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HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST OF ENGLAND
BY THE NORMANS;

WITH ITS CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
AUGUSTIN THIERRY,
MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE.



TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST PARIS EDITION.

*The Folc of Normandie
Among us woneth yet, and schulleth eber mo:
Of the Normannes beth thys-hey men, that beth of thys lond,
And the lowe men of Saxons*

(Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.)

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BY THE AUTHOR.

THIS Work was first published in 1825, and appeared again in 1826; but the text had not then been ameliorated, for I had been unable, so very soon after having completed the work, to give it an impartial consideration, or to discard the original impressions and ideas under the influence of which I had followed out to its completion so laborious a task. However, after the interval of four years, I have found myself in a condition to judge freely of the merits of pages which have now been some considerable time published, and to perform the office of a severe critic on my own work. I have submitted it, in all its details, to a careful and conscientious revision, both as to the compilation and the diction. I have added and retrenched; and also made numerous variations, either to render the circumstances of the narrative more prominent, or the language more effective and more elegant. I flatter myself that I have completely obliterated whatever the prejudices of youth had originally prompted; and also whatever, in certain passages, had been hazarded in political sentiments, or was too caustic in the manner of expressing them.

I have to acknowledge the kindness of an Englishman, Mr. Wickham, a member of his Britannic Majesty's privy council, as distinguished for his talent as he is zealous in inquiry as to the history of his country, for my having been enabled personally to inspect the text of various MSS. relating to the Norman Conquest, and by this means to furnish many facts which are entirely new. Such are the details of the death of the great partisan chieftain Hereward, extracted from a history of the Anglo-Saxons, written in French rhymes in the twelfth century; and the narrative of the capitulation of London, translated from a Latin poem recently discovered in the king's library at Brussels. This interesting document consists of eight hundred and twenty elegiac lines, the work of a contemporary poet, who described, in a style often simple and sometimes emphatic, the landing of the Normans in England, the battle of Hastings, and the coronation of William the Conqueror. In his narration of the battle, the author, although showing himself devoted to the cause of the duke of Normandy, gives ample testimony of the uncompromising spirit of king Harold and the valour of the Saxons; but, except some circumstances that possess little interest, the details furnished by him are to be found elsewhere. This is not the case with that portion of the poem dedicated to the subsequent events: therein, for the first time, is to be met a detailed description of the state of London during the month in which that capital was subjected to a blockade. In this delineation, which is given with much spirit, there figures a personage hitherto unknown, namely, the chief magistrate of the citizens, whose ancient Anglo-Saxon title I believe I have discovered in a name disguised by a foreign orthography.* Whatever may be the correctness of this conjecture,

* The name in the poem here referred to is Ansgardus; and it appears either meant as a proper name, or as the title of a civic magistrate: Anglo-Saxon MSS. have not, however, given the term *hans-ward* as applied to such an office, yet the component words *hans* and *ward* are of evident meaning. Hiccesius gives *hans-hus* as a synonym of guild-hall; and Ed. Lye makes *burgo-ward* correspond with the term burgh-master. Now the title or name of *ansgard* is very little removed, in its apparent form and derivation, from the compound *hans-ward*; and in this poem we already have found *Etguard* and *Antgard* designating the known name of Edward. Whether my surmise be just or unfounded, the narrative drawn from this Latin poem is not affected thereby. (Page 71.)

which I do not much insist on, the facts are now well established, and fill up a void left by the historians.

The subject treated of with the least precision in the two former editions was the establishment of the county or duchy of Normandy. I have retouched my account of it, adding thereto some new details, borrowed, for the most part, from the work of M. Depping on the maritime expeditions of the Normans. That excellent publication is one of the three which I recommend to those studious persons who may have the curiosity to inquire minutely into the facts which I have made selection of: the other two works are the 'History of the Anglo-Saxons,' by the learned and esteemed Mr. Turner, and the 'History of England,' by Dr. Lingard, who is eminently distinguished above all preceding writers by his profound researches, and an uncommon insight into the character of the Middle Ages. My object could not be extended to the complete development of the political, civil, and intellectual condition of the Anglo-Saxons and the Gallo-Normans. On the contrary, I have been forced to neglect many very interesting subjects of inquiry, that I might not thereby encumber the historical scene in which these two nations enacted the great drama of the Norman Conquest. I have never departed from this rule, of one distinct purpose, in reviewing and retouching my work with the most scrupulous attention to accuracy; for, in my opinion, every historic composition is a work of art as well as of erudition; the form and the style is a matter of no less moment than the critical inquiry into the truth of facts.

The long and laborious examination to which I have just lent my best exertion was a debt of gratitude I owed to the public. I have dedicated thereto, for the last fifteen months, all the hours which I could snatch from the sad attention to my condition of health under the sufferings and infirmities that have so long afflicted me. My labour is at length performed: shall I have strength to accomplish a new task of this nature, and make a third advance in this series of literary labours, that I have long indulged myself in the hope of achieving? I dare not give way to this cherished hope; but so long as the breath of life animates me I shall never separate myself from these studies: they have been my strongest passion in the years of my youth and vigour; and they now afford me consolation when oppressed by the tedious assaults of premature old age.

*Carqueiranne, near Hyères,
February 5, 1830.*

. The present Translation is amended from the Fifth Edition, and has been carefully edited in conformity with this the Author's latest text.

CHARLES C. HAMILTON.

London, October, 1840.

INTRODUCTION.

WHATEVER degree of territorial unity the great modern states of Europe may appear to have attained—whatever may be the community of manners, language, and public feeling, which the habit of living under the same government and in the same stage of civilisation has introduced among the inhabitants of each of those states—there is scarcely one of them which does not even now present living traces of the diversity of the races of men which in course of time have come together in it. This variety shows itself under different aspects, with features more or less marked. Sometimes it is a complete separation of idioms, of local traditions, of political sentiments, and a sort of instinctive enmity, distinguishing from the great national mass the population of a few small districts; and sometimes a mere difference of dialect, or even of accent, marks, though more feebly, the limit of the settlements of races of men once thoroughly distinct, and hostile to each other. The farther we go back from the time in which we live, the more definite these varieties become, and the more clearly we perceive the existence of several nations within the geographical circumference which now bears the name of one only. In place of what we call provincial *patois* we find complete and regular languages; and that which appears to us now but as a want of civilisation, and a resistance to the progress of improvement, assumes in past ages the aspect of original manners and a patriotic attachment to ancient institutions. Thus, things which have very little importance in modern society are very important in history. It were falsifying history to introduce into it a philosophical contempt for every departure from the uniformity of existing civilisation, and to consider those nations as alone worthy of honourable mention, to whose names the chance of events has attached, for the present and for the future, the idea of that civilisation.

The different populations of the European continent and islands have, at different periods, clashed together and invaded each other's territories, never halting in their progress until natural obstacles, or a more powerful resistance, occasioned by a greater concentration of the conquered population, obliged them to stop. Thus, the populations conquered at various periods have been found lying in a sort of strata, in the different directions taken by the great national migrations. In this movement of successive invasions, the most ancient races, reduced to a small number of families, deserted the plains and fled into the mountains, where, though poor, they maintained their independence; while their invaders, being invaded in their turns, became serfs of the soil in the country which they occupied, for want of meeting with a vacant asylum in impregnable fastnesses.* The conquest of England by William duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066, is the last territorial conquest that has taken place in the western part of Europe. Since then, there have been none but political conquests, quite different from those of the barbarians who removed with their families to the invaded territory, sharing it among themselves, and sparing to the vanquished their lives only, on condition of their tilling the ground and remaining quiet.

* The principal migrations of population which took place before the Christian era on the western continent of Europe have been circumstantially narrated, and, in my opinion, with great critical sagacity, by my brother, Amédée Thierry, in *l'Histoire des Gaulois*.

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century there was not a single conquest that was not profitable to the court of Rome as well as to those who had effected it by the lance and the sword; and this other feature, hitherto overlooked, of the history of the middle ages, has excited in me, with regard to the different national churches which the church of Rome called heretical or schismatic, the same kind of interest which I have already mentioned as relative to the nations themselves. As the nations had fallen from their independence, so these churches also fell, without there having existed any positive right for their destruction; and the independence which they laid claim to with respect to their doctrines and their self-government was an integral portion of the moral liberty which had been consecrated or asserted by the Christian dispensation.

In conclusion, I must say a few words on the plan and composition of this work. It will be found to contain, as its title announces, a complete recital of all the particulars relative to the Norman Conquest, placed between two more summary narrations—one, of the occurrences which preceded and paved the way for that conquest; the other, of those which have been consequent upon it. Before bringing forward upon the stage the characters who figure in the great drama of the Conquest, I have endeavoured to make the reader acquainted with the ground upon which the different scenes were to be acted; for which purpose I have placed him sometimes in Great Britain, sometimes on the continent. I have laid before him the origin, the internal and external situation, the first mutual relations, of the population of England and that of the duchy of Normandy; and the succession of events by which those relations were so complicated as necessarily to become hostile, and lead to a project of invasion on the part of the latter of these powers. The success of the Norman invasion, crowned by the gaining of the battle of Hastings, produced a conquest, the progress, the consolidation, and the immediate results of which, form several distinct periods.

The first period is that of the territorial invasion. It begins with the victory of Hastings on the fourteenth of October in the year 1066; it embraces the successive advances of the conquerors, from east to west, and from south to north; and ends in the year 1070, when all the centres of resistance have been destroyed, when all the powerful men have submitted or have fled from the country. The second period, that of the political invasion, begins where the former terminates: it comprises the series of efforts made by the conquerors to disorganise, and (if we may so express it) to *denationalise* the conquered population: it terminates in 1076 by the execution of the last chief of Saxon race, and the sentence of degradation passed upon the last bishop of that race. In the third period the conqueror labours to subject to regular order the violent results of the conquest, and to convert into legal if not legitimate property the lands which have been taken possession of by his soldiers. This period is terminated in 1086 by a grand review of all the conquerors possessing lands; who, renewing their oath of liege-homage to the king, appear for the first time as a settled nation, and no longer as an army in the field. The fourth is filled with the intestine dissensions of the conquering nation, and its civil wars, either for the possession of the conquered territory, or for the right of dominion over it. This period, longer than all the preceding, is closed, in 1152, by the extinction of all the pretenders to the throne of England, excepting one only—Henry, son of Geoffrey count of Anjou and the empress Matilda niece to William the Conqueror. And in the fifth period the Normans of England and of the continent, having no more internal quarrels to consume their strength and activity, set out from their two centres of action to conquer and colonise abroad, or extend their supremacy without changing their seat of empire. Henry II. and his successor Richard I. are the representatives of this period, which is full of continental wars and fresh territorial or political conquests. It terminates in the early part of the

thirteenth century with a reaction against the Anglo-Norman dominion, so violent that Normandy itself, the country of the kings, the nobles, and the military population of England, is separated by conquest from that country, to whose conquerors it had given birth.

Corresponding to these different periods there are successive changes in the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon nation: first, it loses its property in the soil; then its former political and religious organisation; then, favoured by the dissensions among its masters, and attaching itself to the party of the kings against the rebelling vassals, it obtains concessions which give it a transitory hope of recovering its national existence, or again endeavours, though fruitlessly, to free itself by force. Finally, overwhelmed by the extinction of the divisions among the Norman population, it ceases to play any political part, loses its national name in the public documents and in history, and falls into the condition of an inferior class. Its revolts, having become extremely rare, are spoken of by contemporary writers merely as quarrels between the poor and the rich: and it is the history of a commotion of this kind, which happened in London in the year 1196, and was conducted by a person evidently of Saxon birth, which terminates the detailed account of the facts relating to the Conquest.

When the history of the Norman Conquest has been brought to this point, that of the populations of different races, treated of in the course of the work, is continued in a more summary form. The resistance which they offered to the nations more powerful than themselves, their defeats, the settling of the conquerors among them, the revolutions which they have attempted or accomplished, the events, whether political or military, upon which their influence was exercised, the amalgamation of populations, languages, and manners, and the precise period of its operation,—all these I have endeavoured to place in a clear light. This last part of the work, in which a distinct article is devoted to each race of men, begins with the continental populations which have since become French. Then follow, in succession, those which are now called English;—the Welsh, whose national spirit had such vitality that it has survived the conquest of their territory;—the Scotch, who never underwent a conquest of that kind, and who struggled so energetically against the political conquest;—the Irish, who had better have become serfs like the Anglo-Saxons than have preserved the small share of independence they retained, at the cost of peace, welfare, and civilisation;—and the population of England, of Norman or Saxon origin, with whom these national differences have become a distinction of orders, which time has gradually weakened.

An error, apparently unimportant, but which, in the relations of modern historians, has contributed to render this thorough distinction of races less obvious, is the use of the English orthography for the names of the conquering families and their posterity in the ages following the Conquest. I have carefully restored to all these names their true Norman shape. I thought I should thereby attain a higher degree of that local colouring which seems to me to be one of the requisites, not only of historical interest, but also of historical truth. I have in like manner restored, according to their true and original character, the names which belong to the Saxon period of the English history, and the Germanic era of the history of France. I have not applied to any one period the forms of speech of any other period, whether previous or subsequent. I have avoided, in relating the occurrences of the middle ages, the forms of modern style, and the titles or political denominations of recent date. Thus historical facts, the details relating to manners, ceremonies, language, and proper names, have all been contemplated by me, and faithfully depicted; and in restoring to each period of time, though perhaps confused or involved, in some degree, in the preceding editions of this history, its particular and appropriate character, its peculiar features, and, so to say, its integrity and reality, I have endeavoured to obtain for this portion of history that certainty and authority which distinguish positive science.

THIERRY'S HISTORY

OF THE

NORMAN CONQUEST.

BOOK I.

FROM THE SETTLING OF THE BRITONS TO THE NINTH CENTURY.

ACCORDING to ancient traditions, the island which now bears the name of Great Britain, was originally called the country of *Green Hills*, afterwards the island of *Honey*, and thirdly, the island of *Bryt*, or *Prydain*;¹ from which last word, Latinised, the name of Britain seems to have been formed. From the remotest antiquity, the island of *Prydain*, or of Britain, appeared to those who visited it to be divided, from east to west, into two large equal portions, of which the rivers Forth and Clyde formed the common boundary. The northern part was called *Al-ben*,² signifying *region of mountains*; the other, to the west, bore the name of *Kymru*, and that of *Lœgr* to the east and south. These two denominations were not derived, like the former, from the nature or appearance of the soil; but from the names of two races of people, distinct from each other, who conjointly inhabited almost the whole extent of southern Britain. These were the *Kymrys* and the *Lœgrys*,³ or, according to the Latin orthography, the *Cambrians* and the *Logrians*.

The Cambrian nation boasted of the higher antiquity. They had come in a body from the eastern extremities of Europe, across the German Ocean. One part of the emigrants had landed on the coast of Gaul; the other had chosen the opposite shore of the strait,⁴ and colonised Britain, which, say the Cambrian traditions,⁵ had until then no other inhabitants than bears and wild cattle; and where, consequently, the new colonists established themselves, without opposition, without warfare, and without violence,⁶ as the first occupiers of the soil. But this honourable pretension can hardly be historically supported. It is most probable that the Cambrian emigrants found in the island of Britain men of another origin and a different language,

whose lands they invaded. This is attested by many names of places foreign to the Cambrian tongue, as well as by ruins of an unknown age, attributed by the vulgar tradition to an extinct race of hunters, who, instead of dogs, trained foxes and wild cats to the chase.⁷ This primitive population of Britain was gradually forced upon the west and north by the successive invasions of strangers who landed in the east.

A part of the fugitives passed the sea, and reached the large island, which was called *Erin*⁸ by its inhabitants; and spread to the other western isles, peopled, it is most likely, by men of the same race and language as the aboriginal Britons. Those who retreated into North Britain found an impregnable asylum in the high mountains which stretch from the banks of the Clyde to the extremities of the island; and maintained their independence under the name of *Gaels* or *Galls*,⁹ which name they still bear. The remains of this dispossessed race, whose numbers were increased at various times by several immigrations from the island of Erin, formed the population of *Albany*, or the *high lands* of Britain, a population distinct from that of the plains of the south, and its natural enemy on account of hereditary resentments springing from the memory of the conquest. The time at which these movements of population took place is uncertain; but it was at a later period that the men called *Lœgrians* made their descent, according to the British annals, on the southern coast of the island.¹⁰

From the same records it appears, that they emigrated from the south-west coast of Gaul, and derived their origin from the same primitive race as the Cambrians, with whom their language made it easy for them to communicate. To make room for these new comers, the first colonists, either voluntarily, as old traditions report, or (which is more likely) through compulsion, spread themselves along the borders of the western sea, which thenceforward took exclusively the name of *Cambria*, while the *Lœgrians* gave their own name to

¹ *Trioeidd ynys Prydain*, No. 1. *Myvryan*, *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 57.

² Or *Alban*, *Albany*; in Latin, *Albania*, *Albany*.

³ More correctly, *Lloegrwys*.

⁴ *Fretum Gallicum*. *Fretum Moriorum*.

⁵ *Trioeidd ynys Prydain*, No. 1. *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 5. vol. ii. p. 58.

⁷ *Horn Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 31. *Ibid.* p. 327. These ruins are commonly called *Cyrtiau y Gwyddelod* houses of the *Gaels*. See Edward Lhwyd, *Archæologia Britannica*.

⁸ In Latin, *Ierne*, *Juverna*, *Jernia*, *Hibernia*.

⁹ The correct appellation was *Gadhels* or *Gwyddels*.

¹⁰ *Trioeidd ynys Prydain*, No. 5. *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 58.

the southern and eastern coasts, over which they were distributed. After the founding of this second colony, there arrived a third body of emigrants, sprung from the same primitive race, and likewise speaking the same language, or a dialect differing but little. They had previously inhabited that portion of western Gaul, included betwixt the Seine and the Loire; and, like the Lœgrians, they obtained lands in Britain, without any violent contests. To them the ancient annals and national poems especially apply the name of Brython or Britons, which in foreign tongues served to designate in a general manner all the inhabitants of the island. It is not precisely known where they established themselves: the most probable opinion is, that their location was to the north of the Cambrians and the Lœgrians, on the frontier of the Gaelic population, between the Frith of Forth and the Solway.

These nations of one common origin were visited, at various times, either in a pacific or a hostile manner, by various hordes of foreigners. Certain men from that part of the Gaulish territory now called Flanders, being compelled by a great inundation to abandon their native country for ever, came in open boats without sails, and landed on the small isle of Wight, and on the adjacent coast, first as welcome guests, and afterwards as invaders.¹ The Coranians,² a people of Teutonic descent, arriving from a country which the British annals designate by the name of the *land of marshes*,³ entered the gulf formed by the mouth of the Humber, and established themselves along the banks of that river, and on the eastern coast, thus dividing the Lœgrian territory into two portions. At length, the Roman legions, led by Julius Cæsar, made a descent on the eastern point of the territory which now bears the name of Kent (B.C. 55). On their landing, they were obstinately resisted by the Lœgrian Britons, entrenched behind their war-chariots; but, through the treachery of the foreign tribes, and especially of the Coranians, the Romans soon penetrated into the interior of the island, and gradually completed the conquest of the two countries of Lœgria and Cambria (A.D. 1 to 400). The British annals call them *Cæsarians*,⁴ and reckon them amongst the invaders, whose stay in Britain was only temporary. "Having oppressed the island for four hundred years," say these annals, "and exacted an annual tribute of three thousand pounds of silver, they departed for the land of Rome, to repel the invasion of the black horde. They left behind them only their women and children of tender age, who all became Cambrians."⁵

(A.D. 1 to 410) During this sojourn of four centuries, the Romans extended their conquest and dominion over all the southern part of the island, to the foot of the northern mountains which had served as a rampart to the aborigines against the invasion of the Cambrians. The territory, which the Roman invasion had secured, was limited by the same boundary which the invasion by the Britons had reached; and the Gaelic race remained free, while the foreign

yoke oppressed the more ancient conquerors. They more than once compelled the Imperial eagles to retreat, and their ancient aversion to the inhabitants of South Britain was strengthened during the wars which they had to wage with the Roman governors. The plunder of the Roman colonies and municipal towns, adorned with sumptuous palaces and temples, further excited by new temptations, the national spirit of aggression. The men of Alben or Caledonia⁶ passed the Clyde, every spring, in osier boats covered with skins; and, becoming formidable to the Romans, forced them to construct at the extremity of their conquests two immense walls, defended by towers, and reaching from sea to sea.⁷ Their irruptions becoming more and more frequent, gave a fearful renown to the people of Albany, under the names of *Scots* and *Picts*, which alone we find employed by the Latin authors, who seem to have been ignorant of the name of Gaels.⁸

The first of these two names still belonged to the inhabitants of the isle of Erin, which in the Roman tongue was called indifferently *Hibernia* or *Scotia*. The consanguinity of the British highlanders with the men of Hibernia, and the frequent emigrations of the people of each country to the other, led to this common appellation. In Britain, the name of *Scots* was given to the inhabitants of the coast and the great archipelago on the north-western side; and that of *Picts* to those who dwelt in the east, on the borders of the German Ocean. The respective territories of these two nations, or distinct tribes of the same population, were separated by the chain of the Grampian hills, at the foot of which, Gallawg,⁹ the great chief of the forests of the north,¹⁰ had valiantly fought against the legions of the empire. The Scots and the Picts differed in their way of life: the former, inhabiting the mountains, were hunters or wandering shepherds; the latter, possessing a more even territory, possessed a more settled establishment, cultivated the ground, and built durable habitations, the ruins of which still bear their name. When they were not confederated together for an irruption into the south, the good understanding among them was sometimes suspended; but whenever an opportunity of assailing the common enemy presented itself, their two chiefs, of whom one resided at the mouth of the river Tay, and the other between the lakes of Argyle, became brothers, and united their standards. The Britons of the south and the Roman colonists, in their terror, or their hatred, never distinguished the Scots from the Picts.¹¹

(A.D. 410 to 443) After the retreat of the legions recalled for the defence of Rome against the invasion of the Goths, the Britons ceased to acknowledge the authority of the foreign governors who ruled their provinces and towns. The form and even the name of those administrations perished; and the authority of the ancient chiefs of tribes, formerly abolished by the Romans, rose again in their stead.¹² Ancient ge-

⁶ CALEDONIA—in British, CALYDDON—the *land of forests*.

⁷ Vallum Antonini. Vallum Hadriani, postea Severi.

⁸ Venit et extremis legio pretona Britannis.

Que Scots dat frena tract, feroque notatas

Perlegit exanguis, Picti moriente, figuras.—

Claudianus, de Bello Getico, v. 416.

⁹ In Latin, *Galgacus*.

¹⁰ Calyddon.

¹¹ Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, passim.

¹² Zosimus, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., i. p. 586.

¹ Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 6. *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 58.—Belge. (Jnl. Cæsar, de Bello Gallico.)

² Coeraniald.—(Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 6. *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 58.)—In Latin, Coritani.

³ Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 7. *Ibid.*

⁴ Caisariaid.—(Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 8. *Ibid.*)

⁵ Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 8. *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 58.

nealogies, preserved in the songs of the poets,¹ marked, for the public choice, the candidates for the dignity of chieftain of a *canton*, or of a *family*; for in the language of the ancient Britons these words were synonymous,² and the ties of kindred formed the basis of their political organization. Those of the lowest rank among this people traced and retained in their memory their entire lineage with the same care which in other nations was peculiar to the rich and great.³ For, the ascertaining of his genealogy was the means by which any Briton, whether poor or wealthy, could enjoy plenary his civil rights, and secure his title to property in the canton in which he was born; because each district appertained to one ancient family, and no one lawfully possessed any portion of the soil if he was not of that family, which, by the increase of its numbers and of its power, had formed a clan.

Upon this singular social order, forming in the government a federation of petty sovereignties sometimes elective, sometimes hereditary, the Britons, freed from the imperial authority, raised for the first time a powerful national sovereignty. They created a Chief of the chiefs,⁴ a king of the country, as their annals declare; and they made the dignity elective. This new institution, destined in all appearance to give to the people greater union and strength against foreign aggressions, became, on the contrary, a source of internal division, weakness, and, in a short time, of servile subjection. Of the two great populations who shared the southern part of the island, each pretended to have an exclusive right to furnish candidates for the monarchy. The seat of this central royalty was in the country of *Lægria*, in the ancient municipal town which the Britons called *Lon-din*,⁵ or the town of ships. Hence it resulted that men of the *Lægrian* race attained more easily than others to the dignity of chief of chiefs. The Cambrians, jealous of this advantage, asserted that the royal authority lawfully belonged to their race, as the most ancient, as that which had hospitably received the others on the shores of Britain. To justify this pretension, they traced the establishment of the power which they were ambitious of exercising to a period far earlier than the Roman conquests, attributing its institution to one Prydain, son of Aodd, a Cambrian, who had formerly, they said, united the whole island under one monarchical government, and decreed that the regal authority should be possessed for ever by one of his own nation.⁶ By what other fables the men of the south and east replied to these fables, we know not; but the dispute became a deadly one, and all Britain was involved in civil war by quarrels of rivalry. The interference of the foreign tribes, constantly hostile to the two great branches of the British population, fomented their dissensions, and nourished the flame of intestine wars. Under a succession of chiefs

styled national, but always disowned by a part of the nation, no army was raised, in place of the Roman legions, to guard the frontiers of the country against the incursions of the Gaelic tribes.

In the midst of this disorder, the Picts and Scots forced the passage of the two great walls which the Romans had built, and other enemies, no less formidable, devastated the coasts. These were pirates from the shores and islands of the German Ocean, who crossed over for plunder, and then returned home with their booty. When the gales blew violently, so as to compel large vessels of Roman construction to retire into harbour, these freebooters navigated their slender barks⁷ under full sail, and landed by surprise to make their attacks. Several British tribes made great efforts separately, and fought some successful battles against the German or Gaelic aggressors. The inhabitants of the southern coasts, who communicated frequently with the continent of Europe, solicited foreign aid; and once or twice, Roman troops who had come over from Gaul, fought for the Britons, and assisted them to repair the great walls constructed by the emperors Adrian and Severus⁸ (443 to 449). But the time soon arrived when the Romans themselves were driven from Gaul, by three invasions of barbarians, in the south, east, and north, and the national insurrection of the maritime provinces of the west.⁹ The legions fell back upon Italy; and thenceforward the Britons could not hope for any succours from Rome.¹⁰

At this time the dignity of supreme chief of Britain was in the hands of a man named Guorteyrn,¹¹ of the *Lægrian* race; who repeatedly assembled round him all the chiefs of the British tribes, in order to take measures in concert with them for the defence of the country against the northern invaders. There reigned but little union in these councils; for, whether deservedly or not, Guorteyrn had many enemies, particularly among the men of the west, who would scarcely ever approve what the *Lægrian* proposed. The *Lægrian*, by virtue of his royal pre-eminence, with the advice of several tribes, but without the consent of the Cambrians,¹² suddenly resolved to introduce into Britain a race of foreign soldiers, who, for subsidies in money and grants of land, should, in the British service, wage war against the Scots and Picts. About the period when this resolution was taken, a measure, which its opposers termed cowardice, chance brought to the shores of Britain three vessels of German corsairs, commanded by two brothers named Henghist and Horsa,¹³ who landed in the

7 Quin et aremoricis piratam saxona tractus Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.— (Sidonii Apollinar. Carmina, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Franc. tom. i. 807.)

⁸ Gildæ Histor. cap. xii. apud rer. Anglic. script. tom. i. 4, ed. Gale.

⁹ Totius ille tractus Armoricus, eiectione magistratibus Romanis. (Zosimus apud script. rer. Gallie. et Franc. i. 587.)

¹⁰ Gildæ Histor. cap. xvii., apud rer. Anglic. script. tom. i. 6, ed. Gale.

¹¹ Guorteyrn, according to the Cambrian orthography. The Anglo-Saxon historians write *Wyrteger* or *Wortigern*, which, from their manner of pronouncing it, would produce the same sound.

¹² Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 9. Archaeology of Wales, vol. ii., p. 59.

¹³ Chronicon saxonicum, ed. Gibson, p. 12. The Saxon orthography is Hengist. The word *hengist* signifies a stallion, and *hors* or *hros*, a horse. The Saxons mostly pronounced

¹ In the British language *Beirdd*, bards.

² *Pentesin*—caput familie. (Laws of Hywell Dda—Cambro-Briton, vol. ii. p. 298.)

³ Genealogiam quoque generis sui etiam de populo quilibet observat, et non solum avus, atavos, sed usque ad sextam vel septimam et ultra procul, generationem, memoriter et promptè genus enarrat. (Giraldi Cambrensis Cambrie descriptio, cap. xvii. Anglica, Hibernica, etc., ed. Camden, p. 690.)

⁴ Penteyrn.

⁵ *Llon-dain*; in Latin, *Londinium*.

⁶ Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 2. Archaeology of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57.

eastern part of Kent, on the same point of land where the Roman legions had formerly disembarked.

It appears that the men of the three ships came at this time to Britain as traders, not as pirates. Their national appellation was that of Ghetes or Jutes; and their nation was united with a great league of the tribes that inhabited the marshy shores of the ocean to the north of the Elbe, and called themselves Saxons, or *short-sword-men*.¹ Other confederacies of the same nature had already been formed among the Teutonic hordes, either the better to resist the Romans, or to act with greater advantage against them on the offensive. Thus there had appeared successively, the league of the Alemanni, or *thorough men*, and that of the Franks, or *the bold in combat*.² When they arrived on the coast of Britain, the Saxon chiefs Henghist and Horsa received from the British king Guorteyrn a message with the offer of a military engagement for themselves and for an army of their countrymen. To them there was nothing at all strange in this proposal, for war was their trade: they promised a considerable body of troops in exchange for the small island of Tanet,³ formed on the coast of Kent by the sea on one side, and by a river, which separated into two streams, on the other.

Seventeen ships conveyed from the north this new military colony: they shared their allotted island, organised themselves, according to their custom, under the command of the two brothers who were the authors of the enterprise; and received from their hosts, the Britons, everything necessary for their support. Often did they fight valiantly and faithfully for them, and raise against the Scots and Picts the standard of the White Horse, an emblem which conformed to the names of the two chiefs; and often were the frail javelins of the mountaineers broken by the heavy battle-axes with which the Germanic tribes of the Saxon confederation were customarily armed.⁴ These exploits excited great joy in Britain, and a friendship for the Saxons:—"After overthrowing our enemies," says an ancient poet, "they joined with us in the rejoicings of victory; and we rivalled one another in giving them welcome. But woe to the day when we loved them! woe to Guorteyrn and his cowardly advisers!"⁵

(A.D. 449 to 455) And, indeed, the good understanding between those who carried on the war, and those for whom the war was carried on, was not of long duration. The former soon demanded more territory, more provisions, and more money than had been stipulated for in the compact, and threatened to pay themselves by conquest and pillage, if their demands were not satisfied. In aid of these threats, they invited some fresh bands of armed men from their own nation to join them in Britain. They passed beyond the boundary fixed by the treaty;

the *g* as a guttural; to designate which sound we shall frequently supply the letter *gh* in words of German origin.

¹ *Sax, seax, saex, sals*, a short sword, a cutlass. *Hand-sax*, a dagger. (Gloss. Wachteri.)

² *Alī, eat*, all, entirely; *mann, manō, man*. *Frāh, frēh, frēch, vrēh, vrang*; rude, bold, savage. (See the Lettres sur l'histoire de France, 5th edition, Letter vi.)

³ In British, *Danet*; now *Thanet*.

⁴ *Cām illi pīllis et lanceis pugnarent, isti verō securibus, gladiisque longis.* (Henric Huntingd. Hist. lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 309, ed. Savile.)

⁵ A national song of the Britons. (*Arymes Prydein vaur*; Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 554.)

and, by degrees, a numerous Germanic population gathered on the coast of Kent. The Britons, who feared them, yet needed their assistance, treated with them as with a separate nation. Frequent messages passed between them, and new conventions were concluded and violated.⁶ At length, the last ties of amity were broken; the Saxons formed an alliance with the Picts; they invited them, by sundry messages, to invade the south; and, by favour of this diversion, advanced into the interior of Britain, driving the British population before them, or forcing them to submission. The latter did not yield without great resistance: once they drove the Saxons to the sea, and compelled them to re-embark; but the Saxons returned with increased numbers and aggravated fury, possessed themselves of many miles of country on the right bank of the Thames, and never afterwards quitted their conquest. One of the two brothers who headed them was killed in battle;⁷ the other, from a commander in the field became the commander of a province;⁸ and his province or kingdom was called in Saxon, *Kent-wara-rike*,⁹ or, to speak the modern language, the Kingdom of the men of Kent. (455 to 477.)

Twenty-two years after the first disembarkation of the Germans, another Saxon chief, named Ælla, came with three vessels to the south of the territory of Kent (477 to 495); and, driving back the Britons towards the north and west, established a second colony, which took the name of the kingdom of the South Saxons.¹⁰ Eighteen years afterwards, one Kerdic,¹¹ followed by the most powerful army that had yet crossed the ocean to seek lands in Britain, made a descent on the southern coast, to the west of the South Saxons, and founded a third kingdom, called that of the West Saxons.¹² (495 to 530.) The chiefs who succeeded Kerdic gradually extended their conquest to the borders of the Severn, the ancient frontier of the Cambrian people: the invaders did not find this race disposed to give place to them; on the contrary, they maintained an obstinate struggle. During this contest, other emigrants made a descent on the eastern coast, and took possession of the left bank of the Thames and the great city of Londin or London: the territory in which they established themselves they styled that of the East Saxons¹³ (530 to 542). All these conquests were made solely at the expense of the country of Logria and the race of the Logrian Britons, who had invited the Saxons to come and dwell amongst them.

From the moment that London was taken, and the coasts of Logria were occupied by the Saxons, the kings and leaders chosen to make head against the conquerors, were all of the Cambrian race.

⁶ *Arymes Prydein vaur*. (Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 554.)

⁷ Horsa.

⁸ *Guth-cyning, wig-cyning, folces-cyning, theod-cyning, land-cyning*. (Vid. Edward Lye's Saxon Glossary.)

⁹ In the Saxon Chronicle, *Cent-wara-rike*. The Saxon *c* sounds like *k*. (Henric Huntingdoun, Hist. lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 310, ed. Savile. Bedæ Presbyteri Hist. lib. ii., cap. 15.)

¹⁰ *Suth-seaxna-rike*.

¹¹ To preserve the original pronunciation, *k* will be frequently substituted for *c* in the German proper names.

¹² *West-Seaxna-rike*, or, more shortly, *West-Seax*. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 18-30.)

¹³ *East-Seaxna-rike, East-Seax*. (Ibid. p. 12-30.)

Such was the famous Arthur, who vanquished the Saxons in several battles; but, notwithstanding the services which he rendered to his countrymen, he, like Guorteyrn, had enemies among them. The title of king caused him to draw his sword against the Britons almost as often as against the foreigner; and he was mortally wounded in a battle fought against his own nephew. (542 to 547) He was conveyed to an island formed by rivers near *Afallach*,¹ now Glastonbury, on the south of the gulf which receives the waters of the Severn. There he died of his wounds; but as it was at the time when the West Saxons invaded this territory, through the consequent tumult, no one knew exactly the circumstances of Arthur's death, nor the place of his interment. This ignorance gave to his name a mysterious celebrity. His re-appearance was expected long after he was no more; and the want of a great warlike chief able to overcome the Germans, nourished the vain hope of one day beholding him again. This hope was lasting; and for several ages the nation which had loved Arthur was not discouraged from expecting to see him return cured of his wounds.²

The emigration of the inhabitants of the marshes of the Elbe and the neighbouring islands gave a like desire of emigrating, and taught the way to Britain to a people situated still farther to the east, near the shores of the Baltic, who were called *Anghels* or *Angles*.³ After essaying some petty and partial invasions of the north-east coast of Britain, the whole population of the Angles put themselves in motion, under the conduct of a warrior named *Ida*, and his twelve sons. (547) Their numerous vessels made the land between the mouths of the Forth and the Tweed. The better to assure their success against the Britons of this part of the country, they entered into an alliance with the *Picts*; and these confederate enemies, advancing, from east to west, struck such terror into the natives, that the king of the Angles received from them the surname of *the Firebrand*.⁴ Notwithstanding his ferocity and his courage, *Ida* found, at the foot of the mountains where the Clyde has its source, a people that dared to resist him. "The Firebrand came against us," says a cotemporary British poet: "he asked with a loud voice, 'Will you give me hostages? Are you ready?' Owen answered, shaking his lance, 'No; we will not give thee hostages; we are not ready.' Then *Urien*, the chief of the country, cried aloud, 'Children of one race, united in one cause, let us lift our standard on the mountains and rush down into the plain; let us rush upon the Firebrand, and involve, in a common carnage, him, his army, and his auxiliaries!'"⁵

(A.D. 547 to 560) The same *Urien*, at the head of the Britons of the north, descendants of the ancient emi-

grants from *Armorican Gaul*, gained several victories over the confederate invaders; and the German chief perished on the banks of the *Clyde*: but a great and decisive battle between the *Picts* and *Angles* on the one side, and the men of the vale of the *Clyde*, the shores of the *Forth*, those of *Deifr* and of *Brynich*⁶ (that is, of the mountainous country, north of the *Humber*) on the other, was fatal to the British cause. Among the slain were many chiefs wearing the collar of gold, the badge of high command among the Britons,⁷ of whom few returned to their homes from this combat. "On their return," says an ancient poet, "they told to their wives a tale of peace; but in vain, for the smell of blood was on their garments."⁸

The victorious people spread themselves over all the eastern country, between the *Forth* and the *Humber*. Those among the vanquished to whom the foreign yoke was insupportable, fled southward, into the country of the *Cambrians*, which had already acquired and still retains the name of *Wales*. The German conquerors imposed no new names on the northern country; they preserved the ancient geographical denominations; and even made use of them to distinguish their different colonies, according to the place of their habitation. For instance, they stiled themselves *Men of the North of Humber*,⁹ *Men of Deyfr*, *Men of Brynich*, or according to the Latin orthography, *Northumbrians*, *Deirians*, *Bernicians*. The name of *Angle-land*¹⁰ was given only to a small part of the eastern coast, where some of that nation, before the general emigration, had founded a colony which, though not very numerous, was capable, through the protection of the *East Saxons*, to the north of whom it was situated, of maintaining itself against the hostility of the natives.

(A.D. 560) The ancient population of the *Coronians*, who had been established for ages to the south of the *Humber*, but whom so long a residence among the Britons had been insufficient to reconcile with them, voluntarily joined the *Anglo-Saxon* invaders, as they had formerly joined the *Romans*.¹¹ The result of this alliance was that their name as a people disappeared from the country which they inhabited, but that of their allies was not substituted: both were lost; and the country between the *Humber* and the *Thames* was thenceforward called the country of *Merk*,¹² in Latin *Mercia*, probably from the nature of the soil which consisted in great part of marshes, or its bordering on the free Britons of the west, of whom it formed the frontier or *march*,¹³ an expression of the Germans. They were *Angles* from the territories of *Deiria* and *Bernicia*, or from the eastern coast, and founded, under the name of *Mercia*, the eighth and last German colony in Britain.¹⁴ The boundaries of

¹ *Insula Avallonia.*

² *Quem adhuc verè bruti Britones expectant venturum. (Guilielmi Neubrigensis, histor. proem. p. 13. ed. Hearne.)—Hic est Arthurus de quo Britonum nunc hodiè que delirant. (Willelmi Malmesburiensis de Gest. reg. Angl., lib. 1. cap. 1. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 9. ed. Savile.)—Credunt quidam de genere Britonum eum futurum vivere, et de servitute ad liberatam eos reducere. (Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. 3. cap. xxv. p. 219. ed. Hearne.)—Nennii histor. Briton. cap. lxxii. et lxxiii. apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. 1. p. 114. ed. Gale.—Sketch of the Early History of the Cymry, by Roberts, p. 141.*

³ *Engla, Anglen.*

⁴ *Flamddwyn.*

⁵ *Talesin, Archæology of Wales, vol. 1. p. 57.*

⁶ *Otherwise Brynich, and Deywr or Dewyr.*

⁷ *Aneurin. (Archæology of Wales, vol. 1. 4.)*

⁸ *Ibid. p. 4—13.*

⁹ *Northan-hymbra-menn. In Latin, Nordanhymbr, Northumbri.*

¹⁰ *East-Engla-land, East-Englas. In Latin, Orientales Angli, Estanglia.*

¹¹ *See above, p. 2.*

¹² *Myrcan, Myrcna-rice. (Chron. Saxon, ed. Gibson, passim.)*

¹³ *Mærc, mærc, myrc, mark, frontier, or according to another etymology, marshy land. (Vide the Glossaries of Wachter, Ihre, and Edward Lye.)*

¹⁴ *There are generally reckoned only seven. There were*

the Mercians,¹ with whom some Coranians and Angles were intermixed, were not at first certainly fixed: they extended themselves progressively towards the west, at the expense of the Cambrians; and towards the south, at the expense of the Saxons themselves, with whom they did not feel so closely connected by a community of origin as the Saxons were with one another.²

Of these eight colonies, principalities, states, or kingdoms, whichever they may be called, thus founded in Britain within the space of a century, none had any territory on the borders of the western sea, except the West Saxons, which, however, did not extend to the north of the gulf into which the river Severn falls. Nearly the whole extent of the western coasts, from the mouth of the Clyde to the Land's End in Cornwall, remained in the possession of the indigenous race, and chiefly of the Cambrian Britons. The irregular form of these coasts, isolated from the great mass of this hitherto free race the tribes dwelling in the south, beyond the channel of the Severn, and in the north, beyond the Solway Frith: but betwixt these two opposite points was a long and compact space of country, though varying in breadth according to the projection of the coasts into the sea. This mountainous and unfruitful territory was the dwelling-place of the Cambrians;³ here they offered a safe though poor asylum to emigrants from every corner of Britain—to men who, say the old historians, chose rather to lead a life of independence and of privations, than to inhabit a fine country under the foreign yoke.⁴ Others crossed the ocean to find in Gaul a land which their fathers had peopled at the same time with Britain, and of which the inhabitants were of their own race and language.

(450 to 500) Many vessels with fugitives from Britain touched successively at the westernmost point of Armorica, of which, under the Romans and even before their conquest, certain districts had been called the territories of the Osismii and Veneti. With the consent of the ancient inhabitants, who acknowledged them as brethren of the same origin, the new settlers distributed themselves over the whole northern coast, as far as the little river Coëson, and southward as far as the territory of the city of the Veneti, now called Vannes. In this extent of country they founded a sort of separate state, comprising all the small places near the coast, but not including within its limits the great towns of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes. The increase of the population of this western corner of the country, and the great number of people of the Celtic⁵ race and language thus assembled within a narrow space, preserved it from the irruption of the Roman tongue, which, under forms more or less corrupted,

was gradually becoming prevalent in every other part of Gaul. The name of *Brittany* was attached to these coasts, and the names of the various indigenous tribes disappeared; while the island which had borne this name for so many ages, now lost it, and taking the name of its conquerors, began to be called the land of the Saxons and Angles, or in one word, *England*.⁶

At the same time when the men of Britain, flying before the Anglo-Saxons, established themselves on the point of land which was called *the horn of Gaul*,⁷ some Saxons expatriated from Germany came to settle on another point of the coast of Gaul, farther to the north, in the vicinity of the town of which the ancient name has been changed into that of Bayeux.⁸ At this time, also, the Germanic league, which had for two centuries been called that of the *Franks*, or the *intrepid*, advanced in several bodies, from the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse, into the central provinces of Gaul. On the other side, two nations of the Teutonic race had already overrun and become settled inhabitants of all the fine provinces of the south, between the Loire and the two seas. The Western Goths, who took the name of Visigoths,⁹ occupied the country west of the Rhone, while the Burgundians¹⁰ held that to the east. The establishment of these two barbarous nations had been violent and accompanied by great ravages; they had forcibly usurped a part of the possessions of each native family: but the love of repose and a spirit of justice which distinguished them above the other Germans, early softened their manners; they preferred to live in amity with those whom they had vanquished and whom their laws treated with impartiality, and located themselves near them as neighbours and as friends. The Goths in particular were gained over to the Roman manners, which at that time were those of the civilised inhabitants of Gaul: their laws were in general literally copied from the imperial code; they gloried in the arts, and affected the politeness of Rome.¹¹

But the Franks, on the contrary, filled the north of Gaul with terror and devastation: strangers alike to the manners and the arts of the Roman colonies and cities, they devastated them remorselessly, and took pleasure in doing so.¹² Being still pagans, no religious sympathy tempered their savage disposition. Sparing neither sex nor age (say the ancient historians), burning churches and houses in the towns and country, they gradually advanced southward to invade the whole extent of Gaul; while the Goths and Burgundians, impelled by a like ambition, though gratifying it less barbarously, sometimes united, but oftener at war, pushed their conquests in the opposite direction. In the then weak state of the central provinces, still united,

first eight, then seven, then six, then again eight, in consequence of different revolutions.

¹ Myrcna-menn; *Mercii*.

² *Howe Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 222.

³ Gwylt Wallia. (*Talesin, Archaeology of Wales*, vol. i., p. 95.)

⁴ *Miseram cum libertate potius ibidem eligunt vitam transigere, quam hostium subditi dominio servitute.* (*Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. cap. xlii. p. 222, ed. Hearne.)

⁵ *Celts, Keltes, Galate*, names given by the Greeks and Romans to the Gallic nations. We are often obliged, for want of proper distinctive terms, to apply this name alike to the people of Cambria and of Gaul. (See *L'Histoire des Gaulois*, by Amédée Thierry.)

⁶ *Engel-Saxna-land, Engla-land, Engle-land*;—by abbreviation of sound, *England*.

⁷ *Cornu-Gallia*, the same name with that of the southern point of the island of Britain.

⁸ Vide Ducange *Glossar. ad script. mediæ ævi; verbo Olingua Saxonia*.

⁹ *West-Gothen*. In Latin, *Witigothi*.

¹⁰ See the *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, 5th edition, Letter vi.

¹¹ *Burgundiones blandè, mansuetè, innocenterque vivunt, non quasi cum subjectis Gallis, sed verè cum fratribus christianis.* (Paulus Orosius, *apud script. rer. Gallicæ et Francicæ*, tom. I. p. 597.)

¹² See the *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, 5th edition, Letter vi.

though but nominally, with the Roman empire, and profoundly disgusted with that rule (which, to use the words of an ancient Gaulish poet, "made them bear the weight of its shadow"),¹ there was every reason to suppose that the inhabitants of these provinces, incapable of resisting the conquering nations who pressed them on three sides, would capitulate with the least ferocious; in a word, that the whole of Gaul would submit either to the Goths or the Burgundians, who were Christians like the Gauls, in order to escape from the hands of the Franks. Such were its dictates of true policy; but they who ruled its destiny decided otherwise.

These were the bishops of the Gallic cities, to whom the decrees of the Roman emperors had assigned a great administrative authority,² and who, taking advantage of the disorders caused by the invasion of the barbarians, increased illegally their already exorbitant power. The bishops, who at that time took the title of *popes* or fathers, were the plenipotentiaries from the Gaulish cities whether to the empire which was retiring from, or to the Germans who were approaching them. They conducted the diplomatic negotiations³ as they thought fit; and whether through habit or through fear, no one stood forth to contradict them; for their power of penal inflictions was sanctioned by the sanguinary regulations of police in the decline of the empire.

As children of Rome, and bound by the imperial ordinances to acknowledge as their common patron and head, the bishop of the *eternal city*,⁴ to do nothing without his sanction, to consider his decrees as laws, and his policy as their rule, to model their own faith upon his, and so to contribute by unity of religion to a unity of government, the bishops of the Gaulish provinces, though quite at liberty the moment the imperial power ceased to bear upon them, continued to act as before. Through instinct or through calculation, they still laboured (as one of themselves has expressed it,) to retain under the authority of Rome, by the bonds of religious creed, those countries in which the tie of political subjection had been broken.⁵ Their aversion or toleration for the barbarian emigrants from Germany was measured, not by the degree of barbarism and ferocity in the latter, but according to their presumed aptitude for receiving Christianity, as it was professed by Rome. Now, this aptitude was considered to be much greater in a people who were still pagans, than in schismatic Christians, who had knowingly and wilfully separated from the Roman communion: such were the Goths and the Burgundians, who professed the faith of Christ according to the doctrine of Arius. But the Franks, at that time, partook of no Chris-

tian creed, and this consideration was sufficient to incline the hearts of the Gaulish bishops toward them, and to make them all (as a nearly cotemporary writer expresses it) desire the dominion of the Franks with the ardour of affection.⁶

The portion of the territory of Gaul occupied by the Franks, extended from the Rhine to the Somme. The tribe which had advanced the farthest to the south and west was that of the Mérovingins, or sons of Mérowig⁷ (Merovée,) so called from the name of one of their ancient chiefs, renowned for his bravery and venerated by the whole people as their common ancestor.⁸ At the head of the descendants of Mérowig was a young man named Chlodowig,⁹ or Clovis, who joined to the warlike daring of his predecessors a greater share of counsel and of skill (481 to 493). The bishops of that part of Gaul which was still subject to the empire, through a precaution of future events and their hatred of the Arian powers and rulers, entered of their own accord into alliance with this formidable neighbour; they sent frequent messages to him replete with complimentary expressions, and several of them visited him at his *bivouac*, which, according to the Roman polite phraseology, they termed a *royal court*.¹⁰ The king of the Franks was at first but little sensible to their adulation, and he plundered the churches and the treasures of the clergy as before; but a precious chalice carried off by the Franks from the cathedral of Rheims, attached him by the ties of interest, and soon by those of friendship, to a prelate more talented or more fortunate than the rest. Under the auspices of Remigius, or Remi, bishop of Rheims, all events seemed to concur in forwarding the great plan of the priests of Gaul. First, by a marvellous chance, the pagan, whom it was desired to convert to the Christian faith, married the only woman professing Christianity according to the Roman dogma that was then to be found among the Teutonic princely families. The caresses of the faithful wife (as the histories of the time designate her) softened by degrees the heart of the infidel husband.¹¹ In a battle fought against a German people who wished to follow the Franks into Gaul, and conquer a portion for themselves, Clovis, whose soldiers were giving way, invoked the god of Chlothilde, or Clotilda (this was his bride's name), and promised to believe on him if he gained the victory. He gained it, and he kept his word.¹²

⁶ Cum omnes eos amore desiderabili caperent regnare. (Gregor. Turonensis. Hist. Franc., lib. ii. cap. xxiii., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., v. ii. p. 173.)

⁷ See the Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, 5th edition, p. 504, for the signification of this name.

⁸ Merovicus . . . a quo Franci et prius Merovingi vocati sunt, propter utilitatem videlicet et prudentiam illius, in tantam venerationem apud Francos est habitus, ut quasi communis pater ab omnibus coleretur. (Roriconis Gest. Franc., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. iii. p. 4.)—Primum regem traduntur habuisse Meroveum, ob cuius potentia facta et mirificos triumphos, intermisso Sicamborum vocabulo, Merovingi dicti sunt. (Hariulf Chronicon Centulense, ibid., p. 349.) In the Frank language, Merovingins; the termination *ing* indicates *filiation* or race by descent.

⁹ See the Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, 5th edition, p. 504.

¹⁰ Aula Regia. (Vita S. Vedasti, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., v. iii. p. 372.)

¹¹ Fidelis insideli conjuncta viro. (Aimonii Chronicon, lib. xiv., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. iii. p. 38.)

¹² Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. epitom. apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. ii. p. 400.—Vita Remigii episcopi, ibid., t. iii. p. 375.

¹ Portavimus umbram Imperii. (Sidonii Apollinaris Carmina, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., v. i. p. 810.)

² Leges Arcadii et Theodosii junioris.

³ Per vos (episcopos) mala fœderum errant, per vos regni utriusque pacta conditionesque portantur. (Sidonii Apollinaris epistola, apud scriptores rerum Gallic. et Francic., vol. i. p. 798.)

⁴ Decernimus ne quid tam episcopis gallicanis quam arianum provinciarum, liceat sine viri venerabilis pape urbis athenae auctoritate tentare; sed illis pro lege sit quidquid sanxit vel sanxerit. (Lex Theodosii et Valentiniani, apud script. rer. Gall. sub anno 445, vol. i. p. 768.)

⁵ Populos Galliarum quos limes gothicae sortis incluserit, tenemus ex fide, etsi non tenemus ex fœdere. (Sidonii Apollinaris epistola, apud scriptores rerum Gallic. et Francic., sub anno 474, vol. i. p. 798.)

The example of the chieftain, the presents of Clotilda and of the bishops, and perhaps the attraction of novelty, effected the conversion of a number of the Frank soldiers, amounting, say the historians, to three thousand; but they confess that these wished to be baptized only in order to please their chief, before they knew what baptism was.¹ The ceremony was performed at Rheims. All that the arts of Rome, which were destined shortly to perish in Gaul, after having been enjoyed at first by the barbarians themselves, could yet furnish of splendour, was lavishly employed in decorating the triumph of the bishops: the streets were adorned with tapestries; hangings of various colours, stretching from roof to roof, intercepted the glare and heat of the sun, as in the games of the circus; the pavement was strewn with flowers; and perfumes were burnt to refresh the air. The bishop of Rheims, in embroidered vestments, walked beside the king of the Franks, whom he called his spiritual son. "Holy Father," said the latter, astonished by the magnificence, "is not this the kingdom of heaven to which thou promisedst to conduct me?"²

The news of the baptism of the king of the Franks was carried rapidly by couriers to the pope of Rome; on which letters of congratulation and friendship were addressed from the Eternal City to the king who had bowed his head beneath her yoke; and he, in return, sent rich presents as tributes of filial submission to the blessed apostle Peter, protecting patron of the new Rome. From the moment that king Clovis declared himself a son of the church of Rome, his conquests in Gaul were extended without further effusion of blood. (497.) All the towns of the north-west, as far as the Loire and the territory of the emigrant Britons, opened their gates to his forces: the bodies of troops stationed in these places passed into the service of the German king, and displayed among his warriors clad in skins,³ the arms and ensigns of the Romans. The limits of the territory or kingdom of the Franks, were soon extended towards the south-east: and at the instigation of his pious converters, the royal neophyte marched in hostile array through the territories conquered by the Burgundians.⁴ (500.)

The Burgundians were Arians; that is, they did not believe that the second person of the Trinity was a God like the first: but, notwithstanding this difference of doctrine, they did not in any way persecute the priests and bishops who in their towns professed the tenets of Rome. The bishops, little grateful for this generous toleration, corresponded with the Franks in order to incite them to an invasion; or, at least, took advantage of the dread of such an invasion to persuade the king of the Burgundians to embrace the Roman creed, which they were pleased to call the only true, evangelical, and orthodox faith. This king, named Gondebald,⁵ though a barbarian and their master, resisted them with great mildness; while they ad-

ressed him with menaces and arrogance, calling him a madman, an apostate, and a rebel against the law of God.⁶ "It is not so," replied he patiently, "I obey the law of God; but I will not, like you, believe in three gods. Besides, if your faith is the best, why do not your brethren in religion prove it, by preventing the king of the Franks from marching against us to destroy us?"⁷

The entrance of the Franks was the only answer to this embarrassing question. (501.) Their passage was marked by murder and conflagration: they tore up the vines and fruit-trees; plundered the convents; carried off the sacred vessels, and destroyed them without scruple. The King of the Burgundians, being reduced to extremity, submitted to the conquerors, who imposed a tribute on him and all his towns, made him swear to be their future ally and soldier, and returned to their lands north of the Loire with an immense booty. The orthodox clergy called this sanguinary expedition a pious, illustrious, and holy enterprise for the true faith.⁸ "Alas!" said the old vanquished king, "can the faith of religion dwell with those who covet the possessions of others and thirst for human blood?"⁹

The victory of the Franks over the Burgundians placed all the cities on the banks of the Rhone and the Saône under the power of the Roman church, and of the palace of St. John of Lateran, which was recovering, piece by piece, the inheritance of the old capitol. (507.) Six years afterwards, under the same auspices, began the war with the Visigoths. Clovis assembled his warriors in a circle, in an extensive plain, and said to them, "It displeases me, that these Goths, who are Arians, occupy the best part of Gaul: let us go against them with the help of God, and drive them away; let us make their land subject to us, for it is excellent, and we shall do well."¹⁰ This proposal was pleasing to the Franks, who expressed their approbation by loud shouts, and joyfully began their march toward the good lands of the south. The terror of their approach, say the old historians, resounded from afar.¹¹ So alarmed were the people of the south of Gaul, that, in many places, they fancied they saw dreadful signs and presages announcing the calamities of an invasion; at Toulouse, it was declared that a fountain of blood issued forth in the middle of the city, and flowed for a whole day.¹² But, amidst the public consternation, there was a class of men who reckoned with impatience the days occupied by the barbarian forces in their march. Quintianus, orthodox bishop of Rhodéz, was detected intriguing for the enemy; and he was not the only tainted priest who resorted to similar practices.¹³

¹ Collatio episcoporum coram Gondebaldo rege: apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., t. iv., p. 99, 100, et 101.

² Si vestra fides est vera, quare episcopi vestri non impediunt regem Francorum, &c. (Ibid., p. 100.)

³ Pia atque incluta et christiana religionis cultrix Francorum ditio. (Vita S. Dalmatii, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., tom. iii. 420.)

⁴ Non est fides ubi est appetentia alieni et sitis sanguinis populorum. (Ibid., tom. iv., p. 100.)

⁵ Eam nostris ditioribus subjecimus, quia valde bona est. (Gesta regum Francorum, ibid., t. ii. p. 553.)

⁶ Cum terror Francorum resonaret. (Greg. Turon., Hist. Franc., lib. ii. cap. 23, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., t. ii. p. 173.)

⁷ In medio Tholose civitatis, sanguis erupit, Francorum adveniente regno. (Idatii Chronic. ibid., p. 463.)

⁸ Vita S. Quintiani, ibid., t. iii. p. 408. Vide Gregor. Turon. de Aprunculo, Theodoro, Procula, Dionysio, Volusiano, et Vero, episcopis.

¹ Ob amorem regis antea etiam baptizari cupiebant, quam baptismatis jura cognovissent. (Roric. Gest. Franc., lib. ii., ibid., t. iii., p. 9.)

² Patrone, est hoc regnum Dei? (Vita Remigii, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., t. iii., p. 577.)

³ Pellite turmas. (Sidon. Apollinar. Carmina, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., t. i., p. 807.—Procopius de Francie, ibid., tom. ii., 31.)

⁴ Vita S. Remigii, ibid., t. iii., 378.

⁵ In Latin Gondebaldus. Gend, gend, guth, war, warrior; bald, bold, bold.

The Franks passed the Loire; and at the distance of ten miles from the city of Poitiers, a sanguinary action was fought, in which the old inhabitants of southern Gaul, the Gallo-Roman people of Aquitania and Arvernia,¹ fought along with the Goths for the defence of their country. But their cause prevailed not against the conquering spirit of the Franks, which was so powerfully supported by the fanaticism of the orthodox Gauls. All-rik,² or Alaric, king of the Goths, was slain in this combat; and the Arvernians lost the principal men of their nation, whom, after the manner of the Romans, they styled senators. Few of the cities were carried by assault; they were mostly delivered up by treason: all those whose consciences had been alarmed by the Arian supremacy, revenged themselves by doing all the injuries they could to their former masters. The Goths, being unable to keep the field, abandoned the whole of Aquitaine, and crossed over into Spain, or took refuge in the fortresses adjacent to the Mediterranean; the victorious bands in which were united, under the command of the converted king, both obstinate pagans and the fanatics of orthodoxy, spread themselves over the country to the foot of the Pyrenees, pillaging the towns, desolating the fields, and trailing the men behind their baggage waggons.³ Wherever the victorious chief encamped, his tent was beset by the orthodox. Germerius, bishop of Toulouse, who remained twenty days with him, eating every day at his table, received from him as presents crosses of gold, chalices and patens of silver, gilt crowns and veils of purple, taken from the Arian churches.⁴ Another bishop, who could not go himself, wrote thus to the king of the Franks: "You shine in power and in majesty; and when you fight, ours is the triumph."⁵

Such was the savage domination which, extending from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, completely hemmed in, on all sides, that corner of the western territory where the Britons, or Bretons, had taken refuge. (508 to 511.) Governors from among the Franks were established in the cities of Nantes, Vannes, and Rennes. These cities paid tribute to the kings of the Franks; but the Bretons refused to pay tribute, and they alone dared to attempt the preservation of their little district from the destiny of the rest of Gaul. In this bold enterprise there was to them so much the more of danger, as their Christianity, like that of the Goths and Burgundians, differed in some points from the doctrines of the Romish Church. Having been Christians for several ages, and perhaps the most fervent Christians in the world, they had come into Gaul, accompanied by priests and monks of greater learning and better information than those of the isolated canton in which they settled.⁶ They purified the faith, until then very

imperfect, of the ancient inhabitants of the country: they even went and preached gratuitously in the surrounding territories; and, as their missionaries presented themselves without any interested view, receiving nothing from any one, not even food or drink,⁷ they were every where welcome guests. The citizens of Rennes chose an emigrant Briton for their bishop; and the Bretons themselves instituted bishops in several of the towns in their new country where there had never been any before. They formed their religious, as they had formed their civil establishment, without asking the permission or the counsel of any foreign power.⁸

(A.D. 511 to 566.) The heads of the Church of Brittany held no intercourse with the prelates of Frankish Gaul, nor did they repair to the councils of the Gauls convoked by the rescript of the Frank kings. This conduct soon drew upon them the hatred of others. The metropolitan of Tours, who styled himself the spiritual head of the whole extent of country which the Roman emperors had called the third Lyonnese province,⁹ summoned the clergy of Lower Brittany, as dwelling within his ancient province, to acknowledge him as their archbishop, and to receive his commands. The Bretons, or Britons, did not think that the imperial circumscription of the Gallic territories had created the least obligation on them to subject their national church, transplanted by themselves from beyond sea, to the authority of a stranger: besides, they were not accustomed to attach the archiepiscopal supremacy to the possession of any particular see, but to decree it to the most worthy among their bishops. Their religious hierarchy, vague and varying according to the popular will, was not rooted in the soil, nor parcelled out by territorial divisions, like that which the kings of Byzantium instituted when they made Christianity an engine of government. The ambitious pretensions of the prelate of Tours had, therefore, no validity in the eyes of the Bretons, who made no account of them: the Gallic bishop excommunicated them; but still they gave themselves no concern, nor could they feel any regret at being deprived of the communion of foreigners from whom they had already separated themselves.¹⁰ (566 to 578.) But the orthodox church of Gaul, irritated by this resistance, soon after waged against them a more dangerous war. The tribe of Saxons, still pagan, who were settled next to their territory,¹¹ became objects of the tender solicitude of the bishops of the neighbouring provinces, who unfortunately exerted themselves, not so much to convert these barbarians, as to prevent them from being converted by the Bretons, and from forming any alliance with those declared schismatics. "You watch over the Saxons most carefully;" thus wrote a poet of that day to Felix, bishop of Nantes, "and your address keeps off from them the Briton who is laying his snares for them."¹² Thanks to the vigilance of Felix and his colleagues, the Saxons of Bayeux were kept pure from any alliance with their neighbours,

¹ *Avernia, Alvernia, Alvernia, Auvergne.*

² *All eoll, all, entirely: Rih, ric, rich, reich, strong, brave, and by extension, powerful, rich.*

³ *Captivorum innumerabilis multitudo. Vita S. Eptadii, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie. t. ii. p. 381.—More eorum binos et binos insimul copulatos. (Vita S. Eusicii, ibid., t. iii. p. 429.)*

⁴ *Quingentos siclos, et cruces aureas, et calices argenteos, et tres coronas inauratas, et totidem pallia per aras ex byaso. (Vita S. Germerii episcopi Tolosani, ibid., t. iii. p. 386.)*

⁵ *Quotiescumque illic pugnatis, vincimus. (Epistola Aviti, Viennensis episcopi, ibid., t. iv. p. 50.)*

⁶ *Dom Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, t. i. liv. i. p. 7—13.*

⁷ *Cambrian Biography, p. 16, at the word Dewi.—Sketch of the Early History of the Cymry, by Roberts, p. 129.*

⁸ *Dom Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, t. i. liv. i. p. 7 and 8.*

⁹ *Lugdunensis tertia.*
¹⁰ *Dom Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, t. i. liv. i. p. 8—13.*

¹¹ *See p. 6.*

¹² *Insidiatores removes, vigil arte Britannos. (Fortunati Carmina, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., t. ii. p. 482.)*

rebellious against the sacerdotal power; they were even enlisted against them in an expedition commanded by the Frank king Hilpërik,¹ or Chilperic, a barbarous and unenlightened supporter of orthodoxy, but devoted friend of the orthodox prelate: nearly the whole of them were cut in pieces by the Bretons on the banks of the Vilaine. (578.)

More than once did this small nation, as a punishment for their religious independence, have to sustain similar attacks from the powerful chiefs among the new conquerors of Gaul. (578 to 824.) Every year, when the Frank kings assembled around them in the great council the governors of their provinces, those who in their language were called *Grafs*,² and whom the Gauls styled *Counts*,³ the Count of the frontiers of Brittany⁴ was interrogated respecting the religious creed of the Bretons. "They believe not in the true tenets," the Frank captain would reply; "they follow not the straight path."⁵ War, therefore, was voted against them by unanimous acclamation; and an army, assembled in Germany and the northern part of Gaul, marched towards the mouth of the Loire. Priests and monks quitted their books and laid aside their long robes, to follow, with swords in their hand and baldricks on their shoulder, the warriors of whom they became the laughing-stock.⁶ After the first battle was gained, the victor published, from his camp on the rivers Ellé and Blavet, manifestos concerning the tonsure of the clerks and the lives of the monks in Brittany,⁷ enjoining them to follow in future, under pain of corporal chastisements, the rules and decrals of the Romish church.⁸

(A.D. 300 to 500.) All the differences of opinion and of practice between the Britons of Gaul and the orthodox church, they had in common with the people of the same race who continued to inhabit the island of Britain. The most important point in this schism was their refusing to believe the original degradation of our nature, and the irremissible damnation of infants dying without baptism. The Bretons thought that man, to become better, does not stand in need of supernatural grace to enlighten him, without merit of his own; but that his own will and reason, duly exercised, are sufficient to elevate him to moral worth. Their doctrine had been professed from time immemorial in the poems of the Celtic bards. (394 to 416.) A Christian priest born in Britain, and known by the name of Pelagius, carried it into the Eastern churches, and made himself famous by his opposition to the Roman dogma, of the guilt of all mankind by the fall of their first parent. Having been denounced to the imperial authorities as an

enemy to the established creed of the empire, he was banished from the Roman world⁹ by a decree of Theodosius and of Honorius, and sentences of proscription were passed against his disciples. The inhabitants of the island of Britain, being already separated from the empire, escaped these persecutions and were at liberty to believe, in peace, that no man is born a sinner; they were only visited, sometimes, by orthodox missionaries, who strove by simple persuasion to bring them over to the tenets of the Roman church.

(A.D. 416 to 500.) At an early period of the Saxon invasion there came into Britain two Gallic preachers, Lupus, bishop of Troyes, and German, or Germanus, bishop of Auxerre. These men combated the Pelagian doctrines, not by logical arguments, but by texts and quotations. "How," said they, "can it be maintained that man is born without original guilt, when it is expressly written, *I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me*?" This sort of proof was not without its power over some simple intellects;¹⁰ and Germanus of Auxerre succeeded in restoring in Britain some degree of what the orthodox called *the honour of the divine grace*.¹¹ It must be said, to the credit of this man, that his undertaking to preach to the Britons was the consequence rather of his own personal zeal and conviction than of any mission from the Pontifical authority. He gave proof of this by marching at the head of his proselytes against the conquering Saxons, whom he repulsed, to the cry of *Alleluia!* raised by his whole troop.¹² Unhappily it was otherwise that the accredited agents of the Romish church acted towards the British established in Wales. At the time when the Anglo-Saxons had just completed the conquest of the most fertile portion of the island of Britain, (560 to 595) the dignity of bishop or pope of Rome was filled by a personage of consummate abilities, zealous for the propagation of the catholic faith and for the aggrandisement of the new Roman empire which was then being established in the supremacy of the see of St. Peter. This man, named Gregory, laboured successfully to draw closer and closer around the metropolis of the west the influence of the sacerdotal hierarchy created by the policy of the emperors. The Frank kings being the orthodox chiefs of armies still semi-pagan,¹³ were the faithful allies of pope Gregory; and their power, dreaded far and wide, served for a support and temporal sanction to his pontifical decrees. When he thought fit to impose on the bishops of Gaul new laws of subordination to himself or to the vicars of his choice, he ad-

¹ In Latin, *Chilpericus*, the *ch* being aspirated. *Hilp*, *hulf*, help, succour, succouring; *Rib*, strong, powerful.—(Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc., lib. v. cap. 27, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. ii. p. 250.)

² *Graf*, *graw*, *graf*, *gerf*, *gerefa*, governor, prefect.

³ *Comites*.

⁴ Comes Marchie Britannice. In the Frank tongue, Britene-Marke-Graf.

⁵ *Præcipua cum vana colas, nec dogmata serves,*

Avia curva petas, tu populusque tuis.

—(Ermoldi Nigelli carmen de Hladovico imp., lib. iii., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. vi. p. 40.)

⁶ *Cede armis, frater.* (Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen, *ibid.*, p. 53.)

⁷ *Cum de conversatione monachorum illarum partium, sive de tonsione interrogassemus.* (Diploma Hladovici pii imperatoris, [Louis le Debonnaire] apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic.)

⁸ Diploma Hladovici pii imp. Dom. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*.

⁹ *Manichæos, omnesque hæreticos vel schismaticos, sive mathematicos, omnemque sectam catholicis inimicam ab ipso aspectu urbium diversarum exterminari debere præcipimus.* (Theodosii et Valentini rescript., anni 425, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., t. i. p. 768.)—*Romano procul orbe fugati.* (Chronicon Properi Tyronis, de hæreticis arrianis, *ibid.*, p. 637.)

¹⁰ Bedæ Presbyteri Historia, Ecclesiast., lib. i. c. 17. Henrici Huntingdon, Historia, lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 329, ed. Savile.

¹¹ Bedæ Presb. Hist. Ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 17.

¹² *Alleluia tertio repetitum.* (*Ibid.*, lib. i. cap. 20.) Henrici Huntingdon, Historia, lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 511, ed. Savile.

¹³ *Ita christiani sunt isti barbari, ad multos præcise superstitionis ritus observent, humanas hostias atque impia sacrificia divinationibus adhibentes.* (Procopius, sub anno 540, inter script. rer. Gallic. et Franc., tom. ii. p. 38.)—See *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, 5th edit., Letter VI.

dressed his ordinances to the *glorious personages* Hiltebert (or Childebert) and Theodebert,¹ charging them to have it executed by their *royal* relics to be worn on the neck in battle, were the cheap remuneration from the Roman pontiff for the good offices of the barbarian king.³ (595.)

A similar alliance with the conquerors of Britain, for the furtherance of the orthodox faith and the advantage of the pontifical supremacy was an early object of the zeal and ambition of pope Gregory; and he soon formed the design of converting the Anglo-Saxons to the doctrines of catholicism, and of employing the authority of their rulers, as well as of the Frank kings, to the increase of his spiritual power, which hitherto had not been acknowledged by the Christians of Britain. The poor christian Britons, defeated and dispossessed, gave no hindrance to the Roman pontiff in his designs, nor did they attempt, with regard to their pagan enemies, any of those preachings which the Church of Rome ever called insidious when not proceeding from herself. Their resentment against the foreign usurpation, and the care of their national defence, occupying their whole thoughts, left them neither the will nor the leisure to contract any ties of amity with their conquerors.⁴

Gregory, therefore, had a clear field; and, the better to prepare for his enterprise, he ordered search to be made in the various slave-markets, for some young men of the Anglo-Saxon race, seventeen or eighteen years of age.⁵ Of these, his agents made purchase, converted them into monks, and imposed on them the obligatory task of acquiring such a knowledge of the doctrines of the catholic faith as might be sufficient to enable them to teach the same in the language of their native country. It appears that the missionaries, thus forcibly compelled to the undertaking, ill-answered the views and instructions of their masters; for pope Gregory, relinquishing his whimsical expedient, shortly afterwards determined to send over some Romans of tried faith, and great education, for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. (596.) At the head of this mission was Augustin; he was consecrated and entitled beforehand *bishop of England*. His coadjutors accompanied him, full of zeal, as far as the town of Aix in Provence; but, having proceeded thus far, they were frightened at the undertaking, and desired to retrace their steps. Augustin set out again alone to ask of Gregory in their name the favour of being exempted from this perilous journey, the successful issue of which, he said, among a people of whose language they were ignorant, was problematical, and more than doubtful.⁶ But the pope would not be persuaded: "It

is now too late," he replied, "to recede; you must accomplish the enterprise, and not hearken to the dissuasions of ill-meaning men: I could wish to labour, myself, with all my heart, along with you, in this good work."⁷ The missionaries all belonged to a convent, founded by the Pope on his own demesne, and the house in which he himself was born had become the convent. They had sworn obedience to him as their spiritual father: they, therefore, obeyed, and went first to Chalons, where dwelt Theodoric, son of Hiltebert, king of half the eastern portion of the country conquered by the Franks.⁸ They afterwards repaired to Metz, where Theodebert, also a son of Hiltebert, reigned over the other half.⁹

The Romans presented to these two kings letters replete with adulatory compliments, calculated to excite their good-will by flattering their vanity in the highest degree. Pope Gregory knew that the Franks were at war with their northern neighbours, the Saxons of Germany; and, relying on this fact, he did not hesitate to designate as subjects of the Franks the Saxons dwelling beyond sea, whom his monks were going to convert. He wrote as follows to the two sons of Hiltebert: "I thought that you must ardently desire the happy conversion of your subjects to the faith which yourselves profess, you, who are their masters and their kings; therefore it was that I determined to send Augustin, the bearer of these presents, with other servants of God, to labour yonder under your auspices."¹⁰

The mission also delivered letters to the grandmother of the two young kings, widow of Sighebert, the father of Hiltebert, an ambitious woman, excelling in the intrigues of state-policy, who, under the name of her two sons, governed the half of Gaul. She was of the Gothic nation, at that time driven, by the Frank invasion, beyond the Pyrenees. Before her marriage she had borne the name of *Bruna*, which, in the German language, signified Brilliant; but the Frank king, who had made her his wife, wishing, say the historians of that age, to embellish and lengthen her name, called her Brunehilde, that is, *the brilliant girl*.¹¹ She was at first an Arian, but became a catholic; she was anointed with the holy chrism, and thenceforward displayed the utmost zeal for her new creed; the bishops rivalled each other in lauding the purity of her faith; and, in favour of her pious works, neglected to cast a reproving eye on her loose morals, her treacheries, or her political atrocities. "We pray you, whose zeal is ardent, whose works are precious, and whose soul is strengthened by the fear of the Almighty," so did Gregory write unto this woman, "to aid us in a great labour. The nation of the English has made known unto us their ardent desire to receive the faith of Christ, and we wish to satisfy their desire."¹² The Frank kings and their grandmother

¹ See Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, 5th edit., for the signification of these names.

² Epistolæ Gregorii papæ ad episcopos Gallie et ad Childebertum regem, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Franc., vol. iv., 14 et 15.

³ Quæ collo suspensæ, à malis omnibus vos teneantur. (Epistola Gregor. Papæ ad Childebertum. (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 17.)

⁴ Epistolæ Gregorii Papæ, passim.

⁵ Volumus ut dilectio tua . . . pueros Anglos, qui sunt ab annis decem et septem, vel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis datî Deo proficiant, comparet. (Gregorii papæ epistola ad Candidum presbyterum, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., vol. iv. p. 17.)

⁶ Bedæ Presbyt. Histor. Ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 23.

⁷ Bedæ Presbyt. Histor. Ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 23.

⁸ Oster-frankono-rike, Oster-rike, Oster-liudi Oster-land. In Latin, Austrifranca, Austria, Austrasia, regnum orientale. See 'Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, 5th edit. Letter X.'

⁹ Epistolæ Gregorii Papæ, passim, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., vol. iv.

¹⁰ Subjectos vestros . . . reges et domini. Opera Gregorii Papæ, vol. ii. p. 189.

¹¹ A name corrupted to Brunehaut; in Latin, *Brunichildis*. Ad nomen ejus ornandum et augendum. Gregor. Turon. Hist. epitomata, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., vol. ii. p. 405.

¹² Anglorum gentem velle fieri christianam. (Opera Gre-

gave themselves little concern to inquire as to the fact of this ardent desire of the Anglo-Saxon people, or to reconcile it with the evidence of the terrors and repugnance of the missionaries: they gladly encouraged the mission, and protected it on its journey to the sea-coast. The king of the western Franks,¹ though at war with his eastern relatives, received the Roman missionaries no less graciously than they had done, and permitted them to take men of the Frank nation as interpreters between them and the Saxons, who spoke nearly the same language.²

By a favourable chance, it happened that one of the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon chiefs, Ethelbert,³ king of Kent, had just before married a Frank woman, who professed the catholic religion. The news of this event raised the courage of St. Augustin's companions; and they landed with confidence on the same point of the island of Thanet, which was already made famous by the disembarkation of the ancient Romans, and of the two brothers who had opened for the Saxons the way to Britain. The Frank interpreters repaired to Ethelbert, to announce the arrival of men who had come from afar, to bring him glad tidings, and the offer of an endless reign, if he would believe in their words.⁴ The Saxon king at first gave no positive answer, and ordered that the strangers should sojourn in the island of Thanet until he should have determined how to act respecting them. It may well be supposed that the Christian wife of the pagan king⁵ did not remain apathetic on this great occasion; but that all the blandishments of domestic tenderness were employed to render Ethelbert favourable to the missionaries. He consented to hold a conference with them; yet, through some remaining distrust, he could not resolve to receive them in his house, nor in his royal city, but went to meet them in the island of Thanet, where, moreover, he commanded that the interview should take place in the open air, to prevent the effect of any sorceries, in case the strangers designed such against him.⁶ The Romans, with studied pomp, marched in file to the place of meeting, preceded by a large silver cross and a picture of Christ. They then stated the object of their journey, and made their propositions.⁷

"These are fine words and fine promises," replied the pagan king; "but, as all this is quite new to me, I cannot immediately put faith in it, and abandon the belief which I profess in common

gorii Pape, tom. iv. p. 189.)—*Excellentia ergo vestra quam proba in bonis consuevit esse operibus.* (Epist. Greg. pape, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., tom. iv. p. 21.)—*In omnipotentis Dei timore, excellentia vestra mens soliditate firmata.* (Ibid.)

¹ *Wester-franken-rike, West-rike.* In Latin, *Westricum*—by corruption, *Neptrium* or *Westria*—by corruption, *Neustria*—*regnum occidentale.*—See the *Letres sur l'Histoire de France*, 5th edit. Letter X.

² *Naturalis ergo lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis, eo quod de Germaniâ gentis ambe germinaverint.* (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. i., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 25, ed. Savile.)—*Beda presbyt. histor. ecclesiast., lib. ii. cap. 23, 24, et 25.*

³ Or *Æthel-byrht, Æthel-briht.* *Æthel, ethel, edel,* noble, of an ancient race; *berht, byrht, bright,* brilliant.

⁴ *Nuncium ferre optimum . . . æterna in cœlis gaudia, et regnum sive sine cum Deo vivo et vero.* (Henric Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 321, ed. Savile.)

⁵ Ethelbert.

⁶ *Ne, si quid maleficæ artis habuissent, cum superando deciperent.* (Henric Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii. Ibid.)

⁷ Ibid.

with my whole nation. However, since you have come from so far to communicate to us what you yourselves seem to me to consider as useful and true, I shall not use you ill, I shall furnish you with provisions and an abode, and shall leave you free to publish your doctrine, and persuade whom you may."⁸

The monks repaired to the capital town, called the city of the men of Kent, in Saxon, *Kent-wara-byrig*,⁹ and entered it in procession, carrying the cross and the picture, and chanting litanies. They soon had proselytes; a church, built formerly by the Britons, but abandoned since the Saxon conquest, served them for the celebration of the mass; they impressed the imaginations of the people by their great austerities; they even performed miracles; and the sight of these prodigies gained them the heart of king Ethelbert, who had at first appeared to apprehend their exercising magic arts.

When the chief of the land of Kent had received baptism, the new religion became the road to favour; and many men eagerly sought that road, although, say the historians, king Ethelbert would not compel any one.¹⁰ As a pledge of his faith he gave houses to his spiritual fathers, and endowed them with lands: such was, in all countries, the first remuneration claimed by the priests, who were converters of barbarians: "I entreat thy greatness and thy munificence," said the priest to the royal neophyte, "to give me a portion of land, with all its revenues, not for myself, but for Christ; and to grant it by a solemn act of cession; that, in return, thou mayst acquire a great number of possessions in this world, and a still greater in the next." To which the king replied, "I confirm to thee the property, without reserve, of all the domain attached to my exchequer, in order that it may be thy country, and that thou mayst cease to be a stranger among us."¹¹ (596 to 601.)

Augustin took the title of bishop of the land of Kent; the mission extended its labours beyond that territory;¹² and, through the influence of the example which had been set, it obtained some successes among the East-Saxons, whose chief, named Sigebert, was a relative of Ethelbert. Pope Gregory learned with exceeding joy the result of the preaching which had thus made christians and catholics of a portion of the conquerors of Britain: truth to say, their latter quality of catholics was what he had most desired; for his attachment to the formulary of Nicæa, and the doctrine of St. Augustin, rendered him an uncompromising enemy of every thing which breathed heresies and schisms; and in the strictness of his orthodoxy he went so far as to deny the efficacy of the salvation to heretics who even had died for the faith of Jesus Christ. "The harvest is great," Augustin wrote him word; "the labourers no longer suffice."¹³ On the arrival of these tidings, a second body of missionaries set

⁸ *Beda Presbyt. Hist. Ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 25.* *Henric Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 321, ed. Savile.*

⁹ Or *Cant-wara-byrig*—by corruption, *Canterbury.*

¹⁰ *Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 26.*—*Henric Huntingd. histor., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 321, ed. Savile.*

¹¹ *Vita S. Marculi abbatis, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., tom. iii. p. 495.* *Diplomat. in append. ad Gregor. Taron. col. 1328, ed. Ruinart.*

¹² *Kent-wara* or *Cant-wara.* In Latin, *Cantuarii.*

¹³ *Beda Presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 29.*

out from Rome, with letters addressed to the bishops of Gaul, and a sort of diplomatic note for Augustin, the great plenipotentiary of the Roman church in Britain. The prescript addressed to Mellitus and Laurentius, the heads of the new mission, was couched in these terms:

"You will tell him" (Augustin) "that after mature and grave deliberation on the affairs of the English people, I have settled in my mind several important points. In the first place, care must be taken not to destroy the temples of the idols: the idols only must be destroyed; then holy water must be provided, the temples must be watered with it, altars must be therein erected, and relics placed upon them. If these temples be well built, it is good and useful that they should be transferred from the worship of demons to the service of the true God. For so long as these ancient places of devotion shall subsist, the nation will be disposed, through the force of habit, to repair to them, there to adore the true God.¹

"Secondly,—It is said to be the custom of the men of that nation, to offer oxen in sacrifice. This custom must be changed for them into a christian solemnity; and on the days of the dedication of their temples turned into churches, as well as of the feasts of the saints whose relics shall be therein deposited, they shall be allowed, as heretofore, to build their huts of boughs round these same churches, to assemble there, and to lead thereunto their animals, which shall be killed by them, no longer as offerings to the devil, but as christian banquets, in the name and to the honour of God, to whom they shall render thanks when they have satisfied their hunger. By reserving something for men's outward joy, you will the more easily induce them to relish internal joys."²

Mellitus and Laurentius delivered to Augustin, with these instructions, the decoration of the pallium, which, according to the ceremonial which the Roman church had borrowed from the Roman empire, was the visible and official sign of the right of authority over the bishops. They brought, at the same time, the plan of an ecclesiastical constitution, prepared beforehand at Rome, to be applied to the country of the English, in a measure corresponding with the extent of the dominions of the spiritual conquest. According to this scheme, Augustin was to ordain twelve bishops, and to fix in the city of London, when that city should become christian, the metropolitan see, of which the twelve other sees were to be the suffragans. In like manner, so soon as the great northern city, called in Latin *Eboracum*, and in Saxon *Ever-wic*,³ should have received christianity, Augustin was to institute a bishop there, who, in his turn, receiving the *pallium*, was to become the metropolitan of twelve others. This future metropolitan was to be dependent on Augustin, during the life of the latter; but, under Augustin's successors, was to hold of Rome alone.⁴ (601 to 604.)

If we consider these arrangements under their geographical type alone, we might imagine that

¹ Henrici Huntingd. Histor., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 322, ed. Savile.

² *Ibid.*

³ Or *Ebor-wic*—by contraction, *York*.

⁴ Bedæ presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. i. cap. 29.—Henrici Huntingd. histor., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 322, ed. Savile.—Opera Gregorii pape, vol. iv. p. 387.—Horsæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 239.

we beheld the renewal under different designations of the allotment of provinces, subjected, or to be conquered, which in bygone ages had often occupied the deliberations of the Roman senate. The see of the first archbishop of the Saxons was not established in London, as directed by the papal instructions; and whether to please in particular the new christian king of Kent, or to watch him more narrowly, and be better enabled to combat any inclination he might evince to return to ancient customs, Augustin fixed his residence in the city of Canterbury, and in the very palace of Ethelbert. Another Roman missionary was established simply as bishop in London, the capital of the East-Saxons; and a third in *Rofes-kester*, now Rochester, between London and Canterbury, was the seat of a second bishopric. The metropolitan and his two suffragans had the reputation of performing miracles. The rumour of their miraculous works was soon spread even in Gaul. Pope Gregory eagerly availed himself of this intelligence to revive in the hearts of the Frank kings the love and fear of Rome.⁵ But, although he turned the fame of Augustin to his own advantage, it was not without jealousy that Gregory perceived that fame increasing, and his subaltern agent erected into a rival of the apostles.⁶ There exists an ambiguous letter, in which the pope, not daring to express all that he thought on this head, seems to warn the apostle of the Saxons not to forget his rank and his duty, but modestly to relax in the exercise of his supernatural powers.⁷ (604 to 605.)

"On learning," says Gregory, "the great wonders which it has pleased God to work by your hands in the eyes of the nation which he has chosen, I rejoiced; for external prodigies are efficacious in inclining souls towards internal grace: but do yourself take heed that, in the midst of these miracles, your mind does not grow proud and become presumptuous; take heed that what raises you to outward consideration and honour, does not prove the occasion of your inward fall, through the bait of vain-glory."⁸ These counsels were not without a motive; the ambitious character of Augustin had already revealed itself to his patron. Not satisfied with his dignity of metropolitan among the English, he had already coveted a more flattering, and at the same time a more important supremacy over a people who had long been christians. In one of his despatches to Rome, there was this brief and peremptory question: "How must I act towards the bishops of Gaul and the bishops of the Britons?"⁹ "As for the bishops of Gaul," returned Gregory, somewhat startled at the demand, "I have not given, nor do I give thee any authority over them: the prelate of Arles has received from me the *pallium*; I cannot deprive him of his authority: he is the head and the judge of the Gauls; and it is forbidden thee to put the

⁵ Epistola Gregorii pape ad Brunchildem, ad Theudericum, ad Chlotarium, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. iv. 30—33.

⁶ Ut apostolorum virtutes, in signis que exhibit, imitari videntur. (Epist. Greg. pap.)

⁷ Epist. Greg. pap., vol. iv. 379.

⁸ Ne animus in sua presumptione se elevet, et unde foris per honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. (Bedæ presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 31.)

⁹ Qualiter debemus eum Galliarum atque Britannorum episcopis agere? (Opera Gregor. pap., vol. iv. 466.)

scythe of judgment in another's field.¹ But the bishops of the British race I confide wholly to thee; teach the ignorant, strengthen the weak, and chastise the bad, at thy pleasure."²

The enormous difference which the Roman pontiff thought fit to establish between the Gauls, whom he defended against the pretensions of Augustin, and the Cambrians, whom he abandoned to him, will be understood when it is recollected that the Cambrians were schismatics. These unhappy survivors of a great nation, enclosed in one corner of their ancient country, had lost all (says one of their old bards³) but their name, their language, and their God. They held as to the nature of the divinity the same opinion as the Romans; they believed in one God in three Persons, whom they considered a rewarder and avenger, but not visiting, according to the doctrine of the catholic church, the sins of the father upon his posterity, but imparting the gift of grace to whomsoever practised righteousness, and not damning children that die before they can have committed any sin. The breach occasioned by this difference between the doctrine of the Romish and British churches was farther increased by the observance of some religious formalities peculiar to the Britons. They did not fix the festival of Easter precisely at the time appointed by the papal ordinances: their monks were not habited, nor their priests shaven, in the manner of those who followed the Roman ritual; and, above all, their monks were more laborious than the catholic rules ordained; for no one was received into the British convents unless he knew some art or trade;⁴ the religious of each convent were divided into two bodies, who alternately remained at home to pray, and went abroad to work.⁵ The Cambrians had bishops; but they were, during the greater part of their time, without any fixed episcopal seat: they dwelt, like true supervisors, sometimes in one town, sometimes in another; and their archbishop, likewise lived, indifferently, at Ker-Leon⁶ on the Usk, or at Menew,⁷ now St. David's. This archbishop, independent of all foreign authority, neither received nor solicited the pallium. These were unpardonable offences in the eyes of the Roman priesthood, so intolerant in whatever interested the supremacy of their church.⁸ This was sufficient cause for pope Gregory to acknowledge none of the British bishops as religious authorities, but to deliver them up to the tutelage and correction of one of his missionaries.

Augustin, by an express message, communicated to the clergy of the vanquished people of Great Britain the order to acknowledge him as archbishop of the whole island, on pain of incurring the

anger of the Romish church, as well as of the Anglo-Saxon kings. That he might demonstrate to the Cambrian priests and monks the legitimacy of his pretensions, he assigned them a conference on the banks of the Severn, the limit between their territory and that of the conquerors. The assembly was held in the open air, under a large oak.⁹ Augustin required the Britons to reform their religious practices according to the usages of Rome, to return to the catholic union, to be obedient to himself, and to employ themselves, under his direction, in converting the Anglo-Saxons. In aid of his studied harangue, he set before them a man of Saxon birth, who he pretended was blind, and restored him to sight.¹⁰ (605 to 607.) But neither the Roman's eloquence, nor his miracle, had power to terrify the Cambrians and make them abjure their old spirit of independence. But Augustin was not to be discouraged. He appointed a second interview, which, with a degree of complaisance that attested their good intentions, was attended by seven bishops of British race, and a number of monks, chiefly from the great monastery named Bangor,¹¹ situated in North Wales, on the banks of the river Dee.

The Roman disdained to rise from his seat on their approach; and this mark of pride wounded them at the very first. "We will never acknowledge," said the priest who was appointed to speak on their part, "the pretended rights of Roman ambition, any more than those of Saxon tyranny. We owe to the Pope of Rome, it is true, as to all christians, the submission of fraternal charity; but as for the submission of obedience, we owe it only to God, and, after God, to our venerable superior the bishop of Ker-leon on the Usk. Besides, we ask, why have those who boast of having converted the Saxons never reprimanded them for their violences against us and their usurpations over us?"¹²

Augustin's only answer was, a definitive summons to the Welsh priests to acknowledge him as their archbishop, and to assist him in converting the Germans in Britain. The Welsh replied unanimously that they would never be connected by the ties of friendship with the invaders of their country, so long as they should not have restored what they had seized unjustly; "and that, as for the man," they added, "who would not rise before them when he was but their equal, they would never make him their superior."¹³ "Well!" exclaimed the missionary in a menacing tone, "since you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war with enemies; since you refuse to teach, with me, the way of life to the Saxons, before 'tis long, by the righteous judgment of God, they shall be unto you the ministers of death."¹⁴

So it proved, that a short time only elapsed before the king of an Anglo-Saxon tribe, still pagan, marched, from the north country, to the very spot where the conference had been held. The monks of Bangor, on the Dee, remembering Augustin's

¹ *Falcem judicii mittere non potes in alienam segetem.* (Opera Gregor. pap., vol. iv. 466.)

² *Britanniarum autem omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur.* (Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 27.)

³ *Taliesin, Archaeology of Wales, i. 25.*

⁴ *Ars unicuique dabatur, ad ex opere manuum quotidiano se posset in victu necessario continere.* (Vita S. Winwalaei, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne, ii. 25.)

⁵ *Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 225.*

⁶ *Or Cŷr-Leon.*

⁷ *Or Mynyw.* In Latin, *Menevia.*

⁸ *Inter alia inenarrabilem scelerum facta.* (Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 22.)—*Trioeddi ynys Prydain, Cambro-Briton, vol. i., p. 170.*—*Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 223—*

232.

⁹ This tree was long called Augustin's oak. In Saxon, *Augustines-ac.* (Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 2.)

¹⁰ *Allatus est quidam de genere Anglorum luce privatus.* (Ibid.)

¹¹ Or *Ban-chor*, the great choir, the great church.

¹² British MSS., quoted in the second Volume of the *Horæ Britannicæ*, p. 267, 268.

¹³ *Si modo nobis assurgere nolint, quanto magis, si ei subdi ceperimus, nos pro nihilo contemnet.* (Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 2.)

¹⁴ *Si nationi Anglorum nolissent viam vitæ prædicare.* (Ibid.)

threat, quitted their convent in great consternation, and fled to the army which was assembling under the chief of the Welch province of Powis. This army was defeated; and in the rout which ensued the pagan conqueror observed a troop of men singularly habited, without arms, and all kneeling. He was told that they were the people of the great monastery, praying for the safety of their countrymen. "If they are crying to their God for my enemies," replied the Saxon, "then they fight against me, though without arms;"¹ and he ordered them all to be massacred, to the number of two hundred. The monastery of Bangor, the chief of which had spoken in the fatal interview with Augustin, was utterly destroyed; "and thus," say the ecclesiastical writers, "the prediction of the holy pontiff was accomplished, and those faithless men were, in this world, punished with death, who had disdained his counsels for their eternal salvation."² It was the national tradition of the Cambrians that the head of the new church of the Anglo-Saxons had called down this invasion, and pointed out the monastery of Bangor to the pagans of Northumbria. It is impossible to establish anything positive on this question: however, the agreement of the dates rendered the imputation sufficiently weighty to give the friends of the Romish church a desire to destroy the record of it. In almost all the MSS. of the only historian of those events, they added the interpolation that Augustin was dead at the period when the battle with the Britons and the massacre of the monks of Bangor took place.³ Augustin was old at that period; but he lived at least a year after the military execution which he had predicted.⁴

(A.D. 608 to 616.) On the death of Augustin, Laurentius, likewise a Roman by birth, became archbishop in his room. Mellitus and Justus were bishops, the one at London and the other at Rochester; the former had gained over to Christianity Sighebert, a relative of Ethelbert. Sighebert, notwithstanding his being so newly converted, displayed great zeal, and bestowed honours and authority on his rising clergy. But this was not of long duration: this zealous king was succeeded by others either lukewarm or ill-disposed to the new worship. When the two sons of Sighebert, familiarly called Sæbert, Sæb, or Sib,⁵ had laid their father in the tomb, they returned to paganism, and abolished all the laws that had been promulgated against the old national religion. But, being of a mild disposition, they did not at first persecute either bishop Mellitus, or the small number of true believers who persisted in listening to him; they would even go to the christians' church, as amusing to visit, and perhaps through a secret uncertainty of mind.

One day, when the Roman was administering to the faithful the communion of the Eucharist, "Why," said one of the young chiefs to him, "dost

thou not offer to us, as well as to the rest, this bread so white which thou gavest to our father Sæb?"⁶ "If," answered the bishop, "you would be washed in the font of salvation as your father was washed, you, like him, should have your share in this holy bread." "We will not enter the font; we have no need of it; yet we desire to eat of the bread."⁷ They renewed this whimsical request several times, the Roman constantly repeating that he could not accede to it. They, imputing his refusal to obstinate ill-will, became angry. "Since," said they, "thou wilt not gratify us in so easy a thing, thou shalt not dwell longer in our land."⁸

They, accordingly, expelled him and all his companions from London. The exiles repaired to Laurentius and Justus, in the province of Kent, whom they found as much disheartened by the indifference and the little love exhibited towards them by the successor of Ethelbert. (616.) They all came to the determination of passing over into Gaul. Mellitus and Justus set out together. Laurentius, on the point of following them, resolved to make one last effort to change the heart of the king of Kent, whom he believed to be still irresolute, and ill-assured in the matter of his resuming the religion of his ancestors. The last night which he was to pass among the Saxons, he caused his bed to be prepared in the church of St. Peter, built at Canterbury by the former king.⁹ In the morning he left the church, covered with bruises and wounds, and with blood. In this condition he appeared before Edbald,¹⁰ the son of Ethelbert: "Behold," said he, "what the apostle Peter has done unto me as a punishment for having entertained the thought of quitting his flock."¹¹ The Saxon was struck with horror at this spectacle; and trembled lest he should himself incur the vengeance of the holy apostle, who chastised even his friends so unmercifully. He invited Laurentius to remain, recalled Justus, and promised to employ his power in re-converting those who by following his example had fallen into apostasy. Thanks to the assistance of the temporal arm, the faith was revived on both banks of the Thames, never more to be extinguished. Mellitus succeeded Laurentius in the archiepiscopal see, Justus replaced Mellitus, and Edbald, king of Kent, who had been desirous of banishing them all, was complimented by the sovereign pontiff on the purity of his faith, and the perfection of his christian works.¹² (616 to 620.)

A few years after these events, a sister of Edbald, named Ethelburga,¹³ was married to the pagan chief of the country north of the Humber. The bride departed from Kent, accompanied by a priest of Roman birth, named Paulinus, who, in prospect

⁶ Quare non et nobis nitidum panem porrigit? (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 5.)

⁷ Nolumus fontem illum intrare, quia nec illo opus nos habere novimus; sed tamen pane illo refici volumus. (Ibid.)

⁸ Si non vis assentire nobis in tam facili causa quam petimus, non poteris jam in nostra provincia demorari. (Ibid.)

⁹ Jussit in ecclesia . . . stratum sibi parari. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Or *Edbald, Ead-bald, Ed, ead, fortunate; bald, bold.* (See Edward Lye's Glossary.)

