, and the attorney-general and the advocate for the accused being fully heard, with such proofs as were offered on both sides, sentence was pronounced, that ‘ Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of contumacy, treason, and rebellion ; that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead ; and that the offerings made at his shrine should be forfeited to the crown.’ A proclamation followed, stating that, ‘ forasmuch as it now clearly appeared that Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot excited by his own obstinacy and intemperate language, and had been afterwards canonised by the Bishop of Rome as the champion of his usurped authority, the king’s majesty thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects that he was no saint, but rather a rebel and traitor to his prince, and therefore strictly charged and commanded that he should not be esteemed or

called a saint; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed, the festivals in his honour be abolished, and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.' ”

This did not pass unnoticed in the Rome for which St. Thomas lived and died. Pope Paul III., in a bull⁴⁹⁹ against Henry VIII. recounting his crimes, said, “After he had, for the greater contempt of religion, summoned St. Thomas the Archbishop of Canterbury into court, and caused him to be condemned as contumacious, and to be declared a traitor, he has ordered his bones, which in the realm of England, for the numberless miracles there wrought by Almighty God, were kept in a golden shrine at Canterbury, to be disinterred and burnt, and the ashes to be scattered to the winds: thus far surpassing the cruelty of all nations; for even in war conquerors do not rage against the bodies of the dead. And in addition to this, he has usurped possession of all the offerings given by the liberality of different kings, some of them of England, and of other princes, which were attached to the shrine, and were of immense value; and with all this, he thinks he has done religion no injury.”

Such events as these have placed St. Thomas in a peculiar position amongst the saints, as the protector of every effort to resist the spirit of King Henry VIII. and his successors in all their attempts to exercise an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Church.

The great Dr. Milner regarded him as the patron of his district; and at the prayer of that Bishop's successor in a part of his charge, the present Pope has declared St. Thomas the patron of the diocese of

Northampton. The English hospital in Rome was under his invocation, and the college which has succeeded to it is under the same august patronage; and its members, in common with their brethren, have so far trodden in his footsteps, that Cardinal Baronius is naturally led, when speaking of the Saint, to allude to the martyrs who have followed him in England.

The following fact⁵⁰⁰ shows the devotion towards this great Saint which was entertained in the colleges abroad, whence the "Seminary priests," as Missionaries-Apostolic were called, proceeded. In 1599, the Cardinals Borghese and Farnese received from Pope Clement VIII. power over all the English seminaries, and amongst other matters, the concession of two festivals to each of them with the privileges of the feasts of the Blessed Trinity and St. Thomas, as celebrated in the English college at Rome. It is remarkable that the five seminaries in different parts of Europe, choosing in the second place various great English saints, unanimously named in the first instance St. Thomas of Canterbury. He is usually called the Protector of the English secular clergy; and though no document of the Holy See is extant expressly ordaining this, he has been mentioned as such in recent rescripts. But the most venerable body of whom St. Thomas is the patron is the Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities, which assembles every year on his festival and at his altar, and at whose petition the late Pope Gregory XVI. made his feast of double rite for the States of the Church. At the instance of the Cardinal Duke of York, Pope Benedict XIV. gave leave for all ecclesiastics of the English nation, wherever they might be living, to keep

his festival as a double of the second class with an octave; and previously to these decrees Pope Urban VIII. had granted to all English people the power of celebrating the octave, notwithstanding its occurrence at a season when, by the ordinary rubrics, it would be forbidden. And finally, Pope Pius IX., by a rescript of the 12th of July 1857, has confirmed the celebration of the festival as a double of the first class with an octave, the rite with which it has been observed in England from time immemorial.

To all the qualities which make a man amiable as well as great, were united in him singleness of purpose and unshaken constancy in advancing the glory of God and the rights of the Catholic Church. His personal mortification was such, that men were led to doubt in his regard whether his martyrdom were to live or to be deprived of life. When the last struggle came, he entered the church with reluctance, lest it should seem like flight; but when there, he would not be drawn thence, that he might in the mother-church of England offer his life a sacrifice to God. He lifted no hand to ward the blow, but with a dignity and majesty which were all his own, he bore the sword-strokes which sent his soul to its glorious reward. God forgot not the glory of the servant who had been so zealous for the glory of His Spouse, and an endless series of magnificent miracles were the earthly recompense of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In the words of the sequence for his festival in the Sarum Missal, which must have often resounded through the aisles of Christ Church at Canterbury, as they sung Mass at his shrine:

Trucidatur flos pastorum inter sanctuaria,
Nec diei, nec locorum obstat reverentia.

Martyris declaratur gloria crebra per indicia,
Curantur per ejus suffragia infirmorum millia.

Stella maris, quæ lætaris te lactasse Filium,
Hunc precamur, assequamur ut Thomæ consortium.

Emulating the affection and devotion of simpler times, we may address our Saint in the words of an ancient antiphon :

Opem nobis, O Thoma, porrige,
Rege stantes, jacentes erige,
Mores, actus et vitam corrige,
Et in pacis nos viam dirige.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

THE names of Herbert de Bosham, Roger de Pontigny, Edward Grim, and John of Salisbury, tell their own tale of their respective opportunities of learning the events they narrate, as they have been frequently mentioned as personally present, and as having taken parts in the scenes of which they were afterwards the historians. John of Salisbury was so called because he was for many years a canon of that church (Fitz-St. Vita, ed. Giles, i. p. 215). He was elected Bishop of Chartres on the 22d of July 1176 (Gerv. p. 1434), before which time he had written his Life of St. Thomas (vide *infr.* note 436). The date of Herbert's book is given us by himself (i. p. 37). He began it in the fourteenth year after the martyrdom, and ended it in the pontificate of Urban III. (i. p. 367), who reigned from December 1185 to October 1187. It was professedly supplemental to the writers who had preceded him.

William Fitz-Stephens gives his own credentials: "I was the fellow-citizen of my lord, his cleric, and one of his household. Called by himself to a share of his anxieties, I was dictator in his chancery; when he sung Mass, I was the subdeacon of his chapel; when he sat to hear causes, I read the letters and documents that were presented; and I conducted some causes at his bidding. I was present with him at the Council of Northampton, where matters were transacted of such high importance; I saw his

martyrdom at Canterbury; and of many other things which are here written I was an eye and ear witness, while others, again, I learnt from those who witnessed them."

Odo, the prior whom St. Thomas had appointed just before his martyrdom (supr. p. 336), was made Abbot of Battel, July 19, 1175 (Chron. of Battel, p. 166; Gerv. p. 1432). He was succeeded in the priorship by Benedict, who had been chancellor to St. Thomas, and who, before the Ascension of 1177, was made Abbot of Peterborough (Gerv. p. 1436). He there built the minster gateway, which still remains, and founded within the precincts a chapel in honour of St. Thomas. The compiler of the *Quadriologue* says, that on the very day of the martyrdom, Benedict was with St. Thomas "*inter familiares illius familiaris.*" He wrote an account of the martyrdom and of the miracles that followed it (Grim, ed. Giles, i. p. 88; E. of Evesham, ii. p. 34). The latter were recorded officially by him as *custos* of the Saint's shrine, in which office he was succeeded by Roger (Bened. de Mirac. p. 235; Gerv. p. 1436), who, on the degradation of Clarembald in 1176, was made Abbot of St. Augustine's. Thorn, a monk of that abbey, records (p. 1819), that Roger was elected in the hope that he might take with him some relic of St. Thomas; and that they were enriched by some portion of the martyr's blood, brain, and skull. Benedict must have closed his record of miracles when Roger was made *custos*, probably on his own election as prior in 1175; so that all those that he narrates must have happened in little more than four years. Some account of the book will be found infr. note 455. His account of the martyrdom, judging by Joscelyn (Hearne's *Avesbury*, 280), probably begins with the words *Cum apud hominum fidelium mentes*; but a copy has not yet been ascertained to exist. Fragments of it have been preserved in the *Quadriologue*.

Alan is spoken of by Herbert as Prior of Canterbury (i. p. 234; Gerv. p. 1670). He was afterwards Abbot of Tewkesbury, and not of Deoche, as Alban Butler, misled by Baronius, gives it. He collected the 529 letters which Lupus published, and he wrote a life of the Saint as a preface to them, which is headed in the Vatican MS. "Prohemium auctoris infrascriptas epistolas recolligentis." This book was in existence before Herbert wrote, and it is mentioned by an anonymous writer, who, when young, saw Edward Grim, then an old man (*Vita*, ii. p. 50).

The author of another anonymous Life tells us that he was present at the martyrdom (*Vita*, ii. p. 72).

Gervase, a monk of Christ Church at Canterbury, gives St. Thomas a large place in his chronicle; and he thus excuses himself (p. 1418): "No one should feel weary of whatever can be told with truth of so great a martyr. His holiness excited my affection, and his kindness attracted me: he granted me the habit in the very year in which he was consecrated Archbishop; to him I made my profession, and from his hand I received holy orders. He also appeared to a brother of mine of his own name, to whom, amongst other sweet things, he said this in secret: 'I have done so much, I have done so much that the names of my monks, and of the clerics who are bound to them, might be written in the Book of Life.' And when the cleric, being anxious about himself, said to the Saint: 'My lord, how will it fare with myself?' the Saint, gently smiling, laid his hand on his head and kissed him." Gervase mentions (p. 1670) the writers who had preceded him, Herbert, John of Salisbury, and Benedict, Alan, whom he speaks of as the compiler of the volume of letters, and William, a monk of Canterbury, of whose book but a few fragments remain.