¹¹ Propterea quod Dei gregem . . . esset relicurus. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 26.)

¹² Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 6.—Henr. Huntingd. Histor., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script. p. 326, ed. Savile.

¹³ Or *Ethel-byrg. Ethel, noble; byrg, burgh, burh, byrg, berg, security, protector, protectress.*

¹ Si adversum nos ad Deum suum clamant, profecto et ipsi, quamvis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant. (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 2.)

² Ut temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perituri, quod oblata sibi perpetuis salutis consilia spreverant. (Ibid.)

³ Quamvis ipso, jam multo ante tempore, ad caelestia regna translato. (Ibid.) It is the opinion of the celebrated theologians, Goodwin and Dr. Hammond, that these words have been interpolated. (See Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 271.)

⁴ Completum Augustini presagium. (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 2.)

⁵ The use of diminutives for names still exists in England.

of success, was consecrated archbishop of York, according to pope Gregory's plan, and in the hope that the faithful wife might convert the infidel husband. The king of Northumbria,¹ named Edwin,² allowed his wife Ethelburga to profess the christian religion under the auspices of the man whom she had brought with her, whose black hair and his brown and spare visage were an object of surprise to the fair-haired inhabitants of the north.³ When Edwin's wife became a mother, Paulinus gravely announced to the Anglo-Saxon king that he had obtained for her the favour of safely giving birth and without pain, on the condition that the child should be baptized in the name of Christ.⁴ In the overflow of his paternal joy, the pagan granted all that his wife desired; but as to himself, he would listen to no proposition of his being baptized: he nevertheless allowed those who wished to convert him freedom of speech; but he reasoned with and sometimes embarrassed them in argument.⁵

To attract him, if possible, towards celestial objects by the temptation of earthly goods, a letter was sent from Rome by pope Boniface, addressed to *the glorious* Edwin. "I transmit to you," wrote the pontiff, "the benediction of your protector, the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles; that is to say, a linen shirt embroidered with gold, and a mantle of fine wool of Ancona."⁶ Ethelburga likewise received, as testimonials of the benediction of the apostle Peter, a gilt ivory comb and a silver mirror.⁷ These gifts were accepted, but they did not affect the decision of king Edwin, whose reflecting mind could be overcome only by a strong moral impression.⁸ (625 to 628.)

There was an extraordinary adventure in the life of the Saxon, the secret of which he thought he had kept from all men; but it had probably escaped his lips in the confidences of the nuptial bed. In his youth, and before he was king, he had been once in great peril; he was surprised by certain enemies who wished his death, and fell into their power. In the prison wherein he languished without any hope of being saved from death, his heated imagination represented to him in a dream an unknown personage, who, approaching him with a grave aspect, said, "What wouldst thou promise to him who should be able and willing to save thee?" "All that shall ever be in my power," answered the Saxon. "Well," rejoined the unknown personage, "if he who could save thee were only to require of thee to live according to his counsels, wouldst thou follow them?" Edwin swore to do so; and the apparition, stretching forth its hand, and placing it upon his head, said to him, "When such a sign shall again appear to thee, remember this moment and these words."⁹ By great good fortune, Edwin

escaped from the peril; but the recollection of his dream was profoundly engraven on his mind.

One day, when he was alone in his apartment, the door suddenly opened, and he saw a figure, moving slowly and solemnly, like that in the dream, which approached him, and, without pronouncing a single word, placed his hand upon his head. This was Paulinus, to whom the Holy Ghost, according to the ecclesiastical historians,¹⁰ had revealed the infallible means of overcoming his obstinacy. The victory was complete: the Saxon, struck with astonishment, fell with his face to the ground; and the Roman, now become his master, raised him up with gentleness. Edwin promised to be a christian; but, unshaken in his good sense, he promised for himself alone, saying that his subjects would of themselves perceive what they ought to do.¹¹ Paulinus requested him to convoke the great council of the nation, called in Saxon the Wittena-Ghemote, or Assembly of Wise Men, convoked by the Germanic kings on all important occasions, and attended by the magistrates,¹² the rich landholders, the warriors of high rank, and the priests of the gods. Edwin laid before this assembly the motives of his change of his belief; and, addressing each of the assembly in their turn, asked what they thought of this, to them, new doctrine.

The first who spoke was the chief of the priests. "My opinion," said he, "is that our gods have no power; and it is founded on this: There is not a man amongst the whole people who has served them with greater zeal than I have; nevertheless, I am far from being the richest and most honoured among the people; therefore my opinion is, that our gods are without power."¹³

A chief of the warriors then rose, and spoke in these terms:

"Thou mayest recollect, O king, a thing which sometimes happens in the days of winter, when thou art seated at table with thy captains and thy men-at-arms,¹⁴ when a good fire is blazing, when it is warm in thy hall, but rains, snows, and storms are without. Then comes a little bird, and darts across the hall, flying in at one door and out at the other: the instant of this transit is sweet to him, for then he feels neither rain nor hurricane; but that instant is short, the bird is gone in the twinkling of an eye; and from winter he passes forth to the winter again.¹⁵ Such to me seems the life of men on this earth; such its momentary course compared with the length of time that precedes and follows it. That eternity is dark and comfortless to us; tormenting us by the impossibility of comprehending it. If, then, this new doctrine can teach us anything certain respecting it, it is fit that we should follow it."¹⁶

temporis ac loquelam nostræ. (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 12.)—Henrici Huntingd., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 377, ed. Savile.

¹⁰ Bedæ Hist. Ibid.

¹¹ Quid eis videretur . . . ut si et illi eadem cum eo sentire vellent. (Ibid. cap. 13.)

¹² *Elder-mæna*, or *Baldor-mæna*, Seniores.

¹³ Multi autem sunt qui majora beneficia à te receperunt, unde nil valere deos probavi. (Henrici Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 328, ed. Savile.)—Quia nihil omnino virtutis habet religio illa quam huc usque tenuimus. (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. ii. cap. 13.)

¹⁴ *Mid thinum*, *Ealdormænum* and *Thegnum*. (Saxon translation of Bede's History.)

¹⁵ Of winter in winter est cometh. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Henrici Huntingdon, Hist. lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 328, ed. Savile.

¹ Northumbria. In Saxon, *Northan-hymbra-land*, or *Northumber-land*, the country north of the Humber.

² Or *Ead-win*. *Ead*, fortunate; *win*, beloved, also conquering.

³ *Vir longæ staturæ, paululàm incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilentâ, naso aduncò portenti, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu.* (Bede presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 16.)

⁴ Quid precibus suis obtinuerit apud Deum ut regina pareret absque dolore. (Henrici Huntingd. Hist., lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 327, ed. Savile.)

⁵ Quid ngeret discentebat, vir naturâ sagacissimus. (Ibid.)

⁶ *Id est camisiam unam* (Ibid.)

⁷ *Id est, pectinem obuncum auratum.* (Ibid.)

⁸ Bedæ presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 9.

⁹ Cum ergò hoc tibi signum advenerit, memento hujus

When the other chiefs had spoken, and the Roman had propounded his doctrines, the assembly, voting as was their custom in the sanctioning of their national laws, solemnly renounced the worship of their ancient gods. But, when the missionary proposed that they should destroy the images of those gods, there was not one among the new christians who felt sufficiently firm in his conviction to brave the dangers of such a profanation, excepting only the high-priest. He demanded of the king arms and a stallion, that he might thereby violate the rule of his order, which forbade the priests to bear any warlike habit, or mount any animal but a mare.¹ Girt with a sword, and brandishing a lance, he galloped toward the temple, and, in sight of all the people, who thought he had lost his senses, struck the walls and the images with his lance. A wooden building was then erected, in which king Edwin and a great number of men were baptized.² Paulinus, having thus acted in reality the bishopric, of which he had before held only the title, travelled throughout the countries of Deira³ and Bernicia, baptizing in the waters of the Swale and the Glen, such as were eager to obey the decree of the Assembly of the Sages.⁴

(A.D. 628 to 655.) The political influence of the great kingdom of Northumbria persuaded to christianity the population of the East Angles, inhabiting the country south of the Humber and north of the East Saxons. The Roman bishops of the south had already preached to this people; but the two religions were still so equally balanced among them, that their chief, named Redwald,⁵ had erected two altars in the same temple, one to Christ and the other to the Teutonic deities, and prayed to each alternately⁶ (A.D. 655). Thirty years after the conversion of the inhabitants of the banks of the Humber, a woman of that country converted the chief of the kingdom of Mercia, which at that time extended from the Humber to the Thames (A.D. 688). The Anglo-Saxons, who kept their ancient worship the latest, were those of the southern coasts, who did not renounce it until the close of the seventh century.⁷

Eight Roman monks were successively archbishops of Canterbury, before that dignity, instituted for the Saxons, was held by one of the Saxon race.⁸ The successors of Augustin did not relinquish the hope of compelling the Cambrian clergy to bow to their authority, but continued to

press the Welsh priests with summonses and messages (A.D. 608 to 610). They even extended their ambitious pretensions over the priests of the island of Erin, who were as independent as the Britons of all foreign supremacy, and so zealous for the christian faith that their country was called the Island of Saints. But this merit of sanctity, without a complete submission to the power of the Roman church, was nugatory in the estimation of the members of that church, who had just succeeded in establishing a spiritual domination over that portion of Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons. To the inhabitants of Erin they sent messages replete with pride and rancour: "We, the deputies from the apostolic see to the western regions, aforesaid foolishly gave credit to your island's reputation for sanctity; but we now know, and can no longer doubt, that you are no better than the Britons."⁹ Of this the journey of Columban into Gaul, and that of one Dagamman in Britain, has fully convinced us: for, amongst other things, this Dagamman, passing through the places where we dwell, has refused, not only to come and eat at our tables, but even to take his repast in the same house with us."¹⁰

(A.D. 563 to 610.) This journey into Gaul, alleged as a proof of the erroneous doctrines and the perverseness of the christians of Hibernia, offers some circumstances which deserve to be narrated at length: Columban, or, more precisely, Colum, had commenced his career as a christian preacher, by crossing the friths and lakes of North Britain in a wicker boat covered with skins, to visit, in the name of Christ, the savage race of north-west Highlanders. No christian woman was there to persuade a pagan husband; and Colum had no purple-bordered tunics, nor mantles of fine wool, to offer in the name of St. Peter: he was poor, was often repulsed, and frequently in danger of his life.¹¹ He founded no bishoprics, nor ever styled himself bishop; he only established, on a rock of the Hebrides,¹² a school and a convent of men, poor and laborious like himself.¹³ After converting, by his own exertions alone, many of the Scots and Piets, he repaired with ten companions to Gaul, to preach to the wood-cutters and goat-herds of the Vosges. The men of Erin stopped at the foot of the mountains, near a hot spring, at the ruins of an ancient village, called in Latin Luxovium, and Luxeu in the vernacular Roman dialect of the district.

(A.D. 609 to 610.) This place formed part of the territory of Theoderik, king of the East Franks, who, attracted by the public rumour, came to visit the foreigners, and request their prayers. Colum, unused to address potentates, or to the employment of respectful discourse, remonstrated severely with his visitor on his morals, and the licentious life he led with depraved women.¹⁴ These reproaches were less displeasing to the king than to his grand-

¹ *Accepto equo emissario, . . . cum pontificem idolorum non liceat nisi super equam equitare.* (Henrici Huntingdon, Hist. lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. scriptores, p. 328, ed. Savile.)

² *Baptizatus est in domo ligneâ.* (Act. pontific. Cantuar. auctore Gervasio Dorobernensi, apud Histor. Anglic. script., vol. ii. col. 1634, ed. Selden.)

³ By corruption, instead of the Cambrian *Deiyr* or *Deifr*. See p. 5.

⁴ *Henrici Hunting.* Hist. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 328, ed. Savile.

⁵ Or *Red-wald.* *Ræd, red, word, counsel, counsellor; Wald, weald, walt, powerful, governing.*

⁶ *Redwaldus rediens domum, ab uxore suâ et a quibusdam perversis seductus, habebat altare Christi et demonis in eodem fano.* (Henrici Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 329, ed. Savile.)—*Beda* presbyt., Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 15.

⁷ *Henr. Huntingd. Hist., lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 328, ed. Savile.*—Act. pontific. Cantuar. auctore Gervas. Dorobern. apud Histor. Anglic. script., vol. ii. col. 1635 et seq. ed. Selden.

⁸ *Berht-wald, or Brith-weald.*

⁹ *Nihil discrepare à Britonibus.* (*Beda* presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 4.)

¹⁰ *Non solùm cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescbamur, sumere voluit.* (*Ibid.*)

¹¹ *Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 302.*

¹² The island of Hy or Iona, I-Colum-kil.

¹³ *Henrici Huntingd. Hist., lib. iii. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 330, 331, ed. Savile.*

¹⁴ *Ut regalis proles ex Iupanaribus videretur emergere.* *Fredegarii Chron., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. ii. p. 429.*

mother, that same Brunehilde, whose piety pope Gregory had so complaisantly lauded,¹ and who, to maintain her influence over her grandson, dissuaded him from marriage, and was careful to furnish him with women of pleasure and beautiful slaves. At the instigation of this queen, an accusation of heresy in the first degree was preferred in a council of bishops against the man who had dared to show himself more nice than the Roman church respecting the morality of princes. He was condemned by an unanimous sentence, and, with his companions, banished from Gaul. From this sentence, perhaps, it was, that the bishops of Saxon Britain judged that the christianity of the inhabitants of Hibernia was of a doubtful nature, and needed to be purified by their lessons and reformed by their power.²

(A.D. 610 to 755.) The same church which expelled from Gaul those who censured the vices of the Frank monarchs gave holy crosses for standards to the Anglo-Saxon kings, when they went forth to exterminate the old christians of Britain.³ The latter, in their national poems, charge a part of their disasters on a foreign conspiracy, and on monks whom they call unjust.⁴ In their conviction of this malevolence of the Roman church towards them, they became strengthened in the resolution of rejecting her tenets and her empire; they chose rather to apply, and did actually apply, several times to the church of Constantinople, for counsel in their theological difficulties. The most renowned of their ancient sages, who was both a bard and a christian priest, cursed, by a sentence clothed in poetry, the negligent shepherd who kept not God's flock from the wolves of Rome.⁵

Yet the ministers and the legates of the pontifical court, by means of the religious subjection in which they held the powerful kings of the Anglo-Saxons, were enabled by terror to break down gradually this spirit of liberty in the British churches. (A.D. 755.) In the eighth century, a bishop of North Cambria celebrated the Easter festival on the day prescribed by the catholic councils; the other bishops resisted the innovation; and, on the rumour of this dispute, the Anglo-Saxons made an irruption into the southern provinces, where the opposition had manifested itself.⁶ To avert the evils of a foreign war and the desolation of his country, a Welsh chieftain strove to sanction by his civil authority the alteration of the ancient religious customs; but this attempt irritated the public spirit to such a degree, that the chief was slain in a revolt. (A.D. 777.) However, the national pride soon declined, and the harassment of a struggle, so frequently renewed, brought at length within the pale of catholicism a considerable number of the Welsh clergy. The religious submission of the country was thus effected by degrees; yet, nevertheless, it was not at any time so complete as in England.⁷

(A.D. 600 to 656.) The kings of the Saxons and Angles entertained for the city of Rome and

see of St. Peter a reverence which they often betokened by rich offerings, and even by an annual tribute under the name of *Roman rent*, or *quit-rents of the church*. The successors of the old pirate chiefs, Hengist, Horsa, Kerdic, Ælla, and Ida, now taught by the Romish clergy to invest themselves with the pacific regalia of their dignity, and to bear, instead of the battle-axe of their ancestors, sceptres embossed with gold, ceased to consider warlike exercises as the most important.⁸ Their ambition was, not to see around them numerous bands of warriors, like unto their forefathers, but large monasteries of the rule of St. Benedict, then the most in favour with the popes. Some were known to cut off their long and flowing hair, and devote themselves to seclusion; and they, whom the desire of a more active life retained in the administration of public affairs, accounted the consecration of a monastery as one of the most auspicious days of their reign. Such an event was celebrated with all the pomp of a national solemnity;⁹ the chiefs, the bishops, the warriors, and the sages assembled, and the king, surrounded by his family, sat in the midst of them. When the newly-built walls had been washed with holy water, and consecrated under the names of the blessed apostles, Peter or Paul, the Saxon king arose, and said with a loud voice—¹⁰

(A.D. 656.) "Thanks be to the most high God that I have been able to do something for the honour of Christ and of his holy apostles. All you who are here present be witnesses and sureties of the donation made by me to the monks of this place, of the lands, marshes, ponds, and streams hereafter mentioned. It is my will that they hold and possess them amply and as a royalty,¹¹ so that no tax shall be levied upon them, nor the monastery be subject to any power on earth, except the holy see of Rome; for it is therein that those among us who cannot repair to Rome will seek and visit St. Peter. Let those who succeed me—my sons, my brothers, or whosoever they may be—preserve this gift inviolate, if they would share everlasting life—if they would be saved from everlasting fire. And whoever shall take anything from it, may the porter of the gate of heaven take the like from his portion in heaven: he who shall add anything to it, may the porter of the gate of heaven add to his portion in heaven."¹² The king then took the roll of parchment containing the act of donation, and traced a cross upon it: and after him, his wife, his sons, his brothers, his sisters, the bishops, the officers of state, and all the personages of high rank, successively inscribed the same sign, repeating this formula:—"I confirm it by my mouth and by the cross of Christ."¹³

(A.D. 656 to 684.) This good understanding between the Anglo-Saxons and the court of Rome,

⁸ *Exercitium armorum in secundis ponentes.* (Willelmus Malmesh., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 101, ed. Savile.)

⁹ *Jussit iudici per totam nationem, omnibus thanis, archiepiscopo, episcopis, comitibus, omnibusque qui Deum diligenter ut ad se venirent, et constituit diem quo monasterium consecraretur.* (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 35.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ad eò regalliter, ad eòque liberè.* (*Ibid.* p. 36.)

¹² *Quicumque nostrum munus aut alterius ejuspiam boni viri munus diminuerit, diminuat ejus partem celestis janitor in regno celorum; quisquis autem id adauxerit, adauget ejus partem celestis janitor in regno celorum.* (*Ibid.*, p. 37.)

¹³ Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 35—38.

¹ *Epistolæ Gregorii papæ ad Brunehildem.* *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 29—34.

² *Fredegarii Scholast. Chron.*, *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 425—427. Dom Lotineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, tom. i. liv. i. p. 22.

³ *Beda presbyt. Hist. ecclesiast.*, lib. iii. cap. 1 et 2.

⁴ *Horn Britan.* ii. 290.

⁵ *Cattawg. Hore Britannicæ*, ii. 277.

⁶ *Extracts from Caradoc of Llancarvan, a Welsh historian.* *Hore Britannicæ*, ii. 367.

⁷ *Hore Britan.*, ii. 317—320.

or rather their plenary submission to the dictates of that court, which step by step was transforming its religious supremacy into a political ascendancy, was not of very long duration. The spell upon the imagination grew weaker, and the shame of dependence became gradually felt. While some kings bowed their forehead before the representative of the apostle who opened and shut the door of heaven,¹ there were others who openly rejected the yoke of the foreigner, plausibly disguised under the name of the catholic faith.² (A.D. 684 to 950.) In this contest, the members of the Saxon clergy—the spiritual children of the church of Rome—declared at first for its cause, and defended its authority;³ but afterwards, borne away by the torrent of national opinion, they themselves aimed at being no longer subject to the ultramontane church, except in those simple duties of respect which the British christians had offered to render it, and which it so rudely disdained.⁴ (A.D. 950 to 1066.) Then did the Anglo-Saxons become to the court of Rome what the Cambrians had been during the time of their schism; adopting a line of conduct less christian than politic, the see of Rome thereupon leagued itself with their enemies, and encouraged foreign aggressions upon that nation, as she had encouraged their own ambition against the indigenous population of Britain. Rome promised, in the name of St. Peter, their country and their wealth, with absolution of every sin, to such as should march against the Anglo-Saxons: and to secure to itself those tributes once more, which had at first been voluntarily paid and afterwards refused through a relaxation of zeal, or else through a public spirit of economy, the court of Rome engaged in an enterprise of which the object was the enslaving of that nation.

(A.D. 600 to 800.) The detail of those subsequent events and their consequences will occupy the greater part of this history, devoted, as its title imports, to the recital of the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon people. But upon these events it is yet too soon to enter. The reader's imagination must be suffered yet a while to dwell on the Germanic race that were victorious, and the Celtic race that had been vanquished—on the white flag of the Saxons and Angles repulsing farther and farther to the west the red standard of the Kymrys.⁵ The Anglo-Saxon frontier, continually encroaching on the west, after being extended northward to the rivers Forth and Clyde, were nevertheless narrowed on that side at the end of the seventh century. The Scots and Picts, being attacked by Egfrith,⁶ king of Northumbria, skilfully drew him into the defiles of their mountains; defeated him; and, after their victory, advanced to the south of the Forth, as far as the river Tweed, on the banks of which they then fixed the frontier of their territory. (A.D. 684 to 800.) This limit, which the inhabitants of the south never

afterward removed, has from that day marked the new line of separation between the two parts of Great Britain.⁷ The tribes of Anglo-Saxons inhabiting the plain between the Forth and the Tweed were, by this change, incorporated with the population of the Scots and Picts, or the *Scotch*, which soon became the sole name of this mixed population, and from which the modern name of that country was formed.

At the other extremity of Britain, the people of Cornwall, isolated as they were, long struggled for independence, chiefly supported by the succours which they occasionally received from the Britons of Armorica:⁸ at last, however, they became tributary to the West Saxons. (A.D. 750.) But the population of Wales never became so. "Never," say their bards, "no, never will the Kymrys pay tribute; they will wage combat, and lay down their lives, for the possession of the territory watered by the Wye."⁹ (A.D. 750 to 800.) The banks of that stream arrested, in fact, the progress of the Saxon rule; the last chief who extended it was a king of Mercia, named Offa.¹⁰ He crossed the Severn, and the chain of mountains which may be called the Apennines of South Britain, and which had until then protected the last asylum of the vanquished. At the distance of nearly fifty miles west of the mountains, Offa constructed, in place of the natural boundary, a long rampart with a dyke, extending from the course of the Wye to the valley of the Dee.¹¹ There, was established, for ever, the frontier betwixt the two races who, in unequal portions, conjointly inhabited all the southern part of the old island of Prydain, from the Tweed to the Land's End.

(A.D. 800 to 900.) On the north of the channel of the Dee, the country enclosed between the mountains and the sea had, half a century before, been subjugated by the Angles and depopulated of the ancient Britons. The fugitives from that district had reached either the great refuge of Wales, or the angle of mountainous land washed by the Solway frith. In this latter region they long after preserved a state of wild independence, and were distinguished from the English race, even in the English language, by the name of Cambrians; and this name has remained attached to the country that became their asylum.¹² Beyond the plains of Galloway, in the deep valleys through which flows the Clyde,¹³ some petty British tribes, which, favoured by their position, had preserved their freedom in the midst of the Anglo-Saxons, held out in like manner against the Scots and Picts, when the latter had conquered all the low lands of Scotland, to the dale of Annan and to the Tweed. This last remnant of the purely British race had for their capital and fortress a town built upon a rock, still at the present day called Dumbarton.¹⁴ Some traces are

¹ Sanctus Petrus cum clave colorum aperiat ei regnum colorum. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 38.)

² Eddii vita S. Wilfridi, apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. p. 63, ed. Gale.

³ Horse Britannica, ii. 329—347.

⁴ See p. 14.

⁵ The national poetry of the Cambrians fantastically designates these two hostile flags by the names of the *Red Dragon* and the *White Dragon*.

⁶ Eg, Eg, sharp, edged; frith, frid, fred, fried, peace, peaceful.

⁷ See page 1. Picti terram suam, cujus partem tenebant Angli, recuperaverunt. (Henrici Huntingd. Hist. lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 336, ed. Savile.)

⁸ Caradoc of Llancarvan. (Horse Britannica, ii. 161.)

⁹ Arymes Prydain vawr. (Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 554 et seq.)

¹⁰ Offa, off, obbo, mild, element.

¹¹ In the Cambrian tongue, *Clud Offa*. In English, *Offa's Dyke*.

¹² It is now called *Cumberland*—in the old Saxon, *Cembra-land*.

¹³ Ystrad-Clwyd.

¹⁴ Or *Dun-briton*, the town of the Britons.

to be found of their independent existence so lately as the tenth century; but from that period they ceased to be distinguished by their ancient national name, having either been suddenly annihilated in war, or insensibly confounded with the mass of the surrounding population.

Thus disappeared from the whole island of Britain, excepting only the small and barren country of Wales, the Celtic race of Cambrians, Lægrians, and Britons, properly so called, of whom part had emigrated directly from the eastern extremity of Europe, and part had come into Britain, after a longer or shorter sojourn on the western coast of Gaul.¹ These feeble remains of a great people had the glory of keeping possession of their last corner of territory against the efforts of an enemy immensely superior in numbers and resources; though often vanquished, they were never subjugated, bearing in mind, down the tide of centuries, the unshaken conviction of a mysterious eternity reserved for their name and their language. This immortality was foretold by the Welsh bards, from the first day of their national defeats:² and whenever, in after times, a new foreign invader crossed the mountains of Cambria, after the most complete victories, his captives would repeat to him: "Thy efforts are vain; thou canst destroy neither our name nor our language."³ Fortune, bravery, and, above all, the nature of the country, formed of rocks, lakes, and sands, have justified these daring predictions, which, it must be acknowledged, afford a remarkable evidence of vigorous imagination in the diminished tribe that unhesitatingly avowed its faith in such patriotic aspirations.

It is hardly too much to say that the ancient British were nurtured by poetry; for, in their political axioms which have been handed down to us, the bard, at once a poet and musician, is placed beside the agriculturist and the artisan, as one of the three pillars of social life.⁴ Their poets had one great and almost only theme—their country's destinies, her misfortunes, and her hopes. The nation, poetical in its turn, extended the bounds of fiction by ascribing fantastic meanings to their simplest words. The wishes of the bards were received as promises, their expectations as prophecies; their very silence as an affirmation. If they sang not of Arthur's death, it was a proof that Arthur yet lived: if the harper undesignedly sounded some melancholy air, the minds of his hearers spontaneously linked with this vague melody the name of some spot rendered mournfully famous by the loss of a battle against the foreign conquerors.⁵ This life of hopes and recollections gave charms, in the eyes of the later Cambrians, to their country of rocks and morasses: though poor, they were gay and social,⁶ bearing the burden of distress lightly as some passing inconvenience, looking forward with unabated confidence to a great political revolution, by which they should regain all that they had lost, and (as one of their bards expresses it) recover the crown of Britain.⁷

¹ See p. 1.

² Taliesin, *Archæology of Wales*, vol. i. 95.

³ See Book XI. of this History.

⁴ *Trioedd beirdd ynys Prydain*, Sect. 21, No. 1. (*Archæology of Wales*, vol. iii. 263.)

⁵ *Morfa Rhuddlan*, Rhuddlan marsh. See Book IV. of this History, year 1070.

⁶ Giraldi Cambrensis *Itinerarium Walliæ*, passim.

⁷ Taliesin.—*Archæology of Wales*, i. 95. *Arymes Pry-*

Days, years, ages, passed away; but, notwithstanding the predictions of the bards, the former country of the Britons returned not to the possession of their descendants. If the foreign oppressor was vanquished, it was not by the nation which might claim victory as a right: neither his defeats nor his enslavement were of any advantage to the refugees in Wales. The recital of the misfortunes of the Anglo-Saxons, subjugated and oppressed in their turn by a people landing from beyond sea, is now to be narrated in our page. It is thus that a race of men, hitherto victorious over all those that had preceded it on the soil of Britain, calls for a portion of our sympathy which has hitherto been withheld: for its cause becomes the righteous cause; and it is henceforward to be looked on as a suffering and oppressed people. If distance of time weakens that lively interest which contemporary miseries impress our feelings with, it is because oblivion covers with its mantle and obscures, doubtless, the sufferings of those who have long ceased to exist. But our attention being recalled by extant documents of antiquity, in which the details are recorded with the simple pathos of truth, giving a new existence to the names of men of past ages, a sentiment of compassion is awakened, and the impartiality of the historian assumes a softer tone of narrative without relinquishing his character for honesty, good faith; and equal justice.

BOOK II.

FROM THE FIRST LANDING OF THE DANES IN ENGLAND TO THE END OF THEIR DOMINION OVER IT.

(A.D. 787.) FOR more than a century and a half nearly the whole of south Britain had borne the appellation of England, and the names Briton or Gael had, in the estimation of the German rulers of the island, the meaning only of serf⁸ or tributary, when some strangers, arriving in three vessels, landed at one of the ports on the eastern coast. The Saxon magistrate of the place,⁹ in order to learn whence they came and what they wanted, went down to the beach; the strangers allowed him to approach, and surrounded him; then, suddenly falling upon him and his escort, they slew him, plundered the neighbouring habitations, and immediately set sail.¹⁰

Such was the first appearance in England of the northern pirates called Danes¹¹ or Normans,¹² according as they came from the islands of the Baltic sea, or from the coast of Norway. They descended from the same primitive race with the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks; and even spoke a language intelligible to these two nations. But this mark

dain, *ibid.*, p. 156—159.—*Afallenan myrddain*.—*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸ *Wealh*, a slave, a domestic. *Hors-wealh*, a groom. (*Gloss. somneri*, apud *Histor. Anglic. script.*, vol. ii., ed. Selden.) *Si servus Walliscus Anglicum hominem occidat*. (*Leges Inæ*, art. 78, è chron. Johan. Bromton, *ibid.*, vol. i. col. 767.)

⁹ *Gerefa*, *graf*, *gravo*, in the Frank dialect.

¹⁰ *Henrici Huntingd.* *Hist.*, lib. iv., apud *rer. Anglic. script.*, p. 343, ed. Savile.

¹¹ In Latin, *Dani*. *Dænen*, *Dæna*, *Dæniske*.

¹² In Latin, *Normanni*. *North-menn*, *North-mathve*, men of the north. This is the ancient national name of the Norwegians.

of ancient fraternity preserved from their hostile incursions neither Saxon Britain nor Frank Gaul, nor even the territory beyond the Rhine exclusively inhabited by German tribes. The conversion of the Teutonic nations of the south to the christian religion had broken every fraternal tie between them and the Teutones of the north. In the ninth century the North-man still gloried in the title of son of Odin, and treated the Germans who were sons of the church as bastards and renegades; making no distinction between them and the conquered nations whose worship they had adopted. Franks or Gauls, Longobards or Latins, all were alike hateful to the man who had remained faithful to the ancient divinities of Germany. A sort of religious and patriotic fanaticism was thus allied in the souls of the Scandinavians with their disorderly spirit and insatiable thirst of gain. They shed the blood of priests with pleasure, were particularly gratified in pillaging churches, and littered their horses in the chapels belonging to palaces.¹ When they had wasted with fire and sword some canton of the christian territory, "We have sung the mass of lances," they would say in derision; "it began at dawn of morning, and has lasted until night."²—(A.D. 787 to 835.)

Favoured by an easterly wind, the Danish and Norwegian fleets, of boats having two sails, arrived in three days off the southern coast of Britain.³ The soldiers of each fleet generally obeyed a single chief, whose vessel was distinguished from the rest by some peculiar ornament. The same chief still commanded, when the pirates had disembarked, and were marching in battalions, whether on foot or on horseback. He was saluted by the Germanic title of king:⁴ but he was a king only at sea, and in combats; for in the hour of repast the warriors sat in a circle, and the beer-horn passed from hand to hand, without distinction of first or last. The sea-king⁵ was everywhere faithfully followed, and always zealously obeyed; for he was always renowned as the bravest of the brave—as he who had never slept beneath a rafted roof, nor ever drained the bowl by a sheltered hearth.⁶

He could govern a vessel as the good horseman manages his horse; when on a voyage he could run across the oars while they were in motion; he could throw three javelins to the mast-head, and catch them alternately in his hand, and would repeat this trial of skill without once missing.⁷ Equal under such a chief, supporting lightly their volun-

tary submission, and the weight of their coat of mail, which they promised themselves would soon be changed for an equal weight in gold, the Danish pirates held on their course gaily, as their old national songs express it, in the track of the swans.⁸ Sometimes they cruised near the coasts, watching for their enemy in the straits, the bays, and roadsteads: from which custom they were called Vikings, or children of the creeks; and at other times they would give chase and steer across the ocean. Often were their fragile barks wrecked and dispersed by the violent storms of the northern seas, often did the rallying sign remain unanswered; but this neither increased the cares nor diminished the confidence of the survivors, who laughed at the winds and the waves from which they had escaped unhurt. "The force of the storm," they would sing, "is a help to the arm of our rowers; the hurricane is in our service; it carries us the way we would go."⁹

(A.D. 835.) The first great army of Danish and Norman corsairs which directed its course towards England landed on the coast of Cornwall; and the ancient inhabitants of that country, reduced by the English to the hard condition of tributaries, joined the enemies of their conquerors, either in the hope of regaining some small portion of their liberty, or simply to gratify the passion of national revenge. The northern invaders were repulsed, and the Britons of Cornwall remained under the Saxon yoke; but, shortly afterwards, other fleets brought the Danes to the eastern coast in such numbers that no force could prevent them from penetrating into the heart of England. They ascended the great rivers until they found a commodious station; there they quitted their barks, and moored them or drew them aground; then, scattering themselves over the neighbouring country, they carried off all the beasts of burden, and, as the chronicles of that day¹⁰ express it, from mariners they became horsemen. They at first confined themselves to plundering and retired immediately, leaving only some military posts and small entrenched camps on the coasts, to cover their speedy return; but soon, changing their policy, they fixed their residence in the country, and became masters of the soil and of the inhabitants, driving the English population of the north-east towards the south-western part of the island, as the Saxons had formerly driven the British population from the English channel to the opposite sea.¹¹ (A.D. 838 to 865.)

(A.D. 865.) The sea-kings, whose names we find attached to this great invasion, were Regnar-Lodbrog and his three sons, Hubbo, Ingvar, and Alfden. The surname of the father, which signified *hair-broques*, was given him on account of his usually being clad in wide trousers of goat-skin, such as were worn by the Scandinavian mariners, and having the hair on the outside of the garment. He was the son of a Norwegian by a daughter of the king of a Danish island, and had possessed himself, either by the goodwill of the inhabitants or by force of arms, of the sovereignty of all the islands belonging to Denmark. Fortune, however, deserting him, he

¹ Clerici et monachi crudeliter damnabantur. (Histor. S. Vincentii, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 21.)—Gesta Normannorum ante Rollonem ducent. (Ibid., passim.)—Aquisgran in capella regis equos suos stabulant. (Chronicon Hermann contracti, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. viii. p. 246.)

² Attam odda messu . . . (Olaf Wormii litterature runica, p. 208.)—Scriptores rerum Danicarum, vol. i. 374.—Ibid. vol. iv. 29.

³ Plantibus Eris, triduo vela panduntur. (Annales esromenses, ibid. vol. i. 236.)

⁴ Kong, Konung, King, Konig, King; in Latin, Rex, Rector, Dux, Ducor, Praefectus, Consul, Centurio; signifying a chief in general. The first of the capitans sometimes bore the title of *Kongkong*, chief of chiefs, king of kings. (Ihre, Gloss. Sæo-Gothic.)

⁵ Sea-king, Her-kong, Se-konung, Her-konung; Sea-king, Her-king.

⁶ Is meritis rex appellatur, qui sub fuliginoso tigno somnum nunquam capiebat, nec ante focum ex cornu potare solitus erat. (Snorre's yndlinga saga, cap. 24, vol. i. p. 49.)

⁷ Snorre's Sturleson's heidskringla. Olaf tryggwason's saga, cap. 91, vol. i. p. 342.

⁸ Ofer swan rado.

⁹ Maximo tempestatis procella nostris servit remigiis. (Abbo Floriacensis, apud script. rer. Normann.)

¹⁰ Wurlon gehorsode. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 139 et passim.)

¹¹ Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 72. Chron. Johan. Wallingford, apud rer. Angl. script., vol. iii. 532, 533, ed. Gale.

was stripped of his territories, and, having fitted out some vessels, he manned them with a body of pirates, and became a sea-king. His first expeditions were in the Baltic, and to the coasts of Friesland and Saxony; he afterwards made repeated excursions to Britain and to Gaul. He was prosperous in all his piratic enterprises, and acquired fame and wealth. After thirty years of maritime success, with simply a fleet of barks, such as were common in his days, Lodbrog, now entertaining more ambitious views, made essay of his skill in navigation on a scientific scale, and constructed two ships of greater dimensions than had hitherto been known in the north. His wife Aslauga, endowed with a degree of foresight and good sense, which several women of Scandinavia were renowned for, and which acquired them the reputation of being possessed of a gift of prophecy, tried in vain to dissuade him from tempting more than ordinary perils by such an innovation: he refused to listen to her remonstrances, and embarked with some hundreds of his followers. England was the destination of this novel expedition; the pirates exultingly cut their cables, and declared, in their usual poetic style, that they had given the reins to their two great sea-horses.¹

So long as they kept out at sea, Regnar-Lodbrog and his men met with no troubles, but difficulties assailed them on approaching the English coast. Their large ships, being unskillfully navigated, ran aground, and were wrecked on shoals over which the depth of water would have permitted Danish barks of the ordinary burthen to have passed. The crews were then constrained to land in a plight affording them no means of retreat. The shore where they disembarked against their will was in Northumberland. They advanced into the interior in good order, and plundered and laid waste, according to their usage, as if their position had not been one of desperation. On the first report of the devastations they were committing, Ælla, king of that territory, marched against them, and attacked them with superior forces. The combat, although unequal, was vigorously contested; and Lodbrog, wearing a mantle presented to him by his wife on parting, penetrated four several times the ranks of the enemy. Most of his followers having fallen in the fierce encounter, he was himself taken alive by the Anglo-Saxons. King Ælla treated his prisoner with barbarity: previous to putting him to death, he inflicted unusual tortures. Lodbrog was imprisoned in a dungeon, according to the chronicles, into which vipers and adders were put. The death-song of this famous sea-king is reckoned a fine specimen of Scandinavian poetry. It has been attributed, on insufficient proof, to the hero himself; but, whoever was the author, this romance bears the stamp of that fanaticism both in religion and warfare which impresses us with such fearful ideas of the Danish and Norman Vikings.²

"We smote with our swords, in the days of my youth when I went towards the East to prepare the repast of carnage for wolves, and in that mighty battle in which I sent to the halls of Odin the people of Helsingia. Thence our barks carried us to the mouth of the Vistula, where our lances

transpierced cuirasses, and our swords cut bucklers in two.

"We smote with our swords, on that day when I saw hundreds of enemies stretched on the sands beneath an English headland; dew-drops of blood fell off our swords; our arrows sung in the wind when they sought the helmets; and it gave me delight, equal to that of repose by the side of a beautiful maiden.

"We smote with our swords, on the day when I struck down the youth, so proud of his flowing hair, who from early morn pursued after tender virgins and sought the society of the widows. What fate so fit for the brave as to be the first to fall in the field? He who ne'er receives a wound leads a dull life; it is necessary to man to make attack on an opponent, and to resist him in the play of combats.

"We smote with our swords; but now I find that men are the slaves of Fate, and must be obedient to the orders of fairies that presided over their birth. Never did I think to meet death from the brand of Ælla, when I sped in my prows of plank across the wide foam of waters, and gave feasts to the flesh-devouring beasts. Yet I laugh with delight in contemplating that a place is reserved for me in the halls of Odin, and that therein, soon seated at a splendid banquet, we shall quaff beer in our overflowing cups of horn.

"We smote erst with our swords. Did the sons of Aslauga know the anguish I endure, did they know that the venomous fangs of snakes, that twine about me, are covering me with their bites, they would shudder and would fly to the combat; for the mother I leave with them gave them stout hearts. A viper is tearing open my breast and penetrating to my heart; I am vanquished; but I hope that soon may the javelin of one of my sons transpierce the ribs of Ælla.

"We smote with our swords in fifty and one battles. I doubt if, among men, there ever was a king more famous than I am. From my boyhood I have shed blood, and have longed for such a death as this. Goddesses, sent toward me by Odin, call and invite me; I am going to drink, with the gods, beer in the highest seats. The hours of my life are fast ebbing; I am smiling under the hand of death."³

This haughty appeal to the passions and vengeance of the warriors, sung in the first instance at a funeral ceremony, passed afterwards from mouth to mouth, throughout those regions where dwelt the admirers of Regnar-Lodbrog. Not only his sons, his relatives, and his friends, but a crowd of adventurers, and of youths out of every kingdom of the north, responded to the call. (A.D. 866.) In less than a year, without any rumour having reached England of the design, eight sea-kings and twenty earls, or secondary chieftains, uniting in a league, equipped their fleets and embarked their soldiers. This was the most numerous fleet that had ever sailed from Denmark on a distant expedition. Their intention was to land in Northumberland, but an error of the pilots caused the fleet to arrive at a more

³ *Ottavio Wormii Litteratura Runica*, p. 198-226.—Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. 480.—This poem contains in the original not less than twenty-nine strophes; I am obliged to omit the half of these, and to abridge the remainder.

¹ *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, by Sharon Turner, vol. i. 476, 5th edit., Lond., 1828.

² Mallet, *Hist. du Danemarck*, tom. ii. 293.

southern part of the coast appertaining to East-
Anglia.¹

Unable to repel so formidable an armament, the people of that country received the Danes in a pacific manner; they profited thereby in acquiring supplies of provisions, collecting horses, and awaited reinforcements from beyond sea: afterwards, when they felt assured of success, they marched upon York, the capital of Northumbria, devastating with fire and sword the country they traversed. The two chiefs of that kingdom, Osbert and Ælla, concentrated their forces beneath the walls of the city, when a decisive battle was fought. The Saxons gained at first some advantage; but they dashed forward too imprudently in the pursuit of the retreating foe, who, perceiving the disorder which this rashness had caused, returned to the attack, and totally defeated them. Osbert was slain whilst fighting valiantly, but, by a singular destiny, Ælla fell alive into the power of the sons of Lodbrog, and expiated, under the most unheard-of tortures, the sufferings inflicted on their father.²

(A.D. 867 to 870.) Vengeance was thus fully taken; and now another passion, that of ambition, was participated in by the confederate chiefs. Having made themselves masters of a district north of the Humber, and being assured by envoys of the submission of the rest of the Northumbrians, the sons of Regnar-Lodbrog resolved on maintaining their conquest. They garrisoned York and the principal towns, apportioned estates to their companions, and offered an asylum to men of all ranks who should arrive from the Scandinavian countries to join the new colony. Thus Northumberland ceased to be a Saxon kingdom; it became the rallying point of the Danes, who contemplated the conquest of the southern portion of England. After three years spent in their preparations, the invading army set out. (A.D. 870.) Under the conduct of their eight kings, they descended the Humber as far as Lindesey, where having disembarked, they marched in the direction from north to south, plundered the cities, massacred the inhabitants, and, with their national fanaticism, they destroyed by fire the christian churches and monasteries.³

The van of the Danish army was approaching the celebrated abbey of Croyland, a name destined to figure often in this history, when it encountered a small body of Saxons, who, by dint of valour and discipline, disputed its advance for an entire day. This was a levy of all the neighbouring population, headed by the lords of the adjacent estates, and by a monk, named friar Toli, who, before he assumed the monastic vows, had in his youth borne arms.⁴ Three of the Danish kings were slain in this action; but, when the others had come up, the Saxons, overwhelmed by superiority of numbers, laid down their lives in defence of their position, and but few of them escaped. Some of the fugitives hastened to the monastery to announce this ruinous disaster and the approach of the pagans.

It was the hour of matins, and the monks had assembled in the choir. The abbot, a venerable man, thus addressed them: "Let all such of you as are young and robust betake themselves to some place of security, carrying with them the relics of the saints, together with our books, our charters, and our valuable things. I shall stay here with the old men and the children, and perhaps, by the help of God, the enemy will take compassion on our feebleness."⁵

The able-bodied monks, thirty in number, lading a boat with the relics and the sacred vases, quitted the abbey, and sought refuge in the marshes of that vicinity. There remained in the choir, the abbot, some aged men, two of whom were one hundred years old, and some young boys, whom their relatives, according to the devotional spirit of the age, had placed there for instruction under the monastic habit. These resumed the chanting of anthems at the prescribed hours; and, when that of the mass had arrived, the abbot placed himself before the altar in sacerdotal robes. All present partook of the holy communion, and at that instant the Danes entered the church. The chief, who marched in at their head, slew with his own hand the abbot at the foot of the altar, and the soldiers seized the friars, both young and old, who were dispersing with affright. These they tortured, one by one, to make them declare where they had concealed their treasure, and, on their refusal to answer, beheaded them. At the moment when the prior was struck dead, one of the boys, who was ten years old, and loved the venerable abbot, embraced him, leant over him weeping, and demanded to share his death. His voice and countenance strongly interested one of the Danish leaders; when, through an emotion of compassion, he withdrew the child from the throng, and, having taken off his frock, and flung a Danish military coat on his shoulders, he said, "Follow me, and do not quit me." Thus he rescued him from the massacre; but no other was spared. After searching fruitlessly for the treasures of the abbey, the Danes demolished the marble tombs of the church, and, in a rage at being disappointed of the expected riches, they dispersed the bones, and set fire to the sacred edifice.

Thence they directed their march toward the east, to the monastery of Peterborough.⁶ That monastery, a superb specimen of the architecture of the time, had, in the Saxon style of building, very massive walls, lighted by narrow windows, surmounted with a semicircular arch, and thereby a defence was the more available. The Danes found the doors shut against them, and were received with missiles of arrows and stones by the monks and the countrymen, who had joined them within the walls. At the first assault, one of the sons of Lodbrog, whose name the chronicles do not give, was mortally wounded; but after two more attacks the Danes stormed the edifice, and Hubbo, to avenge his brother, slew with his own hand all the monks, to the number of eighty-four. The goods were plundered, the sepulchres torn open, and the library employed to feed the flames of the burning edifices. The conflagration of the religious pile lasted fifteen days.⁷

¹ Est-Anglia, a Latin form of the Saxon East-engla-land. (Turner's Hist., vol. i. 511.)

² Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. 513.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

⁴ Summo diluculo, auditis divinis officiis, et sumpto sacro viatico, omnes ad moriendum pro Christi fide patrieque defensionis . . . contra barbaros processerunt . . . Quibus præfuit frater Tolius monachus conversus . . . (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. p. 29, ed. Gale.)

⁵ Fleury, Hist. ecclésiast., tom. xi. p. 285, Bruxelles, 1714.

⁶ Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. p. 22, ed. Gale.—Fleury, Hist. ecclésiast., tom. xi. 284.

⁷ Fleury, *Ibid.*

During a night-march, which the invading army made in the direction of Huntingdon, the boy whose life had been saved at Croyland by a Danish captain made his escape, and regained alone the ruins of his ancient abode. He found there the thirty monks, who had returned, and were occupied in extinguishing the fire, which still blazed among the fallen ruins. He related to them the circumstances of the massacre, and, overwhelmed with sadness, they began a search for the bodies of their brethren. After labouring several days they discovered that of the abbot, headless, and underneath a large beam; the rest were afterwards dug out of the ruin, and buried in one grave, near the church.¹

These disasters took place partly in the territory of Mercia, and partly in that of East-Anglia or kingdom of the eastern English. The king of the latter state, by name Edmund, had soon to pay the penalty of that apathy with which, three years antecedently, he had witnessed the invasion of Northumbria. He was surprised in his royal residence by the Danes, and conducted captive to the sons of Lodbrog, who haughtily summoned him to acknowledge himself their vassal. Edmund pertinaciously refused to do so; and the Danes, then tying him to a tree-stem, practised against him their skill in drawing the bow: they aimed their shafts at his arms and legs without hitting the body, and concluded the barbarous diversion by striking off the head of the Saxon king with a battle-ax. He was a man of moderate merit and as little celebrity; but his death procured him the highest renown of that time, namely of a saint and martyr. It elicited, for the first time on record, one of the most remarkable features of Anglo-Saxon character, the inclination to give a religious colouring to patriotic zeal, and to consider as martyrs those who, during the public calamities, had excited the sympathy of the nation by their great sufferings, or by devoting themselves nobly for their country.²

East-Anglia, now completely subjected, became, like Northumberland, a Danish kingdom, and a destination for emigrant adventurers from the north. The Saxon king was replaced by a sea-king named Godrun, and the Anglo-Saxon population, reduced nearly to a condition of slavery, lost its rights of inheritance, and tilled the land for foreigners. This conquest had brought the kingdom of Mercia into the greatest danger, which, already encroached upon at its eastern portion, had the Danes located on two of its frontiers. The ancient kingdoms of Est-Sex, Kent, and Suth-Sex had lost their independence; for above a century those states had been incorporated with West-Sex or the Western Saxons.³ Thus the contest was about to be waged between two Danish and two Saxon kingdoms. The kings of Mercia and of Wessex, who had long been rivals and enemies, formed a league for the defence of those parts of the island that still enjoyed freedom; but, despite their best efforts, all the territory to the north of the river Thames was overrun by the Danes, who possessed themselves of Mercia. Of the eight kingdoms first founded by the Saxons and the Angles, there

remained but one, that of Wessex, extending from the mouth of the Thames to the gulf which receives the Severn.

In the year 871 Ethelred, the son of Ethelwulf, king of West-Sex, died of wounds received in a combat fought with the Danes, who had effected the passage of the Thames. He left several children, but the choice of the nation fell on his brother Alfred, a young prince twenty-two years of age, whose valour and military skill encouraged the greatest hopes.⁴ (A.D. 871 to 878.) Alfred twice had the fortune, either by combats or negotiation, to make the Danes quit his kingdom; he repulsed the attempts by sea made against his southern provinces, and defended during seven years the banks of the river Thames. It is possible that no Danish army would have ever again forced that frontier if the king and the people of Wessex had been cordially united; but there were certain germs of discord, of a very singular nature, arising among them.

King Alfred had prosecuted studious inquiries, more successfully than did any of his fellow-countrymen: when he was still young, he had already visited all the southern countries of Europe, had observed their manners, was acquainted with the learned languages and with many writings of antiquity. From the superiority of his acquired knowledge, the Saxon king was induced to treat with contempt the nation whose destinies he presided over. He set but little value on the legislative intelligence, or prudence, of the great national council of the Wittena-ghemote. Full of the ideas of absolute power which so often present themselves in the works of Roman authors, he had a violent desire of political reforms; and conceived institutions more rational, perhaps, than the ancient Anglo-Saxon customs, but wanting greater sanction in the eyes of a people who neither wished for nor understood them. Tradition has vaguely preserved some harsh and severe traits in Alfred's government, and, long after his death, that excessive rigour was spoken of with which he punished prevarication, or corrupt judges.⁵ Although such severity was intended to benefit the Anglo-Saxons, it could not be satisfactory to a nation which thought the life of a free man of more importance than regularity in public affairs.

Besides, this rigour of king Alfred towards the great was unaccompanied by any affability to those of inferior station. He defended them, without appearing to love them. He regarded their supplications as importunities, and his gates were closed against them. "If," says a contemporary, "his aid was sought, either in personal necessities or against the oppression of the powerful, he disdained to receive and hearken to the complaint; he lent no succour to the weak, and accounted them as nothing."⁶

So that when, seven years after his election, this lettered king, become hateful without suspecting, or having willingly given any cause for it, had to repel a formidable attack made by the Danes on the western country, and called around his

⁴ Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. 536.

⁵ Horne.—Mirror for Justices, 1642, p. 296.

⁶ Ille verò noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium impendebat, sed omninò eos nihili pendebat. (Asserius Menevensis, de Ælfredi rebus gestis.—Camden, Anglica, Hibernica, &c., p. 10.)

¹ Fleury, Hist. ecclésiast., tom. xi. 285.

² Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. 529.

³ West-seaxna-land, West-seaxna-ric.—Hist. Ingulf. Croylandensis, apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 24, ed. Gale.

standard the people whom his disdain had offended, he was terrified at finding men but little disposed to obey him, and even careless about the common danger. In vain did Alfred send through the towns and hamlets his messenger of war carrying an arrow and a naked sword; in vain did he publish the old national proclamation, which no Saxon capable of bearing arms had ever resisted—"Let every man that is not worthless, whether in the boroughs or out of the boroughs, leave his house and come forward."¹ Few men came; and Alfred was left almost alone, with the small number of friends whom he enchanted with his learning, and often moved to tears by the perusal of his writings.² Favoured by this indifference of the nation for the chief chosen by itself, the enemy made a rapid progress. Alfred, thus deserted by his subjects,³ deserted them in his turn, and fled (says an old historian), abandoning his warriors, his captains, his ships, his treasures, and his whole people, to save his life.⁴ He sought to conceal himself in the woods and deserts, at the utmost limits of the English territory and that of the Cornish Britons, near the confluence of the rivers Tone and Parret. Here was a peninsula nearly surrounded by swamps: the Saxon king took refuge there, and abode under a feigned name, in the hut of a fisherman: he was employed in baking the bread, of which the family of his host condescended to give him a portion. There were but few in his kingdom who knew what had become of him;⁵ and the Danish army entered it unopposed. Many of the inhabitants embarked on the western coasts, to seek a refuge, either in Gaul, or in the island of Erin, which the Saxons called Ireland;⁶ the rest submitted to pay tribute, and to labour for the Danes. But it was not long before they found the evils of the conquest a thousand times worse than those of Alfred's reign, which in the moment of suffering had seemed insupportable. They, therefore, regretted their former condition, and even the despotism of a king born among themselves.⁷ (A.D. 878.)

Alfred, too, reflected in his misfortunes, and meditated on the means of saving his people, if it were possible, and of regaining their favour. Fortified in his island against a surprise from the enemy, by entrenchments of earth and wood, he led the hard and savage life reserved, in every conquered country, for such of the vanquished as are too proud for slavery—that of a freebooter in the woods, morasses, and mountain defiles. At the head of his friends formed into bands, he plundered

the Danes laden with spoil, and, if Danes were wanting, the Saxon who obeyed the foreigners and saluted them as his masters.⁸ Such as were tired of the foreign yoke, or had been guilty of high treason against the conquerors, in defending their property, their wives, or their daughters against them, came and put themselves under the command of the unknown chief, who disdained to share the general servitude. After six months of a warfare of stratagems and surprises, and of night combats, the partisan leader resolved to declare himself, to call on the people of the whole western country, and to make an open attack, under the Anglo-Saxon standard, on the principal camp of the Danes. This camp was situated at Ethandun, on the borders of Wilts and Somerset, near a forest called Sel-wood, or the great wood.⁹ Before giving the decided signal, Alfred wished to observe in person the position of the foreigners. He entered their camp in the dress of a harper, and diverted the Danish army with his Saxon songs, the language of which differed but little from their own.¹⁰ He went from tent to tent, and, on his return, changing his character and occupation, he sent messengers through all the surrounding country, and assigned, as a place of meeting for all Saxons who would arm and fight, a spot called Egbert's Stone,¹¹ on the eastern skirt of the great wood, a few miles from the enemy's camp.¹²

During three successive days, armed men arrived from every quarter, one by one, or in small bands, at the place appointed. Every new comer was saluted by the name of brother, and welcomed with lively and tumultuous joy. Some rumours of this agitation reached the camp of the Danes. They discovered signs of a great movement around them; but, as there was not a single traitor, their information was uncertain; and, not knowing precisely where the insurrection was to break out, they made no manoeuvres, and were contented with doubling their outposts. It was not long, however, before they saw the banner of West-Sex displayed, which bore the emblem of the white horse. Alfred attacked their redoubts of Ethandun on the weakest side, drove them before him, and (as the Saxon chronicle says) remained master of the field of carnage.¹³

Once dispersed, the Danes never again rallied; but Godrun, their king, did what those of his nation often did when in peril; he promised that, if the victors would desist from pursuing him, he and his men would be baptized, and would retire to the territory of Est-Anglia, to dwell there in peace. The Saxon king, who was not strong enough to carry on the war to the utmost, accepted these proposals for a peace (A.D. 879). Godrun and

¹ The were un-nithing . . . of porte and of uppe-land. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 195.) *Nithing, nidingr, wickig, nietig*; in modern English, *naughty*. *Nequam, nihilum.*—Angli . . . nihil miserius aestimant quam hujusmodi dedecore vocabuli notari. (Mathæus Paris. Variantes lectiones, tom. I. ad initium.)

² Ut audientibus . . . lacrymosus quodammodo suscitaretur motus. (Eitelwerdi Hist. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 847, ed. Savile.)

³ Despectu suorum. (Asser. Menevensis de Ælfridi rebus gestis. Camden, Anglica, Hibernica, &c., p. 9.)—Certo suorum dissidio. (Chron. Johan Wallingford, apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. iii. 537, ed. Gale.)

⁴ His kempen calle forlet, and his heretogen, and call his theode. (MSS. in the British Museum, Vesp. D. 14.)

⁵ Ubi esset, vel quò devenisset. (Asser. Menev. de Ælfridi rebus gestis. Camden, *ibid.*, p. 10.)

⁶ Ira-land. Irland. Irorum terra.

⁷ Asser. Menev. de Ælfridi rebus gestis. Camden, Anglica, Hibernica, &c., p. 10.

⁸ Nihil enim habebat quo uteretur, nisi quod à paganis aut etiam à christianis qui se paganorum subdiderant domino, clam aut palàm subtraheret. (Asser. Menev. *ibid.*, p. 9.)

⁹ Near the town of Frome, the neighbourhood of which is still called *Food-land*.

¹⁰ Lingua Danorum Anglicane loquelæ vicina est. (Chronologia rer. Septent., apud script. rer. Danic., vol. v. 26.)

¹¹ Egberthes-stane.

¹² Rex ipse fingens se esse jocularorem, assumtâ citharâ, tentoria Danorum adit. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 26, ed. Gale.)—Willelm. Malmesb. de reb. gest. Angl. lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 43, ed. Savile.

¹³ Stragis locum. *Wool-stowe*. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, *passim*.)

the other pagan captains swore, by a bracelet consecrated to their own gods,¹ to receive baptism faithfully. King Alfred served as spiritual father to the Danish chief; who threw over his coat of mail the white robe of the neophytes, and departed with the remnant of his troops for the territory of East-Anglia, from whence he had come, and which he engaged never again to quit. The limits of the two populations were fixed by a definitive treaty, sworn to (as its preamble sets forth) by Alfred king, Godrun king, all the Anglo-Saxon sages, and all the Danish people.² (A.D. 879 to 883.) These limits were, on the south, the course of the Thames as far as the small river Lea, which falls into it below London; and on the north and east, the river Ouse and the great way constructed by the Britons, and re-constructed by the Romans, which the Saxons called *Wathinga-street*—the road of the sons of Wæthla.³ (A.D. 883.)

The Danes cantoned in Mercia and the whole country south and north of the Humber did not think themselves bound by the compact between Alfred and Godrun. Thus the war did not cease; but was only removed to the northern frontier of the territory of West-Sex. The ancient kingdoms, of the South Saxons or Suth-Sex,⁴ and of Kent, unanimously proclaimed Alfred as their deliverer and king. Not a voice was raised against him, either in his own country, where his former unpopularity was effaced by his new services, nor in those territories which his ancestors had by conquest brought under their rule.⁵ That part of England which the Danes no longer occupied was thus formed into a single state; and thus was annihilated the ancient division of the English people into several nations—into as many nations as there had been bands of emigrants from the shores and islands of Germania.⁶ The flood of the Danish invasions had swept away for ever the lines of fortresses which had previously been constructed on the borders of each neighbouring kingdom; and to an isolation sometimes hostile succeeded the union produced by the common misfortunes and general hopes.

(A.D. 883 to 885.) From the moment when the great separation of England into kingdoms was abolished, the other territorial divisions assumed an importance which, until then, had not belonged to them. At this time it is that we find historians beginning to make mention of *shires, scires, shires*, or fractions of kingdoms,⁷ and

of hundreds and tens of families⁸—territorial divisions and local circumscriptions, which are as old in England as the establishment of the Saxons and the Angles, but which would be but little remarked, so long as there was above them a more general political division. The custom of counting the families as simple units, and aggregating them in tens and hundreds to form districts and cantons, was known to all nations of Teutonic origin. If this institution plays a conspicuous part in the laws which bear the name of Alfred, it is not that he invented it, but that, on the contrary, he found it rooted in the soil of England, and almost uniformly extending over all the countries which he added without violence to his kingdom of West-Sex; so that he was necessitated to make it the principal basis of his system of public order. He did not, properly speaking, institute this organization into districts comprising ten or a hundred families, nor the municipal officers named *tything-men* and *hundred-men*,⁹ nor even the mode of trial which the influence of time has modified, and which gave rise to trial by jury; all these institutions existed among the Saxons and Angles prior to their immigration into Britain.

The king of West-Sex acquired, since his restoration to regal authority, so much celebrity for valour, and, above all, for wisdom, that it is difficult to find in history the traces of the national disfavour under which he once laboured. Although ever watchful for the preservation of the recovered independence of his nation, Alfred found time for those studies which he continued to love and to cultivate, yet he no longer preferred his pursuits of learning above the people whom he destined to realise their fruit. There are extant various poetic and prose productions of his, remarkable for that rich imagination and for those splendid metaphors which are a known characteristic of the ancient literature of Germany.¹⁰

Alfred passed the rest of his days engaged either in his favourite recreation of study, or in war. The oath sworn to him by the Danes of East-Anglia, first on the bracelet of Odin, and afterwards on the cross of Christ, was violated by them on the first appearance of a fleet of pirates on their coast. They hailed the new comers as brethren in arms: borne away by the force of old recollections and national sympathy, they quitted the fields which they were tilling, and took down from the smoky beam their great battle-ax, or their heavy mace, studded with steel points, which was by them named the *morning star*.¹¹ Soon after this arrival, those Danes, also, who dwelt on the banks of the Humber, without violating any treaty, moved towards the south to join, with the men of Est-Anglia, the army of the great sea-king Hasting, who, say the poets of the north, making the ocean his dwelling-place,¹² passed his life in navigating from Denmark to the Oræades, or Orkney Islands, from the Orkneys to Gaul, from Gaul to Ireland, and from Ireland to England.

(A.D. 885 to 893.) Hasting found the English, under king Alfred, well prepared to receive him—not as

¹ On tham halgan beage. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 83.)

² Ælf-red cýning and Guth-run cýning, and calles Angelkines witan and eal seo theod the on Easte-Englum beoeth. (Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxon. p. 47.) In some Latin acts, Alfred renders his title of *kyning* by the word *dux*.—"Ego Elfred dux." (Charta sub anno 888. Gloss. Saxonice. Ed. Lye.)

³ Strata quam filii Wethle regis, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale, per Angliam straverunt. (Rogerii de Hoveden. Annales, pars prior, p. 432, ed. Savile.) The word had apparently this signification; but it is more probable that *Wathinga-street* was only the Saxon translation of the British *Gwyddelinnarn*, signifying *Road of the Gaëls (the Irish)*, which is a very likely name for a road leading from Dover to the Cheshire coast.

⁴ Or *Suth-Seaxna-land, South-Seax*; by corruption, *Sussex*.

⁵ Hunc ut redemptorem suscepere cuncti. (Ethelwerdi Hist. lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 846, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Kald-Seax, Vetus Saxonica, Anglorum antiqua patria. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, passim.)

⁷ *Sheren, schæren, scheren*, in modern English, *to share*.

⁸ Hundred, tithing.

⁹ Tything-menn, Hundredarii.

¹⁰ See Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. 149.

¹¹ Morgen-stern.

¹² Incolitatuque mare. (Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. vi. 55.)

a master, but as an enemy. He was defeated in several battles: one part of his routed army retired among the Danes of Northumberland; another part became incorporated with the Danes of the east country. Those who had gained any booty on land or at sea settled as tradespeople in the towns, and as agriculturists in rural districts; while the poorest refitted their ships, and followed the indefatigable chief in new expeditions. They passed the strait of Gaul, and ascended the course of the Seine.¹ Hasting, from the high prow of his vessel, rallied his troops by blowing an ivory horn, which hung from his neck, and which the inhabitants of Gaul surmamed *the thunder*.² (A.D. 893 to 901.) No sooner were these fearful sounds heard from afar than the Gaulish serf quitted the soil of the field to which he was attached, and fled with his slender stock of moveables to the depths of the neighbouring forest; while the noble Frank, seized with the like terror, raised the draw-bridges of his fortified castle, hastened to the keep to prepare his arms, and ordered the tribute in money which he had recently levied on his domain to be buried in the earth.³

(A.D. 901.) On the good king Alfred's death, his son Edward,⁴ who had distinguished himself in the war with Hasting, was elected by the Anglo-Saxon chiefs and sages.⁵ One of the sons of the elder brother, Alfred's predecessor, thought fit to protest against this election by the nation, and pleaded his hereditary rights. The claim now set up by Ethelwald,⁶ son of Ethelred, was not only refused, but, moreover, declared an outrage against the laws, and the Whittena-gemote banished him the realm. (A.D. 901 to 905.) That prince, instead of obeying the sentence legally pronounced against him, threw himself, with a few favourers of his ambition, into the town of Wimborn, on the south-west coast, swearing to keep it or to perish there.⁷ But he did not keep his oath; for, on the approach of the army of the English people, he fled without fighting, and went among the Danes of Northumberland, where he became, like them, a pagan and a pirate. They appointed him chief of the war against his countrymen. Ethelwald invaded the Anglo-Saxon territory, but was defeated and slain whilst fighting in the ranks of those foreigners. (A.D. 905 to 924.) King Edward then took the offensive against the Danes; he reconquered from them the eastern coasts, from the mouth of the Thames to the Wash at Boston, and shut them in their northern territory by a line of fortresses erected beyond the Humber.⁸ (A.D. 924 to 927.) His successor, Ethelstan,⁹ passed the Humber, took the city of York, and forced the

colonists of Scandinavian race to swear, according to the sacred formulary, to do whatever he should require.¹⁰ One chief of the conquered Danes was conducted with honour to the palace of the Saxon king, and admitted to his table: but even four days of a peaceful life were sufficient to weary him. He took to flight, embarked in his piratical vessel, and put to sea, being as incapable (says the ancient historian) of living out of the water as a fish.¹¹

(A.D. 927 to 934.) The English army advanced to the banks of the Tweed; and Northumberland was added to the dominions of Ethelstan, who was the first that reigned over all England. In the ardour of this conquest, the Anglo-Saxons crossed their ancient northern limit;¹² and disturbed with an invasion the descendants of the Scots and Picts, and the tribe of ancient Britons inhabiting the valley of the Clyde.¹³ An offensive league was entered into by these different nations with the Danes, who came from beyond sea to deliver their countrymen from the power of the Anglo-Saxons. Olaf, son of Sithrik, the last Danish king of Northumbria, was made generalissimo of this confederacy, in which the auxiliaries recently arrived from the Baltic were joined by the Danes of the Orcaades, the Gaels of the Hebrides—armed with a long two-handed broad-sword which they called *glay-more*, *clay-more*, or the great sword,—the Gaels from the foot of the Grampian mountains, and the Cambrians of Dumbarton (Dun-Briton) and Galloway¹⁴—carrying long slender javelins. The two armies met, (934) north of the Humber, at a place called, in Saxon, Brunan-burgh, or the *town of fountains*. Victory declared for the English, who forced the confederates to retreat with difficulty to their ships, their islands, and their mountains. They named this triumph *the day of the Great Battle*;¹⁵ and sang it in their national poems, some fragments of which are still extant:

“ King Æthelstan—the chief of chiefs, the giver of collars to the brave—and his brother, the noble Edmund, have fought at Brunan-burgh with the edge of the sword. They have cloven the walls of shields. They have struck down the warriors of renown—the race of the Scots, and the men from the ships.

“ Olaf has fled, followed by few, and has wept upon the waves. The stranger, when seated at his fire-side, surrounded by his family, will not relate this battle; for in it his kinsmen have fallen—from it his friends have not returned. The kings of the north will lament in their councils that their warriors desired to play at the game of carnage with the sons of Edward.

“ King Æthelstan and his brother Edmund return to the land of the West-Saxons. They leave

¹ Mare transivit. . . . et applicuit in cætium Sequanæ fluminis. (Æsser. Menev. annal., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. 172, ed. Gale.)

² Tuba illi erat eburnea, tonitruum nuncupata. (Dudo de Seneto Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann.)

³ Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 43, ed. Savile.

⁴ Or *Ead weard*. *Ed*, happy; *weard*, guardian.

⁵ Geocrea to cyngre. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, passim.)—Æsser. Menev. annal., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. 174.

⁶ Or *Æthelwald*. *Ethel*, noble; *wald*, *wald*, *walt*, powerful, governing.

⁷ Dicens se velle aut ibi vivere, aut ibi occumbere. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 199.)—Henrici Huntingd. Hist., lib. v., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 352, ed. Savile.

⁸ Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 100—109.

⁹ Or *Æthelstan*, *Ethelstane*, the Saxon superlative of *ethel*, noble.

¹⁰ Se omne illud facturos quod ei visum erat. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 109.)

¹¹ In aquâ sicut piscis vivere assuetus. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 50, ed. Savile.)—Hist. Ingulf. Croyland. *ibid.*, vol. i. 29, ed. Gale.

¹² See Book I. p. 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ In Latin, *Galweidia*.

¹⁵ Unde, et vulgo, usque ad presens, bellum prænominatur magnum. (Ethelwerdi Hist., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 848, ed. Savile.)—Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 48-50, ed. Savile.—Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. 29, ed. Gale.

behind them the raven feeding on the carcasses of their foes—the black raven with his pointed beak, and the croaking toad, and the eagle hungering after flesh, and the greedy kite, and the wild wolf of the woods. Never was there greater carnage in this island; never did more men perish by the edge of the sword, since the day when the Saxons and the Angles came from the east across the ocean,—when those noble practisers of war came into Britain, who conquered the Welsh¹ and took their country."²

(A.D. 934 to 937.) Ethelstan made the Cambrians of the south pay dearly for the assistance which their brethren of the north had given to his enemies. He ravaged the territories of the Welsh; he imposed a quit-rent upon them; and the king of Aber-fraw (as the old acts express) paid tribute to the king of London, in money, oxen, falcons, and hounds.³ The Britons of Cornwall were driven from the city of Exeter, wherein they had until then dwelt in conjunction with the English.⁴ This population was forced southward, beyond the course of the river Tamar, which then became, and at this day continues to be, a frontier of Cornwall. Ethelstan boasted in his charters of having subdued every people foreign to the Saxon race, inhabiting the island of Britain.⁵ To the Anglo-Danes of Northumbria he gave a Norwegian for their governor. This was Eric, son of Harald, an old pirate who turned christian to obtain this government. (A.D. 937.) On the day of his baptism he swore to keep and defend Northumberland from the pagans and pirates,⁶ and from being a sea-king he became king of a province (as the Scandinavians⁷ expressed it). But this too peaceful dignity soon grew irksome to him, and he betook himself to his ships. After an absence of some years, he returned to visit the Northumbrians, who gave him welcome, and re-appointed him their chief, without the consent of the Saxon king Edred,⁸ successor to the son of Ethelstan. (A.D. 946.) Edred marched against them, and forced them to abandon Eric, who, in his turn, in revenge for their desertion, came and attacked them, along with five corsair chiefs from Denmark, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides. He fell in the first battle, together with the five seakings, his allies. This death, glorious to a Scandinavian, was celebrated by the scalds, or bards of the north, who, without taking into their account the baptism which Eric had received among the English, placed him in an ideal paradise, quite different from that of the christians.

"I have had a dream," said the panegyrist of the pirate; "I found myself at the dawn of day in the hall of Valhalla,⁹ preparing all things for the reception of those slain in battle.

"I awakened the heroes from their sleep; I

¹ *Wealla, Weallisa, Welsh*, is the generic name given by the Teutones to those of the Celtic or Roman races.

² Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 112—114.

³ Laws of Hywell Dda, lib. iii. cap. 2; Leges Wallie, ed. à Wotton, p. 199.

⁴ *Quam id temporis æquo eum Anglis jure inhabitant.* (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 50, ed. Savile.)

⁵ *A tempore Ethelstani, qui primus regem Anglorum omnes nationes que Britanniam incolunt sibi armis subegit.* (Charta Edgari regis, apud Monasticum Anglicanum. Dagdale, vol. i. 440.)

⁶ . . . Tutaretur contra Danos aliosque piratas. (Snorre's Heimskringla, Hakon Adalsten's fostres saga, vol. i. 129.)

⁷ *Theod-cyning, Fylkes-cyning, Folkes-cing.*

⁸ *Ed-red*, Happy counsellor.

⁹ *Valhalla* signifies Palace of the dead.

persuaded them to rise, and arrange the benches, and prepare the drinking cups, as for the arrival of a king.

"'Whence all this turmoil?' exclaims Bragg; 'whence is it that so many men are active in placing the benches?' Odin replies, 'It is because Eric is coming; I expect him. Arise, and go to meet him.'

"'And why does his coming give thee more delight than that of another king?' 'Because many are the places in which he has stained his sword with blood; many are the places where his blood-stained sword has been drawn.'

"'Hail to thee, Eric! Brave warrior, enter; thou art welcome in this abode. Tell us what kings accompany thee. How many come with thee from the combat?'

"'Five kings come,' answers Eric; 'and I am the sixth.'"¹⁰

(A.D. 946 to 955.) The land of the Northumbrians, which had hitherto preserved its ancient name of *kingdom*, now lost it, and was divided into several provinces. The country situated between the Humber and the Tees was named the province of York, in Anglo-Saxon *Everwic-scire*. The rest of the country, as far as the Tweed, kept the general name of Northumbria, *Northan-humbra-land*, although it consisted of various territorial divisions; viz. the land of the Cambrians—*Cumbra-land*, near the Solway Frith; the land of the Western mountains—*West-moringa-land*; and, lastly, Northumbria, properly so called, on the borders of the eastern sea, between the rivers Tyne and Tweed. The Northumbrian chiefs, under the superior authority of the Anglo-Saxon kings, preserved the Danish title which they had borne since the invasion, and continued to be called iarl, or earl, according to the Saxon orthography. This is a word whose original signification is doubtful, but which the Scandinavians applied to every sort of commander, whether military or civil, acting as the lieutenant of the supreme chief, called king or kining.

By degrees, the Anglo-Saxons introduced this new title into their territories of the south and west, and made it the quality of those magistrates to whom were delegated the government of the great provinces formerly called kingdoms, with the supremacy over all the local magistrates, over the prefects of shires—*shire-gerefas* or *shire-reves*, the prefects of towns—*port-reves*, and the elders of the people—*elder-menn*. This last title had been, before that of *earl*, the generic name of the great Anglo-Saxon magistracies; thenceforward it was lowered a step, and extended only to inferior jurisdictions and municipal dignities.

The great mass of the Danes, now become citizens of England, embraced Christianity, that they might cease to be reckoned foreigners. Several, in consideration of grants of land, took the title and office of perpetual defenders of the churches which they had formerly devastated with fire. There were even some Danes who entered the religious orders, and embraced a sad and gloomy profession, which, in another form, called to mind the asperity of their former way of life.¹¹

¹⁰ Torfæi Hist. rer. Norveg., pars secunda, lib. iv. cap. 10, p. 197.

¹¹ *Summus pontifex Olo, vir . . . grandævitiatis maturitate . . . fultus et omnium iniquitatum inflexibilis aversarius.* (Osberu, vita Odonis archiep. Cantuar. Anglia sacra, vol. ii. 84.)

(A.D. 955 to 975.) In the revolution which united all England, from the Tweed to the Land's End, in one and the same political body, the power of the kings, now become monarchs, increased in strength as it increased in extent, and became, to each newly-united tribe, more oppressive than the ancient power of their local kings had been. The association of the Anglo-Danish with the Anglo-Saxon provinces necessarily drew upon the latter somewhat of the harsh and jealous rule which weighed heavily upon the former, as being peopled with foreigners forcibly subjected. The same kings, exercising their right in the north as conquerors, and in the south as legally chosen sovereigns, were soon led to confound this twofold character of their authority, and to make but a slight distinction between the Anglo-Dane and the Anglo-Saxon, the foreigner and the native, the subject and the free citizen. These Anglo-Saxon monarchs conceived an exaggerated opinion of themselves and their power; they surrounded themselves with a pomp before unknown; and they ceased to be popular, like their predecessors, who, taking the people for their counsellor in all things,¹ found it always ready to perform that which it had itself decreed. (A.D. 975 to 980.) Thence arose new causes of national weakness in England. Great as she thenceforward appeared under chiefs, to describe whose titles of honour filled many lines,² she was in reality less capable of resisting an external enemy than when, reduced to a small number of provinces, but governed without either ostentation or despotism, her national laws bore no other superscription than "I, Alfred, king of the West-Saxons."³

The Danish population in England, subjected with deep regret to sovereigns who were foreign to their nation, constantly turned their eyes upon the sea, hoping that each breeze would bring them deliverers and chiefs from their ancient country. Nor was their expectation long fruitless; for in the reign of Ethelred, son of Edgar, the emigrations of the people of the north into Britain, which had never entirely ceased, all at once re-assumed a hostile character. Seven ships of war came to the coast of Kent, and plundered the isle of Thanet. Three other ships, directing their course southward, ravaged the places about Southampton. (A.D. 988.) Some troops also were landed, who overran the eastern parts, and entrenched themselves on several points of that coast. The alarm spread as far as London (A.D. 991 to 993); and Ethelred assembled the great national council, which, under this indolent and vain-glorious monarch, was an assembly of few others than priests and courtiers, more disposed to flatter the pride of a sovereign than to offer wise counsels.⁴ Conforming their opinions to the known aversion of the king to any bold and energetic measure, they thought it best to persuade the Danes to depart by the offer of a sum equivalent to the profit which those pirates expected to make by their invasion of England.

¹ *Reule, Rædegifan gerædnesse.* See the preambles of the Anglo-Saxon laws, in Hicckesii Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium, vol. ii. in fine.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglican.*, vol. i. 140.

³ *Ego, Ælfredus, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex.*

⁴ *Rex pulchri ad dormiendum factus.* (Willelm. Malmesh. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 63, ed. Savile.)—*Rex . . . imbellis quam imbecillis, monachum potius quam militem actione preteudebat.* (Osborni, vita S. Elpbeigi. Anglia sacra, vol. ii. 131.)

There existed an ancient impost, known by the name of Dane-gelt, levied, from time to time, for maintaining a coast-guard against the incursions of Scandinavian corsairs.⁵ It was this identical fund which was offered to the new invaders under the name of a tribute: those marauders gladly accepted it; and the first payment was a sum of ten thousand pounds, which they received under condition of quitting England. They sailed away, it is true; but they soon returned in greater numbers, in order to obtain a greater sum. Their fleet ascended the Humber, and laid waste both its shores. The Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the neighbouring counties took up arms to oppose them; but, when about to engage, three of their chiefs, of Danish origin, betrayed them, and went over to the enemy. All the newly-converted Danes of Northumberland entered into alliance and amity with the pagans newly arrived from the Baltic.⁶

(A.D. 994.) The winds of spring soon brought into the Thames a fleet of eighty vessels, commanded by two kings, Olaf of Norway and Swen⁷ of Denmark; the second of whom, after receiving baptism, had returned to the worship of Odin (A.D. 994 to 1002). The two northern kings, in token of having taken possession, planted a lance on the shore, and cast another into the stream of the first great river which they passed. They marched (says an old historian) escorted by fire and sword, their ordinary satellites.⁸ Ethelred, whom the consciousness of his unpopularity made fearful of assembling an army,⁹ again proposed a sum of money to the enemy, if they would retire in peace. They demanded twenty-four thousand pounds, which the Saxon king instantly paid to them, and he himself was satisfied with their promises, and with the conversion of a Danish chief, who received with great ceremony, in the cathedral of Winchester, the rite of baptism; which, one of his companions said, with derision, he had himself already received at least twenty times.¹⁰

(A.D. 1003.) The truce of the invaders was far from being peaceful, in the places where they were cantoned: they violated the women and killed the men.¹¹ Their insolence and their excesses, exciting the resentments of the native population to the highest pitch of fury, shortly brought about one of those acts of national vengeance which it is equally difficult to condemn or to justify, because a noble patriotism and a disdain of oppression are inter-

⁵ *Dane-geld, Dane geold;* in Latin, *Danegeldum.* (Duo-decim denarios ex unaqueque hidā totius patriæ, ad conducendos eos qui piratarum irruptioni resistendo obviarent. (Leges Edwardi, apud Wilkins, p. 198.)

⁶ *Hist. Ingulf. Croyland.*, apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. 55., ed. Gale.—*Chron. Johan. Bromton.*, apud hist. Anglie. script., vol. i. col. 879, ed. Selden.—*Eadmeri Histor. novorum.* lib. i. p. 3 et 4, ed. Selden.—*Willelm. Malmesh. de gest. reg. Angl.*, lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 69, ed. Savile.

⁷ *Sven, Swein, Sweyn, Swyna,* a young man. (See Ihre's Gloss.)

⁸ *Cum duobus solitis Marte et Vulcano.* (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 883, ed. Selden.)

⁹ *Formidine meritorum nullum sibi fidem metiens.* (Willelm. Malmesh., p. 69, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ *Jam vicies hic lotus sum.* (Monachus Sancti Galli, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., vol. v. 134.) Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 880.—*Chron. Saxon.* ed. Gibson, p. 137.

¹¹ *Jam post pacem factam . . . uxores . . . et filias vi opprimere præsumperunt.* (Mathæi Westmonast. Flores Hist., p. 200. Francfort, 1601.)

mixed with atrocious passions. A great conspiracy was entered into, under the eyes, and with the connivance, of the magistrates and royal officers, against the Danes of the recent invasion, of whom both men, women, and children were indiscriminately assailed in their several places of abode, and were all slaughtered, on an appointed day and hour, by their hosts and their neighbours.¹ This massacre was loudly inveighed against, at the time, and the odium of it served as an aggravated charge against the English nation by their enemies, on subsequent occasions of quarrel; it took place on Saint Brice's day, A.D. 1003. It did not extend to the northern and eastern provinces of the kingdom, wherein the old-established Danes, who were tradespeople and agriculturists, formed the major part of the population; but the entire body of the new conquerors, with the exception of a very small number, perished, as did also one of the king of Denmark's sisters. To take revenge for that murder, and to inflict a retributive punishment for what he designated the treason of the English people, King Sweyn² assembled an army much more numerous than the first, and in which, if we are to believe the ancient narratives, there was neither a slave, nor a freed man, nor an old man; but each combatant was free, the son of a free man, and in the vigour of his age.³

(A.D. 1004.) This army embarked in vessels having high decks, each bearing a distinctive emblem which designated the commander. Some had, at their prows, figures of lions, bulls, dolphins, or men, of gilt copper; at the mast-heads of others were birds extending their wings and turning with the wind: the sides of the ships were painted of different colours, and shields of polished steel were hung upon them in rows.⁴ The king's ship had the lengthened form of a serpent, its head advancing to the prow, and its tail coiled at the stern; hence it was called the *Great Dragon*⁵ (1004 to 1006.) At their disembarkation on the English coast, the Danes, formed into battalions, unfurled a mysterious standard which they denominated the *Raven*. It was a banner of white silk, in the centre of which was embroidered a raven, with open beak and extended wings;⁶ three of king Sweyn's sisters had embroidered it in a night, accompanying their labour with magic incantations and gesticulations. This banner, which, agreeably to the superstitious notions of the Scandinavians, was a sure pledge of victory, increased the ardour and the confidence of the fresh invaders. In every place through which they passed, an ancient historian remarks, they gaily partook of the repasts which were unwillingly prepared for them; and on their departure they slew the host and burnt his house.⁷

¹ *Malleres cum liberis.* (*Ibid.*)

² Sometimes spelt Sven, Swen, Swain, and Swein; there were several Danish kings of this race. The historian, M. Thierry, always writes Sven, probably an ancient northern spelling; but the form of Sweyn, which approximates to the signification, is adopted in our version.

³ *Nullus servus, nullus ex servo libertus, nullus ignobilis, nullus senili ætate debilis. Omnes erant nobiles, omnes plenæ ætatis robore valentes.* (*Emma regine Encomium*, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 165.)—Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 127.

⁴ *Regine Emma Encomium*, *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵ Snorre's *Heimskringla*, Harald then *Hárrádras* saga, cap. 41, vol. ii. p. 123.

⁶ *Corvus hians ore excutensque alas.* (*Emma regine Encomium*, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 170.)

⁷ *Reddebant hospitii cædem, hospitio flammam.* (*Henrici*

They everywhere carried off the horses; and, becoming cavaliers, according to the tactics of their predecessors, they marched rapidly across the country, suddenly presenting themselves when they were thought to be at a distance, and surprising the fortified castles and cities. In a short space of time they had conquered all the south-eastern provinces, from the mouth of the river Ouse to the bay of Southampton. King Ethelred, who never was prepared for battle, could not imagine any other device than that of purchasing by payments of money occasional truces of a few days' duration, and this temporising policy obliged him to oppress his people with new and more burthensome imposts.⁸ Such of the English as had the good fortune to be still preserved from the Danish plunderers escaped not the royal exactions; and, under one form or other, the inhabitants of each district were sure to have everything taken from them.

While those who governed England were thus making compacts with the foreigners, at the expense of the people, there was one man who, though great and powerful in the country, chose rather to die than to authorise such dastardly conduct by his example. This was the archbishop of Canterbury, named Elfeg. A prisoner among the Danes after the siege of the episcopal city, and dragged by them from one encampment to another, he remained long in chains without pronouncing a word about ransom. The Danes first became tired of this, and proposed to their captive to restore him to liberty for a ransom of three thousand pounds, and his promise to persuade king Ethelred to pay them a quadruple sum. "I have not so much money," replied the Saxon archbishop; "and I will be a cost to no one; nor will I counsel my king to anything inconsistent with the honour of my country."⁹ He loudly declared that he would accept of no present from any towards his ransom, and forbade his friends to solicit anything, saying that it would be treason in him to pay the enemies of England. (A.D. 1012.) The Danes, thirsting more for money than for the blood of the archbishop, often repeated their demands. "You urge me in vain," replied Elfeg; "I am not the man to provide christian flesh for pagan teeth to devour, and it would be so acting if I delivered unto you that which the poor have laid by for their subsistence."¹⁰

The Danes at length lost all patience; and one day, when some hogsheads of wine had been sent them from the south, they drank deeply, and, not knowing with what to divert themselves after their feast, they resolved by way of pastime to bring the archbishop to trial. He was brought before them, tied on a sorry palfrey, to the place where were

Huntingdon. Hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 360, ed. Savile.)

⁸ Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 56, ed. Gale.—(Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglic., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script. p. 69, ed. Savile.)

⁹ *Si . . . existimetis me aut ecclesiasticas possessiones exspoliaturum, aut contra patriæ decus regi suorum. fallimini.* (*Osberni, vita S. Elphegi. Anglia sacra*, vol. ii. 138.)

¹⁰ *Christianorum carnes paganus dentibus conterendas dare. Ego equidem id faciam, si quod paupertas ad vitam paraverat, vestris hoc morsibus abutendum tradam.* (*Ibid.*)—*Eadmeri Hist. nov.*, lib. i. p. 4, ed. Selden.—Hist. Ingulf. Croyland. apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 57, ed. Gale.—*Chron. Johau. Bromton*, apud histor. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 889, ed. Selden.

ordinarily held the council of war and the military tribunal; the chiefs and warriors of high rank were seated on large stones that formed a wide extended circle, and at no great distance there was an enormous pile of bones, of cheeks and horns of oxen, the remaining fragments of the camp repasts.¹ So soon as the Anglo-Saxon primate was introduced within the circle there arose a great cry from all quarters of "Gold, archbishop, gold!—or we will make thee play a part that shall render thee famous in the world."² Elfeg calmly made answer: "I offer unto you the riches of wisdom, whereby ye will renounce your superstitions, and to convert you to the worship of the true God; but if ye despise my counsel, know that ye shall perish as did Sodom, and ye shall not strike root in this land." At these words, which appeared to them a menace and an insult to their religion, the self-constituted judges quitted their seats, and, rushing upon the archbishop, threw him to the earth, striking him with the back of their hatchets; some of them ran to the pile of bones and horns, and, lifting them, threw them as a shower upon the Anglo-Saxon, thus also keeping off the crowd that had surrounded him. The archbishop essayed in vain to place himself in a kneeling position to pray, and soon fell forward half dead; his death was consummated by a soldier whom he had converted and baptized the preceding day, and who, with a barbarian's compassion, split his head by a blow with a battle-ax, so as to terminate his sufferings. The murderers were at first going to throw the corpse into a neighbouring ditch; but the Anglo-Saxons, who honoured Elfeg as a martyr for Christ and for his country, purchased his body for a large sum of money, and buried him at London.³

(A.D. 112 to 113.) Meantime king Ethelred practised without scruple what the archbishop of Canterbury, at the peril of his own life, had refused to advise. One day his tax-gatherers⁴ raised tribute for the Danes; next day the Danes presented themselves and taxed on their own account; and, on their departure, the royal agents again appeared, and treated the unfortunate inhabitants with greater harshness than before, calling them traitors and purveyors to the enemy.⁵ The real purveyor to the enemy, Ethelred, at length wearied the patience of the people who had made him king for the national defence. Hard though the rule of foreigners, it was found better to resign themselves at once, than to await, amid insupportable privations under a king who showed neither spirit nor virtue, the moment of slavery that could not be averted. (A.D. 1013.) Several of the central counties voluntarily surrendered to the Danes; Oxford and Winchester shortly afterwards opened their gates; and Sweyn, advancing into the western country as far as the Bristol channel, or mouth of the Severn, assumed the title of king of all England without any opposition.⁶

¹ *Ossibus et boum cornibus.* (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 142.)

² *Episcopo, aurum.* (Osberni, vita Elphegi. Anglia sacra, vol. ii. 140.)

³ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 142.—Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 890, ed. Selden.

⁴ *Regii exactores.* (Hist. Igulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglie script., vol. i. 57, ed. Gale.)

⁵ *Tanquam patrie proditorem et Danorum provisorem.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Rex plenarius: felle cynig.* (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 143.)

Ethelred, terrified at the general desertion, fled to the small isle of Wight; and from thence crossed the Channel into Gaul, to ask an asylum from his wife's brother, the chief of one of the western provinces adjacent to the mouth of the Seine.⁷

In marrying a foreign woman, Ethelred had conceived the hope of obtaining some assistance against the Danes from his wife's powerful relatives; but he was deceived in his expectations. This marriage, which was to have procured defenders for England,⁸ brought from across the sea only place-hunters and ambitious men, craving money and dignities. All the towns of which the custody had been given to those foreigners were the first that were surrendered to the Danes.⁹ By a singular coincidence, the prince residing in Gaul, whose alliance the Saxon king had sought as an auxiliary in his contest with the armies of Scandinavia, was himself of Scandinavian origin, and descended from an ancient chief of pirates, who was the conqueror of the Gaulish province then governed by his posterity in right of inheritance: the chief of this new dynasty, after having long devastated that country, had fixed therein the settled abode of his piratical followers, and founded, together with them, a new dominion or state, which received, from their own appellation, the name of Normandy, or territory of the Normans.¹⁰

Normandy was contiguous, on the south, to Little Brittany, a state which we have already shown to have been founded by the ancient British emigrants; and on the east it joined the larger country from which it had been dismembered, or northern Gaul, which had received its new name of France by the establishment therein of the Franks. (A.D. 500 to 1013.) The descendants of those emigrants from Germania still dwelt there, and after five centuries were to be distinguished from the aboriginal Celtic race, or Gauls, less by manners or language, than by their social condition. The impress of the distinction of the several races was evidenced in the deeply traced difference of their social institutions, and in those designations which expressed them. To designate civil liberty, there was, in the language commonly spoken in France in the tenth century, no other word for it than that of *frankise* or *franchise*,¹¹ a dialectic variety of pronunciation, and *franc* signified, at one and the same time, free, powerful, and rich.

(A.D. 496 to 801.) To found, in this degree, the great preponderance of the conquering race, the invasion by the sons of Mérowig, and the conversion of their kings to the Romish faith, would probably, unassisted by other influences, have proved insufficient. In less than three centuries after their establishment in Gaul those terrible invaders had themselves almost become like the Gauls; the kings descended from Lotwig, Chlo-

⁷ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 144. Willelm. Malmesh. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 69, ed. Savile.—Henr. Huntingd. Hist., lib. vi., *ibid.*, p. 362.

⁸ *Ad tuitionem et majorem securitatem regni sui.* (Johan. Bromt., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i., col. 883, ed. Selden.)

⁹ *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 360, ed. Savile.—Roger. de Hoved. annual., pars prior, *ibid.*, p. 429.

¹⁰ *Quam Nortmanniam Northmanni vocaverunt, eo quod de Northwegâ egressi essent.* (Script. rer. Normann., p. 7.)

¹¹ In Latin, *frankisia, franchisia.*

dowig, or Clovis, as inoffensive as their forefathers had been ferocious, limited their ambition to the luxuries of the table, and to pleasant excursions in their royal wains.¹ But, at that period, there was located, between the river Rhine and the forest of Ardennes, in the territory which the Franks called *Ostero-rike*, or the eastern kingdom, a tribe among whom the Teutonic character had better resisted the influence of the morals of the south. Arrived the latest for the achievement of the conquest of Gaul, and debarred from the possession of the fertile provinces and populous cities of the south, it still aspired to obtain or to usurp a portion of them, and was desirous of supplanting in their dominion the Franks of *Neoster-rike*, or of the western kingdom.² This daring project, followed up for a long period with various success, was at length, in the eighth century, accomplished; and, under the outward semblance of a revolution in the royal palace, a real invasion of the Neustrian by the Austrasian Franks took place. A second division of landed property was made in almost every district of Gaul; a second race of kings arose, not related to the preceding dynasty; and the conquest of Gaul, renewed in this mode, assumed a more lasting form.

This was not the final result; the warlike activity of the Franks, aroused by this great impulse, carried them, in every direction, beyond the boundaries of their late territories; they now extended their conquests towards the Danube and the Elbe, and beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps. Masters of Gaul, and of both banks of the Rhine, of the ancient territory of the Saxon confederation, of a portion of the dominions of the Slavi or Scythians, of nearly the entire of Italy, and of the north of Spain, the second prince of the new Frank dynasty, Karl, surnamed the Great, whom we call Charlemagne, exchanged his title of king for that of emperor, or Cæsar, which had for above three hundred years been abolished in the west (A.D. 801.) He was a man of indefatigable activity, and gifted with that talent for administration which descends from the most comprehensive views to every minor detail, and which, by a remarkable parallel, is seen at widely different epochs to re-appear in pseudo-identical geniuses. But this great talent, in spite of its natural resources, could never, without the political reaction of many centuries, amalgamate in one empire so many nations of various origin, manners, and languages, under any semblance of real union; the natural singleness of each nation subsisted, and, to prevent so mighty an empire from falling to pieces in its very moment of creation, it required the master-hand of this great emperor to be constantly applied. (A.D. 801 to 814.) So long as Charlemagne breathed the nations of western Europe remained consolidated under his wide-extended rule; a domination foreign to them all, the Frank nation only excepted; but they began to break the bond of this factitious union from the instant when the Frank Cæsar descended in his imperial robes into the sepulchral vault of Aix-la-Chapelle.

(A.D. 814 to 841.) A spontaneous movement of insurrection manifested itself among the nations that had been compulsorily united. Gaul inclined to separate from Germanian, and Italy to detach itself

¹ *Plaustru bobus trahentibus vectis.* (Annals Fuldenses, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. ii. 676.)

² See *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, 3th edition, Letter X.

from both. Each of these great masses of men, thus put in motion, carried along with them, in the prosecution of their object of independence, that portion of the conquering people who dwelt among them as masters of the soil, and were decorated either with Latin or Germanic titles implying power and honour.³

Franks drew the sword against Franks; brothers against brothers; fathers against sons. Three of the grandsons of Karl the Great gave battle to one another in the centre of Gaul: one at the head of an army of Gauls and Gallo-Franks, another followed by the Italians, and the third by Teutones and Slavonians.⁴ The domestic quarrel of these kings, descendants of the Frank Cæsar, was but a reflection of the quarrel of the nations, which is the precise reason that it was so long and so obstinate. The kings made and re-made ten different partitions of that empire which the people wished to dissolve. They exchanged oaths in the Teutonic and the vulgar Roman tongue,⁵ and broke them immediately, being brought back to discord, almost in spite of themselves, by the turbulence of the masses, whom no treaty could satisfy.

(A.D. 841 to 870.) It was in the midst of this commotion, whilst civil war was raging from one end of the immense empire of the Franks to the other, that the Danish or Norman vikings (the name of Normans was better known in Gaul) assailed the country by oft-repeated invasion. Their mode of warfare was entirely new, and was calculated to disconcert those measures of defence that would have perfectly answered in any case of ordinary aggression. Their fleets, consisting of barks with oars and sails, entered the estuaries of rivers, and ascended them sometimes to their very sources, disembarking alternately on either bank bands of bold and disciplined marauders. Wherever a bridge or any other obstacle impeded the navigation, the crews, hauling the barks ashore, unloaded them, and moved them on the dry land until they had passed beyond such impediment. From the great rivers they sailed up the lesser streams, and traversed from one river to another, seizing on all considerable islands, which they fortified for their winter-quarters, and as places of depositing, in huts built in rows, their booty and their captives.

Thus attacking unawares, and, when guarded against, making their retreat with great facility, they were enabled to devastate entire countries, and that to such an extreme of pillage, that, according to an expression of cotemporary relaters, not even a dog was to be heard barking. (A.D. 841 to 870.) Castles and fortified positions were the only asylums against their attacks; but at the first period of their irruptions there were few of these, and the walls even of cities built by the Romans were falling into ruin. Whilst wealthy possessors of land flanked their manorial dwellings with crenelated towers, and surrounded them with deep moats, the inhabitants of the champaign country emigrated in large bodies from their villages, and betook themselves to a neighbouring forest, encamping in huts

³ *Duces, Comites, Judices, Missi, Præfecti, Præpositi, Grafen, Mark-grafen, Land-grafen, Tyn-grafen, Herizigen, Skopen, Sons-shalken, Mare-shalken, Maer-shalken, &c.*

⁴ At Fontenay (*Fontanctum*) near Auxerre.