Ralph de Diceto was Archdeacon of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, succeeding Richard de Beames (*Ep. Gilb. Fol.*

ed. Giles, i. p. 40), a relation of Gilbert Foliot, who was advanced to the see of London under Pope Eugenius III. (Gilb. Fol. i. p. 122), and was consecrated by Archbishop Theobald in 1152 (Diceto, pp. 510, 527). This archdeaconry had been promised by the Pope to John of Canterbury; but Gilbert interceded with Eugenius for Diceto, upon whom it had been previously conferred by the new Bishop of London (Gilb. Fol. i. p. 121). He is spoken of as Archdeacon by Alexander III. in his letter to the Chapter of St. Paul's, respecting the translation of Gilbert Foliot to London from the see of Hereford (Ymag. Hist. p. 534; Gilb. Fol. i. p. 192); and this was his rank when he was present at the Council of Northampton (Fitz-St. Vita, i. p. 227). He was afterwards made dean of his cathedral.

Garnier of Pont S. Maxence, or, as he calls himself,

“Guernes li clers, de Punt de Saint Mesence nez,”

wrote an exceedingly interesting life of our Saint in verse, for which he received from “l’abesse, suer saint Thomas,” a palfrey with its trappings;

“et les dames m’ont fet tut gras
chescune d’eles de sun dun.”

The following verses will give a further specimen of the language and versification, and at the same time furnish the date of its composition :

“Guernes li clers del Punt fine ici sun sermun
del martir saint Thomas e de sa passiun.
e mainte feiz le fist à la tombe al barun.
ci n’a mis un sul mot se la verité nun.
de ses mesfaiz li face li pius deus ueir pardun.

“Ainc mais si bons romanz ne fu faiz ne trouez.
à Cantorbire fu e faiz e amendez.
n’i ad mis un sul mot qui ne seit ueritez.
li vers est d’une rime en cinc clauses cuplez.
mis languages est bons: car en France fui nez.

L'an secund que li sainz fu en iglise ocis,
 comenchai cest romanz e mult m'en entremis.
 des priuez saint Thomas la uerité apris,
 mainte feiz en ostai co que io ainz ecris,
 pur oster la menconge. al quart an fin i mis."

(Ed. Bekker, fol. 83.)

Diceto and Gervase were published by Sir Roger Twysden in 1652, and Garnier very recently by Bekker. All the other writers here mentioned are quoted from Dr. Giles's recent edition.

We have seen that a collection of the letters that passed between St. Thomas and his friends and enemies was made at a very early period. Dr. Giles has reprinted them, together with many others; but in such disorder that it is difficult to use these invaluable authorities. They are referred to in the following notes, as Ep. S. Thomæ, 2 vols., Ep. Gilb. Foliot, 2 vols., and Ep. Joannis Sar., 2 vols.

1. Rog. Pont. i. p. 98; Fitz-St. i. p. 184.

2. Writers so various as Godwin, Cave, Thierry and Sharon Turner, Froude and Giles, the author of the Cologne Life of 1639, Cola, Beaulieu, and our own accurate Alban Butler, all admit the story of Gilbert's escape from a Saracen prison, and his marriage with a Saracen princess. Mr. Berington was the first to reject it. About the time of the Translation by Cardinal Langton, in 1220, a compilation was made from the several biographers, which has since gone by the name of the *Quadriologue*. A large number of copies of this book exist, and, if one may say so, it has passed through several editions, as it has many different prefaces or prologues. The best-known *Quadriologue* is that published by Lupus, or Christian Wolf, at Brussels in 1682. It had been previously printed at Paris in black-letter, in 1495, under the title of "Vita et Processus S. Thomæ." This latter book is sometimes called the first *Quadriologue*; though no proof has ever been ad-

duced of its claim to the distinction. It differs from the second *Quadrilogue* only in the opening chapters, in which the story of the Saracen princess is related.

John of Brompton is generally quoted as the authority for this legend; but he has simply copied the first seven chapters of the first *Quadrilogue*, altering only the beginnings and endings of the chapters, and omitting the names of the various authors; and, when the history begins to be rather intricate, he refers his readers to the Life "quam iiii viri famosi scripserunt" (ed. Twysden, pp. 1051, 1058).

John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (from 18th October 1327 until his death, 15th July 1369), informed his old Professor of Divinity at Paris (Doctor James Fournier), who was elected Pope on 20th December 1334, and crowned by the name of Benedict XII. on the following 8th January, in his complimentary letter on his promotion, that he himself had compiled a Life of St. Thomas the Martyr, which he intended to submit to his Holiness. "Vitam beati Thome Martyris, ex multis scriptoribus per me noviter redactam, Sanctitatis vestræ oculis destino intuendam" (Registr. Grandissoni, vol. i. fol. 40). For this interesting notice of Grandisson's life the writer is indebted to the great kindness of the Rev. Dr. Oliver of Exeter. The book has not been printed, but copies exist in the British Museum, the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the Students' Library of the English College, Rome, and in the Vatican (Chr. 623). This compilation also contains the story of the Saracen princess, written rather more concisely than the first *Quadrilogue*.

3. Garnier, fol. *4, l. 21; Fitz-St. i. p. 183; Herb. i. p. 6; John of Sar. i. p. 319; Edw. Grim, i. p. 4; Rog. Pont. i. p. 92; Will. Cant. ii. p. 1. The anonymous author of the Lambeth MS. (ed. Giles, ii. p. 73) says, "Habuit uxorem nomine Roesam, natione Cadomensem, genere burgensium

non disparem." St. Thomas himself says, "Non sum revera atavis editus regibus" (Ep. i. p. 178); and again, "Quod si ad generis mei radicem et progenitores meos intenderis, cives quidem fuerunt Londonienses, in medio concivium suorum habitantes sine querela, nec omnino infimi" (Ep. i. p. 286). At least Garnier, who took such pains with his "bons romanz," would have introduced a tale so well adapted to his "rime en cinc clauses cuplez," if he had but heard of it. He thus disposes of the parentage of our Saint :

"Saint Thomas l'arceueske, dunt precher m'oez,
 en Lundres la cité fu pur ueir engendrez,
 des barons de la cit estraiz e aleuez.
 e Gilebert Beket fu sis pere apelez,
 e sa mere Mahalt. de neite gent fu nez."

(fol. *4, l. 21.)

4. Rog. Pont. i. p. 93; Grim, i. p. 4; Garnier, fol. *4 b, l. 1.

5. Rog. Pont., Grim, Garnier, loc. cit.; Lamb. MS. ii. p. 73.

6. Grim, Garnier, loc. cit.

7. Fitz-St. i. p. 182.

8. Rog. Pont. loc. cit. "Passus est egregius Dei athleta Thomas anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo septuagesimo, vitæ vero ipsius quinquagesimo tertio" (Benedict, ii. p. 71). Ralph of Chester in his Polycronycon gives the date in a distich :

"Anno milleno, centeno, septuageno,
 Anglorum Primas corrui ense Thomas.

That is to meaning, The yere of our Lorde enleven hundred and seventy, Thomas deyed by a swerde, Prymate of Englysshe men" (Translation by Treveris, edition of Wynkyn de Woorde, 1527). Gervase (p. 1418) explains that some have said that St. Thomas died in 1171, because they accounted the year to begin with Christmas-day.

9. Grim, i. pp. 6, 7 ; Will. Cant. ii. p. 1.
10. Fitz-St. i. p. 177.
11. Rog. Pont. i. p. 94 ; Fitz-St. i. p. 182 ; Grim, i. p. 5 ; Garnier, fol. *4 b, l. 16.
12. John of Sar. i. p. 319.
13. Herb. de Bosham, i. p. 7.
14. Fitz-St. i. p. 183.
15. Ibid. p. 184.
16. Richier de l'Egle (Garnier, fol. *5, l. 11 ; Grim, i. p. 7 ; Rog. Pont. i. p. 96) was a Norman baron, and his name appears amongst the barons present at Clarendon (Cotton. MSS. Claud. B. 2, fol. 25 ; Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. Lond. 1721, p. 322). Baillehache (Garnier, fol. *6, l. 13 ; Rog. Pont. i. p. 98) was a Norman soldier, and Baldwin the Archdeacon and Master Eustace (Fitz-St. Vita, i. p. 184) were Norman ecclesiastics. Thierry (Hist. de la Conquête, ii. liv. 9) imagined our Saint to have been of Saxon descent, and upon this error he built a theory. Lord Campbell has followed him.
17. Rog. Pont. i. p. 96 ; Garnier, fol. *5, l. 10.
18. "Tutus et capuciatu8," says Roger ; "tut encha-peronez," Garnier.
19. Grim, i. p. 8.
20. Rog. Pont. i. p. 97.
21. Will. Cant. ii. p. 1.
22. Dr. Giles's edition of Grim (Vita, i. p. 8) says, "Octo-numini cognomine." Garnier, as printed by Bekker from the MS. in the Brit. Mus. (fol. *5 b, l. 22) gives "dit Deniers," but the MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale gives "Witdeniers." The last is proved to be the correct reading by the "Octo" of Grim ; while the Latin should be read, "Octonummi," as the French shows. The name "Eight-pence" has not reached our times.
23. Fitz-St. i. p. 183.

24. Benedict. de Mirac. p. 244.

25. Rog. Pont. i. p. 99; Grim, i. p. 10; Fitz-St. i. p. 185.

26. "The Cardinal-deacon Peter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. We believe that your Lordship is aware that the Church of Blessed Mary of the Saxons (*quæ Saxonorum dicitur*) in Rome is appointed by the considerate provision of the Roman Pontiffs for the reception of the English who visit the threshold of the Apostles, that they may here find and receive consolation and charitable assistance after their various labours, as in a house of their own. Through our sins, it has come to such poverty, that but a few clerics and hardly any lay person can be found to serve the church and attend upon the pilgrims. Our Holy Father, Pope Alexander, out of compassion for its poverty and misery, has given in its favour exhortatory letters for England, which you will see. Since we know how ready and willing your goodness is in every thing relating to piety and religion, we much trust in your brotherliness, and we pray you in the Lord to receive kindly the bearer of these presents, Nicholas, a canon of the aforesaid church, and, according to the tenor of the letters of our lord the Pope, to vouchsafe at our prayer to grant him your letters for reverence of the Mother of God. Farewell in the Lord." (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 138.)