⁵ *Nithardi Historia*, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. vii. 26 et 27.

defended by trees laid down as an intrenchment, and by palisades. Being badly protected by the kings, dukes, and counts of their native land, who frequently treated with the enemy for their own personal safety, at the expense of the poor inhabitants, the peasants sometimes assumed a desperate courage, and, armed only with staves, braved the battle-axes of the Normans.¹ At other times, seeing all resistance useless, discouraged and demoralised, they renounced their baptism to avert the wrath of the pagans, and, by way of giving a proof of their initiation in the worship of the northern divinities, they ate the flesh of a horse immolated in sacrifice. This apostasy was not unfrequent in such localities as were the most exposed to the debarkations of the pirates; their bands even were recruited by men who had lost all their goods by their ravages; and ancient historians affirm that the famous sea-king Hasting was the son of a labourer of the environs of Troyes.

Nearly a century intervened between the dates of the first and the final descent of the Normans in Gaul; and in this interval was accomplished, amid calamities of every kind, the dismemberment of the empire founded by Karl the Great. Not only were countries known to be detached from the Gallic territory, of which the frontier was formed by a natural barrier, but in the very heart of that territory a partial separation was effected, suitable to geographical aptitude, local tradition, and difference of language or dialect. Brittany, which had remained independent of the first Frank dynasty, and had been subjected by the second, or that of Charlemagne, commenced the movement, and became once more a separate state, as early as the first half of the ninth century. It acquired princes of its own nation, emancipated from allegiance to any foreign liege lord, and some of its native princes deprived, by right of conquest, the grandson of Charlemagne of the towns of Rennes, Vannes, and Nantes. Fifty years later, the ancient kingdom of the Visigoths, a country comprehended between the Loire, the Rhône, and the Pyrenees, after having, during a long period and with various changes of fortune, striven against the dominion of the Franks, became, under the appellation of Aquitaine or Guienne, a distinct sovereignty; whilst, on the other side of the river Rhône, a new sovereignty was also formed of Provence combined with the southern portion of the ancient kingdom of the Burgundians. At the same time, the provinces adjacent to the Rhine, whither the tide of Germanic invasion had carried the use of the Teutonic idiom, raised a political barrier, dividing them from the country in which the Romanesque language was spoken. In the intermediate space left intact by these new states, that is to say, the country lying betwixt the Loire, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Breton frontier, the kingdom of the Gallo-Franks or of France, was thenceforward restricted within those narrow limits. Its extent was precisely the same as that of Neoster-rike, or Neustria, of the ancient Franks; but the name of Neustria was at this time confined to signify the maritime coast farthest to the west; as the name, in connexion with the same era, of Oster-rike, or Austrasia, which erst was applied to the entire of Germania, was, by

insensible degrees, consigned to the banks of the Danube.

This new kingdom of France, above described, the true cradle of modern France, contained a mixed population, of Germans in one of its aspects, and in the other Gaulish and Roman descendants: so that foreign nations gave it a variety of names, according to the point of view from which they looked on it. The Italians, Spaniards, and English, saw none other than Franks in Gaul; but the Alemans or Germans, claiming as their own the noble name of the Franks, refused it to their western neighbours, whom they called Wallons or Welches.² In the interior of the kingdom itself, another distinction was made: the proprietor of a manorial demesne, who resided amidst his retainers and farmers, occupied himself solely with his military weapons and in hunting, and in that manner led a species of life conformable to the customs of the ancient Franks, assumed the title of Frank-man, or of Baron, both words being taken from the language of the conquest.³ Those who possessed no seigneurial mansions lived indiscriminately in the Roman manner in the towns, boroughs, and hamlets, and, deriving from that circumstance an especial appellation, were called *villani* and *manentes*, or, in the modern dialects, *villains* and *manans*.⁴ Some of the villains were accounted free; some villains were serfs of the soil; yet the freedom of the former class of these, constantly endangered or invaded by the seigneurial landholders, was precarious and ill-established. Such was the kingdom of France relatively to its extent, and to the various classes of its inhabitants, at the period of the great invasion by the northern pirates, which was destined to be the last, and to close the long series of those calamities by a dismemberment of the French territory.

(A.D. 870 to 895.) About the end of the ninth century, Harald Harfagher, that is to say, *with beautiful hair*, the king of a part of Norway, extended, by force of arms, his authority over the entire of that country, and converted it into a single kingdom. This destruction of several smaller states, which formerly enjoyed independence, did not take place without resistance: not only was the ground manfully disputed, but, after the conquest was effected, many men preferred to expatriate themselves, and to lead a wandering life by sea, rather than obey a king foreign to their own particular districts. Thus disinherited of their possessions, they infested the northern seas, ravaged the coasts and islands, and excited their countrymen to insurrection. From these causes political interests soon converted the conqueror of all Norway into the bitterest enemy of the pirates. With a numerous fleet he pursued them along the coasts of his king-

² *Alamani et ceteri trans-Rhenani populi, qui imperatori Teutonicorum subiecti sunt, magis proprie se Francos appellari jubent, et eos quos nos putamus Francos, Galwas, antiquo vocabulo, quasi Gallos nuncupant.* (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. i., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 24, ed. Savile.)

³ *Vivere, habitare, succedere, more Francorum . . . Francus homo.* (Gloss. of Ducange.)—*Barn, bearn, hairs, beorn*, a man, a male child. (Gloss. Waechter.) From thence are derived, *bers, bernes, bernage*, modern Roman or Romanesque words.

⁴ In Latin, either *villani, manentes, coloni*. The word *villa*, which the Romans used only to express a country-house, was employed at an early period, in the modern corrupt Latin dialects, to denote any kind of inhabited place.

¹ *Adversus quos nullus rex, nullus dux, nullusque defensor surrexit qui eos expugnaret.* (Chron. Namnetense. Dom. Lobineu, Hist. de Bretagne, vol. ii. liv. i. p. 45.)

dom, and as far as their roadsteads in the Orades and Hebrides, sinking their vessels, and destroying the establishments constructed by them in various islands of the North Sea. He, moreover, forbade throughout his dominions, by the severest penal laws, any piracy or system of exactions by armed free-booters.¹

It was an immemorial usage among the vikings of the north to exercise on all the coasts, without distinction of kingdoms or countries, a right which they termed *strandhug*, or forced contributions of provisions. Whenever a crew of any bark, whose supply of comestibles was nearly exhausted, perceived ashore a flock guarded by few shepherds, the pirates landed in sufficient strength, seized the oxen and sheep, killed and cut them up, and so re- victualled their vessel without offering payment, or at any time more than the smallest remuneration. The *strandhug*, therefore, was the scourge of the districts bordering on the sea-shores, and the perpetual dread of the cultivators: it was often, also, enforced by such as did not follow the profession of piracy, but whose power and riches assured them of impunity.²

Amongst the jarls or chiefs of the highest rank at the court of king Harald, there was one whose name was Rognvald, greatly beloved by that monarch, and who had served him with zeal in all his expeditions. Rognvald was the father of several sons, all of them renowned for valour, and of these the most celebrated was Rolf, Roll, or Rollo, a name possessing that degree of euphony which is remarked among the Teutonic appellatives. He was so high of stature, that not being able to obtain from the diminutive breed of horses in that country one fit for him to mount, he habitually went on foot, from which circumstance he received the distinguishing name of *Gang-Roll*. Once, when the son of Rognvald was returning with many comrades from a cruise in the Baltic, before landing in Norway he touched at the province of Vighen; and there, whether from shortness of provisions, or tempted by the favourable opportunity, he had recourse to the expedient of the *strandhug* (895). Chance would have it that king Harald was himself in those quarters, and heard the complaints of the cultivators; without taking into any consideration the considerable merits of the person guilty of this alleged crime, he immediately convoked a *Thing*, or great court of justice, and put Roll upon his trial according to the laws. Before the accused appeared in this assembly, which was expected to pronounce against him a sentence of banishment, his mother hastened to seek the king, and to implore a pardon; but Harald was inexorable. This woman, yielding to the impulses of anger and of maternal affection, commenced an unpremeditated invective, very frequently indulged in by Scandinavians when strongly excited. Addressing the king in a strain of verse, she exclaimed, "Thou drivest from thy kingdom and treatest as a foe a man of noble race: listen to the words I speak; it is dangerous to attack the wolf, and when once he is enraged beware of the flocks that stray through the forest."³

Notwithstanding this menace, which was somewhat enigmatical, sentence was pronounced, and Roll, hearing the doom of perpetual banishment, collected some barks, and made sail towards the Hebrides. Those islands had become the refuge of a portion of those Norwegians who had emigrated in consequence of the conquests of king Harald. They were mostly men of high birth and of great military renown. The new exile associated with them for piratic expeditions; they united all their barks, and thus collected a considerable fleet, under the command of no single chief, but of the confederate captains, and in which Roll obtained no pre-eminence other than that of personal merit and of illustrious birth.⁴

Setting sail from the Hebrides, the fleet doubled the headland of Scotland, and, steering to the south-east, they arrived in Gaul by entering the mouth of the Scheldt; but as the country, naturally unfertile, and already devastated at various times, offered little booty, the pirates soon put out to sea (896 to 898). Proceeding southwards, they entered the Seine, and ascended that river to Jumièges, five leagues distant from Rouen: at that time the limits of the kingdom of France had just been definitively fixed and circumscribed by the course of the rivers Loire and Meuse. To the long revolutions, relating to territory, which had convulsed that kingdom, there had succeeded a political revolution, of which the object, realised one century later, was the expulsion of the second dynasty of the Frank kings.⁵ The king of the French, a descendant of Karl the Great, was named like his ancestor Karl, but the only resemblance which he bore to him was disputing for the crown against a competitor whose ancestors had never worn it. By turns, vanquishers and vanquished, the king by hereditary right, and the rival king by election, were occasionally master; but neither of them was sufficiently powerful to protect the country from a foreign invader; all the forces of the kingdom were employed on one side or the other in waging a civil war. Wherefore no army presented itself to stay the progress of the new body of pirates, or prevent them from pillaging and devastating by fire both banks of the Seine.

The report of their devastations threw the city of Rouen into a state of great alarm. The townsmen were without hope of succour and despaired of being able to defend their walls, which had been partially destroyed in preceding invasions. Notwithstanding the general discouragement, the archbishop of Rouen, who was named Franke or Francon, a man of great coolness and prudence, took upon himself to save the city by capitulating with the enemy before he should make a first assault.⁶ Without testifying any uneasiness with respect to the hatred, often leading to cruel inflections, which the pagans of the north entertained against the christian clergy, the archbishop repaired to the camp near Jumièges, and, by help, of an interpreter, addressed the Norman leader. He spoke and managed so well, promised and gave so much, says an ancient chronicler, that he con-

¹ Depping, *Hist. des expéd. maritimes des Normands*, tom. ii. 68.

² See *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, 5th edition. Letter XII.

³ Mallet, *Histoire du Danemarck*, tom. i. 223.
⁴ Depping, *Histoire des expéditions maritimes des Normands*, tom. ii. chap. 8, p. 57.
⁵ Snorre's *Harald Harfingers saga*, cap. xxiv. vol. i. 99.—Mallet, *Histoire du Danemarck*, tom. i. 224.

⁶ Franke an archeveske, ki à Roem estoit . . . (*Wace, Roman de Rou*, tom. i. 57.)

cluded a truce with Rollo and his companions, guaranteeing their free admission into the city, and receiving in return the assurance by them of their committing no injury.¹ It was near the church of Saint Morin, in one of the harbours of the river Seine, that the Norwegians landed, and conducted themselves in a peaceable manner. After having drawn their vessels ashore, their leaders visited every quarter of the town; they attentively examined the ramparts, the quays, the fountains; and, finding everything answerable to their wishes, they decided on converting the city into a military post and to make it the chief town of their intended establishments.² (A.D. 898.)

After thus taking possession of Rouen, the Norman chieftains continued to ascend the Seine with the main body of their troops. They established a fortified camp at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Eure, and there awaited the approach of a French army that was marching against them. King Karl, or Charles as he was called in the modern Roman dialect, being at that moment the sole master of the kingdom, was desirous of making a great effort to drive away the new invaders; his troops, commanded by Ragenold, or Regnault, who bore the title of duke of France, took up a position on the right bank of the Eure, at a short distance from the Norman camp. Among the counts who had raised their banners in obedience to the king's commands, with intention of giving battle to the pagans, was a converted pagan, the famous sea-king Hasting. Twenty years antecedent to this period, becoming tired of seeking for adventures, he had made his peace with the kingdom of France, and accepted of the county of Chartres. In a council of the French, held to determine on the best mode of proceeding, Hasting, being consulted in his turn, gave the advice of coming to a parley with the enemy before risking a battle; although this counsel was thought suspicious by several nobles in the army, it prevailed; and Hasting set forward, accompanied by two persons who understood the Danish language, to hold a colloquy with the Normans.

The three envoys followed the channel of the Eure until they came to the spot directly opposite the intrenchments that had been raised by the confederates; there they stood still, and, elevating their voice in such manner as to be audible on the other side of the river, "Holla, brave warriors," shouted the Count of Chartres, "what is the name of your lord?" "We have no lord," replied the Normans, "we are all equal."³ "Wherefore have you come to this country, and what do you intend to do here?" "To drive out the inhabitants or subject them to our rule, and to make this our country. But what art thou, who speakest so well our language?"⁴

¹ *Frankes un archeveske, ki á Roum esteit* (Wace, *Roman de Rou*, tom. i. 57.)

² E Rou esgarda la vile é lunge et lée,
E delorz e dadeuz l'a sovent esgardée;
Bonne li semble e bele, mult li plest e agrée,
E li compaignonz l'ont a Rou mult loée,
(*Roman de Rou*, tom. i. 60.)

³ *Quo nomine vester senior fungitur? Responderunt: Nullo, quia equalis potestatis sumus.* (Dudo de Sancto Quintino, *apud script. rer. Normann.*, p. 76.)

⁴ *Terra hujus colonos exturbare venimus, nostras ditioni patriam subdere cupientes. Tu vero quis es, qui tam facete molis loqueris?* (Willelmi Gemeticensis, *Hist. Normann.*, *apud script. rer. Normann.*, p. 228.)—Dudo de S. Quintino, *ibid.*, p. 76.

"Have ye not heard speak of Hasting the famous pirate, who scoured the seas with so many ships, and caused so many evils to this kingdom?" To which the Normans replied, "Doubtless we have; Hasting began well, but he has made a bad conclusion."⁵ "Have you, then, no desire to submit yourselves unto king Charles, who makes you offers of fiefs and honours, under the condition of allegiance and knights' service?" "No, none whatever; we will make submission to no one, and all that we can conquer shall belong to ourselves without reserve: go, and tell your king this, if you will."⁶

On his return to the French camp, Hasting carried back this answer, and, in the deliberations held in consequence, he counselled that the hazardous attempt of forcing the intrenchments of the pagans should not be made; "That is a traitor's advice!" exclaimed a noble named Rolland; and several other voices reiterated the exclamation. The old sea-king, whether from indignation, or from there being something in his conduct that was actually reprehensible, immediately quitted the army; he abandoned likewise his county of Chartres, and no one knew whither he retired. But his predictions were verified: at the attack of the intrenched camp the French troops were totally defeated, and the duke of France fell by the hand of a fisherman of Rouen who served in the Norwegian army.

The navigation of the Seine being thus completely thrown open to them, Rollo and his companions ascended that river to Paris and laid siege to the city, but they were unable to take it. One of their principal leaders having been made prisoner by the besieged, they concluded, as the price of his liberty, a truce for one year with king Charles, during which they proceeded to lay waste the northern provinces which were no longer French. At the expiration of the truce they returned in haste to Rouen, and, setting out from that town, they marched against Bayeux, and took it by assault, slaying Béranger, count of Bayeux, and many of the inhabitants. (900.) That count had a daughter endowed with great beauty, who, when the plunder was divided, fell to the lot of Rollo, and whom the Scandinavian took for his wife, yet, according to the mode of his nation, without any form of marriage.⁷

(A.D. 900 to 911.) Evreux and several neighbouring towns fell afterwards into the hands of the Normans, who thus extended their dominion over the greater part of the territory to which the ancient name of Neustria appertained. Guided by a policy which was the result of good sense, they ceased from their wonted display of cruelty when resistance was no longer offered to them, and were content with a contribution regularly levied in the towns and country. Good sense also dictated

⁵ *Cui Rollo: audivimus, inquit. Hastingus enim bono omine, cepit, et cuncta malo fine ceplevit.* (Willelm. Gemet., *ibid.*)—Dudo de S. Quintino, *ibid.*

⁶ *Hastingus ad hæc: Vultis, inquit. Karolo regi subdi? Nequaquam, ait Rollo, alicui subjecimur; sed quæcumque armis acquiremus, nostro juri vindicabimus. Regi cujus te legatum gloriaris, audita, si vis, vincedimus.* (Willelm. Gemet., *ibid.*)—Dudo de S. Quintino, *ibid.*

⁷ *Nobilissimam puellam, nomine Poram, filiam scilicet Berengarii illustris viri, cepimus, non multo post, more Danico, sibi copulavit.* (Willelm. Gemet. *Hist. Normann.*, *apud script. rer. Normann.*, p. 229.)

the creation of a supreme leader, to be invested with permanent authority; and the choice of the confederates fell on Rollo, or Rollo, "whom they made their king," said an ancient chronicler; but that title, which was perhaps given him only in their northern tongue, was soon replaced by the French titles of duke or of count. Though he was a pagan, the new duke rendered himself popular with the native inhabitants. After having cursed him as a pirate, they began to love him as a protector, whose power was a guarantee to them against all new attacks by sea, and against the evils which the civil war caused throughout the rest of France.¹

(A.D. 911 to 912.) The Normans, having thus acquired territorial dominion, began a better regulated and more methodical system of warfare against the French. They leagued themselves with other Scandinavians, probably of Danish origin, who occupied the territory adjacent to the estuary of the Loire, and they agreed with these to ravage simultaneously all the provinces that lay betwixt that great river and the Seine. Their devastations were even carried into Burgundy and Auvergne. Paris, now a second time attacked, as well as Chartres, Dijon, and some other strong towns, made a successful resistance; but a vast number of unfortified towns were either sacked or totally destroyed. At length, A.D. 912, just sixteen years after the occupation of Rouen, the French of every rank, harassed by these unceasing hostilities, made loud complaint, and demanded that the war should be put an end to, at whatever sacrifice; the bishops, the counts, and the barons, carried frequent remonstrances to the king; the townsmen and agriculturists cried unto him, wherever he passed, to take compassion on them. An old author has recorded the expressions of this popular discontent: "What else is anywhere to be seen but churches burnt and the people slain; through the weakness and bad government of the king, the Normans act as they please in this kingdom; from Blois to Senlis there is not an acre of wheat, and no one dares to cultivate either meadows or vineyards. Unless this war shall cease, we shall have famine and high prices."² King Charles, who was surnamed the Simple, or the Stupid,³ and with respect to whom history has preserved the first of those appellations, had sufficient good sense, on this occasion, to listen to the voice of his people; he, perhaps, also imagined that in yielding thereunto he would effect a stroke of state policy, in securing to himself, by an alliance with the Normans, a firm support against those powerful intrigues which were likely to remove him from the throne.⁴ He convoked a great assembly of the barons and the bishops, and required of them *aïd* and *counsel*, such was the formula of that age. They were unanimously of opinion to conclude a truce and negotiate for peace.

The man who was most able to carry out this

¹ Continua . . . pax diuturnaque requie letabantur homines, sub (Rollois) ditione securi mercantes; locupletisque erant omnibus bonis, non timentes exercitum ullius hostilitatis. (Dudo de S. Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 86.)

² N'a ne boef, ne charrou, ne villaïn en arée,

Ne vigne provignée, ne couture semée.

Mainte iglise i a ja vesille è gastée;

Se ceeste guerre dure, la terre iert dévastée.

(Roman de Rou, tom. i. 73.)

³ Carolus simplex, sive stultus, (Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., vol. xii. p. 22; folius, (ibid., p. 8.)

⁴ See Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, 5th edition, Letter XII.

negotiation to a prosperous conclusion was the archbishop of Rouen, who, despite the difference of their worship, exercised over Rollo the same kind of influence which the bishops of the fifth century had obtained over the conquerors of the Roman empire. His relations with the other prelates and with the nobles of France had never suffered an interruption; it is possible that he assisted at their deliberations; but, whether he had been present or absent, he took upon himself cheerfully to report and to carry into effect their offers for a peace. The archbishop, therefore, presented himself before the son of Rognvald, and thus addressed him: "King Charles offers you his daughter in marriage, with the hereditary lordship of all the country situated between the river Epte and Brittany, if you consent to become a christian, and to live in peace with his kingdom."⁵

Rollo did not this time answer, "We will show obedience to no one:" new ideas, and a different ambition than that of seeking out adventures, had taken possession of his mind, since he had become the ruler, not simply over a body of freebooters, but over an extensive territory. Christianity, without conforming to which he could not equal in representation at ceremonies the great feudatories of France, was no longer repugnant to his views, and the habit of living in christian society had likewise extinguished the fanaticism of the greatest number of his companions: "The king's words are good," said he to the archbishop, "but the land which he proffers me is insufficient; it is uncultivated and impoverished; my followers would not find therein what would enable them to live in peace." The archbishop returned to the king, who commissioned him to make an offer of Flanders in his name, although he possessed, in truth, no other rights over that country than a contested claim; but Rollo did not accept of this new proposition, and replied that Flanders was a bad country, boggy, and full of marshes. Thereupon, Charles the Simple, not knowing what else he could give, sent word to the Norman chieftain, that if he would, he should hold Brittany as a fief conjointly with Neustria: this was exactly a parallel offer with the preceding, for Brittany was a free state; the allegiance acknowledged due to the kings of France therein was for little more than the county of Rennes, which the Breton princes had fifty years antecedently deprived the French dominions of. Nevertheless Rollo paid little regard to that obstacle; and did not perceive that nothing else was given him but an old quarrel to engage in, and he accepted of the proposed terms.⁶

In order to ratify the treaty with the greater solemnity, the king of France, and the leader of the Normans, each repaired, from his own quarter, to the village of Saint-Clair on the Epte. They were both accompanied by a numerous train: the French pitched their tents on one bank of that river, and the Normans on the other. At the hour appointed for the interview, Rollo approached the

⁵ Mandans, si christians efficeretur, terram maritimam ab Epte flumine usque ad britannicos limites, cum sua fili nomine Gisla, se ei daturum fore. (Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 231.)

⁶ D'Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne, liv. iii. p. 191, Paris, 1588.—Dudo de S. Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 83.—Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., ibid., p. 231.

king, and continued standing whilst he placed both his hands in those of the king, pronouncing the following formula: "Henceforward I am your feudal man and soldier, and swear to defend faithfully your life and limbs and kingly honour." After this, the king and his barons, naming the Norman chieftain by the style of count, swore to defend his life and limbs, his honour, and all the territory designated in the treaty of peace.¹

The ceremony being thus concluded, and the new count about to retire, the Frenchmen said to him: "It is fitting that he who receives so great a grant should kneel before the king and kiss his foot." To which the Norman replied, "Never will I bend the knee to any man, nor will I kiss any man's foot."² The lords insisted nevertheless on this matter of form, which was the last remains of the etiquette anciently observed at the court of the Frank emperors; and Rollo, with an artful show of simplicity, beckoned to one of his men to come and kiss, in his stead, the king's foot. The Norwegian soldier, bending over, but without bending his knee, took the king's foot, and raised it so high, to lift it to his lips, that the king was thrown on his back.³ Little accustomed to ceremonial gravity of deportment, the pirates did not restrain themselves from loud laughter, and for a moment some tumult arose; but this ridiculous adventure caused no vexatious result.⁴

Two articles of this treaty were yet to be fulfilled, the conversion of the new count or duke of Normandy, and his marriage with the king's daughter; it was agreed that these ceremonies should take place at Rouen, and several of the great barons of France accompanied the bride to that city. After some brief religious instruction, the son of Rognvald received baptism at the hands of the archbishop, whose admonitions he listened to with an extreme docility. On leaving the baptismal font, the illustrious neophyte inquired the names of the most celebrated churches, and of the most revered saints of his new country. The archbishop named to him six churches and three saints, the Virgin, Saint Michael, and Saint Peter. "Which is the most powerful patron also," inquired the duke, "of the country around?" The archbishop replied that Saint Denis was. "Then, before I divide my lands among my followers, I shall dedicate a portion of them to God, to the Virgin Mary, and to those other saints whom you tell me of."⁵ In accordance with which resolve, Rollo, during seven days that he wore the white robe of those newly baptized, made daily a grant of land to one of the seven churches that had been designated. Having resumed his customary vestments, he turned his attention to political affairs, and to the apportionment of Normandy among his Norwegians.⁶

The country was divided by the line, say the old chroniclers; this was the mode of measuring land customary in Scandinavia. All the lands, whether deserted or in cultivation, were subjected to the new division, and the rights of the native population were entirely disregarded. The companions of Rollo, both chiefs and soldiers, became, according to their respective rank, lords of the towns and of the hamlets; possessing seigniorial dominion over their manors, whether large or small. The ancient proprietors were forced to obey the will of the new comers, to yield up possession of their lands if exacted of them, or else to hold, under them, their own heritage, as farms or in vassalage. By this process the serfs of that country changed masters, and a number of freemen fell into the servitude of the glebe or soil. New geographical denominations were also the result of this partition of the landed property, and custom affixed thenceforward to a great number of domains the proper names of the Scandinavian warriors who had received them as their portion.⁷ Although the condition of mechanics, artisans, and peasants differed little in Normandy from what it was in France, the hope of greater security, and that movement in society which is ordinarily excited by the rise of a new authority, encouraged many artisans and labourers to emigrate to, and establish themselves in, the dominions of duke Rollo. His name, pronounced Rou by the French, became popular afar off; he was reputed the sternest enemy of robbers, and the greatest justiciary of his times.

Notwithstanding that the greater number of the Norwegians, following the example of their chief, had eagerly accepted the rite of baptism, it appears that a certain portion of them refused it, and resolved to preserve the customs of their ancestors. These dissidents united together to form a separate colony, and fixed themselves in the vicinity of Bayeux. They were, perhaps, attracted to that quarter by having remarked the manners and the language of the inhabitants of Bayeux, who were of Saxon origin, and who still, in the tenth century, spoke a German dialect.⁸ In this canton of Normandy, the Norwegian idiom, differing but little from the language of the people, became intermixed with it, and rendered it in a manner purer, so as to make it become intelligible to the Danes and the other Scandinavians.⁹ When, after some generations, the dislike of the Norman barons of the Bessin and the Cotentin for christianity had yielded to the influence of example, the traces of the Scandinavian character could still be particularly remarked. (A.D. 912 to 997.) They were distinguished, more than any other of the Norman nobles and knights, by an extremely turbulent disposition, and by perpetual disaffection to the ducal government. Some affected to bear on their shields the ancient pagan devices, and to employ the Scandinavian war-cry, "Thor aide!" in preference

¹ Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 231.

² Qui tale donum recipit, osculo debet expetere pedem regis; et ille: Nunquam curvabo genua mea alicujus genibus, nec osculabor cuiusquam pedem. (Ibid.)

³ Jussit eundem militi pedem regis osculari, qui statim pedem regis accipiens, deportavit ad os suum, stans quoque defixit osculum, regemque jecit supinum. (Ibid.)

⁴ Itaque magnus excitaturus risus, magnusque in plebe tumultus. (Ibid.)

⁵ Fleury, Histoire ecclésiastique, tom. xi. 593.

⁶ Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 231.

⁷ Thus Angoville, Borneville, Grimouville, Hérouville, were the territorial possessions of Ansgod, Biorn, Grim, Harald, &c.—The ancient charts give these names with more or less exactness in the orthography. (Memoir of M. de Gerville on the names of places in Normandy, tom. vii. of Memoirs of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of France.)

⁸ Ducange, Gloss. med. ævi: verbo *Ollingua Sæmia*.

⁹ Rotomagensis civitas Romanâ potius quam Dacicâ nuntur eloquentiâ, et Balocæcusis frutur frequentis Dacicâ lingua quam Romanâ. (Dado de S. Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 112.)

to "Dieu aide!" which was that of the Normans.¹

The peace betwixt the French and the Normans was not of long continuance: the latter adroitly took advantage of all occasions of aggrandising themselves towards the east, as far nearly as the junction of the rivers Oise and Seine;² to the north the small river Bresle, and to the south-west the river Coësson, were the limits of their territory. The inhabitants of this country were generally called Normans by the French, and by all resident foreigners, excepting the Danes and Norwegians, who allowed this name, which they considered highly honourable, only to that portion of the population which was really of the Norman race and language. This, the least numerous portion, acted towards the mass, whether natives or emigrants from other parts of Gaul, the same part which the descendants of the Franks had acted towards the descendants of the Gauls. (A.D. 997.) In Normandy, the mere appellation of *Norman* was, at first, a title of nobility; it was the sign of liberty and power—the right to levy imposts on the townspeople and the serfs of the country.³ All the Normans, by name and origin, were equal in civil rights, though unequal in political or military rank. None of them were taxed without their own consent; none were subject to the toll for carriage of provisions or for the navigation of the rivers; and all enjoyed the privilege of hunting and fishing, to the exclusion of the villains and peasants, terms which comprised, in fact, the mass of the native population. Although the court of the dukes of Normandy was organized very nearly according to the model of that of the kings of France, the superior clergy did not in the earlier period form any portion of it, because of their French descent; later, when a great many men of Norwegian or Danish race had assumed the ecclesiastical dress, a certain distinction of rank and privileges arose, and continued to be known even in monasteries, betwixt such and the remaining clergy.⁴

This distinction, much more grievous in the political and civil condition of society than in the military, soon excited the indignation of the ancient inhabitants. In less than a century after the founding of the new state of which they were the oppressed portion, the old population formed the resolution of destroying this inequality of the two races, that the territory of Normandy might contain but one people, as it bore but one name. It was during the reign of Rikhart, or Richard II., the third in succession from Rollo, that this great project became manifest. In most of the cantons of Normandy the inhabitants of the cities and large villages, of the hamlets and homesteads, began to meet in the evenings, after the hours of labour, and to talk over

the misery of their condition.⁵ These groups of popular debaters consisted of twenty, thirty, and sometimes one hundred persons, often ranged in a circle, and listening to some demagogue, who excited their passions by inveighing against the tyranny of the counts, barons, and knights. An old chronicle in verse presents us, in a graphic style, truly original, and probably authentic, with the substance of these harangues.⁶

"The lords do us nothing but harm; under them we have neither gain nor profit from our labours; each day is to us a day of suffering, of toil, and of fatigue; our cattle are daily taken from us for corvees and forced service. Next are the old and new suits of court; pleadings and processes without end, suits respecting the coins, the markets, the roads, the forests, the mills, and homage. There are so many provosts and bailiffs, that we have not an hour's peace; each day they rush upon us, seize our goods, and drive us from our lands. There is no protection for us against the lords of the estates and their bailiffs, and no compact is binding as to them.⁷

"Wherefore should we suffer so much injury at their hands, and not rid ourselves of the hardship? Are we not men as well as they? Are we not as tall—have we not as good limbs—the same strength to endure suffering! All we are deficient of is a stout heart. Let us bind ourselves by an oath—let us swear to support one another; and if they choose to make war on us, for each Norman knight can we not ourselves muster thirty or forty peasants, young, audacious, and prepared for battle, with clubs, pikes, arrows, hatchets, and slings, even if without other weapons? Let us make head against the knights, and we shall be free to cut trees, to pursue game, and to fish, as we like, and we shall be able to use the waters and woods, and be unrestricted in the fields."⁸

This appeal to the rights of nature, and to the physical force of the greater number, could not fail to make a deep impression; in consequence, many artisans, and especially the labourers and rustics, made promise, under the obligation of an oath, to keep in a body, and to render one another mutual assistance against all aggressors. The kind of association thus entered into was, in those days, known by the word *commune*, a term that became renowned in the cities of France a century later. But that which was especially to be then remarked, and which never was again the case in any quarter, is, that the *commune* of Normandy, in the year 997, was not restricted to one city or to a league of several towns, but included the country parts, and comprised, in a great fraternity, all classes of the native population. The men affiliated in this association were divided into their respective circles, which the original historians designate by the word *conventicles*;⁹ there was, at least, one of these for each county, and each of them delegated two of

¹ Raol Tesson
Poins li cheval, criant: Tur aïe! . . .
. . . Willame crie: Dex aïe!
C'est l'enseigne de Normendie.

² Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 316.

³ The pure Danish descent by both father and mother constituted the highest nobility.—*Providentia summa divinitatis, ut remur, hanc tibi Ducigenam quam modo refoves comensit: ut patre matreque Dacigenâ hæres hujus terre nascatur.* (Dado de S. Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 152.)

⁴ Depping, hist. des expéd. maritimes des Normands, tom. II, chap. 12.

⁵ Li paisan e li vilain
Cil del boscaje e cil del plain
Par vintz, par trentaines, par cenx,
Unt tenz plusurs parlemenz.
(Roman de Rou, tom. I, p. 303.)

⁶ Ibid., p. 304.

⁷ Roman de Rou, ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 306.

⁹ Per diversos totius Normannie patrie comitatus plurima agentes conventicula. (Willelm. Gemet., Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 249.)

its members to form a superior circle, or central assembly.¹ That assembly was to prepare and organise, in all the districts, the means of resistance and of a general rising; it despatched from one canton to another, and from village to village, eloquent and plausible emissaries to gain over new associates, and to receive their oaths.²

Things had risen to this height of preparation, and no overt act of rebellion had yet been committed, when, says an old writer, news came to the court of Normandy that the villains were holding *parlements* and forming a commune.³ The nobles were seized with well-founded fears of losing, at once, their rights and the privileges of their manor courts. Duke Richard was of too tender an age to be able to direct affairs, in this crisis, by his own counsel; he sent for his uncle, the count of Evreux, in whom he placed unbounded confidence. "Sire!" exclaimed the count, "do you remain tranquil, and leave these peasants to me; do not quit your own court, but send to me as many knights and men at arms as you can muster."⁴

Desirous of surprising the members of the association in the very act of holding their council, the count of Evreux sent intelligent spies to various parts, whom he especially commissioned to learn the hour and place of meeting of the central assembly; receiving their reports, he marched with his troops, and arrested, in a single day, all the chief delegates of the combination; some of them whilst actually holding their assembly, and others when engaged in the villages in tendering the oaths to the peasants.⁵ Whether from unrestrained anger, or from cool calculation, the count of Evreux treated his prisoners with extreme barbarity, and this without deigning to subject them to trial, or to institute in their case any legal inquisition (A. D. 997 to 1013). He condemned them to suffer atrocious tortures, which his underlings made it their study to vary; some had their eyes put out, their hands cut off, and their ham-strings branded; others were impaled; some were roasted at a slow fire, or molten lead showered on them.⁶ The few men who survived these torments were sent home to their families, and led thus mutilated through the villages, thereby to strike terror. It happened, consequently, that fear overpowered in the breasts of the townspeople and the serfs of Normandy their longing for freedom; the great association was broken up; no more secret assemblages took place; and a sorrowful resignation succeeded, during some centuries, the enthusiasm of a brief moment.⁷

¹ Ab unoquoque costu parentis vulgi duo eliguntur legati, qui decreta ad mediterraneum roboranda ferrent costum. (Ibid.)

² Feliz unt ne sai kels ne kann.
Des plus kuint e des miex parlanz,
Ki par tuit li paiz iront,
E li seremenz recevrunt.

(Roman de Rou, tom. I. p. 307.)

³ Asez tost oī Richard dire
Ke villains cumune fassent.

(Ibid.)

⁴ Ibid., p. 309 et 310

⁵ ... Prid li villains,
Ki justoent li parlemens,
E perneient li seremens.

(Ibid., p. 311.)

⁶ Roman de Rou, tom. I. p. 311 et 312.

⁷ Fecinatō, concionibus omissis, ad sua aratra sunt reversi. (Willelm. Gemet., Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 249.)

When this memorable event occurred, the difference of language, which had at first marked the line of separation betwixt the nobles and the people of Normandy had almost ceased to exist; and it was by his genealogy that the Norman of Scandinavian descent was distinguished from the Gallo-Frank. Even at Rouen and in the palace of the successors of Rollo, no other language was spoken at the beginning of the eleventh century than that called by the names of Roman, Romance, or French. The town of Bayeux still formed a solitary exception; the dialect preserved there was Norwegian and Saxon intermixed, and yet could not be perfectly understood by the inhabitants of Scandinavia. From which cause, whenever new emigrants arrived from the north of Europe to visit their relatives of Normandy, they established themselves, as a matter of choice, in the country about Bayeux. In like manner, if we may believe one of the chroniclers, the dukes of Normandy sent thither their children to learn to speak Danish. The Danes and Norwegians maintained relations of alliance and affection with Normandy, so long as they found in a similarity of language a token of their ancient national consanguinity. On several occasions, during the contests which the first dukes of Normandy had to maintain against the French, numerous and powerful succours arrived to them from Norway and Denmark; and, although they had themselves become christians, they were aided by kings who still remained pagan. But, when the use of the *lingua Romana* became general throughout Normandy, the Scandinavians ceased to look upon the Normans as their natural allies by kindred; they even ceased to give them the name of Normans, but called them French, Romans, and Velskes or Welches, their names for the entire population of Gaul.⁸

The ties of kindred and amity were already greatly relaxed in the first years of the eleventh century, when Ethelred king of England espoused the sister of Richard, the fourth duke of Normandy, mention of whom has just been made. It is, in fact, very probable that, if the Scandinavian population established in Gaul had not been, at the time, completely dissevered from the northern stem, the Saxon king would not have conceived the hope of receiving assistance from the grandson of Rollo against the power of the kings of the north. The want of zeal in Richard the Norman to aid his brother-in-law arose from no conscientious scruple or moral repugnance, but simply from his not seeing in this interference anything favourable to his own interest, which he was skilful in discerning and ardent in pursuing, conformably with that turn of character which already distinguished the inhabitants of Normandy.

(A. D. 1013 to 1014.) While Ethelred in exile was sharing his brother-in-law's hospitality, the English, then subjects to a foreigner, regretted, as in the time of the flight and concealment of king Alfred and the first Danish conquest, the rule of the king whose cause they had deserted, because they had entertained a dislike of him. Sweyn, whom they had permitted, in the year 1014, to assume the title of king of England, died the same year so suddenly that there is reason for attributing his death to some burst of patriotic indigna-

⁸ See Book VI. Francigenæ, Romani, Walli.

tion. The Danish soldiers cantoned in the towns, or stationed in ships at the mouth of the rivers, made choice of his son Knut, or Canute, to succeed the Danish king. That prince was then engaged on a mission to the country near the Humber, to deposit there the contributions and the hostages of the southern English. The latter, encouraged by his absence, deliberated on sending a messenger to the exile then in Normandy, to tell him, in the name of the Anglo-Saxon people, that they would take him again for king, if he would promise to govern better for the future.¹

In answer to this message, Ethelred sent over his son Edward, charging him to salute in his name the whole English nation,² and to make adjuration in his name, publicly, that the king would in future fulfil all the duties of his high office faithfully,³ amend whatever was displeasing to the people, and consign to oblivion all which the people had done or said against himself. The amity thus sworn to between the nation and king was confirmed on either side by pledges mutually given (1015).⁴ The assembly of the Wittenagemote pronounced against any Dane who should take the title of king of England a perpetual sentence of outlawry.⁵

Ethelred reassumed the regal insignia; but it is not exactly known over what extent of territory he reigned; for the Danish garrisons, though driven from some towns, kept possession of many others, and even the city of London remained in their power. Perhaps the great way called *Wething-street* had once more become the line of demarcation betwixt the free provinces and those remaining subject to the foreign or Danish rule. King Knut, the son of Sweyn, being dissatisfied with the portion which the Anglo-Saxons compelled him to accept, returned from the north of England, and, having landed near Sandwich, he caused the hostages delivered to his father to be mutilated⁶ and put to the torture, through anger at his own disappointment. This example of useless cruelty was the signal for a new war, which Ethelred, faithful to his late oath, sustained courageously amid various successes and reverses. At his death the English chose for their king, not one of his legitimate children, who were residing in Normandy, but a natural son, Edmund, surnamed Ironside, who had given some remarkable proofs of valour and skill (1016). By his energetic conduct, Edmund retrieved the fortunes of the English people; he retook London from the Danes, and fought five great battles against them.⁷

After one of these battles, fought on the southern

border of the county of Warwick, in which the Danes were defeated, one of their captains, named Ulf,⁸ being separated from his men in the rout, and flying for his life, struck into a wood of which he was unacquainted with the paths. After walking in vain throughout the night, he met at day-break a young peasant driving a herd of oxen. Ulf saluted him, and asked his name. "I am named Godwin⁹ son of Ulfnoth,"¹⁰ answered the shepherd; "and thou, if I mistake not, art of the Danish army." The Dane, being thus compelled to confess the truth, prayed the young man to tell him how far he might still be from the vessels stationed in the Severn or the neighbouring rivers, and by what road it would be possible for him to reach them. "Foolish indeed," replied Godwin, "is the Dane who expects his safety from a Saxon."¹¹ Ulf entreated the shepherd to leave his cattle and show him the way, making the promises most likely to prevail over a poor and simple man. "The way is long," replied the youthful shepherd, "and it would be dangerous for me to conduct you thither. The peasants, encouraged by our victory of yesterday, are armed throughout the country, and would show no mercy either to thee or to thy guide."¹² The chief drew a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to the shepherd, who took it, contemplated it with much earnestness, and after an instant's reflection returned it, saying, "I will take nothing from thee, but I will try to conduct thee."¹³

They passed the day in the cottage of Godwin's father; and when night came, and they were on the point of departing, the old peasant said to the Dane, "Know that it is my only son who trusts himself to thy honour; there will be no safety for him among his countrymen when he has served thee as a guide; present him therefore to thy king, that he may receive him into his service."¹⁴ Ulf promised to do much more for Godwin; and he kept his word: on their arrival at the Danish camp he made the peasant's son sit in his own tent, on a seat as elevated as his own, and treated him as his own son (1017).¹⁵ He obtained a military command for him from king Knut; and, at length, the Saxon shepherd rose to the rank of governor of a province in the part of England occupied by the Danes. This man, who from the keeper of a flock arrived at the highest dignities in his country through the protection of the foreigners, was reserved, by a most extraordinary destiny, to contribute above all other persons to the ruin of the power of those foreigners. His name is about to make a great figure among the most illustrious personages of this history; and it may consequently be a source of pleasure to call to mind his origin and the singularity of his fortunes.

The victories of the Anglo-Saxons over the Danes led to an armistice, and a truce which was solemnly

¹ *Modo eos rectius gubernaret.* (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 145.)—*Mathæi Westmonast., flor. hist., p. 202.*

² *Gretan calme his Leodscipe.* (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 145.)

³ *Hold hla-ford.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Plenaria amicitia, confirmata, et dictis, et factis pignori- busque ex utraque parte datis.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Ut-lagode of Engla-land.* (Ibid.) *Leg* signifies country, state, statute, law.—from the verb *lagan*, to place, to establish. *Utlage, out-law*, signifies a man banished or outlawed.

⁶ *Atque ibi in terram exposuit obides qui patri dati fuerant, præcisit eorum manibus eorumque ovis.* (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 145.)

⁷ Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 148-150.—*Henr. Huntingdon. Hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 562, ed. Savile.*—*Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., ibid., p. 72.*—*Mathæi Westmonast. flor. hist., p. 20.*—*Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 57, ed. Gale.*

⁸ *Ulf, wulf, hulf*, succour, succouring.

⁹ *God, good; win, dear, well-beloved.*

¹⁰ *Noth, not, ned, nyd*, useful, necessary.

¹¹ *Nulli Danorum meritò auxilium ab Anglis requirit.* (Torfæi Hist. nor. Norveg., pars iii. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 36.)

¹² *Adoè ut nec ipsi, nec cuivis alio, neòim itineris ducei, spes evadendi effugiat, si à rusticis deprehendatur.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Annulum quidem se non accepturum, operam tamen ei navaturum.* (Ibid.)

¹⁴ *Neque enim ei amplius, apud populares suos tutum . . . ut ejus famulatio inseretur.* (Ibid.)

¹⁵ *Filii loco habuisse.* (Ibid.)

sworn to, in presence of the two armies, by the kings Edmund and Knut. They mutually saluted each other by the name of brother, and with common consent made the Thames the limit of their respective kingdoms. On the death of Edmund, the Danish king passed this limit, which was to have been inviolable; he had secretly gained over some mercenary and ambitious chiefs, and the terror caused by his invasion assisted in the success of those covert intrigues: after a slight resistance the Anglo-Saxons of the southern and western provinces made submission, and recognised the son of Sweyn as king of all England. Knut in return swore to reign with justice and kindness, and he touched, with his uncovered hand, the hands of the principal chiefs in token of his good faith.²

Notwithstanding those promises, and the slightness of the opposition to his accession, Knut proved himself early to be a jealous and cruel monarch. Those men who had become remarkable for attachment to the ancient liberties of the land and the Anglo-Saxon race of kings, as likewise even some of those who had betrayed the national cause in favour of the foreign domination, were banished England or put to death. "Whoever shall bring me the head of one of my enemies," exclaimed the Danish king, with all the ferocity of a pirate, "will be dearer to me than a brother."³ The relatives of the two last kings, Ethelred and Edmund Ironside, were proscribed in a body: the sons of Ethelred were at that time at the Norman court; but those of Edmund, who remained in England, did not escape the general persecution. Not venturing to put them to death under the eyes of the English people, Knut had them carried into Scandinavia, and was careful to intimate to the petty king in whose custody he placed them what were his wishes with respect to them; but the latter pretended not to understand his real intentions, and permitted his prisoners to pass into Germany. Thence they betook themselves, that they might be in greater security, to the court of the king of Hungary, who began at that period to make his power known among the states of Christendom: by him they were received with honours, and one of them in course of time espoused a daughter of the German emperor.⁴

Richard, duke of Normandy, seeing the impossibility of establishing his nephews on the throne of England, and wishing to enjoy the advantages of a strict alliance with that country, adopted a policy calculated for the aggrandisement of his own family, and entered into negotiations with the Danish king that were detrimental to the interests of the sons of Ethelred. By a rather whimsical arrangement, yet evidencing considerable skill in affairs of policy, he proposed to Knut, or Canute, that he should espouse the mother of the two young princes, who, we have shown, was Richard's own sister:

she had received at her baptism the name of Emma, but the Anglo-Saxons had, on her former arrival in England, changed her foreign name to that of Allghive, which signified a *present from the Genii*. Flattered by the idea of once more becoming the wife of a king, she consented to this second union, leaving it doubtful, say the old authors, whether her brother or herself was the most dishonoured therein.⁵ (1018.) Becoming shortly the mother of another son to whom his father's power promised a future fortune quite different from that of the sons of Ethelred, and in the excitement of a new ambition, she neglected and despised her former offspring. As to the young princes, being kept away from their native land, they, by degrees, lost all recollection of its national manners, and even of its language; they contracted in their exile foreign notions and friendships, which, though in itself a circumstance of little moment, entailed consequences of the gravest character.

(A.D. 1018 to 1030.) His power being consolidated by several years of plenary possession, and by having formed a marriage which rendered him in some sort less of a stranger in the eyes of the English people, king Canute, by degrees, exhibited greater humanity of disposition; he appeared to be actuated by new feelings, and entertained views of government as exalted as his age and his position could lead us to expect; he even evinced a spirit of impartiality in regard to both English and Danes. Without diminishing the very heavy tributes imposed upon the kingdom on the conquest of it by the Danes, he employed a portion of those revenues in a payment of compensations to some of his own countrymen on their consenting to return to Denmark, thus rendering less prominent the division of the inhabitants of England into two races inimical to each other, and possessing unequal privileges. Of all the Danish warriors who had accompanied him, he retained only a body of chosen men, amounting to a few thousands, for his body-guard; this corps was named *Thingamanna*, or retainers of the palace. The son of an apostate from christianity, he made himself appear a zealous christian, rebuilding the churches which his father and he himself had burned, and endowing munificently the abbeyes and monasteries.⁶ Desirous of flattering the national spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, he erected a chapel over the place of sepulture of Edmund, king of East Anglia, who, during the preceding century and a half, had been venerated as a martyr of the faith and of patriotic zeal for his kingdom; besides which, the same motive actuated Canute to erect at Canterbury a monument to archbishop Elfeg, a victim, like king Edmund, to Danish cruelty: he wished to have the saint's remains transported thither, which had been entombed in London; but the inhabitants of that city having refused to be dispossessed of them, the Danish monarch, suddenly, in the performance even of an act of piety, resumed the manner of a pirate and a conqueror. He carried off, in military style, the coffin, which was borne betwixt two lines of soldiers, having their swords drawn, to the Thames'

² *Simus fratres adoptivi.* (H. Huntingd. hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 363, ed. Savile.)—*Emmæ reginæ Eucomiæ,* apud script. rer. Normann., p. 171.—*Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl.*, lib. ii., p. 72, ed. Savile.

³ *Accepto pignore de manu sua nudâ.* (Rogerii de Hoveden. *Annales, pars prior,* apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 436, ed. Savile.)

⁴ *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron.*, p. 619, ed. Francfort, 1601.

⁵ *Mathæi Westmonast., flor. hist.*, p. 206.—*Henr. Huntingd. hist.*, lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 363, ed. Savile.

⁵ *Ignoscet majori illius dedecore qui dedit, an femine que consenserit.* (Will. Malmesb. *de gest. reg. Angl.*, lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 73, ed. Savile.)

⁶ *Cum terram Angliæ progenitores mei . . . diris depraedationibus sæpius oppræsserunt.* (Diplom. Chnuti. *Hist. Ingulf. Croyl.*, apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 58, ed. Gale.)

side, and embarked on board a ship of war, of which the prow was decorated with an enormous figure-head of a dragon.¹

At the time when England was divided into independent sovereignties, several of the Anglo-Saxon kings, particularly those of Wessex and of Mercia, sent occasional contributions to the church of Rome. The object of such gifts, purely gratuitous, was to secure a better reception for English pilgrims resorting to Rome, to provide pecuniary supplies to such of them as arrived in distress in that city, to pay for maintaining a school for youths from England, sent thither for instruction, and towards supplying the lamps constantly burning at the sepulchres of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.² The payment of these rents, called in Anglo-Saxon *Roman silver* and *Roman census*, or rent, was more or less regular, according to the degree of zeal of kings and people; and was entirely suspended, in the ninth century, on the occurrence of the Danish invasions. Wishing to expiate, as far as possible, the wrong which his countrymen had done to the church, and to surpass in his munificence any of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Canute re-established the institution of a rent for Rome, on a greater scale, and subjected all England to a perpetual tribute, which was denominated *St. Peter's pence*. This impost, rated at a penny, of the money of that age, on each inhabited house, was thenceforward to be annually levied, according to the expression used in the royal ordinances, *to the praise and glory of God-the-King*, on the feast-day of the chief of the apostles.³

This homage, rendered in a pecuniary point of view by the ancient kings of the Anglo-Saxons to the church of Rome, had not in any manner subjected the English church to any encroachment on its religious independence. Dependence on the authority of the Romish church was at that time strictly confined to things of a spiritual nature; but in the course of the ninth century, and consequent upon those revolutions which had taken place in Italy, the supremacy of the church of Rome had assumed a new and very different aspect. Several cities, at length emancipated from the authority of the emperors of Constantinople, or taken by the Franks from the Lombard kings, had declared their obedience to the pope of Rome, who thus united the character of a temporal sovereign to that of head of the church. The name of *Patrimony of St. Peter* ceased from that period to be applicable to simple domains, isolated and widely apart, situated some in Italy or Sicily, and some in Gaul; it now served to designate a vast and compact territory, possessed or governed under sovereign title as a seigniorial dominion.⁴ According to the invariable and universal law of every fresh

development in political affairs, the new state was not less likely than in any other instance to be prompted by incitements of ambition, and the necessary tendency of such an authority as this in particular was to further its temporal interests by an abuse of that moral influence which its chief exercised, as head of the church, over the kingdoms of the West. After such a revolution as had thus taken place in the affairs of Rome, the sending of an annual tribute to the pontifical court could not fail to be viewed, especially by that court, in a totally different light than in former ages. Pretensions, hitherto unknown, then arose for the first time, and the universal supremacy and sovereign authority of St. Peter over all nations which had received from Rome the christian faith began to be spoken of. England was included in the number of these; the political independence of that kingdom was therefore endangered by the re-establishment of a tribute to Rome, although it was in its nature merely a testimony of christian zeal. None indeed could suspect what might be the consequences of a perpetual engagement to pay the annual Peter's pence; neither the king who bound himself to it, whether from religious enthusiasm or from vanity, or the nation which submitted to it, without a murmur, as an act of piety. Nevertheless, it did not require half a century for the development of the natural consequences of such a tribute, and for the court of Rome to form the plan of treating England as a fief of the apostolic see.

About the year 1030 king Canute resolved to repair in person to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, and receive his holiness's acknowledgments for his munificent pecuniary presents; he set out, accompanied by a numerous train; he carried a wallet across his shoulder and bore a staff in his hand. Having accomplished his pilgrimage, and being on the point of returning towards the north, he addressed to the English nation a letter remarkable for urbanity and a simplicity that contrasts singularly with the early education of the son of Sweyn and with the first acts of his reign.⁵

"Knut, king of England and Denmark, to all bishops and primates, and to the whole English people, greeting.—I hereby inform you that I came to Rome for the redemption of my sins and the salvation of my kingdoms. I most humbly render thanks to Almighty God that he has vouchsafed me the grace to visit in person once in my life his most holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints who have their habitation either within or without the walls of the Roman city. I determined on this journey, because I had learned from the mouths of wise men that the apostle Peter has a great power of binding and unbinding, and that he holds the key of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore it was that I deemed it good to solicit in an especial manner his favour and patronage.⁶

"There has been held here, during the paschal solemnity, a great assembly of illustrious persons, viz. pope John, the emperor Kunrad, and the first

¹ Regia navis aureis rostrata draconibus. (Osborni, Hist. de transl. S. Elphegi, Anglia sacra, ii. 146.)—Monast. Anglie., Dugdale, i. 286.—Chron. Johan. Bromton. apud Hist. Angl. scriptores, vol. i. col. 891, ed. Selden.—Vita S. Elphgi. in Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 146. Snorre, p. 265. Ingulf. Croyland., p. 892. Guillelm. Gemeticensis, p. 253. Will. Malmesb., p. 73.

² Ad luminaria Petri et Pauli. (Diplomata reg. Angliæ.)

³ Rom-feh, id est liome census, quem beato Petro, singulis annis, reddendum, ad laudem et gloriam Dei regis, nostra larga benignitas semper instituit, in festo Sti. Petri reddatur. (Leges Chnuti, art. xli., apud Johan. Bromton, Hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 920, ed. Selden.)

⁴ Fleury, Hist. ecclésiast., tom. viii. 29.

⁵ Cum omni suo comitatu baculum et peram gestans Romam petivit. (Torfæi Hist. reg. Norveg., pars iii. lit. iii. cap. 16, p. 223.)—Emme regine Encomium, apud script. rer. Danic., tom. ii. p. 493, in notis.

⁶ Clavigerumque esse regni celestis, et idem specialia ejus patrocinium apud Dominum diligenter expetere valde velle duxi. (Florentii Wigorn. Chron., 621.)

men of all the nations¹ from Mount Garganus to our own sea. All have received me with distinction, and honoured me with rich presents. I have received vessels of gold and silver, and stuffs and garments of great price.² I have conversed with the emperor, with his lordship the pope, and the other princes, concerning the wants of the people of my kingdom, Englishmen as well as Danes. I have endeavoured to obtain for my people justice and security in their journeys to Rome, and especially that they may not in future be detained on the road by the closing of the mountain passes, nor vexed by enormous tolls.³ I have also complained to his lordship the pope of the enormous sums of money hitherto exacted from my archbishops, when they have repaired to the apostolic see, according to custom, to receive the pallium; and it has been decided that this shall not be the case in future.⁴

"I desire, moreover, that you know, all of ye, that I have made a vow to Almighty God to regulate my life according to the rule of right, and to govern my people with justice. If, during the heat of my youthful days, I have done anything contrary to equity, I desire from this time forward to make amends for it, as far as lies in my power; for which reasons I require and command all my councillors, and those to whom I have confided the affairs of my kingdom, not to lend themselves to any acts of injustice, whether through personal fear of myself, or to show favour to the great. I recommend to them, if they have any value for my friendship and the security of their own lives, to do no injury to, and commit no violence against, any man whomsoever, either rich or poor; let every one, according to his condition, enjoy his possessions, and not be disturbed in the enjoyment thereof, either in the king's name, nor in the name of any one whomsoever, nor under any pretence of levying moneys for my exchequer; for I am in no want of any money to be obtained by illegal means.

"I purpose to return to England this summer, as soon as the preparations for my embarkation shall be completed. All you, the bishops and officers of my kingdom of England, I pray and command you, by the faith which you owe to God and to me,⁵ to take measures that all my debts to God may be discharged before my return,—viz. the alms for ploughs, the tithes of animals brought forth within the year, and the pence due to St. Peter from every house in the towns and villages; besides the tithes of harvest in the middle of August, and the first of the seed for sowing at Martinmas.⁶ If, at my landing, which will be shortly, the whole of these dues be not paid, my royal power shall be exercised against the defaulters, without any remission thereof and to the utmost rigour of the law."⁷

(A.D. 1030 to 1035.) It was during the reign of Canute and the protracted wars which that king waged, for the purpose of uniting all the other Scandinavian kingdoms to the crown of Denmark,

that the Saxon shepherd, Godwin, whose remarkable adventure we have related, raised himself gradually to the highest military honours. After gaining a victory over the Norwegians, he obtained the title of earl, or political chief of the ancient kingdom of West-Sax, which had been reduced into the form of a province. Many others of the English served the Danish monarch with zeal in his invasions of Norway and the shores of the Baltic sea. Canute employed the Anglo-Saxon fleets for the destruction of those of the petty kings of the north, and, having dispossessed them, one after another, of their territories, he assumed the new style of Emperor of the North, by the grace of Christ the King of kings.⁸ Notwithstanding the exultation of military glory, the national aversion to the Danish domination still existed in the breasts of the Anglo-Saxons, and, upon the decease of the Great King, so called by his cotemporaries, things resumed their ancient complexion. Nothing remained of the apparent union of the two races under the same banners; and the empire, raised for a short period above all the kingdoms of the north, was dissolved in a manner very similar to the vast empire of Charlemagne. The Scandinavian tribes expelled the Danish conquerors, and established native chiefs over each province. The Anglo-Saxons, the conquest of England having been earlier effected, were unable at once to throw off the yoke as completely, but they undermined clandestinely the power of their Danish masters, and set on foot, by dark intrigues, a revolution that was to be completed by arms.⁹

The Danish king died in the year 1035, and left three sons, of whom one only, named Hardeknut,¹⁰ that is, Knut the *strong* or *brave*, was born of his Norman wife Emma; the others were the children of a former queen. Canute, when dying, had directed that the son of Emma should succeed him. Such a designation of one son expressly named seldom failed to influence in their choice those personages of the realm whom the Germanic customs invested with the right of election of a new king. But Hardicanute was then in Denmark; and the Danes of England,¹¹ urged to an immediate choice by the necessity of rendering themselves strong and united against the Saxon malcontents, chose another of the sons of Canute, named Harald,¹² for their king. This election, though it was the wish of the majority, had some opposers, whom the English eagerly joined, in order to nourish and inflame the domestic quarrel of their masters. The south-western provinces, which, during the whole time of the conquest, were always the first to rebel and the last to submit, proclaimed Hardicanute as king, while, in London, the Danish soldiers and sailors proclaimed Harald. This political schism divided England afresh into

¹ Ego . . . Imperator Knuto à Christo Rege regum, regiminis . . . potitas. (Diploma Knuti regis, apud Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, vol. i. 296.)

² Præsidia militum Danorum in Angliâ, ne Angliæ à dominio Danorum laberentur. (Petri Olai excerpt., apud Script. rer. Danic., vol. ii. 207.)—Snorre's Helmskringla; Magnus Barfot's saga, cap. ii. vol. ii. 212.

³ Or *Harða-knut*, *Harða-knut*, *Hartha-knut*.

⁴ Dani Lundonienses. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 61, ed. Gale.)—The Lithmen on London. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, 154.)

⁵ *Her*, eminent, chief; *ald*, hold, faithful. The Saxons write *Harold*.

¹ Omnes principes gentium. (Ibid. 621.)

² Tam in vasis aureis et argenteis, quam in palliis et vestibus valde pretiosis. (Ibid.)

³ Ne tot clausuris per viam ardentur, nec teloniis. (Ibid.)

⁴ Decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat. (Ibid.)

⁵ Per fidem quam Deo et mihi debetis. (Flor. Wigorn. Chron., p. 621.)

⁶ Omnia debita, que Deo secundum legem antiquam debemus, sint soluta. (Ibid.)

⁷ Districtè absque veniâ. (Ibid.)

two parts, which were separated by the Thames. The north was for Harald, and the south for the son of Emma; but the struggle which ensued under these two names was in reality a struggle between the two great interests, of the conquerors who were all-powerful north of the Thames, and such portion of the conquered as were the least weak in the south.

Godwin, son of Ulfnoth, was at the time governor of the vast province of West-Sex, and one of the most powerful nobles of England. Whether it was that Godwin had long meditated the project of employing, for the deliverance of his nation, that power which he held under the Danes, or that he had even some personal regard for the younger son of Canute, he favoured the cause of the absent claimant, and invited the late king's widow into the west. She went thither, accompanied by some Danish troops,¹ and carrying with her a part of her husband's treasures. Godwin took upon himself the office of generalissimo and protector of the kingdom, in the name and during the absence of the son of Emma;² and received for Hardicanute the oaths of fealty of all the population of the south. This insurrection, ambiguous in its nature, being, in one point of view, the struggle of two pretenders, and, in another, the war of two nations, did not extend north of the Thames, for there the mass of the Saxon inhabitants swore allegiance, like the Danes, to king Harald: there was only some individual resistance; such as that of Ethelnoth,³ an Englishman by birth, and archbishop of Canterbury, who refused to consecrate the king elected by the foreigners, and to present to him, with the accustomed ceremony, the sceptre and crown of the Saxon kings.⁴ Harald, according to some historians, crowned himself with his own hands, without any religious ceremony; and, cherishing in his breast the old spirit of his forefathers, he conceived a hatred for christianity. It was the hour of divine service, when the people were repairing to church, that he ordinarily asked for his bounds, or that he had his dinner-table spread.⁵

(A.D. 1036.) A violent war between the south and the north of England—between the Saxon and Danish populations—seemed inevitable. This expectation caused a sort of panic among those of the Anglo-Saxon race who inhabited the country on the left bank of the Thames;⁶ for, notwithstanding their apparent fidelity to the king recognised by the Danes, they feared that they, as well as their fellow-countrymen, would be still considered and treated as rebels. A great number of families quitted their homes to seek a safer asylum in the forests. Troops of men, women, and children,

taking with them their cattle and their moveables, reached the marshes which extended for more than a hundred miles in the four counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln.⁷ This tract, which had the appearance of one vast lake strewn with islands, was inhabited only by monks, for whom some of the ancient and devout kings had built great houses, in the midst of the water, upon piles and earth brought from a distance.⁸ The poor fugitives cantoned themselves in the woods of willows which covered these fens; and, as they wanted many of the necessaries of life, and were idle the whole of their time, they besieged with solicitations or with visits of simple curiosity, the monks of Crowland, Peterborough, and the other neighbouring abbeys. They went backwards and forwards incessantly, to ask assistance, advice, or prayers,⁹ and followed the heels of the monks or the servants of the convents, to implore their pity.¹⁰ The monks, that they might both observe the strictness of their rule, and still afford a hospitable shelter, shut themselves up in their cells, and deserted the cloisters and the church, because of the crowds which assembled therein.¹¹ A hermit, who lived alone in the marshes of Pegheland,¹² was so terrified at suddenly finding himself amid the bustle of mankind, that he abandoned his hut, and fled to seek other deserts.

The war so much desired on one side of the Thames, and so much dreaded on the other, did not take place; for the absence of Hardicanute was prolonged; his Danish partisans began to fall off;¹³ and the southern English thought that the moment was not yet arrived for raising their national standard, as favourers no longer of a Danish pretender, but as the enemies of all Danes. The Norman princess, whose presence served to give the insurrection a less offensive colour in the eyes of the foreign rulers, made her peace with them, and delivered up the treasures of Canute to the rival of her own son. Godwin and the other Saxon chiefs of the west, being forced by her desertion to acknowledge Harald as their king, swore obedience to him,¹⁴ and Hardicanute was forgotten. (A.D. 1037 to 1039.) At the same time a tragical event happened, the account of which has been handed down to us enveloped in great obscurity. It should appear that a letter was sent from Emma, who lived in London on good terms with king Harald, to the two sons of Ethelred in Normandy; and that in this letter their mother informed them that the Anglo-Saxon people seemed disposed to make one of them king, and throw off the Danish yoke; she therefore invited them to repair secretly to England, in order to confer with herself and their friends.¹⁵ Whether this letter was true or fictitious,

¹ Mid husearlum. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 154.)

² Pupillarum tutorem se professus. reginam Emmam et regis gazas custodiens. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 76, ed. Savile.)—Godwinus vero consul, dux . . . in re militari. (Hearici Huntingd. hist. lib. vi. apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 364, ed. Savile.)—Healdeat man. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 155.)

³ Ethel, noble; noth, useful.

⁴ Emmæ reginæ Encomium, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 174.

⁵ Dùm alii ecclesiam, christiano more, missam audire subintrarent, ipse aut saltem cantibus ad venandum cinxit, aut quibuslibet aliis vilissimis rebus sese occupavit. (Ibid.)

⁶ Solâ suspitione belli superuentis. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland. apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. 61, ed. Gale.)

⁷ Cum suis parvulis ac cattallis omnibus mobilibus . . . ad mariscorum uliginos. (Ibid.)

⁸ Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. pontific. Angl., lib. iv., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 292, ed. Savile.

⁹ Totâ die in claustrum irruentes. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyl. apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. p. 61, ed. Gale.)

¹⁰ De suis indigentioribus . . . cum blanditiis allicere. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Vix de dormitorio ausi sunt descendere. (Ibid.)

¹² Vulfus anchorita. (Ibid.)

¹³ Quôd in Denemarcia moras innoxuit. (Roger. de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 438, ed. Savile.)

¹⁴ Rex plenarius. *Full cyng ofer eall Engla-land.* (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 155.)

¹⁵ Rogo unius vestrum ad me velociter et privatè veniat. (Emma reginæ Encomium, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 174.)

the sons of Ethelred received it with joy; and the younger of the two, named Alfred, with the consent of his brother, embarked with a troop of Norman and Boulognese soldiers; which was contrary to the instructions of Emma, if, indeed, it be true that the invitation came from her.¹

The young Alfred landed at Dover, and advanced into the country south of the Thames, which was the least dangerous for him and his companions, as the Danish inhabitants were not very numerous. Godwin went to meet him, perhaps to try what he was capable of, and to concert with him some plan of deliverance. He found him surrounded by foreigners, who had followed him to share that fortune which he was to owe to the English; and the good dispositions of the western chief were suddenly changed into ill-will towards Alfred. An ancient historian makes Godwin deliver a speech on this occasion before an assembly of the Saxon chiefs, in which he represents to them that Alfred had come escorted by too many Normans; that he had promised these Normans possessions in England; and that they ought not to suffer the introduction into the country of a race of foreigners, notorious for their artifice and audacity.² Whether any such harangue was made or not, Alfred was abandoned, or perhaps betrayed, by Godwin and the Saxons,³ who, indeed, had not invited him from beyond sea, nor drawn him into the peril in which they left him. The officers of king Harold, having received information of his landing, surprised him with his companions in the town of Guildford, while they were unarmed and distributed in different houses; and they were all seized and bound, without any attempt being made to defend them.⁴

Of Alfred's ten companions, nine expired amid the tortures inflicted on them, one alone having his life granted him. The son of Ethelred was carried into the isle of Ely, in the heart of the Danish territory, and brought before judges who condemned him to lose his eyes, as a violator of the peace of the country. His mother, Emma, took no step to save him from this torture, of which he died. "She abandoned the orphan," says an old chronicler;⁵ and other historians reproach her with having been an accomplice in his death.⁶ There is reason to doubt this latter assertion; but, it is a singular circumstance that Emma, being afterwards banished by King Harold's order, did

not repair to Normandy, where her own relations and Ethelred's second son resided, but went to seek a foreign asylum in Flanders,⁷ and from thence addressed the son of Canute in Denmark, calling upon him to avenge his half-brother, the son of Ethelred the Saxon, who, said Emma, had been betrayed by Godwin and assassinated by Harald.⁸ (A.D. 1039.)

(A.D. 1039 to 1040.) Godwin's treason was the cry of the Normans, who, through a blind resentment, accused the Saxons rather than the Danes of the murder of their countrymen, the victims of a too hazardous enterprise. There are, besides, a multitude of versions of this affair,⁹ no one of which is supported by a sufficient number of testimonies to be regarded as the only true relation. One of the historians most worthy of belief commences his account with these words:—"I am about to tell what the relaters of news have reported concerning the death of Alfred: "¹⁰ and, at the end of his narration, he adds, "Such is the public rumour, but I can affirm nothing respecting it."¹¹ There seems, however, to be no doubt of the punishment and death of the son of Ethelred, and of several hundred men who had accompanied him from Normandy and France to excite the Anglo-Saxons to insurrection. As for Godwin's interview with the youth, and in particular the premeditated treason of which many narrators accuse him, they appear to be fabulous tales grounded on a real occurrence. How little credit soever these fables may be entitled to, they are, nevertheless, of great historical importance on account of the belief which they obtained in foreign countries, and of the national resentments which they excited against the English people.

On the death of Harald, the Anglo-Saxons, who still had not sufficient courage to choose a king of their own race, concurred with the Danes in electing the son of Emma and Canute.¹² The first public act of Hardicanute, after his accession, was to command the disinterment of the body of Harald, and that, after cutting off the head, his body should be thrown into the Thames. It was found by some Danish fishermen, who buried it a second time at London, in the cemetery reserved for those of their nation; who wished to be distinguished from the English even in their sepulchres.¹³ After this act of revenge and barbarity committed towards a dead brother, Hardicanute, the new king, made a display of fraternal regret and affliction, by instituting a solemn judicial inquiry into the death of Alfred. Himself being a Dane, no one of the Danish race was summoned by his order to appear before the court; the Anglo-Saxons alone were charged with a crime which could have been

¹ Milites non parvi numeri. (Willelm. Gemet., Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 274.)

² Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Hist. Angl. scriptores, vol. i. col. 396, ed. Selden.—Emma reginæ Encomium, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 175.

³ Nilium copiam Normannorum secum adduxisse, . . . gentem fortissimam et subdolum inter eos iastirpare Anglis securum non esse. (Henrici Huntingd. Hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 365, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Compatriotarum perfidia, et maximè Godwini. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 77, ed. Savile.)

⁵ Roger. de Hoved. anal., pars prior, apud rer. Angl. script., p. 438, ed. Savile.—Ailred. Rieval. Genealog. reg. Angl., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 366, ed. Selden.—Guill. Pictaviensis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 178.

⁶ Deserti orphani invidia. (Willelm. Malmesb., de Gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 76.) Eturidi casum scire volebat, et Edwardo exult. nichil penitens boni faciebat. (Monast. Angl. Dugdale, vol. i. p. 33.)

⁷ Quidam dicunt Emmam in necem filii sui Alfredi concessisse. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 936, ed. Selden.)—Monast. Angl. Dugdale, vol. i. p. 35.

⁸ Henrici Huntingd. hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 364, ed. Savile.

⁹ Roger. de Hoved. anal., pars prior. Ibid., p. 364, ed. Savile.

¹⁰ Diversè diversimodè et diversis temporibus. (Chron. Jo. Bromton, vol. i. col. 936, ed. Selden.)

¹¹ Quod rumigerull spargunt. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 77, ed. Savile.)

¹² Hæc, quia fama scit, non omni; sed, quia chronica tacet, pro solidis non asserit. (Ibid.)

¹³ Anglis et Danis in unam sententiam convenientibus. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl. script., p. 76, ed. Savile.)—Mathæi Westmonast. flor. hist., p. 210.

¹⁴ In cæmeterio Danorum. (Hist. Inguilf. Croyland., apud rer. Angl. script., vol. i. p. 62, ed. Gale.)

profitable only to their masters (A.D. 1040.) Godwin, whose power and whose designs were an object of fear and suspicion, was the first to be arraigned; he appeared, and, according to the usages of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was accompanied by a great number of his kinsmen, friends, and witnesses in the cause, who, like himself, swore that he had taken no part, directly or indirectly, in the death of the son of Ethelred. This legal proof did not suffice with a king of foreign birth, and to render it valid it was necessary for the English chief to accompany it with rich presents, the detail of which, if not fabulous, would incline us to believe that the Saxon was assisted by many of his countrymen in purchasing the relinquishment of this prosecution, instituted in bad faith. Godwin gave the Danish king a ship adorned with gilt metal, and carrying eighty soldiers with gilded helmets, who bore a gilt ax on the left shoulder, a javelin in the right hand, and on each arm a gold bracelet weighing six ounces.¹ A Saxon bishop, named Leofwin, who was likewise accused of having abetted the son of Ulfnoth in his alleged treachery, purchased in like manner his acquittal by a recourse to presents.²

In general Hardicanute showed, with respect to the vanquished people, less of cruelty than of avarice: his avidity surpassed even that of the piratical adventurers who were his forefathers. He oppressed England with tributes;³ and his tax-gatherers more than once fell victims to the hatred and despair which they excited. The citizens of Worcester killed two of them who were exercising their odious functions. So soon as the report of this murder was carried to the Danish authorities, two chiefs of that nation, Leofrik and Siward, the former of whom commanded in Murcia and the other in Northumbria, united their forces, and marched against the rebellious city, having orders to destroy it by fire and sword. The inhabitants left their houses in a body, and fled to one of the islands formed by the Severn, where they entrenched themselves, and resisted until they wearied the assailants, who left them at liberty to return, without further molestation, to their habitations that had been set on fire.

Thus the spirit of independence, which the conquerors denominated revolt, gradually revived among the descendants of the Saxons and the Angles, nor were there wanting sufferings and insults to awaken their regret for the loss of liberty.⁴ The Dane who bore the title of king of England was not the only one that oppressed the natives; he was the head of a resident nation of foreigners, each of whom aided him in his arbitrary exactions. This dominating race, of whom the English were subjects, and not simply fellow-citizens, did not share in their burthens; on the contrary, they partook of the produce of the taxes

levied by their chief, receiving sometimes eight, sometimes twenty, marks of silver per man.⁵ When the king, in his military reviews or his excursions of pleasure, chose to lodge in the house of a Dane, the Dane was remunerated, sometimes in money,⁶ sometimes in cattle which the Saxon peasant had fattened for the table of his conquerors.⁷ But the Saxon's dwelling was the Dane's household, in which the foreigner had food, fire, and bed, gratuitously; he occupied the place of honour as master.⁸ The head of the family could not drink without the permission of his guest, nor remain seated in his presence. The guest insulted his wife, his daughter, or his servant,⁹ at pleasure; and if any man of courage undertook to defend or avenge them, that brave man had no longer an asylum. He was tracked and pursued like a wild beast; a price was set on his head, as on that of wolves; he became, according to the Anglo-Saxon expression, a *wolf-head*,¹⁰ and nothing was left for him but to fly to the abode of wolves, and turn robber in the forests against the foreign conquerors and the natives who shamefully slumbered under a foreign yoke.

All these long-accumulating miseries at length produced their fruits, on the death of Hardicanute, which happened suddenly in the midst of a marriage-feast. (A.D. 1041.) Before the Danes assembled for the election of a new king, a great insurrectional army was formed, under the conduct of a chief named *Howe*.¹¹ Unfortunately, the patriotic exploits of this army are at the present day as little known as the name of its chief is obscure. Godwin and his son Harald (or Har-old, according to the Saxon orthography) raised the standard this time for the pure independence of their country, against every Dane, king or pretender, chief or soldier. The Danes, driven rapidly northward, and chased from town to town, took to their ships, and landed with diminished numbers on the shores of their ancient country.¹² On their return home they related, in their turn, a tale of treasons, the romantic circumstances of which may be found detailed in a manner equally fabulous in the histories of various nations. They said that Harold, the son of Godwin, had invited the principal among them to a

¹ Classariis suis per singulas naves viginti marcas. (Willelm. Malmesh., p. 76.) Navium singulis remigibus, viii marcas. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 156.) xxxii. navibus, xi millia librarum. (Ibid.)

² Iste dedit . . . Danis xxviii. mill. lib. argenti ad sumptus hospitii regis. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl. lib. i., cap. 26, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2326, ed. Selden.)

³ Magna summa animalium bene crassorum. (Ibid.)

⁴ Unus Danus custos et magister domus super omnes alios hospitii. (Ibid.)

⁵ Et sic defloraverunt uxores nostras, et filias, et ancillas. (Ibid.)—Nam si Dacus Anglico super pontem occurrisset, Anglicus pedem movere ausus non fuisset, donec Dacus pontem pertransisset, et ulterius nisi Angli in honorem Dacorum capita inclinasset, graves penas et verbera citò sentirent. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 934, ed. Selden.)

⁶ *Wolf-head*. This name was given by the Saxons to men outlawed for some great crime. (Wilkins, Leges et consilia, passim.)

⁷ Collegerunt magnam exercitum qui Howe-here appellabatur à quodam Howne qui ductor eorum extiterat. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl. lib. i. cap. 6, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2326, ed. Selden.)

⁸ Danos occiderunt, et . . . de partibus Angliæ fugaverunt. (Ibid.)

¹ Apposuit ille fidei jurate exenium Ratem auro rostratam. (Willelm. Malmesh., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 77, ed. Savile.)

² Willelm. Malmesh. Ibid. *Leof-wia. Leof. lief. lieb*, dear, well-beloved.

³ Tributum inexorable et importabile Angliæ imposuit. (Willelm. Malmesh., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii. p. 76, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Pro contemptibus quos Angli à Danis sæpiùs receperunt. (Chron. Jo. Brompton, apud Hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 934, ed. Selden.)

great banquet, to which the Saxons came armed, and attacked them unawares.¹

It was, however, no surprise of this kind, but an open war, which put an end to the Scandinavian dominion in England. The son of Godwin, and Godwin himself, at the head of the insurgent nation, played the most distinguished part in this national war. In the moment of deliverance, the whole care of public affairs was confided to the son of Ulfnoth the herdsman, who, by rescuing his country from the hands of the foreigners, had accomplished the singular fortune which he commenced by saving a foreigner and an enemy from the hands of his countrymen.² Godwin, had he wished it, might have procured himself to be named king of the English; very few suffrages would have been refused him; but he chose rather to point out to the English people one who was a stranger to the recent events, who had no enemies, and was envied by none,—one who was inoffensive to all by his long abstraction from political affairs, and who was an object most interesting in the eyes of all men from his misfortunes: this was Edward the surviving son of Ethelred, the prince whose brother he was accused of having betrayed and brought to an untimely end. Pursuant to the advice of the chief of West-Sax,³ a great council, held at Gillingham, decided that a message from the nation should be sent to Edward in Normandy, to announce to him that the English people had made him king, but on condition of his bringing with him only a small number of Normans.⁴

Edward obeyed, (says an ancient chronicle,) ⁵ and came to England attended by few followers. He was proclaimed king upon his arrival, and his consecration took place in the cathedral of Winchester (A.D. 1042). In delivering to him the sceptre and crown, the bishop addressed to him a long discourse upon the kingly obligations, and upon the mild and equitable government of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. As he was yet without a wife, he chose the daughter of the powerful and popular man to whom he owed his crown. Various malevolent reports were circulated respecting this marriage. It was said by some that Edward, fearing the immense authority of Godwin, became his son-in-law, that he might not have him for an enemy. ⁶ Others assert that, before the election of the new king, Godwin had exacted from him, upon his oath by God and his soul, a promise that he would marry his daughter. ⁷ Be this as it may, Edward received in marriage a young

person of great beauty, modesty, and sweetness, and of good instruction in letters; she was called *Edith*, a familiar diminutive of the names *Edsvithe* or *Ethelswitha*.⁸ "I have seen her many times in my childhood," says a contemporary, "when I went to visit my father, who was employed in the king's palace. If she met me returning from school, she would question me in my grammar, or my verses, or in logic, in which she was very skilful; and when she had drawn me into the labyrinth of some subtle argument, she never failed to give me three or four crowns through the hands of her woman, and send me to take refreshment in the pantry."⁹ Editha was mild and benevolent to all who approached her. Those who did not admire the pride of character of her father and her brother, which partook in some degree of severity, praised her for not resembling them. We find this poetically expressed in one of the Latin verses which were at that time much in vogue:—"Godwin is the parent of Editha, as the thorn is of the rose."¹⁰

(A.D. 1042 to 1048.) The retreat of the Danes, and the annihilation of the domination of the conquest, having awakened the spirit of patriotism, at the same time brought into vigour the national affection for the customs of the Anglo-Saxons. The earnest wish of the people was that these should be restored in their primitive simplicity, disencumbered of all that the commixed races had introduced foreign to the land. On these principles, men looked back to the times antecedent to the great invasion by the Danes, and the institutions and laws of the reign of Ethelred were eagerly sought to be re-established.¹¹ Those laws were restored as fully as new circumstances admitted, and the name of Edward was given to them; it became a popular saying that good king Edward had restored the good laws of his father Ethelred. Yet, in truth, he was not a legislator; he promulgated no new code; the laws of the Danish kings merely ceased to be in force in his reign.¹² The impost resulting from the conquest, which had been occasionally levied under the name of Dane-geld, as already mentioned, and afterwards transformed into an annual tax, during the space of thirty years, for the pay of the foreign soldiery and the Danish sailors, was in like manner abolished, not through any gracious protection of his subjects by the new king, but because there were no longer any Danes in authority in England.¹³

There were no longer any Danes living in England as lords and masters; all such were driven from the country; but the English people, having now regained their freedom, did not expel from their houses the laborious and peaceful men who, swearing obedience to the common laws, resigned themselves to a quiet existence as husbandmen or citizens. The Anglo-Saxon people did not make reprisals by levying contributions on them; they

¹ Fecit insimul congregatis magnum convivium. (Petri Olai excerpt. apud script. rer. Danic., vol. ii. p. 207.)

² Regni cura comiti Godwino committitur, donec qui dignus esset eligeretur in regem. (Monast. Angl. Dugdale, vol. i. p. 24.)

³ Godwini consilio (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 80, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Populus universus. Eall folc gecens Eadweard to cyng. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 156.)—Mandantes ei quod paucissimos Normannos secum adduceret. (Henrici Huntingd., p. 365.)—Henric. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. i. cap. 8, apud. hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2329, ed. Selden.)

⁵ Parviti Edwardus et cum paucis venit in Angliam. (Henr. Huntingd. hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 363, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Metuens tanti viri potentia lædi. (Gull. Geomet. hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 271.)

⁷ Jura michi in Deum et in animam tuam, te fillara meam accepturam in conjugem, . . . et ego tibi dabo regnum Anglie. (Monast. Angl. Dugdale, vol. i. p. 24.)

⁸ Ed, happy; ethel, noble; schwend, swinth, swith, graceful, nimble.

⁹ Ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyl., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. p. 62, ed. Gale.)

¹⁰ Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Eglitam. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Leges ab antiquis regibus . . . latas. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 75, ed. Savile.)

¹² Sub nomine regis Edwardi juratur, non quod ille statuerit, sed quod observaverit. (Ibid.)

¹³ Dane-geld, Dæna-geold; or Here-geold, army tax. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, passim.)

did not make their condition inferior to their own. In the eastern, and especially in the northern provinces, the descendants of the Scandinavians continued to outnumber those of the Anglo-Saxons. These were distinguished from the central and southern provinces by a sensible difference in their idiom, manners, and local customs,¹ but they did not manifest the least resistance to the government of the Anglo-Saxon king. This state of social equality in a short time united and confounded the two formerly rival races. This happy union of all the inhabitants of England, rendered formidable to the kings of foreign countries, put a stop to their projects of ambition, and no king of the north then dared to come in arms and lay claim to the inheritance of the sons of Canute. Those kings even sent messages of peace and amity to the pacific Edward. "We will leave you," said they, "to reign unmolested over your country, and will content ourselves with those territories which God has given us to rule."²

But, under this outward appearance of prosperity and independence, the germs of fresh troubles and national ruin were silently developing themselves. Edward, born of a Norman woman and brought up from his infancy in Normandy, had returned almost a stranger to the land of his forefathers:³ the language of his youth had been that of a foreign people; he had grown old among other men and other manners than the manners and men of England; his friends, his companions in pleasures and hardships, his nearest relatives, and the husband of his sister, all dwelt across the sea. He had sworn to bring with him only a small number of Normans; and he brought only a few with him, but many arrived in the sequel; those who had loved him when in exile, or assisted him when in poverty, eagerly beset his palace.⁴ He could not restrain himself from welcoming them to his home and his table, nor even from preferring them to those formerly unknown to him, but to whom he was indebted for his home, his table, and his royal dignity. The irresistible strength of old affections led him so far astray from the path of prudence as to confer the high dignities and great offices of the country on men born on another soil, and without any real affection for England. The fortress of the island were placed in the keeping of Norman captains; Norman priests obtained English bishoprics, and became chaplains, councillors, and trusted confidants of the king.

A number of persons styling themselves relatives of Edward's mother crossed the straits, and were sure to be well received.⁵ No one who solicited in the Norman tongue⁶ ever met with a re-

fusal. This language even banished from the palace the Anglo-Saxon, which was become an object of ridicule to the foreign courtiers, and no flattering discourse was any longer addressed to the king but in Norman. Such of the English nobility as were most ambitious spoke and stammered in the new and favourite language of the court, even in their own mansions, as being that fittest for a man of birth and education;⁷ they changed their long Saxon mantles for the short cloaks of the Normans; in writing they imitated the lengthened form of the Norman letters; and, instead of signing their names to civil acts, they suspended to them seals of wax in the Norman manner. Every one of the national customs, even in the most indifferent things, was abandoned to the lower orders.⁸

But the people, who had shed their blood that England might be free, and who were little struck by the grace and elegance of the new fashions, imagined that they beheld the government by foreigners revived under a mere change of appearances. Godwin, although the most exalted of his own countrymen, and the first in dignity after the king, happily remembered his plebeian origin, and joined the popular party against the Norman favourites. The son of Ulfnoth and his four sons, all brave warriors and enjoying the affection of the people, resisted with a bold countenance the Norman influence, as they formerly had drawn the sword against the Danish conquerors.⁹ In that very palace of which his daughter and their sister was lady and mistress, they returned insolence for insolence to the parasites and courtiers that had come out of Gaul. They turned their exotic fashion into derision, and blamed the weakness of the king who hearkened to them and confided the prosperity of his country to their counsels.¹⁰

The Normans carefully collected their speeches, and envenomed them at their leisure; they then assailed the ears of Edward with loud assertions that Godwin and his sons insulted him outrageously, that their arrogance had no bounds, and that they discovered in those chiefs an ambition of reigning in his place, and a design of treachery.¹¹ But, while these accusations passed current in the king's palace, a very different judgment was formed in the popular assemblies¹² on the character and conduct of the Saxon chief and his sons. "Is it astonishing," they would say, "that the author and supporter of Edward's reign is indignant at seeing new men, of a foreign nation, rise above him? Yet he never utters a reproachful word against the man

¹ *Tanquam magnum gentilitium.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., vol. i. p. 62, ed. Gale.)

² *Proprium consuetudinem in his et in aliis multis erubescere.* (Ibid.)

³ *Godwinum et natos, magnanimos viros et industrios, auctores et tutores regni.* (Willelm. Malmesh., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. ii. p. 80, ed. Savile.)

⁴ *Sæpe de ejus simplicitate solitos nugari . . . sæpe insignes facetias in illum jaculari.* (Ibid., p. 81.)

⁵ *Magnâ arrogantia et indelicate in regem et in familiares ejus egisse, æquas sibi partes in imperio vindicantes.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *There were many provincial and municipal institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. Folc-gemot, scire-gemot, a shire meeting. Burgh-gemot, a town-meeting. Wic-gemot, idem. Husting, a council-house. Hans-hus, a common hall. Gild-hall, a club. Gild-scipe, an association.* (See Hickes. Thesaur. Linguar. Septent., on the social Institutions of the Anglo-Saxons.)

¹ *Myrena laga, West-seaxna-laga, Dæna-laga.* See Hickesii Thesaur. Linguar. Septentrional.

² *Snorre's Heimskringla. Magnus then godes Saga, cap. iii. vol. ii. p. 52.—Hist. Ingulf. Croyland; apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. p. 65, ed. Gale.—Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 938, ed. Selden.*

³ *Poenò in Gallieum transierat.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland, ibid. p. 62.)

⁴ *Qui olim inopiam exulis pauculis beneficiis levãrant.* (Willelm. Malmesh., lib. ii. p. 80, ed. Savile.)

⁵ *Attrahens de Normannia plurimas quos, variis dignitatibus promotos, in immensum exaltabat.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland, vol. i. p. 62, ed. Gale.)—Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., tom. i. p. 34.

⁶ *Gallieum idioma.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland, apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. i. p. 62, ed. Gale.)—See above, p. 37.

whom he himself made king."¹ The Norman favourites were called infamous informers and creators of discord and trouble;² and a long life was wished to the great chief, the chief magnanimous by sea and land.³ Curses were heaped on the fatal marriage of Ethelred with a Norman woman, that union contracted to save the country from a foreign invasion,⁴ but from which there now resulted a new invasion, a new conquest, under the mask of peace and of friendship.

We find the trace, perhaps indeed the original expression, of these national maledictions, in a passage of an ancient historian, in which the singular turn of idea and the vivacity of the language seem to betray the style of the people:—"The Almighty must have formed at the same time two plans of destruction for the English race, and have desired to lay for them a sort of military ambuscade;⁵ for he let loose the Danes on one side, and on the other carefully created and cemented the Norman alliance; so that if, by chance, we escaped from the open assaults of the Danes, the bold cunning of the Normans might still be in readiness to surprise us."⁶

BOOK III.

FROM THE RISING OF THE ENGLISH NATION
AGAINST THE NORMAN FAVOURITES OF KING
EDWARD TO THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

A. D. 1048—1066.

(A. D. 1048.) AMONG those who came from Normandy and France to visit king Edward was one Eustace, who on the other side of the channel bore the title of count of Boulogne. He governed hereditarily, under the superior authority of the French king, the town of Boulogne and a small territory adjacent to the ocean; and, as the badge of his dignity as lord of a maritime territory, attached to his helmet, when he armed for war, two long plumes of the finest parted whalebone.⁷ Eustace had just married Edward's sister, who was the widow of another Frenchman named Gaultier of Mantes.⁸ The new brother-in-law of the Saxon king, with a numerous suite, stayed some time at his court. He found the palace full of men born in Gaul, like himself, and speaking the Gallic idiom; so that England appeared to him like a conquered country, where the Normans and the French had a right to do whatever they pleased. After resting in the city of Canterbury, Eustace proceeded towards Dover. At the distance of

about a mile from the town he ordered his escort to halt, dismounted from his travelling palfrey, and mounted the charger which one of his men led in the right hand;⁹ then, putting on his coat of mail, he made all his attendants do the same; and in this warlike attire they entered Dover.¹⁰

They marched insolently through the town, remarking the best houses in which to pass the night, and establishing themselves therein authoritatively. The inhabitants murmured, and one of them had the courage to stop on his threshold the Frenchman who was proceeding to take up his quarters in his house. The foreigner drew his sword and wounded the Englishman, who, hastily arming himself, together with his household, attacked and killed the aggressor. On hearing of this, Eustace of Boulogne and all his troop quitted their lodgings, remounted their horses, and, laying siege to the Englishman's house, they massacred him (says the Saxon chronicle) at his own fire-side.¹¹ They then traversed the town sword in hand, striking the men and women, and trampling the children under their horses' hoofs.¹² It was not long before they met a body of armed citizens; and, in the conflict which shortly ensued, nineteen of the Boulognese were slain. Count Eustace fled with the rest of his followers; but, not daring to make for the harbour and endeavour to embark, he returned towards Gloucester, where king Edward, with his Norman favourites, was then holding his court.¹³

Eustace and his companions, say the chronicles, made their peace with the king.¹⁴ He believed, on his brother-in-law's word alone, that all the blame was due to the people of Dover; and, filled with violent wrath against them, he sent with all speed for Godwin, in whose government this town was comprised. "Go forthwith," said Edward to him, "and chastise by military execution¹⁵ those who take up arms against my relatives and disturb the peace of the kingdom." Godwin, who could not so readily decide in favour of a foreigner against his fellow-countrymen, proposed that, instead of exercising a blind vengeance upon the whole town, the magistrates should, according to the forms of law, be summoned to appear before the king and royal judges to answer for their conduct. "It is not fit," said he to the king, "that you should condemn, without hearing, men whom it is your duty to protect."¹⁶

Edward's anger, inflamed by the clamours of his favourites, was now turned entirely against the English chief, who, being accused of disobedience and rebellion, was summoned to appear before a great council convoked at Gloucester. Godwin at first gave himself but little concern about this accusation, thinking that the king's passion would

¹ Nonquam tamen contra regem quem semel fastigiaverint asperum etiam verbum locutos. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 80, ed. Savile.)

² Delatorem . . . discordiæ seminatorem. (Ibid.)
³ Comes magnanimus per Angliam, terrâ marique. (Eadmeri Hist. Nov., lib. i. p. 4, ed. Seiden.)

⁴ Ad tuitionem regni sui. (Henn. Huntingd., lib. vi. p. 359, ed. Savile.)

⁵ Duplicem contritionem proposuit, et quasi militares insidias adhibuit. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ut si à Dacorum manifestâ fulminatione evaderent, Normannorum improvisam cum fortitudine cautelam certè non evaderent. (Ibid.)

⁷ Guillelm. Brito, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., tom. xvii. p. 262.

⁸ Walterus Medantinus. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 81, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Dextrarius.

¹⁰ Induit suam loriam, itemque sui socii, et adibat Durbrim. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 163.)—Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., ed. Savile, lib. ii. p. 81.

¹¹ Binnan his agenau heorthe. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 162.)

¹² Pueros et infantes suorum pedibus eorum contriverunt. (Roger. de Hoved., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 441, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Chron. Saxon. Fragment. sub anno MLII., apud Glossar. Ed. Lye, vol. ii., ad fin.

¹⁴ Et ille pacem eis dedit. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Mid unfritha. (Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 163.)

¹⁶ Quos tutari debes, eos ipse potissimum inauditos adju-dices. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 81, ed. Savile.)

subside and the chiefs would do him justice!¹ but he soon learned that, by means of the royal influence and the intrigues of foreigners, the assembly had been seduced and was about to pronounce a sentence of banishment against him and his sons. The father and the sons resolved to oppose their popularity to these manœuvres, and to make an appeal to the English people against the courtiers from beyond sea; although (says the ancient chronicle) it was far from their minds to wish to do any violence to their national king.²

Godwin raised a troop of volunteers in the country south of the Thames, the whole extent of which was under his government. Harold, his eldest son, assembled a number of men along the eastern coasts, between the Thames and the gulf of Boston, or the Wash; while his second son, named Sweyn, engaged in this patriotic confederation the inhabitants of the banks of the Severn and the Welsh frontiers. These three bodies united near Gloucester, and demanded of the king by message that count Eustace and his companions, with several other Normans and Boulonnais who were then in England, should be given up to be tried by the nation. Edward gave no answer to these requests, but sent orders to the two great chiefs of the north and of the central counties, Siward and Leofric, both Danes by birth, to march toward the south-west with all the forces they could muster. The men of Northumbria and of Mercia, who armed, at the summons of the two chiefs, for the defence of the royal authority, did so with reluctance; and Siward and Leofric heard it sullenly repeated by their soldiers, that those would be deceived who should rely on their shedding the blood of their countrymen for foreign interests, and the favourites of king Edward.³

Leofric and Siward were sensible to these remonstrances. The national distinction between the Saxons and the Danes had become so faint, that the old enmity of the two races could not again be turned to the profit of the enemies of the people. The chiefs and warriors of the north positively refused to fight against the insurgents of the south; they proposed an armistice between the king and Godwin, and that their differences should be debated before an assembly to be held in London. Edward was obliged to yield; Godwin, who did not desire war for its own sake, willingly consented; and, says the Saxon chronicle, the peace of God and a perfect friendship was sworn to on both sides.⁴ Such was the formula of that age; but, on one side at least, these promises wanted sincerity. The king profited by the time which remained to him before the meeting of the assembly, which was fixed for the autumnal equinox, to increase the strength of his forces; while Godwin retired towards the south-west, and his bands of volunteers, having neither pay nor quarters, re-

turned to their families. The king, falsifying his word, though indirectly, issued, during the interval, his proclamation for the raising of an army, both on the south and on the north of the Thames.⁵

This army, say the chronicles, was the most numerous that had been seen since the commencement of the new reign.⁶ Edward gave the command of it to his favourites from the other side of the channel; and among its principal chiefs figured a young son of his sister Goda and of her former husband Gaultier de Mantes. The king cantoned his forces in and near London; so that the national council was opened in the midst of a camp, under the influence of terror and the royal seductions. Godwin and his two sons were summoned by this council, whose deliberations were controlled by the armed force, to relinquish the benefit of the oaths which had been sworn upon their hands by the few armed men whom they had remaining,⁷ and to appear without an escort and without arms. They answered that they were ready to obey the first of these orders; but that, before they repaired to the assembly alone and without the means of defence, they required hostages to guarantee their personal safety in entering and coming away.⁸ Twice they repeated this demand, which the military parade exhibited in London fully justified;⁹ and they were twice answered by a refusal and a summons to appear without delay, and bring with them twelve witnesses to affirm their innocence on oath. They did not come; and the great council declared them wilfully contumacious, granting them only five days of peace to quit England with all their family.¹⁰ Godwin, his wife Ghitha or Edith, and three of his sons, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gurth, repaired to the eastern coast, whence they embarked for Flanders. Harold and his brother Leofwin went into the west, to *Brig-stow*, now Bristol, and passed the Irish sea. Before the expiration of the term of five days, and in contempt of the decree of the council, the king sent an armed troop of horsemen in pursuit of them; but the captain of the troop, a Saxon by birth, neither overtook, nor perhaps had any desire to overtake them.¹¹

The possessions of Godwin and his sons were seized and confiscated. His daughter, the king's wife, was stripped of all that she had in lands, furniture, and money. It was not fit, said the foreign courtiers ironically, that, at the time when the family of this woman were suffering banishment, she herself should sleep on down.¹² (A.D. 1048 to 1051.) The weak Edward even went so far as to allow her to be imprisoned in a cloister.

¹ Banman ut here. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)—Chron. Saxon. Frag. Ed. Lye, vol. II., ad fin.

² Omnium qui hinc usque fuerint, optimum. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)

³ Servitium militum suorum regi contradarent. (Will. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. II., p. 81, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Rogabant pacem et obsides, quod securi ab insidiis consilium ingrederentur eoque egrederentur. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)

⁵ Non posse ad conventiculum factiosorum sine vadibus et obsidibus pergere. (Will. Malmesb., loco citato.)

⁶ Five nitha grith. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)

⁷ At illi non potuerunt aut noluerunt. (Chron. Saxon. Frag. sub anno MLII, apud Gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. II., ad fin.)—Roger de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 441, ed. Savile.

⁸ Ne scilicet omnibus suis parentibus patriam suspirantibus, sola sterneret in pluma. (Will. Malmesb., lib. II., p. 82, ed. Savile.)

¹ Godwino parvi pendente regis furorem quasi momentaneum. (Will. Malmesb., p. 81.)

² Licet his odiosum videretur adversus ipsorum dominum genuinum (Cyns Hiaforde) quicquam moliri. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)

³ Suggerebant nonnulli quod id valde inconsultum erat. (Chron. Saxon. Frag. sub anno MLII, apud Gloss. Ed. Lye, ad fin.)—Ne ipsi cum suis compatriotis bellum inirent. Roger de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 441, ed. Savile.

⁴ Godes grith and fulne freondscipe. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 164.)

The favourites pretended that, although she shared his bed, she was his wife only in name; he himself did not give the lie to this ridiculous assertion, which ultimately became in part the foundation of his repute for sanctity.¹ The days that followed were days of rejoicing and good fortune for the intruders from beyond sea, and Normandy furnished to England more governors than ever. The Normans gradually obtained the same supremacy which the Danes had formerly acquired by the sword. A monk of Jumièges, named Robert, became archbishop of Canterbury; another Norman monk was bishop of London; Saxon prelates and abbots were removed to make room for Frenchmen and pretended relations of king Edward, through his mother.² The governments of Godwin and his sons fell to the share of men bearing foreign names. One Eudes became chief of the four counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall; and the son of Gaultier de Mantes, named Raulfe, had charge of the county of Hereford, and the posts of defence established against the Welsh.³

(A.D. 1051.) A new guest, and the most considerable of all, soon arrived from Normandy, to visit king Edward, and to proceed with a numerous retinue through the towns and castles of England;⁴ this was William duke of Normandy, bastard son of Robert the late duke, whose violent temper had acquired for him the name of Robert-le-Diable. He was the son of duke Robert by a young girl of Falaise, whom he one day chanced to see, on his return from the chase, washing linen in a brook with her companions. (A.D. 1024.) The duke was smitten with her beauty; and, wishing to have her for his mistress, sent (says a chronicler in verse⁵) one of his most discreet cavaliers to make proposals to the family. The father at first received such proposals with disdain; but, on reflection, he went and consulted one of his brothers, who was a hermit in the neighbouring forest, and a man of great reputation for religion:⁶ this hermit was of opinion that the will of the prince should be punctiliously obeyed; consent was granted (says the old poet), and the night and the hour agreed on.⁷ The young Norman woman had the name of Arlète, a name corrupted in the Roman tongue from the ancient Danish name Herleve. Duke Robert loved her much, and the child which he had by her was brought up with as much care as if he had been the son of a wife.⁸

(A.D. 1031.) Young William was only seven years of age when his father took it into his head to go to Jerusalem, on foot, on a pilgrimage for

the remission of his sins. The barons of Normandy wished to detain him, representing to him that it would not be well for them to be left without a chief. "By my troth," answered Robert, "I will not leave you without a lord. I have a little bastard, who, if it please God, will grow up and prove a valiant man; and I am certain that he is my own son. Receive him, therefore, as your lord, for I declare him to be heir unto me, and I give him seisin from this moment of the duchy of Normandy: choose him forthwith; and, before you all, I will possess him of this duchy as my successor."⁹ The Norman barons did what the duke proposed, because (says the old chronicle) they found it convenient;¹⁰ they swore fealty to the child, and placed their hands in his.¹¹ But several chiefs, and, in particular, the relations of the former dukes, protested against this election, saying that a bastard was not worthy to command the sons of the Danes.¹² The barons of the Bessin and the Cotentin, more spirited than the others, and still prouder than them of the purity of their lineage, put themselves at the head of the malcontents, and levied a numerous army; but they were vanquished in a pitched battle in the Val-des-Dunes, near Caen, not without the aid of the king of France, who supported the cause of the young duke for the sake of personal interest, and that he might exercise an influence over the affairs of the country.

(A.D. 1031 to 1051.) William, as he advanced in age, became more and more dear to his partisans. The day when he for the first time put on armour, and mounted, without a stirrup, his first war-charger, was a day of rejoicing in Normandy. He occupied himself with military concerns from his youth, and made war upon his neighbours of Anjou and Brittany. He was passionately fond of fine horses, especially those which bore proper names to distinguish their genealogy;¹³ and had them brought (say his contemporaries) from Gascony, Auvergne, and Spain. The young son of Robert and Arlète was ambitious and vindictive to excess. He impoverished his father's family as much as possible to enrich his relatives by the mother's side.¹⁴ He often punished in a sanguinary manner the railleries which the dishonour of his birth drew upon him. One day, when he was attacking the town of Alençon, the besieged thought proper to shout to him from the walls, *La peau! la peau! à la peau!* at the same time beating some hides, in allusion to the trade of the citizen of Falaise who was William's grandfather. The Bastard immediately had the feet and hands of all the prisoners he had taken cut off, and thrown by his slingers into the town.¹⁵

(A.D. 1051.) In his journey through England, the Duke of Normandy might have believed for a

¹ *Nuptam sibi rex hæc arte tractabat, ut nec thoro amoris nec virili more cognosceret.* (Will. Malmesb., ii., p. 80.)
² *Tunc Sparhafocus abbas fuit pulsus suo episcopatu.* (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 165.)

³ *Rog. de Hoved., p. 443.* Will. Malmesb., lib. ii., p. 81, ed. Savile. Th. Radborne, in *Angliæ Sacra*, vol. i., p. 240.

⁴ *Com multo militum comitatu . . . ad civitates et castella circumduxit.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyl., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i., p. 65, ed. Gale.)

⁵ *Bençois de Sainte-More.* (Nouvelle histoire de Normandie et Nouveaux Détails sur Guillaume-le-Conquérant, p. 426-438.)

⁶ *No fust un suen frère, un saint hom,*

Qu'il out de grant religion . . . (Ibid., p. 430.)

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid., p. 436.*—*Unicè dilexit, et aliquandà juste uxoris loco habuit.* (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 95, ed. Savile.)

⁹ *Nouvelle histoire de Normandie*, p. 100.—*Chron. de St. Denis, Recueil des historiens de la France et des Gaules*, tom. xi., p. 400.

¹⁰ *Toutes voies puisque a faire leur convenoit, accomplirent sa volenté.* (Ibid.)

¹¹ *Manibus illorum ejus manibus, vice cordis, datis.* (Dudo de Sto. Quintino, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 157.)

¹² *Dicens quòd nothus non deberet sibi aliique Normannis imperare.* (Willelm. Gemet. hist. Normann., lib. i., p. 268.)

¹³ *Qui nominibus propriis vulgò sunt nobilitati.* (Guillelm. Pietaviensis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 181.)

¹⁴ *Nouvelle histoire de Normandie*, etc., p. 246.

¹⁵ *Ibid., p. 231.*—Willelm. Gemet. hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 276.

moment that he was still in his own territories. The fleet which he found at Dover was commanded by Normans; and at Canterbury some Norman soldiers composed the garrison of a fort built on the declivity of a hill;¹ other Normans came to salute him in the dress of captains or of prelates. Edward's favourites came to pay their respects to the chief of their native country; and, to use the language of that day, thronged round their natural lord. William appeared in England more like a king than Edward himself; and it was not long before his ambitious mind conceived the hope of becoming so without difficulty at the death of that prince so much the slave of Norman influence. Such thoughts could not fail to arise in the breast of the son of Robert: however, according to the testimony of a contemporary, he kept them perfectly secret, and never spoke of them to Edward, believing that things would of themselves take the course most to the advantage of his ambition.² Nor did Edward, whether or not he thought of these projects, and of his having some day his friend for a successor, converse with him on the subject during his visit; yet he received him with great tenderness, gave him arms, horses, hounds, and falcons,³ and loaded him with all sorts of presents and assurances of affection. Amid the recollections of the country where he had passed his youth, the king of the English suffered himself to forget his own nation; but that nation could not forget itself, and those who still retained their love for it had soon an opportunity of commanding the king's attention.⁴

(A.D. 1052.) In the summer of the year 1052 Godwin sailed from Bruges with several vessels, and landed on the coast of Kent. He sent secret messengers to the Saxon garrison of the port of Hastings, in the province of South-Sex, or, for euphonic pronunciation, abridged to Sussex; other emissaries distributed themselves over the country towards the south and the north. At their solicitation many of those who were capable of bearing arms bound themselves, by oath, to the cause of the exiled chief, promising, with one voice (says an old historian), to live and die with him.⁵ The news of this movement reached the royal fleet, which was cruising in the eastern sea, under the orders of the Normans Eudes and Raulfe. They gave chase to Godwin, who, finding himself unequal in force, gave way before them, and took shelter in Pevensey roads, while the enemy's vessels were interrupted in their chase by a storm. Godwin afterwards coasted along the southern shore as far as the Isle of Wight, where his two sons, Harold and Leofwin, arriving from Ireland, joined him with a small army.⁶

The father and the sons, together, again began to correspond with the inhabitants of the southern counties. Wherever they landed, provisions were

furnished to them, the people bound themselves by oath to their cause, and hostages were given them;⁷ all the corps of the king's soldiers, all the ships which they found in the ports, deserted to them.⁸ They sailed for Sandwich, where their disembarkation took place without any hindrance, notwithstanding Edward's proclamation, which ordered every inhabitant to prevent the passage of the rebellious chief. The king was then in London, and to that city he called all the warriors of the west and north. Few obeyed his call, and those who did obey it came too late.⁹ Godwin's vessels were at liberty to ascend the Thames, and arrived in sight of London, near the suburb which was then, and is still, called Southwark [South-ward].¹⁰ When the tide was down they cast anchor, and secret emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of London, who, following the example of the inhabitants of the ports, swore that they would do whatever was wished by the enemies of the foreign influence.¹¹ The vessels passed under London bridge without opposition, and landed a body of troops, which formed on the bank of the river.

Before a single bow was drawn the exiles¹² sent a respectful message to king Edward, asking a revision of the sentence which had been awarded against them. Edward at first refused; other messengers succeeded; and during these delays it was with difficulty that Godwin could restrain the irritation of his friends.¹³ Edward, on the other hand, found those who still adhered to his cause but little disposed to fight against their fellow-countrymen.¹⁴ His foreign favourites, who foresaw that union among the Saxons would be their ruin, urged their king to give the signal for battle; but, becoming wise through necessity, he no longer listened to the Normans, and gave his consent to whatever should be resolved on by the English chiefs on both sides, who accordingly assembled under the presidency of Stigand, bishop of East-Anglia. They decided with one accord that the king should accept from Godwin and his sons the oath of peace, with hostages, offering them, on his part, equivalent guarantees.¹⁵

On the first rumour of this reconciliation, the courtiers of Normandy and France¹⁶ mounted their horses in great haste, and fled in different directions. Some reached a fortress in the west, commanded by the Norman Osbert, surnamed Pentecoste. Others made all speed to a castle in the north, also commanded by a Norman. The Nor-

¹ Dati . . . iis sunt obsides ac victus quibuscumque in locis postulerent. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 167.)

² Buthsecarlos omnes quos obvius invennerant, secum legentes. (Roger. de Hoved. annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 442.)—*Buthsecarlos*, a mariner, a seaman, from *bucca*, *buccia*, *bucca*, *bucia*, (from the A.S. verb *bagan*, to bend,) a ship of large dimensions, and from *carl*, *ceorl*, a stout man. (Vid. Somneri Glossarium, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. II., ad fin., ed. Selden.)

³ At illi nimis tardantes ad tempus non venerunt. (Ibid.)

⁴ The Anglo-Saxons wrote it Suth-wore.

⁵ Ut omnes ferè quæ volebat omnino vellent, effectit. (Roger. de Hoved.)

⁶ Elagati. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 167.)

⁷ Adeo ut ipse comes agrè suos sedaret. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 167.)

⁸ Angli pugnare adversus propinquos et compatriotas pæne omnes abhorrebant. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 442, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Decreverunt ut pax obsidibus confirmaretur ex utràque parte. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 167.)

¹⁰ And tha Frenceise menn. (Ibid.)

¹ Castellum in Doroberniæ clivo. (Roger. de Hoved. annal., pars prior, p. 441, ed. Savile.)

² De successione autem regni, spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyl., vol. i. p. 65, ed. Gale.)

³ Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 100.

⁴ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 165.

⁵ Omnes uno ore, aut vivere aut mori se paratos esse, sibi promiserunt. (Roger. de Hoved. annal., pars prior, p. 442, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 165. Roger. de Hoved. Ibid.

mans, Robert archbishop of Canterbury, and William bishop of London, went out at the eastern gate, followed by armed men of their own nation, who massacred some of the English in their flight.¹ They repaired to the coast, and embarked in small fishing-boats. The archbishop, in his trouble and haste, left in England his most precious effects, and, among other things, the *pallium* which he had received from the Roman church as the ensign of his dignity.²

The great council of the Wittenagemot was convoked, out of London, and, this time, assembled freely. All the chiefs and the best men of the country attended it, say the Saxon chronicles.³ Godwin spoke in his own defence, and justified himself from every accusation before the king and the people;⁴ his sons justified themselves in the same manner; their sentence of exile was reversed; and another sentence unanimously passed, which banished all the Normans from England, as enemies to the public peace, favourers of discord, and calumniators of the English to their king.⁵ The youngest of Godwin's sons, named Ulfnoth, after his grandfather, the herdsman of the west, was placed in Edward's hands, together with one of the sons of Sweyn, as hostages for the peace mutually sworn. Borne away, even at this moment, by his fatal inclination to friendship with the men beyond the Channel, the king sent them both to the care of William duke of Normandy. The queen, Godwin's daughter, left her cloister, and returned to dwell in the palace. All the members of this popular family resumed their honours, excepting only Sweyn, who voluntarily renounced them. He had formerly carried off a nun, and also committed a murder in a moment of irritation; and, as some satisfaction to justice, or to appease the sting of conscience, he condemned himself to make a journey bare-foot to Jerusalem. He rigorously accomplished this painful pilgrimage, but a speedy death was the consequence of it.⁶

Stigand, the bishop who had presided at the assembly held for this important reconciliation, took the place of the Norman Robert as archbishop of Canterbury; and, while waiting to obtain from Rome the decoration of the pallium for himself, he officiated at the pontifical mass in that which Robert had left at his departure. The Normans, Hugues and Osbert Pentecoste, gave up the keys of the castles which they held, and obtained safe conduct out of the kingdom;⁷ but, at the request of the weak Edward, some infractions were made in the decree of banishment passed against every foreigner. Raulfe, the son of Gaultier de Mantes and of the king's sister; Robert, surnamed the Dragon, and his son-in-law Richard, the son of Scrob; Onfroy, equerry of the palace; Onfroy, surnamed Pied-de-Geai; and others, for whom the

king had a particular friendship, and who had not made themselves conspicuous in the recent troubles, had the privilege of living in England and retaining their employments.⁸ Guillaume, bishop of London, was, some time afterwards, recalled and reinstated in his episcopal see; and a Fleming named Herman remained bishop of Wilton. Godwin opposed this toleration so contrary to the public will with all his might;⁹ but his voice did not prevail; for there were many whose policy it was to appear full of complaisance towards the king, perhaps with the view of succeeding the foreign courtiers in his favour. Subsequent events proved whether those courtiers or the more austere Godwin advocated the soundest policy.¹⁰

It is difficult at this day to appreciate the degree of king Edward's sincerity in his return to the care of national interests, and his reconciliation with the family of Godwin. When surrounded by his countrymen, he, perhaps, thought himself a slave to the nation; he, perhaps, believed himself to be fettered when obeying the wishes of a people who had chosen him for their king. His ulterior relations with the duke of Normandy, and his private conversations with the Normans whom he kept about him, form the secret part of this story. All that the chronicles of the time say of it is, that an apparent friendship existed between the king and his father-in-law, and at the same time the name of Godwin was loudly cursed in Normandy. All the foreigners whom his return had driven from their posts of profit and honour, all those to whom the easy and brilliant career of courtier was now closed, united in calling Godwin a traitor, an enemy to his king, and the murderer of young Alfred.

This last charge was the most credited, and pursued the Saxon patriot to the hour of his death. (A.D. 1053.) One day, when seated at Edward's table, he suddenly fainted away; and this accident was the foundation of a romantic and very doubtful story, although it is repeated by several historians. They relate that one of the attendants, while filling a goblet, made a false step and stumbled, but saved himself from falling by the help of his other leg. "Ah!" said Godwin, laughing, to the king, "the brother came to help his brother." "No doubt," returned Edward, casting a significant glance at the Saxon chief, "the brother has need of his brother; and would to God that mine were still living!" "O king," exclaimed Godwin, "wherefore is it that the least remembrance of thy brother makes thee look with an evil eye on me? If I contributed, even indirectly, to his misfortune, may the God of heaven cause this mouthful of bread to choke me."¹¹ Godwin put the bread into his mouth, say the writers who relate this adventure, and was immediately suffocated. The truth is, that his death was not so sudden; but that,

¹ *Egressi sunt orientali portâ, atque occiderunt et aliâs confecerunt multos juvenes.* (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 167.)

² *Vili navicula prorsus transfretavit, ac dereliquit pallium præsulatumque hæc in terrâ.* (Ibid., p. 168.)

³ *Tha betstan menn the wæron on thison lande.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Et coram universâ gente (ealle land-leodan).* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Quod statum regni conturbabant, animum regis in provinciales agitates.* (Willelm. Malmesb., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 82, ed. Savile.)

⁶ *Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglic., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 82, ed. Savile.—Roger de Hoved. l. c.—Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 4, ed. Selden.*

⁷ *Sus reddiderunt castella.* (Roger de Hoved. p. 443.)

⁸ *Anfridum cognomento Ceokesfoot (al. Ceousfoot) et quosdam alios quos plus cæteris rex dilexerat, eique et omni populo fideles extiterant.* (Roger de Hoved. ibid.)

⁹ *Insuper et aures ejus (Hermann) afflaverat secundus rumor, Godwinum, qui sibi obstiterat, obisse.* (Ranulf. Higden. Polychron., apud rer. Anglic. script., vol. iii. p. 281, ed. Gale.)

¹⁰ *Roger de Hoved. annal., pars prior, ap. script. rer. Anglic., p. 442, ed. Savile.—Gervasi Act. Pontific. Cantuar., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 1691, ed. Selden.—Ranulf. Higden, l. c.*

¹¹ *Heur. Huntingd. histor., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 366, ed. Savile.—Willelm. Malmesb., ibid. p. 81.*

having fallen from his seat, he was carried out of the apartment by two of his sons, Tostig and Gurth, and expired five days after.¹ The accounts of all these events generally vary, as the writer happens to have been of Norman or of English birth. "I constantly see before me," says an historian who lived at least a century later, "two tracks and two opposite versions; and I wish my readers to be forewarned of the danger to which I am myself exposed."²

(A.D. 1054.) A short time after the death of Godwin died Sward, the chief of Northumberland, who had at first embraced the royal party against Godwin, and afterwards voted for peace and the expulsion of the foreigners. He was a Dane by birth, and the population of the same origin which he commanded had surnamed him Sward-Digr, or Sward the Strong;³ there was shown, for a long time after, a rock of granite which he had cloven with one stroke of an ax.⁴ Being attacked by dysentery, and feeling his end approach, he said to those about him, "Lift me up, that I may die standing, like a soldier, and not grovelling, like a cow. Put on my coat of mail; cover my head with my helmet; put my buckler on my left arm, and my gilded ax in my right hand, that I may expire in arms."⁵ Sward left a son called Waltheof, who was then too young to succeed him in his government of Northumbria; and this post was given to Tostig, the third son of Godwin. Harold, the eldest, succeeded his father in the command of all the country south of the Thames; and placed the administration of the eastern provinces, which he had governed until then, in the hands of Alfgar son of Leofric.⁶

(A.D. 1055.) Harold, at that time, was the first among his countrymen in authority and military talent; he drove back the Welsh within their ancient limits, who had, about the period in question, made several irruptions into England, being encouraged by the want of skill of the Frenchman Raulfe, nephew of Edward, commanding the foreign garrison cantoned at Hereford.⁷ Raulfe showed but little vigilance for the preservation of a country which was not his own; and if, by virtue of his authority as chief, he called the Saxons to arms, it was to train them, against their own inclinations, to the tactics of the continent, and make them fight on horseback, contrary to their national custom.⁸ The English, encumbered with their accoutrements as cavalry, and deserted by their general, who fled at the first approach of danger,

¹ Quintâ posthâc feriâ vitâ decessit. (Roger. de Hoved. annal. pars prior. *ibid.*, p. 443.)

² Periclitatur oratio lectorem premonitum volo quâd hâc quasi ancipitem viam narrationis video, quâ veritas factorum pendet in dubio. (Will. Malmesb. lib. ii. *ibid.*, p. 50.)

³ Sig-ward Digr. (Origo et gesta Sivardi regis, apud script. rer. Danic., vol. iii. p. 288.)

⁴ Irâ fervente commotus, âspenni quam in manu gestabat, globum quemdam lapideum icu validissimo secuit, vestigia adhuc eminentibus. (*Ibid.*, p. 292 et 302.)

⁵ Hen. Huntingd., *hist. lib. vi.* p. 366, ed. Savile.—Ranulf. Higden, *Polychron.*, lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. p. 281, ed. Gale.—Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud *hist. Angl. script.*, vol. i. col. 946, ed. Selden.

⁶ Roger. de Hoved. *Annal.*, apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 443, ed. Savile.—*Hist. Ingulf. Croylund*, ed. Gale, vol. i. p. 66.

⁷ See above, p. 51.

⁸ Anglos contra morem in equos pugnare jussit. (Roger. de Hoved. p. 443, ed. Savile.)

offered no resistance to the Welsh, so that they invaded the environs of Hereford, and plundered the town itself.⁹ Harold then came from the south of England, drove the Cambrians beyond their frontiers, and compelled them to swear that they would never again pass them, and to accept as a law that every man of their nation taken in arms on the eastern side of Offa's entrenchment should have his right hand cut off. (A.D. 1055 to 1063.) It appears that the Saxons raised a parallel entrenchment on their own side; and that the interval between the two became a sort of free territory for the traders of both nations. Antiquaries think that they can still discern traces of this double line of defence, and, upon the heights on each side, some remains of ancient fortified posts established by the Britons on the west and by the English on the east.¹⁰

While Harold was thus adding to his renown and popularity among the Anglo-Saxons of the south, his brother Tostig was far from gaining the love of the Anglo-Danes of the north. Tostig, though a Dane by the mother's side, yet, either through the instinct of personal despotism, or through a false national pride, treated those under him rather as subjects than as citizens voluntarily united, and made them feel the yoke of a conqueror rather than the authority of a chief. He violated their hereditary customs at pleasure, levied enormous tributes, and put to death without a legal sentence those who gave him umbrage.¹¹ After several years of oppression, the patience of the Northumbrians was exhausted; and a troop of insurgents, led by two men of great note in the country, suddenly presented themselves at the gates of York, then the residence of Tostig. (A.D. 1064.) That chief escaped by flight; but a great number of his officers and ministers, of Saxon as well as of Danish origin, were put to death.

The insurgents seized the arsenals and treasure of the province; then, assembling a great council, they publicly declared the son of Godwin to be deprived of his power and outlawed.¹² They chose as his successor Morkar, one of the sons of that Alfgar who, on the death of his father Leofric, had become chief of all Mercia. The son of Alfgar repaired to York, took the command of the Northumbrian army, and drove Tostig towards the south. The army advanced through the Mercian territory as far as the town of Northampton, and was joined by many of the inhabitants of that country. Edwin, the brother of Morkar, who had a command on the frontiers of Wales, armed in his brother's cause some troops of his province, as also a body of Cambrians, who were engaged by the promise of pay, and perhaps partly by the desire of gratifying their national hatred by fighting against Saxons, though under a Saxon banner.¹³

On receiving intelligence of this great movement, Edward ordered Harold to march with the warriors of the south and east to meet the insurgents.

⁹ Sed cum prælum essent commissuri, comes cum suis Francis et Normannis primus fugam cepisset. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁰ Wat's Dike. Pennant's Tour in Wales. Roger. de Hoved., p. 444, ed. Savile.

¹¹ Sub pacis fœdere per insidias occidi præcepit pro immensitate tributi quod de totâ Northumbriâ injuste acceperat. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 446.)

¹² Exlegaverunt. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 446, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Multi item Britones (Brittas) cum eo unâ venerunt. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 171. Roger. de Hoved. l. c.)

Family pride, wounded in the person of a brother, seemed to combine with the natural aversion of men in power to every energetic act of popular independence, to make Harold an implacable enemy to the people who had driven away Tostig, and to the chief whom that people had elected. But the son of Godwin proved himself superior to these vulgar passions; and before drawing the sword against his fellow-countrymen he proposed to the Northumbrians to hold a conference to treat for peace. They stated their grievances, and the motives of their insurrection: Harold strove to exculpate his brother, and promised in his name a better conduct for the future, if the people of Northumberland would pardon him and receive him again; but the Northumbrians protested with one voice against any reconciliation with him who had been their tyrant.¹ "We were born free," said they, "and brought up in freedom: a haughty chief is a thing insupportable to us, for we have learned from our ancestors to live freemen or to die."² They charged Harold himself to carry their answer to the king. Harold, preferring justice and the tranquillity of the country to the interest of his own brother,³ repaired to Edward; and, when he returned, he himself swore to the Northumbrians the peace which the king granted them, and which legalised the expulsion of Tostig and the election of the son of Alfgar.⁴ Tostig, dissatisfied with king Edward, with his countrymen who had abandoned him, and especially with his brother, whom he thought bound to defend his cause, whether just or unjust, left England with hatred in his breast, and repaired to the count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married.

(A.D. 1042 to 1058.) From the period of England's deliverance from the Danish dominion, the law of king Canute for raising the annual tribute of St. Peter's pence had shared the fate of all the other laws decreed by the foreign government. The public administration compelled no one to observe it, and Rome now received from England only the offerings and voluntary gifts of individual devotion. Thus the ancient regard of the Romish church for the English nation rapidly declined. Conversations to their and their king's prejudice were held in enigmatical language in the halls of St. John of Lateran.⁵ The English bishops were accused of *simony*,⁶ that is, of paying money for their sees, a reproach which the court of Rome frequently made, although with a bad grace, as it incurred a similar charge against itself, being accustomed to sell all things,⁷ according to a proverb of that time. Eldred, archbishop of York, experienced the first marks of its enmity. He repaired to the Eternal

¹ Omnes unanimi consensu contradixerunt. (Roger de Hoved., p. 446.)

² Se homines liberè natos, liberè educatos, nullius ducis ferociam pati posse, à majoribus didicisse aut libertatem aut mortem. (Will. Malmesh., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 83, ed. Savile.)

³ Qui magis quietem patrie quàm fratris commodum attenderet. (Ibid.)

⁴ Id ille narravit et manu datâ confirmavit. (Chron. Sax. p. 171.)

⁵ Membra mali capit. (Alexandri papæ epist. apud Labbeum, Concil., vol. ix., p. 1121.)

⁶ Willelm. Malmesh. de gest. Pontific., Angl. lib. i., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 204, ed. Savile.

⁷ Roma . . . quavis et ibi venalitas multum operetur. (Ibid.)—Ranulf. Higden, Polychron., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. p. 280, ed. Gale.

City to solicit the pallium, the indispensable ensign of high catholic prelacy, as the purple robes transmitted by the Caesars to the royal vassals of ancient Rome were the sign of sovereignty. (A.D. 1058.) The Roman priests refused the archiepiscopal mantle to Eldred; but a Saxon chief who accompanied him threatened to retaliate by procuring the entire prohibition of the sending of money to the apostolical see:⁸ the Romans yielded; but resentment for this constraint and the desire of revenge took possession of their heart.

The Norman, Robert de Jumièges, expelled by the English patriots from the archbishopric of Canterbury, immediately took the road to Rome, and there made complaint that the sacred character had been violated in his person, denouncing, at the same time, the Anglo-Saxon Stigand, whom the desire of the nation had elevated in his place, as an usurper and intruder. The Roman pontiff and his cardinals received these complaints with eagerness; they made it a crime in the Saxon prelate to have invested himself with the pallium which Robert had left behind him in his flight; and the complainant returned into Normandy with papal letters which declared him to be the lawful archbishop of Canterbury.⁹

Stigand, the choice of the people, feeling the danger of not being recognised at Rome, negotiated during this interval, and requested the pallium from the reigning pope; but, by a chance which it was impossible to foresee, this request itself gave rise to other perplexing embarrassments. At the moment when it reached the pontifical court the papacy was in the hands of a man elected by the great Roman families against the wish of the king of the Germans, who, by virtue of his title of *Cæsar*, which had been transmitted to him from the Frank emperors, pretended that no sovereign pontiff could be created without his consent. This pope was Benedict X., who, being inclined to indulgence, from his own power being unstable, and because he was desirous of acquiring friends, did not refuse the pallium to archbishop Stigand. But an army arriving at Rome from beyond the mountains soon procured the election of another pope, who, having expelled Benedict, arrayed himself without any scruple in the pontifical decorations left by the vanquished pope, degraded him, excommunicated him, and annulled all his acts. Stigand, therefore, found himself once more without the pallium, charged before the papal power with usurpation, and with a fresh and much more serious crime, in having solicited the favour and countenance of a false and excommunicated pope.¹⁰ The journey from Canterbury to Rome was, in those times, a painful one; Stigand was not eager to go and justify himself before the fortunate rival of Benedict X.; and the old leaven of hatred against the English people fermented more strongly than ever.¹¹

Another incident gave to the Romans an opportunity of associating their hatred with the desire

⁸ Willelm. Malmesh., *ibid.*, lib. iii. p. 271, ed. Savile.

⁹ Cum apostolicis litteris rediens. (Ranulf. Higden, Polychron., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. p. 279, ed. Gale.)—Willelm. Malmesh., p. 84, ed. Savile.

¹⁰ Stigandus accepit pallium . . . à Benedicto anti-papâ. (Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 791.)

¹¹ Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. p. 66, ed. Gale.

of revenge excited in many of the Normans by the pretended treachery of Godwin, and with the ambitious projects of duke William. There resided at the Norman court a monk named Lanfranc, of Lombard origin, and famous in the christian world for his knowledge of the civil law, and for writings consecrated to the defence of the Romish orthodoxy; this man, whom duke William esteemed as being one of his ablest councillors, incurred that prince's displeasure by blaming the marriage of the Norman duke with Mathilda, daughter of Baudouin count of Flanders, his kinswoman in a degree forbidden by the church. Nicholas II., the successor of the anti-pope Benedict, obstinately refused to recognise or give his sanction to their union; the Lombard monk, exiled from the court of his former master, resorted to Nicholas at Rome. But, far from making any complaint of the duke of Normandy, Lanfranc, in respectful language, pleaded with the sovereign pontiff the cause of that marriage, which he would not take upon himself to approve.¹ By his entreaties and his address, he obtained a formal dispensation, and, for having rendered him this signal service, he was received by the duke, his former patron, into greater intimacy than before. He became the soul of his councils, and his plenipotentiary at the court of Rome. The respective pretensions of the Romish clergy and the duke of Normandy with regard to England, and the possibility of realising them, and of meeting with joint success therein, were, it would appear, from that time, the subject of serious negotiations. An armed invasion was, perhaps, not yet thought of; but William's relationship to Edward seemed one great cause for hope, and, at the same time, an incontestible title in the eyes of the Roman priests, who favoured, throughout Europe, the maxims of hereditary royalty in opposition to the practice of election.²

(A.D. 1059 to 1065.) The internal peace of England had continued undisturbed for two years. King Edward's animosity against the sons of Godwin was fast disappearing for want of new excitement, and through the habit of living amongst them. Harold, the new chief of that popular family, fully paid to the king that respectful and submissive deference of which he was so jealous. Some ancient recitals say that Edward loved him, and treated him as his own son;³ at least he did not feel towards him the kind of aversion mixed with fear with which Godwin had inspired him; nor had he any longer a pretext for detaining, as guarantees against the son, the two hostages whom he had received from the father. It will be remembered that these hostages had been confided by the suspicious Edward to the care of the duke of Normandy. For more than ten years they had been in a sort of captivity, far from their country. Towards the close of the year 1065 Harold, the brother of one and uncle of the other, thinking the moment favourable for obtaining their deliverance, asked the king's permission to go and claim them in his name, and bring them home from their exile. Edward, without evincing any reluctance to part with

the hostages, was alarmed at Harold's intention of going himself into Normandy. "I will not restrain thee," said he; "but if thou departest, it will be without my wish; for thy journey will certainly bring some misfortune upon thyself and upon our country. I know duke William, and his crafty spirit. He hates thee, and will grant thee nothing, unless he sees some great advantage therein; the only way to make him give up the hostages would be to send some other person than thee."⁴

The Anglo-Saxon, brave and full of confidence, did not act upon this advice; but set out, as if on a journey of pleasure, with his falcon on his hand, and his greyhounds running before him.⁵ He embarked at one of the ports of Sussex. His two vessels were carried out of their course by contrary winds, and driven towards the mouth of the Somme, to that part of the coast which belonged to Guy count of Ponthieu. It was the custom of that maritime country, as of many others in the middle ages, that every stranger thrown upon the coast by a storm, instead of being humanely assisted, should be imprisoned, and have a ransom set upon him. Harold and his companions were dealt with according to this law: after being stripped of the best part of their baggage, they were shut up by the lord of the place in his fortress of Belram, now Beaurain, near Montreuil.⁶

To escape a long and wearisome captivity, the Saxon declared himself to be the bearer of a message from the king of England to the duke of Normandy, and sent to William to request that he would release him from prison, in order that he might wait upon him. William did not hesitate to demand from his neighbour, the count of Ponthieu, the liberty of the captive, at first simply with threats, and without saying anything of ransom. The count of Ponthieu was deaf to menaces, and yielded only to the offer of a large sum of money and a fine tract of land on the river Eaune.⁷ Harold repaired to Rouen; and the Bastard of Normandy had then the supreme satisfaction of keeping by him and holding in his power the son of the great enemy of the Normans, one of the chiefs of that national league which had caused the banishment from England of the friends and relatives of William, the supporters of his hopes, and the favourers of his pretensions to the sovereignty of the English.⁸ Duke William received the Saxon chief with great honours and an appearance of frankness and cordiality: he told him that the two hostages were free at his sole request, and he might return with them immediately; but that, as a courteous guest, he ought not to be in such haste, but to stay at least for a few days, to see the towns and the amusements of the country. Harold went from town to town, and from castle to castle; and took part, with his young companions, in military jousts. Duke William made them

⁴ Chronique de Normandie—Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. p. 223. Wace, Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 108.—Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. p. 4, ed. Selden.

⁵ Tapisserie de Bayeux. See the memoir of Lancelot joined to the Atlas.

⁶ Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 116.—Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. p. 5, ed. Selden.

⁷ Chronique de Normandie—Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. p. 223.

⁸ Fuerant enim antea inimici ad invicem. (Math. Paris., tom. i. p. i.)—Henr. Hunting. hist., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 366, ed. Savile.

¹ Ut ageret pro duce Normannorum et eonjuge ejus. (Vita Lanfranci, apud script. rer. Gallie., vol. xiv. p. 31.)

² Mabillon—Annales Benedictini, tom. iv. p. 528.

³ Filiu instar loco. (Suorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hardrådes saga, cap. 77, vol. ii. p. 151.)

knights, that is, members of the high Norman military order, a sort of warlike fraternity, into which every man of wealth who devoted himself to arms might be introduced under the auspices of some old member, who, with due ceremony, presented to him a sword, a baldrick plated with silver, and a lance decorated with a streamer. The Saxon warriors received from their sponsor in chivalry presents of fine arms and horses of great value.¹ William then proposed that they should try their new spurs by following him in an expedition which he was undertaking against his neighbours of Brittany. Ever since the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, each new duke of Normandy had endeavoured to make good his pretensions to be the feudal sovereign of that country, which Charles the Simple had granted to Rollo; thence arose continual wars and a national enmity between the states of which the little river Coësnon was the common boundary.

Harold and his friends, foolishly eager to acquire a renown for courage among the men of Normandy, displayed for their host, at the expense of the Britons, a prowess which was one day to cost them and their country very dear. The son of Godwin, who was stout and active, saved the lives of several soldiers, in the passage of the Coësnon, who were like to have been swallowed up in the quicksands. During the whole war, Harold and William had but one tent and one table.² On their return they rode side by side, amusing each other on the way with friendly discourse.³ One day, William turned the conversation upon his early intimacy with king Edward. "When Edward and I," said he to the Saxon, "lived like brothers under the same roof, he promised, that if ever he became king of England, he would make me heir to his kingdom. Harold, I wish that thou wouldst assist me to realise this promise; and be sure that if, by thy aid, I obtain the kingdom, whatever thou shalt ask I will grant it thee."⁴ Harold, though surprised at this unexpected excess of confidence, could not refrain from answering by some vague promises of adhesion thereto; and William resumed in these terms:—"Since thou consentest to serve me, thou must engage to fortify the castle of Dover, to sink in it a well of fresh water, and to give it up to my troops; thou must also give me thy sister, that I may marry her to one of my chiefs; and thou thyself must marry my daughter, Adela; moreover, I wish thee, at thy departure, to leave me one of the hostages which thou claimest, as a surety for the fulfilment of thy promise: he shall remain in my keeping; and I will restore him to thee in England when I shall arrive there as king."⁵ On hearing these words, Harold perceived all his danger, and that into which he had unconsciously drawn his two young relatives. To escape from his embarrassment, he complied in words with all

the Norman's demands;⁶ and he who had twice taken up arms to drive away the foreigners from his country promised to deliver up to a foreigner the principal fortress in that same country. He reserved to himself to break this unworthy engagement at a future day, thinking to purchase his safety and repose with a falsehood. William pressed him no further at that moment; but he did not long leave the Saxon at peace on this point.

In the town of Avranches, or in that of Bayeux, for the testimonies vary with regard to the place, duke William convoked a great council of the lords and barons of Normandy. The day before that fixed for the assembly, William had caused to be brought, from all the places around, bones and relics of saints, sufficient to fill a great chest or cask, which was placed in the hall of council and covered with cloth of gold.⁷ When the duke had taken his seat in the chair of state, holding a drawn sword in his hand, crowned with a circlet of gems, and surrounded by the crowd of Norman chiefs, amongst whom was the Saxon, two little caskets for relics were brought, and laid upon the cask of relics. William then said, "Harold, I require thee, before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promises which thou hast made me—viz. to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England after king Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adela, and to send me thy sister, that I may give her to one of my followers."⁸ The Englishman, once more taken by surprise, and not daring to deny his own words, approached the two reliquaries with a troubled air, laid his hand upon them, and swore to execute to the utmost of his power his agreement with the duke, if he lived, and with God's help. The whole assembly repeated, "*May God be thy help!*"⁹ William immediately made a sign, on which the cloth of gold was removed, and discovered the bones and skeletons which filled the cask to the brim, and which the son of Godwin had sworn upon without knowing it. The Norman historians say that he shuddered and his countenance changed at the sight of this enormous heap.¹⁰ Harold soon after departed, taking with him his nephew, but was compelled to leave his young brother behind him in the power of the duke of Normandy. William accompanied him to the sea-side, and made him fresh presents, rejoicing that he had, by fraud and surprise, obtained from the man in all England most capable of frustrating his projects a public and solemn oath to serve and assist him.¹¹

When Harold, on his return to his native country, presented himself before king Edward, and related all that had passed between duke William and himself, the king became pensive, and

¹ Sensit Haroldus in his periculum undique, nec intellexit quò evaderet. (Ibid.)

² Chron. de Normandie, recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xliii. p. 223.

Tut une cuve en fist emplier,
Pois d'un pacle les fist covrir,
Ke Heraut ne sout ne ne vit.

(Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 113.)

³ Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 115.—Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. p. 5, ed. Selden.—Guill. Pict., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 191.

⁴ Plusors dient, Ke Dex li dont!

(Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 114.)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Guill. Pictav., p. 192.—Eadmeri hist., ibid.

¹ Chevals et armes li dona. (Roman de Rou, tom. ii. p. 112.) Armis militaribus et equis delectissimis. (Guill. Pictav., p. 191.)—Tapisserie de Bayeux.

² Ho-pitem quasi conubernalem habens. (Guill. Pict. apud script. rer. Normann., p. 191.)

³ Tales togeder thei told, ilk on a good palfray. (Robert Brunne's chronicle, p. 68.)

⁴ Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. p. 5, ed. Selden.—Chron. de Normandie. Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xliii. p. 223. Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 191.

⁵ Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. p. 5, ed. Selden.

said to him, "Did I not forewarn thee that I knew this William, and that thy journey would bring calamity on thyself and on our nation? Heaven grant that these misfortunes may not happen during my life!"¹ These words and this sadness may seem to prove that Edward had really, in his youthful and thoughtless days, made a foolish promise to a foreigner of a kingdom which did not belong to him. It is not known whether after his accession he had nourished the ambitious hopes of William by words; but in default of express words, his constant friendship for the Norman had, with the latter, been equivalent to a positive assurance, and a sufficient reason for believing that Edward continued favourable to his views.

Whatever secret negotiations, up to this time, had taken place between the duke of Normandy and the Roman church, they were able from that moment to have a more fixed basis and a more determinate direction. An oath sworn upon relics, however absurd the oath might be, called down the vengeance of the church if violated; and in that case, according to the vulgar opinion of the age, the church struck lawfully. Either from a secret feeling of the dangers with which this ecclesiastical vengeance, associated with the vengeance and ambition of the Normans, seemed to threaten England, or from a vague impression of superstitious terror, a great dejection of mind overcame the English nation. Sinister reports were circulated; men feared and were alarmed, without any positive cause for alarm. They raked up old predictions, attributed to saints of former times. One of them had prophesied misfortunes such as the Saxons had never suffered since they left the banks of the Elbe.² Another had foretold an invasion by a people of an unknown tongue, and the subjection of the English people to masters from beyond the sea.³ All these rumours, which either had remained until then without credit, or were forged at that very moment, were eagerly received, and kept the minds of the people in expectation of some unavoidable calamity.

The health of Edward, who was naturally of a weak constitution, and had, it should appear, become more sensible to his country's destiny, declined from the period of these events. He could not disguise to himself that his love of foreigners was the sole cause of the dangers which seemed to threaten England; and his gloom on this account was greater than that of the people. In order to stifle these thoughts, and perhaps the remorse which preyed upon his mind, he gave himself wholly up to the details of religious observances; he made large donations to the churches and monasteries; and his last hour surprised him in the midst of these mournful and unprofitable occupations. On his death-bed he discoursed incessantly on his gloomy presentiments; he had frightful

visions; and in his melancholy ecstasies the menacing passages of the Bible recurred involuntarily and confusedly to his memory. "The Lord hath bent his bow," he would exclaim, "the Lord hath prepared his sword, he waveth and brandisheth it like a warrior. He will manifest his wrath by fire and sword."⁴ These words struck terror into those who surrounded the king's death-bed;⁵ but the archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, could not refrain from smiling at them, and from ridiculing those who trembled at the dreams of a sick old man.⁶

Weak as was the mind of the aged Edward, he had the courage to declare before he died, to the chiefs who consulted him on the choice of a successor, that in his opinion the man most worthy to reign was Harold the son of Godwin.⁷ In pronouncing the name of Harold under these circumstances, the king showed himself superior to his habitual prejudices, superior even to the ambition of advancing the fortunes of his family; for there was then in England a grandson of Edmund Ironside, born in Hungary, where his father had taken refuge at the time of the Danish proscriptions. This young man, named Edgar, had neither natural talent nor acquired glory; he had passed the whole of his childhood in a foreign country, and could hardly speak the Saxon language.⁸ Such a candidate could not struggle for popularity with Harold, the valiant, the rich, the destroyer of the foreign power.⁹ Harold was the man most capable of bravely combating all the dangers which menaced the country; and even if he had not been pointed out for the choice of the other chiefs by the dying king, his name must have been pronounced by every mouth. He was elected the next day after the ceremony of Edward's funeral, and anointed by archbishop Stigand, whom the Church of Rome, as we have already shown, obstinately refused to recognise.¹⁰ (A.D. 1066.) The grandson of the herdsman Ulfnioth, showed himself, from the time of his accession, just, wise, affable, and active for the good of his country, sparing no fatigue (says an old historian) on land or sea.¹¹

The new king had to make use of the utmost precaution and wisdom to overcome the public despondency which manifested itself in different ways. The appearance of a comet, that was visible in England for nearly a month, filled the minds of men with an extraordinary impression of astonishment and affright. The people collected in the streets and market-places of the towns and villages to witness a phenomenon which was considered to be a confirmation of the national presentiments of

⁴ Et ecce Dominus gladium suum vibravit, arcum suum tendit et paravit Igne simul et gladio puniendi. (Ailred. Riev. de vitâ Edwardi confess. apud hist. Angl. script., vol. I. col. 400, ed. Selden.)

⁵ Ther was deol and sorwe ynou. (Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 350.) Cæster timentibus. (Willelm. Malmesb., p. 93, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Regem delirare subrummarum, ridere maluit. (Ailred. Riev. l. c.)—Vetulum accedente morbo nugis delirare. (Willelm. Malmesb., p. 93, ed. Savile.)

⁷ Haroldus cepisset regnum, sicut rex ei concesserat. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 172.)—Eadmeri hist. nov. ed. Selden.—Roger. de Hoved. annal., p. 449, ed. Savile.

⁸ Pontani, Rerum Danicarum histor., lib. v. p. 183. (Amst. 1651.)

⁹ Order. Vital., hist. eccl., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 402.

¹⁰ Tapissarie de Bayeux.—Guill. Pictav., p. 196.—Order. Vital., ibid.

¹¹ Roger. de Hoved. annal., p. 447, ed. Savile.—Willelm. Malmesb., p. 93, ed. Savile.

¹ Nonne dixi tibi me Willelmum nosse? ait. (Eadmeri hist., p. 5. Roger. de Hoved., p. 449, ed. Savile.)

² Venient super gentem Anglorum mala qualia non passa sunt ex quo venit in Angliam usque ad tempus illud. (Johan. de Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. iv. cap. 26, p. 349, ed. Hearne.)

³ Insperatum eis à Franciâ adventurum dominum, quòd et eorum excellentiam deprimeret in perpetuum, et honorem sine termino eventilaret. (Johan. Bromton, chron. apud rer. Angl. script., vol. I. col. 909, ed. Selden.)—Dira ac diuturna ab exteris gentibus esse passuram. (Osborni vita S. Dunstani, Anglia sacra, vol. II. p. 118.)

ill. A monk of Glastonbury, who studied astronomy, composed upon this new comet a sort of poetical rhapsody in which were the following words:—"Thou at length hast returned; thou shalt cause the tears of so many mothers to flow! It is many years since I last saw thee shine; but thou seemest to me more terrible now that thou announcest the ruin of my country."¹

The commencement of the new reign was marked by a complete return to the national usages that had been abandoned in the preceding reign. In the charters of king Harold the ancient Saxon signature replaced the pendant seals customary with the Normans.² He did not, however, drive from the kingdom, nor from their offices, those Normans who had been spared, in opposition to the law, through a sort of condescension towards Edward's old affections.³ These foreigners continued in the enjoyment of every civil right; but, instead of being grateful for this generous treatment, they employed themselves in intriguing at home and abroad for the foreign duke of Normandy. From them it was that William received the message that informed him of Edward's death and of the election of the son of Godwin.

At the moment when the duke received this important intelligence he was in his park near Rouen, with a new bow and arrows in his hand, which he was trying.⁴ On a sudden he appeared thoughtful; he gave his bow to one of his men, and, passing the Seine, repaired to his hotel at Rouen. He stopped in the great hall, and walked backwards and forwards, sitting down and rising up again, changing his seat and his posture, and unable to remain still in any place. None of his people dared to approach him; all stood apart, looking at one another in silence.⁵ At length an officer came in, who was admitted more intimately into William's familiarity. All the attendants pressed around him to learn the cause of the great agitation which they remarked in the duke. "I know nothing certain about it," answered the officer, "but we shall soon be informed of it." Then advancing alone towards William, "Sire," said he, "why should you conceal from us your news? what will you gain by it! It is commonly reported in the city that the king of England is dead, and that Harold, breaking his faith with you, has seized the kingdom." "They say true," answered the duke; "my chagrin is caused by Edward's death, and the wrong done me by Harold." "Well, sire," replied the courtier, "do not be angry about a thing which can be amended: for Edward's death there is no remedy, but for Harold's wrong there is. Yours is the good right, and you have valiant knights. Undertake then boldly; that which is boldly undertaken is half accomplished."⁶

One of the Saxon race, Tostig, Harold's own brother, whom the Northumbrians had stripped of his command, and whom Harold, now that he had become king, would not place over them again, arrived from Flanders to exhort William not to suffer

the peaceful reign of him who had perjured himself.⁷ Tostig boasted among the foreigners of having more influence and power in England than his brother; and promised beforehand the certain possession of that country to whomsoever would unite with him for its conquest.⁸ William, too prudent to engage in so important an enterprise merely on the word of an adventurer, gave the Saxon some vessels wherewith to try his strength, but with which, instead of landing in England, Tostig repaired to the Baltic to ask other aid, and to arouse against his country the ambition of the kings of the north. He had an interview with Sweyn, king of Denmark, his relative by the mother's side, and asked his assistance against his brother and his nation; but the Dane answered this request by a refusal, harshly expressed. Tostig retired in discontent, and went to seek elsewhere for some king whose sense of justice was less delicate.⁹ He found in Norway Harald or Harold, son of Sigurd, the most valiant among the Scandinavians, and the last who had led the adventurous life of which the charms had vanished, together with the religion of Odin. In his expeditions to the south, Harold had alternatively pursued his route by land and by sea; sometimes he was known as a pirate, sometimes as a roving warrior, a *viking* or a *varing*, as were the terms for such in northern language.¹⁰ He had formerly served in the East under those chieftains of his nation who, for two centuries, had possessed a portion of the Slavonian territories. Afterwards, urged by a desire of seeing foreign lands, he repaired to Constantinople, where some other emigrants from Scandinavia, under the name of *varings*, which the conquerors of the Russian towns assumed as their title, formed a mercenary militia as the guard of the emperors of the East.¹¹

Harold was a king's brother, but he thought it no disgrace to be enrolled in that militia. He kept guard, with his battle-ax on his shoulder, at the gate of the imperial palace; and served, with the corps to which he belonged, in Asia and in Africa. When the plunder obtained in those expeditions had sufficiently enriched him, he had a desire to quit the service, and demanded a dismissal: upon the intention of forcibly retaining him becoming manifest, he escaped by sea and carried off a young woman of high birth. After this evasion he cruised as a pirate off the shores of Sicily, and thereby increased the riches with which his vessel was freighted.¹² He was a poet, as were many of the northern corsairs, who, during lengthened cruises and when calms delayed their passage across the sea, beguiled the hours by chanting verses on their own past successes and on their future hopes. Upon his return from distant voyages, in which, as

⁷ *Cur perjurum suum regnare sineret fortiter redarguit.* (Oderic. Vital. hist. eccl., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 492.)

⁸ Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 81, vol. ii. p. 154.

⁹ Torfaus, Hist. reg. Norweg., pars tertia; lib. v. cap. 17, p. 347-349.

¹⁰ More correctly *varghing*, derived from *varg*, fugitive, exiled; a word that is to be traced in all the ancient Teutonic dialects. See Ducange's Glossary of the Writers of the Middle Ages, in *vargus*, *wargengus*, *warengangi*, *warganeus*, *gargangi*.

¹¹ The Greek historians of the Lower Empire designate this body of foreign soldiers by the words *φραγγαί* and *βάρβαροι*.

¹² Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 8 et seq., vol. ii. 57.

¹ Ranulf. Higden, Polyehron., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglic. script., tom. iii. p. 281, ed. Gale.

² Ducarel's Norman Antiquities,

³ See p. 53.

⁴ Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. p. 234.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Chron. de Normandie, Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. p. 225.

he himself declared in his songs, he had navigated his vessel, the dread of peasants, far and wide, his black ship manned with warriors, Harold levied an army, and made war on the king of Norway, with the desire of dispossessing him of his throne. He pretended to have an hereditary right to govern that kingdom; but, soon experiencing difficulties in making its conquest, he concluded a peace with his competitor, under the condition of sharing his dominions: the better to effect an amicable adjustment, it was agreed that the treasure of the son of Sigurd should be divided betwixt them, as well as the territory of Norway. That he might gain over to his own projects a chieftain so famous throughout the north for wealth and courage, Tostig addressed him in flattering language: "The world knows," said he to him, "that there is no warrior living fit to be compared with thee;¹ thou hast only to will it, and England is thine." The Norwegian suffered himself to be convinced; and promised to put to sea with his fleet as soon as the annual melting of the ice should have unbound the ocean.²

While waiting the departure of his ally from Norway, Tostig went over to try his fortune on the northern coasts of England, with a band of adventurers collected in Friesland, Holland, and Flanders. He plundered and laid waste some villages; but the two great chiefs of the countries bordering on the Humber, Morkar and Edwin, united, and, pursuing his vessels, forced him to seek a retreat on the shores of Scotland.³ Meanwhile Harold the son of Godwin, remaining in quiet in the southern part of England, had a messenger sent to him from Normandy, who addressed him in these words: "William, duke of the Normans, sends to remind thee of the oath which thou hast sworn to him with thy mouth and with thy hand upon good and holy relics."⁴ "It is true," replied the Saxon king, "that I took an oath to William; but I took it under constraint. I promised what did not belong to me; a promise which I could not in any way perform. My royal authority is not my own; I could not lay it down against the will of the country; nor can I, against the will of the country, take a foreign wife. As for my sister whom the duke claims that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has died within the year: would he have me send her corpse?"⁵ The Norman ambassador carried back this answer; and William replied by a second message, with reproaches, but expressed in mild and moderate terms,⁶ and entreating the king, if he did not consent to fulfil all the conditions he had sworn, at least to perform one of them, and to receive in marriage the young princess whom he had promised to make his wife. Harold answered that he would not fulfil that obligation; and, to give proof of

this resolution, he married a Saxon woman, the sister of Edwin and Morkar. Upon this the final words, declarative of a rupture, were pronounced. William swore that within the year he would come to exact all his due, and to pursue his perjured foe even to those places where he could hope to make the surest and the boldest stand against his vengeance.⁷

As far as publicity could go in the eleventh century, the duke of Normandy published what he called the injustice and bad faith of the Saxon.⁸ The general influence of superstitious ideas prevented the disinterested spectators of this dispute from understanding the patriotic conduct of the son of Godwin, and his scrupulous deference to the will of the people who had made him king. The opinion of the mass of men on the continent was for William against Harold, for the man who had converted holy things into a snare, and who excited treason against a prince who refused to commit the like with regard to his people. The negotiations with the Roman church, begun by Robert de Jumièges and Lanfranc, proceeded with vigour from the moment that a deacon of Lisieux had carried beyond the Alps the news of the pretended crime of Harold and of the whole English nation. The duke of Normandy preferred an accusation of sacrilege against his enemy before the pontifical court; he demanded that England should be laid under interdict by the church, and declared to be the property of him who should first take possession, with the reservation of the pope's approval.⁹ He grounded his demand upon three principal complaints: the murder of young Alfred and his Norman companions; the expulsion of archbishop Robert from the see of Canterbury; and king Harold's perjury:¹⁰ moreover, he alleged that he himself had an undeniable right to the crown, by virtue of his relationship to Edward the Confessor, and by the wish of that king positively declared on his death-bed: so said duke William. He assumed the character of a plaintiff at law, requiring that justice should be done to him, and desirous that his adversary should be heard in answer. But Harold was in vain cited to defend himself before the tribunal of Rome. He refused to acknowledge himself amenable to that court,¹¹ and he deputed no ambassador thither, being too haughty to submit the independence of his crown to any foreign dictation, and, at the same time, possessed of too much good sense to confide in the impartiality of those judges whom his enemy had appealed to.

The consistory of St. John of Lateran was, at that epoch, ruled by a man whose fame eclipses that of all others of the middle ages; this personage was Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, who had been appointed archdeacon of the church of Rome

¹ Non esse bellatorem tibi parem. (Snorre's Heimskringla, vol. iii. p. 149.)

² Ut primùm glaciem verga tempesta dissolvit. (Ibid.)

³ Ibid. vol. ii. 128.—Roger de Hoved. annal., p. 446, ed. Savile.

⁴ Sur bons saintuaires. (Chron. de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 229.) That he swore myd hys ryght honde. (Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 358, ed. Hoarue.)—Et linguâ et manu. (Guill. Pictav., p. 192.)

⁵ Eadmer. Hist. nov., lib. i. 5, ed. Selden.—Roger de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 449, ed. Savile.—Ranulph. Higden. Polychron., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. p. 285, ed. Gale.

⁶ Iterim ei amici familiaritate mandavit. (Eadmer. Hist., lib. i. p. 5.)

⁷ Sciret se ante annum emensum, ferro debitum vindicaturum, illic iturum quò Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. 3, apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 99, ed. Savile.)—Hist. Ingulf. Croyland, apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. 68, ed. Gale.—Math. Paris, vol. i. p. 2.

⁸ Haroldi injustitia. (Eadmer. Hist. nov., lib. i. p. 5, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Ad apostolicum.....misit. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglie., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 100, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ Ran. Higden, Polychron., lib. vi., apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. iii. 285, ed. Gale.

¹¹ Judicium papæ parvipendens. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland, apud rer. Anglie. script., vol. i. 69, ed. Gale.)

by pope Nicholas II. After having governed some years in the name of that pontiff, he found himself possessed of sufficient authority to dictate the election of a pope of his own choice, who assumed the name of Alexander II., and to maintain him in the chair of St. Peter, notwithstanding the disapproval of the emperor. The constant object of Hildebrand, in the furtherance of which he displayed the most indefatigable activity, and employed all the resources of a powerful genius, was to transform the religious supremacy of the holy see into an universal sovereignty over all christian states. This revolution, that had been commenced in the ninth century by the subjection of some towns of central Italy to the obedience and the domination of the pope of Rome, was continually promoted in the course of the two ensuing centuries. All the towns of the Campagna, of which the Roman pontiff was the immediate metropolitan, had passed, whether willingly or by constraint, under his temporal sovereignty; and it is by no means the least singular circumstance in those changes, that some Norman knights, who had adventurously emigrated from their own country, led on the soldiery of Rome, beneath the banner of St. Peter, to the conquest of these Italian territories.¹ At this time, also, certain other Normans, adventurers and pilgrims, had engaged as mercenaries in the military service of the seigniorial lords of the south of Italy, and had, in like manner to the Saxons in the pay of the Britons, broken their faith, seized on the fortresses, and established their own dominion over the country. This new power, having put an end to the pretensions of the Greek emperors, with regard to the cities of Apulia and of Calabria, or at least to any real power they had heretofore possessed, very well suited the religious intolerance of the court of Rome, and flattered its ambition by affording the hope that it might readily gain plenary authority over warriors who were simple in their character, and were imbued with profound veneration for the holy see. Many of the new dukes and counts, indeed, avowed themselves to be the vassals of the prince of the apostles, and consented to receive a banner from the Roman church, in token of the feudal investiture of the territory which they had conquered by their arms. Thus the church profited by the martial enterprise of the Normans, and gradually extended its sovereign sway in Italy: it began to consider the Normans as destined to fight all its battles, and do homage to it for their conquests.

Such were the very singular relations which accidental events had recently established, when the complaints and the appeal of the duke of Normandy were laid before the court of Rome. Fraught with his long-cherished hope, archdeacon Hildebrand thought the propitious hour had arrived for attempting, with regard to the kingdom of England, those designs which had been so happily carried into effect in Italy. His most strenuous efforts were directed to substitute, instead of ecclesiastical pleadings relative to the lukewarmness of the English people, the simony of its prelates, and the perjury of its king, a formal treaty with the

Norman for the conquest of the island at common cost and for mutual profit. Although the real design was thus converted to a purely political purpose, the cause of William against Harold was examined in the conclave of cardinals without there being an appearance of any other motive than to sift the question of the hereditary right, or to uphold the sanctity of an oath as inviolable, and the veneration for relics as obligatory. These pleas did not appear to many of the judges to be sufficiently weighty to justify the sanction of the church to an act of hostile aggression against a christian nation, or a military invasion of their land. Upon Hildebrand's insisting on this point, loud murmurs arose, and the more conscientious prelates declared to him that there would be infamy attached to the authorization of so homicidal a course;² he remained unperturbed in his resolves, and his sentiments at length prevailed.

According to the terms of the judicial sentence, which was pronounced by the pope himself, William duke of Normandy had permission to enter England, to bring it back to its obedience to the holy see, and to re-establish for ever the tax of St. Peter's pence.³ Harold and all his adherents were excommunicated by a papal bull, which was transmitted to William by the hands of his envoy, and to it was, moreover, added the gift of a banner from the apostolical church, and a ring containing one of St. Peter's hairs, encased beneath a diamond of some price.⁴ Such was the twofold investiture, military and pontifical; and the holy standard that was to confer a sacred character on the invasion of England was the same that, but a few years before, the Normans, Raoul and Guillaume de Montreuil, had planted, in the name of the church, on the towers of Campania.⁵

Before the bull, the banner, and the ring arrived in Normandy, duke William had assembled a cabinet-council of his most intimate friends, to ask their advice and assistance. His two brothers by the mother's side, of whom one was bishop of Bayeux and the other count of Mortain, with William, son of Osbert, seneschal of Normandy—that is, the duke's lieutenant in the civil administration, attended this conference. All were of opinion that a descent should be made in England, and promised William to serve him with their persons and property, and even to sell or mortgage their estates for that object. "But this is not all," said they to him; "you must ask the aid and counsel of the commonalty of this country; for it is but right that they who are to pay the expenses be called upon to give their consent."⁶ Then, say the chronicles, William convoked a great assembly of men of all classes in Normandy, of the warriors, priests, and commercial men possessing the greatest wealth and consideration. The duke unfolded to them his project, and solicited

² Quæ pro re, à quibusdam fratribus penè infamiam pertuli, submurmurantibus quòd ad tanta homicidia perpetranda, tanto favore, meam operam impendissem. (Epist. Gregor. VII., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. xiv. 648.)

³ Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 227.

⁴ Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 197.—Math. Paris, vol. i. p. 2.

⁵ Orderic Vital. Histor. eccl., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 473.—Fleury, Hist. eccl., vol. xii. 400.

⁶ Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 255.

¹ Inter Normannos qui Tiberim transierant, Willermus de monasterio. . . . Romanæ exercitus princeps militie factus, vexillum Sancti Petri gestans, urbem Campaniam subjugavit. (Order. Vital. ecclesiast. histor. apud script. rer. Normann., p. 472.)—Fleury, Hist. ecclesiast., vol. xii. p. 400.

their assistance; after which they retired to deliberate, that their decision might be free and uninfluenced.¹

In the debate which ensued, opinion was strongly divided; some thinking it proper to assist the duke with ships, provisions, and money, while others refused every kind of aid, saying that they had already more debts than they knew how to pay. This discussion was not without tumult; and the members of the assembly, having quitted their seats, gathered together in groups, talking and gesticulating with great clamour.² In the midst of this disorder, the seneschal of Normandy, William son of Osbert, raised his voice and said—"Why dispute in this way? He is your lord, and he needs your services; it is your duty to offer them, and not to wait his request. If you are backward and he gains his end, by God! he will remember it. Show, then, that you love him, and act with a good grace." "Doubtless," exclaimed those on the opposite side, "he is our lord; but is it not sufficient that we pay him our quit-rents? We are not bound to pay him an aid for any expedition beyond the sea. He has burdened us too much already by his wars; if he fail in his new expedition, our country is ruined."³ After many speeches and replies with various sentiments, it was decided that the son of Osbert, who knew the means of each, should be appointed to make the excuses of the assembly for the smallness of their offers.⁴

The Normans all returned to the duke; and the son of Osbert spoke as follows: "I do not think that there are in the world people more zealous than these. You know the aids which they have furnished, and the weighty services they have rendered to you. I now inform you, sire, that they offer to do more, and wish to serve you as faithfully beyond sea as on this side the Channel. Push forward, then, and by no means spare them. He who has hitherto furnished you with but two good combatants on horseback will be at the expense of double that number."⁵ "No, no," cried those around with one voice, "we did not charge you to make any such answer. We said no such thing, and it shall not be! Whatever he has to perform in his own country, we will assist him in, as it is our duty to do; but we are not bound to aid him in conquering the country of others. Besides, if we were once to offer him double knight's service and to follow him beyond the sea, he would make it a custom and a right for the future, and would use it to oppress our children. It cannot, and shall not be so!" Groups of ten, twenty, and of thirty, again began to collect, the tumult became general, and the assembly separated.⁶

William, though surprised and enraged beyond measure, nevertheless dissimulated his anger, and

had recourse to an artifice which has scarcely ever failed in its effect, when powerful men have employed it to overcome popular resistance. William sent for those men separately, whom he had called together in a body, beginning with the richest and most influential, and begged that they would come to his aid purely out of favour to him and with voluntary presents, affirming that he had no design whatever of doing them any wrong in future, nor of abusing their liberality to their own prejudice, and he offered to pledge his word for the same by letters under his great seal.⁷ No one had courage, thus singly interrogated, to pronounce a refusal to the chief of their country, in this interview with the duke, face to face. What they granted was immediately registered, and the example of the first determined those who came after. One subscribed for vessels, another for well-appointed men-at-arms, and many promised to march in person. The priests gave their money, the merchants their stuffs, and the country people their provisions.⁸

The consecrated banner, and the bull authorising the aggression against England, speedily arrived from Rome. The sight of these things excited double eagerness; every one brought what he could; and mothers sent their sons to enlist for the salvation of their souls.⁹ William had his proclamation of war published in the neighbouring countries; and offered good pay and the plunder of England to every tall and stout man who would serve him with spear, sword, or cross-bow.¹⁰ A multitude came, by all roads, from far and near, from the north and from the south. Some arrived from the province of Maine and from Anjou, from Poitou and from Brittany, from France and from Flanders, from Aquitaine and from Burgundy, from Piedmont and from the banks of the Rhine. All the adventurers by profession, all the outcasts of Western Europe, came eagerly and by forced marches. Some were cavaliers or warlike chiefs, others were simply foot-soldiers and serjeants-at-arms, as they were then called. Some asked for pay in money; others only for their passage and all the booty they could make: many wished for land among the English, a demesne, a castle, or a town; while others would be content with some rich Saxon woman in marriage.¹¹ Every wish, every project of human covetousness presented itself. William rejected no one, says the Norman chronicle, but promised favours to every one according to his ability.¹² He even went so far as to grant an English bishopric, in prospect, to one Remi of Fescamp, for a ship and twenty men-at-arms.¹³

⁷ Et telles lettres comme ils en voudroient deviser, il leur en feroit. (Chron. de Normandie, tom. xiii. 226.)

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 227.

¹⁰ Milites procri corpore, præcellentes robore. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. iii. 99, ed. Savile.)—Gallinamque et Britones, Pictavini et Burgundiones, alique populi Cisalpini ad bellum transmarinum convolarunt, et Anglice prædiæ inhiantes, variis eventibus et periculis terræ marique sese obtulerunt. (Orderic. Vital. Hist. eccl., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 494.)

¹¹ Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 227.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Anonym. by Taylor, quoted by Sharon Turner. Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. 416, note.—Eadmeri Hist. novor., lib. i. 7.—Remigius ex monacho Fiscanens. . . . episcopatum, si vinceret, pactus. (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. pontif. Angl. lib. iv. 290, ed. Savile.)

¹ Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 255.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. Guill. Pictav., 98.

⁴ Chron. de Normandie, l. c.—Henr. Hautingd., p. 367, ed. Savile.—Henr. Knyghton de eventu Angliæ, lib. i. cap. 16, apud hist. Angliæ script., vol. ii. col. 2340, ed. Selden.

⁵ Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 226. Roberti de Monte Appendix ad Sigebertum, ibid. tom. xi. 168.

⁶ Chronique de Normandie, p. 226.

Moult oïssiez cort estourmir.

Noise lever, barunz frémir.

(Wace, Roman de Rou, tom. ii. 132.)

During the spring and summer, workmen were employed in all the ports of Normandy building and fitting out vessels; the smiths and armourers manufactured lances, swords, and coats of mail; and porters were continually going backwards and forwards, carrying the arms from the manufactories to the ships.¹ While these preparations were carrying on with great haste, William repaired to St. Germain's, to Philip king of the French, and, saluting him in a deferential style, which his ancestors had often omitted to do when addressing the kings of the Frank country, "You are my liege lord," he said; "if it please you to assist me, and should I, with God's grace, make good my right to England, I promise to do homage to you for it, as if I held it from you."² Philip assembled a council of barons or frank-men, without which he was not permitted to decide any public question; and the barons were of opinion that William ought not in any way to be assisted in his conquest.—"You know," said they to their king, "how little the Normans obey you even now; and when they possess England it will be quite otherwise. Besides, were we to assist the duke, it would cost our country a great deal; and if he were to fail in his enterprise the English nation would be our enemies for ever."³

Duke William's request being thus refused, he retired, dissatisfied with king Philip, and addressed a similar one to the count of Flanders, his brother-in-law, who in like manner refused.⁴

Notwithstanding the national enmity of the Normans and the Bretons, there existed between the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Brittany certain ties of affinity that rendered the relations between those two states more complicated without being less hostile. At the time when duke Robert, the father of William of Normandy, set out upon his pilgrimage, he had no nearer relative than Alan or Alain, count of Brittany, descended in the female line from Rollo, and to him he committed on his departure the care of his duchy and the guardianship of his son. Count Alain hesitated not, almost immediately, to declare the paternity of his ward doubtful, and to favour that party which desired to set him aside from the succession; but after the defeat of that party at the Val des Dunes he died, and apparently of poison by the contrivance of the friends of William the Bastard. His son Conan succeeded him, and still reigned in Brittany at the period of William's great armament for the conquest of England. He was a prince of audacious bearing, dreaded by his neighbours, and whose chief policy it was to injure the duke of Normandy, whom he looked upon as an usurper and as the murderer of his father Alain. Seeing him engaged in a hazardous enterprise, Conan thought it a favourable moment to declare war against him, and despatched one of his chamberlains to him with the following message: "I hear that you are ready to pass the sea to make conquest of the kingdom of England. Now, duke Robert, whose son you feign to consider yourself, on his departing for Jerusalem left all his inheritance to count Alain, my father, who was his cousin; but you

and your abettors have poisoned my father, you have appropriated to yourself the domain of Normandy, and have kept possession of it until this day, contrary to all right, since you are but a bastard. Restore to me, therefore, the duchy of Normandy, which belongs to me, or I shall levy war upon you, and shall wage it to extremity with all my forces."⁵

The Norman historians avow that William was much startled by so hostile a message; for even a feeble diversion might render futile his ambitious hopes of conquest. But he imagined a method of disembarassing himself, with tolerable facility, of an enemy who had declared himself thus boldly and imprudently. The chamberlain of the count of Brittany, gained over doubtless by a bribe of gold, rubbed poison into the inside of the horn which his master sounded when hunting, and, to make his precautions doubly sure, he poisoned in like manner the count's gloves and his horse's bridle.⁶ Conan died a few days after his envoy's return. Count Eudes, who succeeded him, took especial care not to imitate him, and not to offend William the Bastard with regard to the validity of his right; on the contrary, he formed an alliance with him, which was a thing quite new betwixt the Bretons and Normans, and sent his two sons to his camp to serve against the English. These two youthful princes, named Brian and Allan, repaired to the rendezvous of the Norman forces,⁷ accompanied by a body of Breton knights, who styled them *Mac-tierns*,⁸ but the Normans gave them the appellation of counts. Certain other wealthy Bretons, who were not of the pure Celtic race, and who bore names of a French kind, as Robert de Vitry, Bertrand de Dinand, and Raoul de Gaël, resorted likewise to the court of the duke of Normandy, with offers of entering his service.⁹

The place of meeting for the vessels and the warriors was at the mouth of the Dive, a river that falls into the sea betwixt the Seine and the Orne. For a month the winds were contrary, and kept the Norman fleet in port; after which a south breeze carried it as far as the embouchure of the Somme to the roadstead of Saint Valery.¹⁰ There the bad weather again set in, so that it was necessary to wait for several days. The fleet cast anchor, and the troops encamped on the shore, being much exposed to the constant rain, which fell in torrents.¹¹

During this unforeseen delay some of the ships were dismantled by a violent hurricane, and found

⁵ Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 286.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Dom Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, liv. iii. tom. i. 98.

⁸ Sons of the chief. *Tierns*, a chief; in Welsh, *Teyrn*.

⁹ Dom Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, liv. iii. tom. i. 98.—Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 227.

¹⁰ Some learned writers have imagined that it was at Saint-Valery-en-Caux, not at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme situated beyond the confines of the duchy of Normandy; but a MS. recently discovered in the public library at Brussels leaves no longer any doubt on this point.

Taque, velis nolis, tandem tua littora linqnes,

Navigium vertis littus ad alterius.

Portus ab antiquis Viniaci fertur haberi,

Quæ vallat portum, Somanus nomen aquæ...

Desuper est castrum quoddam sancti Valerici,

Hic tibi longa fuit difficilisq; mora.

(Brussels MS., verse 56.)

¹¹ *Desolatus eras, frigus faciebat et imber,*
Et polus obtectus nubibus et pluvius.

(Ibid., v. 72.)

¹ *Tapisserie de Bayeux.*

² Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 227.

³ Ibid., 226.

⁴ Ibid.

dered with their crews. This accident produced great murmuring among the troops, fatigued by a prolonged encampment. The soldiers passed their idle hours in conversing under their tents, and communicating their reflections on the dangers of the voyage and the difficulties of the enterprise.¹ There had not yet been a battle, said they, and already many men were dead; they counted and exaggerated the number of bodies which had been washed ashore. These reports abated the ardour of adventurers at first so full of zeal; and some of them even broke their engagements and withdrew.² To stop the progress of this disposition, which would have been fatal to his projects, duke William had the dead secretly interred, and added to the rations of provisions spirituous liquors.³ But the want of activity constantly brought back the same melancholy and discouraging thoughts. "Foolish," said the soldiers, murmuring, "mad and foolish is the man who seeks to possess himself of another's kingdom; God is offended at such designs, and shows his displeasure by refusing us a fair wind."⁴ (A.D. 1066.)

Notwithstanding his habitual coolness and undaunted spirit, William was himself a prey to the greatest anxiety, which he could scarcely conceal from his followers. He was seen often to repair to the church of Saint Valery, the patron saint of the place, and remained long in prayer; whenever he quitted the church he looked up at the weathercock on the steeple, to see in what direction was the wind. If it appeared to be coming round to the south, the duke's countenance brightened; but if it blew from the north or west his features became sorrowful, and his look disconcerted.⁵ Whether as a sincere mark of faith, or to furnish some relief to the dejected and discouraged minds of his soldiery, he caused the shrine containing the relics of the saint to be brought in great procession from the church of St. Valery, and to be carried with pomp through his camp. The whole army prayed; the chiefs made rich offerings; and every soldier without exception presented a piece of money. The very next night, as if by a miracle from heaven, the winds changed, and the weather became calm and serene. At day-break of the 27th of September, the sun, which until that morning had been obscured by clouds, arose in full splendour.⁶ The camp was immediately broken up,

every preparative for immediate embarkation was made with zeal and with no less alacrity, and a few hours before sunset the entire fleet weighed anchor. Four hundred ships with large masts and sails, and more than a thousand transport-boats, manœuvred to gain the open sea, amidst the noise of clarions and the wild shout proceeding from sixty thousand warriors. William's vessel led the van, bearing at the mast-head the banner sent by the pope, and a cross upon its flag. Its sails were of different colours; and the three lions, the Norman ensign, were painted on them in several places. At the prow was carved the figure of a boy with his bow bent and an arrow ready to speed.⁷ The ship's lanterns were affixed to the masts, a precaution essential for the passage by night, to serve as a beacon and as a rallying point to the fleet. This vessel, being a better sailer than the rest, preceded them during the whole day, and at night left them far behind. In the morning the duke sent a sailor to the top of the mainmast, to see if the other vessels were approaching. "I see nothing but sea and sky," said the man; and anchor was immediately cast.⁸ William affected to be gay; and, lest anxiety and fear should seize upon the crew, he ordered a sumptuous repast to be served up, with wines strongly spiced.⁹ The sailor went up again, and said that this time he descried four vessels; and the third time he ascended he cried out, "I see a forest of masts and sails."¹⁰

While this great armament was preparing in Normandy, Harold the Norwegian, faithful to his engagements with the Saxon Tostig, had collected several hundred vessels of war and transports. The fleet remained for some time at anchor; and the Norwegian army, waiting the signal for departure, encamped on the shore, as the Normans did on the banks of the Dive. Some vague impressions of discouragement and disquiet likewise manifested themselves in it, from the same causes, but under appearances more gloomy and conformable to the dreamy imagination of the people of the north. Several soldiers believed that they had had prophetic revelations in their sleep. One dreamt that he saw his companions disembarked on the English coast, and in presence of the English army; and that before the front of that army rode a woman of gigantic stature mounted on a wolf; the wolf held in his jaws a human body dripping with blood, and when he had devoured it the woman gave him another.¹¹ A second soldier dreamt that the fleet was departing, and that a cloud of ravens, vultures, and birds of prey came and perched upon the masts and yards; on a neighbouring rock was sitting a female, who held in her hand a naked sword, looking towards and counting the ships. "Go," said

Clangendoque tubâ reliquis ut littora linqunt
Præcipis, et pelagi tutius alta petant.

(Ibid. v. 106.)

In this passage the author greatly exaggerates the strength of the Norman army.

¹ Dr. Strutt's Norman Antiquities, pl. xxxii.—Wace, Roman de Rou, li. 146. Thom. Rudborne, in Angliâ Sacra, vol. i. 245.—Tapisserie de Bayeux.—MS. of Brussels, v. 115.

² Præter pelagus et æera prospectui suo aliud nihil comparere indicat. (Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 198.)

³ Nec baccho pigmentato carens. (Ibid., p. 199.)

⁴ Tertio tantas exclamavit, ut arborum velliferarum uberrima densitas nemoris præstet similitudinem. (Ibid.)

⁵ Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hårrádes saga, cap. 84, vol. ii. 159.

¹ *Vulgus militum, ut fieri solet, per tabernacula mussabat.* (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii. p. 100, ed. Savile.)

² *Pavida fuga multorum, qui fidem sponponderant.* (Guill. Pictav. apud script. rer. Normann., p. 198.)

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Insanire hominem qui vellet alienum solum in jus suum refundere: Deum contra tendere, qui ventum arceret.* (Willelm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii. p. 100, ed. Savile.)

⁵ *Ecclesiam scilicet devotâ mente frequentans,
illi parca dabas ingeminando preces;
Inspicis et templi gallus quâ vertitur aurâ;
Anster si spirat, lætas abinde redis:
Si subito boreas austrum divertit et arceret,
Effusis lacrymis, fletibus ora rigas.*
(Brussels MS. v. 66.)

⁶ *Expulsi à cælo nubes, et ab æquore ventos,
Frigora dissolvit, purgat et imbre polum;
Incaluit tellus, nimio perfusa calore,
Et Phæbus solito clarior emicuit.*
(Brussels MS. v. 82.)

*Quippe decem decies, decies et mille quinque
Diversis feriunt vocibus astra poli, . . .*

she to the birds, "go without fear; you shall have whereof to eat; you shall have your choice; for I go with them. I shall go thither."¹ It was remarked, not without terror, that, at the moment when Harold the Norwegian stepped upon his royal sloop, the weight of his body made it sink deeper in the water than it was wont to do.²

Notwithstanding these sinister presages, the expedition set forward towards the south-west, under the command of the king and his son Olaf. Before landing in the island of Britain, they touched at the Orkney Islands, which were peopled by men of the Scandinavian race; and were joined by two chiefs and a bishop of those islands. They then coasted along the eastern side of Scotland, and there they met Tostig and his vessels. They sailed in company, and, as they passed along, attacked the sea-port of Scarborough. Finding the inhabitants disposed to offer an obstinate resistance, they made themselves masters of a pointed rock which overlooked the town: on this they heaped up an enormous pile of trunks and branches of trees with stubble thrown between, which they set fire to and rolled down upon the houses; then, favoured by the conflagration, they forced the gates and plundered the town.³ Relieved by this first success from their superstitious terrors, they gaily doubled the point of Holderness at the mouth of the Humber, and sailed up that river.

From the Humber they passed into the Ouse, which falls into it, and runs near York. Tostig, who directed the plan of the campaign of the Norwegians, wished above all things to reconquer by their aid the capital of his former government, that he might be installed in it as chief. Morkar his successor, Edwin brother to Morkar, and the young Walthof son of Siward, now become chief of the province of Huntingdon, called to arms the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country, and gave battle to the foreigners, to the south of York, on the banks of the Humber. Conquerors at first, but afterwards forced to fly, they shut themselves up in York, where the Norwegians besieged them. Tostig took the title of chief of Northumberland, and published proclamations dated from the camp of the foreigners: some weak men acknowledged him, and a few adventurers answered his call.⁴

While these things were passing in the north, the king of the Anglo-Saxons, with all his forces, was on the southern coast, observing the movements of William, whose invasion, which had been long expected, had excited great alarm.⁵ Harold had passed the whole summer on his guard near the places of disembarkation nearest to Normandy.⁶ The delay of the expedition began to give rise to the belief that it would not be ready to sail before winter. Besides, the danger was greater from the northern enemies, who were already masters of a

part of the English territory, than from the other enemy, who had not yet set foot in England; and the son of Godwin, bold and quick in all his projects, hoped in the course of a few days to have driven the Norwegians away, and to return in time to receive the Normans. He set out, by forced marches, at the head of his best troops, and arrived in the night under the walls of York, at the moment when the town had just capitulated for its surrender to the allies of Tostig. The Norwegians had not yet made their entry; but, on the word of the inhabitants, and their conviction of the impossibility of the capitulation being retracted, they had broken up their lines, and dismissed their soldiers to repose. The inhabitants of York, on their part, thought only of receiving, the very next morning, Tostig and the king of Norway, who were to hold a great council to regulate the government of the whole province, and to distribute among the foreigners and the refugees the lands of the English.⁷

The unforeseen arrival of the Saxon king, who had marched in such a manner as to avoid the enemy's posts, changed all these dispositions. The citizens of York again took up arms; the gates were shut and well guarded, so that no one could quit the town to repair to the Norwegian camp. The following day was one of those in autumn on which the sun still shines in all his power. The portion of the Norwegian army who left the camp on the Humber, to follow their king towards York, thinking they had no adversary to encounter, went without their coats of mail, on account of the heat, and wore no other defensive armour than their helmets and shields. The Norwegians observed all at once, at some distance from the town, a great cloud of dust, and beneath this cloud something glittering like steel in the sun. "What are these men who are marching towards us?" said the king to Tostig. "They can be no other," replied the Saxon, "than Englishmen coming to ask pardon and implore our friendship."⁸ The body of men which was advancing seemed gradually to increase; it was a numerous army ranged in order of battle. "The enemy! the enemy!" cried the Norwegians; and detached three horsemen with orders to the warriors who had been left in camp and on board the ships to come with all diligence. The Norwegian king unfurled his standard, which he called the *ravager of the world*;⁹ and the soldiers ranged themselves around it, in a long but weak line, bending at the extremities. They kept close to one another, and their spears were planted against the ground, with the points inclined towards the enemy; but they all wanted the most important part of their armour. Harold, the son of Sigurd, as he rode along the ranks on his black horse, sung extempore verses, a fragment of which has been handed down to us by the historians of the north. "Let us fight," said he, "let us march, though without cuirasses, under the edge of the blue steel: our helmets glitter in the sun; these are enough for the valiant."¹⁰

¹ Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 84, vol. ii. 158.

² Snorre's Heimskringla, vol. iii. 152.—Torfæi Hist. rer. Norveg. pars tertia, lib. v. cap. 17, p. 351.—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. 390.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Torfæi Hist. Norveg. lib. v. cap. 17, p. 351. Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 87, vol. ii. 162.

⁵ Heroldus interea promptus ad decernendum prælio sive terrestri, sive navali, perquam cum immati exercitu ad littus marimum operiens. (Güll. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 177.)

⁶ Totaestate et autumno adventum illius observabat. (Roger. de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, p. 448, ed. Saville.)

⁷ Snorre's Heimskringla, Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 89, vol. ii. 162.—Roger. de Hoved., p. 448.—Henr. Knyghton, de eventu Angl., lib. i. cap. 16; apud script. hist. Angl., vol. ii. col. 2339, ed. Selden.

⁸ Snorre's Heimskringla, cap. 90, vol. ii. p. 166.

⁹ In Ieolandie, *Landeythona*; in Danish, Land odan.—Snorre, *Ibid.*, cap. 91, vol. ii. 167.

¹⁰ Snorre's Heimskringla, vol. ii. p. 169.—Gesta Danorum, tom. ii. p. 164, 165.

Before the shock of the two armies, twenty Saxon horsemen, both men and horses covered with steel, approached the Norwegian lines, and one of them cried with a loud voice, "Where is Tostig, the son of Godwin?" "He is here," answered the son of Godwin for himself. "If thou be Tostig," resumed the messenger, "thy brother tells thee by my mouth that he salutes thee, and offers thee peace, his friendship, and thy former honours." "These," said Tostig, "are fine words, and very different from the affronts and hostilities which I have experienced for a twelvemonth. But, if I accept these offers, what will there be for the noble king Harold, the son of Sigurd, my faithful ally?" "He shall have," returned the messenger, "seven feet of English ground, and a little more, for he is taller than most other men."¹ "Then," replied Tostig, "tell my brother to prepare for battle; never shall it be said by any but a liar that the son of Godwin abandoned the son of Sigurd."²

The battle immediately began; and, in the first onset of the two armies, the Norwegian king was shot with an arrow in the throat. Tostig took the command of the army; and then Harold sent a second time to offer him and the Norwegians peace and life.³ But they all cried out that they would rather die than owe anything to the Saxons. At this moment the men from the ships came up, armed with cuirasses, but fatigued with their march under a burning sun. Though numerous, they could not sustain the attack of the English, who had dispersed the first line of the combatants, and taken the royal standard. Tostig was killed, with most of the Norwegian chiefs. Harold now, for the third time, offered peace to the vanquished, and they accepted it. Olaf, son to the deceased king, and the chief and bishop of the Orkneys, returned with twenty-three ships, after swearing amity with England.⁴ The country of the English was thus delivered from a new conquest by the men of the north. But while these enemies were departing, never to return, other enemies were approaching; and the same breath of wind that waved the victorious Saxon banners as in triumph also filled the Norman sails, and wafted them towards the coast of Sussex.

By an unfortunate mischance, the vessels which had so long been cruising off that coast had just before returned to harbour for want of provisions.⁵ William's troops therefore landed, without encountering any resistance, at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the 28th of September, A. D. 1066, three days after Harold's victory over the Norwegians. The archers landed first; they wore short habits, and had their hair shaven off. The cavaliers landed next, clad in coats of mail and wearing helmets of polished iron nearly of a conical

make, armed also with long and heavy lances, and with straight two-edged swords. After them came the workmen of the army, pioneers, carpenters, and smiths, who unloaded on the shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles, framed and prepared beforehand. The duke came ashore last of all: in setting his foot upon the sands he made a false step and fell upon his face. A murmur immediately arose; and some voices cried, "God preserve us! This is a bad sign!"⁶ But William, rising, exclaimed, "What is the matter with ye? What astonishes ye? I have seized on this land with both my hands; and, by the splendour of God, as much as there is of it, it is yours."⁷ This quick repartee instantly prevented their discouragement by so ill an omen. The army marched upon the town of Hastings: near that place an encampment was formed, and two of the wooden castles were erected and furnished with provisions. Bodies of soldiers overran all the neighbouring country, plundering and burning the houses.⁸ The English fled from their dwellings, concealed their furniture and cattle, and flocked to the churches and chureyards, which they thought the most secure asylum from enemies who were christians like themselves. But the Normans being resolved, as an old narrator expresses it, to *gagner*,⁹ made but little account of the sanctity of places, and respected no asylum.¹⁰

Harold was at York, wounded and resting from his fatigues, when a messenger came in great haste to tell him that William of Normandy had landed and planted his standard on the Anglo-Saxon territory.¹¹ He marched towards the south with his victorious army, publishing, as he passed along, an order to all his chiefs of counties to put all their fighting men under arms and lead them towards London. The militias of the west came without delay; those of the north were later, on account of the distance; but there was, nevertheless, reason to believe that the king of the English would soon be surrounded by the whole force of the country. One of those Normans, in whose favour the law of banishment passed against them had formerly been violated, and who now played the part of spies and secret agents of the invader, sent word to the duke to be on his guard, for that in four days the son of Godwin would have around him one hundred thousand men.¹² Harold, too quick in his movements, did not wait four days. He could not master his eagerness for coming to an engagement with the foreigners, especially when he learned the ravages of every description which they were com-

⁶ Quant li Dus primes fors issi,
Sor sez dous palmes fors chaï;
Sempres i out levé grant cri
E distrent tuit: mal signe est es.
(Roman de Rou, vol. ii. p. 151.)

⁷ Seignors, par la resplesendor Dé,
La terre ai as dous mains seïze;
Tote est nostre quant qu'il i a.
(Ibid. p. 152.)

⁸ Tapisserie de Bayeux.—The Brussels MS. v. 157.

⁹ Waco, Roman de Rou, vol. ii. 155.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ That duc Wyllam to Hastynges was ycome.

And hys baner adde yred, and the couteyre al yrome.

(Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 359.)

—Suppletio Historie regni Angliæ. MSS. Musei Britannici.

¹² Chron. de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France, vol. xiii. 228.—Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 199.

¹ Quid ex Angliâ ei concessum velit; spatium (nimivim) terre septem pedum aut nonnulli majus. (Snorre's Heimskringla. iii. 160.)—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, ii. 399.

² Ibid.

³ Pacem et vitam obulit. (Snorre's Heimskringla, vol. iii. p. 168.)—Turner's Hist. ii. 396.

⁴ Snorre's Heimskringla. Harald then Hárdrádes saga, cap. 97 et 98, vol. ii. 173.—Chron. Saxon. fragm., sub anno MLXVI. ap. gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii., ad fin.—Pontani Rerum Danicarum historie, lib. v. 186.

⁵ Vento deficiente, classiciis exercitus domum rediit. (Roger. de Hoved. Annal., pars prior, apud rer. Angliæ script., p. 448, ed. Savile.)

mitting round their camp.¹ The hope of sparing his countrymen some misery, and perhaps the desire of making an abrupt and unexpected attack upon the Normans, like that by which he had already met with success against the Norwegians, determined him to march towards Hastings with forces four times less numerous than those of the duke of Normandy.²

But William's camp was carefully guarded against a surprise, and his posts extended to a considerable distance. Detachments of cavalry gave notice, by their falling back, of the approach of the Saxon king, who, they said, appeared to march on like a madman.³ The Saxon's design of assailing the enemy unawares being thus prevented, he was obliged to moderate his impetuosity. He halted at the distance of seven miles from the camp of the Normans, and, all at once changing his tactics, entrenched himself, in order to wait for them, behind a ditch or vallum surmounted by palisades. Spies, who spoke the French language, were sent to the foreign army to observe its dispositions and its strength. On their return they related with astonishment that there were more priests in William's camp than combatants in that of the English. They had taken for priests all the soldiers of the Norman army who had their beards shaven and their hair cropped; for it was then the custom of the English to let their hair and their beards grow. Harold could not help smiling at this recital: "Those whom you have seen in such numbers," said he, "are not priests, but good soldiers, who will make us feel what they are."⁴ Several of the Saxon captains advised the king to avoid a battle, and to retreat towards London, and ravage the country in his way, in order to reduce the invading army by famine. "Shall I," replied Harold, "ravage the country which has been intrusted to my care! Upon my faith it would be an act of treason!—I will rather try the chances of battle with the few men I have, and trust to my own valour and the goodness of my cause."⁵

The Norman duke, whose character, diametrically opposite, prompted him, in all circumstances, to leave no means unattempted, and to esteem the advancement of his interests as paramount to all considerations of personal pride, took advantage of the unfavourable position in which he beheld his adversary to renew his summonses and his demands. A monk, named Dom Hugues Maigrot, came in William's name to call upon the Saxon king to do one of three things: either to resign his royal dignity to the duke of Normandy; refer to the arbitration of the pope to decide which of the two ought to be king; or let that decision depend on the issue of a single combat. Harold abruptly replied, "I will not resign my title, I will not refer to the pope, nor will I accept of single combat."⁶ William, disregarding this positive refusal, sent the Norman

monk again, after giving him his instructions in the following terms:—"Go and tell Harold that, if he will keep his former compact with me, I will leave to him all the country which is beyond the Humber, and will give to his brother Gurth all the land which Godwin held. If he still persist in refusing my offers, then thou shalt tell him, before his people, that he is a perjurer and a liar; that he and all who shall support him are excommunicated by the mouth of the pope; and that the bull to that effect is in my hands."⁷

Dom Hugues Maigrot delivered this message in a solemn tone; and the Norman Chronicle says that at the word excommunication the English chiefs looked at one another, as if some great danger were impending. One of them then spoke as follows:—"We must fight, whatever may be the danger to us; for what we have to consider is not whether we shall accept and receive a new lord, as if our king were dead; the case is quite otherwise. The duke of Normandy has given our lands to his barons, to his knights, and to all his men; the greater part of whom have already done homage to him for them: they will all look for their gift, if their duke become our king; and he himself will be bound to deliver up to them our goods, our wives, and our daughters: all this is promised to them beforehand. They come, not only to ruin us, but to ruin our descendants also, and to take from us the country of our ancestors. And what shall we do?—whether shall we go?—when we have no longer a country."⁸ The English promised, by an unanimous oath, to make neither peace, nor truce, nor treaty with the invader, but either to die or expel the Normans.⁹

An entire day was occupied in these fruitless messages, being the eighteenth day since the battle fought with the Norwegians near York. Harold's precipitate march had not permitted any fresh body of troops to join him, as yet, in his camp. Edwin and Morkar, the two great chiefs of the north, were at London, or on their way thither. There came in only some volunteers, one by one, or in small bands, townspeople armed in haste, or monks who deserted their cloisters at the call of their country. Among the latter arrived Leofric, abbot of the great monastery of Peterborough, near Ely, and the abbot of Hida, near Winchester, who brought with him twelve monks of his convent, and twenty armed men, raised at his expense.¹⁰ The hour of battle seemed rapidly approaching: Harold's two younger brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, had taken their post near his person: the former attempted to persuade him not to be present at the action, but to go towards London for fresh reinforcements, while his friends sustained the attack of the Normans. "Harold," said the young man, "thou canst not deny that, either willingly, or by force, thou tookest an oath to duke William on the bodies of the saints. Then why expose thyself in battle, with perjury upon thee? As for us, who have sworn to nothing, we have full right to fight, for we defend our country. Let us then give battle alone: thou wilt support us if

¹ *Quid propinqua castris Normannorum vastari audierat.* (Gull. Pictav., p. 201.)

² *Modico stipatus agmine, quadruplo congressus exercitu.* (MSS. Abbatie Waltham, in the British Museum.)—Florent. Wigorn. Chron., p. 634.—Rog. de Hoved., p. 448, ed. Savile. Hist. Ingulf. Croyl., apud rer. Angl. script., i. 69, ed. Gale.

³ *Rex furibundus.* (Gull. Pictav., p. 201.)

⁴ *Roman de Rou.* vol. ii. 174.—Matth. Paris, i. 5.

⁵ *Per foy, dit Hérault, je ne destruiray pas le pays que j'ay à garder.* (Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 229.)

⁶ Chron. de Normandie, tom. xiii. 230. Gull. Pictav. p. 201.

⁷ Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 231.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *De domo snâ duodecim monachos, et viginti milites pro servitio.* (Monastic. Anglican., Dugdale, vol. i. 210.)

we give way; if we die, thou wilt avenge us."¹ At these touching words from the mouth of a brother, Harold replied that his duty forbade him to keep at a distance while others were risking their lives.² Too full of confidence in his valour and the justice of his cause, he disposed his troops for the fight.³

On the ground which afterwards bore, and still bears, the name of *Battle*,⁴ the Anglo-Saxon lines occupied a long chain of hills, fortified with a rampart of stakes and osier hurdles. In the night of the 13th of October, William announced to the Normans that the next day would be the day of battle. The priests and monks, who had followed the invading army in great numbers, being attracted, like the soldiers, by the hope of booty,⁵ assembled together to offer up prayers and sing litanies, while the fighting men were preparing their arms. The soldiery employed the time which remained to them after this first care in confessing their sins and receiving the sacrament. In the other army the night was passed in quite a different manner; the Saxons diverted themselves with great noise, and sung their old national songs, around their watch-fires, while they emptied the horns of beer and of wine.⁶

In the morning the bishop of Bayeux, who was a son of William's mother, celebrated mass in the Norman camp, and gave a blessing to the soldiers; he was armed with a hauberk under his pontifical habit: he then mounted a large white horse, took a baton of command in his hand, and drew up the cavalry into line. The army was divided into three columns of attack: in the first were the soldiers from the county of Boulogne and from Ponthieu, with most of the adventurers who had engaged personally for pay; the second comprised the auxiliaries from Brittany, Maine, and Poitou; William himself commanded the third, composed of the Norman chivalry. At the head and on the flanks of each division marched several ranks of light-armed infantry, clad in quilted cassocks, and carrying long bows, or arbalets of steel. The duke mounted a Spanish charger, which a rich Norman had brought him when he returned from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella in Galicia. From his neck were suspended the most venerated of the relics on which Harold had sworn; and the standard consecrated by the pope was carried at his side by a young man named Toustain-le-Blanc.⁷ At the moment when the troops were about to advance, the duke, raising his voice, thus addressed them:

"Remember to fight well, and put all to death;

¹ Quia et fugientes restitnere et mortuos ulcisci poteris. (Will. Malmesh. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 100, ed. Savile.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Nimis præcepit et virtute sua præsumens. (Waltham Abbey MSS.)