This is the latest notice of the church of the Saxon school with which the writer is acquainted. The Bull of Innocent III., which erected the hospital of S. Spirito, gives to that new foundation "the church of Blessed Mary in Sassia, formerly attached to the Saxon school;" and in the hall of the hospital is an inscription commemorating the good deeds of that Pope, amongst which is recorded, *Angeli monitu, expositis infantibus excipiendis, educandisque hospitium in veteri Saxonum schola designat.*

Ven. Bede (Hist. Eccl. v. 8) relates, that in 727, Ina,

king of the West Saxons, visited Rome in the pontificate of Gregory II., and that at that time many English of all ranks and states of life were accustomed to perform the same pilgrimage. Matthew of Westminster (ad ann. 727, ed. Francof. 1601, p. 135) adds, that he founded in Rome "the English school, to which the kings and royal family of England, with the Bishops, priests, and clerics, might come to be instructed in doctrine and the Catholic faith. And near this house he built a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which the English might say Mass, and where they might be buried, if they happened to die in Rome. For the support of this foundation, he enacted that the penny called Romescot should be paid from every family to Blessed Peter and the church of Rome."

Matthew Paris (ed. 1644, p. 19) tells us, that Offa II., king of the Mercians, in 794, in thanksgiving for the canonisation of St. Alban by Pope Adrian, extended the contribution of Peter's pence in behalf of the English school, *quæ tunc Romæ floruit*, to his province. According to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, this school and church were burnt down in 817, and Pope Paschal I. rebuilt them; and they were again destroyed by fire in the conflagration of the Borgo, that the pencil of Raffaele has rendered so famous; after which they were rebuilt from the foundations by Pope St. Leo IV. One of the gates of the Leonine city, from which Leo IV. gave his blessing to the burning suburb, was called, from the neighbourhood of the school, "the Saxon postern," *Saxonum posterula*; and the same writer assures us that the name of the "Borgo" was derived from our countrymen: *Per quorundam gentis Anglorum desideriam omnis Anglorum habitatio, quæ in eorum lingua Burgus dicitur, flamma ignis combusta est.*

Passing over the visits of several Saxon kings to Rome, by which new privileges were conferred upon the national establishment, we find the following interesting mention of

it in the letter of Pope Alexander II. to William the Conqueror, in 1068 (Baron. ad ann.): *Nam ut bene nosti, donec Angli fideles erant piæ devotionis respectu ad cognitionem religionis annuam pensionem Apostolicæ Sedi exhibebant, ex qua pars Romano Pontifici, pars Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ quæ vocatur Schola Anglorum in usum fratrum deferbatur.* It is probable that the Saxon school had fallen into poverty before the time of St. Thomas; for when St. Anselm visited Rome, the time that he did not spend at the Lateran palace was passed at a spot called *Scavia* (in a curious metrical account of his life amongst the MSS. of the Vatican Library, no. 499, p. 123), now called "Torre de' Schiavi" beyond the Porta Maggiore. It is interesting to add from the same MS. (our knowledge of which is due to the investigations of a German scholar, Karl Greith), that there was on this spot a well famous for the cure of fevers, which was called "St. Anselm's well."

27. Epp. cxi. cxxxviii. ed. Horst. Lugd. 1687.
28. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 104; Gerv. p. 1363.
29. Gerv. p. 1371.
30. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 54.
31. Fitz-St. i. p. 185. Matthew of Westminster (Annal. ad ann. 1155) says that, before he went to Archbishop Theobald, he had received from the Abbot of St. Alban's the benefice of Bratfield.
32. Gerv. p. 1376; Fitz-St. i. p. 186; Rog. Pont. i. p. 100; Grim, i. p. 10.
33. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 168.
34. Fitz-St. i. pp. 186 et seq.
35. Garnier, fol. *7, l. 6; Will. Cant. ii. p. 3.
36. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 157.
37. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 51; Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 158.
38. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 223; Froude's Remains, part ii. vol. ii. p. 578. Lord Campbell (i. p. 68) says, "The chan-

cellor overruled their scruples, and compelled them to pay up their arrears" of the tax substituted for personal service. "Upon this, the heads of the Church uttered the most violent invectives against him. Foliot, Bishop of London, publicly accused him of plunging a sword into the bosom of his mother, the Church; and Archbishop Theobald, his former patron, threatened to excommunicate him. Becket still showed an entire indifference to ecclesiastical censures, and established Henry's right to personal service and scutage for all the lands held by the Church." Then follows an exaggerated account of the Battle-Abbey controversy. Archbishop Theobald's sole threat of censures the reader will find mentioned in the text; and Foliot (who was not Bishop of London until St. Thomas ceased to be chancellor), if he wrote the letter which contains the passage Lord Campbell refers to, did so long afterwards, when St. Thomas was in exile for opposing the king. This is not the only instance in which Lord Campbell has made a most unjustifiable use of this letter (see note 156). Any one reading this passage would conclude that the violent invectives were uttered by "the heads of the Church" at the time; whereas it is years afterwards, when every conceivable accusation was heaped together against St. Thomas, that they are met for the first time, and then only in a doubtful letter of a single Bishop.

39. Jo. Sar. p. 321.
40. Lord Campbell's Chancellors, i. p. 59.
41. Gerv. p. 1380.
42. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 23.
43. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 107.
44. Id. i. p. 81.
45. Id. i. pp. 107, 133.
46. Id. i. pp. 95, 105.
47. Id. i. p. 132.

48. Gerv. p. 1381.
49. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. pp. 26, 56, 60, 77, 80, 93, 94.
50. Id. i. p. 105.
51. Id. i. pp. 46, 51, 56, 60.
52. Herb. i. p. 26.
53. Gerv. p. 1382.
54. Gervase, who made his profession at Christ Church not long after this election, and Herbert (i. p. 30), say Westminster; Roger de Pontigny says the election took place at Canterbury.
55. Rog. Pont. i. p. 107; Fitz-St. i. p. 202; Alan, i. p. 370.
56. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 366.
57. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 304.
58. Gerv. p. 1383.
59. Rog. Pont. i. p. 106.
60. Jo. Sar. i. p. 322; Rog. Pont. i. p. 108.
61. Herb. i. p. 31; Gerv. p. 1382.
62. Diceto, p. 533; Matth. Paris, p. 69.
63. Fitz-St. i. p. 202.
64. Girald. Cambr. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, fol. Lond. 1691, ii. p. 420.
65. Diceto, p. 534; Gerv. p. 1383.
66. Herb. i. p. 43; Fitz-St. i. p. 204; Jo. Sar. i. p. 324; Lamb. MS. ii. p. 80. Roger de Pontigny (i. p. 110) says that this was done every evening.
67. Herb. in Quadril: ii. p. 196.
68. Jo. Sar. i. p. 323.
69. Id. i. p. 323, copied literally by Fitz-St. i. p. 204.
70. Grim, i. p. 16; Rog. Pont. i. p. 111.
71. Herb. i. p. 41.
72. Garnier, fol. 76 b, l. 21.
73. Herb. i. p. 39; Fitz-St. i. p. 203.
74. Bened. de Mirac. p. 177.
75. Herb. in Quad. ii. p. 200; Jo. Sar. i. p. 324;

Rog. Pont. i. p. 111. To read in refectory was one of the duties of the cross-bearer. Prince Henry is said to have waited at table, "when he chose." To do so was but to exercise one of the duties of chivalry, and he would share such duties with the sons of noblemen who were in the Archbishop's retinue. Herbert tells us, that while it was usual for the barons and earls to devote their eldest sons to the king's service, their second sons were intrusted to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Herb. Anecd. Bed. pp. 110, 112.)

76. Herb. i. p. 69.

77. Jo. Sar. i. p. 324 ; Fitz-St. i. p. 204 ; Rog. Pont. i. p. 110 ; Lamb. MS. ii. p. 81.

78. Herb. i. p. 72 ; Jo. Sar. i. p. 325, copied literally by Lamb. MS. ii. p. 82.

79. Fitz-St. i. p. 205 ; Jo. Sar. i. p. 323 ; Herb. i. pp. 54, 57.

80. It is engraved and published in Mr. Nichols's translations of Erasmus's Pilgrimage, and again in the Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc. part i. vol. x. April 1854.

81. Grim, i. pp. 18, 82 ; Rog. Pont. i. p. 110 ; Fitz-St. i. p. 203 ; Jo. Sar. i. p. 338 ; Will. Cant. ii. p. 5 ; Gerv. p. 1383 ; Garnier, fol. 46 b, 13 ; 77, 16.

82. Diceto, p. 534.

83. Fitz-St. i. p. 208.

84. Herb. i. p. 85.

85. Id. i. p. 86 ; Fitz-St. i. p. 208 ; Diceto, p. 536, gives the date as 22d July 1163, which would be after the Council of Tours.

86. Gerv. p. 1384.

87. Gilb. Fol. i. pp. 191, 192, 194 ; Diceto, p. 534.

88. Id. i. p. 152.

89. Id. i. p. 366.

90. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 100.
91. Id. i. pp. 11, 22, 30 (repeated at p. 124), 37, 53 and 69, 57, 74, 89.
92. Id. i. p. 91.
93. Id. i. pp. 69, 86.
94. Id. i. pp. 6, 11, 15, 26, 50, 54, 57, 62, 84, 85.
95. Id. i. pp. 29, 32, 33, 63.
96. Id. i. pp. 47, 85.
97. Id. i. pp. 69, 63, 71.
98. Gerv. p. 1364.
99. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 113.
100. Id. i. p. 93.
101. Id. i. pp. 120, 163, 170, 174.
102. Id. i. pp. 111, 112, 122, 152.
103. Id. i. p. 127.
104. Id. i. pp. 154, 168.
105. Id. i. p. 176.
106. Id. i. p. 198.
107. Fitz-St. i. p. 216.
108. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 281.
109. Id. i. p. 282, repeated Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 152.
110. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 87.
111. Id. i. p. 199.
112. Gerv. p. 1384.
113. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 194. The copyist of the MS. in the Bodleian, misled, no doubt, by the initial, has substituted the name of Theobald for that of Thomas. Henry was not at Windsor between the death of Richard de Beaumes and that of Theobald.
114. Herb. i. p. 88.
115. Diceto, p. 535.
116. Jo. Sar. v. p. 305.
117. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 61. Pope Alexander VI., on the 4th October 1494, following the example of Pope Innocent (probably VIII.), instituted another commission to report

to the Holy See at the request of King Henry VI. (Spelman, Conc. Orb. Brit. ii. p. 721). Clement XI., by a decree S.R.C., 8th February 1720, at the prayer of King James III., raised the feast of St. Anselm from a semi-double to double rite, assigning to him the Mass of a Doctor of the Church.