⁴ *Bataille, batayl.* *Battle*, according to the modern English orthography. In Latin, *locus belli*.—*Locus vero ubi pugnatum est exinde Bellum usque hodie vocatur.* (Willelm. Gemet., Hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 288.)—*Locum qui nunc Bellum nuncupatur.* (Monast. Angl., Dugdale, i. 311.)

⁵ Gratia commodi ecclesie sue cum reliquis se exercitui immiscuerat. (Monast. Anglie. l. c.)

⁶ Wace, Roman de Rou., vol. ii. 184—186. Chron. de Normandie, Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 231.

⁷ Appendit etiam humili collo suo reliquia. (Guil. Pictav., p. 201.) Rom. de Rou., vol. ii. 198. Chron. de Normandie, Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 232.

for if we conquer we shall all be rich. What I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I take this land, you shall have it. Know, however, that I am not come here only to obtain my right, but also to avenge our whole nation for the felonies, perjuries, and treacheries of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, on St. Brice's night. They decimated the companions of my kinsman Alfred, and took his life. Come on, then; and let us, with God's help, chastise them for all these misdeeds."⁸

The army was soon within sight of the Saxon camp, to the north-west of Hastings. The priests and monks then detached themselves from it, and ascended a neighbouring height, to pray and to witness the conflict.⁹ A Norman, named Taillefer, spurred his horse forward in front, and began the song—famous throughout Gaul—of the exploits of Charlemagne and Roland. As he sung, he played with his sword, throwing it up with force in the air, and receiving it again in his right hand. The Normans joined in chorus, or cried, God be our help! God be our help!¹⁰

As soon as they came within bowshot the archers let fly their arrows, and the cross-bow men their bolts:¹¹ but most of the shots were deadened by the high parapet of the Saxon redoubts. The infantry, armed with spears, and the cavalry, then advanced to the entrances of the redoubts, and endeavoured to force them. The Anglo-Saxons, all on foot around their standard planted in the ground, and forming behind their redoubts one compact and solid mass, received the assailants with heavy blows of their battle-axes, which, with a back-stroke, broke their spears, and clove their coats of mail.¹² The Normans, unable either to penetrate the redoubts or to tear up the palisades, and fatigued with their unsuccessful attack, fell back upon the division commanded by William. The duke then commanded all his archers again to advance, and ordered them not to shoot point-blank, but to discharge their arrows upwards, so that they might fall beyond the rampart of the enemy's camp. Many of the English were wounded, chiefly in the face, in consequence of this manœuvre; Harold himself lost an eye by an arrow, but he nevertheless continued to command and to fight. The close attack of the foot and horse recommenced, to the cry of "Notre Dame! Dieu aide! Dieu aide!"¹³ But the Normans were repulsed at one entrance of the Saxon camp, as far as a great ravine covered with grass and brambles, in which, their horses stumbling, they fell pell-mell, and numbers of them perished.¹⁴ There was now a momentary panic in the army of the invaders: it was rumoured that the duke was killed, and at this news they began to fly. William threw himself before the fugitives, and barred their passage,

⁸ Roman de Rou., ii. 187—190.—Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des hist. de la France, xiii. 232.

⁹ Roman de Rou.

¹⁰ Diez aie! (Roman de Rou.) Chron. de Normandie, xiii. 234. Henric. Huntingd., p. 368, ed. Savile.

¹¹ Quadrelli.

¹² Sævissimas secures. (Guil. Pictav., p. 201.)

¹³ Chronique de Normandie, xiii. 234. Math. Parisiensis, vol. i. 2.

¹⁴ Dugdale, Monast. Anglie. i. 311.—*Nam crescentes herie antiquum aggerem tegebant, ubi summoere currentes Normanni cum equis et armis ruebant, ac se se, dum iutus repente super alterum cadebat, vicissim extinguébant.* (Willelm. Gemet., hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 287.)

threatening them, and striking them with a lance;¹ then, uncovering his head, "Here I am," he exclaimed; "look at me; I live, and with God's help I will conquer!"²

The horsemen returned to the redoubts; but, as before, they could neither force the entrance nor make a breach. The duke then bethought himself of a stratagem to draw the English out of their position, and make them quit their ranks. He ordered a thousand horse to advance and immediately take to flight. At the sight of this feigned rout, the Saxons were thrown off their guard; and all set off in pursuit, with their axes suspended from their necks.³ At a certain distance, a body of troops posted there for the purpose joined the fugitives, who then turned round; and the English, surprised in the midst of their disorder, were assailed on all sides with spears and swords, which they could not ward off, both hands being occupied in wielding their heavy axes. When they had lost their ranks the gates of the redoubts were forced, and horse and foot entered together; but the combat was still warmly maintained, pell-mell and hand to hand. William had his horse killed under him. King Harold and his two brothers fell dead at the foot of their standard, which was plucked from the ground, and the banner sent from Rome planted in its stead. The remains of the English army, without a chief and without a standard, prolonged the struggle until the close of day, so that the combatants on each side could recognise one another only by their language.⁴

Having, says an old historian, rendered all which they owed to their country,⁵ the remnant of Harold's companions dispersed, and many died on the roads, in consequence of their wounds and the day's fatigue. The Norman horse pursued them without relaxation, and gave quarter to no one.⁶ They passed the night on the field of battle; and on the morrow, at dawn of day, duke William drew up his troops, and had all the men who had followed him across the sea called over from the roll which had been prepared before his departure from the port of St. Valery. Of these, a vast number, dead and dying, lay beside the vanquished on the field.⁷ The fortunate survivors had, as the first profits of their victory, the spoils of the dead. In turning over the bodies there were found thirteen wearing under their armour the monastic habit: these were the abbot of Hida and his twelve companions; the name of their monastery was the first inscribed in the Black Book of the conquerors.⁸

The mothers and the wives of those who had repaired to the field of battle from the neighbouring country, to die with the king, came to the field to seek for and to bury the bodies of their sons and husbands. The body of king Harold remained for some time on the battle-field, and no one dared ask for it. At length Godwin's widow, named

Githa, overcoming her anguish, sent a message to Duke William demanding his permission to perform the last rites in honour of her son. She offered, say the Norman historians, to give him the weight of her son's body in gold. But the duke refused harshly, saying that the man who had belied his faith and his religion should have no sepulture but the sands of the shore. He, however, eventually became milder, if we may believe an old tradition on this score, in favour of the monks of Waltham, an abbey founded and enriched in his lifetime by Harold. Two Saxon monks, Osgod and Ailrik, deputed by the abbot of Waltham, made request and obtained leave to transport to their church the sad remains of its benefactor. They then proceeded to the heap of slain that had been spoiled of armour and of vestments, and examined them carefully one after another, but he whom they sought for had been so much disfigured by wounds that they could not recognise it. Sorrowing, and despairing of succeeding in their search by themselves, they applied to a woman whom Harold, before he was king, had kept as his mistress, and entreated her to assist them. She was called Edith, and poetically surnamed the Swan-necked.⁹ She consented to follow the two monks, and succeeded better than they had done in discovering the corpse of him whom she had loved.

These events are all related by the chroniclers of the Anglo-Saxon race in a tone of dejection which it is difficult to transfuse. They call the day of the battle a day of bitterness, a day of death, a day stained with the blood of the brave.¹⁰ "England, what shall I say of thee?" exclaims the historian of the church of Ely; "what shall I say of thee to our descendants?—That thou hast lost thy national king, and hast fallen under the domination of foreigners; that thy sons have perished miserably; that thy councillors and thy chieftains are vanquished, slain, or disinherited!"¹¹ Long after the day of this fatal conflict, patriotic superstition believed that the fresh traces of blood were still to be seen on the ground where the battle was. These traces were said to be visible on the heights to the north-west of Hastings whenever a little rain moistened the soil.¹² The conqueror, immediately upon gaining the victory, made a vow to erect on this ground a convent dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul.¹³ Soon afterwards, when his good fortune permitted him to fulfil this vow, the great altar of the monastery was placed on the spot where the Saxon standard of king Harold had been planted and torn down. The circuit of the exterior walls was traced so as to enclose all the hill which the bravest of the English had covered

¹ Et vertentes ea huc et illuc, donec regis corpus agnoscerent, non valentes . . . mulierem, quam, ante sumptum regimem, dilexerat, Editha, cognomento *Swanesneales*, quod sonat Collum eigni, secum adducere. (MSS. Harl. No. 3776, fol. 55 b. in Museo Britannico.)

² Hec congressio, tam lethalis, tam amara, tot generosorum sanguine oruenta. (Math. Westmonast. Flores. histor., p. 224.)

³ De te quid dicam, quid posteris referam? Væ tibi est, Anglia! . . . (Hist. eccles. Eliensis, lib. ii. cap. 44, apud rer. Anglie script., vol. iii. 516, ed. Gale.)

⁴ Si forte modico labore maderit, verum sanguinem et quasi recentum exsudat. (Guil. Neubrigensis hist., p. 19, ed. Hearne.)

⁵ Charta Willelmi Conquestoris, apud Monastic. Anglie., Dugdale, vol. i. 317.

¹ Verberans aut micans hastâ. (Guil. Pictav., p. 292.)
² Me, inquit, circumspicite, vivo et vincam, opitulante Deo. (Ibid.)
³ Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des hist. &c., xiii. 235.
⁴ Ibid. p. 236.—Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., i. 312.—Math. Westmonast. Flores histor., p. 223.—Eadmer. hist. nov., i. 6, ed. Selden.
⁵ Will. Malmesb., p. 192.
⁶ Cursus super jacentes. (Guil. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 203.)
⁷ Chronique de Normandie, p. 236, 237.
⁸ Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., i. 210.

with their bodies. All the circumjacent land, a league wide, on which the different scenes of the battle had been acted, became the property of this abbey, which, in the Norman language, was called *l'Abbaye de la Bataille*, or Battle Abbey.¹ Monks from the great convent of Marmoutiers, near Tours, came to establish here their domicile, and they prayed for the repose of the souls of all the combatants who perished on that fatal day.²

It is said that, when the first stones of the edifice were laid, the architects discovered that there would certainly be a want of water. Being disconcerted, they carried this disagreeable news to William. "Work, work away," replied the Conqueror jocularly; "if God grant me life, there shall be more wine for the monks of Battle to drink than there now is clear water in the best convent in Christendom."³

BOOK IV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS TO THE TAKING OF CHESTER.

A.D. 1066—1070.

WHILE the army of the king of the Anglo-Saxons and that of the invader were in presence of each other, some fresh vessels from Normandy had crossed the strait in order to join the great fleet stationed in the roads of Hastings. Their commanders landed, by mistake, several miles to the northward, in a place called *Rumeney*, now *Romney*. The people of the coast received the Normans as enemies; and a conflict took place, in which the foreigners were beaten.⁴ William was apprised of their defeat a few days after his victory, and, to prevent a similar disaster from befalling the rest of the recruits which he expected from across the channel, he resolved first of all to secure the possession of the south-eastern shores. Instead, therefore, of advancing towards London, he marched back to Hastings, and remained there for some time, to try if his presence would not of itself induce the population of the neighbouring country to make a voluntary submission. But no one came to solicit peace; and the conqueror recommenced his march, with the remains of his army, and the fresh troops which, in this interval, had reached him from Normandy.⁵

He went along the coast from south to north, ravaging all in his way.⁶ At Romney he revenged the rout of his soldiers by burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants. From Romney he marched against Dover, the strongest place on the whole coast, and that which he had formerly endeavoured to make himself master of, without conflict or danger, by the oath into which he surprised Harold. The fort of Dover, recently

finished by the son of Godwin, amidst better hopes, was situated on a rock washed by the sea, which was naturally steep, and had been cut on all sides with great trouble and labour, so as to give it a plain surface like a wall. The particulars of the siege by the Normans are unknown. All that we learn from the historians is, that the town of Dover was burned; and that, either through fear or through treason, those who held the fortress surrendered it.⁷ William passed eight days at Dover, constructing new walls and defensive works; then, changing the direction of his route, he turned aside from the coast, and marched towards the capital.

The Norman army advanced by the great Roman way, called by the English *Wetlinga-street*, which had so often served as a common limit in the partitions of territory between the Saxons and the Danes.⁸ This road led from Dover to London, through the middle of the province of Kent. The conquerors traversed a part of it without finding their passage disputed; but in one place, where the road approached the Thames, and on the border of a forest calculated to conceal an ambuscade, a large body of armed Saxons suddenly presented themselves to view. It was commanded by two ecclesiastics, Eghelsig, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustin at Canterbury, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, the same who had anointed king Harold.⁹ It is not precisely known what passed in this encounter; whether there was a battle followed by a treaty between the two armies, or if the capitulation was concluded without fighting. It appears, however, that the army of Kent stipulated for all the inhabitants of that province, who promised to offer no further resistance, on condition of their remaining as free after the conquest as they had been before it.¹⁰

In thus treating for themselves, and separating their own destiny from that of the nation, the men of Kent (if indeed it be true that they made such a compact) did that which was more injurious to the common cause than advantageous for themselves; for there is no edict of that time which proves that the foreigner kept his word with them, or that he distinguished them from the rest of the English in his oppressive measures and enactments. Archbishop Stigand, having either taken part in this deplorable capitulation, or (which, from his bold and lofty character,¹¹ is the more probable conjecture) vainly opposed it, quitted the province which had laid down its arms, and repaired to London, where no one had yet thought of submission. The inhabitants of that great town, and the chiefs assembled in it, had resolved to fight a second battle, which, if well prepared and well conducted, promised to be more fortunate than the first.¹²

But there was wanting a supreme chief, under whose command all the national troops and all

¹ Cum leugis circumjunque adjacentes, . . . sicut illa que mihi coronam tribuit. (Charta Willelmi. Conquestoris, in notis ad Eadmer., ed. Selden, p. 165.)—In Latin, *Abbatia de Bello*.

² *Monast. Anglie.*, vol. i. 312.

³ Eidem loco ita prospiciam, ut magis ei vini abundet copia quam aquarum in aliâ prestanti abbatia. (*Monast. Anglie.*, Dugdale, vol. i., 312.)

⁴ Quos illic errore appulso fera gens adorta prelio fuderat. (Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 204.)

⁵ Cum intellexisset quod cum adire noluissent. (*Chron. Sax. Frag.* Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

⁶ Spoliavit totum istum tractum. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Armigeri exercitus nostri prede capidne, ignem iniecerunt. (Guill. Pictav., p. 204.)

⁸ See Book ii. p. 26.

⁹ *Chron. Willelmi Thom.*, apud *hist. Angl. script.*, vol. ii. col. 1786, ed. Selden.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Magnus enim erat valde, et investimabilis presumptionis. (Gervas. Cantuar. act. pontif. Cantuar., apud *hist. Angl. script.*, vol. ii. col. 1651, ed. Selden.)

¹² *Chron. Saxon. fragm.*, sub anno MLXVI., apud *gloss. Ed. Lye*, vol. ii. ad finem.

patriotic men might rally; and the national council, which should have appointed a chief, being agitated and divided by various intrigues and pretensions, was tardy in coming to a decision. Neither of the brothers of the late king, men capable of filling his place with honour, had survived the battle of Hastings. Harold had left two sons; but they were yet too young and too little known to the people. It does not appear that they were then proposed as candidates for the royal dignity. The candidates most powerful in wealth and renown were Edwin and Morkar, the chiefs of Northumbria and Mercia, brothers-in-law to Harold. They had the suffrages of all the men of the north of England; but the citizens of London, the inhabitants of the south, and some others, opposed to them young Edgar, nephew to king Edward, and surnamed Ætheling, or the illustrious, because he was descended from several kings.¹ This young man, feeble in mind and without any acquired reputation, had, a year before, been unable to counterbalance the popularity of Harold; but he now counterbalanced that of the sons of Alfgar, and was supported against them by Stigand himself, and by Eldred archbishop of York.²

Of the other bishops, several were neither for Edgar nor for his competitors, but demanded submission to the warrior who had brought with him the pope's bull and the standard blessed by St. Peter.³ Some of these bishops acted through a blind obedience to the ecclesiastical power; others through political cowardice; and others, of foreign origin, and gained over beforehand by the foreign pretender, were only playing the part for which they had been paid either in money or in promises. However, they did not prevail: the majority of the great national council made choice of a Saxon, but of him who was the least fit to command in circumstances of difficulty—the young nephew of Edward. After much hesitation, which occasioned a loss of time, then so precious, in useless disputes,⁴ Edgar was proclaimed king. The sentiments of the people were not rendered more united by his accession. Edwin and Morkar, who had promised to put themselves at the head of the troops assembled in London, retracted their promise, and retired to their governments in the north, taking with them the soldiers of those countries, who were entirely devoted to them. They entertained the vain hope of defending the northern provinces separately from the rest of England. Their departure weakened and discouraged those who remained in London with the new king; and that depression of spirit, which is the fruit of civil discord, succeeded the first ebullition of national enthusiasm excited by the foreign invasion.⁵

Meanwhile the Norman troops were approaching on several points, and traversing in various directions the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, plundering and burning the towns and hamlets,

and butchering the men whether with arms or without.⁶ Five hundred horse advanced as far as the southern suburb of London, engaged a body of Saxons who opposed them, and in their retreat burned all the buildings on the right bank of the Thames.⁷ William, judging from this experiment that the citizens had not yet entirely renounced the intention of defending themselves, instead of approaching and laying siege to the town, went towards the west, and passed the Thames at a ford near Wallingford, in the province of Berks. He formed an entrenched camp at this place, and left some troops in it, to intercept any succours that might come from the western provinces: then, directing his course towards the north-east, he himself encamped at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, to interrupt in like manner all communication between London and the north, and to prevent the return of the sons of Alfgar, in case they repented of their defection.⁸ By these manœuvres the great Saxon city was hemmed in on all sides. Numerous foraging parties ravaged its environs and stopped its supplies, without coming to any decisive engagement. The Londoners more than once encountered the Normans; but they gradually became weary, and were overcome, not so much by the strength of the enemy, as by the dread of famine and the disheartening reflection that they were cut off from all succour.⁹

The burgesses of London, like those of most of the larger Anglo-Saxon towns, composed, under the designation of *hanse*, a municipal corporation, which had the privilege of conducting the government of the city and regulating its police. The presence of the king made no difference in its institutions, and the burgesses might, even without his permission, assemble and deliberate together on the internal administration of their city. At the head of the chief citizens, whose offices were elective and who formed a body possessed of considerable power, there was, at this epoch, a magistrate whose name is not recorded by any historian, and whom the only narrative in which we find him mentioned designates by the title of *Hansward*, that is to say, the superintendent of the hanse.¹⁰ He was lame, which was the result of several wounds received a month previously at the battle of Hastings, and now forced to be carried in a litter to those quarters of the city whither his duties called him. But this misfortune did not prevent his displaying an extraordinary zeal for the interests of the city of London, nor from exercising great influence over the resolutions of the burgesses.¹¹ It appears that William, being well informed of his influence, caused his emissaries to sound what might be the disposition of the Hans-

⁶ *Villas cremare, hominesque interficere non cessabat.* (Roger. de Hoved. *annal.*, pars prior, apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 450, ed. Savile.)

⁷ *Cremantes quicquid edificiorum citra flumen invenire.* (Guill. Pictav., p. 205.)—Ordericus Vitalis, p. 903.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Videntes demum . . . se diutius stare non posse.* (Will. Gemet. *hist. Normann.*, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 288.)

¹⁰ See the preface, relative to the name or title of Ansgardus (or *Hansward*), which is given in the Latin MS. poem, in the royal library of Brussels.

¹¹ *Vulnera pro patria quàm non numerosa recepit,
Læticia vehitur, mobilitate carens;
Omnibus ille tamen primatibus imperat urbis,
Ejus et auxilio publica res agitur.*

(Manuscript of Brussels, v. 699.)

¹ Guill. Pictav., p. 205. Will. Malmesb., p. 102, ed. Savile.

² Chron. Sax. Frag. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.

³ *Episcopi non habebant assertores.* (Johan. de Fordun, *Scottichronicon*, lib. v. cap. 11, p. 404, ed. Hearne.)—Will. Malmesb. *de gest. reg. Angl.*, lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 102, ed. Savile.

⁴ *De die in diem tardius et deterius.* (Chron. Sax. Frag. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

⁵ *Ita Angli qui, in unam coeuntes sententiam, potuissent patriam reformari ruinam . . .* (Will. Malmesb. *de gest. reg. Angl.*, lib. iii. 102.)

ward towards him, but that he received no reply, either favourable or hostile.¹ Resolute and circumspect, this chief of the local magistracy had accustomed himself, according to the spirit of his official duty, to consider in the first place the welfare of the corporation which had elected him, and, notwithstanding he had recently given good proofs of his patriotism under other circumstances, now the thought of how to preserve London from famine and from pillage solely engaged his care. As soon as it became manifest that the town would receive no succour, the Hansward convoked the assembly of burgesses, and was the first to propose a capitulation, that they might secure the best conditions that were possible from the enemy.² "Honourable brethren," he exclaimed, "you perceive that our city is surrounded, and the reinforcements which we expected do not arrive. The suburb has been devastated with fire and sword, and discouragement pervades the environs. In my opinion but one resource is left us, and that rests in our prudence and address. The enemy is not yet aware of all our suffering; profit by the moment, if you will follow my sentiment, to ask peace of him; but be careful to select for the mission a man of intelligence, who will not let himself be deceived, and who will himself deceive if needful to do so."³

These counsels prevailed; but the Saxon who was deputed to fulfil the duty of herald was by no means a man capable of contesting in craftiness with the duke of Normandy. When he arrived at the camp of William he delivered his message and made his propositions with an unembarrassed and bold countenance, so as to show that the citizens of London were not as yet reduced to sue for pity.⁴ On his part, the duke was careful not to assume a severe and haughty tone: he appeared as if well satisfied with the harangue and the terms of the envoy; but in his heart he mocked at them, says the contemporary narrator.⁵ He did not accept expressly any one condition; he spoke of his right to England with a display of internal conviction of its justice, and, the more completely to deceive the negotiator, he ordered presents to a considerable value to be delivered to him.⁶ The Saxon had not the boldness to demand any guarantee; and on his return to London he announced that duke William made promise of peace to the city and of safety, without any deception, provided they would open the gates and tender him their oaths.⁷ On being

strictly questioned, he could not allege that he had received from the duke any direct assurance; but, on the other hand, he praised exceedingly his sincerity of demeanour, the wisdom of his speeches, and his generosity. This report, differing so greatly from the rumours that had been spread of the ferocity of the victor in the battle of Hastings, caused an excessive degree of confidence to replace the stupefaction of terror; those rules of prudence which the Hansward had so strongly urged were then forgotten, and nothing was spoken of but the repairing, without further delay, to carry the city keys to duke William.⁸

The court of the youthful king Edgar, without an army, and without free communication with the country, was unable to dictate to this temper of the citizens, or to constrain them to run the hazards of a hopeless resistance. The government that had just been constituted in the midst of public agitations, and which, despite its popularity, was deficient of the most ordinary and requisite resources, was thus forced to promulgate the declaration of its having ceased to exist. The king himself, accompanied by archbishops Stigand and Eldred, by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, several other ecclesiastics and chiefs of high rank, and by the principal citizens, then repaired to the Norman camp at Berkhamstead, and, to the misfortune of their country, made their submission.⁹ They delivered hostages to the duke of Normandy, and took the oaths of peace and allegiance to him; while, on his side, the duke promised them, on his honour, that he would prove gentle and clement toward them. He thereupon marched towards London, and, notwithstanding his promises, permitted everything that lay in his course to be devastated.¹⁰

On the road from Berkhamstead to London there was a rich monastery called St. Alban's Abbey, built near the extensive ruins of an ancient Roman municipal city.¹¹ On approaching the lands of this convent, William observed with surprise large trunks of timber felled and disposed so as to interrupt his passage or render it difficult. He caused the abbot of St. Albans, named Frithric, to be brought before him. "Why," demanded the conqueror, "hast thou thus cut down thy woods?" "I have but done my duty," answered the Saxon monk; "and if all of my order had done the same, as they might and ought to have done, perhaps thou wouldst not have penetrated so far into our country."¹² William did not go on to London, but stopped at the distance of a few miles, and sent forward a strong detachment of soldiers with instructions to build a fortress for his residence¹³ in the centre of the town.

While this work was proceeding with rapidity, the Norman council of war were discussing in

1 Ille quidem cautis cautè legata recepit,
Cordis et occulto condidit in thalamo. . .
(Manuscript of Brussels, v. 707.)

2 Natu majores omni levitate repulsa,
Aggregat, et verbis talibus alloquitur.
(Ibid., v. 709.)

3 Censeo quapropter, si vobis constat honestum,
Hostes dum lateant omnia que patimur,
Accitis docilis noster legatus ut hosti
Mittatur, verbis fallere qui satagat.
(Ibid., v. 734.)

4 Ordine qui retulit decorans sermone faceto
Utile fraternum, non secus ac propriam,
Sed quum vix patulâ teneatur compe vulpes,
Fallitur à rege, fallere quem voluit.
(Ibid., v. 742.)

5 Namque palam laudat rex, atque latenter inceptat
Quicquid ab Ansgardo munus attulerat.
(Ibid., v. 746.)

6 Ille retrò rutilo gradiens oneratus ab auro.
(Ibid., v. 750.)

7 Rex vobis pacem dicit, profertque salutem
Vestris mandatis parat et absque dolis.
(Ibid., v. 752.)

8 Annuit hoc vulgus, justum probat esse senatus,
Et puerum regem coetus uterque negat. . . .
Reddere per claves urbem, sedare farorem,
Oblato, querunt, munere cum manibus.

(Manuscript of Brussels, v. 762.)
9 Submiserunt se propter necessitatem, cum quam maximum erat in damnum factum. (Chron. Sax. Frag., sub anno MLXVI., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

10 Ibid.—Roger, de Hoved. annal., pars prior, apud rec. Anglie, script., p. 450, ed. Savile.

11 Verulamium.

12 John Speed's historie of Great Britaine, p. 436, London, 1623.

13 Præmisit Londoniam qui munitionem in ipsâ construerent urbe, moraturus interim per vicinia. (Guill. Pictav., p. 203.)

the camp near London the means of promptly completing the conquest so successfully begun.¹ The familiar friends of William said that, in order to render the people of the yet unconquered provinces less disposed to resistance, the chief of the conquest must, previously to any ulterior invasion, take the title of king of the English.² This proposal was, doubtless, the most agreeable to the duke of Normandy; but, with his accustomed circumspection, he feigned indifference to it. Although to obtain a kingdom was the object of his enterprise, it appears that motives of weight induced him at this moment to conceal his ambition, and to show himself less desirous than he in truth was of a dignity which, in elevating him to royal authority over the vanquished nation, must necessarily also separate his fortune from that of his companions in arms. William made modest excuses, and requested that there might at least be a little delay, saying that he had not come to England to make his own fortune alone, but that of the whole Norman people; moreover, that, if it were God's pleasure that he should become king, the time for taking the title had not yet arrived, for too many provinces and too many men still remained to be subdued.³

The majority of the Norman chiefs was disposed to take these hypocritical scruples in their literal sense, and to decide that the time to make a king was really not yet arrived: when a captain of the auxiliary bands, named Aimery de Thouars, who had less cause to be jealous of the royal dignity being vested in William than had the natives of Normandy, addressed them in a spirited tone, saying, in the style of a flatterer and a stipendiary soldier, "It is an excess of modesty to ask men-at-arms whether they choose that their lord shall be king: soldiers are not called upon to take part in discussions of this nature; besides, our debates only serve to retard that which we all wish to see accomplished without any delay."⁴ Those among the Normans who, after the feigned excuses of William, would have ventured to be of the same mind with their duke, were quite of a contrary opinion so soon as the Poitevin had spoken, lest they should appear less faithful and devoted to the common chief. They unanimously resolved therefore, that, before the conquest was pushed any further, duke William should cause himself to be crowned king of England by the small number of Saxons whom he had succeeded in terrifying or corrupting.

Christmas-day, which was then approaching, was fixed on for the ceremony. The archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, who had taken the oath of peace to the Conqueror in his camp at Berkhamstead, was invited to come and impose hands on, and to crown him, according to the ancient custom, in the church of the Monastery of the West, in English *West-mynster*, nigh to London. Stigand refused to go and give his benediction to a man who was stained with human blood, and the invader of the

rights of another.⁵ But Eldred, archbishop of York, being (say the old historians)⁶ more circumspect and better advised, comprehending that it was necessary to conform to the times, and not act contrary to the order of God,⁷ by whom the powers of the earth are exalted and constituted, consented to perform the important ceremony. The West Minster was prepared and decorated as in former days, when, with the free suffrages of the best men of England,⁸ the king of their choice came and presented himself, there to receive the investiture of that power which they had confided to him. But this previous election, without which the title of king could be no other than a vain mockery and a bitter insult on the part of the strongest, did not take place in the case of the Norman chief. He quitted his camp, and proceeded between two lines of soldiers to the abbey, where his arrival was awaited by some Saxons who were overcome by their fears, or at most but affected a calm demeanour and an air of liberty in their cowardly and servile office. All the avenues leading to the church, the public places, and the streets of that suburb, were filled with armed cavaliers,⁹ who, according to the ancient narratives, were to keep down the rebels, and ensure the safety of those whose duties called them into the interior of the Minster.¹⁰ The counts, barons, and the chiefs of the army, to the number of two hundred and sixty, entered the sacred edifice with their duke.

When the ceremony opened, Geoffroy, bishop of Coutances, ascending a raised platform, asked the Normans, in the French language, if they were all of opinion that their lord should take the title of king of the English; and at the same time the archbishop of York asked the English, in the Saxon tongue, if they would have for king the duke of Normandy. Such loud acclamations were, on the instant, raised in the church, that they resounded beyond its gates, and reached the ears of the horsemen who filled the neighbouring streets. They took this confused noise for a cry of alarm; and, in pursuance of their secret orders, immediately set fire to the houses.¹¹ Many of them galloped towards the church; and, at the sight of their drawn swords and the flames of the conflagration, all the attendants, Normans as well as Saxons,¹² dispersed; the latter hastened to extinguish the fire, and the former to plunder during the disorder.¹³ The ceremony was suspended by this unforeseen tumult; and there remained to finish it only the duke, archbishop Eldred, and a few priests of both nations. These received in trembling from him

¹ Ille viro cruento et alieni juris invasori manus imponere nullatenus adquevit. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 15, ed. Heuræ.)—Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 962, ed. Selden.—Eadmeri hist. nov., lib. i. 6. ed. Selden.

² Vir bonus et prudens. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 15.)—Chron. Walteri Hemingford, vol. ii. 457, ed. Gale.

³ Acutus intelligens cedendum esse temporis, et divina nequaquam resistendum ordinati. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 15.)—Chron. Walteri Hemingford, ii. 457.

⁴ Tha bestan-menn. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gilson, passim.)

⁵ Circa monasterium in armis et equis presidio dispositi. (Guil. Pictav., p. 206.)

⁶ Ne quid doli et seditionis oriretur. (Orderic. Vital., p. 503.)

⁷ Flammam sedibus imprudenter iniecerunt. (Orderic. Vital. hist. eccl., lib. iii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 503.)

⁸ Multitudo virorum ac mulierum celeriter basilica egressa est. (Ibid.)

⁹ Ut in tantâ perturbatione sibi prædas diriperent. (Ibid.)

¹ Considerans comitatus à Normanniâ. (Guil. Pictav., p. 205.)

² Rebellem quemque minùs ausurum in se faciliùs contendentem. (Ibid.)

³ Res adhuc turbidas esse, rebellare nonnullos. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ad disceptationem hujusmodi milites nunquam aut rarò acciti erant. Non est diù trahendum nostrâ deliberatione quâ. . . (Ibid.)

whom they saluted king, and who, according to an ancient narration, himself also trembled, the oath to treat the Anglo-Saxon people as well as they had been treated by the best of the kings whom they had elected in former times.¹

On that very day the city of London had cause to know the value of such an oath from the mouth of a foreign conqueror. An enormous war-tribute was imposed on the citizens, and their hostages were imprisoned.² William, who could not himself sincerely believe that the benediction of Eldred and the acclamations of a few cowards had made him a king of England in the lawful sense of the word, feeling embarrassed in determining the style of his manifestos, sometimes falsely called himself King by hereditary succession, and sometimes, with perfect frankness, King by the edge of the sword.³ But, if he hesitated in his designations, he did not hesitate in his acts; he put himself in his proper place by the attitude of defiance and distrust which he assumed towards the people. He did not yet venture to establish himself in London nor inhabit the battlemented castle which had therein been hastily constructed for his residence. He therefore left the city to wait in the adjacent territory until his engineers had given greater solidity to those works, and had also laid the foundations of two other fortresses, to repress, says a Norman author, the changeable spirit of a population too numerous and too fierce.⁴

During the days which the king passed seven miles from London, at a place called Barking, the two Saxon chiefs whose fatal retreat had caused the surrender of the great town, terrified at the new power which the possession of London and the title of king gave to the invader, came from the north to take the same oath to him which the English chiefs were accustomed to take to their ancient kings.⁵ However, the submission of Edwin and Morkar did not bring with it that of the provinces which they had governed; and the Norman army did not advance to occupy those provinces, but remained concentrated round London and on the southern and eastern coasts nearest to Gaul. It was at that time almost entirely occupied in sharing the spoils of the invaded territory. Commissions were sent through the whole extent of country in which the army had left garrisons. They made an exact inventory of all estates, public and private, registering them with great care and minuteness; for, even in those remote times, the Norman nation, as it has since been, was lavish of writings, public acts, and *procès-verbaux*.⁶

Inquiry was made into the names of all the English who had died in battle, or who had survived their defeats, or whom their domestic affairs had, contrary to their desire, detained from joining

¹ *Trepidantes . . . officium consecrationis super regem vehementer trementem, vix peregerunt.* (Order. Vital. Hist. eccl., lib. iii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 593.)

² *Imposuit tributum hominibus valde sevum.* (Chron. Saxon. fragm. sub anno MLXVI., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

³ *Ego Willelmus rex hereditario jure factus.* (Hickesii Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium, ii. 71.)—*Regnum Anglorum ore gladii adeptus sum.* (Ibid., p. 72.)

⁴ *Contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi.* (Guill. Pictav., p. 208.)

⁵ *Illi veniunt ad obsequium ejus.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Cum rex ipse regisque proceres loca nova perlustrarent facta est inquisitio diligens.* (Dialogus de Scaccario, in notis ad Math. Paris., vol. I. ad initium.)

the standards of their country. All the possessions of these three classes of men, whether in lands, or revenues, or chattels, were confiscated.⁷ The children of the first were declared disinherited for ever. The second were likewise permanently dispossessed, and (say the Norman authors) they themselves were quite sensible that their lives were all which they ought to expect at the hands of the enemy.⁸ Lastly, those men who had not taken part in the battle were also stripped of everything for having intended to fight; but, by special favour and clemency, they were permitted to hope that, after many years of obedience and devotion to the foreign power, not they, but their sons, might obtain from the bounty of the new masters some portion of the paternal inheritance.⁹ Such was the law of the Conquest, according to the credible testimony of a prelate who was nearly a cotemporary, and who himself was descended from the Norman invaders.¹⁰

The immense produce of this universal spoliation served for rewards to the adventurers of all nations who had enlisted under the standard of the Norman duke. In the first place, their chief, the new king of the English, kept as his own share all the treasure of the ancient kings, the gold vessels and ornaments of the churches, and everything rare and precious that could be found in the shops.¹¹ William sent a part of these riches to pope Alexander, together with Harold's standard, in return for the holy standard which had triumphed at Hastings;¹² and all the churches abroad in which psalms had been sung and tapers burned for the success of the invasion received in recompense crosses, chalices, and stuffs of gold.¹³ When the king and the priests had taken their share, the warriors had theirs, according to their rank and the conditions of their engagement. Those who, at the camp on the river Dive, had done homage to William for lands which were then to be conquered, received those of the dispossessed English.¹⁴ The barons and knights had extensive domains, castles, town lands, and even entire towns, allotted to them: the meaner vassals had smaller portions.¹⁵ Some took their pay in money; others had stipulated beforehand for some Saxon woman; and, according to the Norman chronicle, William caused them to take in marriage noble ladies, the heiresses of great possessions, whose husbands had been slain in the battle. One alone amongst all the warriors in the conqueror's train claimed neither lands, nor gold, nor women: and would accept no

⁷ *Spes omnis terrarum et fundorum atque reddituum preclusa est.* (Dialogus de Scaccario, in notis ad Math. Paris., vol. i. ad initium.)

⁸ *Magnum namque reputabant frui vite beneficio sub inimicis.* (Ibid.)

⁹ *Cum tractu temporis, devotis obsequiis, gratiam dominorum possedissent, sine spe successione illi tantum pro voluntate dominorum possidere ceperunt.* (Ibid.)

¹⁰ *Ricardus Nigellus, Richard Lenoir or Noïrot, bishop of Ely in the twelfth century.*

¹¹ *Guill. Pictav., p. 206.*

¹² *Romane ecclesie S. Petri preciosam in auro atque argento ampliore quam dicta credibile sit.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Mille ecclesie Francie.* (Ibid.)

¹⁴ *Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des hist. de la France, tom. xiii. 239.*

¹⁵ *Dona chasteis, dona citez,*

Dona manoirs, dona comtez,

Dona terres as vavassors.

(Roman de Rou, tom. ii. 387.)
The word *vassal* is synonymous with *soldier* or *man-at-arms*.
Hardi et noble *vassal*. *Vassalment for bravement.*

part of the spoils of the vanquished: he was named Guilbert, son of Richard. He said that he had accompanied his lord into England, because such was his duty; that he was not to be tempted by stolen property, but would return into Normandy to live on his own patrimony, which, though small, was lawful, and that, content with his own lands, he would take nothing away from others.¹

The new king passed the last months of the winter which terminated the year 1066 in making a sort of military progress through such of the provinces as had been up to that time invaded. It is hard to determine with exactness the number of these provinces, and the extent of country which the foreign troops occupied and ranged in freely. However, by carefully examining the accounts of contemporaries, we find negative proofs, at least, that the Normans had not yet penetrated towards the north-east farther than the rivers whose outlet forms the bay of Boston, nor to the south-west beyond the hills which bound the province of Dorset. The town of Oxford, situated nearly at an equal distance from these two opposite points, in a right line between them, had not yet surrendered; but perhaps this ideal frontier had been passed, either to the north or to the south of Oxford. It is equally difficult to affirm or to deny it, or to fix the limit, at any precise moment, of a constantly extending invasion.

(A.D. 1066 to 1067.) All that portion of territory occupied in reality by William's garrisons, and possessed by him otherwise than nominally and by virtue of his title of king, was in a short time crowded with citadels and fortified castles.² All the native population within it were disarmed, and compelled to swear obedience and fidelity to the new chief imposed on them by the lance and the sword. They took the tendered oath, but they did not believe in their hearts that the foreigner was lawful king over England; in their eyes young Edgar was still the true king, though deposed and a captive. The monks of the convent of Peterborough, in the county of Northampton, gave a remarkable proof of this. Having lost their abbot, Leofric, on his return from the battle of Hastings, they chose their prior, named Brand, to succeed him; and, as it was their custom to obtain the approbation of the election of the superior of their convent by the chief of the country, they sent Brand unto Edgar. They took this step, says the chronicle of that monastery, because all the inhabitants of the country thought that Edgar would again become king.³ The rumour of this soon reached the ears of William, and his anger was greatly excited. "From that day forward," says the contemporary narrator, "every evil—every affliction has fallen upon our house. May God vouchsafe to take pity on it!"⁴

This prayer of a monk might well, at that time, become the prayer of every Englishman in the conquered provinces; for each had an ample portion of grief and misery: that of men was indi-

¹ De rapinâ quicquam possidere noluit. Suis contentus, aliena respuit. (Orderic Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. vi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 606.)

² Edificaverunt castella pas-sim per hanc regionem. (Chron. Saxon. Frag. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

³ Hujus enim terre incolæ arbitrabantur eum regem fore. (Chron. Sax. ed. Gibson, p. 173.)

⁴ God hit gemilte! (Ibid.)

gence and servitude; that of women, insults and violence more cruel than all beside. Such as were not taken *par mariage* were taken *par amours*, as the conquerors expressed it, and were the sport of the foreign soldiers, the lowest and meanest of whom was lord and master in the house of the vanquished. "Ignoble squires, impure vagabonds," say the old annalists, "disposed at their pleasure of young women of the best families, leaving them to weep and to wish for death."⁵ Those despicable men, yielding to unbridled licentiousness, were themselves astonished at their villany; they became mad with pride, and wondered at finding themselves so powerful, and at having retainers of greater wealth than their fathers had ever possessed.⁶ Whatever they had the will, they believed they had the right, to do: they shed blood in wantonness; they snatched the last morsel of bread from the mouths of the unfortunate: they seized everything—money, goods, and land.⁷

Such was the yoke which the English race received, as the standard of the three lions progressively advanced over their fields and was planted in their towns. But this fate, which was everywhere equally hard, assumed various appearances according to the diversity of places. The towns suffered in a different manner from the country; and each town or district had in its grievances something peculiar to itself. The common stock of misery was surrounded (if the expression may be allowed) by that variety of forms, that multiplicity of accidents, which human affairs constantly present. At Pevensy, for instance, where the army had effected its landing, the Norman soldiers shared amongst themselves the houses of the vanquished.⁸ In other places, the inhabitants themselves were apportioned out, both individuals and chattels; and in the town of Lewes, according to a certain authentic register,⁹ king William took sixty of the townsmen paying an annual rent of thirty-nine sous; one Asselin had three townsmen paying a rent of only four sous; and Guillaume de Caen had two paying two sous only;—these are the exact words of the roll.¹⁰

The city of Dover, half consumed by fire, was given to Eudes, bishop of Bayeux, who, say the old acts, could not calculate its exact value, on account of the devastation.¹¹ He distributed the houses amongst his warriors and followers. Raoul de Courbepine received three of them, together with a poor woman's field;¹² Guillaume son of Geoffry had also three houses, together with the old town-house or common-hall of the burghesses.¹³ Near Colchester, in the county of Essex, Geoffroy

⁵ Nobiles puellæ despicibilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ dedecus suum plorabant. (Orderic Vital., p. 523.)

⁶ Ut multos in Angliâ ditiores et potentiores haberent clientes quam eorum in Neustriâ fuerant parentes . . . et quasi vecordes e superbia efficebantur unde sibi tanta potestas emanasset, et putabant quod quicquid vellent sibi liceret. (Ibid.)

⁷ A buccis miserorum cibos abstrahentes. (Will. Malmesb.)

⁸ Domesday-book, i. 26, recto.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Villa de Cahainges, II burgenses de 11 sol. (Ibid., i. 20, verso.)

¹¹ Præstium ejus non potuit computari, quantum valebat. (Extracta à D. B. apud Scriptores, lib. 759, ed. Gale.)

¹² Domesday-book, i. 9, verso.

¹³ Willelmus Gaufridi, iii., in quibus erant Ghalla burgensium. (Extracta à D. B., ibid.)

de Mandeville seized forty manors or habitations surrounded by cultivated lands; fourteen Saxon proprietors were dispossessed by Engelry, and thirty by one Guillaume; one rich Englishman put himself, for security, in the power of the Norman Gantier, who received him as his tributary; ¹ another Englishman became a serf on the soil of his own field.² The domain of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, and that of Burton, also the town of Strafford, were allotted to Guy de Riencourt. He had seizin of all those estates during his life; but his son and heir Richard lost the chief part of the same in playing at dice with Henry I., the second prince who succeeded the Conqueror.

In the province of Suffolk, a Norman chief appropriated to himself the lands of a Saxon named Ediva the Fair.³ The city of Norwich was reserved entire as the Conqueror's private domain: it had paid to the Saxon kings a tax of thirty pounds twenty solidi; but William exacted annually seventy pounds, a valuable horse, a hundred solidi for his queen, and moreover twenty pounds for the salary of the officer who commanded there in his name.⁴ A strong citadel was built in the heart of this city, which was inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Danes, because the conquerors were fearful of its asking and receiving succour from the Danes, who were frequently cruising near the coast.⁵ In the town of Dorchester, which in king Edward's time had contained one hundred and sixty-two houses, there were now only eighty-eight; the rest were a heap of ruins. At Warham, out of a hundred and thirteen houses, sixty-two had been destroyed.⁶ At Bridport twenty had disappeared in the same manner; and the misery of the inhabitants was such, that more than twenty years afterwards not a single house had been rebuilt.⁷ The Isle of Wight, near the southern coast, was invaded by Guillaume son of Osbert, seneschal to the Norman king, and it became a portion of his extensive domains in England; he transmitted it to his son, and afterwards to the son of his nephew, Bandoin, called in Normandy Baudoin de Reviers, and in England Baldwin of the Island.⁸

Near Winchester, in the county of Hants, was situated the abbey of Hida, of which the abbot, accompanied by twelve of his monks and twenty men-at-arms, had gone to the battle of Hastings and had not returned from that fatal field.⁹ The vengeance with which the Conqueror visited this monastery was mixed with a sort of pleasantry; he took from the abbey lands twelve times the amount of land sufficient for providing the pay and maintenance of a man-at-arms, or, in the language of the time, twelve *knights' fees*, and also a captain's portion, or a baron's fief or fee, as a ransom of the crime of the thirteen men of that abbey in

fighting against him.¹⁰ Another fact which may be cited as among the *joyusetés* of the Conquest is, that a female juggler, named Adelina, figures on the rolls, made out for the partition of the same province, as having received fee and salary from Roger, one of the Norman counts.¹¹

In Hertfordshire an Englishman had bought back his land by the payment of nine ounces of gold; ¹² nevertheless, to escape a violent dispossession, he was obliged to become tributary to a soldier named Vigot.¹³ Three Saxon warriors, Thurnoth, Waltheof, and Thurman, associated together as brethren in arms, possessed a manor near St. Alban's, which they had received from the chief of the abbey, on condition of their defending it by the sword, if necessary. They faithfully discharged this engagement by resisting the Norman invaders; but, being overpowered by numbers, and compelled to fly, they abandoned their domain. This domain then fell to the share of Robert de Toënes, one of those Norman knights who, from their bearing a swan upon their shield, were called knights of the swan.¹⁴ But Robert and his men soon had to defend their newly-acquired property against the three Saxons, who, at the head of a party of their friends, suddenly attacked them, and burned their own houses. They fought until, being surrounded by their more numerous enemies, they were taken, and hanged as rebels, according to the law of the Conquest.¹⁵

These facts, taken indiscriminately from among thousands of others, which it would be tedious to enumerate, are sufficient to give the reader an idea of the various deplorable scenes which were exhibited at the same time in several of the southern and eastern provinces of England, while the Conqueror was installing himself in the Tower of London. This fortress, built at one of the angles of the city wall, on the eastern side, near the Thames, received, at the time, the name of the Palatine Tower, a name taken from an old Roman title, which William bore in Normandy conjointly with that of duke or count. Two other fortresses, built on the western side, and confided to the care of the Normans Baynard and Gilbert de Monfichet, took the name of their respective keepers.¹⁶ The banner of the three lions was hoisted on William's donjon, and those of Baynard and Monfichet were displayed on the two others; but these captains had both sworn to lower their own flags and raise that of the king their liege lord at his first command, whether given in anger or without anger, for crime or no crime, and whether supported by great or by little force—as the acts of the age are worded. Before making, to the sound of trumpets, their first entry into their towers, and filling them with their serving-men, they had placed their hands in those of the Norman king, and acknowledged themselves to be

¹ Summisit se in manu Walterii, pro defensione sui. (Domesday-book, i. 36, recto.)

² Quidam liber homo qui modò effectus est unus de villanis. (Ibid., ii. 1.)

³ Edeva faira. (Ibid., ii. 285.)

⁴ Modò LXX lib. in pensum regis, et C solidos ad numerum de Gersuma regina, et unum asturconem, et xx libras blancas comiti. (Ibid., ii. 117.)

⁵ Danos in auxilium citiùs recipere potest. (Guil. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 208.)

⁶ Extracta à D. B., apud rer. Anglie. script., iii. 764, ed. Gale.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Conquisivit insulam Vectam. (Monast. Anglie, ii. 905.)

⁹ See Book iii. p. 69.

¹⁰ Pro abbate baroniam unam, et pro singulis monachis qui cum abbate in bellum processerant singula feoda militum arripuit. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., l. 210.)

¹¹ Et Adelina jocularitatem unam virgatum quam Rog. comes dedit ei. (Domesday-book, ii. 38, verso.)

¹² Terram suam emit à W. rege, novem unclas auri. (Domesday-book, i. 137, verso.)

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ab illis famosissimis militibus qui à cyeni nomine intitulantur. (Math. Paris. Viim Abbatum Ss. Albani, i. 46.)

¹⁵ Capti . . . perierunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ *Castellum Baynardi*, Baynard Castle. (Maitland's History of London, p. 41.)

his men of faith and service. They had promised by this oath to suffer as a just and lawful sentence the decree of dispossession which would be passed against them, if, at any future time, they ranged themselves against their liege, or separated their banners from his.

What they swore to the chief of the Conquest others in like manner swore to them, and others again took to these last the same oath of fidelity and homage. Thus the body of the conquerors, though scattered and distributed over the territory of the vanquished, was still united by one great chain of duty, and kept the same order as on board the transports, or behind the redoubts at Hastings. The subaltern owed faith and service to his military superior; the man who had received lands from another owed him faith and service in return. On this condition, those who had shared the most in the various plunder or the profits of the invasion gave or lent a part of their superfluity to those who had been less fortunate. The knights received from the barons, and the simple men-at-arms from their captains; in their turn the men-at-arms made presents to the esquires, the esquires to the sergeants, the sergeants to the bowmen and the valets. Generally the wealthy gave to those who were poorer, but the poor soon became rich by profits derived from the Conquest. Thus among those classes of combatants, so distinguished by the language of the time,¹ there were great fluctuations, because the chances of war carried men rapidly from the lowest grades to the highest.

The man who had passed the sea with the quilted cassock and black wooden bow of the foot-soldier now appeared, to the astonished eyes of the new recruits who had come after him, mounted on a war-horse and bearing the military baldrick. He who had arrived as a poor knight soon lifted his banner (as it was then expressed), and commanded a company, whose rallying cry was his own name. The herdsmen of Normandy and the weavers of Flanders, with a little courage and good fortune, soon became in England men of consequence—illustrious barons; and their names, ignoble and obscure on one shore of the straits, became noble and glorious on the other.

"Would you know," says an old roll in the French language, "what are the names of the great men who came over the sea with the conqueror William à la grande vigueur?"² Here are their surnames as we find them written, but without their christian names being prefixed, for they are often wanting and often changed: they are Maundeville et Daundeville, Omfreville et Domfreville, Bouteville et Estouteville, Mohun et Bohun, Bisset et Basset, Malin et Malvoisin, All the names that follow appear in the like arrangement, so as to assist the memory by the rhyme and alliteration. Several lists of the same kind, and disposed with the same art, have been handed down to the present day, having been formerly found inscribed on large sheets of vellum in the archives of the churches, and decorated

¹ Comte, baron, et chevalier; comte, baron, et vassalor.
(Ancienues Poésies Normandes.)

² Les nons de grantz delà la mer
De vident de le conquereur,
William Bastard de grant vigueur.

—(Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 963, ed. Selden.)

with the title of *livre* or *livret des conquereurs*.³ In one of these lists the surnames are seen ranged in groups of three:—Bastard, Brassard, Baynard; Bigot, Bagot, Talbot; Toret, Trivet, Bouet; Lucy, Lacy, Percy; Another catalogue of the conquerors of England, kept for a long time in the treasury of Battle abbey, contained names of a singularly low and fantastic formation, such as Bonvilain and Boutevilain, Trousselot and Troussebout, L'Engayne and Longue-épee, Oeil-de-bœuf and Front-de-bœuf.⁴ And several authentic acts designate as Norman knights in England one *Guillaume le charretier*, one *Hugues le tailleur*, one *Guillaume le tambour*,⁵ and among the surnames of the knights forming the chivalry gathered from all the provinces of Gaul we find a great number of names belonging simply to towns and districts: as Saint-Quentin, Saint-Maur, Saint-Denis, Saint-Malo, Tournai, Verdun, Fismes, Châlons,⁶ Chaunes, Etampes, Rochefort, La Rochelle, Cahors,⁷ Champagne, Gascogne. Such were the men who brought into England the titles of *nobleman* and *gentleman*, and by force of arms implanted them for themselves and their descendants.⁸

The servants of the Norman man-at-arms—his lance-bearer, his esquire, became gentlemen in England: they were men of consequence and consideration when placed in comparison with the Saxon who had himself once enjoyed wealth and titles, but who was now oppressed by the sword of the invader, was expelled from the home of his fathers, and had not where to lay his head.⁹ This natural and general nobility of all the conquerors increased in the same ratio as the authority or personal importance of each. In the new nobility, after the style and kingly title of William, was classed the dignity of the governor of a province, as count or earl; next to him that of his lieutenant, as vice-count or viscount; and then the rank of the warriors, whether as barons, knights, esquires, or sergeants-at-arms; of unequal grades of nobility, but all reputed to be noble, whether by right of their victory, or by their foreign extraction.

(A.D. 1067.) Before marching to the conquest of the northern and western provinces, William, with his accustomed foresight, resolved to deposit the booty, which he had made in the provinces already conquered, in a place of safety; and it appeared to him that his newly-acquired riches would be nowhere more secure than in his own country. When ready to set sail for Normandy, he intrusted the lieutenancy of his kingly power to his brother Odo or Eudes,¹⁰

³ Tous les grantz sieignors apres nomez si come il est escript en le liver des conquereurs. (Johan. Lelandi Collectanea, i. 202.)

⁴ Script. rer. Normann., p. 1023 et seq.

⁵ Dugdale Monastic. Angl., passim.

⁶ Become, by corruption, *Chalones*.

⁷ Become, by corruption, *Rochford*, *Rohety*, *Charvoth*, &c. Other names really French have been disguised in various ways; as *De la Haye*, *Hay*; *De la Souche*, *Zouch*; *Du-Saut-de-Chevreau*, *Sacheverell*, &c.

⁸ These two words, now English, are purely of Norman extraction, and have no synonym in the ancient Anglo-Saxon language.

⁹ Non habentes ubi reclinarent caput. (Johan. de Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. v. p. 404, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁰ This prelate, the half-brother of the Norman conqueror, is known, in English history, by the name of Odo. Having promised this, our translation will not always preserve the French name of Eudes, being the spelling in M. Thierry's work, but appertaining to many other captains and barons of that period. The other deputy, here named, is often called William Fitz-Osborn.

and to William son of Osbert. To these two viceroys were joined other chiefs of note, as co-administrators and councillors: these were Hugues de Grantmesnil, Hugues de Montfort, Gaultier Giffard, and Guillaume de Garenne (i.e. William de Warrenne).¹ The new king repaired to Pevensey, wishing to embark from the very place where he had landed six months before. Several vessels were in waiting for him, adorned with white sails and streamers, in token of joy and triumph.² A great number of English had repaired thither by his order, to pass the Straits with him. Among them were king Edgar, archbishop Stigand, Frithrik abbot of St. Alban's, the brothers Edwin and Morkar, and Waltheof son of Siward—who had not been able to be present at the field of Hastings. These, and many others whom the Conqueror took with him, were to serve as hostages for the tranquillity of the English during his absence; besides, he hoped that, when thus deprived of its most powerful and popular chiefs, the nation would have less courage and less disposition to rise against its new masters.³

In the port where he had for the first time set foot on English ground, the conqueror distributed presents of every kind to such of his warriors as were about to recross the sea with him, in order (says a Norman writer) that no one of them on his return might have it in his power to say that he had not gained by the Conquest.⁴ William, according to the same author, who was his chaplain and his biographer, carried with him into Normandy more gold and silver than had ever before been seen in all Gaul.⁵ The monasteries and the clergy of the churches rivalled each other in their efforts and zeal to celebrate, by a festival, the return of the conqueror of the English; and, says the historian, neither monks nor priests went without their reward.⁶ William gave them gold in coins, lingots, and chalices; and, what was also highly acceptable, cloths embroidered in gold to spread over the altars, and which especially excited the admiration of travellers.⁷ It appears that, in that age, embroidery in gold with the needle was an art in which the English women excelled. The navigation of that island, which was already very extensive, also brought to it many costly articles of merchandise unknown to the north of Gaul.⁸ A relative of the king of France, named Raoul, came with a numerous train to the court held by king William at the time of the celebration of the Easter festival. The French, no less than the Normans, contemplated with mixed curiosity and surprise the encased vases of silver and gold brought out of England, and especially the drinking-vessels of the Saxons, made of large buffalo-horns and tipped

with metal at the two extremities.⁹ They wondered at the beauty and the long flowing hair of the young English who were captives or hostages in the hands of the Norman king.¹⁰ "They remarked," says the historian, "these things and many others equally new to them, in order that they might relate them in their own country."¹¹

While this pomp of festivals was displayed on one side of the Channel, the insolence of the conquerors was severely felt by the subjugated nation on the other. The chiefs who governed the provinces emulated each other in oppressing the natives, both of ancient rank and the common people, by their extortion, tyranny, and outrage. Bishop Eudes and the son of Osbert, inflated with their new power, despised the complaints of the oppressed and refused them all justice.¹² When their armed men plundered the houses or violated the English women, the Norman deputies both lauded them and punished the miserable native who dared, when afflicted by such cruel outrages, to utter his groans aloud.¹³ This excess of sufferings drove the inhabitants of the eastern coast to make an effort to emancipate themselves from the Norman yoke by the aid of a foreign succour. Eustace count of Boulogne, the same who in Edward's reign had caused so much tumult in England, was at variance and enmity with William, who kept his son a prisoner. Eustace was renowned for his military skill; and his ancient relationship to king Edward now caused him to be regarded by the Saxon people as their natural ally.¹⁴

The inhabitants of Kent sent a message to Eustace, and promised to aid him in seizing Dover, if he would make a descent and assist them against the Normans. The count of Boulogne consented thereto; and, under cover of a dark night, landed near Dover roads. All the Saxons of the neighbouring country rose in arms. Odo or Eudes de Bayeux and Hugues de Montfort, the two commandants of the town, had then gone across the Thames, with a party of their soldiers. If the siege could have lasted but two days, the people of the neighbouring provinces would have advanced in great numbers and joined the besiegers:¹⁵ but Eustace and his men made an ill-timed attempt to take the castle of Dover by surprise; they met with an unexpected resistance from the Normans, and were discouraged by this single effort. A false report of the approach of Eudes, who was said to be returning with the great body of his troops, filled them with terror. Eustace of Boulogne caused a retreat to be sounded; his men ran in precipitate disorder toward their vessels; and the Norman garrison, seeing them dispersed, quitted the town to pursue them. Many of them, in their flight, fell from the steep cliffs near which the town

¹ Guill. Pictav., p. 209.

² More veterum albis velis adornate. (Ibid.)

³ Gens vero tota minus ad rebellionem valeret spoliata principibus. Denique eos potissimum veluti obsides in potestate sua tenendos existimabat, quorum auctoritas vel salus propinquis et compatriotis maximi esset. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ut optimum fructum victoriae secum omnes percepiisse gauderent. (Guill. Pictav., p. 209.)

⁵ Quantum ex ditione trium Galliarum vix colligeretur. (Ibid., p. 210.)

⁶ Quam pietatem ipse confestim lucro multiplici recompensavit. (Guill. Pictav., p. 211.)

⁷ Voluptuosum est ea spectare hospitibus maximis. (Ibid.)

⁸ Anglice nationis fœmine multum acu et auri texturâ, egregiè viri in omni valent artificio. Inferunt et negotiatores qui longinquas regiones navibus adeunt. (Ibid.)

⁹ Curiosè hi cum Normannis cernebant . . . vasa argentea sive aurea . . . aut cornibus bubalinis. (Guill. Pictav., p. 211.)

¹⁰ Crinigeros alumnos plage aquilonalis . . . nec enim pœleri venustati cedebant. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Nimia cervicositate tument et clamores Anglorum despiciunt. (Orderic. Vital. hist. eccles., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 507.)

¹³ Armigeros suos immodicas prædas et incestos raptus facientes, vi tuebantur. (Ibid., p. 508.)

¹⁴ Cum Eustachio pridem . . . inimicissimo. (Guill. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 212.)—See Book III., p. 49.

¹⁵ Auctior hostium numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, si biduana obsidio fieret. (Orderic. Vital., p. 508.)

of Dover is situated. The count was saved only by the swiftness of his horse, and the Saxon insurgents reached their homes by circuitous roads.¹ Such was the issue of the first attempt made in England to overthrow the Norman dominion. Eustace soon afterwards was reconciled to the duke of Normandy; and, forgetting his ephemeral allies, courted the wealth and honours which their enemy had at his disposal.²

In Herefordshire, situated near the great chain of mountains which had formerly protected the independence of the Britons, and might still serve as a rampart to that of the Anglo-Saxons, there dwelt, before the invasion, on lands which he had received from the munificence of king Edward, a Norman named Richard, the son of Scrob. He was one of those men whom the Saxons had excepted from the sentence of banishment passed in the year 1052, upon all Normans then living in England. In return for this benefit, the son of Scrob, on William's disembarkation, became the leader of the intrigues for the conquest, established correspondence with the invaders, and put himself at the head of some bodies of soldiers, natives of Gaul, who had remained since Edward's reign in the castles about Hereford. He fortified himself with them in those castles; and, making frequent sallies, undertook to force the neighbouring towns and villages to submit to the conqueror. But the population of the west made an energetic resistance, and, led by young Edrik, son of Alfrik, rose to repel the attack of the son of Scrob and his armed retainers.

The young Saxon chief had the art to interest in his cause several chiefs of the Welsh tribes, which until then had been hostile to the inhabitants of England.³ Thus their terror of the Normans reconciled for the first time the Cambrians and the Teutones of Britain, effecting that which in other times the irruption of the Danish pagans had not been sufficient to bring about. Supported by the inhabitants of the Welsh fastnesses, Edrik acted successfully on the offensive against Richard, the son of Scrob, and his soldiers, whom the chronicles of the times call the castellans of Hereford.⁴ Three months after king William's departure for Normandy, he drove them from the territory which they occupied, plundered their cantonments, and liberated all the country bordering on the river Lugg.⁵ To the south of this tract, on the coasts of the long gulf which receives the waters of the Severn, and to the north of it, on the territory adjacent to the mountains, there were, at that time, neither military posts established nor fortified castles built or possessed by the Normans. The conquest, so to use the expression, had not yet reached there; its laws did not reign, its king was not recognised there, any more than in the whole northern part of England from the bay of Boston to the Tweed.

In the centre of the island the enemy's parties traversed the open country without opposition; but there were many walled towns which had not

yet surrendered; and, even in that part of the country where the invasion seemed to have been accomplished, the conquerors were not without alarms, for messengers from those districts which were still independent were going secretly from town to town, to rally the friends of their country, and reanimate their courage, depressed by the rapidity of their defeat.⁶ Some of the men of greatest influence among the people were daily disappearing from the eyes of the foreign authority; those who, in the first panic, had repaired to William's camp and taken the oath of peace and submission to him, received patriotic addresses, inviting them to break all compact with the foreigner, and join the cause of the good and brave.⁷ One Saxon chief, named Kox,⁸ refused to obey the messages to this effect which were sent to him amicably in the name of the ancient independence. Irritated by his refusal, the conspirators first conveyed to him orders and afterwards threats; and, as he persisted in his friendship with the conquerors, these threats were put in execution, and he perished in a tumult, in spite of foreign protection.⁹ He is celebrated by the Norman historians as a martyr to his oath of fidelity—one worthy to be cited as an example, and whose glory ought to live from age to age.¹⁰

The news of this agitation and of these energetic proceedings, having reached William in his province of Gaul, obliged him to return with precipitation into England. He embarked at the port of Dieppe on a cold night in December, and, on his arrival, placed in the fortresses of Sussex governors chosen in Normandy from among those in whom he put the greatest trust. He found in London a sensation not loud but deep, which seemed to pre-empt some decisive movement; and, fearing that his three castles, with their towers full of arms and machines, would prove but a weak defence against a popular insurrection, he resolved to prevent or retard the arrival of the hour of danger, and to employ his cunning—that fox-like cunning which the old historians attribute to him¹¹—in order to lull that patriotic spirit which he despaired of breaking. He celebrated the festival of Christmas in London with great pomp; and, assembling round him many of the Saxon chiefs and bishops, loaded them with feigned caresses; he showed affability to all; he gave to all the kiss of welcome;¹² when they asked, he granted; when they advised, he listened:—all became dupes to his artifices.¹³

After thus gaining over a part of the men of influence, William next turned to the people. A proclamation written in Saxon, and addressed to the inhabitants of London, was published in his name, and read aloud in the churches and public

¹ *Regionatim de pravis conspirationibus tract. ut.* (Guill. Pietav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 212.)

² *Ut extraneos deserens optimorum hominum suæ nationis et consanguinitatis voluntatem sequeretur.* (Guill. Pietav., p. 212.)

³ *Coxo comes.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ut libertatem à proavis traditam defenderet.... Ille popularium odia perpeti, quam integritatem fidelitatis temerare, maluit.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Morte occidit immeritè, et quam deceat propagari, ut vivat laus eius atque per exemplum oritur.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Calliditate regis vulpinæ.* (Math. Paris. Vita Abbat. Sti. Albani, i. 47.)

⁷ *Dulciter ad oscula invitabat.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 509.)

⁸ *Benignè si quid orabant, concedebat, promptè si nunciabant aut suggerebant, auscultabat; desertores iniquissimi arte reducuntur.* (Ibid.)

¹ *Angli per diverticula plura evaserunt.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 508.) Guill. Pietav., p. 212.

² Guill. Pietav., p. 212.—Order. Vital., p. 508.

³ *Accitis sibi in auxilium vocibus Wallanorum.* (Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 625.)—*Edricus juvenis et Britones facti sunt rebelles.* (Chron. Saxon. frag., sub anno MLXVII., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

⁴ *Herefordenses castellani.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Ad pontem annis Luggæ.* (Ibid.)

places of the city. "Be it known to all," said he, "what is my will. It is, that you should all enjoy your national laws as in the days of king Edward; that every son should inherit from his father, on the demise of his father; and that none of my followers should do you any wrong."¹ On this promise, insincere as it was, the agitation in London subsided; the present relief made the people less disposed to run the perilous hazard of a general resistance to his authority. Thus temporarily exempted from the three great ills which the conquest had entailed upon England, violence, foreign laws, and confiscation, the inhabitants of the great Saxon city separated themselves from the cause of those who were suffering; and, calculating merely their own gain and loss, resolved to remain quiet. We know not how long they enjoyed the new concessions of the conqueror; but they allowed him to depart with impunity from London, with the flower of his troops, to go and subjugate the provinces that had retained hitherto their liberty.

(A.D. 1068.) The Norman king first directed his march toward the south-west, and, crossing the heights which separate the shires of Dorset and Devon, advanced against Exeter.² In this city the mother of Harold had taken refuge after the fatal battle of Hastings, and had gathered together the remains of her wealth, which she devoted to the cause of the country for which her son had died. The citizens of Exeter were numerous and full of patriotic zeal: contemporary history bears this honourable testimony respecting them—that, whether old or young, they had a deadly hatred of the invaders from abroad.³ They fortified their walls and towers, called in armed men from all the surrounding country, and hired as soldiers the foreign navigators who happened to be in their port; they also sent messages to the inhabitants of the other towns, inviting them to become their confederates;⁴ preparing their utmost strength against the king of foreign birth, with whom, until that moment (say the chronicles), they had had no dealings whatever.⁵

The approach of the invading army was made known to the citizens of Exeter from afar by the report of its ravages, for every place through which it marched was entirely devastated.⁶ The Normans stopped at the distance of four miles, and from thence William sent to the inhabitants the order to submit, and to take the oath of fidelity to him. "We will not swear fidelity," answered they, "to him who styles himself king, nor will we receive him within our walls. We will only consent, if he will receive it, to pay to him as a tribute the tax which we heretofore paid to our kings."⁷ "I want subjects," replied William, "and it is not my custom to take them on such

conditions."⁸ The Norman troops approached: with the advanced guard there marched a battalion of Englishmen who had joined the foreigners, through compulsion or through want, or from a desire of enriching themselves by pillaging their fellow-countrymen.⁹ It is not known through what intrigue the chiefs and magistrates of Exeter repaired to the Norman king before the first assault, to give him hostages and sue for peace; but, at their return, the citizens, so far from fulfilling the articles that had been just concluded, kept the town-gates closed, and again prepared to fight.¹⁰

William thereupon invested the city of Exeter: and, causing one of the hostages he had received to be carried within view of the ramparts, ordered his eyes to be put out.¹¹ The siege lasted eighteen days; a great part of the Norman army perished: the Conqueror received fresh reinforcements, and his miners sapped the walls; but the obstinacy of the inhabitants seemed invincible. They would perhaps have wearied William, if the men who commanded them had not a second time proved themselves cowards. Some historians relate that the inhabitants of Exeter repaired to the foreign camp in the garb of suppliants, with their priests carrying the sacred missals and vessels.¹² The contemporary Saxon chronicle has only these words, which are mournful from their very brevity: "The citizens surrendered the town because their chiefs deceived them."¹³

A great number of women, escaping from violence, which ensued upon the surrender of Exeter,¹⁴ fled, with the mother of the last king of English race, to an island of the Severn, and thence to Bath, which was not yet in the enemy's possession; from thence they reached the western coast, and, for want of a more direct course, embarked there for Flanders. Forty-eight houses were destroyed in the siege;¹⁵ the ruins of which served the Normans for materials in constructing a strong castle, which they called Rouge-Mont, being built on a hill of red earth. This castle was intrusted to the care of Baldwin, son of Gilbert Crespin, also called Gilbert de Brienne, who had for his share, for having aided in this conquest, and for his salary as viscount of Devonshire, twenty houses at Exeter, and 159 manors, all in that county.¹⁶

There had been formed, during this campaign, a defensive alliance between the Anglo-Saxons and the ancient Britons of Cornwall. After the capitulation of Exeter, these two populations, now united after so long a hostility, were involved in the same ruin, and the territories of both were shared by the conquerors. One of the first names that appear inscribed on the rolls of this partition is that of the Conqueror's wife, Matilda, daughter of Baldwin count of Flanders, whom the Normans called *la Reine*, a title unknown to the English,

¹ And ic will that eac cyld beo his fæder yr fæmme æfter his fæder dæge. (Maitland's Hist. of London, p. 28.)

² Et tunc profectus est ad Devonascirum. (Chron. Saxon. Frag. Ed. Lye, vol. ii., ad finem.)

³ Infestissimi mortalibus Gallici generis. (Orderic. Vital., p. 510.)

⁴ Alias quoque civitates ad conspirandum instigabant. (Ibid.)

⁵ Contrà regem alienigenam, cum quò antea de nullo negotio egerant. (Ibid.)

⁶ Permissit semper vastare omne quod pertransibat. (Chron. Saxon. Frag., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)

⁷ Neque sacramentum regi faciemus. (Orderic. Vital., p. 510.)

⁸ Non est mihi moris ad hanc conditionem habere subjectos. (Orderic. Vital., p. 510.)

⁹ Primos in eâ expeditione Anglos eduxit. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Concives nihilominus machinantur hostilia quæ ceperant. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Unus ex obsidibus propè portam oculis privatus est. (Orderic. Vital., p. 510.)

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Illi urbem ei tradiderunt eo quòd thani eos deceperunt. (Chron. Sax. Frag., Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)

¹⁴ Multorum bonorum virorum uxores. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ In hâc civitate sunt vastatæ XLVIII. domus postquam rex venit in Angliam. (Domesday-Book, i. folio 100, recto.)

¹⁶ Dugdale's Barouage.

Queen Mathilda.
Wincheomb abbey.
Eghelwig, abbot of Evesham.

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who in their language used only the names of *lady* or *wife*.¹ Mathilda obtained, as her share of the conquest, all the lands belonging to a rich Saxon named Brihtrik.² This man, according to old accounts, was not entirely unknown to her; and, during his residence in Flanders as ambassador from king Edward, had incurred the implacable resentment of the daughter of earl Baldwin by refusing to marry her. It was Mathilda herself who asked the new king her husband to place at her disposal, with all his possessions, the Englishman who had disdained her. She gratified her revenge and cupidity at once, by appropriating the possessions to herself, and causing Brihtrik to be shut up in a fortress.³

It is probable that the conquest and partition of the Somersetshire and Gloucestershire coasts immediately followed this first invasion of the west. There are facts which prove that they were not conquered and divided without resistance. According to the tradition of the country, the monastery at Wincheomb at that time lost all its possessions, because the monks of the place, without foresight and ill-advised (says an old narrator), had determined on making opposition to king William.⁴ Godrik, their abbot, was carried off by the Norman soldiers and imprisoned at Gloucester; and the convent, hateful to the conquerors, was given into the keeping of Eghelwig, chief of the abbey of Evesham, called in the contemporary annals Eghelwig the Circumspect,⁵ one of those men to whom the time-serving historians gave the doubtful praise of "hatching no rebellions, and of having the fear of God in their heart, and also of the king whom God himself had placed on the throne."⁶ From the time of the first defeat of the English nation, Eghelwig had sworn sincere fidelity to the foreigner for whom God had declared himself. When the conquest came to be extended over the western country he solicited a share of the lands confiscated from his fellow-countrymen; and, imitating the conquerors his friends, drove several of the English from their domains;⁷ to others he sold his interest with the Normans for gold; and, when the Normans had slain them, he inherited their possessions.⁸ This character and these actions caused him to be distinguished by William, who loved and honoured him much.⁹ He governed the rebellious monks of Wincheomb to the entire satisfaction of the Conqueror, until a foreigner named Galand came from abroad to discharge the office of abbot in a still more suitable manner.

¹ See *blafige*, so *Cæne*. *Blafige*, by suppressing the aspirates, has been converted into *lafige*, and *lafidy*, and lastly into *lady*. *Cæne*, *cæcen*, or *queen*, properly signifies a woman.

² *Insuscriptas terras tenuit Brietric. Et post Regina Mathildis.* (Domesday-book, i. 101, recto.)

³ *Cum haberet nobilem virum exosum tempore opportuno reperto ipsum fecit Wyntoniam adduci totam honorem quoad visum occupavit.* (Dugdale, *Monast. Angliæ*, i. 154.)

⁴ *Quia minus curâ sibi de futuris prospicientes, elegerunt eisdem Willielmo ducti pro viribus resistere.* (Ibid., p. 190.)

⁵ *Eghelwicus, circumspectus abbas.* (Chron. Sax. Frag., sub anno MXXVIII., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)

⁶ *Deo servantes fidem, et constitutum ab ipso venerantes regem.* (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 209.)

⁷ Dugdale, *Monastic. Angliæ*, i. 132.

⁸ *Suum eis protectionem contra Normannos spondebat.* (Ibid.)

⁹ Ibid., i. 131.

Thus the independent territory of the English became straitened in the west; but the extensive provinces of the north still afforded the friends of the country an asylum, a place of retreat, and a field for warfare. Thither all those repaired who were left without lands or kindred—they whose brothers were slain, or whose daughters had been ravished—they who, say the ancient annals, chose rather to lead a life of toil and hardship than to endure a slavery unknown to their forefathers.¹⁰ These refugees marched through one forest to another woodland cover, and by one deserted tract to another desolated wild,¹¹ until they happily approached the outermost pale of the forts built by the Normans; and, when they had passed that line which girdled in the national servitude, they once again entered, as it were, on their ancient England, and embraced each other in freedom. A tardy repentance next brought to them those chiefs who, having been the first to despair of the common cause, had set the example of voluntary submission.¹² The latter escaped from the palace where the Conqueror held them captive, under false appearances of affection, calling them his great, his particular friends,¹³ and availing himself of their presence at his court as a pretext for coercive measures against such portions of the people as did not bend in homage to a king surrounded by its national chiefs. It was thus that Edwin and Morkar evaded, and set out for the north country; the good wishes of the poor, say the historians of English birth, accompanied them in their flight; and the priests and monks that were faithful to their country offered up frequent prayers for them.¹⁴

No sooner had the sons of Alfgar reached their ancient governments of Mercia and Northumbria than great symptoms of patriotic movements manifested themselves in those two countries, from Oxford to the banks of the Tweed. No Norman had yet passed the Humber, and only a few had penetrated into the heart of Mercia. This latter country communicated freely, by its north-west frontier, with the Welsh population, who, forgetting their old causes of enmity against the Saxons, now confederated with them against the new invaders of Britain. A rumour was spread that the Saxon and Welsh chiefs had held a great council in the mountains, and that they had, with one accord, resolved to deliver their island from the Norman rule, and, to that end, were sending agents into every corner of the island to stir up the indignation and courage of the people to a revolt.¹⁵ The great camp of independence was to be formed beyond the Humber, and the city of York was fixed upon as its first bulwark.¹⁶ Entrenchments were thrown up behind the lakes and morasses of the north. A great number of men had sworn never again to sleep under the shelter of a roof

¹⁰ *Malentes vitam infelicem terminare quàm servitutem insolitam subire.* (Math. Westm., flor. histor., p. 225.)

¹¹ *Loca deserta et nemorosa petentes, ibique vitam feralem ducentes.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Normanni cessisse penitentes.* (Ibid., p. 225.)

¹³ *Tanquàm domesticos et speciales amicos.* (Math. Paris., *Vite abbatis S. Albani*, i. 47.)

¹⁴ *A clericis et monachis crebra pro illis fiebat oratio.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 511.)

¹⁵ *Fuit ex consensu omnium pro vindicandâ libertate pristinâ procaz conspiratio, et obnixâ contra Normannos conjuratio.* (Ibid.)

¹⁶ *Seditiosæ sylvas, paludes, æstuarîa, in munimentis habuit.* (Ibid.)

until the day of deliverance; they accordingly slept in the night-air, or under their tents, and the Normans, through a sort of spleen, denominated them savages.¹ Among these was young Edrik, son of Alfrik, who had so energetically supported the Saxon cause in Herefordshire.

It cannot now be known how many projects of deliverance, well or ill conceived, were at that time formed and destroyed. History scarcely deigns to mention even a few of the men who preferred dangers to servitude; and the same superior force which frustrated their efforts also stifled the recollection of them. One Norman chronicler alone denounces, with bitter reproaches, a conspiracy, the object of which was, he says, to attack, unawares, throughout England, the soldiers of the foreign garrisons, on the first day of the great fast, when, according to the devoutness of that age, they were to go to the churches as penitents, barefoot and unarmed.² The historian, while he praises God for the discovery of this *abominable machination*, regrets that the leaders of the plot escaped by flight from the vengeance of the *great Conqueror*.³ They fled to the northern provinces, and were there soon joined by a new fugitive, the youthful Edgar, the lawful king of England, according to the maxims of the time, by the election of the people and the consecration of the church. He departed with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, a chief named Merlsweyn, and many other *good men*, as the Saxon chronicle expresses it.⁴ They all passed together the frontier which, since the defeat of the Saxon king Egfrid by the Scots and Picts, had separated the country of the English from the ancient territory of Albany.⁵

(A.D. 750 to 842.) The invasions of the Danish pirates, which extended north as well as south of the Tweed, had not made any change in the line of this frontier. The only political result of the dominion exercised for some time by the Danes over the mixed people of Picts, ancient Britons, and Saxons, inhabiting between the Forth and Tweed, was the adding to this medley of different races a fresh mass of Germanic population; and hence it was that, south of the Forth, and especially towards the east, the prevailing idiom was a Teutonic dialect, interspersed with Gallic and British words, but approaching, in its grammatical forms, nearer to the Danish than to the Anglo-Saxon language. At the very time when this change was gradually operating in the south of Albany, a revolution in the north, more rapidly accomplished, united in one single state the Picts of the eastern coast and the Scots of the western mountains, until then separate nations, governed by independent chiefs. This junction was not effected without some violence; for, although they were very likely of the same origin, though their language differed but little,⁶ and they were naturally inclined to confederate against a common

adversary, yet the two nations were rivals in time of peace.

The Scots, who were hunters on the mountains, and led a more active life than their neighbours of the plains, thought themselves the more noble, and called the others in derision *eaters of wheaten bread*.⁷ Notwithstanding this apparent contempt for wheat, the chiefs of the Scots were ambitious of extending over the plains, which produced harvests, the power which they exercised in the land of rocks and lakes. They endeavoured for a long time to gain their object by force and intrigue; but the Picts resisted them until the period when they were weakened by the incursions and victories of the Danes.⁸ Kenneth, son of Alpin king of West Albany, seized the favourable moment, and descended upon the lands of the Picts to make conquest thereof; the *eaters of bread* were vanquished by the eaters of flesh, and the greater part of them submitted to Kenneth. Others of them attempted, by retiring northward, to preserve to themselves a king of their own nation and choice;⁹ but they were unsuccessful; and Kenneth, king of the Scots or Scotch, became chief of all Albany, which from that time was called Scotland. (A.D. 842.) The Pictish nation lost their name in uniting with the Scots; but it does not appear that this union took place on unequal conditions, as would doubtless have been the case had the victors and the vanquished been of different races. The conquered people had no slavery, no political degradation to suffer; the condition of serfs of the soil, the ordinary fruit of foreign conquests in the middle ages, was not introduced in Scotland. In a short time there was only one people north of the Forth; and it soon became a fruitless task to seek any traces of the idiom spoken by the Picts in the time of their independence. The kings of the triumphant nation, deserting the land of their birth, came to dwell among the conquered at Dumferline and at Scone. Thither they transported the consecrated stone upon which, according to ancient custom, they placed themselves, on the day of their inauguration, to take the oath to the people, and to which a national superstition attached the destiny of the Scottish race.

(A.D. 842 to 1068.) At the time of the Norman invasion of England there remained not the slightest trace of the ancient separation of the Gaëls of Scotland into two distinct populations: the only apparent distinction was that between the men who spoke the Gaëlic tongue, also called Erse (that is, Irish),¹⁰ and those men who were descendants of the ancient Teutonic colonies, and whose idiom was intelligible at once to the English, to the Danes, and to all the Germans. This population, the nearest in local situation to England, though called Scotch by the English, bore a greater affinity to the people of that country, from the resemblance of their language and their community of origin, than to the Scotch of the Gaëlic race, who, joining with a somewhat savage pride habits

¹ Undè quidam eorum à Normannis silvatici cognominabantur. (Orderic. Vital., p. 511.)

² In capite jejuni, nudis vestigiis incautos ubique perirent. (Will. Gemet. hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 289.)

³ Magni debellatoris. (Ibid., p. 290.)

⁴ Fela godra manna. (Chron. Saxon. fragm., Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)

⁵ See Hook i. p. 19.

⁶ The historian Bede, in the eighth century, distinguishes the idiom of the Picts from that of the Scots.

⁷ Fir na cruinneachd. See Jamieson's Popular Songs, vol. ii., notes.

⁸ Johan. de Fordan, Scotichronicon, lib. iv. 280, ed. Hearne.

⁹ Sub spe resistendi novum ab eis regem creatum sequentur. (Ibid., p. 295.)

¹⁰ Irse, Irshe, Irish; the Saxon name of the inhabitants of Ireland.

of political independence, proceeding from their organisation in clans or separate tribes, were frequently at variance with the Teutonic population of the plains of the south, and even with the kings of Scotland. The kings almost always found the Scotch of the plains disposed to support them in their attempts upon the liberty of the mountain clans; and thus the instinctive enmity of the two races of men, springing from their diversity of origin and language, turned to the advantage of kingly despotism. This, being more than once experienced by the successors of Kenneth, son of Alpin, excited in them a great affection for the inhabitants of the lowlands of Scotland, and in general for men of English origin: they preferred such strangers to their fellow-countrymen, to those of the same blood with themselves; they favoured, to the utmost of their power, the Scotch by name at the expense of the Scotch by birth; and, in like manner, received with eager good-will all emigrants from England.

(A.D. 1068.) It was through this political partiality that Malcolm, king of Scotland, surnamed Kenmore,¹ received as welcome guests young Edgar, his sisters, and his friends.² He saluted Edgar as the true and lawful king of the English; he offered him a secure asylum, and succour whereby to retrieve his fortune. To the Saxon chiefs who accompanied their king he gave commands and domains, which, perhaps, he despotically took from his subjects of British and Gaëlic race; and, as he had not yet taken a wife, he married Edgar's youngest sister, named Margaret. Margaret, being unacquainted with the language of the Gaëlics, frequently stood in need of an interpreter to speak to the chiefs of the northern and western tribes; and this office was performed by king Malcolm, her husband.³ Malcolm could express himself well in both idioms; but in a short time after his reign the kings of Scotland disdained to speak or learn the language of the ancient Scots—of the people from whom they themselves descended, and to whom the country owed its name.

The news of the alliance formed betwixt the Saxons and the king of Scotland, and of the hostile assemblages in the north of England, determined William not to await an attack, but to act vigorously on the offensive.⁴ His first feat of arms, in this new expedition, was the siege of the city of Oxford. The citizens resisted the foreign monarch, and even insulted him from their walls; but a part of the rampart, which had been sapped by the Normans, gave way; and they, entering by assault through the breach, revenged themselves on the citizens by fire and massacre.⁵ Of seven hundred and twenty houses nearly four hundred were destroyed.⁶ The monks of the convent of St. Frideswide, following the example of those of Hida and Winchcomb, took up arms to defend their monastery, and were all of them expelled after the

victory of the Normans.⁷ The town of Warwick was next taken; then the town of Leicester, which was almost utterly destroyed;⁸ then that of Derby, in which a third part of the houses were demolished.⁹ After the siege and capture of Nottingham, a strong citadel was built there, and confided to the care of a Norman named William Peverel. This Peverel received, as his share of the conquest, fifty-five manors in the province of Nottingham; and, in the town itself, the houses of forty-eight tradesmen, of twelve warriors, and of eight English husbandmen.¹⁰ He fixed his residence in Derbyshire, on a peaked rock, at the top of which his castle appeared almost suspended in the air, like the nest of a bird of prey.¹¹

From Nottingham the Norman troops marched eastward upon Lincoln, which they forced to capitulate and to give them hostages. A hundred and sixty-six houses were destroyed to make room for the fortresses that were built, and the entrenchments with which the foreign garrison surrounded themselves here with greater care and art than elsewhere;¹² for in this town, the population of which was of Danish origin, the conquerors apprehended, as at Norwich, an attack from the Danes beyond sea.¹³ Among the Lincoln hostages imprisoned in the Norman fortress, as sureties for the tranquillity of the province, was a young man named Thurgot, of Danish descent, who succeeded in bribing his keepers to set him at liberty.¹⁴ He went secretly to the port of Grimsby, at the mouth of the Humber, to some Norwegian merchants whose ship was ready to sail. Unfortunately, this vessel had been engaged for the passage of certain ambassadors whom the Conqueror was sending to the north of Europe to dissuade the kings of those countries from taking an interest in the cause of the Saxons and lending them their assistance. The Norwegians, without hesitation, undertook to save the young fugitive, and concealed him in the hold of their ship so well that the Norman inspectors of the coast, who visited it at the moment of its departure, perceived nothing of the matter.¹⁵ The ambassadors embarked; and, when the land had disappeared, the hostage, to their great astonishment, came forth. They wished the sailors to return, in order, said they, to give up to king William his fugitive;¹⁶ but the Norwegians, disregarding their remonstrances, sarcastically replied, "The wind is too fair; the ship sails too well; it would be a pity to lose the passage." The dispute at length became so warm on both sides, that recourse was had to arms; but the physical strength was on the side of the sailors, and as the ship advanced

⁷ *Spoliati bonis suis et sedibus expulsi suis.* (Dugdale, *Monast. Angliæ*, l. 984.)

⁸ *Destructa civitate Leicesteris cum castello et ecclesiâ.* (Ibid., li. 312.)

⁹ *Domesday-book*, vol. I. fol. 280, recto.

¹⁰ *Villelmus Peurel habet xlviij dom. mercator et xii dom. equito. et viij bord.* (Ibid.)

¹¹ This place is now called *the Peak*; and upon it the ruins of Peverel's fortress are still to be seen.

¹² *De predictis wastis mansuris ppt. castellum destructe fuerunt clxvi, relique lxxliij wastatae sunt extra metam castelli.* (*Domesday-book*, vol. I. fol. 336, verso.)

¹³ *Danos in auxilium citius recipere potest.* (Guill. Pictav., *apud script. rer. Normann.*, p. 208.)

¹⁴ *In Lincolnensi castro incarcerationis fuerat, inter alios Anglorum obsides.* (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. 786.)

¹⁵ *In navi exactores regis scrutinia fecerunt.* (R. de Hov., p. 456, ed. Savile.)

¹⁶ *Cum fugitivo regis.* (Ibid.)

¹ *Otherwise Ceannmore, Canmore.*

² *Johan. de Fordun, Scotichronicon*, lib. v. 410, ed. Hearne.

³ *Anglicam enim linguam aequè ut propriam plenè didicerat.* (Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. v., 412.)—Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, introduction, p. 127.

⁴ *Nuntiatum est regi quòd populus ex aquilone se congregaverant simul et voluerant ipsi resistere si veniret. Profectus est itaque.* (*Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, sub anno MLXVII.)

⁵ *Civibus flammâ ferroque necatis.* (Math. Paris, l. 6.)

⁶ *Domesday-book: Extracta, apud rer. Angliæ script., iii. 763, ed. Gale.*

into the open sea the Normans gradually became less turbulent.¹

Having departed from Lincoln, which, by a sort of French euphony,² they called *Nicole*, the army of the invasion marched upon York; and, where the streams whose junction forms the large river Humber approach each other, they met the confederate army of the Anglo-Saxons and Welsh. There, as at Hastings, by the superiority of their numbers and of their armour, they drove the enemy from the positions which they in vain defended foot by foot.³ A great number of the English perished; the rest sought a refuge within the walls of York; but the victors, pursuing them closely, made a breach and entered the town, putting all to the sword (say the chronicles), from the infant to the aged man.⁴ The remains of the patriotic army, or (to use the language of the Norman historians) the army of the factious and of the brigands,⁵ went down the Humber in boats,⁶ and afterwards repaired to the north, into the country of the Scotch or the English territories bordering on Scotland. This was the rallying-place for those who had been defeated at York. "Thither," says an old chronicler, "retired the noble chiefs Edwin and Morkar, with other men of great distinction, bishops, clerks, men of all conditions, sorrowful at seeing their own cause the weakest, but not resigning themselves to slavery."⁷

The conquerors built a citadel in the heart of the city of York, which thus became a Norman fortress and the northern bulwark of the conquest. Its towers, occupied by five hundred men in full armour, attended by several thousand esquires and servants-at-arms, threatened the country of the Northumbrians. The invasion, however, was not then carried into that country; and it is even doubtful whether the province of York was invaded in its whole breadth from the ocean to the mountains. Its metropolis, subdued before its territory, was the advanced post of the Normans, and a post still dangerous: they laboured night and day in tracing their lines of defence; forcing the poor Saxon who had escaped massacre to dig trenches, and repair for the enemy the ruins which the enemy had made. Fearing that they should be besieged in their turn, they collected together from all sides, and heaped up in their keeps and donjons, provisions of every description. At this time, Eldred archbishop of York, he who had lent his ministry to the consecration of the foreign king, came into the desolated city for the celebration of a religious ceremony.⁸ On his arrival he sent to his own lands, situated not far from York, for provisions for his own use. His domestics, bringing horses and waggons laden with corn and other necessaries, were accidentally met at one of the gates by the viscount or Norman governor of the town, with a numerous escort. "Who are you?"

asked the Norman; "and to whom are you carrying these supplies?" They answered, "We are the servants of the archbishop, and these things are for the use of his household."⁹ The viscount, caring little about the archbishop and his household, made a sign to the men-at-arms who formed his retinue to take both horses and waggons to the citadel of York, and deposit the provisions in the Norman magazines.¹⁰

When the archbishop, the friend of the conquerors, found that he was himself struck at by the conquest, there arose in his inmost soul an indignation which his calm and prudent spirit had never felt before. Eldred immediately departed for the Conqueror's quarters, and presented himself before him in pontifical habits, with his pastoral staff in his hand.¹¹ William rose to offer him, according to the custom of the time, the kiss of peace; but the Saxon prelate kept aloof, and said, "Hear me, king William. Thou wert a foreigner; nevertheless, it being the will of God to chastise our nation, thou obtainedst, at the cost of much blood, the kingdom of England. I then anointed thee king; I crowned thee; I blessed thee with my own hands: but now I curse thee and thy race; because thou hast deserved it—because thou art the persecutor of God's church, and the oppressor of its ministers."¹²

The Norman king heard the impotent malediction of the old priest without concern, and restrained the indignation of his flatterers, who, trembling with rage, and half unsheathing their swords, asked permission to revenge the insolence of the Saxon.¹³ He allowed Eldred to return in peace and safety to his church at York: but this adventure filled the archbishop's heart with a deep-rooted vexation, and perhaps with remorse for having aided in the establishment of the foreign dominion.¹⁴ The dream of personal ambition dispelled by his first experience of the truth, the conviction that he himself was exempt neither from the outrages of the foreigner nor from the general servitude, threw him into a slow malady which gradually wasted his strength. A year afterwards, when the Saxons, having rallied once more, were advancing to attack the town of York, Eldred's languor and chagrin were redoubled; and, as if he feared death less than the presence of the men who had remained faithful to their country, he prayed God, say the chronicles, to withdraw him from this world, that he might not behold the total ruin of his native land and the destruction of his church.¹⁵

The war was still carried on at the extremities of England; agitation everywhere prevailed; and it was expected that the fugitives of York would return by land or by sea, to try some new effort.

⁹ *Servi, inquit, archiepiscopi sumus.* (Thom. Stubbs, *Act. pontif. Eborac.*, apud *hist. Angl. script.*, vol. ii. col. 1703, ed. Seiden.)

¹⁰ *Parvipendens archiepiscopum et famulos ejus.* (Ibid.)
¹¹ *Cum baculo pontificali, stola circumdatus.* (Thom. Stubbs, loco citato.)

¹² *Audi, inquit, Willielme rex, cum esses alienigena Nunc autem, quia ita meruisti, pro benedictione maledictionem tibi imponam.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Prementes, minisque et terroribus adversa eum insurgent.* (Ibid.)

¹⁴ *Stubbs.—Ex aegritudine animi.* (Willelm. Malmesb. *de gest. pontif. Angl.*, lib. iii., apud *ret. Angl. script.*, p. 271, ed. Savile.)

¹⁵ *Valde tristis effectus, precibusque ad Deum effusus, ne ecclesie sue destructionem nec patria videret desolationem.* (Stubbs, ii. col. 1703, ed. Seiden.)

¹ *Quantique magis terre appropinquabant tanto magis illis se humiliabant.* (R. de Hov., p. 456, ed. Savile.)

² *Dugdale, Monast. Angl.*, ii. 645.

³ *Seditiosi audacia et viribus fisci . . . profligati.* (Will. Gemet. *Hist. Normann.*, apud *script. rer. Normann.*, p. 290.)

⁴ *Tam ferro quam igne, a puero usque ad senem.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Sicarii.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Per Humber fluvium navibus effugerunt.* (Ibid.)

⁷ *Violentes partem suam inferiorem, et servire renuentes.* (Math. Westmon. *flor. histor.*, p. 225.)

⁸ *Morabatur in una solemnitate Eboraci.* (Thom. Stubbs, *Act. pontif. Eborac.*, apud *hist. Angl. script.*, vol. ii. col. 1703, ed. Seiden.)

The wearisomeness of this struggle, without any visible term, began from that time to be felt by the soldiers and even by the chiefs of the army of invasion. Many, thinking themselves rich enough, resolved to retire from their toils; others found that the domains of the English were not worth the labours and dangers by which they were to be obtained; others wished to return to their wives, who importuned them by numberless messages to return to them and their children.¹ King William was extremely alarmed at this disposition of his followers. In order to revive their expiring zeal, he offered more than he had yet given, and promised to bestow, when the conquest should be completed, lands, money, and honours, in abundance.² He caused suspicions to be circulated of the cowardice of those who asked to retire, and to abandon their lord when in danger and in a foreign land.³ Bitter and jocose sarcasms were levelled against the Norman women, who so eagerly recalled their protectors and the fathers of their children.⁴ But, in spite of all these manœuvres, Hugues de Grantmesnil, count of the province of Norfolk, his brother-in-law Onfroy du Tilleul, keeper of the fort of Hastings, and a great many others, departed, leaving their lands and their honours, to go, as William's courtiers said, to put themselves in the service of their ladies, and watch over their honour as husbands at the expense of their loyalty as vassals.⁵ This desertion made a great impression on the mind of the new king. Foreseeing greater difficulties than he had yet experienced, he sent his wife Mathilda into Normandy, that she might be removed from all danger, and that he might devote himself entirely to the toils and cares of war.⁶ Nor was it long before new events justified his uneasiness.

(A.D. 1069.) One of Harold's two sons, named Edmund and Godwin, came from Ireland, whither they had both fled, either after the battle of Hastings or after the taking of Exeter, and brought sixty-six vessels with a small army to the assistance of the English.⁷ He entered the mouth of the Avon, and laid siege to Bristol; but, being unable to get possession of it, he returned to his ships, proceeded along the south-west coast, and landed in Somersetshire. On his approach, all the inhabitants of that vicinity rose against the Normans; and the insurrection extended into the shires of Devon and Dorset. The alliance of the Britons of Cornwall with their neighbours the Saxons was once more renewed; and they made a combined attack on the principal body of troops stationed in that quarter under the command of one Dreux de Montaign.⁸ The English auxiliaries, who thought it more easy or advisable to join the enemy than to resist him, were sent as a reinforcement to this Norman captain; and, as at the siege of Exeter,

they were stationed in the van, to encounter the first hostile assault. They were led by Ednoth, formerly an officer of high rank in the service of King Harold;⁹ of whom William, in sending him against his countrymen, was desirous thereby to rid himself: for such was his policy, says the ancient narrative, believing that he should reap advantage, on whichever side victory might declare itself, if he sent the natives themselves to fight against his declared enemies.¹⁰ Ednoth perished, with many of his followers; the insurrection continued, and the son of Harold returned to Ireland to bring over his brother with fresh troops.

Edmund and Godwin, sailing together, and doubling the long promontory called the Land's End, entered this time the mouth of the river Tavy, in the southern part of the province of Devon.¹¹ They imprudently ventured upon the territory where the Normans of the south had assembled all their forces to oppose a barrier to the insurrection of the west. Two chiefs, of whom one was Brian, son of Eudes, count or duke of Lower Brittany, attacked them by surprise, and killed nearly two thousand of their men, Saxons, British, and Irish. The sons of the late king returned to their vessels and sailed away in sadness, having now lost every hope.¹² To complete the destruction of the revolted people of Dorset and Somerset, Geoffrey bishop of Coutances came with the garrisons of London, Winchester, and Salisbury. He seized a great number of men, either in arms or suspected of having taken up arms, and most cruelly mutilated them.¹³

This rout and the retreat of the auxiliaries from Ireland did not entirely allay the ferment among the populations of the west. The movement, which had begun in the south, had communicated itself to the whole frontier of the Welsh territory. The men of the country about Chester, a country yet free from all invasion, had come down to Shrewsbury; and, joining the soldiers of young Edrik, whom the Normans called *the Wild*, they drove back the foreigners toward the east.¹⁴ The two chiefs Brian and William, who had driven away the sons of Harold and reduced the men of Devon and Cornwall, then advanced from the south; and the king himself, departing from Lincoln, came from the eastern side with a chosen body of his warriors. Near Stafford, at the foot of the great chain of mountains, he met the largest division of the insurgent army, and destroyed it in a single battle.¹⁵ The other Norman captains marched upon Shrewsbury; and that town, with the surrounding country, again fell under the yoke of the foreigner. The inhabitants laid down their arms. A few brave men only, who chose to keep them, took refuge in the downs by the sea-side, or on the tops of the mountains. For a long time they continued a painful and unprofitable struggle against the small

¹ *Crebris mœnibus, a viris suis flagitabant ac citò reverterentur.* (Orderic. Vital., hist. eccl., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 512.)

² *Terris cum redditibus et magnis potestatibus.* (Ibid.)

³ *Regem inter exteros laborantem.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Sævâ libidinis face urebantur . . . lascivâ conjuges . . .* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Famulari lascivis dominis suis.* (Ibid., p. 512.)

⁶ *Belleis turbinibus undique insurgentibus admodum occupatus.* (Ibid.)

⁷ *Cum sexaginta navibus.* (Willelm. Gemet. hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 290.)—Ord. Vital., ibid., p. 513.

⁸ *Exoniensis comitatûs habitatores coadunatâ turbâ ex Cornu Britanniar.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 514.)

⁹ *Eadnoth stallere (aulæ præfectus).*—Chron. Saxon. Frag. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.

¹⁰ *Dum alienigenæ alterutro transfoderent, ingens sibi levamen providens, utrilibet vinceret.* (Will. Malmesb., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 104, ed. Savile.)

¹¹ Chron. Sax. Frag. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Capto mutilaverunt.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 514.)

¹⁴ *Gualli et Cestrenses presidium regis apud Scrobesburiam obsederunt, quibus incolæ civitatis, cum Edrico cognomento guldâ (wild), aliisque ferocibus Anglis, auxilio fuerunt.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 514.)

¹⁵ Ibid.

isolated bodies; they laid ambuscades at the entrances of the woods and in the narrow valleys, for the straggling soldier, the adventurous forager, or the messenger carrying orders from the chiefs; but the great roads, the cities and towns, were occupied by the enemy's battalions. Hope was succeeded by terror, that struck to the heart of the vanquished; men shunned one another instead of uniting; and the whole of the south-west country once more sunk into silence.

In the north, the city of York continued to be the extreme limit of the conquest. The Norman soldiers occupying that city did not endeavour to advance beyond it; and even their excursions into the country south of York were not without danger to themselves: Hugues son of Baudry, viscount or governor of the city, did not dare to go as far as Selby, and pass the river Ouse, without taking with him a numerous escort. It was dangerous for the Norman soldiers to leave their camp or their arms; for bands of insurgents, dispersing and immediately forming again, were continually harassing the bodies of troops on march, and even the garrison of York.¹ Guillaume Malet, colleague of Hugues son of Baudry, in the command of that garrison, went so far as to declare in his despatches that without prompt assistance he would not answer for the safety of his post.² This news, being brought to King William's quarters, excited great alarm. He himself departed in haste, and arrived before York at the moment when the citizens, leagued with the men of the level country, were besieging the Norman fortress. He attacked them vigorously with superior numbers; spared no one, say the chronicles;³ dispersed those whom he did not kill; and laid the foundation of a second castle, the erection and keeping of which he intrusted to his most intimate confidant, William son of Osbert, his seneschal and marshal for both Normandy and England.⁴

After his departure, the English rallied again, and laid siege to both the castles at once; but they were repulsed with loss, and the Normans finished their new works of defence unmolested. The possession of York being thenceforward ensured, the Conqueror resumed the offensive, and endeavoured to extend the limits of the subjugated territory as far as Durham. The command of this hazardous expedition was given to one Robert, surnamed Comine or de Comines. Robert went forth gaily, with the anticipated title of count of Northumberland.⁵ His army was inconsiderable; but his confidence in himself was great, and became unbounded when he found himself near the end of his route without having met with any resistance. He was already within sight of the towers of Durham, called by the Normans the fortress of the rebels of the north,⁶ when Eghelwin, the Saxon bishop of the town, hastened to meet him, and

officially warned him to be prudent, and to beware of a surprise.⁷ "Who will attack me?" returned Comine: "none among you either can or dare."⁸ The Normans entered Durham, and massacred a few unarmed men, as if to insult and defy the English.⁹ The soldiers encamped in the open places, and the chief took up his quarters in the house of the bishop.

Night came; and the inhabitants of the banks of the Tyne then lighted, on the heights, the fires which were to serve them as signals. They assembled in great numbers, and made all speed towards Durham. At daybreak they had arrived at the gates, which they broke;¹⁰ and the Normans were assailed on all sides in the streets, of the turnings of which they were ignorant.¹¹ They endeavoured to rally at the episcopal house, where their count was newly domiciled; they barricaded it, and defended it for some time, discharging their arrows upon the Saxons from above; but the latter terminated the conflict by setting fire to the edifice, which was entirely consumed, with all those who had shut themselves up in it.¹² Robert Comine was of the number; he had brought with him twelve hundred horsemen in full armour, and it is not precisely known how many men-at-arms and foot soldiers accompanied them.¹³ This terrible defeat made such an impression upon the Normans, that the numerous forces sent to take vengeance for the massacre, having advanced as far as Elferstan, now North-Allerton, at an equal distance from York and Durham, being seized with a panic, refused to proceed any further. It was rumoured that they had been struck with immobility by a supernatural force, through the power of a saint named Cuthbert, whose body was interred at Durham, and who protected the place of his repose.¹⁴

The Northumbrians, who gained this great victory, were descended from ancient Danish colonists; and there had never ceased to exist between them and the population of Denmark relations of reciprocal amity, the fruit of their community of origin. From the first moment that they were threatened by the Norman invasion, they sent to ask assistance from the Danes in the name of the ancient fraternity of their ancestors; and similar solicitations were also addressed to the kings of Denmark by the Anglo-Danish inhabitants of York, Lincoln, and Norwich.¹⁵ A crowd of Saxon refugees pleaded the cause of their country with the people of the north, and importuned them to make war upon the Normans, who were oppressing a nation of the great Teutonic family, after having killed its king, a near relative of several kings of

⁷ *Insidias præcavere præmonuit.* (Aluredi Beverlacensis annal. de gest. reg. Britan., lib. ix. p. 128, ed. Hearne.)

⁸ *Dicens eos talia præsumere non audent.* (Chron. Walt. Hemingford., lib. i., apud rer. Anglic. script., ii. 458, ed. Gale.)

⁹ *Occisus etiam nonnullis.* (Ibid.)

¹⁰ *Totâ nocte festinantes Dunelmum in diluculo per portas irumpunt.* (Alured. Beverl., lib. ix. p. 128, ed. Hearne.)

¹¹ *Imparatos ubique locorum interficiunt.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Sed cum nec ferrent jacula defendentium, domum cum inhabitantibus concremarunt.* (Ibid.)

¹³ Chron. Saxon. Gibson., p. 174.—Roger. de Hoved. annal., pars prior, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 450, ed. Savile.

¹⁴ *Ex Chronico Sanctæ crucis Edimburg. apud Angliam Sacram., l. 159.*

¹⁵ *Principes Anglorum offensi Svenonem de auxiliis sollicitant.* (Legatio Helsingi in Daniam, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 255, notâ.)

¹ *Comitabatur eum non modica militie multitudo . . . fregit hoc in illis finibus, Anglorum indomita ferocitas et invicta constantia, qui semper ad vindictam suam in Gallos insurgentes.* (Historia Monast. Selebiensis, apud Labbe, nova biblioth. MSS., i. 602.)

² *Denunciavit se defecturum, nisi maturum fessis conferat auxilium.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 512.)

³ *Nec ulli pepercit.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Donavit Roberto comitatum in Northbrorun terrâ.* (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 174.)

⁶ *Willelm. Gemet., p. 290.*

the north and of Denmark.¹ William, who had never in his life known how to pronounce a single word of the language which his forefathers had once spoken in the north, foresaw from the beginning this natural alliance of the Danes with the English, and therefore it was that he built so many fortresses on the eastern coasts of England. He also sent at different times to Sven, or Sweyn, king of Denmark, accredited ambassadors, skilful negotiators, and bishops of insinuating address, to persuade him to remain at peace.² But that northern monarch did not yield to these seductions: he did not consent, say the Danish chronicles, to leave the English people in servitude under a people of a foreign race and language. He assembled his fleet and his soldiers:³ two hundred and forty vessels sailed for Britain, commanded by Osbiorn, brother of king Sweyn, and by his two sons Harald and Knut. On receiving intelligence of their departure, the English counted the days that would elapse before the descent of these sons of the Baltic, once so terrible to them, and pronounced with fondness the names which their ancestors had cursed.⁴ They likewise expected troops, enlisted for gold, from the shores of the ancient Saxony and of Friesland,⁵ and also those Anglo-Saxons who had emigrated to Scotland promised some assistance. Encouraged by their recent victory, the inhabitants of Northumberland made frequent incursions to the south, into the cantonments of the foreigners.⁶ The commander of one of the castles of York was killed in a foray of the Northumbrians.⁷

It was in the interval between the two feasts of the Virgin Mary, in autumn, that the sons of king Sweyn, his brother Osbiorn, and five other Danish chiefs of high rank, landed in England.⁸ They boldly attempted a descent on the south-eastern coast, the part best guarded by the conquerors; but, having been repulsed successively from Dover, Sandwich, and Norwich, they turned northward, and entered the mouth of the Humber, as their forefathers had done, but with very different auspices.⁹ As soon as their approach was rumoured in the surrounding places, on all sides the ancient chiefs of the English race, and all the English in a body, quitted the towns, the houses, and the fields, to join and fraternise with the Danes.¹⁰ The young king Edgar, Merlswyn, Gospatrik, Siward Beorn, and many other Saxon refugees, promptly hastened thither out of Scotland. Waltheof, son of Siward, also joined the confederates, he having,

like Edwin and his brother, escaped from the palace of king William: he was yet very young, but had the lofty stature and vigour of body which had rendered his father famous.¹¹

The Saxons placed themselves in the van, and the Danes formed the main body; in this order they marched upon York, some on horseback and some on foot, says the Saxon chronicle, full of joy and of hope.¹² Messengers were sent on before them, to inform the citizens that their deliverance was approaching, and the town was soon invested on all sides. On the eighth day of the siege, the Normans who guarded the castles, fearing that the neighbouring houses would furnish the assailants with materials for filling up the trenches, set fire to them.¹³ The conflagration rapidly spread; and it was by the light of the flames that the insurgents and their auxiliaries, aided by the inhabitants, penetrated into the town and compelled the foreigners to shut themselves up in their citadels: the same day the two citadels were carried by assault.¹⁴ There perished in this great combat some thousands of the men of France, as they are termed in the English chronicles.¹⁵ Waltheof, placed in ambush at one of the castle gates, killed with his own hand, by redoubled strokes of his battle-ax, many of the flying Normans.¹⁶ He pursued a hundred horsemen into a small neighbouring wood; and, to save himself the trouble of a longer search, he caused it to be set fire to, and the hundred horsemen were therein burned. A Danish warrior and poet composed a song on this exploit of arms, in which he styles the Saxon chief as brave as Odin in battle, and congratulated him on having furnished to the wolves of England a hearty repast of Norman carcasses.¹⁷ The victors granted their lives to the two commandants of York, Gilbert de Gand and William Malet, to the wife and children of the latter, and to a few others, who were carried on board the Danish fleet. They totally destroyed, perhaps imprudently, the fortifications built by the foreigner, that no trace might be left of his passage.¹⁸ Young Edgar, having once more become king at York, concluded, according to ancient Saxon usage, a compact of mutual alliance with the citizens.¹⁹ Thus was again erected the national royalty of the Anglo-Saxons, to endure for a short hour: its dominions and Edgar's authority extended from the Tweed to the Humber; but William, and with him the people's condition of slavery, still occupied all the south of England, and his sway extended over the finest provinces and the most wealthy and important cities.

¹ *Ad ulciscendam consanguinei necem, Haroldi scilicet à Francigenis interempti, et Angliam pristinae libertati restituendam Ut et mortem ejus vindicaret, et terram sibi subigeret.* (Legatio Helsingi in Daniam, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 233.)

² *Misit solempnes nuntios cum illis plurima dona et exennia.* (Henrici Knýtsson, de event. Angl., lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2343, ed. Seiden.)—Torfæi hist. rer. Norveg., iii. 385.

³ *Audientes Daci Angliam esse subjectam Normannis seu Francigenis, graviter sunt indignati, arma parant, classem aptant.* (Legatio Helsingi, &c., iii. 254.)

⁴ See Book ii., passim.

⁵ *Frisia pro Anglieis opibus auxiliares turmas mittebat.* (Orderic. Vital., p. 513.)

⁶ *Diversos excursus crebro agitantes Danorum prestantes adventum.* (Willelm. Gemet., hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 290.)

⁷ Orderic. Vital., p. 512.

⁸ Math. Westmonast., flor. hist., p. 226.—Math. Paris, i. 6.

⁹ Orderic. Vital., p. 513.

¹⁰ Chron. Saxon. Frag. Ed. Lye.—Math. Paris, i. 6.

¹¹ *Nervosus lacertis, robustus pectore, et procerus toto corpore.* (Math. Westmonast., p. 229.)

¹² *Equitantes et iter facientes cum immenso agmine, valde exultantes.* (Chron. Saxon. Frag.)

¹³ *Timentes ne domus, quæ prope castella erant, adjuvamento Danis ad fossas impediendas essent.* (Alured. Beverl., lib. ix. 128, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁴ *Dani et Nordhymbri eadem die castella freruerunt.* (Ibid., p. 128, 129.)

¹⁵ *Multos centenos hominum francorum necarunt.* (Chron. Saxon. Frag., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)—*Multa ibidem hominum millia.* (Math. Paris, i. 6.)

¹⁶ *Unos et unos per portas gradientes decapitavit.* (Origo et gesta Sivardi ducis, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 299.)

¹⁷ *Torva tuenti appositus fuit cibus*

Alni equo (lupi) ex cadaveribus Francorum. (Sagan af Harald Hardrada, cap. 101; Snorre's Helmskringla, iii. 168.)

¹⁸ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 174.

¹⁹ *Cives cum eo fœdus invenerunt.* (Ibid. Frag. apud gloss. Ed. Lye, ii., ad finem.)

Winter was approaching: the Danish ships took their station in the Humber, at the mouths of the rivers Ouse and Trent. Their army and that of the free Saxons awaited the return of the fine season to advance toward the south, to drive back the conquerors, and to confound king William, so say the historians of that age.¹ William was not without uneasiness: the news of the capture of York, and of the complete rout of his northern forces, had filled him with grief and anger; and he had sworn not to lay down his lance until he should have slain all the Northumbrians:² but, moderating this ebullition of his ire, he resolved to begin by employing artifice, and sent messengers to Osbiorn, the brother of king Sweyn, chief commander of the Danish fleet. He promised this chief to deliver to him secretly a large sum of money, and to leave him at liberty to take provisions for his army from all the eastern coast, if he would, at the end of winter, set sail and depart without coming to a battle.³ The Dane, prompted by avarice, proved unfaithful to his mission and a traitor to the allies of his country: to his great dishonour, say the chronicles, he complied with all that William required.⁴

William did not confine himself to this single precaution: having silently taken away from the free Saxons their principal support, he next turned to the Saxons of the subjugated country; he redressed the grievances of some, moderated the insolence of his soldiers and his agents,⁵ gained upon the weak minds of the majority by slender concessions, and, in return, exacted from them fresh oaths of allegiance and the delivery of fresh hostages.⁶ He then marched upon York, with all speed and with all his forces. (A.D. 1070.) The defenders of the city were appraised, at one and the same time, of the approach of the Norman cavalry and the departure of the Danish fleet. Deserted as they were, and bereft of their best hopes, they nevertheless fought well, and were slain by thousands in the breaches of their walls.⁷ The combat was long, and the victory dearly bought. King Edgar was constrained to fly; and such as could escape with him followed him into Scotland. Malcolm, king of that country, again received him with kindness, and gave an asylum to men of all conditions emigrating from the north of England.⁸

Once more master of York, the Conqueror did not stop there, but made his battalions proceed by forced marches towards the north. The foreigners rushed upon the territory of Northumbria with all the frenzy of revenge;⁹ they burned the crops in the fields, as well as the towns and hamlets, and butchered the cattle as pitilessly as they did the men.¹⁰ This devastation was carried on with stu-

died ferocity, and on the most methodical system, in order that the brave men of the north, finding their country uninhabitable, might be obliged to abandon it, and so disperse themselves into various quarters. They retired, either into the mountains which still bore the name of Cumberland, from having anciently afforded a safe refuge to the Cambrians, or else to the extremities of the eastern coasts, among the impassable marshes and the sandy downs next the ocean. There they became brigands and pirates against the foreigner; and were accused, in the proclamations of the Conqueror, with having violated the public peace, and with pursuing an infamous profession.¹¹ The Normans entered Durham for the second time; and their sleep was not therein interrupted with alarms, as when Robert Comine had occupied the city.

Before their entry into this town, which was the key to all the northern country, the bishop of Durham, the same Eghelwin who had heretofore given Robert Comine those warnings by which he profited so little, had joined with the principal inhabitants of the place to fly, says an old English poet, whither they could be followed by neither Norman nor Burgundian, by neither robber nor vagabond.¹² Carrying with them the bones of that St. Cuthbert whose terrible power the Normans themselves believed they had experienced, they reached a place in the north, at the mouth of the Tweed, called Lindisfarn-ey, or vulgarly Holy Island,¹³ a sort of island peopled more with relics than with men, which twice a-day, at the flow of the tide, was surrounded by the waves, and twice, during the ebb, was joined to the main land. The great church of Durham, abandoned and left without a guardian, became an asylum for the poor, sick, and wounded Saxons, some thousands in number, who lay in it on the bare stones, exhausted with hunger and misery.¹⁴

The triumphant army, whose divisions covered a space of a hundred miles, traversed this territory, which they were then invading for the first time, in all directions, and the traces of their passage through it were deeply imprinted. The old historians relate that, from the Humber to the Tyne, there remained not a piece of cultivated land, not a single inhabited village.¹⁵ The monasteries which had escaped the ravages of the Danish pagans, that of St. Peter near the Wear, and that of Whitby inhabited by nuns, were profaned and burned.¹⁶ To the south of the Humber, according to the same narrators, the ravages were no less dreadful. They say that between York and the eastern sea every living creature was put to death, both man and beast,¹⁷ excepting only those who took refuge

¹ Ut regem Gulihelmu confunderent. (Math. Westmonast., flor. histor., p. 226.)—Math. Paris., l. 6.

² Juravit omnes Northymbrenses unâ lanceâ se perempturum. (Roger de Hoved., p. 451, ed. Savile.)

³ Ut sine pugnâ discederet, peractâ hieme. (Florent. Wigorn. Chron., p. 636.)

⁴ Non sine magno dedecore. (Florent. Wigorn., *ibid.*)

⁵ Compescens elationem suorum. (Math. Westmonast., p. 226.)

⁶ Fodere cantium cum omnibus confirmato. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Math. Westmonast., Flores hist., p. 226.

⁸ Omnes Anglos perfugas libenter recipiunt. (Math. Paris., l. 6.)

⁹ In Northimbriam efferrato properavit animo. (Alured. Beverl., lib. ix. p. 128, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁰ Totius regionis urbes, viros, agros, et oppida conteri, et fruges jussit igne consumi. (Math. Paris., l. 6.)

¹¹ Cùm adhuc in suâ ærumnâ armis atque fugâ auderent, . . . in maritimum presidiorum remioiora sese receperunt. inhonestas opes piratico latrocinio sibi contrahentes. (Willelm. Gemet., hist. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 290.)

¹² Sithen dred thei nothing of thefe ne of feloun That were with the king Norman no Burgoloun. (Peter Langtoft's chronicle, as illustrated and improv'd by Robert of Brunne, vol. i. p. 77, ed. Hearne.)

¹³ Alured. Beverlac. annal. de gest. reg. Britann., lib. ix. p. 199, ed. Hearne.

¹⁴ Spelunca erat pauperum, debilium, ægotantium, qui illic declinantes fame ac morbo deficiebant. (*Ibid.*, p. 129.)

¹⁵ Nusquàm villa inhabitata. (*Ibid.*, p. 128.)

¹⁶ Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 966, ed. Selden.—Willelm. Malmesh. de gest. pontif. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 271, ed. Selden.

¹⁷ Ab homine usque ad pecus perit quicumque reperitus

in the church of St. John the archbishop, at Beverley. This John was a saint of the English race; and, on the approach of the conquerors, a great number of men and women flocked, with all that they had most valuable, round the church dedicated to their sainted countryman, in order that he, remembering in heaven that he was a Saxon, might protect them and their property from the fury of the strangers. The Norman camp was then seven miles from Beverley. It was rumoured that the church of St. John was the refuge of the rich and the depository of the riches of the country. Some adventurous foragers set out under the command of one Toustain in order to be the first to seize on the expected booty.¹ They entered Beverley without resistance; marched to the church-yard, where the terrified crowd were assembled, and passed its gates, giving themselves no more concern about the Saxon saint than about the Saxons who invoked him. Toustain, the chief of this band, casting his eye over the groups of English, observed an old man richly clad, and wearing gold bracelets after the fashion of his nation.² He galloped towards him brandishing his sword, and the terrified old man fled into the church: Toustain pursued him, but he had scarcely passed the porch when his horse fell on the smooth and slippery pavement, and bruised the chief severely in the fall.³ At the sight of their captain half dead, the rest of the Normans turned round; and, their imaginations being excited, hastened full of dread to the camp to relate this terrible example of the power of John of Beverley. When the army passed through no one dared again to tempt the vengeance of the saint; and, if we may believe the legend, the lands of his church alone remained covered with habitations and produce, in the midst of the devastated country.⁴

William, pursuing the remnant of the free Saxons, marched as far as the great Roman wall, the remains of which are still to be seen extending from east to west, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith. He then returned to York, and sent from thence to Winchester for the golden crown and sceptre, the royal mantle of fur, and all the insignia of kingly authority in England: these he displayed with great pomp during the feast of the Nativity, as if to give defiance to those who, a few months before, had fought for king Edgar and their country.⁵ There was, at that time, no one able to resent this affront, for a last assemblage of brave men had been dispersed on the banks of the Tyne.⁶ Such was the termination of the resistance in the north; such was the end of liberty according to the English, of rebellion according to the Normans.⁷ On both sides of the Humber the cavalry of

the foreign king, his counts, and his bailiffs,⁸ might thenceforward travel unmolested on the roads and through the towns. Famine, like a faithful companion of the conquest, followed their footsteps. From the year 1067 it had been desolating those provinces which alone had, up to that period, been conquered; but in 1070 it extended itself through the whole of England,⁹ and appeared in all its horror in the newly-conquered territories. The inhabitants of the province of York, and the country to the north of it, after feeding on the flesh of the dead horses which the Norman army had abandoned on the roads, devoured human flesh.¹⁰ More than one hundred thousand people, of all ages, died of want in these countries.¹¹ "It was a frightful spectacle," said an old annalist, "to see on the roads, in the public places, and at the doors of the houses, human bodies a prey to the worms; for there was no one left to throw a little earth over them."¹² This distress of the conquered country was confined to the natives; for the foreign soldier lived there in plenty. For him there were in the fortresses vast heaps of corn and other provisions, and supplies also purchased for him abroad, with gold taken from the English. Moreover, the famine assisted him in the complete subjugation of the vanquished; and often, for the remnants of the meal of one of the meanest followers of the army, the Saxon, once illustrious among his countrymen, but now wasted and depressed by hunger, would come and sell himself and all his family to perpetual slavery.¹³ Then was this shameful treaty inscribed on the blank pages of an old missal, where these monuments of the miseries of another age, in characters nearly effaced by the worm of time, are to be traced even at this day, and simply furnish a theme for the sagacity of antiquaries.

The territory situated on one side to the north and on the other to the south of the Humber, ravaged as it was, was divided among the conquerors with the same order which had regulated the partition of the southern estates. Several lots were apportioned of the houses, or rather the ruins, of York; for, in the two sieges which that town had sustained, it had been so devastated, that several centuries afterwards the foundations of the ancient suburbs were still to be seen in the open country, at the distance of above a mile.¹⁴ King William took to himself the greater part of the houses that were left standing.¹⁵ The Norman captains divided the rest among them, with the churches, the shops, and even the shambles, which they let for a certain rent.¹⁶ William de Warenne had twenty-eight in

⁸ Ballivi. In the French of that time, *bails* or *bailiffs*; a title designating various public functionaries.

⁹ Normannis Angliam vastantibus, per totam Angliam, maximè per Northumbriam, fames prævaluit. (Flor. Wig., p. 636.)

¹⁰ Ut homines carnem comederent humanam. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Orderic. Vital., p. 515.

¹² Neque enim supererat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus extinctis vel gladio vel fame. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 451, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Alii in servitatem se venderunt dummodò qualitercùmque miserabilem vitam sustentarent. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Constans fama est aliquot villas esse uno ab Eboraco milliario, ubi antè tempora Guallielmi Nothi termini erant suburbanarum adium. (Lelandi Collectanea, iv. 36.)

¹⁵ Domesday-book; Extracta à Gale, apud rer. Anglie. script., iii. 774.

¹⁶ Comes de Moritonio habet ibi xiv mansiones et xii bancos in macello et ecclesiam Sanctæ Crucis. (Domesday-book, i. 298, recto.)

est ab Eboraco usque ad mare orientale. (Alured. Beverl., p. 129, ed. Hearne.)

¹ Quidam milites rapinis assueti. (Ibid.)

² Auream in brachio armillam ferentem. (Ibid.)

³ Infra valvas ecclesie jam pœnè fugiendo extinctum insequitur, cum ecce equus . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ Nec terra aliqua erat culta, excepto solo territorio beati Joannis Beverlaci. (Chron. J. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 966, ed. Selden.)

⁵ Ex civitate Guentâ jubet adferri coronam aliaque ornamenta regalia et vasa. (Orderic. Vital., hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 515.)

⁶ Hostile collegium in angulo quodam regionis paludibus undique munito. (Ibid.)

⁷ Seditiosum tempestate parumper conquiescente. (Wilhelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann., p. 290.)

the province of York, and William de Percy upwards of eighty manors.¹ Most of these domains, in the roll drawn up fifteen years afterwards, were simply denominated *waste-land*.² The same quantity which, in king Edward's time, had produced a rent of sixty pounds, produced less than five in the hands of the foreign possessor, and the land on which two Englishmen of exalted rank had lived in plenty, maintained, after the conquest, only two labourers, poor and enslaved, who scarcely returned to their Norman lord a tenth part of the revenue of the ancient free cultivators.³

Large tracts of the country north of the city of York fell to the share of Allan, of Lower Brittany, whom the Normans called Alain, and whom his fellow-countrymen, in their Celtic tongue, sur-named Fergan, or *the red-haired*.⁴ This Alain built a strong castle and outworks near his principal manor, called Ghilling, on a rocky hill, encompassed almost on all sides by the rapid river Swale. This fortress, says an old account, was designed to protect him and his men against the attacks of the disinherited English.⁵ Like most of the other captains of the conquering army, he gave unto this castle, which became his residence, a French name, calling it Riche-mont, on account of its elevated situation, from which it commanded the surrounding country.⁶

The whole island formed at the easternmost point of Yorkshire by the ocean and the rivers was given to Dreux Bruère, a captain of the Flemish auxiliaries. This man married a relative of king William, and killed her in a fit of anger; but before the report of her death had spread, he went to the king, and begged that he would give him money in exchange for his lands, as he wished to return into Flanders. William ordered the sum which the Fleming asked for to be paid him; and only learnt, after his departure, why he went abroad.⁷ The isle of Holderness then became the possession of Eudes de Champagne, who afterwards married the Conqueror's sister by the mother's side. When the wife of Eudes had been brought to bed of a son, he remarked to the king that the isle of Holderness was not fertile, producing nothing but oats;⁸ and begged that he would grant him some estate that was fruitful in wheat, wherewith the child might be fed.⁹ King William, say the ancient acts, gave him the entire borough of Bytham, in the province of Lincoln.

Not far from this same isle of Holderness, on the banks of the Humber, Gamel son of Quetel, who had come from Meaux in France with a troop of men from the same town, took a certain extent of land where he fixed his abode and that of his com-

panions.¹⁰ These men, wishing to attach the remembrance of their native city to the place of their new habitation, gave it the name of Meaux, which continued for several centuries to be that of an abbey founded on the same spot.¹¹ Gamel, the chief of the adventurers of Meaux, and the possessor of the principal manor in their little colony, came to an understanding with the Norman chiefs occupying the neighbouring lands, that the limits of their respective possessions should be invariably fixed. He held several conferences, or *parlemens*, as they were then termed, with Basin, Sivard, Francon, and Richard d'Estouville. They all, with one accord, measured their several portions of land, and set land-marks to them, "in order," says the old narrative, "that their posterity might have nothing to dispute about, but that the peace which reigned among them might be transmitted to their heirs."¹²

The great domain of Pontefract, the place where the Norman troops had forded the river Aire, fell to the share of Gilbert de Lacy, who, following the example of most of his companions, built a strong castle thereon.¹³ It appears that this Gilbert, with his armed bands, was the first who crossed the mountains west of York; and that he invaded the country about Lancaster, which then was part of the province of Chester. It is, however, certain that he appropriated to himself an immense tract of land in that country, of which Blackburn was the chief place, and which extended to the south and east as far as the confines of Yorkshire. To form this great landed possession, he dispossessed, according to an old tradition, all the English proprietors from Blackburn, Rochdale, Tollington, and the vicinity. Before the conquest, said the tradition, all these proprietors were free, equal in rights, and independent of one another; but after the invasion by the Normans there was in that whole country but one manorial lord and his tenants or farmers.¹⁴

King William, with his chosen troops, had advanced as far as Hexham. His captains, advancing far beyond that town, conquered the rest of the country of Northumbria lying to the north and west. The mountainous country of Cumberland was reduced into a Norman county. It was taken possession of by one Renouf Meschin; and the land of heath and marshes, called Westmoreland, was likewise brought under the authority of a foreign governor.¹⁵ This count shared the rich domains and the handsomest women of Westmoreland among his followers. He gave the three daughters of Simon, son of Thorn, proprietor of the two manors of Elreton and Todewick, one to Humphrey, his man-at-arms, another to Raoul, called Tortes-mains, and the third to an esquire, Guillaume de St. Paul.¹⁶ In

¹ Ancient Tenures of Land, p. 6.

² Omnia nunc vasta. (Domesday-book, tom. i. fol. 309, recto.)—Modò omnino sunt vasta. (Ibid.)—Ex maximâ parte vasta. (Ibid.)

³ Duo taini tenuere; ibi sunt ii villani cum i carrucæ; valuit xl sol. modò 4 sol. (Ibid., fol. 315, recto.)

⁴ Dicitur Rufum vel Fergaunt. (Geneal. comit. Richmondie, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xii. 568.)

⁵ Pro tuitione suorum contra infestationem Anglorum tunc ubique exheredatorum. (Ibid.)

⁶ Et nominavit dictum castrum Riche-mont, suo idiomate Gallico, quod sonat latinè divitem montem. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., i. 877.)

⁷ Dugdale's Baronage, i. 60.—Dugdale, Monast. Anglican., i. 796.

⁸ Nec gignebat nisi avenam. (Ibid., i. 796.)

⁹ Uade alere posset nepotem suum. (Ibid., i. 796.)

¹⁰ Qui in conquestu Normannorum, de quadam civitate Gallie, Meldis latinè, sed Meaux gallicè vocitatâ exeuntes. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglican., i. 792.)

¹¹ Post dictum conquestum, ipsum locum inhabitantes nomen de Meaux ei imposuerunt, in memoriam sue pristinae civitatis. (Ibid.)

¹² Ex communi consilio terminos inter se distinguentes, certas mensuras possessionum suarum posuerunt, ad auferenda certamina posterorum. (Ibid., i. 794.)

¹³ Ibid., i. 859.

¹⁴ Vulgaris opinio tenet et asserit quòd quæ fuerant vel mansa seu maneria hominum, tot fuerunt domini, quorum nullus de alio tenebat post conquestum autem in unum dominium omnia sunt redacta. (Ibid., i. 859.)

¹⁵ Ibid., i. 838.—See Book ii. p. 28.

¹⁶ Data et desponsata ... et, cum dictâ Mariâ in hereditate totum dominium de Elreton. (Ibid.)

Northumbria, properly so called, Ives de Vesey took the town of Alnwick, with the grand-daughter and the whole inheritance of a Saxon killed in battle.¹ Robert de Brus obtained by conquest, say the old acts, several hundred manors and the dues of the port of Hartlepool, in the province of Durham.² And, to cite one last instance of these territorial usurpations, Robert d'Omfreville had the forest of Riddesdale, which belonged to Mildred, son of Akman. In token of the investiture of this domain, he received from king William the sword which the monarch carried on his entrance into Northumberland, and he swore upon its blade to make use thereof in clearing the territory of wolves, and of the men hostile to the conquest.³

When the Northumbrians, after driving away Tostig, the brother of Harold, in a national insurrection, had chosen as their chief Morkar, the brother of Edwin, Morkar had, with their consent, placed at the head of the country beyond the Tees young Osulf, the son of Edulf.⁴ Osulf kept his command until the day when the Normans had passed the Tyne: he was then obliged to fly, like the rest, to the forests and mountains. A Saxon, named Kopsig, was established in his stead, whom the people of Northumbria had driven out with Tostig; who might, therefore, be expected to take vengeance for his former expulsion, and whom, for that very reason, the new king gave them for a chief.⁵ Kopsig installed himself in this command under the protection of the foreign troops; but, after exercising his power for a short time, he was assailed in his house by a band of disinherited English, led on by Osulf, whose spoils he had received. He was taking his repast, not apprehensive of any danger, when the Saxons fell upon him, slew him, and thereupon they immediately dispersed.⁶

These instances of daring and of vengeance, of which only a few are cited by the historians, would probably occur in many places; but, however numerous they might be, they could not save England. An immense force, regularly conducted and carefully posted, made a jest of the virtuous but impotent efforts of the friends of English independence. The bravest patriots, those great chiefs of the island whose names alone had heretofore rallied around them numerous followers, lost courage, and came to a fresh compromise. Thus did Waltheof, Gospatrik, Morkar, and Edwin, make their peace severally with the haughty Conqueror. This reconciliation, so fatal to the Saxon cause, took place on the banks of the Tees. King William pitched his camp for fifteen days by that river, and there received the oaths of Gospatrik and of Waltheof. Gospatrik, who was absent, and submitted by message, received the government of Northumbria, vacant by the death of Kopsig, together with the foreign title of count.⁷ Waltheof

placed his uncovered hand in the hand of the Norman king, and became count of the two shires of Huntingdon and Northampton.⁸ He married Judith, one of his new friend's nieces; but, as will be seen in the course of this history, the bed of this foreign woman proved harder for the Saxon chief than the bare rocks which he feared he should make his couch if he remained longer faithful to his country. Soon after, king Edgar himself came in and abjured, a second time, his national title and the rights which he had received from the people.⁹ He was a man endowed with but little strength of mind, and was mostly borne along, whether to good or evil, by the tide of circumstances and the example of others. His fidelity to the Norman king was no greater than it had been to England: when the wind of resistance blew afresh, Edgar again fled, and set out to Scotland, followed by the imprecations of the foreigners, who accused him of violating his faith.¹⁰ The English people, indulgent in their misery, pardoned him his inconstancy, and, though deserted by him, loved him still. "He was young and handsome," as is reported in old chronicles, "and was descended from the true race, the best race of the country."¹¹

After the conquest of the lands of the north, that of the provinces of the north-west, bordering on the Welsh territory, appears soon to have been accomplished. Edrik, surnamed the Wild, no longer stopped the Norman bands which spread themselves in all quarters, and he ceased to molest by his incursions their hitherto precarious establishments in the vicinity of the old entrenchment of Offa. At length Raoul de Mortemer took the young partisan-chieftain prisoner, and, with the advice of his council of war, stripped him of all his possessions, for having, says an ancient account, refused obedience to the conquest, though repeatedly summoned to obey.¹² The Norman army which brought under the yoke the population of the Welsh marches did not stop at Offa's trench; but, passing beyond that ancient frontier westward of Shrewsbury, penetrated into the land of the Cambrians. Thus was commenced the design of conquering Wales, which from that time was unremittingly pursued by the conquerors of England.¹³ The first Norman fortress on the Welsh territory was built by a captain named Baldwin or Baudoin, at a distance of sixteen miles from Shrewsbury. The inhabitants of the place called it in the Welsh language *Tre Faldwin*, or Baldwin's castle; but the name constantly given it by the Normans was Mont-Gomery, from their respect to Roger de Montgomery, count of the province of Shrop or Salop, and of all the country taken from the Welsh.¹⁴

¹ Tradidit filiam ejusdam . . . qui fuit occisus in bello cum Haroldo rege. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., ii. 592.)

² Per conquestum. (Ibid., ii. 148.)—Apud Hartlepool portum maris et de quolibet navi 8 den. (Ancient tenures of land, p. 146.)

³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴ Dugdale Monast. Anglic., i. 41.

⁵ Rex Willielmus comitatum Osulfi tradidit Copsio qui erat partis Tosti comitis, viro consiliario prudenti. (Ibid.)

⁶ Conviviamem . . . manibus Osulfi obruuntur. (Stinson Dunelmensis, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. i. col. 204, et Selden.)

⁷ Dugdale, Monastic. Angl., i. 41.

⁸ Order. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 515.

—Will. Malmesb., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 104, ed. Savile.—Chron. Saxon. frag., sub anno MLXXI., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.

⁹ Et misericordiam postulans impetravit, et ei fidelitatem fecit. (Math. Paris., i. 6.)

¹⁰ Facto ad Scotos transfugio, jusjurandum maculavit. (Ib.)

¹¹ That best Kunde in Engeland adde to be Kyng. (Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 370.)

¹² Et quia idem Edricus noluit conquestui parere . . . (Dugdale, Monast. Anglican., ii. 221.)

¹³ Postquam Normanni, bello commisso, Anglos sibi subjugarunt, hanc (Walloniam) suo imperio . . . (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 930.)

¹⁴ Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii. 348.

The town of Shrewsbury, fortified by a citadel built on the ground formerly occupied by fifty-one houses, was added to the domains of king William,¹ who levied imposts on it for his *exchequer*² (as the Normans called that which by the Romans was named the *fisc*). The agents of the Conqueror exacted no greater tributes than the town had paid in the time of English independence; but there is an authentic declaration of the inhabitants which shows the real value to them of this apparent moderation. "The English inhabitants of Shrewsbury" (such are the words of the roll) "say that it is a heavy burthen for them to pay the full amount of the impost which they paid in king Edward's time, and to be taxed for as many houses as were then existing; for fifty-one houses have been pulled down to make room for the count's castle; fifty more are so much damaged as to be uninhabitable; forty-three Frenchmen occupy houses which paid in Edward's time; and, moreover, the count has given to the abbey, which he has founded, thirty-nine of the townsmen, who formerly contributed with the rest."³

These monasteries, founded by the Normans in the towns or in the rural districts of England, were peopled with monks from abroad who had followed in the train of the foreign army. Each fresh levy of armed soldiers was escorted by a new troop of tonsured clergy, who landed on the shores of England to *gaingner*, as it was then expressed. In 1068 the abbot of St. Riquier in Ponthieu, embarking for England at the port of Wissant, met with upwards of a hundred monks of all orders, with a crowd of warriors and traders, who were all waiting, like himself, to pass the Strait.⁴ Some of the Benedictines of the priory of Seez in Normandy arrived from thence poor and destitute, and were established in a vast building which Roger de Montgomery gave to them; they thenceforward received, for the supply of their table, a tenth of all the venison taken in the shire of Salop or Shrop.⁵ Some monks of St. Florent at Saumur emigrated from their convent to take up their abode in a church which, by right of conquest, had fallen to the share of Guillaume de Brause, the Angevin.⁶ In the county of Stafford, near Stone, on the river Trent, there was a small oratory, where two nuns and a Saxon priest passed their days in the offering up prayer in honour of a saint of that district, called Wolfed. All these three were killed by one Enisan, a soldier of the conquering army, which "Enisan," says the ancient legend, "killed the priest and the two nuns, that

his sister, whom he had brought with him, might have their church."⁷

From the time that the conquest began to prosper, not young soldiers and old warlike chiefs alone, but whole families, men, women, and children, emigrated from every remote district of Gaul, to seek their fortunes in England. To the people on the other side of the Channel this country was like a land newly discovered, to which colonists repair, and which is appropriated by the first or by every comer. "Noël, and his wife Celestria," says an old record, "came to the army of William the Bastard, and received as a gift from the Bastard the manor of Elinghall, with all its dependencies."⁸ According to an old stanza, in rhyme, the first lord of Cognisby, [Coningsby†] named William, arrived with his bride Tifaine from Lower Brittany, with his maid Manfa and his dog Hardi-gras.⁹ Companionships in arms were entered into; and those men who adventured as invaders, for whatever chance should allot them, formed fellowships to share gain and loss, and to defend each other mutually, for their lives, and to the death.¹⁰ Robert d'Ouilly and Roger d'Ivry came to the conquest as brethren leagued together and confederated by interchange of faith and by oath.¹¹ Their clothes and their arms were alike, and they shared together the lands which they conquered. Eudes and Picot, Robert Marmion and Gauthier de Somerville, did the same.¹² Jean de Courcy and Amaury de St. Florent swore their fraternity of arms in the church of Notre-Dame at Rouen: they vowed to serve together, to live and die together, to share together their pay and whatever they might gain by good fortune and by the sword.¹³ Others, at the moment of their departure, disposed of all that they possessed in their native country, as but of little value in comparison of that which they hoped to acquire by conquest. Thus it was that Geoffroy de Chaumont, son of Gédoin, viscount of Blois, gave to his niece Denise the lands which he possessed at Blois, Chaumont, and Tours. "He departed for the conquest," says the contemporary historian, "and afterwards returned to Chaumont with an immense treasure, large sums of money, a great number of articles of rarity, and the titles of possession of more than one rich domain."¹⁴

There now remained to be invaded only the country about Chester, the only great town in England whose streets had not resounded with the

⁷ This Enysan slue the nuns and priests also, Because his sister should have this church toe. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., ii. 126.)

⁸ Quidam Noël nomine et Celestria uxor ejus venerunt in exercitu Willielmi Bastardi in Angliam. (Ibid., iii. 54.)

⁹ William de Cognisby
Came out of Brittany
With his wife Tifany
And his maide Manfas
And his dogge Hardigras.

(Hearne, Prefatio ad Johan. de Fordun, Scotichronicon, p. 170.)

¹⁰ Fortunarum suarum participes. (Dugdale, Mon. Anglic., ii. 136.)

¹¹ Ducange, gloss. ad script. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, verbo: *fratres conjurati*.

¹² And the . . . swarne brodyr of sir Robert Marmyon was callyd monsieur Galtere of Somerville. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., i. 198.)

¹³ Vi gladii et fortunâ. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Qui duces adire deliberans, totum nepoti sue reliquit . . . Auri et argenti copias multas, torreeque possessiones amplissimas. (Gesta Ambasiensium dominorum, apud script. rer. gallic. et francic., xi. 258.)

¹ Quamvis castellum comitis occupaverit 51 mansuras. (Extracta ex Domesday-book, apud script. Gale, p. 773.)

² This name is taken from that of a table divided into squares and compartments to facilitate the counting of money.

³ Dicunt Angli gens burgenses de Scropesberie, multum grave sibi esse . . . et xliii Francigenæ burgenses teneant mansuras geldantes T. R. E. et abbatia quam facit ibi comes dederit ipse xxxix burgenses, olim similiter cum aliis geldantes. (Extracta ex Domesday-book, apud rer. Anglic. script., iii. 773, ed. Gale.)

⁴ Ubi fuerunt cum illo tñm abbates quàm monachi plùs quàm centum, præterea militarium virorum et negociatorum plurima multitudo, qui omnes in Angliam transvehi cupiebant. (Chron. S. Richarii, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xi. 133.)

⁵ Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii. 402.

⁶ Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., i. 375.

tread of the foreign cavalry. After passing the winter in the north, king William undertook this last expedition in person;¹ but, at the moment of his departure from York, great murmurs arose in his army. The reduction of Northumberland had fatigued the victors, and they foresaw still greater fatigues in the invasion of the country bordering on the river Dee and the western sea. Exaggerated accounts of the difficulty of the ground and the obstinacy of the inhabitants were circulated among the soldiers.² The auxiliary Angevins and Bretons began to evince, as the Normans had done in the preceding year, that longing after home which has so often been remarked to be a morbid sentiment, and is in French termed *le mal du pays*. They, in their turn, complained aloud of the hardships of the service, and great numbers of them asked for their discharge, that they might repass the sea.³ William, finding it impossible to overcome the determination of those who refused to follow him, assumed an appearance of unconcern. To such as should remain faithful to him he promised repose after the victory, and great possessions as the recompense of their toils.⁴ He crossed, by roads until then impracticable for cavalry, the chain of mountains extending from south to north, the whole length of England. He entered the city of Chester as a conqueror, and according to his custom built a fortress there. He did the same at Stafford;⁵ and at Salisbury, in his return to the south, he distributed abundant rewards among his warlike followers.⁶ He then repaired to Winchester, to his royal citadel, the strongest in all England, and which was his palace in the season of spring; that of Gloucester was his winter palace, and the tower of London or the abbey of Westminster his summer residence.⁷

The troops of Gherbaud the Fleming were left to keep and defend the newly-conquered province. Gherbaud was the first captain that bore the title of count or earl of Chester. To support his title and maintain his post, he was exposed to great dangers from the English as well as from the Welsh, who long continued to harass him: at length he became weary of these fatigues, and departed to return to Flanders.⁸ King William then gave the county of Chester to Hugues d'Avranches, son of Richard Gosse, who was surnamed Hugues-le-Loup, *Hugh the Wolf*, and bore a wolf's head depicted on his shield for his device. Hugues-le-Loup and his lieutenants passed the river Dee, which, at the extremity of Offa's dike, formed the northern limit of the Welsh territory. They conquered the county of Flint, which became a part of the Norman county of Chester, and built a fort at Rhuddlan.⁹ One of his lieutenants, Robert

d'Avranches, changed his name to Robert of Rhuddlan; and, by a contrary whim, Robert Malpas or Maupas, governor of another strong castle, built on a lofty hill, gave his own name to the place, which has borne it to this day. "Both of them," says an ancient historian, "waged war with ferocity, and remorselessly shed the blood of the Welsh."¹⁰ They fought a murderous battle with them near the marshes of Rhuddlan, a spot already marked with calamity, by the traditions of the Cambrian nation, on account of a great battle won by the Saxons about the close of the eighth century. A singular record of these two national disasters was still existing a few years ago in the north of Wales: this was a mournful air, without words, but which it was customary to apply to many melancholy subjects; it was called the air of Rhuddlan-marsh.¹¹

(A.D. 1070 to 1071.) We are told by certain ancient narratives that, when Hugh the Wolf had installed himself with the title of count in the province of Chester, he called over from Normandy one of his old friends, named Néel, Nigel, or Lenoir; and that Lenoir brought with him five brothers, Houdard, Edouard, Volmar, Horsuin, and Volfan.¹² Hugh the Wolf distributed among them lands in his county. He gave to Lenoir the town and lands of Halton near the river Mersey, and made him his constable and hereditary marshal—that is, whenever the count of Chester was at war, Lenoir and his heirs were to march in the van of the whole army in going out, and bring up the rear-guard on the retreat. They had, as their share of the booty taken from the Welsh, the four-footed beasts of all descriptions.¹³ In time of peace they had the right of administering justice for all offences within the district of Halton, and made their profit of the fines. Their servants enjoyed the privilege of buying in the market of Chester before any one else, unless the count's servants had presented themselves first.¹⁴ Besides these prerogatives, the constable Nigel or Lenoir obtained for himself and his heirs the control of the roads and streets during the fairs at Chester, the tolls of all the markets within the limits of Halton, all animals found astray in the same district,¹⁵ and, lastly, the right of stallage, and of selling, with an entire freedom from tax and toll, every sort of merchandise excepting salt and horses.¹⁶

Houdard, the first of the five brothers, became to Lenoir nearly what Lenoir was to count Hugues; he was hereditary seneschal of the constable of Halton. Lenoir, his lord, gave him for his service and homage the lands of Weston and Ashton.¹⁷ He was entitled, out of the profits of the war, to all the bulls taken from the Welsh;¹⁸ and

¹⁰ Cum Roberto de Malopassu aliisque proceribus feris multum Guallorum sanguinem effudit. (Orderic. Vital., p. 522.)

¹¹ Morfa-Rhuddlan. (Cambro-Briton, vol. i. 53 et 95.)

¹² Et cum isto comite Hugone, venit quidam nobilis nomine Nigellus et cum isto Nigello venerunt quinque fratres. (Monast. Anglic., Dugdale, ii. 187.)

¹³ De prædâ perquisitâ in Walliâ omnia animalia diversorum colorum inter quatuor membra. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Emant ministri sui autè omnes in civitate, nisi comitis ministri prævenerint. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Omnia animalia fugitiva, gallicè *Weythe*. (Ibid., p. 187.)

¹⁶ Præter sal et equos. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Pro homagio et servitio suo. (Ibid., 177.)

¹⁸ Adventagium guerre. (Ducange, gloss. ad script. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis: —o: Adventagium.)

¹ Movet expeditionem contra Cestrenses et Guallos. (Orderic. Vital., Hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 515.)

² Locorum asperitatem et hostium terribilem ferocitatem. (Ibid.)

³ Servitium, ut dicebant, intolerabilibus. (Ibid.)

⁴ Victoribus requiem promittit. (Ibid., p. 515.)

⁵ Ibid., p. 516.

⁶ Præmia militibus largissimè distribuit. (Ibid.)

⁷ Ter gessit suam coronam (*cynehelm*) singulis annis: ad pascha eam gessit in Winceaster, ad Pentecosten in Westminster, ad Natales in Gleaweccester. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 190.)

⁸ Magna ibi et difficilia tam ab Anglis quàm à Guallis adversantibus pertulerat. (Orderic. Vital., p. 522.)

⁹ Journey to Snowdon, p. 11.—Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii.

the best ox as a recompense to the man-at-arms who carried his banner.¹ Edward, the second brother, received from the constable two bovatas of land at Weston;² two others, Volmar and Horsuin, jointly received a domain in the village of Runcorne; and the fifth, named Volfan, who was a priest, obtained the church of Runcorne.³

These curious details are, in themselves, scarcely worthy of notice; but they may assist the reader to picture in his imagination the various scenes of the conquest, and give to the facts of greatest importance their genuine historical colouring. All the arrangements of interests, all the sharing of possessions and offices, which took place in the province of Chester, between the Norman governor, his first lieutenant, and the lieutenant's five companions, give a true and faithful idea of the transactions of the same kind and at the same time in every province of England. When the reader shall hereafter meet with the titles of count or earl, constable, and seneschal,—when, in the course of this history he finds any mention of the dues of manorial courts, of markets, of tolls, of the profits of war and of justice,—let him immediately call to mind Hugues d'Avranches, his friend Nigel, and the five brothers who came with Nigel or Lenoir: then, perhaps, he will perceive some reality under these titles and formulas, which, if examined apart from men and transactions, have an unfix'd or doubtful character. We must travel back, and be careful to identify the marking characters and chief men, through the obscurity of distant ages, and so represent them to our imagination as if still living and acting on that soil where even the dust of their crumbled relics is no longer to be found. For these purposes, many particular facts, many individual names now obscure, have been designedly introduced into this narrative. Let the reader dwell upon them; let him imagine old England once more peopled with the invaders and the vanquished of the eleventh century; let him figure to himself the different position of the actors in that mortal contest, their jarring interests, their diverse languages, the exultation and insolence of the former, the abject wretchedness and despair of the latter, and all the agitation and violence which is the necessary accompaniment of a war *ad internecionem* between two great masses of mankind. Seven hundred years have already passed away since these men ceased to breathe, since their hearts ceased to beat with pride or with suffering:—but what signifies the flow of time to the imagination!—to the bright eye of which the past is unobscured, and even the future holds by the action of the present upon its destinies.

¹ Et latori vexilli sui meliorem bovem. (Monast. Anglie., ii. 187.)

² Duas bovatas terre in Weston. (Ibid.)

³ Quintus verò frater fuit sacerdos, et ipsi dedit ecclesiam de Runcorne Nigellus. (Ibid.)

BOOK V.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE CAMP OF REFUGE IN THE ISLE OF ELY, TO THE EXECUTION OF THE LAST SAXON CHIEFTAIN.

A. D. 1070 to 1076.

THE whole country of the Anglo-Saxons was now conquered, from the Tweed to the Land's End, and from the sea of Gaul to the Severn; and the English population was subdued in every part of the island, and overawed by the presence of the army of their conquerors. There were no longer any free provinces, any masses of Englishmen united in arms, or under military organization. A few separate bands, the remnants of the Saxon armies or garrisons, were to be met with here and there; soldiers who were without leaders, or chiefs without followers. The war was continued only by the successive pursuit after these partisans: the most considerable among them were solemnly judged and condemned; the rest were placed at the discretion of the foreign soldiers, who made them serfs on their acquired estates,⁴ or frequently subjected them to massacre, under such circumstances of barbarity that an ancient historian, alluding to the same, refused to enter on the details, as being either inconceivable or hazardous to relate.⁵ Such of the vanquished as had any means left of expatriating themselves repaired westward to the ports of Wales, or to those of Scotland, where they embarked, and went, as the old annals express it, to range through foreign kingdoms, exhibiting their sorrows and miseries in a state of exile.⁶ Denmark, Norway, and the countries where the Teutonic dialects were spoken, were in general the destination of the emigrants: some of the English fugitives, however, were seen to direct their course to the south of Europe, and crave an asylum among nations of entirely different origin and speaking a different language.

The report of the high favour which the Scandinavian guard of the Greek emperor enjoyed at Constantinople tempted a number of young men to seek their fortune in that quarter. A body of these, uniting under the command of Siward, formerly the chief of Gloucestershire, sailed past the coasts of Spain and disembarked in Sicily, whence they despatched a messenger to the imperial court with offers of service.⁷ Their proposal was accepted, and they were incorporated in the select corps which, under the Tudesque or Teutonic name of Varings, guarded the chamber of the Greek emperors, had the custody of the keys of those cities in which they were quartered, and were sometimes the appointed guard of the public treasury. The Varings, or Varangs according to Greek pronunciation,⁸ consisted generally of Danes, Swedes, or Germans; they wore their hair long, after the manner of the northern nations, and their principal weapons of offence were the heavy two-edged axes,

⁴ Nobles morti destinavit, mediocres autem suis militibus in servitutum. (Chron. Saxon. frag. ex autog. biblioth. S. Germani, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xi. 216.)

⁵ Cùm id dictu scilicet difficile, et omnium crudelitatem fortassis incredibile. (Historia Eliensis, apud rer. Anglie. script., iii. 316, ed. Gale.)

⁶ Per aliena regna vagi, dolentes. (Johan. de Fordun Scotichronicon. lib. v. cap. 11, p. 404, ed. Hearne.)

⁷ Turfei Hist. rer. Norveg., iii. 386.

⁸ For the signification of the word see Book iii. page 59.

which they bore in their hand and rested on the right shoulder. This body of troops had a fierce and formidable appearance, and had been renowned, for several centuries, for its strict discipline and well-proven fidelity. The example of the first Saxons who enrolled themselves in the corps was followed by others; and at length the Varings were chiefly composed of recruits arriving out of England, or, as the Greeks in their language, still classical, termed them, Barbarians of the island of Britain.¹

The Anglo-Saxon idiom, or rather a mixed dialect of Saxon and Danish, became, to the exclusion of Greek, the official language of these guards of the imperial palace: it was in this language that they received their orders from their chiefs, and in which they addressed the emperor, on the days of great public festival, when offering him their congratulations or assurances of loyalty.²

As to the Anglo-Saxons who would not or could not emigrate, many of them sought refuge in the forests with their families, and, if they were rich and powerful, with their servants and their vassals.³

The great roads along which the Norman convoys passed were infested by their armed bands; and they took back from the conquerors by stratagem what the conquerors had taken by force; thus recovering a ransom of their inheritances, or avenging by assassination the massacre of their fellow-countrymen.⁴ These refugees are called brigands by the historians friendly to the Conquest,⁵ who speak of them in their accounts as of men wilfully and wickedly armed against a lawful order of society. "Each day," say they, "was committed a number of thefts and murders, caused by the natural villany of the people and the immense riches of this kingdom."⁶ But the native population considered they had a right to make the recapture of riches which had been taken from themselves, and, if they became robbers, it was for no other purpose than to recover their own property. The social order which they rose against, and the law which they violated, had no sanctity in their estimation: and thus the English word outlaw, ⁷ synonymous with banished man, robber, bandit, or brigand, thenceforward lost its disgraceful signification, and was employed by the conquered people in a more favourable light. Old narratives and legends, and the popular romances of the English, have shed a kind of poetic tint on the character of the bold outlaw, and over the wandering and unrestrained life he led in the green woods and glades.⁸ In those romances the

outlawed individual is always portrayed as the gayest and bravest of men;⁹ he is the king of the forest, and fears not the king of the country.¹⁰

The north country especially, which had most obstinately resisted the invaders, became the land of the wanderers in arms, the last mode of protest, against power, by the vanquished.¹¹ The vast forests in the province of York were the haunt of a numerous band who had for their chief a man named Sweyn, son of Sigg.¹² In the midland counties, and near London, even under the walls of the Norman castles, various bands were also formed of these men, who, say the chroniclers of that age, rejecting slavery to the last, made the woods their abiding place.¹³ Their encounters with the conquerors were always sanguinary, and when they appeared in any inhabited place it was a pretext for the foreigner to redouble his oppressions therein; he punished the unarmed men for the mischief done to him by those in arms; and these again, in their turn, sometimes made terrible visits to those whom the vulgar opinion marked out as friends of the Normans. Thus perpetual terror reigned throughout the country; for to the danger of falling by the sword of the foreigner, who considered himself as a demigod among brutes, and understood neither the prayers, nor the arguments, nor the excuses preferred in the language of the conquered people, was also added that of being regarded as traitors to their native land, or of being suspected to be such, by the independent Saxons, who were as much maddened by their despair as the Normans were by their pride.¹⁴ Thus no Englishman would venture even into the neighbourhood of his own dwelling; but every Englishman who had taken the oath of peace and delivered hostages to the Conqueror kept his house barred and fortified like a town in a state of siege.¹⁵ It was filled with arms of every kind, with bows and arrows, axes, maces, heavy iron forks, and daggers; and the doors were bolted and barricaded. When the hour of rest arrived, at the time of making all fast, the head of the family repeated aloud the prayers in that age used at sea on the approach of a storm, and said, "the Lord bless and help us;" to which all present answered "Amen."¹⁶ This custom existed in England for more than two centuries after the Conquest.¹⁷

In the northern part of Cambridgeshire there is a great extent of low and marshy land, intersected by rivers: all the streams from the centre of England which do not fall into the valley of the Thames, or that of the Trent, find their way into these morasses: in winter they overflow their

¹ Stritteri memorie populorum ex script. hist. Byzant. digesta, iv. 431.

² Ibid.—Orderic. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 508.

³ Cum familiâ suâ ad sylvas fugientibus. (Math. Paris. vite abbat. S. Albani, i. 29.)

⁴ Pro amissa patrum suorum prædis et occisis parentibus et compatriotis. (Orderic. Vital., p. 512.)

⁵ Latrones, latrunculi, sicarii.

⁶ Propter immensam regni hujus divitias, et propter innatam indigenis crapulam. (Lelandi Collectanea, p. 42.)

⁷ Or Ut-lage, the Anglo-Saxon orthography. In Latin, *atlagus*.

* . . . Mery and free
Under the leaves greene.
(Ancient ballads of Robin Hood, *passim*.)

⁹ A more mery man then I am one

Lyves not in cristianté.

—(Ritson's Robin Hood, a collection of ancient ballads, ii. 221. London, 1833.)

¹⁰ Ibid., *passim*.

¹¹ Monast. Angl., i. 381.

¹² Quidam princeps latronum. (Hist. Monasterii Selebensis, apud Labbe, nova biblioth. MSS., i. 605.)

¹³ Jugum renuentibus servitutis. (Math. Paris. vite abbatum S. Albani, i. 29.)

¹⁴ Vecordes è superbiâ efficebantur. (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 523.)

¹⁵ Domus cujuslibet pacifici quasi municipum obsidendum. (Math. Paris. vite abbat. S. Albani, i. 46.)

¹⁶ Proces quasi imminente in mari tempestate. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Que consuetudo usque ad nostra tempora perduravit. (Math. Paris. loco citato.)

banks, cover a large portion of the country, and are loaded with vapours and fogs. One part of this humid and miry region was, and is still, called the isle of Ely, another the isle of Thorney, and a third the isle of Croyland. This nearly shifting soil of the fens was impracticable for cavalry and for heavy-armed foot soldiers; it had more than once served as a refuge to the Saxons at the period of the Danish conquest;¹ at the close of the year 1069 it became a point of re-union for some bands of partisans which from various quarters had formed themselves in resistance to the Normans.² Many chiefs, deprived of their inheritances, successively repaired thither with their adherents; some proceeding by land, others in boats likewise ascending from the mouths of the rivers of the east coast. The patriot bands thus assembled in the fens raised therein strong entrenchments formed of sods resting on piles, and established an important station of arms which received the name of the Camp of Refuge. The Norman strangers hesitated, from the first, to make an attack amidst the rushes and sallow-beds, and thus left to the refugees ample time to send messages to various places both in and out of the country, conveying intelligence everywhere to the friends of old England. When they had become sufficiently strong they commenced a partisan warfare by land and sea, or, as the conquerors termed the same, a system of piracy and robbery.

Every day, however, brought to the camp of these brigands and pirates in the good cause some Saxon of high rank, layman or priest, bringing along with him the last remnant of his fortune, or the contributions of his church. Among many others came Eghelrik, bishop of Lindisfarn, and Sithrik, abbot of a monastery in Devonshire. The Normans accused the prelates of outraging religion and dishonouring the holy church, by attaching themselves to a criminal and most infamous profession;³ but such interested reproaches by no means dissuaded them. The example of the insurgent prelates was an encouragement to many; and their ascendancy over the minds of men, whether it were for good or for harm, was favourable to the cause of the patriots. The ecclesiastics, who until then had shown but little ardour in this cause, united themselves with it more frankly: many of them, it is true, had nobly devoted themselves to it from the first; but the great mass had, with regard to the conquerors, applied the apostolic precept of submission to the governing authority.⁴ They had suffered less in general from the conquest than the rest of the nation: their lands had not all been seized; their houses had not been everywhere violated. In the great halls of the monasteries, into which the Norman spies had not yet penetrated, the Saxon laity could assemble in great numbers under pretext of attending to the exercises of devotion, and could therein deliberate and conspire together in comparative security.

¹ See Book ii. p. 44.

² Ad Helyensem insulam, et insulam Thorneie fugientes. (Thome Rudborne, hist. major Winton.; Anglia sacra, i. 256.)—Histor. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglie script., i. 71, ed. Gale.

³ Piraticam aggressus, religionem polluit, ecclesiam infamavit. (Will. Malmeb. de gest. pontif. Angl., lib. ii., apud rer. Anglie script., 256, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Præcepto apostoli dicentis: Deum time, regem honorifica. (Orderic. Vital., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 509.)

They carried with them such moneys as they had preserved from the vigilant scrutiny of the conquerors, and left them deposited in the treasury of the holy edifice for the support of the national cause and the maintenance of their children if they should themselves fall in action. Sometimes the abbot of a convent would break up the plates of gold, and remove the jewels, with which the Saxon kings had of old decorated the altars and shrines, thus disposing of their royal gifts for the welfare of that country which those kings had loved during life. Brave and trusty messengers were employed to convey the product of these common contributions through the Norman posts to the camp of the refugees;⁵ but these patriotic measures could not long remain secret.

King William, by the advice of William son of Osbert, his seneschal, quickly ordered perquisitions to be made in all the convents of England. The money which the rich English had therein deposited was seized by his order, as were most of the precious vessels, shrines, and ornaments.⁶ The charters also, which contained the fallacious promises of clemency and equal justice which the foreign king had heretofore made while yet uncertain of maintaining his victory, were at the same time taken away from the churches wherein they had been deposited.⁷ This great spoliation took place in Lent, which, according to the old style of the calendar, terminated the year 1070; and in Easter-week 1071 there arrived in England, pursuant to a previous request made by William, three legates from the apostolic see, viz. Ermenfroy bishop of Sienna, and the cardinals John and Peter. The Conqueror founded great designs on the presence of these envoys from his ally pope Alexander, and kept them near him for a whole year, honouring them (says an old historian) as if the equals of God's angels.⁸ In the midst of the famine, which was then wasting the Saxons by thousands, brilliant festivals were celebrated in the fortified palace of Winchester; there the Roman cardinals, placing the crown afresh on the head of the Norman king, effaced the vain malediction which Eldred archbishop of York had pronounced against him.⁹

After those festivals a great assembly of the Normans, laymen or priests, who had been made inordinately wealthy by confiscating the lands of the English, was held at Winchester.¹⁰ At this assembly the Saxon bishops were summoned to ap-

⁵ Ad cujus mandatum Egrifridus . . . cum thesauris illius ecclesie, in Eliensem insulam advenit. (Thome Eliensis hist. Eliensis; Anglia sacra, i. 609.)

⁶ Pecuniam quam ditiores Angli, propter illius austeritatem et depopulationem in eis deposuerunt, auferri . . . iussit. (Hist. Eliensis, apud rer. Anglie script., iii., 516, ed. Gale.)—Permisit devastari omnia monasteria. (Chron. Saxon. frag., sub anno MLXXI., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)—Callicibus et feretris non peperit. (Thome Rudborne hist. major Winton., Anglia sacra, i. 257.)

⁷ Cum chartis in quarum libertatibus nobiles Anglie confidebant, et quas rex, in arcto positus, observaturum se juraverat. (Math. Westm. flor. hist., p. 226.)

⁸ Audiens et honorans eos tanquam angelos Dei. (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 516.)

⁹ Cardinales Romanæ ecclesie coronam ei solemniter imposuerunt. (Ibid.)—In regem Anglieum confirmaverunt. (Vita Lanfranci, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiv. 32.)—See book iv. p. 84.

¹⁰ Many prelates from Normandy assisted and were present at this council of Winchester. See Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britan., i. 222.

pear, in the name of the superior authority of the church of Rome, by circulars, the haughty style of which might forewarn them of the consequences which this great council, as it was called, must necessarily have with regard to themselves. "Although the church of Rome," said the legates, "possesses the right to watch over the conduct of all christians, it more especially belongs to her to inquire into your morals and your way of life; of you especially whom she formerly instructed in the faith of Christ, and to repair in you the decay of that faith which you hold from her. It is in order to exercise over your persons this salutary inspection that we, the ministers of blessed Peter the apostle, being the authorised representatives of our lord pope Alexander, have resolved to hold a council with you, that we may inform ourselves of the bad things which have sprung up in the vineyard of the Lord, and may plant in it things profitable both for the body and for the soul."¹

The true sense of these mysterious words was, that the new king, in accordance with the pope, had resolved on the simultaneous deposition of the whole body of the higher clergy of English origin; and the legates had arrived from Rome to give the colour of religion to a measure purely political. Such was the purpose of their mission, and the prelate whom they first struck was Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, who had dared to appear in arms against the foreigner, and had refused to anoint him king. But these his real offences were not alleged, and the sentence of his ecclesiastical degradation was grounded on other causes,—on *more honest* pretexes, to use the language of an old historian.² The ordination of the archbishop was declared invalid; first, for having possessed himself of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury in the lifetime of the Norman archbishop Robert, whom the Saxons had driven away; secondly, for having said mass in the pontifical habit or pallium that belonged unto the said Robert, so exiled by the English nation; lastly, for having received his own pallium from Benedict X., who had been declared anti-pope, and had been excommunicated by the church.³ As soon as the friend of king Harold and of his country had been, according to the ecclesiastical expression, stricken like a barren tree by the axe of correction,⁴ his lands were seized and divided between king William, his brother Odo bishop of Bayeux and Adeliza wife of Hugh de Grantmesnil, who, being doubtless conciliated by this royal grant, came to dwell in England, and brought over her husband likewise.⁵ The same blow was aimed at those English bishops who could not be reproached with any violation of the canons. Alexander bishop of Lincoln, Eghelmar bishop of East Anglia, Eghelrik bishop of Sussex, several other bishops, and the abbots of the principal mo-

nasteries, were all deposed at one time. When the sentence of degradation was pronounced against any one among them, he was compelled to swear on the Gospel that he considered himself as yielding up his dignity for ever; and that, whoever his successor might be, he would not attempt aught to his discredit by protesting against him.⁶ Each degraded bishop was then conducted either to a fortress or monastery, which was to be his prison. Those who had formerly been monks were forcibly taken back to their old cloisters; and it was officially published that, disgusted with the world and with turmoil, it had pleased them to go and revisit the ancient companions of their youth.⁷

Several of the dignitaries of the Saxon church found the means of escaping from the threatened imprisonment; both archbishop Stigand and the bishop of Lincoln fled into Scotland; Eghelsig abbot of St. Augustine's, embarked for Denmark, and remained there, although he was claimed, as a king's prisoner escaped, by a rescript from the Conqueror.⁸ Eghelwin bishop of Durham, when on the point of departing into exile, solemnly cursed the oppressors of his country, and declared them separated from the communion of christians, according to the grave and gloomy formula in which that separation was pronounced.⁹ But the sound of these words fell in vain on the ear of the Norman king; William had priests to give the lie to the Saxon priests, as he had swords wherewith to break the swords of the Saxons.

Lanfranc, the monk of Lombard origin, whom we have already seen acting the part of a skilful negotiator at the court of Rome,¹⁰ was still living in Normandy, was renowned for his knowledge of the civil and ecclesiastical law, and was high in favour and esteem both with the pope and the newly-made king.¹¹ The legates of Alexander II. selected this ecclesiastic as the successor of Stigand in the see of Canterbury, and William fully approved of their choice; indeed he hoped much from the talents of Lanfranc in the work of consolidating the conquest. Queen Mathilda and the nobles of Normandy eagerly hastened his departure; and he was received with joy by the Normans in England, who hypocritically welcomed him as an instructor, sent by God himself to reform (said they) the bad morals of the English.¹² Lanfranc was appointed archbishop by the election of the king and his barons, against the ancient custom of the Anglo-Saxon church, in which the prelates were chosen by the body of the clergy, and the ab-

¹ *Episcopatum reddidit, se amplius non habiturum, nec successori calumniam aut damnū illaturum, jurejando ... firmavit.* (Lanfranci opera, p. 301.)

² *Dehinc ad monasterium, in quo ab infantia nutritus monachus fuerat, repedavit.* (Ibid.)—Aldredus ... abbas Abendonis ... in captione ponitur. (Hist. cenob. Abendonensis; Anglia sacra, i. 168.)—Usque ad finem vite custodiā mancipatus. (Hist. Ellensis, apud rer. Anglie script., iii. 516, ed. Gale.)—In ergastulo carceris ferro adstrictus. (Ibid. p. 512.)

³ *Legatio Helsinki in Daniam, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 285, in notis.*

⁴ *Zelum Dei habens, exulavit spontaneus ab Angliā, volens oppressores vinculo excommunicationis innodare.* (Math. Westm. flor. histor., p. 226.)

⁵ See Book iii. p. 56.

⁶ *Vita Lanfranci, apud script. rer. Gallie et Francie., xiv. 31.—Lanfranci opera, p. 299.*

⁷ *Divinitus Angliā institutor datus.* (Orderic. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 529.)

¹ *Quæ in vineâ Domini Sabaoth malè pullulant reseceamus, et animarum et corporum utilitati profutura plantemus.* (Wilkus, Conc., i. 323.)

² *Honestam de illo voluit habere ultionem.* (Chron. Walteri Hemingfordi, apud rer. Anglie script., ii. 468, ed. Gale.)

³ *Quem sancta romana ecclesia excommunicavit.* (Florent. Wigorn. Chron., p. 636.)—See Book iii. page 55.

⁴ *Infructuosam arborem securis canonice animadversionis succidit.* (Chron. Walt. Hemingfordi, apud rer. Anglie script., ii. 458, ed. Gale.)

⁵ *Domesday-book, vol. i. fol. 142, verso; vol. ii. p. 142 et 282.—See Book iv. p. 85.*

bots by the monks.¹ This practice was one of those which the conquest could not leave unchanged, and all the power of the church, as well as that of the state, would of necessity pass from the hands of the native population to that of the conquerors.

When archbishop Lanfranc made his public entry into the metropolis, which was committed to his rule, he could not, on this first occasion, resist the deep feeling of sadness which smote his breast on witnessing the condition to which the Normans had reduced it. Christ-church at Canterbury had been wasted by pillage and set on fire, and the great altar, despoiled of its ornaments, was almost buried beneath the ruins.² At Whitsuntide a second council was held at Windsor, when one of the king's chaplains, named Thomas, was appointed archbishop of York, in the room of the Saxon Eldred, who had died of grief. Thomas, like Lanfranc, found his metropolitan church destroyed by fire, with all its ornaments, charters, title-deeds, and privileges; the territory of his diocese laid waste by fire and sword, and the very Normans who occupied it shuddering at the sight of their own ravages, and hesitating to settle on the lands which they had taken.³ Thomas took possession of all the domains of the church of York; but, either through disgust or through mutual terror, no man, either Norman or Saxon, would take them as farms.⁴

(A. D. 1071 to 1072.) The pope sent his own pallium to Lanfranc, in token of investiture, and loaded him with flattering messages. "I long for your presence here," he wrote to him, "and only console myself for your absence by reflecting on the happy fruits which England is about to reap from your labours."⁵ Thus were the odious operations of the conquest clothed, in the distance, in an agreeable dress. Lanfranc's mission to England—his special and avowed mission—was, to employ religion in enslaving the English; and, as a historian remarks, to stifle the conquered people in the mutual embraces of royalty and the priesthood.⁶ "It is essential," observed Lanfranc to king William, "that there should be in England but one man at the head of the church, for the royal authority you have acquired by conquest to be maintained in its integrity. It is needful that the church of York, the church of that land of frequent rebellions, although ruled by a Norman prelate, should nevertheless be subject to the metropolitan of Kent: it is, above all, essential that the archbishop of York should not enjoy the prerogative of crowning the kings of England, for fear lest eventually he might,

¹ Regis et omnium optatumus ejus benevolâ electione. (Ibid., p. 519.)—Successio priorum Danelimensis ecclesie; Anglia sacra, i. 785.

² Cùm Cantuariam primò venisset, et ecclesiam Salvatoris, quam regere susceperat, incendio atque ruinis penè nihil factam invenisset, mente consternatus est. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 7, ed. Selden.)

³ Quandò . . . archiepiscopatum suscepit, civitas Eboracæ et tota regio circa . . . à Normannis ferro et flammâ penitus fuit destructa, incensa quoque beati Petri metropolis ecclesia . . . cuncta circumcirca hostili vastatione inveniit depopulata. (Thomas Stubbs act. pontif. Eborac., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 1708, ed. Selden.)

⁴ Ipeis autem Normannis in tantùm animus defecerat, ut . . . terras et honores, qui eis offerbantur, recipere non auderent. (Ibid.)

⁵ Lanfranci opera, note et observat., p. 337.

⁶ Dùm regnum et sacerdotium in nostrum detrimentum mutuo commutarent amplexus. (Gervas. Cantuar. imag. de discordiis inter monachos Dorobor. et archiep. Baldewinum, apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 1333, ed. Selden.)

either from fear or affection, lend his ministry in the consecration of some Saxon or Dane elected by the English in a state of revolt."⁷ The church of Canterbury or of Kent was, as has been seen in the former part of this work, the first church founded by the missionaries arriving from Rome among the Saxon pagans.⁸ From this priority of foundation there had arisen the vague notion of a sort of hierarchical primacy, but without there having hitherto resulted any positive supremacy in favour of the church of Kent vested in those who had governed it. The metropolitan see of York had remained equal in power to the other, and the two metropolitans had conjointly exercised the highest superintendence over all the bishoprics of England.⁹ It was this order of things in the English church that archbishop Lanfranc undertook to reduce to an absolute unity, which, say the historians of the age, was a thing quite novel, a thing indeed unheard of before the rule of the Normans.¹⁰ He recited ancient privileges, and some ambiguous acts of different popes, who had taken pleasure in testifying their affection for the church of Canterbury, the eldest daughter of the papal authority in England. He laid it down as an axiom, that "the church laws ought to flow from that source whence the faith had been derived; and that, as the province of Kent was subject to Rome because it had received christianity from her, the province of York, in the order of the hierarchy, ought for the same reason to be subject to that of Kent."¹¹

Thomas, the Norman archbishop of York, whose personal independence this measure went to destroy, testified so little devotion to the cause of the conquest as to undertake to oppose this new institution.¹² He called upon his colleague Lanfranc to bring forward authentic acts in support of his pretensions. This requisition was embarrassing: the Lombard, however, eluded the demand by affirming that acts and charters proving legal title would by no means have been wanting if they had not all unfortunately been destroyed, four years previously, in the conflagration of his church.¹³ This evasive reply terminated the dispute; but certain official warnings directed to the indiscreet opponent of king William's spiritual confidant had an evident influence, for it was notified to archbishop Thomas that, if he did not consult the peace and union of the kingdom by consenting with goodwill to receive the law from his colleague, and by an acknowledgment that the see of York had never been the equal of the other metropolitan see, he and all his relatives would be banished from England.¹⁴ Thomas desisted, and did his duty as a

⁷ Unus ab Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et ab illius provincie indigenis rex crearetur. (Thomas Stubbs act. pontif. Eborac., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. 1705.)

⁸ See Book i. page 12.

⁹ Duo metropolitani, non solum potestate, dignitate, et officio, sed suffraganeorum numero pares. (Thomas Stubbs act. pontif. Eborac., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1705.)

¹⁰ Ut Britannia nisi quasi primati subderetur . . . nova res huic nostro sæculo et à tempore quo in Angliâ Normanni regnare cœperunt, Angliâ inaudita. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 3.)

¹¹ Sicut Cantia subijcitur Romæ, quòd ex eâ fide accepit, ita Eboracum subijcitur Cantie. (Lanfranci opera, p. 378.)

¹² Eboracensis ecclesie antistes adversum me palam murmuravit, clam detraxit . . . calumniam suscitavit. (Lanfranci epistol., apud Wilkins Concilia Magnæ Britan., i. 326.)

¹³ In eâ combustione atque abolitione quam nostra ecclesia antè quadriennium perpessa est. (Lanfranci opera, p. 302.)

¹⁴ Propter unitatem et pacem regni . . . sui que et suorum

faithful son of the conquest. He resigned into the hands of Lanfranc all the power exercised by his predecessors south of the Humber, and, making a solemn profession of obedience and fidelity, he retained nothing but the title of archbishop; for Lanfranc, under the name of primate, united all the ecclesiastical powers in his own person.¹ In the language of the conquerors, he became the father of all the churches; in that of the conquered, all the churches fell under his yoke, and became tributary to him.² He drove away whomsoever he pleased, and in their places put Normans, Frenchmen, Lorraine, and ecclesiastics of all countries and of whatever origin, provided they were not Englishmen;³ for it must be remarked that the measure which dispossessed the entire body of the ancient prelates of England was aimed only at those who were Englishmen by birth, and that the naturalised foreigners preserved their functions. Among these were Hermann, Guis, and Gautier or Walter, who were, all three, natives of Lorraine, and who maintained themselves in possession of the sees of Wells, Sherborn, and Hereford.

From that time the bishoprics and abbeys of England were employed as heretofore the wealth of the rich, the liberties of the poor, and the beauty of the women, had been,—to pay off the debts of the conquest. One Remi, a native of Fescamp, by way of reimbursement for one ship and sixty boats which he had furnished to the conqueror, received the bishopric of Dorchester, and afterwards that of Lincoln.⁴ This man and the other prelates who had crossed the seas as a sort of corps of reserve, to put the finishing stroke to the invasion, and accomplish what the soldiers had not been able or had not dared to perform, drove away the whole body of the monks, who, according to a custom peculiar to England, lived on the lands of the episcopal churches: for this they were thanked by king William, who thought that the monks of English origin could not but bear him ill-will.⁵ A cloud of adventurers came over from Gaul to pounce upon the prelates, the abbacies, the archdeaconries, and deaneries of England.⁶ Most of these men exhibited in their new vocation the most shameless immorality. One of their number was killed by the hand of a woman to

whom he intended violence.⁷ Others made themselves infamous by their debauches and gluttony.⁸ Robert de Limoges, bishop of Lichfield, plundered the monastery of Coventry; he took the horses and furniture belonging to the monks who inhabited it, entered the dormitory by force, and broke open their coffers; pulled down their buildings, and used the materials in erecting an episcopal palace for himself, the furniture of which was paid for by melting down the gold and silver ornaments that had decorated the church.⁹ This same Robert published a decree, by which the monks were forbidden the use of nourishing food and instructive books, for fear, says the historian, that abundant rations and liberal reading would make their bodies too strong and their minds too daring against their bishop.¹⁰

Nearly all the Norman bishops disdained to live in the ancient capitals of their dioceses,—which were mostly small towns,—and removed to places where there were either better lands to seize, or a numerous population to take ransom from. Thus it was that Coventry, Lincoln, Chester, Salisbury, and Thetford, became episcopal cities.¹¹ In general, the thirst of gain was seen to rage yet more fiercely in the priests than even in the soldiers of the invasion. Their tyranny, intermixed with open cowardice, showed itself more disgusting than the brutality of the warriors.¹² The Norman abbots also wielded the sword; but it was against unarmed monks. More than one convent was the scene of military executions. In that governed by one Turauld or Torauld, from Fescamp, it was the abbot's custom to cry out, "*A moi, mes hommes d'armes!*" (Come hither, my men-at-arms!) whenever the monks resisted him in any article of ecclesiastical discipline. His warlike exploits made him so famous, that the conqueror felt himself obliged to punish him; and, as a sort of whimsical chastisement, sent him to govern the convent of Peterborough, in the county of Northampton, a post rendered dangerous by its vicinity to the great Saxon camp, but well suited, said William, to an abbot who was so good a soldier.¹³ The Saxon monks, though delivered out of the hands of this redoubtable abbot, suffered no less from his successor, one Guérin de Lire,¹⁴ who, according to the words of an ancient narrative, took the last crown from their purses that he might make himself respected among those who had lately seen him poor.¹⁵ This Guérin ordered the bodies of his predecessors, the abbots of English race, to be dis-

⁷ Hen. Knyghton, lib. i., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2347, ed. Selden.

⁸ Lantitarum appetentissimus . . . uno et ipso immani commisso infamis. (Will. Malmesb., lib. v., ed. Gale, iii. 377.)

⁹ Arcas eorum fregisti, et equos et omnes proprietates quas habebant rapuisti, insuper domos eorum destruxisti. (Lanfranci opera, p. 315.)—De unâ trabe divitis ecclesie corrosit 500 marcas argenti. (Additum. ad hist. veterem Lichfeldensem, Anglia sacra, i. 445.)

¹⁰ Monachos loci illius agresti victu ebavit et non nisi triviali literaturâ permisit informari, ne delicie aut littere redderent monachos contra episcopum elatos. (Hen. Knyghton., lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2352, ed. Selden.)

¹¹ Lanfranci opera, p. 338.—Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, in notis.

¹² Stipendiarii, non monachi, sed tyranni . . . intrudebantur. (Orderic Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 523.)

¹³ Quia magis se agit militem quàm abbatem. (Will. Malmesb., lib. v., apud rer. Angl. script., iii. 372, ed. Gale.)

¹⁴ Warinus de Lyrâ.

¹⁵ Idoneus monachorum marsupia evacuarè, undecunq̄ue

omnium, tam de Anglia quam de Normannia, comminatus est expulsionem. (Thomæ Stubbs act. pontif. Eborac., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 1706, ed. Selden.)

¹ Thomæ Rodborne, hist. major Winton, Anglia sacra, i. 223.—Ab universis Angliæ episcopis, prius ab aliis sacratis professiones petiit et accepit. (Hen. Knyghton de event. Angl., lib. i., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2345, ed. Selden.)

² Dispositione divini. (Lanfranci opera, p. 306.)—Omnes Angliæ subjugavit ecclesias . . . et nostram tributariam effecit. (Gervas. Cantuar. loc. supr. cit.)

³ Tantum tunc Anglicos abominati sunt, ut . . . multo minus lubiles alienigenæ de quacunque aliâ natione, quæ sub celo est, extiterent, gratenter assumerent. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Angl. script., i. 70, ed. Gale.)

⁴ See Book iii. 52.—Episcopatum, si viceret, pactus. (Will. Malmesb., lib. iv. p. 290, ed. Savile.)—Illum (pontificatum), a Wilhelmo post rege facto, emerat. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 7, ed. Selden.)

⁵ Ibid., p. 10.—Monachorum Anglianorum sibi semper mala imprecantium. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Angl. script., i. 86, ed. Gale.)

⁶ Pro famulatu suo dabatur a laicis episcopatus et abbatias, seculares preposituras, archidiaconatus et decanias. (Orderic Vital. hist. eccl., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 523.)

interred; and, gathering their bones, cast them in one heap without the gates.¹

While things like these were doing in England, rumour was publishing abroad, by the pens of clerks, hired, or wishing to be so, that William the mighty, the victorious, the pious, was civilising that hitherto barbarous country, and reviving christianity, which had until then been much neglected.² The voice of truth, however, was not entirely stifled; the cries of the oppressed were heard even at Rome; and in that Roman court, which the historians of those times charge with being so venal,³ there were still to be found a few conscientious men who denounced the revolution effected in England as odious and contrary to the laws of the church.

The degradation of all the Saxon bishops and of the mitred abbots, as also the intrusion of the Norman ecclesiastics, was strongly blamed;⁴ but the death of Alexander II., and the accession under the name of Gregory VII. of that archdeacon Hildebrand who, according to our preceding narrative, had displayed so much of zeal in favour of the invasion, were circumstances that nearly reduced to silence those who made accusation against the new church established by the Norman Conquest.⁵ Its canonical legitimacy was no longer called in question; and two individuals only, Thomas archbishop of York, and Remi bishop of Lincoln, were cited to appear in the pontifical court; the former because he was the son of a priest,⁶ the latter because he had paid a sum of money for his episcopal dignity. Lanfranc set out with them, being provided with rich presents for the pope and the chief men at Rome. The three prelates made a liberal distribution of the English gold in the city of the apostles, and acquired thereby a great reputation.⁷ This conduct made all their expected difficulties smooth; the affair of the two Norman prelates was amicably adjusted, and, instead of an inquisition respecting them, there took place a scene of pompous display, at which they both returned to the pope, as a proof of submission to his holiness, their ring and crosier. Lanfranc pleaded their cause, and particularly showed that they were most useful, and even necessary, to king William, in the new order of things he was instituting in his kingdom.⁸ The primate received from Gregory VII. the following gracious reply:—"Thou mayest decide this affair as thou thinkest best, being thyself the spiritual father of that land, and I replace the two crosiers in thy hands to dispose of accord-

nammos rapere . . . ut . . . apud eos, qui cum olim pauperem vidissent, compararet jactantiam. (Ibid.)

¹ *Omnia (ossa) conglobata, vel ut acervum ruderum . . . ecclesie foribus alienavit.* (Will. Malmesb., de vita Adhelmi episcopi Scireburnensis; Anglia sacra, ii. 142.)

² *Cujus (insule) rex effectus (Willelmus) barbaros illius mitigavit mores, cultumque christiane religionis, qui in eâ modicus erat, ampliavit.* (Hist. Francie, fragm., apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xi. 162.)

³ *Cùm fama . . . Romanos notâ cupiditatis asperserit.* (Raddulphi de Dicoeto imag. hist., ibid., xlii. 202.)

⁴ *Prisci abbates, quos canonicæ leges non damnabant, secularis comminatione potestatis terrebantur, et sine synodali discussione de sedibus suis injustè fugabantur.* (Orderic. Vital. hist. eccl., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 523.) —Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 6, ed. Selden.

⁵ See Book iii. p. 61.

⁶ *Primus namque presbyteri filius erat.* (H. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. i., apud hist. Angl. script., vol. ii. col. 2348.)

⁷ *De divitiis Angliæ largâ munera cupidis Romanis ubertim dederunt, sicut mirabiles Latini visi sunt.* (Ord. Vital., p. 548.)

⁸ *Novo regi, in novis regni dispositionibus, pernecessario.* (Eadmer., p. 7, ed. Selden.)

ingly.⁹ Lanfranc took them, and gave them back to Remi and Thomas; then, having received Gregory's confirmation of his own title of primate of all England, he and his companions took their departure.

Thus the churches of England continued, without any obstacle, and with the sanction of the Roman church, to be given to clerks out of every other land. The prelate of foreign extraction delivered before a Saxon auditory his homilies in the French tongue; and, on their being attentively listened to, either in astonishment or from fear, the foreigner would assume pride on the unaction of his persuasive discourses which so miraculously charmed the ears of the barbarians.¹⁰ A sort of shame with respect to such ridiculous exhibitions, and a desire to offer to the christian people something more worthy, induced king William to seek for someone of those churchmen whom public opinion in that age was disposed to laud willingly for the austerity of their religious life. Such was Guimond, a monk of the convent of the Cross of St. Leufroi, in Normandy. The king sent him an invitation to cross the sea, and Guimond obeyed without delay the orders of his temporal lord. When he arrived in England the king told him that he had resolved to keep him there, and to raise him to a great ecclesiastical dignity. The following was the monk's reply, as related by an historian who lived soon after:¹¹—"Various motives induce me to decline ecclesiastical dignities and power. I will not declare them all. I will only say that I cannot conceive how it is possible for me worthily to become the religious superior of men whose language and whose manners are alike unknown to me,—whose fathers, brothers, and friends have been slain by your sword, or stripped of their inheritances, banished, imprisoned, or reduced by you to slavery.¹² Turn to the holy Scriptures, and see if they contain any law which tolerates the imposition of a pastor on God's flock by the choice of an enemy. Can you innocently share that which you have gained by war and the blood of thousands with me, and such as me, who have vowed to despise the world, and have stripped ourselves of our worldly possessions for the love of Christ? It is the law of all religious orders to abstain from rapine, and to accept no part of what has been obtained by plunder, not even as an offering at the altar; for, as the Scriptures say, he who offers as a sacrifice what belongs to the poor is like one who would immolate a son in the presence of his father.¹³ When I call to mind these precepts of God I feel troubled with fear. Your England seems one vast prey; and I should dread to touch it or its treasures, as I should a heated brazier."¹⁴ The monk Guimond repassed the sea, and returned to his cloister of

⁹ *Tu pater es patriæ illius.* (Ibid.)

¹⁰ *Qui, licet latinè vel gallicè loquentem illum minimè intelligerent, tamen intendentes ad illum, virtute verbi Dei . . . ad lacrymas multoties compuncti.* (Petri Blesensis Ingulfi Continuat., apud script. rer. Anglie, script., i. 115, ed. Gale.)

¹¹ *Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 524.*

¹² *Quorum patres charosque parentes et amicos occidistis gladio, vel exhereditatos opprimistis exilio, vel carcere indolito, vel intolerabili servitio.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Omniam religiosorum lex est à rapinis abstinere.* (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 524.)

¹⁴ *Totam Angliam quasi amplissimam prædam didicido, ipsamque, cum gazis suis, velut ignem ardentem, contingero formido.* (Ibid., p. 525.)

Saint Leufroi; but it was soon rumoured that he had extolled the poverty of the monks above the wealth of the bishops; that, in the face of the king and his barons, he had applied the name of rapine to their acquisition of England; and had even spoken of all the bishops and abbots who had been installed against the will of the English as plunderers and intruders.¹ His language gave displeasure to many, who, not caring to imitate his example, calumniated him, and, by their intrigues, obliged him to quit his country. Guimond repaired to Rome, and from thence into Apulia to one of the towns conquered and possessed by the Normans.²

The hatred which the clergy of the conquest bore to the natives of England extended even to the saints of English birth; and in different places their tombs were broken open and their bones scattered.³ All that had been anciently venerated in England was by the new comers looked upon as vile and contemptible.⁴ But the violent aversion of the Normans for the English saints had a political reason, distinct from their common disdain for everything which appertained to the vanquished. Religion, among the Anglo-Saxons, had sometimes consisted chiefly in the bright reflection of patriotism, and certain of the saints formerly invoked in England had become such from having perished by the hand of the foreign foe in the time of the Danish invasions: such were Elfeg archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund king of East-Anglia.⁵

Such saints must have given umbrage to the new invaders of the kingdom, as the people's veneration for them fostered the spirit of revolt and consecrated all the old recollections of bravery and liberty. The foreign priests, therefore, with archbishop Lanfranc at their head, lost no time in proclaiming that the Saxon saints were not true saints, nor the Saxon martyrs true martyrs.⁶ Guérin de Lire attacked St. Adhelm; while Lanfranc undertook to degrade Elfeg, by ridiculing his patriotic death and his courageous refusal to satisfy the avarice of the Danes. "It would be easy to be a martyr," said the Lombard primate, "if, to be constituted such, it were sufficient that a man should be slain by pagans for refusing to pay a ransom."⁷ Probably with similar views, and to give a new direction to the spirit of the English, Lanfranc caused all the copies of the Scriptures throughout England to be seized, and corrected them with his own hand, pretending that the ignorance of the Saxons had in ancient

times corrupted the text; but all men did not believe this haughty assertion, and Lanfranc, notwithstanding his high reputation for virtue and learning, incurred the reproach of having falsified the sacred books.⁸

Violence done to the popular conviction, whether true or false, rational or superstitious, is often more powerful in stimulating the courage of the oppressed than the loss even of liberty and property. The insults lavished upon the objects of ancient worship, and the sufferings of the bishops, together with some degree of fanatical hatred of the religious innovations of the conquest, strongly agitated the public mind, and became the motive causes of a great conspiracy which extended over all England.⁹ Many priests took part in it; and three prelates declared themselves its leaders, viz. Frithrik abbot of St. Alban's, Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, the only ecclesiastic of English race who still retained a bishopric, and Walter or Gaultier bishop of Hereford, a Fleming by birth, and the only one among the foreigners made bishops before the conquest who proved faithful to the cause of his adopted country.¹⁰ The name of the young king Edgar was once more heard; and popular songs were circulated, in which he was called *the handsome, the brave, the darling son of England*.¹¹ The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, now fled a second time from the court of the Norman. The city of London, until then peaceful and resigned to the foreign yoke, began to be turbulent, and, as the old historians say, in language unfortunately too vague, to fly in the face of king William.¹²

To avert this new danger William adopted the same means which he had already, more than once, found to answer his expectation, namely promises and lies. Frithrik and the other chiefs of the insurgents, having been invited by his messages to repair to Berkhamstead to treat for peace, went to that ill-omened place, where Saxon hands had for the first time touched in token of subjection the mailed hand of the conqueror. There they found king William, with his most confidential adviser, the primate Lanfranc, both affecting towards them an air of mildness and good faith.¹³ A lengthened discussion was held on their respective interests, which was terminated by an agreement. All the relics of the church of St. Alban's had been brought to the place of conference. A missal was laid upon these relics, and opened at the Gospel; and William, placing himself in the situation in which he had himself so memorably placed Harold, swore by the sacred bones and the holy gospels to observe inviolably the good and ancient laws which the holy and pious kings of England, especially king Edward, had formerly established.¹⁴ The ab-

¹ Quod obtentum Angliæ, in presentia regis et optimatum ejus, rapinam appellaverit, et quod omnes episcopos vel abbates qui, nolentibus Anglis, in ecclesiis Angliæ, prelati sunt, rapacitatis redarguerit. (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 526.)

² Verba igitur ejus multis displicuerunt. (Ibid.)

³ Typho quodam et naseæ sanctorum corporum. (Willelm. Malmesb. de pontif., lib. v., apud rerum. Anglic. scriptores, lib. 372, ed. Gale.)

⁴ Pene omnia que ab Anglis antiquis quasi sacrosancta celebrabantur, nunc vix postrema auctoritatis habentur. (Earleri hist. novor., p. 126, ed. Selden.)

⁵ See Book ii. pp. 24, 25.