118. Surius. De prob. SS. vitis, Jan. 5. Colon. Agrip. 1618, vol. i. p. 78.

119. The decree S.R.C. of 29th May 1679 ordered the feast of St. Edward to be kept by the Universal Church on the 9th October; but it was followed by another decree S.R.C. on 6th April 1680, assigning the 13th for the festival.

120. Jo. Sar. v. p. 78.

121. Diceto, p. 536. Gervase, however (p. 1389), says, "post Pascha," 1164.

122. Gerv. p. 1385.

123. Campbell's Chancellors, i. p. 97.

124. Rog. Pont. i. p. 112.

125. Fitz-St. i. p. 208.

126. Diceto, p. 534. Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine's, says in his Chronicle of that house (p. 1815) that Clarembald was intruded by the king.

127. Grim, i. p. 21; Rog. Pont. i. p. 113.

128. Grim, i. p. 22; Rog. Pont. i. p. 114; Fitz-St. i. p. 214; Herb. i. p. 101; Diceto, p. 537.

129. Garnier, fol. *17, l. 21; fol. 5b, ll. 5-10.

130. Herb. i. pp. 101, 103.

131. Id. i. p. 108.

132. Fitz-St. i. p. 209.

133. Herb. i. p. 109.

134. Id. i. p. 111; Gerv. p. 1385.

135. Grim, Vita, i. p. 25. St. Thomas well understood his character. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 225, ii. p. 189.

136. Rog. Pont. i. p. 117.

137. Diceto, p. 536.
 138. Grim, i. p. 26; Rog. Pont. i. p. 120; Gerv. p. 1385.
 139. Grim, Rog. Pont., loc. cit.; Will. Cant. ii. p. 6.

“E uns abés i vint, ki dunc uint d’ultre mer,
 Philippe de l’almodne: ainsi l’oi numer.”

(Garnier, fol. *18, 11.)

The writer regrets that he should have given an English translation of the name of this abbey in the text. “Eleemosyna,” or l’Aumosne, sometimes called, according to *Gallia Christiana*, “le petit Citeaux,” was situated “in silva Leonia,” now called le Forest de Marché Noir, in the diocese of Blois. It was founded about 1121, by Theobald, Count of Champagne. The Abbey of Aumone was the mother of many abbeys, and, amongst others, of Waverley and Tintern.

Philip, when Bishop of Tarentum, had fallen into schism under the Antipope Anacletus; and on being therefore suspended, he became a religious of Clairvaux, in 1139. St. Bernard made him Prior of Clairvaux; and in 1156 he became Abbot of Aumone. In 1171 he is mentioned in a charter of Henry, the Archbishop of Rheims, as having resigned his abbacy and returned to Clairvaux.

140. Rog. Pont. i. p. 121.
 141. Id. i. p. 120; Herbert (i. p. 113) says Oxford.
 142. Herb. loc. cit.
 143. Gervase (p. 1385) gives the date as St. Hilary, Jan. 14th; Diceto (p. 536) says it was Jan. 25th. The “recognitio” names the fourth day before the Purification. Cott. MS. Claud. B. 2, fol. 25; Wilkins, Leg. Angl. Sax. p. 322; Herb. ii. p. 205.
 144. Rog. Pont. i. p. 123; Gerv. p. 1386.
 145. Roger of Pontigny (p. 124) has erroneously written “Norwich.” William Turbo was Bishop of Norwich

from 1151 to 1176. Roger de Melhent, Bishop of Worcester, was grandson to King Henry I., and therefore first cousin to Henry II.

146. Garnier, fol. *20, l. 7.

147. Grim, i. p. 30; Rog. Pont. i. p. 126; Herb. i. p. 114. "On the word of a priest" (Alan, i. p. 341; Gerv. p. 1386): Fitz-Stephen (i. p. 217) adds, but evidently inaccurately, "et sigillorum suorum impressione."

148. Rog. Pont. i. p. 126; Garnier, fol. *20b, l. 11.

149. Herb. i. p. 116; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 12.

150. Rog. Pont. i. p. 127; Grim, i. p. 31; Garnier, fol. *21, l. 9. Herb. (i. p. 124) says, that when his seal was demanded, the Archbishop, though much moved and distressed, yet dissembled, fearing to vex the king. He therefore did not positively refuse, but begged for delay.

151. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 242.

152. Alan, i. p. 340; Herb. i. p. 126.

153. Herbert's character of Alexander Llewellen is very quaint (i. p. 366): "Alexander, called in his own language Cuelin, by surname and nation 'the Welshman.' A well-educated man, pleasant in talking, and in pleasant speech profuse. Yet all his merit lay not in his mouth, for his hand was as ready as his tongue. With our father and for our father, bidden and unbidden, absent and present, frequently in great perils, he laboured with caution, resolution, and constancy; and, what is very valuable in his nation, his fidelity was equal to his work."

154. Herb. i. p. 131; Gerv. p. 1388; Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 5.

155. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 2, 6, 15, 19.

156. This letter (Gilb. Fol. i. p. 265) evidently never reached St. Thomas's hands, or he would have answered it, as he did all the others. It is a very specious *ex parte* pamphlet, and so unscrupulous, that Mr. Berington (Henry

II. p. 657) considers that it is unjustly attributed to Gilbert Foliot. "Who in the world is so stupid," it says, "as not to know that you bought the dignity of chancellor for several thousand marks? . . . Our father Theobald died; and you, who had ever been on the watch for this event, immediately returned from Normandy to England." Theobald died on the 18th of April 1161, and the election was in May 1162. "When we saw that the Church of God was overpowered, we spoke out in defence of her liberty; we had straightway a sentence of proscription passed against us, and we were cruelly doomed to exile; and not our own person merely, but our father's house and all our relations and connections." In answer to an assertion made by Gilbert in another letter (Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 187) of the opposition made to the election, John of Salisbury writes (Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 304; Froude, p. 591): "I do not mind the lies which he has dared to insert concerning your election, for I was present, and both heard and saw. He alone was not pleased when you were elected; for, above every one else, as then appeared and still appears, he aspired to be placed in your see. Yet he did not dare to speak against it for long, while the others found fault with his ambition and insolence. Whatever, therefore, might be his inmost thoughts, of which God is the judge, he was amongst the first who voted for you; and when your election was made, he applauded it, almost more than they all." Mr. Berington (Henry II. p. 663) considers that the writer has confused together the Councils of Clarendon and Northampton, attributing to the former the violence of the latter; but there was quite violence enough at Clarendon (see above, note 144) to justify so far the account given by him. The most singular part of the letter is the tone in which it speaks of the king's proceedings. It condemns St. Thomas, not for resisting them, but for not resisting them sufficiently. Not merely does it blame

him for being the cause of the submission of all the Bishops at Clarendon, but it attacks him for giving up the immunity of the clergy by giving sureties at Northampton for the payment of the fines. As might be imagined, the letter is not consistent, and at once brings every accusation, even though one answers the other. Lord Campbell has chosen to attribute to St. Thomas the exclamation at Clarendon: "It is my master's pleasure that I should forswear myself, which I resolve to do, and to repent afterwards as I may" (Chancellors, i. p. 75). Surely he should have told his readers, that his sole authority for his assertion was this production of a bitter enemy, and that even of this, doubts of the genuineness have been entertained. It is certainly not contained in Alan's collection of the correspondence; but it is given by Dr. Giles from two MSS., both in the Bodleian, Douce 287, part 2, n. 18, and Cave 249, n. 447. Vide supra, p. 185.

157. "These customs had never been written before, nor had they even existed in the realm of England" (Fitz-St. i. p. 216). This is beyond dispute with respect to some of them.

158. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 1.

159. Grim, i. p. 32; Rog. Pont. i. p. 128.

160. Roger of Pontigny (i. p. 129), Hoveden (Ann. p. 282 b), and apparently some of the other writers, express themselves as if the king himself had been made Legate. The letters are, however, very clear.

161. So the Pope himself tells St. Thomas (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 3).

162. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 243; Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 240, 241.

163. Herb. i. p. 366.

164. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 212.

165. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 109, 255.

166. The Bishops of Exeter and Worcester, and the Abbot of Faversham, who were sent as a commission from the Holy See to examine into the truth of charges of a personal character made against him, report him to have been a fearfully wicked man. (Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 268.)

167. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 43.

168. "Ex oblivione potius quam ex industria contigit . . . non enim tenorem priorum literarum memoriter tenebamus." (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 9.)

169. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 255; Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 247.