⁶ Angli inter quos vivimus quosdam sibi instituerunt sanctos quorum incerta sunt merita. (Johan. Sarisburiensis, de vita Anselmi, Anglia Sacra, ii. 162.)

⁷ Cùm hæc pagani interemptum apprehendo, quod ad redemptionem corporis sui, pecuniam, que exigebatur, noluit extorque. (Ibid.)

⁸ Que rudis simplicitas Anglicana corruptat ab antiquo. (Chron. M.S., sub anno 1089: Anglia sacra, i. 55, notâ.)

⁹ Plures convocando, exercitum numerosum et fortissimum confecerunt. (Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat. S. Albani, i. 48.)

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

¹¹ Speciosissimum et fortissimum undè in Angliam tale exit eulogium:

"Edgar Ethelingo
Engelondes derolung." (Ibid.)

¹² Civis Londonie in faciem resisterunt. (Ibid.)

¹³ Et serena facie vocavit eos ad pacem. (Ibid., 48.)

¹⁴ Juravit super omnes reliquias Ecclesie Sti. Albani, tacitissime sacrosanctis evangelis, bonas et approbatas antiquas regni leges inviolabiliter observare. (Ibid.)

bot Frithrik and the rest of the English, being well pleased with this concession, replied to William's oath by taking that oath of fidelity and peace which it had been the custom to take to the Saxon kings, and dispersed satisfied and full of hope; they then, quitting the royal presence, severally went their way, and broke up that great association which they had just formed for the deliverance of their country.¹ Bishop Wulfstan was deputed to go into the west, to the province of Chester, to allay the popular ferment, and make there a pastoral visitation, which no Norman prelate had yet dared to undertake.²

These good and ancient laws, these laws of Edward, the renewed promise of observing which had the power of allaying the spirit of insurrection, were not a particular code, no settled system of written regulations; but these words simply implied that mild and popular administration of the laws and government which had existed in the time of the national kings. Under the Danish dominion, the English people, in their requests addressed to the then conqueror, asked for the laws of Ethelred, that is, for the abolition of the odious laws of conquest:³ to ask, under the Norman dominion, for the laws of Edward, was only expressing the same desire; but it was a fruitless hope, and one which, in despite of his promises, the recent conqueror could not satisfy. In vain might he, in good faith, have restored every legal practice of the olden time; if he had maintained, to the letter, that rule of practice through the medium of his foreign justices, the laws so observed would not have secured to the people the same benefits. There was error of language in the demands of the English nation; for it was not the non-observance of its ancient civil or criminal laws which rendered its situation so disastrous, it was the ruin of its independence and its existence as a nation.⁴ Neither William nor his successors showed any great hatred for the Saxon legislation, whether criminal or civil; they allowed it to be observed in many transactions, but this was not attended with any material advantage to the Saxons. They allowed the rate of fines for theft and murder committed upon Englishmen to vary, as before the conquest, according to the division of the great provinces.⁵ They allowed the Saxon accused of murder or pillage to justify himself, according to the ancient custom, by the ordeal of red-hot iron or boiling water; while a Frenchman accused of the same crime by a Saxon vindicated himself by duel, or simply by his oath, according to the law of Normandy.⁶ This difference of legal proceedings, evidently to the disadvantage of the conquered po-

pulation, did not disappear till after the lapse of a century and a half, when the decretals of the Roman church forbade judgments by fire and water in all countries.⁷ Moreover, among the old Saxon laws there were some which must have been especially favourable to the conquest, such as that which rendered the inhabitants of each district responsible for every offence committed within it, of which the offender remained undetected;⁸ a law admirably convenient, in the hands of the foreigner, for creating and perpetuating terror. Such laws as these it was for the interest of the conqueror to maintain; and as to others that related to transactions betwixt individuals, the upholding of such was a matter of indifference to him. In this view, therefore, he performed the promise which he had made to the Saxon confederates, without at all troubling himself as to whether they understood that promise in a different sense. He sent for twelve men out of each province, who came to him in London, and declared on oath what were the ancient customs of the country.⁹ What they said was digested into a sort of code, in the French idiom of that day, the only legal language recognised by the government of the conquest. The Norman heralds were then sent about, and proclaimed by sound of horn, in the towns and villages, "The laws which king William granted to all the people of England, the same which king Edward, his cousin, had observed before him."¹⁰

The laws of Edward were published; but the days of Edward returned not for the inhabitants of England. The burgess found no more his municipal freedom, nor the countryman his territorial franchise: thenceforward, as before, every Norman had the privilege of killing an Englishman, without being criminal, or even sinning in the eyes of the church, provided he thought him concerned in rebellion.¹¹ The chiefs of the last conspiracy soon found by experience of how little real value was the concession which had appeared to them of so gratifying a nature. And, as it always happens in such circumstances, they all, so soon as their association was dissolved, found themselves persecuted by the man possessed of power whom they had recently forced to come to those terms with them. "The tyrant," say the chronicles, "had not dared to face them when they were united; but he attacked them when dispersed, and crushed them one by one."¹² Bishop Walter fled into Wales; and the Norman soldiers were ordered to continue their pursuit of him into that country, over which

¹ Seldeni notæ ad Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 204.

² Borhs, frith-borhs, borsholders.

³ Electi sunt de singulis totius Angliæ comitatibus 12 viri sapientiores, quibus jurjurando injunctum erat coram rege Wilhelmo, ut, quod possent . . . legum suarum consuetudinumque sancta patefacerent, nil præmittentes, nil addeutes. (Th. Rudborne hist. major Winton., Angliæ sacra, i. 259.)

⁴ Ces sont les lois et les custumes que le reis Will. grentat à tut le peuple de Engleterre . . . ice les memes que li reis Edward sun cousin tint devant lui. (Leges Wilhelmi régis; histor. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Angliæ. script., i. 88, ed. Gale.)

⁵ Qui, post consecrationem regis, hominem occiderunt, sicut de homicidiis sponte commissis, pœniteant, hoc excepto, ut si quis de illis quemque, qui adhuc repugnabat regi occidit vel percussit. (Wilkins Conellia magne Brit., i. 366.)

⁶ Tyrannus inexorabilis quos non poterat confederatos et congregatos superare, singulos dispersos ac semotos studuit infestare et subpeditare. (Math. Paris. Vit. Abbat. S. Albani, i. 48.)

¹ Ad propria leti recesserunt. (Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat. S. Albani, i. 48.)

² Episcopatus et Cestrensis à Lanfranco visitatio commissa est: ea enim provincia erat adhuc Normanni inaccessa et imparata. (Will. Malmesb. de vitâ S. Wulfstani, lib. i. cap. 1; Angliæ sacra, ii. 256.)

³ See Book ii. p. 47.

⁴ Ils requièrent . . . estre tenus et gouvernez comme le roy Edouart les avoit gouvernez. (Chron. de Normandie; recueil des hist. de la France, xiii. 239.)

⁵ Si home occit altre, . . . xx li. en Merchenelæ et xxv li. en Westsaxenlæ. (Leges Wilhelmi régis; histor. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Angliæ. script., i. 89, ed. Gale.)

⁶ Anglicus se purget ad iudicium . . . defendat se Francigena per bellum; et si Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat se Francigena pleno jramento. (Leges Will. régis; Chron. Johan. Bromton., i. col. 982, ed. Selden.) Willelm. Nothi, apud Johan. Bromton.

William's dominion did not extend; but the Welsh forests and mountains protected the fugitive.¹ King Edgar, finding that snares were laid for him on every side, once more fled into Scotland. With regard to bishop Wulfstan, who in point of fact was a man of weak abilities and character, he came forward in person to give all the securities demanded of him, and by that means obtained the king's clemency: he offered to obtain also a pardon for the abbot of St. Albans on the like condition, but Frithrik exhibited a better pride.² He assembled all his monks in the hall of the chapter, and, taking a tender farewell of them, he addressed them in these terms:—"My brethren, my friends, the moment has arrived when, according to the words of Holy Scripture, we must fly from city to city before the face of our persecutors."³ He took with him some provisions and some books, and secretly reached the isle of Ely and the late camp of refuge, where he died a short time after.⁴

King William, transported with rage that the abbot of St. Albans had escaped from his vengeance, turned his resentment against that monastery. He seized its lands, cut down its woods, and resolved to destroy it utterly;⁵ but the primate Lanfranc reproved him, and, by urgent entreaties, obtained from him, on pretence of religious devotion, the preservation of the convent and a licence to place therein an abbot of his own choice. Lanfranc had brought with him into England a young man named Paul, his relative, or, as is the opinion of some, his own son;⁶ and to this young man, until then without fortune, he gave the abbacy then vacant by the flight of Frithrik the Saxon. The first act of the new abbot's administration was to demolish the tombs of all his predecessors, whom he designated as having been rude and idiotic, because they were of the English race.⁷ Paul sent to Normandy for his relatives, who were very poor, and distributed among them the offices and all the possessions of his church.⁸ "They were all," says the ancient historian, "persons of the grossest ignorance, and the origin and morals of most of them were too base to be described."⁹

(A.D. 1072.) The reader must now turn his eyes once more to the isle of Ely, to that land of marshes, those fields of reeds, as the chronicles of the time describe them, the last asylum of Anglo-Saxon independence.¹⁰ Archbishop Stigand and bishop Eghelewin came thither from Scotland, where they had taken refuge.¹¹ Edwin and Morkar, after wandering for some time through the fields and forests,

repaired thither with other chiefs.¹² The king, who had just before succeeded by his artifice alone in dissolving the conspiracy of the patriot priests, in like manner made trial of deceit before he employed force against the Saxons of the camp of Ely. Morkar, Edwin's brother, became for the third time the dupe of his false promises, and suffered himself to be persuaded to quit the camp of refuge and repair to the Norman court.¹³ But scarcely had he set his foot beyond the entrenchments raised by his countrymen when he was seized and put in irons in a fortress of which the governor was Roger, the founder and proprietor of the castle of Beaumont in Normandy.¹⁴ Edwin immediately quitted the isle of Ely, not to surrender himself like his brother, but to attempt his deliverance. He was occupied for six months in seeking assistance and assembling his partisans in England, and from Scotland and Wales;¹⁵ but, at the moment when he found himself sufficiently strong for the execution of his enterprise, two traitors denounced him and sold him to the Normans. He defended himself for a long time with twenty horsemen against superior forces. The fight took place near the coasts of the northern sea, toward which the Saxon retreated, hoping to find some means of embarking: but he was stopped by a small stream which the rising tide had swelled. Being overwhelmed by numbers, he fell, and his foes, cutting off the earl's head, carried it to the Conqueror,¹⁶ who felt pity at the sight, and wept over the fate of a man, as some historians report, whom he loved, and whom he had wished to attach to his own high fortune.

Such was the fate of Edwin and Morkar, the sons of Algar and brothers-in-law to king Harold,—both falling victims to the cause which they had repeatedly abandoned. Their sister, named Lucia, experienced the fate of all Englishwomen who were left without a protector; she was given in marriage to Ives Taille-Bois, captain of the Angevin auxiliaries, who received with her all the ancient domains of the family of Algar.¹⁷ Many of these lands were situated in the vicinity of Spalding, on the confines of Cambridgeshire and Lincoln, in the fens called Holland or the low country, near the camp of the refugees of Ely. Ives Taille-Bois fixed his abode in that place. He became, over the farmers of the old domain, what in Saxon was called the *hlaford*, and by contraction the *lord* of that land.¹⁸ This name properly signified a giver or distributor of bread, and was used in ancient England to designate the head of a great house,—him whose table fed a number of men. But for this inoffensive signification other ideas were substituted—ideas of dominion and servitude, when the men of the conquest received from the

¹ In abditiis Wallie vix tutus latitavit. (Math. Paris. VII. abbat. S. Albani, l. 49.)

² Et cum possit ipsum Wulfstanus regi vel archiepiscopo pacificare, ipse abbas nolens ei credere. . . . (Ibid.)

³ Fratres ac filii . . . fugiendum est à facie persecutionum à civitate in civitatem. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Estirpatis sylvis et depauperatis hereminibus, . . . et nisi correptionibus Lanfranci retraheretur irresistibiliter totum comitatum destruxisset. (Math. Paris., l. 49.)

⁶ Et, ut quidam autumant, filius. (Math. Paris.)—Seldeni note ad Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 196.

⁷ Quos rudes et illotas consuevit appellare, contemnendo eos quia Anglicos. (Math. Paris., ibid., l. 52.)

⁸ Parentibus suis Normannis de substantiâ ecclesiæ. (Ibid., l. 52.)

⁹ Litteraturæ ignavis et origine ac moribus ignobilibus quæ non possunt scribi. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Paludum terra. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 176.)

¹¹ Thomas Eliensis hist. Eliensis; Anglia sacra, l. 609.

¹² Vagati sunt per sylvas et campos. (Chron. Saxon., p. 181.)

¹³ Falsis allegationibus simpliciter acquivit. (Ord. Vital., p. 521.)

¹⁴ Cautela Rogerii, oppidani Belmontis, mancipavit. (Ord. Vital., p. 521.)—Beaumont-le-Roger, département de la Seine Inférieure.

¹⁵ Sex igitur mensibus à Scotis, et Guallis, vel Anglis, auxilia sibi quæsit. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Ad hoc facinus exæstusio marina Normannos adjuvit . . . proditores pro favore illius, ei caput domini sui deferbant. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Quorum sororem, nomine Luciam, eum omnibus terris eorum, Ivoni Taylbois tñm Andegavensi comiti, maritavit. (Mouast. Anglic., l. 306.)

¹⁸ Dominus Spaldyngwæ et totius Hollandiæ. (Ingulf. Croyland., à Gale, l. 71.)

natives the title of *lords*. The foreign lord showed himself to be a master: the inhabitants of his domain trembled in his presence, and it was never without terror that they approached his manor-house or his *hall*, as the Saxons called it—a dwelling once hospitable to all, where the door was always open, and the fire always blazing—now fortified, walled, and embattled, filled with arms and soldiers, at once the citadel of its master and the prison of the vicinity.

“Therefore,” says a contemporary, “all the people of the low country were very careful to appear humble before Ives Taille-Bois, and never to address him without bending one knee to the earth.¹ But, although they were eager to render him every possible homage, and to discharge whatever they owed him in rents or in service, he made them no return of affability or goodwill; on the contrary, he vexed, tormented, tortured, and imprisoned them, oppressed them by *corvées* and forced labours, and by his daily cruelties compelled most of them to sell what little they still possessed and seek another country.² His truly diabolical spirit loved to do evil for evil’s sake. He would often set his dogs to pursue poor men’s cattle, would scatter the domestic flocks through the fens, drown them in the lakes, maim them in various ways, and make them unfit for service by breaking their limbs or their backs.”³

A part of the English monks of the abbey of Crowland inhabited a succursal cell near Spalding, appertaining to that monastery, and close by the gate of the manor-house of this redoubtable Angevin. He made them feel, still more violently than the rest of the neighbourhood, the effects of his destructive fury against everything Saxon or belonging to the Saxons.⁴ He lamed their horses and oxen, killed their sheep and poultry, and had their servants assailed on the roads and beaten with staves or swords.⁵ The monks endeavoured to appease him by supplications and offers: they made presents to his household; “they tried everything and suffered everything,” says the contemporary history;⁶ “then, finding that their efforts were useless, and that the malice of the tyrant and his people only became the greater, they took with them the sacred vessels, their beds, and their books, and, leaving their habitation in the hands of Almighty God, they shook the dust from their feet against the sons of the everlasting fire, and returned to Crowland.”⁷

Ives Taille-Bois, rejoicing at their retreat, quickly sent a message over to Angers, his native

town, desiring that some monks might be sent from thence, to whom, he said, he had to offer a good house, convenient for a prior and five friars, ready-built, ready-prepared, and well provided with lands and farms.⁸ The French monks crossed the Channel, and took possession of the succursal cell of Crowland. The abbot of Crowland, who still, by some chance, was an Englishman, had the boldness to lay his complaints against the Angevin captain before the king’s council; nevertheless Ives Taille-Bois was not only absolved, but was praised for all that he had done in the way of extortion, pillage, and murder;⁹ “for,” says the old narrator, “those foreigners mutually supported one another; they formed a close league, bearing one upon another, just as on the body of the old dragon scale is laid over scale.”¹⁰

At that time there was in Flanders a Saxon named Hereward, who had long been settled there, and to whom some English emigrants, flying their country after losing everything in it, announced that his father was dead, that his paternal inheritance had become the property of a Norman, and that his aged mother had suffered and was still suffering every kind of affliction and insult.¹¹ At this news Hereward set out for England, and arrived unsuspected at the place where his family had formerly dwelt. He made himself known to such of his relatives and friends as had survived the invasion; he prevailed on them to form an armed band, and, at the head of them, attacked the Norman who had insulted his mother and usurped his inheritance.¹² Hereward drove him away, and took his place; but, being compelled for his own safety not to confine himself to this single exploit, he continued a partisan warfare in the vicinity of his residence, and sustained against the governors of the neighbouring towns and fortresses numerous conflicts, in which he made himself famous for valour, skill, and for extraordinary personal strength.¹³ The rumour of his brilliant achievements was spread throughout England; the eyes of the conquered people were turned towards this man with a feeling of hope; his adventures and his praises were made the theme of certain highly popular songs, which are no longer extant, but were long sung in the streets, in the very ears of the conquerors, under favour of their long-continued ignorance of the idiom of the subjugated people.¹⁴

The inheritance reconquered from the Normans by Hereward the Saxon was situated at Brunn, of which the modern spelling is Bourn, in the southern part of Lincolnshire, near the abbey of Crowland, at no great distance from that of Peterborough, or from the isles of Ely and Thorney. The insurgents of those cantons lost no time in establishing

⁸ Paratam et edificatam, etiam terris et tementis satis ditatam. (Ingulf. Croyland., à Gale, l. 71.)

⁹ Prædas et pressuras, cædes et cæteras injurias univèrsas Ivonis Talbois justificat et acceptat. (Ibid., l. 72.)

¹⁰ Veluti in corpore behemoth squame conjunctæ fuisset. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Paternam hereditatem, munere regio cuidam Normanno donari, matremque viduam multis injuriis et maximis molestiis affligi. (Ibid., p. 79.)

¹² Collectaque cognatorum non contemnendâ manu, . . . de suâ hereditate prociil fugat et eliminat. (Ibid.)

¹³ Ingentia prælia et mille pericula tam contra regem Angliæ quàm comites et barones, et contra præfectos et præsides. (Ingulf. Croyland., ibid., p. 68.)

¹⁴ Prout adhuc in trivis canuntur. (Ibid.)

¹ Eum omnes Hoylandenses genu flexo deprecabantur. (Ingulf. Croyl. hist. à Gale, l. 71.)

² Sed torquens et tribulans, angens et angarians, incarcerationis et exercitians, ac quotidie novis servitiis onerans, plurimos omnia sua vendere, ac alias patrias petere, crudeliter compellebat. (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., apud rer. Anglic. script., l. 71.)

³ Diabolico instinctu . . . animalia in matris, cum canibus suis insectans, . . . et crebrò splinis ac tibiis jumentorum fractis. (Ibid.)

⁴ In ejus januis . . . totâ die . . . conversantes, tantâ tyrannide debachatur. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ut jumentis eorum tam bobus quam equis multoties mutilatis, ovibus ac avibus quotidie impareatis . . . famuli prioris gladis et fustibus in compitiis sepibus cæderentur. (Ibid.)

⁶ Post innumera suis ministris donaria, post peracta omnia. (Ibid.)

⁷ Relictâ cellâ in manu Domini, excutientes pulverem pedum suorum in filios ignis eterni. (Ingulf. Croyl., ibid.)

communications with the armed bands commanded by the brave partisan chieftain. Struck by his fame and talents, they invited him to repair to them in order to become their commander; and Hereward, yielding to their solicitations, repaired to the camp of refuge with all his companions.¹ Before taking the command of men of whom several were members of the high Saxon military order, a sort of fraternity or corporation authorised by the ancient laws of the country, Hereward desired to be admitted of their number by the customary forms, and thus to become, according to the expression of the contemporary writers, a legitimate warrior.² The institution of a superior class among those who devoted themselves to arms, and of a ceremonial without which no one could be admitted into that military order, had been introduced into and propagated throughout all the west of Europe by the Germanic nations who had dismembered the Roman empire. This custom existed in Gaul; and, in the Roman tongue of that country, a member of the high military class was called a *chevalier* or *chevalier*, because at that time, throughout Gaul and on the continent in general, horsemen formed the principal strength of armies. It was otherwise in England: perfection in equestrian skill was not at all considered in the idea entertained in this island of an accomplished warrior. The two only elements of that idea were youth and strength; and the Saxon tongue gave the name of *knit*, that is to say *young man*, to the warrior who by the French, the Normans, the southern Gauls, and also the Germans, was designated *horseman*.³

Notwithstanding this difference, the ceremonies by which a warrior was admitted into the high military order in England and on the continent were exactly the same. The aspirant had to confess in the evening; watch in the church all night; and, in the morning, at the hour of mass, place his sword upon the altar, receive it from the hands of the officiating priest, and communicate after receiving it.⁴ Every combatant who had submitted to these different formalities was thenceforward entitled to the character of warrior, and was thereby enabled to serve in every rank, and to hold command.⁵ In this manner it was that a man-at-arms was made a knight or chevalier in France, and throughout Gaul, excepting only in Normandy, where, through some remains of the Danish customs, the investiture of chivalry took place under forms more military and less religious. The Normans used to say that he whose sword had been girt on by a clerk in a long gown was not a true knight, but a citizen without prowess.⁶ This disdainful objection was preferred against Hereward, when the Norman knights, with whom he had often measured swords, learned that he

had just resorted to the monastery of Peterborough to receive the military baldric from the hands of a Saxon abbot. On this occasion, however, the Normans were prompted by something more than their habitual contempt for the rites of sacerdotal consecration; for it was repugnant to their pride that a man of English birth should, in any way whatever, obtain the right of entitling himself a knight, and of claiming from them those observances of respect which the knights of all nations were bound to show to one another. Their pride as conquerors was more deeply wounded by this apprehension than their honour as warriors by the religious ceremony; for they themselves afterwards submitted to that ceremony, and granted to bishops the right of conferring knighthood.⁷

The monastery of Peterborough was at that time governed by abbot Brand, who, but a short time before, had, after his election by the monks of that place, applied to Edgar and not to William for the confirmation of his title.⁸ The abbot, possessing a proud spirit that was incapable of bending, had no wish to regain the favour of king William. In volunteering to perform, for a rebel chieftain, the ceremony of giving a benediction to his sword, he furnished new proofs of his zeal as a patriot, and of a contempt for the foreign authorities. His own ruin became certain; death, however, removed him from all sublunary inflictions before the Norman soldiers had arrived to arrest him in the king's name; and thereupon there was sent to the monastery of Peterborough, as his successor, the Norman Torauld, the valorous monk already spoken of.⁹ Torauld, taking with him a hundred and sixty Frenchmen well armed, stopped in the town of Stamford, a few leagues from Peterborough, and sent forward scouts to observe the position of the English refugees, and ascertain what obstacles he should have to encounter in taking possession of the abbey.¹⁰ The refugees, on their side, being apprised of the Norman's approach, made a descent upon the monastery, and, finding the monks but little resolved to defend it against the abbot and his men-at-arms, they carried off everything of value, crosses, vessels, and drapery, and conveyed them by water to their quarters, in order (said they) that they might have pledges for the fidelity of the convent.¹¹ The convent proved unfaithful, and received the foreigners without resistance. Torauld installed himself as its abbot, and took sixty-two hydes of land on the domains of his church to be the pay or *sief* of his soldiers.¹² The Angevin Ives Taille-Bois, viscount of Spalding, soon proposed to his neighbour the abbot a warlike expedition against Hereward and the Saxon camp. Torauld seemed to accept the proposal with joy; but, his bravery not being so great against armed men as against monks, he let the Angevin viscount advance singly to reconnoitre among the forests of willows which formed the defence of the Saxons, and remained a long way in the rear with some Normans

¹ *Celeri nuncio, ad eos accersitus, dux belli et magister militum efficitur.* (Ingulf. Croyl., apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 71, ed. Gale.)

² *Nequam militari more balteo legitime se accinctum . . . legitime militie legitimum militem.* (Ibid., i. 70.)

³ *Knight, or eild, otherwise eild.* The Germans had, in like manner, used the word *held* or *held*, before that of *reiter* or *vitt-r*.

⁴ *Anglorum erat consuetudo quod qui militie legitime consecrandus esset, vespere precedente . . .* (Ingulf. Croyl. hist., apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 70.)

⁵ *Demum miles legitimus permaneret.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Hanc consecrandi milites consuetudinem Normanni abominantur, non militem legitimum talem tenebant, sed accordem equitem et quiritam degenerem deputabant.* (Ibid.)

⁷ Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Normans, i. 140.

⁸ See Book iv. p. 75.

⁹ See Book v. p. 99.

¹⁰ *Venit Turoldus abbas et centum et sexaginta homines cum illo, omnes bene armati . . .* (Froissart men mid him.) Chron. Saxon., ed. Gibson, p. 177.

¹¹ *For thes mynstres holdaippe.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Turoldus abbas . . . terras bene congregatas male distraxit et dedit eis parentibus et militibus suis.* (Ex lib. Hugonis monachi Petriburgensis; Lelandi collectanea, i. 14.)

of high rank.¹ While Ives entered the wood on one side, Hereward quitted it on the other, surprised the abbot and his Normans, made them all prisoners, and kept them in the fens until they had paid for their ransom a sum of three thousand marks.²

Meanwhile the Danish fleet, which, after having wintered in the mouth of the Humber, had departed in the spring of 1070 without fighting, and had thus caused the second taking of York, reached the ports of Denmark. Its chiefs were ill received on their return by king Sweyn, whose orders they had violated in suffering themselves to be gained over by William. The irritated king banished his brother Osbiorn; and, assuming the command of his fleet in person, set sail for Great Britain.³ He entered the Humber; and, at the first rumour of his approach, the inhabitants of the adjacent country again rose, went to meet the Danes, and renewed their alliance with them.⁴ But in that country, so devastated, so utterly dejected by military executions, there were no longer sufficient means efficacious to attempt a great resistance. The Danish king repassed the sea, while his captains and warriors, continuing their course southward, entered the bay of Boston, and, ascending the rivers Ouse and Glen, arrived in the isle of Ely, where they were welcomed by the refugees as friends and liberators.⁵

As soon as king William was informed of the arrival of the Danish fleet, he sent with all speed messages and presents to king Sweyn in Denmark; and that king, who so short a time before had punished his brother for betraying the Saxons, being now himself gained over—by what means is not known, for there are many obscurities in the history of those remote times,—betrayed them in his turn.⁶ The Danes stationed in their vessels near Ely were ordered to retreat. They did not content themselves with simply withdrawing, but seized and carried away with them part of the treasure of the insurgents, and, amongst other things, the crosses, sacred vessels, and other ornaments of the abbey of Peterborough. Thereupon, as in the year 1069, the Norman king assembled all his forces against the forsaken Saxons. The camp of refuge was invested by land and by water, and on every side the assailants constructed dikes and bridges over the marshes. Hereward and the Saxon chiefs, amongst whom was Siward Beorn, a former companion of king Edgar in his flight, resisted bravely for some time. William commenced constructing a causeway across the rush-covered pools, which it was requisite to carry on to a distance of three thousand paces; but the constructors were continually disturbed and harassed in their labours. Hereward made such sudden assaults, and devised such unforeseen stratagems, that the Normans attributed his successes to assistance from the devil. Desirous, therefore, of com-

bating him with his own weapons, they had recourse to magic. Ivo Taille-Bois, appointed by the king to superintend the works, caused a sorceress to be brought hither, who should, as he hoped, disconcert by her enchantments all the stratagems of war of the Saxons.⁷ The witch was placed on a high wooden tower at the head of the commenced work; but, at the moment when the soldiers and workmen were advancing under her protection with the greatest confidence, Hereward debouched on one flank to windward, and, setting fire to the fields of reeds, destroyed in the flames the sorceress and the greater part of the Norman labourers and men-at-arms.⁸

This was not the only success of the insurgents; notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's strength and tactics, their activity arrested his progress. For several months the district of Ely was completely blockaded like a town during a siege, receiving no supplies from without. There was in the island a convent of monks, who, unable to support the famine and miseries of the siege, sent to William's camp, and offered to point out to him a passage if he would promise to leave them in possession of their property.⁹ The offer of the monks was accepted; and two Norman barons, Gilbert de Clare and William de Warenne, pledged their word for the execution of the treaty. Owing to the treason of the monks of Ely, the Norman troops penetrated unexpectedly into the island, killed a thousand of the English, and, closely investing the camp of refuge, compelled the rest to lay down their arms.¹⁰

All surrendered, except Hereward, who, daring to the last, made his retreat through the most dangerous places, where the Normans did not venture to pursue him.¹¹ He went from marsh to marsh, until he reached the low lands of Lincolnshire, where some Saxon fishermen, who carried fish every day to a neighbouring Norman post, received him and his companions into their boats and hid them under heaps of straw. The boats arrived near the post as usual; and the chief and his soldiers, knowing the fishermen, by sight, conceived neither alarm nor suspicion, but prepared their repast, and quietly sat down to it under their tents. Hereward and his followers then rushed with their battle-axes upon the foreigners, who were entirely unprepared, and slew a considerable number of them. The remainder took to flight, abandoning the post intrusted to their charge, and leaving their horses ready saddled, which were seized by the English.¹² This bold coup-de-main was not the last exploit of the great captain of the English guerillas: he visited several other places with his band recruited afresh; and wherever he went he laid ambushes for the Normans, being un-

⁷ *Quandam sortilegam exercitui preponere, et ejus carminibus et fumes incantationibus adversarios non posse resistere. (Petri Blesensis Contin. Ingulf., apud rer. Anglie. script., i. 124, ed. Gale.)*

⁸ *Occurrebat à latere sagacissimus baro Herewardus de Brunna, arundinetum proximum inflammans, et tam magam quam milites omnes foco et flammâ extinguens. (Ibid., p. 125.)*

⁹ *John Stow's Annals, p. 114, Lond. 1631.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Præter Herewardum solum singulosque ejus sequaces, quos ipse viriliter eduxit. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 181.)*

¹² *Chronique de Geoffroy Gaymar; chron. Anglo-Norm., i. 19.*

¹ *Sed venerabilis abbas ac majores proceres angustias sylvarum ingredi formidantes. (Petri Blesensis Continatio Ingulf., apud rer. Anglie. script., i. 125, ed. Gale.)*

² *In locis abditis custodivit. (Ibid.)*

³ *Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 636.*

⁴ *Et ejus regionis hæc ei obviâ venerunt, et fœdus inibat cum eo. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 176.)*

⁵ *Deinde venerunt in Ely, atque Angli de omni partem terrâ illi sese adjunxerunt. (Ibid.)*

⁶ *Tunc duo reges Willelmus et Swanus in gratiam rediere. (Ibid., p. 177.)*

willing, says a writer of that day, that the fate of his countrymen should be unavenged.¹ He had around him one hundred followers well armed, and the fidelity of whom was above all suspicion: among these the most distinguished, valiant, and devoted to their chief, were Winter his brother in arms, Gherik his own relative, Alfrik, Rudgang, and Sexwold. An ancient poet testifies that, when any one of these met with three Normans, he never declined the combat; and their stout chieftain himself was often known to make head against seven of his foemen.² It appears that the glory with which Hereward had covered himself not only endeared his name to the affections of the Saxons, but gained him the love of a lady named Alfrude, who had remained in possession of large estates, probably because her family had early declared for the new king. She offered her hand to the rebel chief through an admiration of his courage; yet she also feared the dangers and adventures he so constantly encountered, and used her empire over him in persuasions tending to lead him to a life of repose, and to make his peace with the conqueror.³

Hereward, who loved her much, listened to her counsels, and, as the people then expressed themselves, accepted the king's peace. Such peace, however, could at best prove but a momentary truce: despite the word given by William, and perhaps according to the monarch's secret orders, the Normans soon sought an opportunity for ridding themselves of the redoubtable Saxon chief. His mansion was several times treacherously assailed; and one day, when after his dinner he was taking repose in the open air, a troop of armed men, among whom there were several Bretons, surprised and surrounded him. He was without his coat of mail, and had for arms only a sword and a short pike, with which the Saxons were constantly provided. Suddenly awakened by the noise, he arose, and, without showing alarm at their number, he exclaimed, "Fell traitors, the king has accorded me his peace; but if you are desirous of seizing my lands, or of taking my life, I will sell them dear!"⁴ Saying these words, Hereward drove his lance with so much strength against a knight who stood opposite to him, that he pierced his breast through his hauberk. Though he received divers wounds, he continued to strike with the half-pike, so long as it lasted unshivered; he then brandished his sword, and, having broken his weapon by a blow over the helm of one of his assailants, he still fought with the haft that remained in his grasp. The tradition says that fifteen Normans had already fallen around him, when he was pierced, at one moment, by the thrust of four

lances.⁵ He still had strength to remain kneeling, and in that posture, seizing a buckler that lay on the ground, he struck Raoul de Dol so rude a blow with it on the face, that the Breton knight fell dead, but at this instant Hereward himself fainted and expired. The leader of the band, named Asselin, cut off his head, swearing, by the virtue of God, that he had never in his life beheld so valiant a man. Afterwards a proverbial rhyme, popular among the Anglo-Saxons, and even among the Normans, had for its import, that, if there had been four men like unto him in England, never would the French have made good their entrance, and that, if he had not died by this treacherous assault upon him, he would have sooner or later driven them all from the island.⁶

Thus was destroyed, in the year 1072, the camp of Ely, which had for a moment given hopes of liberty to five provinces. Long after the dispersion of the brave men who had taken refuge in it there were still to be found in that swampy corner of land the traces of their entrenchments and the remains of a wooden fort, which the inhabitants of the place called Hereward's castle.⁷ Many of those who had laid down their arms had their hands chopped off, or their eyes put out; and, with cruel derision, the conqueror set them at large in this dreadful condition.⁸ Others were imprisoned in strong castles in every part of England. Archbishop Stigand was condemned to perpetual seclusion. Eghelwin bishop of Durham, accused by the Normans of having robbed his church of its treasures, because he had devoted them to the patriotic cause, was confined at Abingdon, and a few months afterwards died of hunger.⁹ Another bishop, Eghelrik, was imprisoned in the abbey of Westminster for having, said the sentence pronounced by the foreign judges, disturbed the public peace, and committed many acts of piracy.¹⁰ But the judgment of the English and the public sentiment respecting him were very different; his conduct was lauded so long as he lived, and after his decease he was honoured as a saint. Fathers taught their children to pray to him for his intercession, and for a century there still came visitors and pilgrims to his tomb.¹¹

(A.D. 1072 to 1073.) The treachery of the monks of Ely soon received its reward: forty men-at-arms occupied their convent as a military post, and lived there in free quarters. Every morning the cellarist was obliged to distribute among them their

¹ *Insidias exquisitas.* (Math. Paris., i. 7.)—*Inultis abire ad inferos non permisit.* (Hist. Ingulf. Croyland., i. 71.)

² En plusieurs lius ceo avint,
Encontre vii. très bien se tint.
(Chronique de Geoffroy Gaymar; chron. Anglo-Norm., i. 22.)

³ Ceo fut Alfrude qe ço manda
A Eward, qe mult ama, . . .
Au roi se devoit acorder.
(Ibid., p. 22.)

⁴ Mult fièrement dist as François:
Trives m' avoit doné il rois
Fel traitres, vendrai moi cher.
(Ibid., p. 24.)

⁵ Mes liij. vindrent a son dos
Qui l'ont feru par mi le cors,
Od liij. lances l'ont feru.
(Ibid., p. 26.)

⁶ Et s'il eust én od lui trois,
Mar i entrassent li François;
E s'il ne fust lesi occis,
Touz les chagast fors del pais.
(Ibid., p. 27.)

⁷ *Quod usque in hodiernum diem Castellum Herewardi à conprovincialibus nuncupatur.* (Math. Paris., i. 7.)

⁸ *Manibus truncatis vel oculis erutis abire permisit.* (Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 367.)

⁹ *Direpti ecclesie thesauri accusatus, in carcerem detrusus est, ubi et nimio dolore et inedia seu spontanea seu coacta obiit.* (Hist. episcop. Dunelm.; Anglia Sacra, i. 703.)

¹⁰ *Quod turbasset pacem regiam, piraticam adorsus.* (Will. Malmesh. de gest. pontif. Angl. lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 277, ed. Saville.)

¹¹ *Sanctitatis opinione apud homines concepit; hodiè que tumultus ejus nec votis nec frequentia petitorum caret.* (Ibid.)

pay and provisions in the great hall of the chapter.¹ The monks complained bitterly of the violation of the treaty which they had concluded with the king. The answer was, that it was necessary the isle of Ely should be guarded.² They then offered a sum of seven hundred marks to be freed from the charge of maintaining the foreign soldiers; and this sum, which they procured by stripping their church, was carried to Picot the Norman, the royal viscount at Cambridge. The viscount had the silver weighed; and, finding that there happened to be a drachm wanting, he accused the monks judicially of the crime of fraud against the king, and had them condemned by his court to pay three hundred marks more, in reparation for this offence.³ After the payment of the one thousand marks, royal commissioners were sent, who took away from the convent of Ely whatever valuables remained, and surveyed the lands of the abbey in order to divide them into fiefs.⁴ The monks made lamentations to which no one listened: they invoked pity on their church,—once (said they) the fairest among the daughters of Jerusalem,—now, suffering and oppressed.⁵ But not a tear was shed for them, not a hand was raised in their cause.

After the complete defeat and dispersion of the refugees in the isle of Ely, the Norman land and sea forces marched into the northern counties, to overthrow all opponents by a species of *battue*, and to put a final stop to new assemblages of the people. For the first time passing the Tweed, William entered the Scotch territory, in order to seize on all the English who had there sought a refuge, and to terrify king Malcolm, who, at their solicitation, had the same year made a foray in Northumberland.⁶ The emigrants escaped from this pursuit, in the forests and mountains; but the king of Scotland, being intimidated at the sight of troops better disciplined and equipped with better arms than his own were, went to meet king William with every demonstration of pacific intentions, touched his hand in sign of amity, promised to consider his enemies as his own, and of his own accord acknowledged himself to be his vassal and *liege-man*, as was then the customary expression.⁷

William retired, satisfied with having deprived the Saxon cause of its last remaining support; and, on his return from Scotland, was received at Durham by bishop Vaulcher, a native of Lorraine, whom the Normans had put in the place of Eghelwin, recently degraded by them, as we have related, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It appears that the melancholy fate of the Saxon prelate had excited in the north a violent hatred against the prelate chosen by the foreigners. Although the town of Durham, situated upon heights, was

very strong by its position, Vaulcher did not think himself sufficiently secure against the aversion of the Northumbrians. At his request, say the chronicles, the king had a citadel built on the highest of the hills, where the bishop and his people might sojourn in safety from every kind of attack.⁸ Bishop Vaulcher, after his consecration at Winchester, had been accompanied as far as York by a numerous escort of Norman knights; and the Saxon Gospatrik, who, for the consideration of a large sum of money, had been created count of all the country beyond the Tyne, came to York to receive the Lorraine pontiff and conduct him to Durham.⁹ This good office rendered to the cause of the conquest was not sufficient to make William forget that Gospatrik was an Englishman and had been a patriot: no subsequent servility could wash out this original stain.

Within the first year William deprived the noble Saxon of the dignity for which he had paid, and did so without making him any restitution; the reason he alleged was, that Gospatrik had fought in the defence of York, and had taken part in the insurrection in which Robert Comine perished.¹⁰ Seized with chagrin and remorse, as archbishop Eldred formerly had been, Gospatrik for ever abandoned his native land, and established himself in Scotland, where his family long continued to dwell in honour and opulence.¹¹ The government, or (to use the Norman expression) the county of Northumberland, was then given to Waltheof son of Siward, who, like Gospatrik, had fought in the Saxon ranks at York, but whose fatal hour had not yet arrived.

(A.D. 1073.) After this series of successful expeditions, king William, finding in England a moment of profound depression, or of happy peace, as the conquerors termed it, ventured on a second journey into Gaul, whither he was called by disturbances there and an opposition raised against his power. The county of Maine, dovetailed as it were between the two more powerful territories of Normandy and Anjou, seemed destined by its local position to be reduced under feudal subjection by one or the other of those states. But, notwithstanding the dangers of such a vicinity and the inferiority of their own forces, the Manceaux frequently made a vigorous struggle for the re-establishment of their independence; and in the eleventh century it was a remark made respecting them, that they were of a haughty and obdurate character, little disposed to yield obedience to any one.¹² Some years antecedent to his invasion of England, William had been recognised as *suzerain* of Maine by Herbert, count of that province, a mortal enemy of the Angevin power, and whose nocturnal forays into the neighbouring townships of Anjou had acquired for him the droll yet descriptive appellation of *Eveille-Chien*. As vassals of the duke of Normandy, the Manceaux had very

¹ Militum numerum infra aulam ecclesie quotidie victam de manu celerarii capientem atque stipendia. (Thomæ Eliensis, hist. El.: Anglia Sacra, l. 612.)

² Ob custodiam. (Ibid.)

³ John Stow's Annals, p. 114.

⁴ Quicquid optimum in ornamentis et in rebus aliis . . . quecumque bona ac predia ecclesie suis militibus divisit. (Thomæ Eliensis, hist., Anglia Sacra, l. 610.)

⁵ Quondam famosissima, inter filias Jerusalem speciosa, calamitatis nunc oppressa amaritudine. (Hist. Eliensis, ed. Gale, iii. 501.)

⁶ Credens aliquos ibidem de hostibus suis indomitis et profugis, penes regem vel suos delituisse. (Math. Westm. flor. histor., p. 227.)—Math. Paris, l. 7.

⁷ Rex ad manus veniens deditionem fecit . . . accepto regis Scotorum, cum obsidibus, homagio. (Math. Paris, l. 6.)

⁸ Ubi se episcopus, cum suis, tutè ab incurstantibus habere potuisset. (Roger. de Hoved. Annales, p. 454, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Suscepit pontificem perducendum. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Multa emptam pecuniâ comitatum. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., i. 41.)—Quia in parte hostium fuisset, cum Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur. (Roger. de Hoved.)

¹¹ Roger. de Hoved., p. 424, ed. Savile.—Dugdale's Baronage.

¹² Cenomanis a caninâ rabie dicta, uris est antiqua, et plebs ejus finitimis prolix et sanguinolenta, dominisque suis semper contumax et rebellions avida. (Ord. Vital. hist. eccl., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., 531.)

willingly sent to William their contingent of chevaliers and of bow-men; but, when they saw him engaged by all the cares and the embarrassments consequent upon his insular conquest, they imagined that they might be enabled to deliver themselves from the Norman yoke. Their nobles, their military, and their burgesses, in short, every constituent of their population, alike endeavoured to effect their patriotic purpose. The castles garrisoned by Norman soldiers were attacked and successively taken: Turgis de Tracy and Guillaume de la Ferté, the commandants of the citadel of Le Mans, surrendered that fortress, and quitted the country, together with all their Norman compatriots who had succeeded in escaping from the reprisals and vengeance of the populace.¹

The excitement caused by this insurrection did not subside when Maine was restored to its national lords; but in the chief city a revolution of a new kind broke out. After having combated for the independence of their country, the citizens of Le Mans began in their peaceful homes to think the rule of their count inconvenient and vexatious, and became irritated at many minor things which they had heretofore submissively tolerated. When, therefore, the first impost that fell rather weightily upon them was levied, they formed a conspiracy, and, taking a mutual oath to support each other, they established what, in the phraseology of that period, was called a *commune*.² The bishop of Le Mans, the nobles of that city, and Geoffroi de Mayenne, tutor to the reigning count, were obliged, either by constraint or fear, to swear to maintain the commune, and thus confirmed by their oaths the laws newly established against their own legitimate authority; some nobles dwelling in the environs of the city refused, and the burgesses, in order to reduce them, made immediate preparations for the attack of their country mansions and their hotels in the town of Mans. The different parishes therefore assembled, having a cross and banner at the head of each company, and marched upon the proposed expeditions: notwithstanding the ostentation of religion, they made war with ferocity, and their cruelty and anger was such as is generally evinced in political agitations. They were reproached with unscrupulously carrying on their warfare during Lent and the holy week; as also with showing an extreme severity in the summary execution of justice upon their adversaries, of whom they hanged many and mutilated others, without any respect for the rank of the sufferers.³ Thus rendered an object of hatred to nearly all the noble families of their country, the commune of Mans defended its liberties with the most obstinate resolution, and this at a period when free institutions were rare. A plot, which secured the fortress of that city, and delivered it into the hands of count Geoffroi de Mayenne, was the cause of the citizens coming to an action in the streets, and with their own hands setting fire to their houses, for the purpose of carrying on the siege of the citadel.

This sacrifice they performed with the courageous devotedness to their cause which half a century later animated all the great communes of the kingdom of France on occasion of a similar outburst of popular feeling.⁴

It was during this struggle between feudal power and the liberty of citizens that the king of England made his preparatives for invading Maine and imposing his dominion as lord upon both the rival parties. Having the talent, very serviceable to his views and policy, of profiting by every occasion, he commanded that throughout his kingdom all men of English race, who were willing, should enrol themselves in his service as stipendiaries: he reckoned that the wretched condition to which the nation was reduced would cause the temptations of plunder, which a foreign war held out, to be listened to by his subjects. Men who no longer possessed a fireside or a home, and many of the dispersed bands of patriots who remained lurking in many spots in England, also some of the chiefs who had distinguished themselves in the camp of refuge of Ely, joined the royal Norman standard, though they ceased not to detest the Normans. They felt an undissembled gladness in departing for the war against men who, though the actual enemies of king William, seemed to them to be of his nation, from the conformity of language. Not caring, moreover, to consider whether the Manceaux had willingly or by obligation taken part in the invasion seven years antecedently, they now marched against them with the Conqueror as their chief, and thus sought a partial vengeance for the wrongs of the Anglo-Saxons. So soon as they entered the territory of Maine they indulged their nearly frantic rage in the commission of all kinds of devastation and rapine; they rooted up the vineyards, cut down the woods, burnt the hamlets, and, in a word, did all the injury in Maine that they would fain have done to Normandy.⁵ The terror caused by their excesses contributed more than the valour of the Norman knights, or even than the presence of king William, towards the submission of the country. The fortresses and the castles surrendered, for the most part, before the first assault; and the chief citizens of Le Mans carried the keys of their town to the king at his camp on the banks of the Sarthe. They took the oaths to him as their lawful lord, and William in return promised to maintain their ancient franchises, but without recognising, as it appears, the validity of the communal establishment. His army then returned across the channel to England, where the Saxon soldiers landed with all their booty; but these ill-acquired riches became fatal to many of their number, since they excited the envy and cupidity of the Normans.⁶

While these things were passing, Edgar Atheling went from Scotland into Flanders to negotiate with the count of that country, the political rival though the relative of William, for some success for the Saxon cause, then more desperate than ever. Finding all his efforts unsuccessful, he re-

¹ *Ejiciant, quosdam perimunt, et, cum libertate, de Normannis ultionem assunt.* (Ord. Vital., 532.)

² *Facti igitur conspiratione quam communionem vocabant, sese omnes pariter sacramentis astringunt.* (Gest. pontif. Cenoman., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 540.)

³ *Cu. q. conspirationis audacia innumera scelera commiserunt, passim plurimos sine aliquo judicio condemnantes, multitudinis agmina concitantes, congregatoque exercitu, cum crucibus et vexillis.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Gest. pontif. Cenoman., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii., 540.*—See *Lettres sur l'histoire de France.*

⁵ *Urbes, vicos et vineas cum frugibus depopulantes, omnem provinciam debiliorem simul et pauperiorem multo post tempore reliquerunt.* (Math. Paris., l. 9.)

⁶ *Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 533.*—*Gest. pontif. Cenoman., xii. 539.*

turned to Scotland, where he was surprised to receive a friendly message from Philip king of France, the first of that name.¹ Philip, alarmed at the success of the Norman king in Maine, had resolved, by aiding the Saxons, to throw obstacles in his way that should render him less active on the continent. He invited king Edgar to come to him and assist at his council; he promised him a fortress on the shore of the Strait, near enough to England to make descents upon that island, and to Normandy to commit ravages therein.² Edgar accepted this proposal, and put everything in readiness for his voyage to France. King Malcolm, his brother-in-law, having become William's liegeman and vassal, could not, without breaking his faith, furnish the Saxon with soldiers for this enterprise. He contented himself with giving him secret assistance in money, and, according to the custom of the age, distributing arms and clothes among the companions of his fortunes.³ Edgar set sail; but he had scarcely put out to sea when his vessels were dispersed and driven back by a violent storm.⁴ A part of them ran aground on the northern coast of England, and those on board were made prisoners by the Normans; the rest perished at sea.⁵ The Saxon king and the principal persons who accompanied him escaped both these dangers, and, having lost all, returned to Scotland, some on foot, says a cotemporary chronicle,⁶ and others poorly mounted. After this misfortune Malcolm advised his brother-in-law no longer to struggle against fate, but once more to ask peace of the Conqueror.⁷ Edgar, allowing himself to be persuaded, sent a message to king William, who invited the Saxon prince to come over to him into Normandy. On his way thither he passed through the whole of England, escorted by the Norman chiefs and counts of the provinces, and was hospitably received in their castles.⁸ He resided for the space of eleven years at the court of Rouen, where he lived in the king's palace, wore his uniform, gave his attention to dogs and horses, and to hunting, more than to political concerns.⁹ But, after those eleven years had passed away, he experienced a feeling of regret, and returned to England to dwell among his countrymen.¹⁰ He eventually retired again to Normandy, and passed his whole life in the same state of irresolution, incapable of taking any decided part, the sport of events, and possessing a character without energy or elevation.¹¹

(A.D. 1074.) The mournful destiny of the English people already seemed irretrievably fixed. In

¹ Misit rex de Francia (of France vice) litteras ad eum. (Chron. Saxon. frag. sub anno MLXXV., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

² Voluit dare ei castellum apud Mustrelam (Montreuil) ut ille posset inde quotidie ejus inimicis incommoda inferre. (Ibid.)

³ Dederunt ei magna dona et multas opes et omnibus ejus hominibus. (Chron. Saxon. loco suprâ cit.)

⁴ Et furens ventus eos in terram conjecit. (Ibid.)

⁵ Nonnulli capti à Francis hominibus. (Ibid.)

⁶ Alii funestè pedibus iter facientes, alii miserè (earnlice) equitantes. (Ibid.)

⁷ Tum consilium dedit rex Malcolmus ei. (Chron. Saxon. frag., apud gloss. Ed. Lye, vol. ii. ad finem.)

⁸ Et suppeditavit ei cibum et pasulum apud omne castellum. (Ibid.)

⁹ Et ille erat in ejus familiâ. (Ibid.)—Willelm. Malmesb., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie, script., p. 103, ed. Savile.

¹⁰ Recessit à rege. (Annales Waverleicienses, sub anno MLXXXVI., apud rer. Anglie, script., ii. 133, ed. Gale.)

¹¹ Will. Malmesb., ii. 133.

the silence of all opposition, a sort of calm—the calm of discouragement—reigned throughout the country. The foreign brokers displayed without fear, in the towns and boroughs, cloths and arms manufactured on the continent, which they came to exchange for the booty of the conquest.¹² A man might travel, says the cotemporary historian, and carry with him his weight in gold, without being addressed by any one in an unfriendly manner.¹³ The Norman soldier, in more quiet possession of his share of land or money, less disturbed by nocturnal alarms, less frequently obliged to sleep in his hauberk with his hand upon his cross-bow, became less violent and less contemptuous. Even the conquered sunk into the false tranquillity of servitude.¹⁴ The English women had to dread fewer insults to their modesty; and a great number of those who had fled into the monasteries and taken the veil as a safeguard from the licentiousness of the conquerors,¹⁵ began to desire the termination of this forced retreat, and wished to return to social life and to their families.

But it was not so easy for the Saxon women to quit the cloister as to enter it. The Norman priests held the keys of the monasteries, as the Norman barons held those of the cities; and it was necessary that these sovereign masters of the bodies and souls of the English should deliberate, in solemn assembly, on the question of setting at liberty such women as had taken the veil as a matter of necessity, but otherwise unwillingly. Archbishop Lanfranc presided at this council, which was attended by all the bishops appointed by king William, together with several abbots of Normandy and other persons of high rank. The primate's opinion was, that such of the English women as had taken refuge in the convents in order to save their chastity ought not to be punished for obeying the sacred precepts, but that the doors of the cloisters should be opened to all who requested it.¹⁶ This opinion prevailed in the Norman council, not so much perhaps from its being the most humane view of the case, as from its being that entertained by king William's counsellor and friend. Each female recluse who still had a family, a home, and protectors, was thus permitted to leave the cloister.

About the same time, William son of Osbert, William's first captain and counsellor, died a violent death in Flanders, where, for a woman's love, he had engaged in political intrigues.¹⁷ The eldest of his sons, called after himself, inherited his lands in Normandy; and Roger, the youngest, obtained his English domains with the county of Hereford. The latter became guardian of his young sister, named Emma, and, charging himself with providing her a dowry, shortly contracted for her a marriage with Raulf de Gaël, a Breton lord, who had be-

¹² Fora urbana gallicis mercibus et mangonibus referta conspiceres. (Orleric. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. Normann., p. 580.)

¹³ Etiam aureis thesauris onerati viderentur. (Math. Westmonast., p. 229.)

¹⁴ Securitas aliquanta habitatores terras refovebat, . . . civilliter Angli cum Normannis vivebant. (Orleric. Vital., p. 520.)

¹⁵ Normannorum libidinem . . . suo pudori metuentes monasteria virginum petivère; acceptoque velo, sese inter ipsas à tantâ infamiâ protexère. (Eadmeri Historia, p. 37.)

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Totus in amorem mulieris. (Will. Malmesb., lib. iii., ed. Savile, p. 105.)

come count of Norfolk.¹ It is not known for what reason this alliance was displeasing to the king, who sent over from Normandy expressly to forbid its conclusion. The parties disregarded the arbitrary prohibition; and, on the day fixed for the ceremony, the bride was conducted to Norwich, the principal town of the county of Norfolk, where (says the Saxon chronicle) there was held a nuptial feast which proved fatal to all who attended it.² There came to it Norman bishops and barons, Saxons, friends of the Normans, and even Welshmen, invited by the count of Hereford; Waltheof son of Siward, who had received the hand of the king's niece, and was created earl of Huntingdon, Northampton, and Northumberland, was one of the most illustrious guests.³ After a sumptuous repast, after which the wine circulated liberally, the tongues of all who partook of it gave utterance to their real sentiments. Roger of Hereford haughtily blamed the refusal of king William to sanction the union of his sister with the earl of Norfolk; he complained of it as an affront to the memory of his father, of the man to whom the Bastard, he said, unquestionably owed his conquest and his kingdom.⁴ The Saxons, who had received from William far more cruel injuries, vehemently applauded the Norman earl's invectives, and, the minds of the company becoming more and more heated, there at length arose on all sides a concert of execrations against the conqueror of England.⁵

"He is a bastard, a man of mean origin," said the Normans; "he has a poor right to style himself a king; it is clearly evident that he is not fit to be one, and that he is not acceptable to God."⁶ "He poisoned Conan, that valiant count of Brittany," said the Bas-Bretons, "whose loss our country still mourns."⁷ "He has invaded the noble kingdom of England," cried the Saxons in their turn; "he has unjustly massacred the true heirs thereof, or driven them into exile."⁸ "And those who were his companions in arms, or who have since come to his aid," resumed the foreigners, "those who have raised him to higher station than any of his forefathers ever attained, he has not honoured as he ought to have done; he is ungrateful to those who have shed their blood in his service."⁹ What, after all our conquests and our many wounds, has he bestowed upon us? He has given us estates desolated by pillage, and sterile lands; and no sooner does he see our fiefs improved by our care than his avarice takes them from us, or deprives us of the better part of them."¹⁰ "True! true!" ex-

claimed all the guests tumultuously; "he is hateful to all men; his death would give joy to many."¹¹

After these several speeches, which were uttered in the confusion and excitement of such a scene, one of the two Norman earls who were there present arose, and, addressing Waltheof, exclaimed, "Valiant Saxon, this is the moment to declare thyself, this the hour for thy revenge and thy high fortune."¹² Unite thyself unto us, and we shall re-establish the kingdom of England in all things as it was in the days of king Edward. One of us three shall be king, the other two shall command in his name, and every fief and dignity in the kingdom shall be held from us.¹³ William is occupied beyond sea by interminable quarrels, and we take it for certain that he will not again pass the Strait.¹⁴ Come, then, brave warrior, join thyself unto us: do that which is best for thyself, for thy family, and for thy nation—depressed and trodden under foot."¹⁵ At these words fresh acclamations arose; counts Roger and Raulf, several bishops and abbots, with a great number of Norman barons and Saxon warriors, conspired against king William, and took an oath to support each other.¹⁶ Waltheof, after a show of resistance which served to prove his little relish for this heterogeneous association, yielded to their persuasions, and entered into the plot. Roger of Hereford repaired with all speed to his province to assemble his friends. He engaged in his cause many of the Welsh borderers: some of these joined him for pay, others through hatred for the Conqueror, who threatened the Cambrian independence.¹⁷ As soon as earl Roger had thus gathered together all his forces he marched towards the east, where the other conspirators awaited his arrival. But when he would have passed the Severn, at the bridge of Worcester, he found preparations for defence formidable enough to stop him; and before he could discover another passage, the Norman Ours, or the Bear, viscount of Worcester, and bishop Wulfstan, the faithful friend of king William, marched with a body of troops upon different points of the eastern bank of the river. Eghelwig, the courtier-like abbot who had made himself the instrument of the extortions and tyrannies exercised by the foreigners against his countrymen, prevailed on the population of Gloucestershire, by his intrigues, to hearken more willingly to the call of the royal chiefs than to the proclamations and promises of the Norman conspirator.¹⁸ The Saxon inhabitants assembled under the banner of the Norman count Walter de Lacy against Roger of Hereford and his Welshmen, whose inroad did not appear to them truly and clearly connected with their own national cause. Between two parties to which they were equally indifferent, they under such circumstances espoused that which

¹ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 182.

² Ubi esse nuptiæ erant omnibus qui aderant fatales. (Ibid.)

³ Plures episcopi et abbates cum baronibus et bellatoribus multis. (Math. Paris., i. 9.)—Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 183.

⁴ Willelm. Malmesb., p. 104, ed. Savile.

⁵ Ceperunt unanimiter in regis proditorem, voce clamorâ, consperire. (Math. Paris., i. 9.)

⁶ Degener, utpotè nothus, est qui rex nuncupatur. (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 534.)

⁷ Conamum strenuissimum consulem veneno interfecit. (Ibid.) See Book iii. p. 63.

⁸ Nobile regnum Angliæ temerè invasit, geminos heredes injustè trucidavit, vel in exilium crudeliter pepulit. (Orderic. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 534.)

⁹ Suos quoque adjutores, per quos super omne genus suum sublimatus est. . . . (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Vulneratâ victoribus, steriles fundos et desolatos . . . postmodum, avaritiâ cogente, abstulit seu minoravit. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Omnibus igitur est odio; et si periret, multis esset gaudium. (Ibid.)

¹² Ecce peroptatum tempus, ô strenue vir. (Ibid.)

¹³ Unus ex nobis sit rex, et duo sint duces. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Pro certo æimus quod in Angliam rediturus non est. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Tibi, generique tuo, omnique genti tuæ, quæ prostrata est. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Ingenti plausu dicenti acclamant. (Willelm. Malmesb., de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud script. Anglic. script., p. 104, ed. Savile.)

¹⁷ Allexerunt il Britones in suas partes, et congregaverunt suos contra regem. (Chron. Saxon., p. 182.)

¹⁸ Restitit Wulfstanus Wigorniensis episcopus, cum magnâ militari manu, et Egelwius Eveshamensis abbas cum suis. (Script. rerum Danic., iii. 207.)—See Book iv. p. 81.

was the least perilous for themselves, and consented to serve king William, although they bore him a deadly hatred. In his absence abroad, it was the primate Lanfranc who, under the title of the king's deputy, administered all state affairs.¹ He despatched troops in great haste from London and from Winchester towards the province where Roger was then kept in check, and at the same time he issued against him a sentence of excommunication couched in the following terms:—

"Since thou hast departed from the rule of conduct pursued by thy father—since thou hast renounced the faith which he all his life kept towards his lord, and which caused him to acquire so much wealth,—by virtue of my canonical authority I curse thee, excommunicate thee, and exclude thee from the pale of the church and from the communion of the faithful."² Lanfranc also wrote to the king in Nonnandy, to inform him of the revolt, and the hope which he entertained of speedily putting an end to it. "With pleasure," said he, "and as one sent from God, should we now behold you among us. Be not, however, in haste to cross the sea; for it would be disgraceful to us that you should have to come to assist us in putting to flight a handful of traitors and robbers."³ The first of these epithets seems to have been designed for the Normans who followed earl Roger, and the second for the Saxons, who were very numerous in the army of Raulf de Gaël, encamped near Cambridge, or who, encouraged by the presence of that army, began to stir in the maritime towns of the east, and to renew by messages their old negotiations with the Danes.⁴

The king of Denmark promised anew to send some land forces against king William; but, before the arrival of these succours, the earl of Norfolk's army was attacked with superior numbers by Odo bishop of Bayeux, Geoffroy bishop of Coutances, and William de Warenne. The battle was fought at a place called by the historians Fagadon.⁵ The Norman and Saxon conspirators were completely defeated, and it is related that the victors cut off the right foot of every one of their prisoners, of whatever nation or rank.⁶ Raulf de Gaël escaped, and hastened to shut himself up in his citadel at Norwich: he afterwards embarked to go and seek for aid among his friends in Lower Brittany, leaving his castle in the care of his bride and of his vassals.⁷ The daughter of William Fitz-Osbert for a long time resisted the efforts of the royal officers, and did not capitulate until compelled by famine.⁸ The men-at-arms who defended the fortress of Norwich surrendered on condition that their lives and limbs should be

spared, but that they should quit England within forty days.⁹ Lanfranc then wrote to king William, "Glorious be to God on high! your kingdom is at last purged from the filth of these Bretons."¹⁰ In fact, many men of that nation, who had followed William as auxiliaries or as adventurers in the Conquest, being now involved in Raulf de Gaël's disgrace, lost the lands which they had taken from the English.¹¹ While the friends of Raulf were thus vanquished and dispersed, those of Roger of Hereford were likewise defeated in the west and their chief captured.

William, before he passed over into England to enjoy this new triumph, made a hostile incursion into the territory of his neighbours the Bretons. He wished to pursue, in that province, the rebellious count Raulf de Gaël, and to attempt, under this pretext, the conquest of a portion of the country, which had been a constant object of the ambition and policy of his own ancestors.¹² But, after vainly besieging the town of Dol, he retired before the army of the Duke of Brittany, who marched against him aided by succours from the king of France. Then passing the Strait, he arrived in London at Christmas, to preside over the great council of the Norman barons, and to pass judgment on the authors and accomplices of the recent conspiracy.¹³ Raulf de Gaël, as being absent and contumacious, was dispossessed of all his property. Roger of Hereford, being a prisoner, appeared, and was condemned to lose all his lands, and pass the remainder of his life in one of the royal fortresses.¹⁴ Even in his prison his fierce and undaunted character would still prompt him to brave, by demonstrations of contempt, the king whom he had been unable to dethrone. One Easter, William, according to the custom of the Norman court, sent him, as if he had been free, a complete suit of precious stuffs, a silk tunic and mantle, and a close coat trimmed with foreign furs.¹⁵ Roger, having examined these rich vestments in detail, with a sort of apparent complaisance, ordered a great fire to be made, and threw them into it.¹⁶ The king, who did not expect that his gifts would be received in this manner, was violently enraged, and swore by the splendour of God (his favourite oath) that the man who had so grossly insulted him should never whilst living pass his prison-door.¹⁷

Having related the deplorable destiny of the son of the most powerful man in England, next to the king, and who had most incited William to undertake the Conquest,¹⁸ an historian born in England, although of foreign extraction, compassionating the miseries of his native country, exclaims with a

¹ Lanfrancus erat princeps et custos Angliæ. (Vita Lanfranci; Lanfranci Opera, p. 15.)

² Te, et omnes adjuatores tuos, maledixi et excommunicavi, atque à liminibus sanctæ ecclesiæ et consortio fidelium separavi. (Ibid., p. 321.)

³ Libenter vos videremus sicut angelum Dei . . . magnum nobis dedecus faceretur si, pro talibus perjuris et latronibus vincendis, ad nos veniretis. (Ibid., p. 317.)

⁴ Conjurata rebellio per regiones Angliæ subito erupit. (Ord. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 535.)—Communitur ad regem Danorum nuncios dirigentes. (Math. Paris., l. 9.)

⁵ In campo qui Fagaduna dicitur. (Ord. Vital., p. 535.)

⁶ Cujuscumque conditionis stat, dextrum pedem ut notentur amputant. (Ibid.)

⁷ Math. Paris., l. 9.

⁸ Deficientibus sibi alimentis. (Ibid.)

⁹ Concessâ eis vitâ cum membris. (Lanfranci Opera, p. 318.)

¹⁰ Gloria in excelsis Deo, cuius misericordiâ regnum vestrum purgatum est spurcitiâ Britonum. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Britones qui in eo erant, et terras in Angliâ terrâ habebant, concessâ eis vitâ cum membris, juraverunt quod intra quadraginta dies de regno vestro exirent. (Ibid.)

¹² Cupiens fines suos dilatare, sibi que Britones, ut sibi obsecundarent, subjugare. (Ord. Vital., p. 544.)

¹³ Curiam apud Westmonasterium tenuit. (Alfred. Bervel. Annal. de gest. reg. Britann., p. 134, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Structum pretiosorum vestium. (Ord. Vital., hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 535.)

¹⁶ Pyram ingentem autè se jussit preparari. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Per splendorem Dei, de carcere meo, in omni vitâ non exiit. (Ibid., p. 536.)

¹⁸ See Book iii. p. 62.

sort of patriotic enthusiasm, "Where is now that William son of Osbert, the king's vicar, earl of Hereford, seneschal of Normandy and of England; who was the chief and greatest oppressor of the English, and whose ambition or cupidity encouraged the fatal enterprise which caused so many thousand men to perish? He has fallen in his turn, and received that reward which he deserved.¹ He who had put so many men to the sword perished by the sword; and, after his death, the spirit of discord raised up his own son and son-in-law against their lord and kinsman. For this offence the race of William son of Osbert has been uprooted, and they now possess not in England a spot of ground on which to set their foot."² The royal vengeance fell heavy on all who were suspected of having partaken of the marriage-feast at Norwich; and even the town where it had been held was visited with indiscriminate punishment.³ Multiplied vexations ruined its Saxon citizens, and obliged a great number of them to remove into Suffolk, to the neighbourhood of Beccles and Halesworth. There three Normans, Roger Bigod, Richard de St. Clair, and William des Noyers, seized their persons and reduced them to the condition of serfs, although they had fallen into such a state of abject wretchedness as not to be of any real value to those nobles.⁴ Other Saxons, and the Welsh taken in arms on the banks of the Severn, had their eyes put out, or their limbs mangled, or were hung on gibbets, by sentence of the Norman counts, prelates, barons, and knights, who attended the king's bench of justice.⁵

While these things were performing, a numerous fleet, which had left Denmark under the command of a son of king Sweyn, who had once more become the friend of the English, approached the eastern coast: when, however, the Danes had learned what was passing, they did not venture to come to an action with the Normans, but put into the ports of Flanders.⁷ Waltheof was accused of having called them over by messages: he denied the imputation; but the Norman woman whom he had received in marriage from king William denounced the earl, and bore testimony against him.⁸ The voices of the assembly, or the court (as it was named at that time), were divided respecting the sentence to be passed on the Saxon chief. Some voted for death, he being an English rebel; others

for perpetual imprisonment, as an officer of the Norman king.⁹ (A.D. 1074 to 1075.) These debates were protracted for almost a year, during which time Waltheof was confined in the king's fortress of Winchester. At length his enemies prevailed, and, in one of the courts which were held three times a-year sentence of death was pronounced.¹⁰ The cotemporary English accuse Judith, the king's niece, married to Waltheof against her will, of having desired and urged his condemnation, which would at once make her a widow and free to marry again.¹¹ Moreover, many of the Normans coveted the three counties governed by the Saxon earl,¹² and Ives Taillebois, whose lands were adjoining to those of Waltheof, and who wished to enlarge his own, was one of the most eager for his destruction.¹³ The king himself, to whom Waltheof could no longer be useful, was glad to find a pretext for getting rid of him—a design which, according to the old narrators,¹⁴ he had long entertained.

(A.D. 1075.) Early in the morning, while the people of Winchester were yet asleep, the Normans led the Saxon chief without the walls of the town.¹⁵ Waltheof walked to the place of execution clothed in his earl's apparel, which he distributed among some priests, or gave to some poor people who had followed him, and whom the Normans permitted to approach on account of their small numbers and their entirely peaceful appearance. Having reached a hill at a short distance from the walls, the soldiers halted, and the Saxon, prostrating himself, prayed aloud for a few moments; but the Normans, fearing that too long a delay would cause a rumour of the intended execution to be spread in the town, and that the citizens would rise to save their fellow-countryman, exclaimed with impatience to Waltheof, "Arise, that we may fulfil our orders."¹⁶ He asked, as a last favour, that they would wait only until he had once more repeated, for them and for himself, the Lord's prayer.¹⁷ They allowed him to do so; and Waltheof, rising from the ground, but remaining on his knees, began aloud, "Our Father, who art in heaven" —: but at the verse "and lead us not into temptation," the executioner, seeing perhaps that daylight was beginning to appear, would wait no longer, but, suddenly drawing his large sword, struck off the Saxon's head at one blow.¹⁸ The body was thrown into a hole dug between two roads, and hastily covered with earth.¹⁹

(A.D. 1075 to 1076.) The English, who could not save Waltheof, put on mourning for him, and honoured him as a martyr, which was an epithet they had recently, for a like cause, given to bishop

¹ Ubi est Guillelmus Osberni filius? (Orderic. Vital. loc. supr. cit.)

² Receptit quod promeruit. (Ibid., p. 536.)

³ Guillelmi progenies eradicata sic est de Angliâ, ut nec passum pedis jam nanciscatur in illâ. (Ibid.)

⁴ Quotquot nuptiis interfuerunt apud Northwic. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 183.)

⁵ De burgensibus qui manserunt in burgo de Norwic abierunt et manent in Beccles xlii. et vi in Humilgar: et dimiserunt burgum In terrâ Rog. Bigot, i. et sub W. de Noyes, i. et Ricard. de Sent-Cler. i. Isti fugientes et alii remanentes, omnino sunt vastati, partim propter forisfacturas Rodulphi comitis, partim propter arsuram, partim propter gelum regis, partim propter Walerannum. (Domesday-book, li. 117.)

⁶ Quosdam luminibus jussit privari, quosdam in exilium cogit, nonnullos vero fecit patibulo suspendi. (Math. Paris., l. 9.)—Quorum aliqui excecati, aliqui è terra pulsati. (Chron. Saxon., p. 183.)

⁷ Venerunt ab oriente à Denmarkia ce naves . . . verim non auxi prælio congressi. (Chron. Saxon., p. 183.)—Math. Paris., l. 9.

⁸ Ipsum missis nunciis Danicam classem invitasse. (Fordun. Scotchchronic., lib. vi., 519, ed. Hearne.)—Per delationem Judith uxoris sue accusatus est. (Ord. Vital., p. 536.)

⁹ Secundùm leges Normannorum. (Ord. Vital., p. 535.)

¹⁰ Prævalens concio amulorum ejus in curiâ regali condunata est. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., p. 536.)

¹¹ Impiissimâ uxore suâ novas nuptias affectante. (Ingulf. Croyl. hist., apud rer. Anglic. script., l. 72, ed. Gale.)

¹² Inhabitibus etiam nonnullis Normanniis ad ejus comitatus. (Ibid.)

¹³ Pro terris suis et tenementis, suum sanguinem silitente. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Quæsitit et occasionem invenit . . . eum tallendi de medio. (Johan. de Fordun., lib. vi., p. 509.)

¹⁵ Dùm adhuc populus dormiret. (Ord. Vital., p. 536.)

¹⁶ Cùmque carnifices trepidarent ne cives excidit . . . Surge, inquit prostrato comiti. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Pro me et pro vobis. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 536.)

¹⁸ Carnifex autem ulterius præstolari noluît, sed mox, exempto gladio (Ibid.)

¹⁹ In bivio. (Math. Paris., l. 9.)

Eghelwin, who died of hunger in one of the Norman donjons.¹ "They have sought," says a contemporary, "to efface his memory from this land, but they have not succeeded; we firmly believe that he dwells among the blessed in heaven."² It was rumoured among the Saxon serfs and townspeople that, at the end of a fortnight, the body of the last chief of the English race, carried away by the monks of Crowland, had been found unchanged, the blood being still fresh.³ Other miracles, springing in like manner from patriotic superstition, were wrought at Waltheof's tomb, erected, with William's permission, in the chapter of that abbey, of which he had been a benefactor.⁴ The news of these prodigies greatly disturbed the Norman wife of the decapitated chief, and to appease the soul of him whom she had basely betrayed, and whose death she had caused, she repaired to the tomb of Waltheof, and covered the stone with a pall of silk; but the offering was, according to the legend, rejected and cast to a distance as by an invisible hand.⁵

Wulfketel, abbot of Crowland, an Englishman by birth, hastened to publish these miraculous facts, and preached respecting them in Saxon to those who visited his convent. But the Norman authorities did not long suffer him to preach on such a topic unmolested.⁶ Wulfketel was cited, as guilty of idolatry, before a council held at London,⁷ in which the assembled bishops and counts degraded him from his mitred dignity, and sent him as a private recluse to the monastery of Glastonbury, governed by the Norman named Toustain, renowned among all the abbots of the Conquest for his cruel and ferocious disposition.⁸ His punishment, however, did not discourage the popular superstition, which, being founded on the national regret for the loss of liberty and independence, was extinguished only when that regret ceased, and the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons had at length forgotten all those impulses of patriotism that had prompted their ancestors to lay down their lives for their country. But those times did not arrive so speedily as the conquerors wished; and, forty years after Waltheof's death, when the monastery of Crowland had, after a succession of foreign abbots, passed under the authority of one Geoffroy, from the town of Orleans, miracles began again to be worked on the tomb of the last English chief.⁹ The English by descent came in crowds to visit his sepulchre, while the Norman monks, then domiciled in the abbey of Crowland, turned this

eagerness into derision, and contemptuously treated the Saxon pilgrims and the object of their veneration, saying that he was a felon and a traitor justly condemned to death.¹⁰

Waltheof's widow inherited all his domains; and even the lands which the English chief had in his lifetime given to the monastery of Crowland in perpetual possession were taken from it and given to her.¹¹ Judith thought of one day sharing this vast inheritance with the husband of her choice; but her hopes were deceived, and the same imperious will which had disposed of her hand to procure the desertion of a Saxon resolved on rewarding, by the like means, the services of a Frenchman. King William, without consulting his niece any more than on the former occasion, gave her, with all Waltheof's possessions, to one Simon, from the town of Senlis, a brave knight, but lame and ill made.¹² Judith testified for this man a disdain which provoked the Conqueror, who was not at all inclined to let his policy bend before the weak interest of a woman;¹³ he adjudged the earldom of Northampton to Simon de Senlis, together with all the landed possessions of Waltheof, whose widow thus lost the advantages she had expected to derive from her disloyal conduct. Being left with her two children, she passed her life in obscurity and sorrow in some remote districts of England. She was despised by the Normans for her poverty, and detested by the Saxons as a murderess: the old historians of English race testify a kind of joy in relating the vexations and state of desertion of her latter years.

The execution of Waltheof completed the depression of the vanquished people. The English seem not to have lost all hope so long as they beheld one of their own race invested with great power, even though under the authority of foreigners. After the son of Siward there was no longer to be found in England, among the men invested with public authority and ennobled with honours, a single man native to the country, nor any but such as looked upon the Anglo-Saxons in the light of enemies and of brutes. All the religious authority had likewise passed into the hands of men of foreign extraction; and of all the ancient Saxon prelates there remained only Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester.¹⁴ He was a man of weak and simple mind, incapable of any act of daring, and who, as has been already seen, had, after a momentary excitement of patriotism, cordially made his peace with the conquerors.¹⁵ Thenceforward he had rendered them every service in his power. He had made pastoral visits and proclaimed the king's amnesty in those provinces where the pacification hitherto remained incomplete. He had marched in person to bar the passage of the Severn against Roger of Hereford. But he was also

¹ Ord. Vital., p. 537.—Cædes Waltheof Iarli, cap. 101; Snorre's Heimskringla, iii. 169.

² Cujus memoriam voluerunt in terrâ delere, sed creditur verè illum cum sanctis, in celo gaudere. (Florent. Wigorn. Chron., p. 639.)

³ Ord. Vital., p. 537.

⁴ Permissu regis . . . abbas . . . in capitulo monachorum reverenter sepelivit. (Ibid.)

⁵ Uxor sua, audiens Christi magnalia, ad tumulum viri sui accessit, et pallium sericum . . . quod, quasi manibus alicujus, rejectum fuisset, longius à tumulo reslruit. (Ingulf. Croyl. hist. ecclesiast., apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 72, ed. Gale.)

⁶ Undè Normanni nimiam indignati. (Ibid., i. 73.)

⁷ Ad proximum concilium Londoniis . . . summonitum . . . de idololatriâ accusant. (Ibid.)

⁸ Glastoniis sub cruentissimo tum abbe Thorstano, procul à notis et à suâ patriâ. (Ingulf. Croyl. ed. Gale, i. 73.)

⁹ Ad tumbam Guallevi comitis miracula demonstrari ceperunt. (Orderic. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 543.)

¹⁰ Anglice plebes ad tumulum sancti compatriotæ frequenter accurrunt . . . quidam de Normannia monachus advenientes derisit, dicens quòd nequam proditor fuerit et pro reatu suo obturcari meruerit. (Orderic. Vital., p. 544.)

¹¹ Terra Judithæ comitisse. (Domesday-book, i. fol. 152 verso, 202 recto, 228 recto.)—Totam hanc terram tenuit Walfel comes. (Ingulf. Croyland, ed. Gale, i. 72.)

¹² In alterâ suâ tibi claudicavit. (Ibid.)

¹³ Illa nuptias ejus respuit. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Justo Dei judicio multum despecta, odio omnibus habitata, per diversa loca et latibula diu fovit. (Ibid., p. 73.)

¹⁵ Quasi unus ex Anglicis superstes. (Chron. Jo. Bromton, ed. Selden, i. col. 975.)

¹⁶ See p. 103.

of English descent; and, like the rest, his day of trial arrived.

In the year 1076 Wulfstan was cited before a council of the Norman bishops and chiefs, assembled in the abbey church of Westminster, at which king William and archbishop Lanfranc presided. The assembly unanimously declared the Saxon prelate incapable of exercising the episcopal functions in England, seeing that he could not speak French.¹ By virtue of this strange judgment, the king and the archbishop required the condemned prelate to surrender the crosier and ring, the emblems of his pastoral charge.² Astonishment and indignation at being so ill rewarded inspired Wulfstan with an energy superior to his character: he arose, and, bearing his pastoral staff in his hand, walked straight up to the tomb of Edward the Confessor, who was interred in the abbey; there he stopped, and, addressing the deceased king in the English tongue, exclaimed, "Edward, from thee I received this staff; to thee, therefore, I return and confide it."³ Then, turning to the Normans, "I received it from hands more worthy than yours; I have replaced it therein: do you, if you have the power, take it therefrom."⁴ As he uttered these last words the Saxon struck the tombstone forcibly with the end of his crosier. His solemn demeanour and energetic action made a strong impression on the minds of all the assembly, not unmingled with a superstitious dread: the king and the primate did not repeat their demand, but left the last English bishop in possession of his staff and his office.⁵

The popular imagination transformed this event into a prodigy; and the news was spread that Wulfstan's pastoral staff, when it struck the stone, had entered it deeply, as if it had been soft earth, and that no one could draw it out but the Saxon himself, when the foreign judges had reversed their own sentence.⁶ When Wulfstan was dead, and when a canon of Bayeux, named Samson, had succeeded him in the see of Worcester, the native English bestowed on him, as on Waltheof, the titles of saint and blessed.⁷ This was the case of almost all the men of any eminence who had suffered for their resistance to the power founded upon the Conquest.

All this is very strange to us and to our age; for oppressed nations have now lost the custom of making saints of their friends and defenders: they have moral strength sufficient to preserve the memory of those who have been dear to them, without surrounding it with a superstitious halo. But,

¹ Quia nescivit Gallicum. (Annales Burtonienses, apud rer. Anglie, script., i. col. 975, ed. Selden.)—Qui linguam Gallicanam non noverat. (Math. Paris., i. 20.)—Propter Gallicæ lingue carentiam. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. ii., apud Selden, ii. col. 2368.)

² Jubeatur baculum et anulum resignare, archiepiscopo Lanfranco precipiente, et rege hoc prescribente. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, ed. Selden, col. 976.)

³ Et dixit in lingua sua: Edwards, dediisti mihi baculum, et ideo illum tibi committo. (Annales Burtonienses, apud rer. Anglie, script., i. 264, ed. Gale.)—Chron. Johan. Bromton, loc. sup. cit.

⁴ Melior te, hunc mihi dedit, cui et retrado. Avelle, si poteris. (H. Knyghton, ed. Selden, ii. col. 2368.)

⁵ Restitutus est. (Math. Paris. Vite Abbatis S. Alb., i. 49.)

⁶ Baculum in solidâ petrâ ita defixit ut à nullo posset avelli, domes ille, ad regis rogatum baculum resumeret. (Henr. Knyghton, loc. sup. cit.)

⁷ Sanctus Wulfstanus. (Annales Burtonienses, ed. Gale, i. 247.)

whatever difference there may be between our manners and those of the populations that have preceded us on the earth, let not this difference make us too severe judges over them—let not the fantastic form of their national acts induce us to decide that there was nothing national or patriotic in their acts. The great idea of national independence was revealed to them as well as to us: they defended it with an agis bearing their most favoured device; they made it religious, and we make it poetical. It arose from the same convictions, and was maintained with a like enthusiasm, although the language it breathed possessed perhaps a different formula. There existed the same inclination of attributing an ideal immortality to such as devoted their lives for the safety and welfare of their compatriots.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE QUARREL OF WILLIAM WITH HIS ELDEST SON, ROBERT, TO HIS LAST VISIT ON THE CONTINENT.

A.D. 1077 to 1087.

ONE of the necessary concomitants of every conquest, whether great or small, is, that the conquerors soon quarrel among themselves about the possession and division of the wealth of those whom they have vanquished. The Normans did not escape this phase which conquests are sure to exhibit. When there were no longer any rebels to be subdued, England became a cause of intestine wars to its masters; and it was in the newly established regal family that such dispute first occurred, by the quarrel between the Conqueror and his eldest son. This son, named Robert, and surnamed by the Normans in their language *Gamberon* or *Courte-heuse* (*Curt-hose*), because of the shortness of his legs,⁸ had, before the battle of Hastings, been designated by William as heir to his dominions and ducal title. This designation had been made, according to custom, with the formal consent of the Norman barons, who had all taken the oath to young Robert as their future lord.⁹ When William had become king of the English, the young man, whose ambition had been awakened on beholding the rapid successes of his father, required him to abdicate the government of Normandy, and place it in his hands; but William refused, wishing to keep at once his old duchy and his new kingdom.¹⁰ A violent quarrel ensued, in which the two younger brothers, William surnamed *Le Roux* or *Rufus*, and Henry, took part against their elder brother, under colour of filial affection, but really to supplant him, if they could, in the succession which his father had promised him.¹¹

One day, when the king with his sons was at

⁸ Vulgò Gamberon cognominatus est, et Breviſ Ocrea. (Ord. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 545.)

⁹ Optimates gratanter acquieverunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Postulata denegavit. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Guillelmus Rufus et Henricus patris favorebant. (Ibid.)

Laigle, William and Henry went to Robert's lodgings, in the house of one Roger Chaussigüe, and, ascending to the upper story, they first began to play with dice, after the fashion of the warriors of that age; after which they made a great noise, and poured down water on Robert and his friends below.¹ Robert, enraged by this affront, rushed sword in hand upon his brothers. A great tumult took place, which the king could with difficulty calm;² and the following night young Robert, followed by all his own companions, quitted the town on a sudden, reached Rouen, and endeavoured to get possession of the citadel. In this he was unsuccessful: several of his friends were taken; he himself escaped, with some others, across the Norman frontier, and took refuge in the county of Perche, where Hugues, nephew of Aubert le Ribaud, hospitably received him in his castles of Sorel and Reymalard.³

A reconciliation ensued between the father and son, which, however, was not of long duration; for the young men who surrounded the latter, soon began to stimulate his ambition afresh by their advice and their raileries.⁴ "Son of a king," they would say, "thy father's people must guard the royal treasure very strictly, since thou hast not a penny to give to thy followers. How canst thou resign thyself to such poverty while thy father is so rich? Demand from him therefore a part of his kingdom of England, or at least the duchy of Normandy, which he promised thee before the assembled chiefs."⁵ Robert, incited by these and other such discourses, went to his father and renewed his old request; but the king once more refused, and exhorted him in a parental tone to return to his duty, and, above all, to make choice of better advisers, men of mature age, grave and wise, as was archbishop Lanfranc.⁶ "Sir king," replied Robert, "I am come here to claim my right, and not to hear sermons: I heard enough of them, and was weary enough of them, when I was learning grammar. Give then a positive answer to my demand, that I may know what I have to do; for I am firmly resolved to live no longer on the bread of others, and be no longer in the pay of any one."⁷

The king angrily answered that he would neither deprive himself of Normandy, his native soil, nor share with any one whomsoever his kingdom of England, purchased by his toils.⁸ "Well," said Robert, "then I will go to other lands; I will go and serve strangers, and perhaps I shall obtain among them what is denied me in my own country."⁹ He departed accordingly, and went through Flan-

ders, Lorraine, Germany, and then through France and Gascony, visiting (says the ancient historian) dukes, counts, and rich citizens, relating to them his grievances, and asking their assistance.¹⁰ But all that he received for the support of his cause he gave to jugglers, parasites, and to abandoned women; and he was soon obliged to beg afresh, or to borrow at enormous usury.¹¹ His mother, Matilda, sometimes sent him money without the king's knowledge. William, being apprised of this, forbid her so to do: she disobeyed; and the angry king reproached her in bitter terms with distributing among his enemies the treasure which he confided to her care.¹² He then ordered the bearer of Matilda's presents to be seized, and his eyes to be torn out.¹³ He was a Breton by birth, named Samson: he fled, and became a monk, says the chronicle, for the salvation of his soul and of his body.¹⁴ (A.D. 1079.)

After many travels and circuits, young Robert repaired, under the auspices of Philip king of France, to the castle of Gerberoy, situated in Beauvoisis, on the confines of Normandy. There he was well received by Elie, viscount of the castle, and by his colleague; for, says the ancient narrator, it was the custom of Gerberoy that there should be two lords of that castle equal in power, and that fugitives from all countries should be received.¹⁵ There the son of the Conqueror assembled hired cavaliers.¹⁶ Some of these knights joined him from France, and out of Normandy; several men-at-arms of king William's household; several of those who daily flattered him, and lived at his table, quitted their offices to repair to Gerberoy; and at last the Conqueror, crossing the sea, went in person to besiege the castle in which his son had shut himself up.¹⁷

In a sortie made by Robert he engaged in single combat with a cavalier who was covered by his armour: he wounded him in the arm, and threw him from his horse: in the voice of the wounded man he recognised his father, and, immediately alighting, he assisted him to rise, placed him in the saddle, and allowed him freely to depart.¹⁸ The Norman chiefs and bishops employed themselves once more to bring about a reconciliation between the father and the son. But William at first resisted their importunities: "Why," said he, "will you solicit me on behalf of a traitor who has seduced my own soldiers against me, those whom I have fed with my bread, and to whom I gave their arms?"¹⁹ However, he at length yielded:

¹ In domo Rogerii Calcegi venerunt, ibique super solarium (sicut militibus mos est) tesseri ludere coeperunt, deinde ingentem strepitum fecere, et aquam (Ord. Vital., p. 545.)

² De hospitio suo rex occurrit. (Ibid., p. 546.)

³ Tim Hugo nepos Alberti Ribaldi exules suscepit, eisque novum castellum Raimalast atque Sorellum paterfecit. (Ibid.)

⁴ Sedtiosos tyrones Roberto juveni regis filio dixerunt. (Ord. Vital., lib. v., p. 569.)

⁵ Nobilissime filii regis patris tui satellites regale sic servavit aerarium, ut vix unum tuis clientibus indè possis dare denarium cur hoc pateris? (Ibid.)

⁶ Ibid., p. 570.

⁷ Hic, domine mi, rex, non accessi pro sermonibus audientis hoc fixum est apud me, quod nemini militabo. (Ibid.)

⁸ Natale solum Normannie Angliæ quoque regnum quod ingenti auctus sum labore. (Ibid.)

⁹ Extraneis tentabo servire. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Nobiles expetit cognatos, duces, comitesque et potentes oppidanos, illis querelas suas deprompfit. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Histriouibus et parasitis ac meretricibus insipienter distribuabat egestate gravi compressus mendicabat, et se alienum ab externis feneratoribus exul egenus queritabat. (Ibid.)

¹² Inimicos meos sustentat opibus meis. (Ord. Vital., p. 571.)

¹³ Regine veredarum comprehendi, et mox oculis privati. (Order. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. v., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 571.)

¹⁴ Pro salvatione corporis et animæ. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Helias quoque vicecomitum cum comari suo Moris enim est illius castri ut ibidem duo pares domini sint, et omnes fugitivi suscipiantur. (Ibid., p. 572.)

¹⁶ Gregarios equites. (Ord. Vital., p. 572.)

¹⁷ Multi de his qui regi adularantur. (Ibid.)

¹⁸ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 184.

¹⁹ Miror quod tantoperè pro perido supplicatis hominibus firones meos, quos alii et militibus armis decoravi, adduxit. (Ord. Vital., lib. v., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 573.)

but the good understanding between the father and son was not of long continuance; Robert a third time departed for a foreign land, and returned no more during his father's life.¹ The king cursed him at his departure; and the historians of that age attribute to this malediction the misfortunes that beset the eldest son of William the Bastard during life, of all which misfortunes the conquest of England was, as we have seen, the primary cause.²

From these dissensions, which disturbed the repose of the chief of the conquerors, the vanquished people derived no benefit; for if, in William's absence, the royal hand, as was then the expression, did not bear hard upon the people, there were other hands, those of earls, viscounts, judges, prelates, and abbots, of foreign race, of which the weight was unceasingly felt. Among the most unmerciful of these ministers of the Conquest was Vaulcher bishop of Durham, the Lorrain who after the execution of Waltheof had joined to his ecclesiastical office the temporal government of all the country situated between the Tweed and the Tyne.³ The count-bishop's Norman friends highly extolled his mode of administration, and praised him as equally skilful in repressing by the edge of the sword the rebellions of the English, and in reforming their morals by the persuasion of his discourses.⁴ The real ground of these eulogies was, that Vaulcher vexed his province with intolerable exactions, permitted his officers to levy tributes after him on their own account, and suffered his men-at-arms to rob and kill with impunity.⁵ Among those whom he put to death without form of trial was one Liulf, a man dear to the whole country, and who had retired to Durham, having been stripped by the Normans of all his possessions in the south of England.⁶ This murder, accompanied by atrocious circumstances, raised the popular hatred against the Lorrain bishop and his agents to the utmost pitch. The old spirit of Northumbria was aroused; and the inhabitants of that land, so fatal to foreigners, once more rallied, as in the time of Robert Comine.⁷ They held nocturnal conferences, and unanimously resolved on going with concealed arms to the assembly of justice, held from time to time by the bishop in the *cour du comté*; such was the Norman term denoting it.⁸ (A.D. 1080.) This court was held on the banks of the Tyne, near the new castle built by the conquerors on the great road to Scotland, in a

place called in Saxon *Goateshead*, or Goat's-head.⁹ The Northumbrians repaired thither in great numbers, as if desiring to address humble and submissive petitions to their lord. They asked reparation of the various wrongs which had been done to them.¹⁰ "I will redress none of these complaints," the bishop exclaimed, "unless you first count down four hundred pounds of good money."¹¹ Then the Saxon who, being conversant in French, spoke in the name of the remonstrants, asked permission to deliberate with them;¹² and they all retired for a moment, as if to hold consultation regarding the payment of the sum demanded of them; but suddenly the orator, who was the chief of the plot, cried out in the English tongue, "Short counsel is good! Slay ye the bishop!"¹³ At this signal they drew their weapons, fell upon the Lorrain prelate and killed him, together with a hundred men, French and Flemish.¹⁴ Two English serving-men were alone spared by the conspirators.¹⁵ This popular insurrection extended as far as Durham; the fortress built there by the Normans was attacked; but the garrison, being numerous and well provided with arms, resisted the Northumbrians, who lost courage, and dispersed after a siege of four days.¹⁶

On this new sign of life being given by the population of the north, Odo bishop of Bayeux, brother to the king, and one of his lieutenants in his absence, marched forthwith upon Durham with a numerous army. Without taking either the time or the trouble to inquire into the circumstances of the commotion, he indiscriminately took men who had remained in their houses, and commanded them to be beheaded or mutilated.¹⁷ Others purchased their lives only by giving up all that they possessed.¹⁸ Bishop Odo plundered the church of Durham, and carried off what remained of the sacred ornaments which Eghelwin had saved by removing them to the island of Lindisfarn.¹⁹ He renewed throughout Northumberland the ravages which the king his brother had committed there in the year 1070; and it was this second devastation which, adding aggravation to the first, gave that indelible imprint of gloom and desolateness which could be palpably traced for more than a century afterwards.²⁰ "Thus," says an historian seventy years subsequently to the event, "were cut the sinews of that province formerly so flourishing. Those once

¹ Ad Caput-Capre. (Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 639.)

² De diversis injuriis sibi justitiam fieri. (Math. Paris., p. 7.)

³ Nisi antea sibi libras quadringentas monete optime numerassent. (Ibid.)

⁴ Unus eorum pro omnibus loquens. (Ibid.)

⁵ Præcipitanter patriâ linguâ dixit, "Short red, good ret, slea ye the byshoppe." (Ibid.)

⁶ Et centum homines cum eo, Franci et Flamingi. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 184.)

⁷ Duobus tantum Anglicis ministris, propter consanguinitatem, pepererunt. (Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 640.)

⁸ Quarto die obsidionis, abscedentes per diversa disperguntur. (Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. Dunelm. eccles., lib. iii., apud hist. Angl. script., l. col. 48, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Miseros indigenas, qui, suâ confisi innocentia, domi resederant, plerisque ut noxios aut decollari aut membrorum detractione præceperunt debilitari. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Nonnulli ut salutem et vitam pretio redimerent, crimen falso imponebatur. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Quaedam ex ornamentis ecclesie abstulit. (Ibid.) See Book iv. p. 88.

¹² Ut provincia illius reliquias, que aliquantùm respiraverunt, funditus exterminaret. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 103, ed. Savile.)

¹ A patre recessit, nec postea rediit. (Ord. Vital., lib. v., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 573.)

² Quispropter rex maledixit Roberto filio suo, quam maledictionem, antequam obiret, expertus est vehementer. (Math. Paris., l. 10.)

³ Interfecto Waltheo comite Northumbrie, Walcherus episcopus comitatum a rege obtinuit. (Hist. episcop. Dunelm., Anglia sacra, l. 703.)

⁴ Frœnaret rebellionem gentis gladio, et reformaret mores eloquio. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. pontif. Angl., ed. Savile, p. 227.)

⁵ Extorsit pecuniam infinitam. (Math. Paris., l. 10.) Ministris suis durissimam plebis oppressionem permittens . . . uterque provinciales cædibus, rapinis et injuriis afflixit. (Hist. episcop. Dunelm., Anglia sacra, l. 703.)

⁶ Vir toti provincie charissimus, qui possessionibus suis à Normannis spoliatus, Dunelmum secesserat. (Ibid., 704.)

⁷ Odiâ et furorem. (Ibid., p. 703.)—Northimbri, populus semper rebellionem deditus. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., ed. Savile, p. 110.)

⁸ Deceverunt unanimiter ut occultè armati venirent ad placita comitatûs. (Math. Paris., l. 10.)—In quodam conventu, gemote. (Chron. Sax., p. 184.)

famous cities, those high towers that rose into the clouds, those smiling meadows fertilised by springs and streams, the stranger now beholds with a sigh; the old inhabitant scarce knows them again.¹

Over this utterly devastated country the population, half Saxon, half Danish, long kept its ancient proud and wild spirit of independence. When the Norman kings, successors of the Bastard, thought themselves in full security in the southern provinces, they did not set foot without apprehension on the territory beyond the Humber; and an historian of the close of the twelfth century assures us that they never visited that part of their kingdom unaccompanied by an army of veteran soldiers.² In the north the inclination to rebel against the social order established by the Conquest was longest preserved; and there the bands of outlaws³ were recruited for two centuries or more, being the patriotic successors of the refugees of the camp of Ely and of the companions of Hereward. History names them not, but passes over them in silence; or else, following the language of the legal acts of the time, it brands them with such epithets as are calculated to withdraw from them all feeling of sympathy, naming them seditious malcontents, robbers, and bandits. But let us not be imposed on by these titles odious to the ear: they are those which, in every country under foreign subjection, have been borne by brave men who, though few in number, take up their abode in mountains and forests, leaving the cities to those who can brook slavery.⁴ The people, though not possessing courage to imitate them, entertained affection for them, and accompanied them by their earnest good wishes. While ordinances drawn up in the French language were prescribing to every inhabitant of the towns and villages of England to track the outlaw, the *forester*,⁵ like a wolf, and to pursue him with hue and cry from canton to canton, the English delighted in their vernacular songs in honour of the bold enemy to foreign rule, who drew upon the purses of counts or earls as his treasury, and whose flocks were the king's deer. The popular poets of the time celebrated his victories, his combats, his stratagems, against the agents of the Norman government. They sang of his tiring the viscount's officers and horses when in pursuit after him; of his capturing the bishop, making him pay a ransom of a thousand marks, and obliging him to dance in his pontifical cassock and robes.⁶

(A.D. 1080 to 1082.) The Norman bishop Odo de Bayeux, after his Northumbrian expedition, became famous among his countrymen as one of the great tamers of the English.⁷ He was the chief

¹ Si quis modò videt peregrinus, ingemît; si quis, vetus incolâ, non agnoscit. (Ibid.)