170. Fitz-Stephens (p. 215) says, that the king sent John of Salisbury, and John the Treasurer of York, into exile, that St. Thomas might not have their help against him. The latter is as incorrect as his statement that the Bishops sealed the Constitutions of Clarendon; for John the Treasurer of York, who figures so well in his story of the Burgess of Scarborough (p. 213), was made Bishop of Poitiers while the king was friendly with St. Thomas, and he was consecrated by the Pope himself in the Council of Tours (Diceto, Imag. p. 536). This good prelate was a friend worthy of St. Thomas. He thus concludes a letter written at this time: "Whatever then you do, my beloved father and lord, do for the sake of God alone, and for the preservation of the liberties of the church over which you preside, and look from Him alone for the consolation and reward of this labour. I look for the same or a still harder fate. Would that I might partake of your exile with or before you! For it will be no inglorious thing for us, who have often for vanity and worldly pleasure abused prosperity, now, if need be, to bear adversity together from the hand of God. Our friend, Henry of Pisa, is trying to get for me a safer refuge; and he tells me he sent you a similar offer through the Abbot of Aumone. I am now going to Pontigny, to commend your intention and mine to that religious Order; for when human help fails, we may still

look to God. I have got the Pope himself to recommend us to the prayers of Clairvaux." (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 248.)

171. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 187. This letter Mr. Froude dates from Paris, Oct. 1163, that is, immediately after the Council of Westminster; but the other council mentioned in the letter, which John of Salisbury calls "of Winchester," is evidently Clarendon; and therefore the letter cannot bear date earlier than the beginning of 1164.

172. Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 382, 384; Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 309.

173. Id. i. p. 363.

174. Grim, p. 32; Rog. Pont. p. 128; Will. Cant. p. 10; Gerv. p. 1388.

175. Dated Sens, February 28, 1164. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 2, 9.

176. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 255.

177. Fitz-St. p. 218.

178. Rog. Pont. p. 130; Gerv. p. 1389; Garnier, fol. *28, 10. "Rumeneye" (Fitz-St. loc. cit.); "His manor called Aldinton" (Alan, p. 341).

179. Grim, p. 38; Herb. i. p. 131.

180. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 220; Fitz-St. p. 219; Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 284.

181. Rog. Pont. p. 133.

182. Grim, p. 40; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 220.

183. Herbert (i. p. 136) represents this day's proceedings as a demand for the repayment of five hundred silver pounds lent by Henry to St. Thomas when chancellor. He says that, in spite of the danger of giving the king offence by such an act, five men were found willing to stand surety for the Saint, each for one hundred pounds.

184. Alan, p. 345.

185. Garnier, fol. 6, 8, and fol. 77, 1; Fitz-St. p. 224; Herb. i. p. 138.

186. Alan (p. 346) says that it was the very day on which, in the previous century, the Normans had entered England.

187. This was in consequence of the advice a religious, whom he had consulted, had given him (Rog. Pont. p. 135). Herbert (i. p. 142) suggests that perhaps the reason of his use of the pallium was, that it was the feast of St. Callistus, Pope and martyr. This is, however, a mistake, for St. Callistus' was the following day, Wednesday the 14th.

188. Alan, p. 346 ; Hoveden, fol. 283.

189. Fitz-St. p. 226 ; Herb. i. p. 145.

190. Rog. Pont. p. 141.

191. According to William of Canterbury (p. 13), Randolph received for answer, "Your cousin was hanged for his crimes, which has not happened to any of my relations ;" and Hamelin was saluted by the titles, "lout and bastard:" but Garnier (fol. 13, 10) says, "li sainz huem ne dist mot, mais avant s'en ala ;" and Grim (p. 48), in like manner, has, "nemini quioquam respondens ;" Fitz-Stephens, who was there, mentions (p. 236) the insults, but no such rejoinder ; and Herbert (i. p. 148) says, "he turned a stern countenance upon those who were reproaching him, and answered, that if his priesthood did not prevent him, and it were allowed, he would defend himself against them in arms from their charges of perjury and treason. And so we departed from the council : the disciple who bears witness of these things saw them, and now writes this. He at that moment was the only follower the Archbishop had, as he bore his cross from the inner room till we reached the hall." We have followed Roger of Pontigny (p. 142), who perfectly agrees with Herbert.

192. Garnier (fol. 13 b, 7) says, the servant's name was Trunchez, and both he and Gervase (p. 1393) inform us that the porter was chastising a boy.

193. *Facta afflictione*: Fitz-St. p. 237.

194. Garnier, fol. 14, 11.

195. Garnier (fol. 14 b, 10) calls Roger de Brai "un brun, un prode bachelor." Perhaps he is the same person as "Brun son vaslet" (fol. 46 b, l. 13), who used to wash his hair-shirts for him. Brother Scailman was subsequently imprisoned, but made his escape (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 185).

196. Herb. i. p. 151; Rog. Pontigny, p. 145. Grim (p. 48) gives the name of "Derman" instead of Christian. Philip of Liège says he was sometimes called "Herman," which meant in English *This man*, sometimes "Christian" (Anecd. Bedæ, p. 251).

197. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 356.

198. *Boston* is the modern form of *St. Botolfstoune*.

199. Herb. i. p. 163; Grim, p. 48; Rog. Pont. p. 146; Alan, p. 351.

200. Herbert (i. p. 164) has here made another mistake in the dates. He says, that St. Thomas crossed on Tuesday, November 2d, being the fifteenth day from his departure from Northampton. Fitz-Stephens (p. 238) corroborates Herbert in saying that it was All Souls' Day. This withdraws one from the list of the critical Tuesdays of our Saint's life.

201. "Piscis inquam quam Brenham vocant" (Alan, p. 353; Gerv. p. 1393). "Breumam" (Philip of Liège Anecd. Bedæ, p. 253).

202. Garnier, fol. 18, 6, and 11; Rog. Pont. p. 150.

203. It is said, that an offer was made to the Pope, if he would depose St. Thomas, not only that Peter-pence, which were now diverted into the Treasury, should be paid, but that they should for the future be exacted, and confirmed by the king for ever, from every inhabitant of

the country,—“from every house from which smoke ascends, in cities, towns, boroughs, and villages,”—which would bring in an additional income to the Holy See of a thousand pounds of silver (Fitz-St. p. 241). Gilbert's speech at this consistory is referred to by the Bishop of Auxerre (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 206), and by Herbert (ii. p. 222).

204. Herb. i. p. 196. Grim (i. p. 53) says a month. The Pope annulled and revoked the sentence passed by the Bishops and barons in the first day at Northampton, of forfeiture of all the Saint's movable goods to the king, as being “both contrary to the form of law, and against ecclesiastical custom, especially as he had no movable goods but those of his church” (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 7).

205. “It is situated,” says Mr. Froude (p. 100 note), “in a broad and fertile valley about thirteen miles from Auxerre, on the road to Troyes. The chapel, which in size and grandeur is more like a cathedral, has survived the Revolution, and appears to have undergone little alteration since the early part of the twelfth century. Probably it is in exactly the same state as when St. Thomas of Canterbury resided there. Of the other buildings nothing remains, except the cellars and the refectory over them, which appear to be of the same date with the chapel. The former is still dedicated to its original use; the latter has been converted into a barn or hay-loft.”

206. This letter (Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 194) begins with an account of the dispositions in which John of Salisbury found King Louis, which were not encouraging. It then proceeds thus: “Wherefore my counsel and the height of my wishes is, that you should turn to the Lord with all your mind, and to the help of prayer. Put off meanwhile, as much as you can, all other occupations; for though they

may seem very necessary, what I now recommend is to be preferred as more necessary. Laws and canons are very good ; but, believe me, there is no need of them now, for they rather promote curiosity than devotion. Do you not remember how it is written, that in the trouble of the people the priests and ministers of the Lord shall weep between the porch and the altar, saying, 'Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people' ? 'I was exercised,' says the prophet, 'and I swept my spirit, searching with my hands for God in the day of tribulation.' Who ever rose with a feeling of compunction from the study of law or the canons ? I say more than this : the exercises of the schools sometimes increase knowledge till a man is puffed up, but seldom, if ever, inflame devotion. I would rather that you meditated on the Psalms, or read the moral books of St. Gregory, than that you philosophised in scholastic fashion. It is good to confer on moral matters with some spiritual man, by whose example you may be inflamed, rather than to study and discuss the disputatious articles of secular learning. God knows in what sense, with what devotion I propose these things. Take them as you please. But if you do them, God will be your helper, that you need not fear what man may scheme. He knows that we have no mortal to trust to, as I think, in our present trouble. But I have heard that the King of France has spoken to the Pope for you, and has thanked the monks of Pontigny." He then refers to a rumour he had heard of earthquakes at Canterbury, London, and Winchester ; mentions how some English Bishops were taking advantage of the Archbishop's absence to usurp some of his peculiars in their dioceses ; and he concludes with an offer of the Bishop of Chalons to give a refuge to one of the Saint's clerics, who "must behave himself modestly, like the people of this country." Lord Campbell refers to this letter (Lupus, Ep. i. 31) in the following wonderful note (Chancellors, i. p. 79, note q) : "John of Salis-

bury wrote him a private letter in a still severer strain, concluding with the words, 'Take it as you please'—'Vos accipiatis ut placet;' and was excommunicated for his pains." His lordship has confused the faithful John of Salisbury with the notorious John of Oxford, Dean of Salisbury, who was excommunicated, though not for writing a letter like this.

207. Herb. i. pp. 196, 217; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 7, ii. p. 292; Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 279; Phil. Leod. in Anecd. Bedæ, p. 256.

208. Fitz-St. p. 246; Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 185, i. p. 175.

209. Id. p. 251; Herb. i. p. 198.

210. Herb. i. p. 211.

211. Garnier, fol. 45b. 11; Herb. i. p. 214; Phil. Leod. p. 233.

212. Rog. Pont. p. 154; Alan, p. 364.

213. Herb. i. p. 222. This only drew from Henry a complaint to the Abbot of Citeaux, that "your Abbot of Criscamp brought us a writing of Thomas, our late Chancellor, and read it to us," &c. (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 284).

214. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 6; Ep. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 238, ii. p. 92.

215. Id. i. p. 363; Froude's Remains, part ii. vol. ii. p. 139.

216. Id. i. p. 369; Froude, p. 140.

217. Id. i. p. 365; Froude, p. 141.

218. Gerv. p. 1400.

219. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 279, 318, 320; Froude, p. 127; Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 264; Herb. ii. p. 267.

220. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 226; Froude, p. 150.

221. Herb. i. p. 232.

222. "Here Robert of Montfort kept his vigil before his combat with Henry of Essex" (Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 227).

223. "Vezelay," Mr. Froude says (p. 152 note), "is

one of the most curious and interesting places with which he is acquainted. It stands on the top of a conical eminence in the broad and fertile valley of the river Cure, on the borders of Burgundy and Nivernois. The situation was selected on account of its strength, at the time when this part of France was exposed to the ravages of the Saracens; and at that time, *i.e.* in the year 878 (if we are to believe Hugh of Poitiers, a monk of Vezelay, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century), the greater part of the present church was built. It is a structure of very great dimensions, and, if we are to judge merely by the architecture, anterior to any of the known styles of the Gothic or Norman. Its ornaments, which are rich and large, are much more like the deteriorated Roman workmanship than any thing subsequent to the revival of the arts. The seven western arches of the nave appear to have undergone no alteration from the first, nor has any part of the church been altered since the year 1160; so that it is now exactly what it was when St. Thomas of Canterbury visited it."

224. Herbert (i. p. 230), writing several years afterwards, says that it was the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (July 22d), to whom the church was dedicated, and whose relics were there honoured; but John of Salisbury, in a letter written at the time (Ep. Jo. Sar. i. p. 227), says that it was Pentecost (June 12th). Gervase (p. 1400) agrees with Herbert; but Nicholas of Mont Rouen mentions the proceedings at Vezelay in a letter which says, that it was expected that on St. Mary Magdalen's day sentence would be passed on the king (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 195); and in the same letter a meeting of the Bishops, subsequent to these proceedings, is said to have been held about the feast of St. John (June 24th).

225. This Richard of Ivelchester, or Ilchester, who,

according to Godwin (*De Præsul. Angl.* p. 216), had also the surnames of Topclif and More, succeeded Henry of Blois as Bishop of Winchester. At the time of his election, he professed himself very devout to St. Thomas. John of Salisbury wrote in 1173 to recommend him to Humbald the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, saying, "He loves your friend the glorious Martyr of Christ with such affection, that he has made himself his servant; so that he consoles his followers, many of whom flock to him in their necessities, and he tries with all his might to imitate him" (*Ep. Jo. Sar.* ii. p. 277).

226. *Ep. S. Tho.* i. p. 161.

227. *Ep. Gilb.* Fol. ii. p. 4.

228. *Ep. Jo. Sar.* i. p. 289.

229. *Ep. Gilb.* Fol. ii. pp. 185, 190. Though written in the name of all the Bishops, these bore the seals but of three,—London, Winton, and Hereford (*Ep. Jo. Sar.* i. p. 311). The last two names it is not a little surprising to find in such a position. Neither St. Thomas nor the Bishop of Winchester forgot the relationship then felt to be incurred by consecration (*Ep. S. Tho.* i. p. 277). Henry of Winton was one of the first of the English Bishops who dared to act according to the laws of the Church and his conscience; and the affection St. Thomas bore him is beautifully shown in the conclusion of one of his letters to him (*Ep. S. Tho.* i. p. 338): "May your holiness fare well, father to be beloved, and remember to commend to God in your prayers *your creation*,—I speak of our littleness." To Robert of Hereford St. Thomas wrote, "*Doleo super te, frater, fili mi primogenite.*" For putting his seal to this letter he received a very severe and cutting rebuke from Ernisius, the Abbot, and the Prior of St. Victor's at Paris, in the name of his former scholars (*Ep. S. Tho.* ii. p. 200).

230. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 170.
231. Ep. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 265. See above, note 156.
232. The second Sunday after Easter. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 12, 13.
233. Grim, p. 55; Rog. Pont. p. 156; Herb. i. p. 232.
234. Herb. i. p. 196; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 385; Grim, p. 64; Fitz-St. p. 250; Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. p. 1874.
235. Will. Cant. p. 18; Herb. i. p. 244; Grim, p. 58.
236. Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. p. 1873.
237. At the prayer of King Charles Albert, Pope Gregory XVI., by a decree 7th September 1838, approved of the immemorial honour this English Archbishop has received at Haucatacombe in Savoy, where he is buried and venerated as a saint.
238. Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. pp. 1247, 1254, 1255, 1824, 1853, 1904.
239. Lyons, 11 Jan. 1247. Bullar. Roman. Alban Butler (Nov. 16) erroneously says Innocent V.
240. Gerv. p. 1401. The Pope had recommended King Louis, in a letter from Montpellier, 6 Aug. 1165, to assign to our Saint any French bishopric or abbey that might fall vacant (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 114). The report was general at one time that he had been made Chancellor of France (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 195). The Pope blamed the Abbey of Pontigny and the Cistercian Order very severely for their timidity (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 110).
241. Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 10, 113. The Pope ordered the release of the priest (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 118).
242. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 11. The Pope's letter announcing this appointment to the English Bishops is dated Lateran, April 24th (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 80), which leads Mr. Froude's editor (p. 190 note) to consider the Pope's letter to St. Thomas to belong to the year 1165. This is

impossible, since the Pope in that year left Montpellier about the 15th of August for Messina ; from thence, in November, he went by Salerno and Gaeta to Rome, which he approached by way of Ostia. He could not, therefore, have been at Anagni on the 9th of October. The best interpretation is, that the legateship was granted to St. Thomas more than once ; for Herbert expressly says that he was legate at Vezelay, that is, in June, while the Pope was at Annecy, which he left for Montpellier after the 29th of that month.

243. Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 277, 291.

244. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 7 ; Froude, p. 234.

245. Id. i. p. 243.

246. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 15.

247. Id. ii. p. 77, Lateran, 1 Dec.

248. Id. ii. p. 117.

249. Id. i. p. 214 ; Froude, p. 240.

250. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 25.

251. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 208.

252. Herb. i. p. 367.

253. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 251 ; Froude, p. 237.

254. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 41.

255. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 54, 57.

256. Id. ii. p. 208.

257. Fitz-St. p. 255.

258. Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 293, 298.

259. Id. ii. p. 225 ; Froude, p. 417.

260. Fitz-Stephens (p. 257) says, that people who had heard Mass in their parish-church in the morning were in the habit of leaving the cathedral after the gospel, probably having attended the sermon.

261. Hoved. fol. 284 b. ; Gerv. p. 1409.

262. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 260 ; Froude, p. 199.

263. Id. ii. p. 184 ; Froude, p. 204.

264. Ep. Gilb. Fol. i. pp. 337, 242, 287 ; Froude, pp. 401, 402, 404.
265. Herb. i. p. 252.
266. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 298.
267. Fitz-St. p. 259.
268. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 226 ; Froude, p. 418.
269. Id. i. pp. 293, 298.
270. Id. ii. p. 19.
271. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 268 ; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 328.
272. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 329. The Archbishop of Sens (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 154); the Bishops of Auxerre, Terouenne, Noyon, Paris, Troyes (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 205, 224, 228, 235, 267).
273. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 9, 296, 293 ; Froude, pp. 412, 413, 414.
274. Fitz-St. p. 253.
275. "In strepa vel orbe tenente pedem" (Fitz-St. p. 254).
276. Godwin, p. 483. On the 8th of January, Robert Bishop of Lincoln also died (Hoved. fol. 293b).
277. Herb. i. p. 363 ; Fitz-St. p. 215.
278. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 22 ; Lupus (iii. 24) gives the date as 1 July ; Froude, p. 429.
279. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 129 ; Froude, p. 312.
280. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 137 ; Froude, p. 256.
281. Id. ii. p. 146 ; Froude, p. 257.
282. Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 149, 150 ; Froude, pp. 258, 261.
283. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. pp. 72, 97, 74 ; Froude, pp. 259, 263.
284. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 145.
285. Herb. i. p. 248.
286. Gerv. p. 1402.
287. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 16 ; Froude, p. 270.
288. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 143.

289. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 16 ; Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 85 ;
Froude, pp. 270, 289, 275.
290. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 268 ; Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 89 ;
Froude, pp. 280, 284.
291. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 148.
292. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 29.
293. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 151.
294. Id. p. 56.
295. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 217 ; Froude, p. 301.
296. Id. p. 23.
297. Herb. i. p. 254.
298. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 134 ; Froude, p. 317.
299. Fitz-St. p. 264 ; Froude, p. 114.
300. Ep. Jo. Sar. i. pp. 204, 266 ; Froude, p. 119.
301. Herb. i. p. 366.
302. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 128 ; Froude, p. 338.
303. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 142 ; Froude, p. 335.
304. " Thy princes are faithless, companions of thieves :
they all love bribes, and run after rewards" (Isaias i. 23).
305. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 114 ; Froude, p. 341.
306. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 24.
307. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 51 ; Froude, p. 348.
308. When Henry, after the martyrdom, left Normandy
on his way to Ireland, to escape the Legates, Bartholomew
Bishop of Exeter crossed the Severn, and finding him at
Pembroke, asked and obtained the restoration of Bosham
to the see of Exeter (Girald. Cambrensis, Angl. Sacr. p.
427).
309. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 277.
310. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 220, 305, 312 ; Ep. S. Tho.
ii. p. 166.
311. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 25.
312. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 165 ; Froude, p. 361.
313. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 113. This letter or commission
is dated Benevento, 25th May ; but it contains the words,

"ante initium proximæ Quadragesimæ, quæ jam quasi instare videtur."

314. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 196. Froude (p. 374) gives but the first part of this interesting letter. Herb. i. p. 257; Alan, p. 365; Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 175, 177; Froude, pp. 376, 385; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 43; Froude, p. 387.

315. Fitz-St. p. 262. This Henry of Hæcton relates a cure that he had obtained by the Saint's intercession (Benedict. De Mirac. p. 173).

316. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 281; Froude, p. 366; Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 312; Froude, p. 368. Owing to his ignorance of the conclusion of John of Salisbury's letter, Mr. Froude has misplaced these two letters.

317. Alan, p. 368.

318. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 294.

319. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 126.

320. Herb. i. p. 253.

321. Fitz-St. p. 250.

322. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 208; Froude, p. 435.

323. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 121.

324. "Urbis veteris," which Mr. Froude has translated, "of the ancient city."

325. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 277; Froude, p. 437.

326. Id. i. pp. 199, 200, 207, 267, 335, 346.

327. Id. i. pp. 201, 209, 229, 297, 344, 347; Rog. Pont. p. 157.

328. Id. i. p. 252.

329. Fitz-St. p. 267; Gerv. p. 1409. Philip of Liège gives a curious account of how his father avoided taking the oath by stooping and mingling with the crowd of those who had taken it (Anecd. Bed. p. 256).

330. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 253; Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 299.

331. Id. ii. p. 216, i. p. 357.

332. Fitz-St. p. 263.

333. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 254; Froude, p. 455.

334. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 221.
335. Herb. i. p. 285.
336. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 219.
337. Id. i. p. 382, ii. p. 220.
338. Id. i. p. 219 ; Froude, p. 458.
339. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 224.
340. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 259 ; Froude, p. 463.
341. Id. i. p. 302 ; Froude, p. 467.
342. Id. i. p. 250.
343. Id. i. p. 95 ; Froude, p. 478. This was addressed to Cardinal Albert, who was one of the Legates sent after his death by the Pope to the king.
344. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 226.
345. Id. ii. pp. 43, 45. It was reported, so the Bishops of Noyon and Paris wrote to the Pope (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 230), on the return of Richard Barre and Ralph Archdeacon of Llandaff, that such a power had been granted.
346. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 70.
347. Id. ii. pp. 45, 47, and still earlier, from Anagni in November (Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. p. 29). St. Thomas's own letters to the Bishops (Ep. S. Tho. i. pp. 190, 227).
348. Fitz-Stephens (p. 268) says so expressly. St. Thomas asked the king why he had driven Roger and the other Bishops into disobedience ; "for *they had received* the prohibition of our lord the Pope that they should not presume to do this in any way in our absence" (Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 70). Roger of York took oath after the martyrdom, that he had not received them (Diceto, p. 558). One set of letters was certainly destroyed (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 288).
349. Herb. i. p. 229 ; Gerv. p. 1545.
350. Fitz-St. p. 268 ; Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 64, 287, 299.

351. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 33, 50, 84.
 352. Fitz-St. p. 272.
 353. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 301 ; Froude, p. 498.
 354. Fitz-St. p. 272.
 355. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 65 ; Froude, p. 503.
 356. Garnier, 52b, 26.
 357. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 211.
 358. Id. i. p. 65 ; Froude, p. 503.
 359. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 119 ; Froude, p. 519.
 360. Fitz-St. p. 276.
 361. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 306 ; Froude, p. 512.
 362. Id. i. p. 77 ; Froude, p. 516.
 363. Herb. i. p. 306.
 364. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 185, 262.
 365. Fitz-St. p. 279.
 366. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 63, 72, dated Anagni, 9 Oct.
 367. Id. ii. p. 29, dated Segni, 13 Oct.
 368. Id. ii. p. 32, dated Veroli, 10 Sept., and pp. 48,
 82, dated Ferentino, 16 Sept.
 369. Id. i. p. 77 ; Froude, p. 524.
 370. Id. ii. p. 85, dated Frascati, 24 Nov.
 371. Fitz-St. p. 296.
 372. Id. p. 277.
 373. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 380 ; Froude, p. 526.
 374. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 240 ; Froude, p. 527.
 375. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 300.
 376. Id. ii. p. 239.
 377. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 48, 82, dated Ferentino, 16
 Sept.
 378. Id. i. p. 399 ; Froude, p. 53.
 379. Bened. de Mirac. p. 126.
 380. Miss Strickland's Queens, Lond. 1845, i. p. 239.
 381. That to the Bishop of Exeter is given Ep. Jo. Sar.
 ii. p. 266.
 382. Matthew Paris (a monk of St. Alban's), *inter vitas*

xxiii. S. Albani Abbatum, de Abbate Simone, ed. Wats, p. 60.

383. This was forbidden by King Henry in an instrument which St. Thomas witnessed when chancellor (Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. p. 40).

384. Ep. S. Tho. i. p. 81 ; Froude, p. 539.

385. The Papal commission, spoken of above in note 166, inform the Pope that they had absolved some of Clarendon's attendants, who, through the fear of the abbot and the king, had communicated with the murderers of St. Thomas on their return from their crime (Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 272).

386. Girald. Cambr. Angl. Sacr. Lond. 1691, ii. pp. 423, 424.

387. Gerv. p. 1673.

388. Id. p. 1415.

389. Grim, p. 76.

390. Garnier, 74b, 11.

391. So it is given in the MS. lessons for the church of Exeter, compiled by Bishop Grandisson, and kindly copied for me by the Rev. Dr. Oliver from Grandisson's autograph copy in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exon. Giraldus Cambrensis (*Angl. Sacr.* p. 426) affirms deliberately that William de Tracy confessed to Bartholomew that the four knights had been bound *by the king* by oath to put the Primate to death; and he says that their reproach against Hugh de Morville for not having taken a more active part bears out this statement. He adds, that this induced the Bishop of Exeter to change his opinion respecting the king's complicity. It is singular that Herbert should say (ii. p. 301), that when Tracy went to the Pope, he gave an account of the whole matter that exculpated the king as much as possible. That many of the guilty parties came to Bartholomew for absolution is plain

from instructions the Pope sent him (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 80), in answer to his inquiries how he should distinguish between the degrees of participation in the guilt.

392. Garnier, 74 b, 21.

393. Gerv. p. 1416.

394. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 304.

395. Bened. pp. 64, 66.

396. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 257.

397. The chismatic, I have been kindly informed by the Rev. Dr. Rock, was the linen band that was bound round the head, during the consecration, to prevent the holy oil, with which the tonsure is anointed, from running down upon the vestments. The same learned authority tells me, that the *brachile*, spoken of by Benedict (p. 100), was the waistband, which was used for the same purpose as the modern braces, as it still is in southern countries. The *sotulares* (p. 101) are shoes, and *pedales* stockings, corresponding to the modern pontifical *caligæ* and *sandalia*.

398. Bened. pp. 72, 88, 93; Gerv. p. 1417.

399. Gerv. p. 1417.

400. The king's messengers give this account of themselves (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 198, 260).

401. Ep. S. Tho, ii. p. 160.

402. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 306.

403. The letter is not in Dr. Giles's collection, but is given by Martene (Thes. Nov. Anecd. i. p. 559).

404. Ep. S. Tho. ii. pp. 72, 165, 206.

405. Diceto, p. 557.

406. The letter in which he announces his absolution to his clergy (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 173; Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 265), dated Dec. 13, Monday in the third week in Advent, is petulant in the extreme; and in it he calls St. Thomas *Pharao*, to the great indignation of his followers (Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 260). It is worthy of remark, that, in

the letter (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 172) in which he thanks the Pope for his absolution, he says that the king heard "from many" what irritated him against the Saint; and that then Gilbert Foliot did his utmost, even with tears, to pacify him.

407. Gerv. p. 1419.

408. Professor Stanley, *Hist. Memorials*, p. 88. If further references to the narrators of the Martyrdom should be required, they will be found in this most interesting work. The article entitled "The Shrine of Becket" is particularly worthy of the reader's attention.

409. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. pp. 119, 122.

410. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 268.

411. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 119; Gerv. p. 1422.

412. Hoveden, f. 299.

413. Stanley, p. 80.

414. Gerv. p. 1425.

415. Id. p. 1673.

416. Herb. i. p. 363.

417. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 217.

418. Op. Petri Blesensis, Mogunt. 1600, p. 245, ep. 136. In the Vatican Library, MS. 5221, f. 79. A copy of this valuable letter, supposed to be in Father Parsons' handwriting, on the fly-leaf of the copy of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, used by that venerable missionary, is preserved in the library of the English College, Rome, of which that father was once rector.

419. Hoved. f. 308.

420. Diceto, p. 576.

421. Gerv. p. 1427.

422. Grim, p. 86.

423. Gilbert Foliot granted an indulgence of twenty days, and a participation in all the prayers and merits of his church, to such as should assist in building "the Hos-

pital at Southwark, in London, in honour of God and of the Blessed Martyr Thomas" (Ep. Gilb. Fol. i. p. 318). And he calls him "Saint Thomas" in a deed in favour of Lady Cecilia Talbot (Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 50).

424. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 112 ; i. pp. 245, 321, 395.

425. Garnier, 81, 3.

426. Matth. Paris, p. 126.

427. Anon. Lambeth, Vita, ii. p. 134 ; Bened. p. 147.

428. Will. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. Antverp. 1567, p. 196.

429. So the king himself told Herbert de Bosham (ii. p. 44).

430. Gerv. p. 1428.

431. Grim, p. 85.

432. Herb. ii. p. 46.

433. Id. ii. p. 33.

434. Hoved. f. 338 ; Diceto, p. 605 ; Gerv. p. 1457.

435. Ep. ccclxxxiii. ed. Horst.

436. He had written his very elegant Life of St. Thomas before this time ; for Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, after congratulating him on being made Bishop, says, that by the Archbishop's orders he would certainly himself have written the Saint's life, if it had not been already so beautifully done by John of Salisbury (Pet. Bles. ep. 114, p. 204).

437. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 291.

438. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 160 ; Herb. ii. p. 292.

439. Herb. ii. p. 293.

440. Id. ii. p. 303, dated Frascati, June 24.

441. Id. i. p. 367.

442. Id. ii. p. 182.

443. Epistolæ et Vita S. Thomæ, 2 vols. 4to, Brux. 1682 ; conf. i. pp. 157, 162.

444. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 138.

445. Fitz-St. i. p. 310. This is not given by Benedict.

446. Martene, Vet. Scriptor., Paris. 1724, vol. i. p. 882 b.

447. Grim, p. 80; Bened. p. 49.

448. Bened. p. 54; Fitz-St. p. 311; Gerv. p. 1417. Benedict records the cure at Gloucester of Huilina, the daughter of Adeliza of London, on the Friday.

449. Benedict, p. 52. Odo (apud Martene) says the Sunday.

450. Fitz-St. p. 311.

451. Bened. Vita, ii. p. 68.

452. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 161.

453. Grim, p. 80.

454. Fitz-St. p. 312.

455. Gervase (p. 1670) says, *Legat et miracula quæ vidit et conscripsit Benedictus*; and (p. 1417) he quotes from and refers to the same work as existing at Christ Church, Canterbury, in two volumes. Other writers mention it as divided into five books, which is the form in which it has reached us. Dr. Giles has printed it for the Caxton Society (1850). It is a work of unusual interest, containing as it does so very many illustrations of the manners of the age in which it was written. Several are related in the text; but the reader may like to be referred to the pages in which other instances occur. Notices of *ex-voto* candles are very numerous (pp. 76, 106, 131, 165, 207, 238, 269); and their length was so usually the measure of the person who made the offering, that the ejaculation *Memini me ad Sanctum Thomam* was held to mean this as a matter of course (p. 174). Waxen legs are offered (pp. 115, 153), an anchor of wax (p. 226), the litter on which a person had been brought (p. 249), the staff of those who had been cripples (pp. 136, 137, 212); and, in one instance, a woman left her hair as a mark of

her gratitude (p. 155). The pilgrim's vow was, to walk to the shrine, dressed in woollen cloth, without linen, and bare-foot (p. 232). A sick person signs himself with the money which he destines for an alms (p. 127), and another places on the part affected the coin she intends as an offering at the shrine (p. 163). Praying with the arms extended is spoken of (p. 253), the pilgrims going to confession (p. 139), sleeping in the place where the Saint was known to have slept (p. 117), and the blessed bread is mentioned (p. 199). Their barbarous treatment of drowning persons is several times introduced (pp. 237, 238, 248), the fermentation of beer (p. 263), the trial by combat (p. 256), and the water-ordeal (pp. 187, 257). The frightful severity of our criminal law is shown by the frequent mention of horrible mutilations; and of these the most striking instance is the story which begins the second book (p. 184), which is by far the most remarkable in the volume.

There is a MS. of this work at Trinity College, Cambridge (B. 14, 37), which Dr. Giles has not collated. It is very different from the printed edition. The chapters all have titles, which are very useful in enabling us to ascertain the true forms, and supply many omissions, of the large number of names which are introduced, and which are interesting as early specimens of English names. Very many chapters are omitted, nothing being given but the number and title of the chapter. Book i. ends with c. xxiv. *De Goditha uxore Mathei* (Giles, p. 68); and book ii. begins with the title, c. i. *De Sampsonē muto*.

Book ii. ends with c. lxxvii. *De filia Wiberti de Thanatos insula* (Giles, p. 130), in accordance with the Lambeth MS.

Book iii. ends with c. lxxviii. *De cereis accensis in alio loco ubi martyr de equo descenderat* (Giles, p. 183).

Book iv. ends with c. ci. *De Hugone de Emblengun percusso lepra* (Giles, p. 270).

After the titles of the chapters with which Giles's book v. ends, four other long chapters are given, of which the following are the titles :

C. iv. De philaterio reliquiarum sancti martyris amisso.

C. v. De tribus viris et una puella in captivitatem Damascum adductis.

C. vi. De Tancardo filio Odonis de Cairen.

C. vii. De Gregorio episcopo filio principis Barduwini de Luca.

These were written in the reign of Richard I., during the Crusades, while Galfridus was Prior, who was elected May 27th, 1191 (Gerv. p. 1570).

456. Grim, p. 89.

457. Herb. i. p. 353.

458. This is now published for the first time from a MS. in the Biblioteca Casanatense, at the Dominican Convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (lib. A. i. 21). It is a complete copy of the paper, of which a part has been published by Martene (Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. p. 1737).

459. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 257. Also given as a letter from the Prior of Canterbury to the Bishop of Winton by Martene (Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. p. 1746).

460. Gerv. p. 1417.

461. Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. pp. 1798, 1812.

462. MS. Coll. Angl. Romæ, fol. 40. This must have been between 1176, when John of Salisbury was made Bishop, and 1179, when Herlewin resigned the Priory of Canterbury (Gerv. p. 1456).

463. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 121.

464. *Redolet Anglia, Segni, March 12th, 1173.* The Bull is in the Roman Bullarium. A copy was addressed to the clergy and people of England (Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 75). St. Thomas was thus canonised two years and three months

after his death. We have amongst the English Saints examples of canonisations performed in the shortest and in the longest time after death : St. Edmund of Canterbury was canonised within a year, and St. Osmund of Salisbury was four hundred and seven years (Bened. XIV. De Canon. SS. lib. ii. cap. liv. n. 7).

465. Ep. Gilb. Fol. ii. p. 58.

466. Ep. S. Tho. ii. p. 39.

467. Id. ii. p. 88.

468. Ep. Jo. Sar. ii. p. 281.

469. Matth. Paris, p. 88.

470. Ep. Alan. in Herb. ii. p. 318. Baldwin was made Archbishop in December 1184, and Alan became Abbot of Tewkesbury in June 1186 (Gerv. pp. 1474, 1480). Alan had been a canon of Benevento, though his novitiate was passed at Canterbury.

471. Gerv. De combust. et repar. Dorob. Eccl. pp. 1296, 1299, 1301.

472. "The expenses arising from this ceremony were so great to Stephen Langton, then Archbishop of Canterbury, that it left a debt upon this archbishopric which Boniface, his fourth successor, could hardly discharge. Besides other vast expenses of the sumptuous entertainment made in his palace, he provided at his own cost hay and oats, on the road between Canterbury and London, for the horses of all who came to the solemnity ; and he caused several pipes and conduits to run with wine in several parts of the city" (Hasted, Hist. of Canterbury, 1801, ii. p. 337).

473. Annal. Waverl. ed. Gale, p. 185.

474. Matth. Paris, p. 214 ; Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iii. p. 703.

475. Ep. et Vita S. Thomæ, ed. Lupus, ii. p. 901.

476. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. p. 154, dated January 26th, 1219; *Ep. S. Tho.* ii. pp. 118, 171, dated December 18th, 1221.

477. *Ep. S. Tho.* ii. p. 116, dated Jan. 25th, 1219.

478. *Ecclus.* 44.

479. *Jamieson's Popular Songs*, ii. p. 127.

480. It is in the British Museum, Grenville Library, 1344. It bears a note saying that the writer did not know another copy.

481. Cotton. MSS. Brit. Mus. Claud. E. viii. 1, b; *Vita*, ii. p. 246.

482. *Anglica, Normann. &c. ed. Camden, Francof.* 1603, p. 360.

483. A precisely similar story is told of St. Lo. "In another part of the town is a building, now la Halle au Bled, which before the Revolution was a church dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The original church was finished in 1174. It was in progress when Thomas à Becket, having incurred the resentment of Henry, went abroad and passed through St. Lo. There was a dispute at the time to whom the new church should be dedicated. The illustrious stranger was consulted; and his reply was, 'Let it be dedicated to the first Saint who shall shed his blood for the Catholic faith.' Providence allowed it to be dedicated to himself. He was murdered in 1171, and canonised in 1173. The original church, however, was pulled down in 1571, to make room for improvement in the fortifications, and rebuilt in its present situation in 1630" (*Architectural Tour in Normandy*, by H. Gally Knight, Esq., M.P., London, 1836, p. 123).

484. *Miscell. MSS. in 4to. Bibl. Casanatense*, D. v. 26, f. 108.

485. *Flores Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl. Paris, 1654*, lib. vii. cap. 6. n. 2. p. 377. It must be confessed that the hymn

given by Dr. Giles (*Vita*, ii. p. 209) is in some respects like the style of the *Lauda Sion*. It begins thus :

Laureata novo Thoma,
Sicut suo Petro Roma,
Gaude Cantuaria.

486. This account is entirely taken from the documents presented to the S. Congregation of Rites in 1835.

487. Mrs. Jameson (*Legends of Monast. Orders*, Lond. 1850, p. 115) is wrong in calling it the cope.

488. "Hoc opus fieri fecit Dominus Raynaldus Presbyter et Clericus istius Ecclesiæ sub anno Domini 1325, mense Maii. Ibi sunt de Reliquiis Sanctorum Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cant., Thomæ de Aquino, et Petri Episcopi Anagnini."

489. Martene, *Vet. Scriptor.* Paris, 1724, iv. p. 1090. In 1196, Adalbert III., Archbishop of Salzburg, ordered the monastery of Admont to celebrate the feast as a double of the second class, "et ut meliori pane et vino et etiam piscibus ob honorem ejusdem Martyris, nostrique memoriam illa die congregationi ministretur."

490. "Ex pervetusto membran. cod. qui Lectionarium dicebatur, ad Alexianorum usum Monachorum." Felix Nerinius, Abbas Hieronymianus, *De Templo et Cænob. SS. Bonifacii et Alexii. Romæ*, 1752, p. 220.

491. *Mon. Angl. Lond.* 1682, i. p. 6.

492. Alban Butler, Dec. 29.

493. *La Vie*, par De Beaulieu, Paris, 1674, p. 388.

494. Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, Colon. Agr. 1612, p. 108.

495. *Annales*, xii. p. 655.

496. Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* iii. p. 1868.

497. A relation of England under Henry VII., published by the Camden Society.

498. Lord Chief-Justice Campbell, *Lives of Chancellors*, i. p. 95.
499. Bulla *Cum Redemptor*, Dec. 17, 1538.
500. *Archiv. Coll. Angl. Urbis. Scr.* vol. xx. nn. 22, 24.

THE END.





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