² Rex si quando partes illas regni adit, non sinè magno auxiliatorum comitatu vadit. (Ibid., p. 458.)

³ *Utlage*, according to the Saxon orthography.

⁴ Τούρκους μὴ προσκυνούμεν.
Πάμεν ἐν λιμεριάζοις, ὅπου φωνάζουν λύκοι.
Σταῖς χάραις σου λάσοι κατοικοῦν.

(Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, publiés par M. Faurler, tom. i., *Sterghios*, chant 24.)

⁵ The Normans sometimes used the Saxon word *utlages*, and sometimes the word *foresters*.

⁶ Ballads of Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, &c.

⁷ Anglos maximè perdomuit. (Willelm. Gemet. hist. Normann. apud script. rer. Normann., p. 282.)

judge or grand justiciary of England, earl of Kent, and of Hereford also ever since the incarceration of earl Roger, son of William Fitz-Osbert. The renown acquired by Eudes, or Odo, increased his arrogance; and the power which he exercised in England and Normandy excited in him an ambition of obtaining the greatest dignity of those times, namely the papacy. Certain Italian diviners had predicted that a pope named Eudes or Otho should become the successor to Gregory VII.;⁸ wherefore the bishop of Bayeux, confiding in this prophecy, commenced intrigues at Rome, bought a palace in that city, sent rich presents to those whom the people beyond the Alps still called senators, and filled the wallets of the pilgrims from Normandy and England with letters and despatches.⁹ He engaged Norman barons and knights, among others Hugh the Wolf, earl of Chester, to follow him, as a noble and brilliant escort, to Italy. King William, who was still in Normandy, was apprised of these preparatives, and took offence at them for some unknown reason. Not caring to see his brother become pope, he embarked, and met with him at sea, by surprise, off the Isle of Wight.¹⁰ The king immediately assembled the Norman chiefs in that island, and before them he accused the bishop of having abused his power as judge and as earl, maltreated the Saxons beyond measure to the great danger of the common cause,¹¹ despoiled the churches, and lastly of having endeavoured to seduce and lead out of England the warriors on whose fidelity depended the general safety of the conquerors.¹² "Consider these grievances," said the king to the assembly, "and tell me how I ought to act toward such a brother." No one dared to answer. "Let him then be seized," resumed William, "and kept in safe custody."¹³ No one present offered to lay his hand upon the bishop. Wherefore the king advanced, and seized him by his robes. "I am a clerk," exclaimed Odo; "I am God's minister; none but the pope has a right to judge me."¹⁴ But William, without quitting his hold, replied, "I am not passing judgment on a clerk; this is my count and vassal whom I arrest."¹⁵ The brother of the conqueror of the English was conveyed into Normandy, and imprisoned in a fortress—perhaps the same where still languished king Harold's brother Ulfnoth, whose lot, after fifteen years of such different fortune, was now no worse than his own.

The king's reproaches to the bishop on his conduct in the north of England, if they are not an invention of the historian, seem to have indicated some apprehension of fresh rising on the part of those who had slain Robert Comine, retaken the city of York, massacred bishop Vaulcher, and who gladly joined every enemy to the Normans who severally had made descents on their shores. This apprehension was not wholly groundless; for more

⁸ Quidam sortilegi Romanorum. (Ord. Vital., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 646.)

⁹ Palatium sibi emit, senatores Quiritum, magnis muneribus datus. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ex insperato in insulâ Vectâ obviavit. (Ibid., p. 647.)

¹¹ Angliam vehementer oppressit. (Ibid.)

¹² Ecclesias spoliavit, militesque meos, qui Angliam tutari debuerant, seduxit, et trans Alpes. . . (Ibid., p. 647.)

¹³ Comprehdidite et soleriter custodite. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Clericus sum et minister Domini. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Ego non clericum nec antistitem damno, sed comitem meum quem meo, vice mei, preposui regno. (Ibid.)

than one revolt had broken out near the city of Durham during the episcopacy of William the successor of the late prelate Vaulcher le Lorrain.¹ In the rest of England the conquered showed less of energy and a greater resignation under their sufferings. Few positive facts have reached us concerning the nature of those miseries, which indeed seem chiefly to be such as the ecclesiastics had to endure, who were the only oppressed class of the ancient English that had their historians. Still, from what was put in execution against so privileged a class as the clergy, we may fairly draw the deduction that the numerous orders of society, to whom religious scruples did not hold out the advantage of equal protection, were greater sufferers: and we may infer, from the following trait of the internal regulations of an English monastery under the rule of a Norman abbot in the sixteenth year of the Conquest, that the government of the cities and provinces by the earls, viscounts, and bailiffs of the foreign king, was of an oppressive nature.²

The monastery of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, had, after the deposition of its Saxon abbot Eghelnoth, been given to Toustain, a monk from Caen. Toustain, following the custom of the rest of the Normans who became abbots in England, began by diminishing the rations of his monks, in order to render them more docile and tractable; short commons, however, only irritated them the more against the power of a man whom they openly called an intruder.³ The abbot, either through a national spirit or from a despotic whim, would have his Saxon monks learn to chaunt the service after the method of a famous musician of the town of Fescamp; and the Saxons, as well through their hatred for Norman music as from the force of habit, adhered to the Gregorian chaunt.⁴ They received repeated injunctions to renounce this and some other ancient customs; but they carried their resistance so far as one day to declare, in full chapter, their firm resolution not to change them. The enraged Norman rose, went out, and immediately returned at the head of a company of men completely armed.⁵ On seeing this, the terrified monks fled to the church, and took refuge in the choir, the gate of which they had time to shut.⁶ The soldiers, pursuing them, endeavoured to force it open: while part of them were thus employed, the rest climbed up the pillars, and, placing themselves on the beams which crowned the entrance to the choir, commenced the attack at a distance with arrows.⁷ The monks, having sought refuge near the great altar, crept

under or crouched behind the shrines and reliquaries; and these, serving thus for a rampart, received the showers of arrows, which remained infixed also in the great crucifix of the altar.⁸ Meanwhile, the gate of the choir yielded to the efforts of those who shook it, and the Saxons were charged in their last retreat with swords and lances. They made the best defence they could with the wooden benches and metal candelabras, and wounded some of the soldiers:⁹ but the inequality of weapons was too great; eighteen of them were killed or mortally wounded, and their blood, according to the cotemporary chronicler, streamed down the altar steps.¹⁰ Another historian tells us that he could mention many occurrences like this, but that he prefers passing them over in silence, as being alike painful to hear and to relate.¹¹

In the year 1083 Matilda, wife of king William, died. An old recital declares that this princess's counsels more than once softened the harsh and cruel disposition of the Conqueror, that she frequently inclined him to clemency towards the English, but that after her death William gave himself up wholly to his tyrannical humour.¹² There are not sufficient known facts, however, to furnish a sufficient proof of this increase of oppression and the alleged misery of the vanquished people, and imagination cannot safely supply their deficiency; for it would be difficult to presume a single degree of added calamity to that of the preceding years. The only apparent difference that can be recognised between that period of the history of the Conquest which followed the death of Matilda, and those which the reader has already surveyed, is, that king William, having no further progress to make in his dominion over the native population, began thenceforth to create for himself a more complete personal authority over his companions in victory. Perhaps necessity had as great a share as ambition in this undertaking; and, since there was nothing more to be taken from the vanquished, the king was obliged to levy contributions on the Normans themselves for the maintenance of their common acquisitions. In the same year, 1083, he exacted six silver pence on each hyde of land throughout the kingdom, from every possessor, without making distinction of persons.¹³ The Norman warrior, worn by the combats of twenty years, found himself compelled to contribute from the revenues of the domain which he had conquered in his days of youth and strength toward the pay of a new army. This period gave birth to a spirit of mutual distrust and sullen hostility between the king and his old friends. They accused each other of avarice and selfishness. William

¹ Moritur Willelmus episcopus Dunelmensis, et fit commotio hominum. (Annales de Margan. apud rer. Anglic. script., li. 3, ed. Gale.)

² Monasterium Glastoniae semper post adventum Normannorum pessimum est infractum laboribus. Abbates enim rerum gloria elati non religiosos sed tyrannos agunt, foris tamidi, intus crudeles et incommodi. (Adamus de Domerac, ed. Hearne, p. 113.)

³ Monachos in victualibus miserabiliter tractare, hinc lites verborum, animumque discordie qua, ut ait Lucanus, noscitur plebes jejuna timere. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. pontif. Angl. lib. ii, apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 224, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Ut eorumdem Willelmi Fiscanensis cantum discerent et cantarent. (Will. Malmesb. ed. Gale, lib. iii, 331.)

⁵ Milites ac satellites suos phieratos. (Ibid., 332.)

⁶ Ibid. Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 184.

⁷ Quidam etiam solaria inter columnas erecta scandebant. (Ibid.)

⁸ Crucifixum sagittis inhorere fecerunt. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 110, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Ubi cumque poterant se defendentes cum scamis et candelabris quosdam de militibus vulneraverunt. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., li. col. 232, ed. Selden.)

¹⁰ De altari in gradus, et de gradibus in aream. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 185.)

¹¹ Multa his similia referre possem, verum quia hec sunt minus leta, his omissis. . . . (Ord. Vital., lib. iv., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 524.)

¹² Istius consilio, rex pacificus cum Anglis tractabat; post mortem vero ipsius, omnem induit tyrannidem. (T. Rudborne hist. major Winton. Anglia sacra, l. 257.)

¹³ De unoquoque aratro, id est hyala terre, totius regni, sex solidos cepit argenti. (Math. Paris., i. 11.)

reproached the Norman chiefs with being more solicitous for their personal welfare than for the common safety—with being more anxious to build farm-houses, rear flocks, and form studs, than to hold themselves in readiness against the native or foreign enemy.¹ The chiefs in their turn reproached the king with an inordinate thirst of gain, and with seeking, under false pretexts of general utility, to accumulate in his own hands the wealth acquired by the labours of all.

(A.D. 1080 to 1086.) In order to settle on a fixed basis the demands he made of contributions and service in money, (to speak the language of that age,) William caused a great territorial inquest to be made, and an universal register to be prepared, of all the mutations of property effected in England by the Conquest. He wished to know into what hands, through the whole extent of the country, the manors of the Saxons had passed; and how many Saxons still kept their inheritances, by virtue of private treaties² concluded with himself or with his barons; how many acres of land there were in each rural domain; what number of acres sufficed for the maintenance of a man-at-arms, and how many men-at-arms there were in each county or shire of England; what was the gross amount of the products of the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets; and what was the exact property of each earl, baron, knight, and serjeant-at-arms; how much land each one had, how many tenants in fee, how many Saxons, oxen, and ploughs.³

This work, in which modern historians have discovered the marks of genius in political administration, was simply the result of the Norman king's particular position as chief of the conquering army, and likewise, without doubt, of the necessity which he was under of establishing some sort of order amidst the chaos that ensued upon the Conquest. So true is this, that in other conquests the details of which have been transmitted to us for instance, in that of Greece by the Latin crusaders in the thirteenth century, we find the same kind of inquest made on quite a similar plan by the leaders of the invasion.⁴

By virtue of king William's orders, Henry de Ferrières, Walter Giffard, Adam brother of Eudes the seneschal, and Remi bishop of Lincoln, with other persons chosen from among the administrators of justice and the keepers of the king's exchequer, went through all the counties of England, holding, in every place of any note or importance, their council of inquiry.⁵ They summoned before them the Norman viscount of each province, or Saxon shire, to whom the Saxons, in their own tongue, still applied the ancient title of shire-reve

or sheriff. They called together, or ordered the viscount to call together, all the Norman barons of the province, who came, and stated the precise limits of their possessions and territorial jurisdictions. Then some of the commissioners of this inquest, or else certain deputies delegated by them, visited every extensive domain, and every district or hundred, as the Saxons termed it. Therein they everywhere made the French men-at-arms of each lord, and the Saxon inhabitants of each hundred, declare upon oath how many freeholders and how many farmers there were on each manor;⁶ what portion each man held in perpetuity, on lease, or at will; the names of the actual tenants; the names of those who had possessed the same before the Conquest; and the divers mutations of property which had occurred since the Conquest; so that, say the relations of the time, three declarations were required as to each estate—viz. what it was in king Edward's time, what when king William made grant of it, and what at the time of the actual inquisition.⁷ Below each return this formula was inscribed: *Suorum to by all the French and all the English of the hundred.*⁸

In each township it was inquired what imposts the inhabitants had paid to the former kings, and what the town produced to the officers of the Conqueror: it was also ascertained how many houses had been destroyed by the war of the Conquest, and for building the fortresses; how many the conquerors had taken to themselves; and how many Saxon families, reduced to extreme indigence, were unable to pay anything.⁹ In the cities the oaths were administered by the high Norman authorities, who called together the Saxon citizens in their old council-chamber, now become the property of the king, or of some foreign baron. In places of less importance the oaths were taken from the royal prefect or provost, the priest, and six Saxons, or six villains of each township, as the Normans called them.¹⁰ This inquisition occupied six years, during which king William's commissioners went through all England, excepting the mountainous country to the north and west of the province of York; that is to say, the modern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster.¹¹ Perhaps that extent of country, so cruelly devastated at two several times, had so few productive lands, or the division of them was so unsettled, that it would have been useless or impossible to make the returns. Perhaps, also, the Norman commissioners had some apprehensions that, if they held their assizes in the townships of Northumbria, those Saxon words which had been the signal for the massacre of bishop Vaulcher, and his hundred men, might be rung in their ears.

Be this as it may, the rent-roll, or, to use the old term, the *terrier* of the Norman Conquest, makes

¹ Ricardus de Rulos, multum agriculturæ deditus, ac in iumentorum et pecorum multitudine plurimum delectatus. (Hist. Ingulfr. Croyland. apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 77, ed. Gale.)

² Quomodo incoleretur et a quibus hominibus. (Chron. Saxo. ed. Gibson, p. 186.)

³ Quot jugata et virgata terræ, quidque uni militi sufficere possent. Fecitque inquirere de urbibus et villis et viculis ad quid in solidum ascenderent; inquisivit etiam quot animalia possent sufficere ad quos hinc culturam . . . et quot milites essent in utroque comitatu. (Florent. Wigorn. chron. p. 229.)—T. Riddborne hist. major Winton., Anglia sacra, l. 957.

⁴ Poème sur la conquête de la Morée: MS. of the Bibliothèque royale, translated and published by M. Buchon.

⁵ Mittebat suos homines. (Chron. Saxo. ed. Gibson, p. 186.)

⁶ Per sacramentum vice-comitis seiræ et omnium baronum et eorum francigenarum et totius centuriatis. (Ex anonym. MS. apud Selden, præfat. ad Eadmeri hist., p. xv.)

⁷ Hoc totum tripliciter scilicet tempore regis Edwardi, et quando rex Willelmus dedit, et quomodo sit modò. (Ibid.)

⁸ Omnes Franci et Angli de hundredo juraverunt. (Ibid., p. xvi.)

⁹ Domesday Book, passim.

¹⁰ Per sacramentum . . . presbyteri, sex villani in ususque ville. (Ex anonym. MS. apud Selden, præfat. ad Eadmeri, hist. nov., p. xv.)

¹¹ Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione Domini, vigesimo quinto regni Willelmi, facta est ista descriptio. (Domesday Book, ii. 450.)

no mention of the conquered domains beyond the province of York. This roll, digested for each province mentioned in it, was modelled on an uniform plan. The king's name was placed at the head, with a list of his domains and revenues in the county; then followed the names of the chief and inferior proprietors, in the order of their military ranks and their territorial wealth.¹ The Saxons who, by special favour, had been spared in the great spoliation, were found only in the lowest schedule: for the small number of that race who still continued to be free proprietors, or *tenants-in-chief of the king*, as the conquerors expressed it, were such only for slender domains; they were inscribed at the end of each chapter under the name of thanes of the king,² or by some other designations of domestic service in the royal household.³ The rest of the names of an Anglo-Saxon form that are scattered here and there through the roll belong to farmers holding by a precarious title a few fractions, larger or smaller, of the domains of the Norman earls, barons, knights, sergeants, and bowmen.⁴

Such is the form of the authentic book, preserved to the present day, from which most of the instances of expropriation recorded in the course of our narrative have been drawn. This interesting book, in which the whole of the Conquest was registered, so that the remembrance of it might never be effaced, was called by the Normans the Great Roll, the Royal Roll, or the Roll of Winchester, because it was kept in the treasury of Winchester cathedral.⁵ The Saxons called it by a more solemn name, *Domesday Book*, or book of the last judgment—perhaps because it contained the irrevocable sentence of the alienation of their estates.⁶ But if this book was to the Saxon nation a virtual decree of dispossession, it was so likewise to some of the foreign usurpers. Their chief skillfully availed himself of it, to effect, to his own profit, numerous mutations in the possession of landed estates, and to establish his own pretensions to many lands seized or occupied by the adventurers. He first of all pretended to be the legal proprietor, by inheritance, of all that had been possessed by Edward, the last king but one of the Anglo-Saxons, or by Harold, the last king, and by Harold's entire family. By the same title he pretended to the possession of all public property, and the supreme lordship of all towns, unless he had himself expressly alienated them by an authentic diploma, *par lettre et saisine*, as the Norman lawyers expressed it.⁷

In the moment of triumph no one had thought of the formality of letters-patent and of seisin, and all those to whom William had declared, previously to the victory at Battle, "That which I shall take,

ye yourselves shall take," had accordingly carved out each his desired portion of land;⁸ but after the Conquest the soldiers of the invasion experienced that a part at least of that arbitrary power which they had established over the heads of the English pressed onerously upon their own. Thus William de Warenne's right to the lands of two free Englishmen in the province of Norfolk was disputed with him, because they had formerly been appurtenances to a royal manor of Edward the Confessor.⁹ This was also the case as to one of Eustace's domains in Huntingdonshire, and with fifteen acres of land occupied by Miles Crispin in Berkshire.¹⁰ An estate occupied by Engelry, in Essex, was, in the terms of the Great Roll, seized into the king's hands, because Engelry had sent no one to prove or give an account of his title.¹¹ The king seized in like manner all the lands to which he himself made pretension, and of which the holders, though Norman, could not or would not *render account*.¹²

Another of his pretensions was, that every domain which in Saxon times had paid rent or owed service to king Edward should, even though held by a Norman, pay the same rent, or oblige to the performance of like service to himself. This pretension, founded on succession to the rights of an English king, which could not voluntarily be admitted by those who had disinherited the English, was at once ill received by the conquerors. Freedom from imposts or service in money, excepting some voluntary contributions, appeared to them as an inviolable prerogative acquired unto themselves by victory; and they considered the condition of customary contributors as appertaining especially to the subjugated nation.¹³ Many resisted the king's claims, disdaining to suffer the imposition of personal service for lands which they had conquered. But there were some among them who yielded the point; and their compliance therein, whether voluntary or purchased, weakened the opposition of the rest. Raoul de Courbepine long refused to pay any quit-rent for those houses which he had seized in the city of Canterbury; as did Hugh de Montfort for the lands he occupied in Essex.¹⁴—These two chiefs could indulge their haughty spirit with impunity; but the pride of men of less power and influence was sometimes rigorously punished. One Osbert, called the Fisherman, not choosing to pay the rent which his portion of land had formerly paid to king Edward, as appended to his domain, the land was confiscated

¹ See Book iii. p. 62.

² Quod pertinebant T. R. E. ad faganaham mansi regis. (*Domesday Book*, ii. 172.)

³ Grafham dicunt socam regis fuisse et esse, nec brevem, nec saisitorem vidisse qui liberasset eam Eustachio. (*Ibid.*, i. fol. 208 recto.)—Rex Ed. habuit xv. acras . . . Milo Crispin tenet eas, nesciunt quomodo. (*Ibid.*, fol. 56 recto.)

⁴ Et quia neque legatus neque alius homo venit ex parte sua qui detractionem hanc terram, ideo est in manu regis. (*Ibid.*, ii. 25.)

⁵ Rationare, detractionem, reddere rationem. (*Domesday Book*, passim.)

⁶ Consuetudo, custuma, custumarii, *consuetum's*. This word (*custum*) is retained also in modern English.

⁷ Radulnus de Curbepine habet iv. mansuras de quibus est soca et soca regis, sed usque nunc non habuit. (*Domesday Book*, i. fol. 2 recto.)—Hinc manerio adiacebant iv. liberi homines de iv. hidis T. R. E. residentes consuetudinem. Modò tenet Robertus filius Corbutionis . . . Hugo de Montforti et non reddiderunt consuetudinem ex quo eas habuerunt. (*Ibid.*, ii. 2.)

¹ Prenotato in ipso capite regis nomine, et deinde seriatim aliorum procerum nominibus appositis, secundum status sui dignitatem. (Liber niger de Scaccario, apud Gloss. Spelmani, verbo *Domesday*.)

² Thasi regis. (*Domesday Book*, passim.)

³ Venatores, accipitrarii, ostiarii, pastores.

⁴ Nicolaus balistarius. (*Domesday Book*.)

⁵ Rotulus regis, rotulus Vintonie et liber Vintonie. (Gloss. Spelmani, verbo *Domesday*.)—Magnus liber . . . habitus in thesauro ecclesie cathedralis Wintonie. (Thome Radborne hist. major Winton. Anglia sacra, l. 257.)

⁶ Vocatus Domesday . . . quia nulli pareit sicut nec magnus dies iudicii. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Breve sigillum, liberatio, saisitio. (*Domesday Book*, passim.)

by the royal agents, and was offered to any who would pay in his stead: Raoul Taille-Bois paid, says the Great Roll, and took possession of the domain as forfeited by the Fisherman.¹

The king also strove to levy on his Norman countrymen, in towns and on all lands comprised in the royal domains, the impost anciently established by the Saxon laws. For the English of those towns and domains, besides this impost rigorously exacted under the name of custom of the place, and often doubled or tripled as to them, there was also another sort of contribution, occasional, arbitrary, unequal, capriciously and harshly levied, which the Normans called *taille* or *tailage*.² The Great Roll furnishes a schedule of the king's burgesses subject to this capitation or poll-tax in the order of the cities, towns, and hamlets. "These are the king's burgesses at Colchester:—Keolman, who holds one house and five acres of land; Leofwin, who holds two houses and twenty-five acres; Ulfrik, Edwin, Wulfstan, Manwn,"³ &c. The Norman chiefs and soldiers also levied *taille*, or capitation, on such of the Saxons as had fallen to their share in the towns or in the rural districts.⁴ This was what was meant, in the language of the conquerors, by the term of *having* a burgess or a free Saxon; and in this sense it was that freemen were reckoned by the head, sold themselves, gave, engaged, and lent themselves to, or even were divided in half-shares by, the Normans.⁵ The Great Roll says, that a certain viscount *had* in Ipswich two Saxon townsmen, one of them on loan, and the other a pledge;⁶ and that king William had, by an authentic act, *lent* the Saxon Edwig to Raoul Taille-Bois, who was to keep him for life.⁷

Many quarrels arose among the Norman conquerors in the division of the estates of the vanquished nation; and many invasions of Normans against Normans, according to the expression of the Roll of Inquest,⁸ were also registered in every corner of England. For instance, William de Warenne had, in the county of Bedford, disseized Walter Espee of half a hyde of land, and taken from him two horses.⁹ In another place Hugues de Corbon had usurped from Roger Bigot *half a free Englishman*, that is to say, five acres of land. In Hants William de la Chesnaye claimed certain lands from Picot, as forming part of the inheritance of the Saxon whose possessions he had himself seized.¹⁰ This latter fact, and many others of the same kind,

¹ Osbernus Piscator . . . sed ille gablum de hac terrâ dare noluit, et Radulfus Talligebosc gablum dedit et pro forisfacto ipsam terram sumpsit. (Domesday Book, i. fol. 216 verso.)

² In Latin, *tallagium*.

³ Isti sunt burgenses regis. (Domesday Book, ii. 104.)

⁴ Omnes isti sunt liberi homines Rogerii Bigot, et Normannus tenet eos de eo. (Ibid., ii. 341.)

⁵ Istos liberos homines calumpniatur Rogerus de Ramis. (Domesday Book, ii. 337.)—Invasit Hugo de Corbon sub Rogerio Bigot medietatem unius liberi hominis. (Ibid., ii. 278.)

⁶ Habet Normannus ii burgenses, unum in vadimonio contra eundem, et alterum pro debito. (Domesday Book, ii. 438.)

⁷ Hanc terram tenuit Avigi et potuit dare cui voluit T. R. E. hanc ei postea W. rex concessit, et per suum brevem Radulfo Talibosc commodavit ut eum servaret quamdiu viveret. (Ibid., i. fol. 211 verso.)

⁸ Invasiones.

⁹ Fuit Wilms. Spee saisitus pr. regem et ejus liberatorem; sed W. de Warenne sine breve regis eum dessaisivit et ii equos ejus hominibus abstulit et necdum reddidit. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Istam terram calumpniatur Willelmus de Chernet, per hereditatem sui antecessoris. (Domesday Book, i. fol. 44 verso.)

prove that the Normans regarded, as their lawful property, whatever the old English proprietors whose places they took could have legally laid claim to; and that the foreign invader, considering himself in the light of a natural successor, made the same strict inquiries and instituted the same civil suits as if he had been the Saxon's heir.¹¹ He called upon the English inhabitants of the hundred, as witnesses, to verify the extent of the rights conferred upon him by his substitution in place of the man whom he had killed or expelled.¹² The inhabitants, whose recollections were disturbed by the tumults and disasters of the Conquest, often gave unsatisfactory answers to questions of this sort; often, too, the Norman who had resolved to dispute the right of his fellow-countryman refused to abide by these depositions of the *vile populace*.¹³ In this case, the only mode of terminating the dispute was, either a trial by battle or a sentence of the King's-bench.¹⁴

The Norman *terrier*, or land-roll, does, in many places, make use of the words illegal invasions, unjust seisin, and unjust claims.¹⁵ Doubtless there is something whimsical in this use of the word justice, as alluded to in the register of the expropriation, by confiscations, of the lands of an entire nation; and no one could possibly understand Domesday Book without making reflection, at every sentence thereof, that the word *inheritance*, according to its phraseology, means simply the spoliation of an Englishman; that the former Saxon landholder obtains the designation of the *predecessor* of that Norman who had seized upon his lands; that a Norman's being *just* signifies only that he had not taken possession of the lands or wealth of an Englishman whom some other Norman had slain or dispossessed; and that, on the contrary, his taking possession thereof, under such circumstances, is termed *injustice*: all which is proved by the following passage: "In the county of Bedford Raoul Taille-Bois unjustly disseized Nigel of five hydes of land, which it is well known were part of the inheritance of his *predecessor*, and a portion of which is even now occupied by the same Nigel's concubine."¹⁶

Some of the dispossessed Saxons ventured to present themselves before the commissioners of the inquest, and laid before them their lawful claims; a few obtained the insertion of their names in the register, with terms of humble supplication which no Norman ever employed. These men declared that they were poor and wretched, and appealed to the clemency and the mercy of the king.¹⁷ Those among them who, after much servile crouching, succeeded in preserving some slender portion of their patrimony, were obliged to pay for this favour by degrading and fantastic ser-

¹¹ Hanc clamant . . . per antecessorem . . . ejus terras omnes W. rex sibi donavit. (Ibid., i. fol. 215 recto.)

¹² De hoc suum testimonium addidit de antiquis hominibus totius comitatûs. (Ibid., i. fol. 44 verso.)

¹³ Testimonium de villanis et vili plebe. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Judicium per regem in curiâ regis; iudicio, seu bello, seu duello. (Ibid., passim.)

¹⁵ Invasit, injuste saisivit, injuste dissaisivit, injuste occupavit. (Ibid., passim.)

¹⁶ Clamant Nigellus ipse i virgam quam tenuit antecessor ejus T. R. E. Ipse Nigellus inle saisitus fuit, sed Radulfus Talligebosc eum dessaisivit . . . Tenet quidam concubina Nigelli ii hid. (Domesday Book, i. fol. 214 recto.)

¹⁷ Quam pauper cum matre reclamavit . . . Ipsi reclamant misericordiam regis. (Ibid., i. fol. 203 recto.)

vices, or received it under the no less humiliating title of alms. Sons are inscribed in the roll as holding the lands of their fathers¹ as *an alms*. Free women keep their fields as *an alms*.² Another woman is left in the enjoyment of the estate of her husband, on condition of her feeding the king's dogs.³ And, a mother and a son receive their ancient inheritance as a *gift*, on condition of their offering up daily prayers for the soul of the king's son Richard.⁴

This Richard, son of William the Conqueror, died in 1081, having been dashed against a tree by his horse, in the place called by the Normans the New Forest.⁵ This was a tract newly planted with trees, extending thirty miles, between Salisbury and the sea. This extent of land, before it was converted into forest, contained above sixty parishes, which the Conqueror devastated, and from which he drove away the inhabitants.⁶ We know not whether the motive for this singular act was purely political, and his especial object was to ensure to his Norman recruits a safe place of disembarkation, where there could be no Saxon enemy to molest them,—or, as most of the old historians tell us, he had no other design than to gratify his own passion, and that of his sons, for the chase. To his inordinate love of that healthful exercise have also been attributed the strange and cruel regulations which he made respecting the bearing of arms in the forests of England: but there is reason to believe that these regulations had a more serious motive, and were possibly directed against such of the English as, under pretence of hunting, resorted occasionally in arms to a secret rendezvous. "He ordered," says a contemporary chronicle, "that whoever killed a hart or a hind should have his eyes put out; and he extended this prohibition as to stags, also to the slaying of the wild boar. He even made statutes to place hares out of all danger of being pursued. This savage king loved the wild beasts as if he were their father."⁷ These laws, rigorously enforced against the Saxons, made a signal addition to their misery; for many of them had no longer any means of subsistence but by the chase. "The poor murmured," adds the above-quoted chronicle; "but he made no account of their hatred; and they were constrained to obey on pain of forfeiting their lives."⁸

William comprised in his royal domains all the

great forests of England—places of peril to the conquerors—the asylum of their last opposers. Those laws which the Saxon historians ridicule by speaking of them as designed to ensure the lives of hares were however a powerful safeguard of their lives to the Normans; and, in order to ensure their more strict observance, hunting in the royal forest was made a privilege, the conferring of which belonged only to the king, who could grant or interdict it at pleasure. Several high personages of Norman race, more alive to their personal inconvenience than to the interests of the Conquest, became greatly irritated by this exclusive law.⁹ But so long as the spirit of nationality was still preserved among the conquered Saxons, the desire of the Normans for the chase did not prevail against the will of their kings. Supported by the instinct of a political necessity, the sons of William maintained, as exclusively as he had done, the privileges of hunting; nor was it until the apparent necessity for those privileges had vanished that their successors were at length forced, however reluctantly, to resign the same.¹⁰ It was then, that is to say in the thirteenth century, that the parks of the Norman proprietors ceased to be comprised within the limits of the royal forests, and that the lord of each demesne obtained the full enjoyment of his own woods; his dogs were no longer liable to have their legs mutilated;¹¹ nor did the royal inspectors, *verdiere*, *forestiers*, *regardeurs*, lurk about his house, to surprise him in some breach of the laws of the chase and make him pay a heavy fine. On the contrary, the guarantee of the royal law for the preservation of game both large and small was extended, much to the advantage of the descendants of rich Normans; and they themselves had their gamekeepers, authorised to kill with impunity the poor Englishman who should be detected in secret ambush against the deer and hares.¹² At a later period, even the poor descendant of the Saxons, being no longer terrible to the rich men of the foreign race, was punished, when he dared to hunt, only with a year's imprisonment, and the finding of twelve responsible bail that he would not for the future commit any offence in any park, forest, warren, pond, or in any manner whatsoever, against the peace of his lord the king.¹³

Finally, we obtain particular proof, from this Great Roll of the Norman Conquest, that king William established as a general law that every title to property anterior to his invasion, and that every deed of transfer made by a man of English race subsequently to the invasion, was null and void, unless he himself had formally ratified it. In the first terror inspired by the Conquest some Englishmen had alienated a portion of their lands to the churches, either as a *bonâ fide* and free gift, for the repose of their own souls, or sometimes by a pretended deed of gift, that they might thereby secure that portion of their lands eventually to their sons, if the domains possessed by holy men in England should

¹ Hanc terram tenuit pater hujus hominis et vendere potuit T. R. E.; hanc rex W. in elemosinâ eidem concessit. (Domesday Book, i. fol. 218 recto.)

² Ibi habet Eldeve libera femina 1 hidam de rege in elemosinâ quam eadem tenuit T. R. E. (Ibid., i. fol. 63 verso.)

³ Godricus tenuit . . . dicit se vidisse brevem regis quod eam dederit feminæ Godrici in dono, eo quod nutriebat canes suos. (Ibid., i. fol. 57 verso.)

⁴ Hoc manerium tenuit Aldene teigrus R. E. et vendere potuit, sed W. rex dedit hoc m. huic Aldeno et matri ejus pro animâ Ricardi filii sui. (Ibid., i. fol. 141 verso.)

⁵ *New Forest*. Vide Gloss. Spelmanii. verbo *forestis*.

⁶ Plus quam ix parrochias ultra devastavit, rucicolas ad alia loca transmigraare compulsi, et silvestres feras pro hominibus ibidem constituit. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. x., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 781.)

⁷ Amant rex feras feras, ac si esset pater ferarum. (Thomæ Rudborne hist. major Winton, Angliæ sacra, i. 258.) —Ita vero multum amavit feras majores, ac si fuisset eorum pater. (*Siva swthe he lofede the houndur swyche he were honur fater*.) Item statutum de leporibus ut periculo immunes essent. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 191.)

⁸ Hæc pastores egre ferebant, verum is ita rigidus (fuit) ut ubi illi habere omnium eorum odium, eos oportuit obsequi si vellent vivere. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 191.)

⁹ Hoc viri summi conquesti sunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Black-stone's Commentaries, ii. 415, et seq.

¹¹ Nâ amplius expeditur. (Charta Henr. III.)

¹² Si fugit, et occidit malefactor, non obtinebit jus nec appellum. (Additamenta ad Math. Paris., i. 156.)

¹³ Et post inveniet duodecim plegios qui ipsum mancipient quod deinceps non malefactor in parci, vivariis, vel forestis, nec in aliquo, contra pacem domini regis. (Ibid.)

be regarded as sacred by the Normans. This precaution however was unavailing; for, when the English churches could adduce no written proof that the Norman king had confirmed any such gift, or, in other words, that the king himself had made the gift thereof, the estate in question was confiscated to the king's profit.¹ Thus it was with the domain of Ailrik, who, before his departure for the war against the Normans, had given his manor to the convent of St. Peter, in Essex; and with that of one Edrik, leased before the Conquest to the monastery of Abingdon.²

In the times which followed the Conquest this law was repeatedly put in force, and every title of the offspring of Anglo-Saxons to property of any kind was annulled. This fact is attested in a positive manner by the Norman Richard Lenoir, bishop of Ely about the middle of the twelfth century. He relates that the English, being daily dispossessed of their farms by their manorial lords, addressed bitter complaints to the king, alleging that the constant ill-usage they experienced from those of Norman race, and the antipathy shown to them by those cruel masters, left them no other resource but that of abandoning their country.³ After mature deliberations, the Norman kings and their council ruled that, in future, whatsoever any man of English race should covenant to receive from the new landholders or *seigneurs*, as the wages of personal service, or by virtue of any legal agreement, should be irrevocably secured to him, under the condition, however, that he should himself renounce all his rights founded upon the anterior possession of lands.⁴ "This decision," adds the bishop of Ely, "was wise and most useful; it was the means of compelling the descendants of the subjugated to behave in such a manner as to gain the good-will of their seigneurs by submission, obedience, and devotion."⁵ So that no Englishman now possessing a farm, or any other property, is a possessor by title of inheritance or patrimony: he is the occupier by virtue only of a donation thereof made to him as a reward for his loyal services.⁶

In the year 1086 was completed the Great Roll of the Normans, or Domesday Book of the Saxons; and in that year was held a great convocation of all the chiefs among the conquerors, whether laymen or priests. In this council were debated the various claims recorded in the roll of the inquest, and these debates did not terminate without quar-

rels between the king and his barons. They had grave conversations, to use the words of the contemporary chronicle, on the important distinction between what should be definitively regarded as lawfully, and what unlawfully, taken possession of during the Conquest.⁷ Most of the individual invasions were ratified, but some were not; and among the conquerors there was a discontented minority. Divers barons and knights renounced their homage, quitted William and England, and, crossing the Tweed, offered the service of their arms and horses to Malcolm king of Scotland.⁸ Malcolm received them graciously, as he formerly had received the Saxon fugitives. He distributed among them portions of land, for which they became his liege-men and his soldiers to serve him against all foes whomsoever. Thus Scotland received a population quite different from all that had before mingled with its natives. The Normans, united by a common exile and a common hospitality with the Anglo-Saxons who had fled thither antecedently to themselves, became, under a new banner, their companions and brethren in arms. Equality reigned beyond the Tweed between these two races of men, who, on the other side of that river, were held to be so different in rank. A mutual interchange of manners, and even of language, rapidly took place between them; and the recollection of their diversity of origin caused no umbrage between their sons, for it was no longer mixed with the memory of foreign injustice and oppression.

(A.D. 1085.) While the conquerors of the English were thus occupied in settling their internal affairs they were suddenly disturbed by an alarm from without. It was rumoured that a thousand Danish vessels, sixty Norwegian, and one hundred Flemish vessels furnished by Robert le Frison, the new duke of that country, were assembling in the gulf of Lymfjord, in order to make a descent upon England and to liberate the Anglo-Saxon people.⁹ The kings of Denmark, who, for the preceding twenty years, had so often successively flattered and betrayed the hopes of that nation, could not, it seems, resolve to abandon them entirely. The insurrection which, in 1080, caused the death of Vaulcher bishop of Durham, seems to have been encouraged by the expectation of a landing of the north-men; for we find in the official despatches addressed to the count-bishop, in that year, the following words:—"The Danes are coming: be careful to have your castles furnished with arms and provisions."¹⁰ The Danes did not come; and perhaps the extraordinary precautions recommended to the bishop of Durham, on their account, occasioned the non-success of the insurrectionary movement in which he was slain.

But that false alarm was nothing in comparison with this which agitated England in the year 1085.

¹ Nortunam tenuit Godid quædam femina T. R. E. hanc terram dedit Sancto Paulo postquam rex venit in Angliam, sed non ostendit brevem neque concessum regis. (Domesday Book, li. 13.)

² Altricus abiit in navale prælium contra Willelmum. regem . . . Tunc dedit S. Petro istud manerium. (Ibid. li. 14.) De hoc manerio . . . Edricus, qui eum tenebat, delibavit illum filio suo qui erat in Abendone monachus, ut ad firmum illud teneret. (Ibid. i. fol. 59 recto.)

³ Cùm dominis suis odiosi passim pellerentur, nec esset qui ablata restitueret . . . exosi et rebus spoliati, ad alienigenas transire cogebantur. (Dialog. de Scaccario in notis ad Math. Paris, vol. i. ad initium.)

⁴ Quod à dominis suis, exigentibus meritis, interveniente pactione legitima, poterant obtinere . . . Cæterim autem nomine successione, à temporibus subactæ gentis, nil sibi vindicarent. (Ibid.)

⁵ Devotis obsequiis dominorum suorum gratiam emerari. (Ibid.)

⁶ Sic igitur quisquis de gente subactâ fundos, vel aliquid hujusmodi possidet, non quod ratione successione debet sibi videbatur adeptus est, sed quod solummodo . . . (Ibid.)

⁷ Graves sermones habuit cum suis proceribus de hac terrâ. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 186.)

⁸ Ellis's Metrical Romances, i. 125, Introduction.

⁹ Rumore expeditionis eorum Britanniam usque vellificante . . . ut gentem nobilissimam primæ libertati restitueret. (Hist. S. Canuti regis, apud script. rer. Danicæ, iii. 348.)—Ord. Vital. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Norman., p. 649.—Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 641.

¹⁰ Dani reverè veniunt; castrum itaque vestrum hominibus et armis et alimentis vigilantè curâ munire facite. (Laf-ranci Opera, p. 314.)

The greater part of the Norman forces were directed towards the east; posts were established on the coasts; cruisers were sent out to sea; the fortresses recently erected were surrounded with new works; and the walls of the old towns which the conquerors had dismantled were rebuilt.¹ King William called on the *ban* or general arming throughout Gaul, which he had proclaimed twenty years before, when about to make his descent upon England: he promised pay and rewards to every knight and foot-soldier who should enlist in his service. An immense number came from all parts. Every country which had furnished invading troops to effect the Conquest now furnished garrisons to defend it.² The new soldiers were quartered in the towns and villages; and the Norman counts, viscounts, bishops, and abbots, were ordered to lodge and feed them, in proportion to the extent of their lands or jurisdictions.³ To defray the expenses of this great armament, it was resolved on to revive the old tax called Dane-geld, which, before the Scandinavian conquerors levied it, had been raised for the defence of the country against their invasions. It was re-established at the rate of twelve pence of silver for one hundred acres of land. The Normans, upon whom this tax chiefly fell, indemnified themselves by exacting the full amount from their Anglo-Saxon farmers or serfs, who were thus made to pay for repelling the Danes, now expected to come to their assistance, that which their ancestors had paid for repelling them when they came as enemies.⁴ Detachments of soldiers were sent through the north-eastern parts of England, to devastate and render them alike uninhabitable to the Danes if they should land there, and to the English themselves, who were suspected of desiring such a descent.⁵ On the sea-coast, within a vessel's reach, not a man, nor an animal, nor a fruit-tree was left. The Saxon population was of necessity crowded into the interior; and, as the last precaution against a good understanding between that population and the Danes, a royal proclamation, which was published in all places near the sea, ordered all men of the English race to wear Norman clothes, to carry Norman arms, and to shave their beards like the Normans.⁶ The object of this strange command was to prevent the Danes from distinguishing the friends whom they came to succour from the enemies whom they came to fight.⁷

All these precautions were not the fruits of causeless terror: a numerous fleet, destined for England, was really at anchor off the coast of Denmark. Olaf Kyr, king of Norway, son and successor of that Harold who, when he would have conquered the country of the English, obtained in

it only seven feet of earth, was now coming to assist the nation that had vanquished and slain his father,—not, perhaps, taking clearly into the account the change in the destinies of that people, but imagining simply that he was going to avenge the death of Harold.⁸ As for the king of Denmark, Knut, son of Sven or Sweyn, the promoter of the war and supreme chief of the armament, he perfectly comprehended the revolution operated in England by the Norman Conquest, and it was with a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs that he sought to assist the conquered against the conquerors. "He had yielded," say the Danish historians, "to the supplications of the English exiles, the messages received from England, and the pity which he felt for the miseries of a race allied with his own, whose men of rank, wealth, and consideration, were all slain or banished, and which was wholly reduced to political slavery under the foreign race of the *French* or *Romans*."⁹ Indeed these were the only two names by which the people of Normandy were known in the north of Europe, when the last remains of the Danish tongue had perished at Rouen or at Bayeux.¹⁰ Though it was still easy for the Norman barons and seigniors to prove their Scandinavian descent, yet, forgetting the idiom which was its visible sign, they had lost their prescriptive title in the family compact which, notwithstanding the frequent hostilities produced by the momentary impulse of passion, united the Teutonic nations in a common bond. But the Anglo-Saxons were still entitled to the benefit of this fraternity of origin: this was acknowledged by the king of the Danes, as the chronicles of his nation testify; and, if his enterprise was not wholly unconnected with views of personal ambition, it was at least ennobled by a feeling of humanity and of the ties of consanguinity. His fleet was kept in harbour longer than had been expected; and during this delay emissaries from the Norman king, as cunning and adroit as their master, corrupted, with the gold of England, several of the Danish councillors and captains.¹¹ (A.D. 1086.) The delay, at first involuntary, was prolonged by these intrigues. The men secretly sold to William—the Danish bishops especially, most of whom suffered themselves to be bought—repeatedly succeeded in preventing king Knut from setting sail, by causing him to meet with embarrassments and hindrances totally unexpected by that monarch. Meanwhile, the soldiers, fatigued with a fruitless confinement to camp, complained and murmured beneath their tents:¹² they impatiently demanded that they should no longer be trifled with, whilst subjected to unavoidable privations; and that they should either be immediately embarked, or be sent back to their homes, their tillage,

¹ Hist. S. Canuti regis, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 348.

² Cum tanto exercitu equitum ac pedum à Francorum regno atque à Britannia . . . quantum nunquam antea hanc terram petebat. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 186.)

³ Pro sua terre portione. (Ibid.)—Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 641.

⁴ Danigeldi reddito propter piratas primitus statuta est . . . ad eorum insolentiam reprimendam. (Wilkins, Concilia magne Brit., i. 312.)

⁵ Experti sunt incolæ multos dolores, et rex permisit devastari omnes terras maritimas. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 186.)

⁶ Anglis autem quibus non minimi desiderii Danici exercitus adventum dederat, barbas radere, armas et exuvias ad instar Romanorum coaptare, per omnia Francigenis, quos et Romanos diè prestatimus, assimilare precipit. (Hist. S. Canuti regis, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 350.)

⁷ Ad deludendam adventantium visus. (Ibid.)

⁸ Sagan of Olaf Kyrre, cap. viii.; Snorre's Heimskringla, iii. 185.

⁹ Siquidem in clytis eorum ducibus . . . et nobilibus diversarumque dignitatum personis, partim ferro preceptis, hereditate privatis, nativo solo exterminatis, reliquis veluti publicè servitute oppressis . . . quorum angustiis piissimus heros iucundatus, in commodum eorum succurrendum decrevit, et ut gentem nobilissimam pristinae libertati restitueret, et Romanorum seu Francigenarum insolentiam puniret. Classe. . . (Hist. S. Canuti regis, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 347.)

¹⁰ See Book ii. p. 39.

¹¹ Hist. S. Canuti regis, apud script. rer. Danic., iii. 351, in notis.—Torfæi Hist. rer. Norweg., lib. vi. vol. ii. 393.

¹² Vulgus impatiens moræ et littoræ detentionis, prestatationes domesticis inutilis negotiis querebantur. (Hist. S. Canuti, ibid., iii. 351.)

and their traffic. They next held secret councils, and caused the deputies whom they appointed to notify to the king their resolution to disband themselves, unless the order for departure were given without further delay.¹ King Knut had recourse to severity for the restoration of discipline: he imprisoned the chiefs of this mutiny, and subjected the entire army to the payment of a fine levied on each and every soldier. These measures, far from allaying the ferment, increased it to such a degree, that in the month of July 1086 there was a general commotion, in which the king was killed by the malcontent soldiery.² This was the signal for a civil war, which involved all Denmark: and from that moment the Danish people, occupied with their domestic quarrels, forgot the Anglo-Saxons, their slavery, and all their woes.

This was the last time that the sympathy of the Teutones of the north was elicited in favour of the Teutonic race inhabiting England. By degrees, the English nation, despairing of their own cause, ceased to court the remembrance and good-will of the people of the north. The exiles of the Conquest died in foreign lands, where they left behind them children who, forgetting the country of their ancestors, knew no other than that in which they were born.³ In course of time the Danish ambassadors and travellers who visited England, hearing in the houses of the great and rich none but the Roman tongue of Normandy, and paying scarcely any attention to the language spoken by the English tradesmen in their shops, or the herdsmen in their hovels, imagined either that the whole population of the country was Norman, or that the language of the country had changed since the invasion by the Normans.⁴ Who, indeed, that saw the French troubadours going from town to town, and from castle to castle, charming the ears and enjoying the favour of the higher class of the inhabitants of England, could think that, but sixty years before, the scalds of the north had enjoyed the same high favour?⁵ Thus, from the twelfth century, England was regarded by the Scandinavian nations as a country whose language was absolutely foreign to them. This opinion became so strong, that in the civil law and *droit d'aubaine* of Denmark and Norway the English were, in course of time, classed among those foreigners who were the least favourably treated. In the code which bears the name of king Magnus we find, in the article *successions*, this formula:—"If men of the English race, or of any other still less known to us If Englishmen, or other men whose speech has no resemblance to our own"⁶ But this want of resemblance could not be understood of the

mere diversity of dialects; for even at this day the popular language of the northern provinces of England is strictly intelligible to a Dane or Norwegian.⁷

Towards the close of the year 1086 there was held at Salisbury—some say at Winchester—a general meeting of the conquerors, or sons of the conquerors, of England. Every dignified man, whether priest or layman, came at the head of his men-at-arms and of the freeholders of his domain. Their number was about sixty thousand, all possessing at least a portion of land sufficient for the maintenance of a horse and the complete armour of a soldier.⁸ They all in succession renewed their oath of faith and homage to king William, touching his hands, and repeating this formula:—"From this hour forward I become your liege-man in life and in limb, to bear you honour and faith at all times, for the land which I hold of you. So help me God!"⁹ The armed colony then separated; and it was probably at the moment of this separation that the king's heralds published in his name the following ordinances:—¹⁰

"We firmly will and ordain that the counts, barons, knights, servants-at-arms, and all the free men of this kingdom, be and hold themselves fitly provided with horses and arms, in order to be entirely and at all times in readiness to render to us the lawful service which they owe to us for their lands and tenures.¹¹

"We will that all the free men of this kingdom be sworn and leagued together as brethren in arms, to defend, maintain, and keep it, to the utmost of their power.¹²

"We will that all the cities, towns, castles, and hundreds of this kingdom, be watched every night, and that the watch be regularly set and relieved,—against enemies and evil-doers.¹³

"We will that all men, throughout the kingdom, whom we have brought from beyond sea, or who have come over after us, be under our especial peace and protection; and, if any one of them happen to be killed, his chief shall seize the murderer within five days; otherwise he shall pay a fine to us, conjointly with the Englishmen of the district where the murder shall have been committed.¹⁴

"We will that the free men of this kingdom hold their lands and possessions well and peaceably, free from all exaction and all tallage, so that nothing be taken from or asked of them but the free service which they owe and are bound to render us perpetually for their lands and tenures.¹⁵

⁷ The difference lies wholly in the French words which have been introduced in great number.

⁸ Omnes terrarii. (Annales Waverleicensis. Ealle . . . land sitende menn. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 187.)—Et lx millia militum invenit. (Order. Vital. Hist. ecclesiast., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 640.)

⁹ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 187.—Math. Westmonast. flor. hist., p. 229.

¹⁰ Quos omnes, dum necesse esset, paratos esse præcepit. (Ord. Vital., p. 649.)

¹¹ Statuimus et firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes comites et barones et milites et servientes et liberi homines totius regni nostri habeant et teneant se semper bene in armis et in equis ut deceat et oportet. (Selden note ad Eadmeri, hist. nov., p. 191.)

¹² Præcipimus ut omnes liberi homines totius regni predicti sint fratres conjurati. (Ibid.)

¹³ Singulis noctibus vigilentur et custodiantur in gymra. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Ut omnes homines quos nobiscum adduximus, aut qui post nos venerint, sint sub protectione et in pace nostrâ per universum regnum, et si quis de illis occisus fuerit . . . (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Ut omnes liberi homines . . . habeant et teneant terras suas, et possessiones suas, bene et in pace, libere ab omni exactione injustâ et ab omni tallagio. (Ibid.)

¹ Regi nuncios . . . consilio crebris inuito . . . (Ibid.)

² Hist. S. Canuti regis, ibid., iii. 352.

³ Ipsorum etiam Anglorum qui in Daniam tædio Normanorum dominationis profugi. (Pontani rer. Danic. hist., lib. v. 197.)

⁴ Lingua verò in Angliâ mutata est, ubi Willelmus Nothus Angliam subegit: ex eo enim tempore in Angliâ invaluit lingua Franco-Normannica. (*Waltha*.)—(Sagan af Gunnlaugi, cap. vii. p. 87. Hafnia, 1775.)

⁵ Gunnlaugus (Islandensis) ad regem Ethelredum accessit . . . "Carmen heroicum de te composui cui vellum audiendo vacares." Rex ita fore annuit, undè Gunnlaugus recitavit . . . Eadem tum Angliæ que (Danicæ et) Norvegiæ fuit lingua. (Ibid.)

⁶ Si jam Angli aut alii qui communi nobiscum sermone vel lingua non utuntur . . . Si homines Angli, vel alii magis adhuc nobis ignoti . . . (Codex juris Islandorum dictus *Gragas*, T. de hæredit. cap. vi. et xviii. In dissert. de ling. Danicæ, apud Sagan af Gunnlaugi, p. 247.)

"We will that all men observe and maintain the laws of king Edward, and those which we have established for the advantage of the English and the common good of the whole kingdom."¹

This vain expression, *the laws of king Edward*, was all that thenceforward remained to the Anglo-Saxon nation of its ancient existence; for the condition of every individual in it had been changed by the Norman Conquest. From the greatest to the least, every individual of the conquered people had sunk below his former condition. The chief had lost his power, the rich man his wealth, the free man his independence; and he who, according to the hard custom of the time, had been born a slave in another's house, became the serf of a foreigner, and no longer obtained those little indulgences which the habit of living together, and the community of language, induced on the part of his old master.² The English towns and villages were farmed out by the foreign counts and viscounts to contractors, who made the most of them as private property, without exercising any administrative functions. The king speculated in like manner on the great cities and immense lands composing his domains.³ "He let his towns and manors," say the chroniclers, "at the very highest price; then, if some other contractor came and offered more, the farm was granted to him; and if, after all, a third came and bade higher, it was definitively adjudged to this last."⁴ He adjudged to the highest bidder, giving himself no concern about the enormous cruelties committed by his provosts in levying the poll-tax from the poor people. The king and his barons were avaricious to excess; and, if they saw a half-crown could be made, they would do anything to get possession of it."⁵

William had, as his share of the Conquest, nearly fifteen hundred manors; he was king of England, the supreme and irrevocable chief of the conquerors of England: yet he was not happy. When, in the sumptuous assemblies which, wearing his crown, he held three times a-year, either in London, at Winchester, or at Gloucester, his companions in victory, and the prelates whom he had instituted, came and placed themselves around him, his look was stern and gloomy;⁶ he seemed full of care and uneasiness, for his mind was constantly tortured by the possibility of a change of fortune. He placed no reliance on the fidelity of his Normans, nor on the submission of the English people. He tormented himself about his own future years and

the fate of his children; and put questions concerning his presentiments to men reputed wise, in an age when divination was a reputed portion of wisdom. An Anglo-Norman poet, almost cotemporary, represents him seated in the midst of his English and Norman bishops, and soliciting of them, with puerile importunity, a decisive exposition of the fate of his posterity.⁷

At the commencement of the year 1087, having reduced to a regular, if not a lawful order, the turbulent and varying results of the Conquest, William a third time quitted England, and crossed the Channel, loaded, say the old historians, with innumerable maledictions.⁸ He crossed it, never again to return; for death detained him on the other shore. Among the laws and ordinances which he left in England, on his embarkation, there are two which deserve a particular mention, as especially relating to the preservation of the order established by the Conquest.⁹ The first of these two laws, which is but a complementary renewal of the proclamation given in a preceding page—if, indeed, the proclamation itself be not a duplicate version of the law,—had for its object to repress the assassinations committed on members of the victorious nation. It was couched in these terms:—"When a Frenchman is killed or discovered slain in any hundred, the inhabitants of the hundred shall seize and bring up the murderer within eight days; otherwise, they shall pay, at their common cost, a fine of 47 marks of silver."¹⁰

An Anglo-Norman writer of the twelfth century makes the following exposition of the motive of this law. "In the early days of the new order of things which followed the Conquest, such of the English as were suffered to live were continually laying ambushes for the Normans,¹¹ and murdering all whom they found alone in desert or solitary places. In revenge for these assassinations, king William and his barons inflicted on the subjugated the most refined punishments, the most exquisite tortures;¹² but these chastisements had scarcely any effect. It was then decreed that every district, or hundred, in which a Norman should be found dead, without any individual's being suspected of committing the assassination, should nevertheless pay a heavy sum of money to the royal treasury. The salutary fear of this punishment, inflicted upon all the inhabitants in a body, must, it was considered, ensure the safety of passengers, by inducing the men of the place to denounce and give up the guilty person, who alone by his crime occasioned an enormous loss to the whole neighbourhood."¹³ The men of the hundred in

¹ Et omnes habeant et teneant legem Edwardi regis, in omnibus rebus, aduclis iis quas constitutus ad utilitatem Anglorum. (Ibid., p. 192.)

² Et jus libertatis est abreptum, et jus mancipii coangustatum. (Sermo Lapi ad Anglos, apud Hicckes, Thesaur. Ling. Sept. ii. 100.)

³ He sette his townes and londes to ferme wel vaste.

(Robert of Gloucester's Chron., p. 378, ed. Hearne.)
⁴ Pretio quam potuit maximo . . . tunc accedens alius quepiam qui plus obtulit . . . tertius iis plus obtulit, atque rex terras istas tradidit qui omnium plurimum offerebant. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 188.)

⁵ Et non curabat cum quanto peccato prepositi censum à pauperibus hominibus acquisissent . . . Rex et penè omnes capitales homines valde et nimium cupiditate auri et argenti repleti erant. (Annales Waverleigenses, apud rer. Anglie. script., B. 134, ed. Gale.)—Faceret, diceret penè omnia, ubi spes nimii effulsisset. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 112, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Ter gessit suam coronam singulis annis. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 190.)—Feritate quâ multis videbatur sævus et formidabilis. (Eadmeri hist., p. 13, ed. Selden.)

⁷ See the 'Continuation du Brut de Wace, par un anonyme,' Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, i. 80 to 94.

⁸ In Normanniam innumeras maledictionibus laqueatus transiretavit. (T. Rudborm, hist. major Wiuton; Anglia sacra, i. 258.)

⁹ Quædam de eis que nova per Angliam servari constituit. (Eadmer. hist. nov., p. 6, ed. Selden.)

¹⁰ Ki Freccis occist, les homes del hundred nel prengent et amènent à la justise . . . (Leges Wl. conq. apud Ingulf, ed. Gale, i. 90.)

¹¹ Qui relictii fuerunt de Anglieis subactis, in suspectam et exosam sibi Normannorum gentem. (Dialog. de Scaccar. in notis ad Math. Paris, vol. i. ad initium.)

¹² Reges et eorum ministri per aliquot annos deserviret exquisitis tormentorum generibus in Anglieis. (Ibid.)

¹³ Ut scilicet poena generaliter inflicta præteritulum indemnitate procuraret, et festinaet quisque . . . offerre iudicio per quem tam enormis jactura totam ledebatur viciniam. (Ibid.)

which the Frenchman was found dead had no other means of escaping this pecuniary loss than that of destroying every outward mark that could prove the corpse to be that of a Frenchman; for then the hundred was not responsible, and the Norman judges did not make their official inquest. But the judges foresaw this artifice, and frustrated it by a strange legal fiction or presumption. Any man found assassinated was considered as French, unless the hundred judicially proved that he was of Saxon birth; which proof must be given before the king's justice, on the oaths of two men and two women, the nearest of kin to the deceased.¹ Without these four witnesses, the deceased's quality of Englishman—his *Anglaiserie* or Englishry (as the Normans expressed it)—was not sufficiently established, and the hundred had to pay the fine.² More than three centuries after the invasion (as the antiquarians testify) this inquest was held in England on the body of every assassinated man; and, in the legal language, it was still called *presentment of Englishry*.³

The other law of the Conqueror was designed to increase in an exorbitant degree the authority of the bishops of England. These bishops were all Normans; their power was to be exercised entirely for the advantage of the Conquest; and, as the warriors who had made that conquest maintained it by the sword and the lance, so it was for the churchmen to uphold it by their political address, and by the influence of religion. To these reasons of general utility was added a more personal motive as regarding king William: for the bishops of England, though installed by the common council of all the Norman barons and knights, had been chosen from among the chaplains, the immediate dependents, and the intimate friends of the king.⁴ In William's lifetime no intrigue disturbed this arrangement; he never met with a bishop who had any other will than his. The state of things, it is true, altered under the kings who succeeded him: but the Conqueror could not foresee the future; and the experience of his whole reign justified him in making the following ordinance:—

"William, by the grace of God, king of England, to the counts, viscounts, and all other men, French and English, of all England, greeting: Be it known to you, and all others my faithful subjects, that, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and lords of my whole kingdom, I have thought fit to amend the episcopal laws which, improperly and in contradiction to the canons, were, until the time of my conquest, in force in this country.⁵ I

ordain that, henceforward, no bishop nor archdeacon shall resort to the tribunals of justice to plead episcopal causes, nor henceforth submit to the judgment of secular men suits relating to the government of souls. I will that whosoever shall be summoned, for whatever cause, by the episcopal judicature, shall repair to the bishop's house, or to such other place as the bishop himself shall choose and appoint; that he shall there plead his cause, and render what is right to God and to the bishop,—not according to the laws of the country, but according to the canons and episcopal decrees;⁶—that if any one, through an excess of pride, refuse to repair to the bishop's court, he shall receive notice once, twice, or thrice; and if, after three successive notices, he does not appear, he shall be excommunicated, and, if need be, the strength and justice of the king or of the viscount shall be employed against him."⁷

By virtue of this law was effected in England the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil tribunals; and thus was established for the former an absolute independence of all political power—an independence which they had never enjoyed in the days of Anglo-Saxon liberty. In those days the bishops were obliged to go to the justice-meeting held twice a-year in each shire, or three times a-year in each district. They joined their accusations with the charges laid by the ordinary magistrates, and gave their judgment conjointly with them and with the freemen of the district on those trials in which the custom of the age permitted them to interfere—in the causes of widows, orphans, and churchmen, and those relating to marriage and divorce. For these suits, as for all others, there was but one law, one judgment, and one tribunal;—the only difference being, that when they came to be debated the bishop took his seat beside the sheriff and the alderman⁸ or *caldorman* of the shire: the sworn witnesses answered to the facts, and the judges decided on the law of the case, as in civil causes.⁹ This change in the national usages is to be dated only from the time of the Norman Conquest. It was the Conqueror who, breaking through the ancient practice of civil equality, raised the higher clergy of England to the power of holding a tribunal in their own houses, and of disposing of the public force to drag thither those under their jurisdiction:¹⁰ he thus subjected the kingly power to the obligation of executing the sentences given by the ecclesiastical authorities according to a code which was alien to the land. William imposed

¹ Nec causam que ad regimen animarum pertinet ad iudicium secularium hominum adducant. Sed quicumque secundum episcopales leges, de quocumque causa, interpellatus fuerit, ad locum quem ad hoc episcopus elegerit et nominaverit, veniat. (Selden, *ibid.*,—Dugdale, *ibid.*)

² Et non secundum hundred, sed secundum canones et episcopales leges, rectum Deo et episcopo faciat. (Selden, *ibid.*,—Dugdale, *ibid.*)

³ Si vero aliquis, per superbiam elatus, . . . excommunicatur, et si opus fuerit ad hoc vindicandum, fortitudo et iustitia Regis vel vicecomitis adhibeantur. (Charta regis Willelmi primi, apud Wilkins Concilia Magnæ Britan., i. 369.)

⁴ See Book ii. p. 28.

⁵ Hæbbe man thriwa on gear burghemote and twa scyregemote, and thær scyregemote se biseop and se caldorman, and thær cegther treow ge godes rihte, ge wurdles rihte. (Leges Edgari Regis, cap. 5. Note ad Eadmer., p. 166.)

⁶ Quicumque secundum episcopales leges, de quocumque causa vel culpa interpellatus fuerit, ad locum quem ad hoc episcopus elegerit, et nominaverit, veniat. (Charta Willelmi regis, Seldeni note ad Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 167.)

¹ . . . Quia interfectus pro alienigena reputabitur, nisi de eo fuerit *Anglescheria* presentata . . . et licitum est cuilibet patriæ sui uti consuetudine, dum tamen presententur, ut per duos masculos ex parte patris et per duas feminas ex parte matris de propinquioribus parentibus interfecti. (Fleta, seu commentarius juris Anglicani, lib. i. cap. 30, p. 46, Londini, 1685.)

² Nid legaliter constaret de *Englescheria* interfecti. (Gloss. Spelmani, verbo *Englescheria*.)—The Normans sometimes pronounced *Anglech*, *Englech*, for *Anglez*, *Englez*, and *Anglécherie* for *Anglezerie*.

³ *Presentment d'Anglécherie*. (See Blackstone.)—This law was not abrogated until the year 1341, by a statute of Edward III.

⁴ Anglia Sacra, and Wilkins' Concilia, *passim*.

⁵ Sciatis vos omnes et ceteri mei fideles, quod episcopales leges que non bene, nec secundum sanctorum canonum precepta, usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerunt, emendandas iudicavi. (Seldeni Note ad Eadmer. hist. nov., p. 167.)—Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, iii. 308.

these shackles on his successors knowingly and willingly, from political motives—not through devotion, nor through fear of the bishops, who were entirely subservient to him.¹ Nor had fear of pope Gregory VII. any greater influence in determining the Norman king to this measure. For, notwithstanding the services which the court of Rome had formerly done him, William the Norman denied with harshness all the requests which Gregory made to him that did not suit his own views: and the tone of a letter from him to the pontiff shows with what freedom of judgment he estimated the pretensions of Rome and his supposed engagements to the church. The pope had to complain of some delay in the payment of the tax called Peter's-pence, the re-establishment of which had been stipulated for, in the treaty concluded at Rome in the year 1066; he wrote to William to remind him of that stipulation, and the money was forthwith transmitted to Rome. Nevertheless, this complaisance appeared insufficient: the Conqueror, in raising the standard of the holy see for the invasion of England, had thereby, to a certain degree, made the recognition of his being a vassal of the church of Rome; Gregory, founding thereupon a new and imperious claim, did not hesitate to summon the successful warrior to do homage to him for the kingdom he had conquered, and to take the oath of fealty and vassalage before a cardinal. William replied in these terms:—"Thy legate has notified to me from thee that I have to send money to the Roman church, and that I must swear fidelity [allegiance] to thee and thy successors. The first of these demands I admit: as for the second, I neither do nor will admit it; I will not swear fidelity to thee, for I never promised it, nor did any of my predecessors ever swear fidelity to thine."²

In terminating the recital of the events which have just been laid before the reader, the chroniclers of English birth give way to deep and touching lament over the miseries of their nation. "It cannot be doubted," exclaim some of them, "that it is God's will that we shall no longer be a people—that we shall no longer possess our national honour and security."³ Others complain that the name of Englishman has become a reproach:⁴ nor was it from the pens of contemporaries alone that such complainings escaped: the remembrance of a heavy calamity and of a great national disgrace is constantly recurring, from time to time, in the works written by descendants of the Anglo-Saxons, although in a less impressive manner as the all-involving tide of ages swept past.⁵ Even so recently as the fifteenth century, the distinction of ranks in England is declared to have sprung from the Conquest; and a monastic

writer who has not been charged with entertaining revolutionary theories wrote the following remarkable words:—"If there is among us so great a difference of conditions, it is not to be wondered at; for there is a diversity of races: and if there is among us so little mutual confidence and affection, it is because we are not of one blood."⁶ Finally, a writer who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century recalls to mind the Norman Conquest by the exclamation *memorie of sorrow*; he speaks in terms of compassion of the disinherited and despoiled families who had then sunk into the class of artisans, of peasants, and many of them of paupers.⁷ This is the last sorrowful glance cast back, through the mist of ages, on that great event which established in England a race of kings, nobles, and warriors of foreign extraction.

If, collecting in his own mind all the facts detailed in the foregoing narration, the reader wishes to form a just idea of England upon its conquest by William of Normandy, he must figure to himself not a mere change of political rule, not the triumph of one of two competitors, but the intrusion of a nation into the bosom of another people, which it came to destroy, and the scattered fragments of which it retained as an integral portion of the new system of society in the *status* merely of personal property, or, to use the stronger language of records and deeds, of a "clothing to the soil."⁸ He must not picture to himself, on the one hand, William, the king and despot; on the other, simply his subjects, high and low, rich and poor, all inhabiting England, and consequently all English: he must bear in mind that there were two distinct nations, the old Anglo-Saxon race and the Norman invaders, dwelling intermingled on the same soil; or rather he might contemplate two countries—the one possessed by the Normans, wealthy and exonerated from capitation and public burdens; the other, that is the Saxon, enslaved and oppressed with a land-tax: the former full of spacious mansions, of walled and moated castles; the latter scattered over with thatched cabins and ancient walls in a state of dilapidation: this peopled with the happy and the idle, with soldiers and courtiers, with knights and nobles; that with men in misery and condemned to labour, with peasants and artisans: on the one, he beholds luxury and insolence,—on the other, poverty and envy; not the envy of the poor at the sight of the opulence of those born to opulence, but that malignant envy, although justice be on its side, which the despoiled cannot but entertain in looking upon the spoilers. Lastly, to complete the picture, these two lands are in some sort interwoven with each other; they meet at every point; and yet they are more distinct, more completely separated, than if the ocean

¹ Curialis nimis et aulicus . . . pro famulatu suo . . . stipendiarii. (Math. Paris., Vitæ Abbat. Sti. Albani, l. 47.)—Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast.

² Unum admisi, alterum non admisi; fidelitatem facere volui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi . . . (Seldeni nota ad Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 164.)

³ Salutem et honorem genti Anglorum abstulerit, et jam populum non esse jussit. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 984, ed. Selden.)—Math. Westm. flor. hist., p. 229.

⁴ Ita ut Angliam vocari foret opprobrio. (Math. Paris., i. 12.)

⁵ Amplas Anglorum terras, et predia multa Distribuens, quas adhuc presens videt et doctet etas. (Hearne, Note ad Guill. Neubrig., p. 722.)

⁶ Non miretur quis si varietas nationum tribuat varietatem conditionum, et inde crescat nimia difficultas naturalis amoris, et dispersio sanguinis tribuat dispersam credulitatem mutam confidentiam et dilectionis. (Hear. Kuyghton, de event. Angl. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2343, ed. Selden.)

⁷ The *memorie of sorrow* . . . By which great violence, suddain and lamentable desolation, it may well have come to passe that many being anciently of the races and descents of many woorthy families, yea even of princes, have since become poor artificers and peasants. (A restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities, by Richard Verstegan, p. 176. 4to 1605.)

⁸ Vestura fructus quilibet agro habentes. (Ducange, Gloss. ad script. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, verbo *Vestura*.)—Gloss. Spelmani, verbo, *Accola*.

rolled between them. Each has its language, and speaks a language foreign to the other. French is the court language, used in all the palaces, castles, and mansions, in the abbeys and monasteries, in all places where wealth and power offer their attractions; while the ancient language of the country is heard only at the firesides of the poor and the serfs. For a long time these two idioms were propagated without intermixture,—the one being the mark of noble, the other of ignoble birth,—as is expressed with bitterness in the following verses of a poet of the olden time, who complains that England in his day exhibited the spectacle of a land that had repudiated its mother-tongue:—

Thus come, lo! Engeland unto Normannes hande.
And the Normannes ne couthe speke tho bote her owe speche.
And speke French as dude atome, and her chyldren dude also teche.
So that heyemen of this lond that of her blod come
Holdeth alle thulke speche that his of hem nome:
Ac lowe men holdeth to Englyss and to her kunde speche gut.¹

BOOK VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THE LAST GENERAL CONSPIRACY OF THE SAXONS AGAINST THE NORMANS.

A.D. 1087 to 1137.

DURING his sojourn in Normandy, in the first months of the year 1087, king William directed his attention to the terminating of an ancient dispute with Philip I., king of France. At the time of those agitations which ensued upon the decease of Robert-le-Diable duke of Normandy, the county of Vexin, situated between the rivers Epte and Oise, was dismembered from Normandy and united to France. William cherished the hope of recovering, without war, this portion of his hereditary states; and, whilst awaiting the issue of negotiations set on foot with that object, he was reposeing himself at Rouen: there he kept his bed by the advice of physicians, who were endeavouring, by means of the strictest dietary regimen, to reduce the excessive corpulency of the monarch. Philip, however, presuming that there was but little cause for his dreading the anger of a prince thus engaged in the conservation of his bodily health, returned none but evasive answers to the demands made by the Norman; and the latter could but ill brook this delay of the question at issue.¹ It so happened that king Philip exclaimed one day to his courtiers, in jest, "By my faith, the king of England is long lying-in; there will doubtless be a ceremonious churching!" This speech, being reported to William, stung his pride so much that he forgot all other concerns but how he might best take vengeance for the insult. He swore by his greatest oaths, viz., the splendour and the nativity of God, that he would go and hold his churching at Nôtre Dame in Paris, with ten thousand lances for ta-

pers.² In accordance with this declaration he resumed all his wonted activity, assembled his forces, and, in the month of July, entered France by that territory to which he had been laying claim. The wheat-crops were still in the fields, and the trees were loaded with their fruit. He commanded that everything should be laid waste on his route; he marched his cavalry over the corn-fields, had the vines torn up and the fruit-trees cut down.³ The first town he came to was Mantes, on the river Seine; it was set on fire by his order, and the king, prompted by the remorseless spirit of destruction, betook himself to the scene of conflagration to feast his eyes with the spectacle, and urge on his soldiery.

As he was galloping over the ruins his charger set his fore pasterns upon some burning timber concealed by ashes, and fell, wounding the king in the belly. His exertion in riding and shouting, together with the heat of the fire and of the season, made his wound prove dangerous;⁴ he was carried sick to Rouen, and from thence to a monastery without the walls of the city, the noise of which he could not bear.⁵ He languished six weeks, surrounded by physicians and priests; and, finding that his malady increased, he sent money to Mantes to rebuild the churches he had burned. He also sent some to the convents and the poor of England, to purchase remission (says an old English poet) for all the robberies he had committed.⁷ He moreover ordered the Saxons and the Normans confined in his prisons to be set at liberty. Among the former were Morkar, Siward Beorn, and king Harold's brother Ulfnoth, one of the two hostages for whose liberation Harold had made his fatal journey.⁸ Among the Normans were Roger the former count of Hereford, and Odo bishop of Bayeux, William's half-brother.

The king's two younger sons, William surnamed Rufus, and Henry, were constantly at his bedside, impatiently awaiting the announcement of his last will. Robert, the eldest of the three, had been absent ever since his last quarrel with his father. To him it was that William, with the consent of the Norman chiefs, had formerly bequeathed his title of duke of Normandy; and, notwithstanding the curse which he had afterwards pronounced against Robert, he did not seek to disinherit him of this title, to which it was the country's wish that he should succeed.⁹ "As for the kingdom of England," he said, "I bequeath the inheritance of it to no one, for the inheritance thereof was not bequeathed to me; I acquired it by force, and at the cost of blood:¹⁰ I leave it in the hands of God—only wishing that my son William, who has been

¹ Chronique de Normandie, recueil des hist. de la France, xiii. 240.—Quod quancumque à puerperio suo levaret . . . mille candelas in regno Francie illuminaret. (Chron. Johan. Brompton, i. col. 980, ed. Selden.)

² Conculacionem segetum et extirpationem vinearum. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 655.)

³ Tunc ibi ex nimio æstu ac labore pinguisimus rex Guillelmus infirmatus est. (Ibid. p. 656.)

⁴ Quia strepitus Rhotomagi intolerabilis erat segrotanti. (Ord. Vital., p. 656.)

⁵ To bete thulke robberye that hym thoughte he hadde ydo. (Robert of Gloucester Chron., p. 369.)

⁶ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 192.

⁷ See Book vi. pp. 115, 116.

⁸ Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, ed. Hearne, p. 364.

⁹ Caluuniam de Valesiano comitatu. (Ord. Vital., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 655.)—Seditiosorum frivolis *sophismatibus* usus est. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Diro conflictu et multâ effusione humani erroris. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 659.)

submissive to me in all things, may obtain it, if he please God and prosper." "And what do you give me, father?" eagerly asked his youngest son Henry.¹ "I give thee," answered the king, "five thousand pounds of silver from my treasury." "What shall I do with this silver, if I have neither land nor habitation?"² "Be quiet, my son, and trust in God: let thy elder brothers go before thee; thy turn will come after theirs." Henry immediately withdrew, to receive his five thousand pounds; he had them carefully weighed, and provided himself with a strong chest, having plates of iron and good locks on it.³ At this moment William Rufus departed for England, to be crowned in that kingdom.

On the tenth of September, A. D. 1087, at sunrise, king William was awakened by the sound of bells, and asked what it meant. He was told that they were ringing for the early matin service in St. Mary's church. He lifted up his hands, saying, "I commend myself to my lady, Mary the holy mother of God," and almost instantly expired.⁴ His medical and other attendants, who had passed the night with him, seeing that he was dead, hastily mounted their horses, and rode off to take care of their property.⁵ The serving-men and vassals of inferior rank, when their superiors had fled, carried off the arms, vessels, clothes, linen, and other moveables, and fled likewise leaving the corpse nearly naked on the floor.⁶ The king's body was left in this situation for several hours;⁷ for, throughout Rouen, every man was seized with a sort of stupor, proceeding not from grief, but from fear of the future: they were, says an old historian, as much troubled as if they had seen an enemy's army at the gates of their city.⁸ Each one went about as chance directed, asking advice of his wife, his friends, or of whomsoever he first met: each had his goods concealed or conveyed away, and some strove to sell theirs at a loss.⁹

At length some of the clergy, both priests and monks, having recovered the use of their faculties and recalled their courage, arrayed a procession.¹⁰ Clad in the habits of their respective orders, with crosses, tapers, and censers, they approached the corpse, and prayed for the soul of the deceased.¹¹ The archbishop of Rouen, named Guillaume, ordered the king's body to be conveyed to Caen, and buried in the basilick of St. Stephen the first martyr, which the king had built in his lifetime. But his sons, his brothers, all his relatives, were afar off; not one of his officers was present; not one of all these offered to take charge of his obsequies.¹² A country gentleman named Herluin, through a

kindness of feeling, and for the love of God, say the historians, took upon himself the trouble and expense.¹³ He engaged the proper attendants, and a wain; he conveyed the king's body thereon to the banks of the Seine, and from thence in a barge down the river and its estuary to the city of Caen.¹⁴ Gilbert, abbot of St. Stephen's, with all his monks, came to meet the body, and was joined by many clerks and laymen; but a distant fire, suddenly appearing, broke up the procession, and called away both clergy and laity to assist in its suppression.¹⁵ The monks of St. Stephen's were left alone, and they conveyed the king's corpse to the church of their convent.

The inhumation of the great chief, the famous baron, as the historians of the time call him,¹⁶ was interrupted by fresh occurrences. When all the bishops and abbots of Normandy had assembled for the mournful ceremony, they caused the grave to be opened in the church, between the altar and the choir; the mass was finished, and the body was about to be lowered, when a man, advancing from amidst the crowd, said with a loud voice—"Clerks and bishops, this ground is mine; upon it stood the house of my father. The man for whom you pray wrested it from me to build thereon his church.¹⁷ I have neither sold my land nor mortgaged it, nor have I forfeited it, nor made any grant whatsoever of it. It is my right, and I claim it."¹⁸ In the name of God, I forbid you to lay the body of the spoiler therein, or to cover it with my glebe."¹⁹ He who thus lifted up his voice was Asselin son of Arthur; and all present confirmed the truth of his words. The bishops told him to approach; and, making a bargain with him, delivered to him sixty sels as the price of the place of sepulture only, and engaged to indemnify him equitably for the rest of the ground.²⁰ The king's corpse had been dressed in the royal habit and robe, but was not in a coffin; on its being placed in the grave constructed of masonry, which was found to be too narrow, it was then requisite to force the body in, which caused it to burst.²¹ Incense and perfumes were burned in abundance, but without avail: the people dispersed in disgust; and the priests themselves, hurrying through the ceremony, soon deserted the church.²²

William Rufus, on his way to England, had been apprised of his father's death, at the port of Wissant, near Calais. He therefore set sail and hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure was deposited, and, gaining over by his promises Guillaume de Pont-de-l'Arche, the keeper of the treasury, he obtained possession of the keys.²³ He had it carefully weighed, and an inventory taken;

¹ Et nihil, pater, quid tribuis? (Ord. Vital. hist. eccles. auct. lib. vii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 659.)

² Si locum habitationis non habuero. (Ibid.)

³ Diligenter ut quid deesset ponderare, multumque gazophylacium sibi procurare. (Ibid.)

⁴ Dominus meus sancta Dei genetrici Mariæ me commendo. (Ibid., p. 661.)

⁵ Illius ascensis equis ad sua tutanda properaverunt. (Ibid.)

⁶ Et relicto regis cada vere penè nudo in arca domûs, auferunt. (Ibid., p. 661.)

⁷ A primâ usque ad tertiam. (Ibid.)

⁸ Penè omnes velut ebrii desuperant, ac si multitudinem hostium imminere urbi vidissent. (Ibid.)

⁹ Quid ageret à conjuge, vel obvio sodali, vel amico, conciliam quesivit. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Collectis viribus et intimis sensibus. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Honestè induti, cum crucibus et thuribulis. (Ibid.)

¹² Verùm fratres ejus et cognati jam ab eo recesserant, et omnes ministri ejus... nec unus inventus est. (Ibid.)

¹³ Herluinus pagensis eques, naturali bonitate compunctus, ... pro amore Dei. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Pollinctores ac vehiculum, mercede de propriis sumptibus. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Omnes ad ignem comprimeudum clerici cum laicis curruerunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Famosi baronis. (Ibid., p. 662.)

¹⁷ Hæc terra ubi consistitis arca domûs patris mei fuit. (Ibid.)

¹⁸ Wace, Roman de Rou, ii. 502.—Chron. de Normandie, recueil des hist. de la France, xiii. 242.

¹⁹ Ex parte Dei, prohibeo nec corpus raptoris operiatur cespitæ meo. (Ord. Vit. loc. supr. cit.)

²⁰ Pro reliquâ verò tellure equipollens mutuum. (Ibid.)

²¹ Pinguissimus venter crepuit. (Ibid.)

²² Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias pericere. (Ibid.)

²³ Dagdale, Monast. Anglic., ii. 890.

and found sixty thousand pounds of fine silver, with a large quantity of gold and jewels.¹ He next convoked all the powerful Norman barons at that time in England, and announced to them the death of the Conqueror, whereupon he was elected king by them, and was anointed by archbishop Lanfranc in Winchester cathedral, while the barons remaining in Normandy were then holding a council on the succession.² Many of these were desirous that the two countries should remain under one and the same government, and were anxious to secure the royal succession to duke Robert, who had returned from exile: but the activity of William forestalled their design.

(A.D. 1087.) His first act of regal authority was to imprison once more the Saxons, Ulfnoth, Morkar, and Siward Beorn, whom his father had recently restored to liberty.³ He then took from the royal treasure a considerable quantity of gold and silver, which he put into the hands of Otho the goldsmith, with orders to make it into ornaments for the tomb of his royal father, whom he had forsaken on his death-bed.⁴ The name of the goldsmith Otho merits a place in this history; for the territorial register of the Conquest mentions him as one of the great proprietors whom the Conquest had created.⁵ Perhaps he had been the banker of the invasion, and had advanced part of the expenses on mortgage of English lands: this is not unlikely, for in the middle ages goldsmiths were also bankers. Or, perhaps, he had merely entered into moneyed speculations on the domains acquired by the lance and the sword, and had given his gold in exchange for their newly-acquired estates to the knights-adventurers,—a class of men common to that age.

(A.D. 1087 to 1088.) A sort of literary competition next took place among the Latin versifiers of England and Normandy, in writing the epitaph that was to be engraven on the tomb of the late king. Thomas archbishop of York bore away the prize.⁶ Several pieces in verse and in prose, in praise of the Conqueror, have been handed down to us; and among the eulogies bestowed on him by the clerks and literary men of that day some are very curious in their style. "O English race!" exclaims one poet, "ye have disturbed the repose of a prince who loved the paths of virtue!"⁷ An historian also writes thus: "O England, thou wouldst have loved him but for thy folly and thy malice!"⁸ "His rule was pacific," says a metrical chronicler,

¹ Statim ponderans thesaurum patris sui, reperit ... (Hist. Ingulf. Croyl. apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 106, ed. Gale.)

² Regem obtuse prohalat dñm ceteri obitus de regni successione tractant in Normanniâ. (Dugdale, Monast. Angl., ii. 890.)

³ Aluredus Beverlacensis Annal. de gest. reg. Britan., lib. ix. 136, ed. Hearne.—Florent. Wigorn. Chron., p. 642.

⁴ Auri et argenti gemmarumque copiam Othoni auri fabro erogavit. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 663.)

⁵ Domesday Book, ii. 97, 98.

⁶ Solius Thomæ versus ex auro inserti sunt. (Ord. Vital., ibid., p. 662.)

⁷ Genus Anglorum, turbatis principem,
Qui virtutis amabat tramitem.

(Script. rer. Normann., p. 218.)

⁸ Diligeres eum Anglica terra, si abesset imprudentia atque iniquitas tua! (Guil. Pictav., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 207.)

"and his soul was beneficent."⁹ Nothing remains to us of such *riede soce* epitaphs as the vanquished nation may have bestowed upon him, unless we take for an example of the popular exclamations on the occasion of his death certain lines of an English poet, of the thirteenth century, to this purport: "The days of king William were days of sufferings and of sorrows, and many thought that his life was too long."¹⁰

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Norman barons who had not concurred in the election of William Rufus crossed the channel into England, being excited by rage against him for having become king without their concurrence. They resolved to depose him, and to place on the throne his elder brother, duke Robert of Normandy.¹¹ At the head of this party appeared the Conqueror's brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, who had been just released from prison, with many rich Normans, or Frenchmen of England, as they are termed in the Saxon chronicle.¹² The Red King, so the histories of the time denominate him,¹³ seeing that his Norman countrymen were conspiring against him, called on his subjects of English race to arm in his cause, exciting them to this effort by a promise of alleviating their grievances.¹⁴ He called around him several of those whom the memory of their lost power still caused to be regarded by the Anglo-Saxon nation as its natural chiefs: he promised them the best laws they should choose, out of the most revered of those that had ever been in force in the land;¹⁵ he restored to them the right of bearing arms, and their ancient forest privileges; he stopped the levying of the poll-tax, and every other odious tribute; but, say the coteremporary chronicles, this condescension was of no long duration.¹⁶

In consideration of these concessions, which lasted for a few days, as, perhaps, also from a secret desire of encountering the Norman barons in battle,¹⁷ the English chiefs embraced the new king's cause, and published in their name and in his the old proclamation of war, that which, in former times, had rallied around them every Englishman capable of bearing arms:—"Let every man who is not worthless, whether in the boroughs or dwelling out of the boroughs, leave his house and come forward."¹⁸ Thirty thousand Englishmen spontaneously repaired to the place assigned,

⁹ Cujus regnum pacificum

Fuit atque fructiferum.

(Chron. Raynaldi Andegavensis, apud script. rer. Fran., xii. 479.)

¹⁰ There was by king Willame's day woe and sorwe ynou. So that muchedel Engelond thoughte hys lyf to long.

(Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, ii. pp. 274, 276, ed. Hearne.)

¹¹ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 192.

¹² The riceste Francisc-men—calle Francisc-men. (Ibid., p. 192, 193.)

¹³ Li Bis Ros. (Roman de Rou, ii. 305.)—The Bado Kyng. (Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 283.)

¹⁴ Tunc accessit Anglos. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 194.)

¹⁵ Meliores leges quas sibi vellent eligere. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 284, ed. Selden.)—Meliores leges quam unquam in hac terra fuerunt. (Annal. Waverleisenses, apud rer. Angl. script., ii. 126, ed. Gale.)

¹⁶ Sed hoc parum duravit. (Annales Waverleisenses, loc. supr. cit.)

¹⁷ Animos eorum contra Normannos malcebat. (J. Bromton, loc. supr. cit.)

¹⁸ See Book ii. p. 23. Ut quicumque esset unithing, sive in burgo, sive extra burzum (Annal. Waverleisenses, apud rer. Angl. script., ii. 126, ed. Gale.)

received arms, and enlisted under the banner of the Norman king.¹ They were nearly all on foot; and William II. led them, together with his cavalry, composed of Normans, against the maritime town of Rochester, where bishop Odo and the chiefs of the opposite party had fortified themselves, awaiting the arrival of duke Robert to march on Canterbury and on London.²

The Saxons of the royal army appear to have shown great ardour at the siege of Rochester. The besieged, being hard pressed, soon desired to capitulate, on the terms of their recognising William for king, and of their retaining under his rule all their lands and honours.³ William at first refused the latter article; but the Normans in his camp, not being so zealous as the Saxons in the war, which to them was a civil war, nor so desirous of reducing to the last extremity their own countrymen and relatives, thought the king too violent against the defenders of Rochester.⁴ They strove to calm and soften him: "We," said they, "who have assisted thee in thy perils, beg of thee to spare our fellow-countrymen and kinsmen, who are also thine, and who likewise aided thy father in subduing England."⁵ The king at length yielded, and granted the besieged free egress from the town, with their arms and their horses. Bishop Odo strove to obtain, as a further condition, that during the evacuation of the city by the Norman garrison the king's bugles should not sound in token of triumph:⁶ this, however, William angrily refused, and said aloud that he would not make such a concession for a thousand marks of gold.⁷ The Normans of duke Robert's party quitted the city which they were unable to defend, with ensigns lowered, and to the sound of the king's trumpets. At that moment a great clamour arose among the English troops of the royal army.⁸ "Ropes! bring ropes," cried they; "let us hang this traitor of a bishop and his accomplices." O king! why dost thou let him retreat in safety? He is not worthy to live! the crafty villain! the murderer of so many thousands of men!" On hearing these imprecations, and similar maledictions and menaces, the haughty prelate, who had given a blessing to the Norman army at the battle of Hastings, withdrew from the kingdom of England, never more to return. The war between the Norman opponents lasted for some time longer; but this family quarrel gradually subsided, and ended in a treaty between the two brothers and the two parties. (A.D. 1088 to 1089.) The domains which Robert's friends had lost in England, for having embraced his cause, were restored to them; and Robert himself abandoned his pretensions to

the kingdom for certain landed estates.¹⁰ The barons of the opposing factions agreed that, if the king should survive the duke, he was to inherit the duchy of Normandy; and, on the contrary, if the duke outlived the king, he should possess the kingdom of England; twelve barons on the king's part, and twelve on the duke's, confirmed this treaty by oath.¹¹ Thus terminated the Norman civil contest, and together with it that compact between William II. and his English subjects which the war of the succession had occasioned, but had not firmly cemented. The concessions made to them by Rufus were all revoked, all his promises were belied, and the Anglo-Saxons were reduced to their former state of subjection and oppression.¹²

Near the city of Canterbury was an ancient monastery, founded in honour of Augustin, the first missionary, who had converted the Saxons and Angles. Here were preserved, in a higher degree than in the other convents of England, the national spirit and the memory of ancient independence. The Normans perceived this, and lost no time in striving to break that spirit by repeated humiliations. The primate Lanfranc began with abolishing the ancient privilege of the monks of the convent of Augustin, which consisted in their being amenable to none but their own abbot for breaches of ecclesiastical discipline.¹³ Although their abbot at that time was a Norman, and as such but little to be suspected of indulgence towards the men of the other race, Lanfranc took from him the right of watching over his monks, and arrogated it to himself.¹⁴ He, moreover, forbade the bells of the monastery to be rung, before those of the cathedral of Canterbury had rung for the service, regardless, says the historian, of the maxim of Holy Writ—"Where the spirit of God is, there is freedom."¹⁵ The Saxon monks murmured at being subjected to this humiliating restriction; and, in order to show their discontent, performed the offices late and with negligence, committing wilful irregularities, such as reversing the crosses, and walking in the procession barefoot against the course of the sun.¹⁶ "Violence," they exclaimed, "is done to us, contrary to the canons of the church. Well! then we will violate the canons in the church service."¹⁷ They prayed their Norman abbot that he would transmit a protest from them to the pope; but the abbot answered them only by punishing them as rebellious, and shutting up the cloisters, so that none of them could go out.¹⁸

This man, who, through hatred for the Saxons, so complacently sacrificed his individual independence, died in 1088; and archbishop Lanfranc

¹ Ord. Vital., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 667.

² Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 643.

³ Ord. Vital. loc. supr. cit.

⁴ Videntes autem ii qui obsidebant . . . ad necem parentum et amicorum, qui obsessi erant, tam validè regis animum furere . . . (Ibid.)

⁵ Nos qui tecum maximis in periculis sicut eum patre tuo perstitimus, nunc tibi pro compatriotis nostris obnixè supplicamus. (Ibid., p. 668.)

⁶ Ne tubicines in eorum egressu tubis canerent. (Ord. Vital., lib., p. 668.)

⁷ Etiam propter mille auri marcos. (Ibid.)

⁸ Multitudo Anglorum que regi adhaerebat vociferabatur. (Ibid., p. 669.)

⁹ Torques, torques afferite, et traditorem episcopum patibulis suspendite! Cur sospitem patris abire? Non debet vivere perjurus homicida! (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Florent. Wigorn. chron., p. 664.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Nihil postmodùm tenuit quòd promisit. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 984, ed. Selden.)

¹³ Chron. Willelmi Thorn. (Ibid., ii. col. 1791.)

¹⁴ Cùm abbas, præ timore, non negaret, ad synodum et capitulum suum omnes presbyteros parochianosque eorum venire compulit. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Ne signa sua pulsarent, nisi pridè . . . (Ibid., ii. 1792.)

¹⁶ Indè ergòrixæ, murmuraciones, exordinationes sæpiusimè fiebant; servitium Dei frequenter tardè et indecenter et irregulariter exercebant. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Ann. eccles. Winton, Anglia sacra, i. 398.

¹⁸ Quos ille despiciens, monachos distingere ac ne de claustro ullo modo exirent . . . (Chron. Will. Thorn. loc. supr. cit.)

then repaired to the monastery, taking with him a monk of Normandy, named Guy, much in favour with the king.¹ He summoned the monks of St. Augustin's, in the name of the royal authority, immediately to receive and instal this new abbot; but they answered with one voice that they would not.² Lanfranc, irritated by this resistance, ordered that such as refused to obey should immediately quit the convent. Nearly all of them left it; and the Norman was installed, in their absence, with the usual ceremonies. After this, the prior of the monastery, named Elfwin, and several other monks of Saxon origin, were seized and imprisoned.³ Having quitted their monastery upon the archbishop's prescript, the friars, in a body, were seated on the ground beneath the walls of Canterbury castle. Here they received a message, informing them that a few hours were granted them to return to their convent, but that after the expiration of that space of time they would be looked upon and treated as vagabonds. They remained for some time undecided: the hour of their accustomed repast arrived, and they were suffering from hunger: several of them then repented, and sent to archbishop Lanfranc a promise of obedience. They were made to swear, on the relics of St. Augustin, faithfully to keep this promise; and such as refused to swear this were imprisoned until weariness of captivity should render them more docile. One of them, named Alfred, or Alured, who succeeded in escaping, was taken wandering on the roads, and put in irons in the episcopal palace.⁴ The spirit of resistance was for a few months repressed, but it again arose with renewed violence. A plot was formed against the life of the new abbot of foreign extraction.⁵ One of the conspirators, named Columban, was taken, carried before the archbishop, and interrogated concerning his design of killing the Norman. "Such was my design," answered the monk boldly; "and, if the opportunity had served, I would have put it into execution."⁶ Lanfranc ordered him to be bound naked before the gate of the monastery, and publicly flogged.

In the year 1089 Lanfranc the primate died; and immediately the Saxon monks, freed from the terror with which he had inspired them, engaged in a third revolt, of a more serious character than the two former. They called to their aid the Saxon inhabitants of Canterbury, who, embracing this cause as a national one, went in arms and attacked the house of the Norman abbot of St. Augustin's.⁷ The abbot's people resisted, and many were killed or wounded on both sides. Guy, with great difficulty, escaped from his assailants, and went with all speed to shut himself up in the metropolitan church.⁸ On hearing of this affair, the Norman bishops, Gaucelme of Winchester, and Gondolfe of

Rochester, came in great haste to Canterbury, whither numerous detachments of troops were sent by the king's order. The convent of St. Augustin's was occupied by the military; the monks were brought to trial, and condemned, in a body, to the monastic discipline of the scourge, which was inflicted, at the discretion of the bishops,⁹ by two foreign monks, named Guy and Le Normand. They were then distributed in various parts of England; and in their place a prior and twenty-four monks from Normandy were installed in this monastery. All those of the inhabitants of Canterbury whom the Norman police had seized as implicated in this affair were condemned to the loss of their eyes.¹⁰

(A.D. 1089 to 1094.) Similar struggles, resulting from the hatred and despair of the conquered people, simultaneously occurred in several English churches, and, in general, in every place where Saxons, united in a body, and not reduced to the last degree of slavery, were placed under chiefs and governors of foreign extraction. These chiefs, whether clergy or laity, differed in their habiliments alone. Whether under the coat of mail or the cowl, there were ever the same foreign conquerors, insolent, harsh, and avaricious, who treated the vanquished as beings of an inferior nature to themselves. Jean de la Villette, bishop of Wells, formerly a physician at Tours, pulled down the houses of the canons of his church, to build himself a palace of the materials.¹¹ Renouf Flambard, bishop of Lincoln, once a footman in the service of the dukes of Normandy, plundered his diocese in such a manner, that, as an old historian records, the inhabitants wished to die rather than live under his authority.¹² The Norman bishops marched in procession to the altar in the same stately manner as the counts to their reviews of the troops, between two lines of halberdiers; these prelates equally passed the day in playing at dice, in equestration, and drinking.¹³ One of them, in an idle hour of gaiety, had a repast served up to Saxon monks, in the great hall of their convent, in which he compelled them to eat of dishes forbidden by their order, and attended by women half naked and with dishevelled hair.¹⁴ Such of the English as at this sight chose to retire, or merely to look aside, were ill-treated and called hypocrites by the Norman prelate and his friends.¹⁵

Against such adversaries the remains of the Saxon clergy could not sustain a long struggle. Age or persecution was every day carrying off some one of the ancient monks and priests. Resistance to the new ecclesiastical rule, though at

⁹ Ad episcoporum imperium. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Cives vero capti, oculos amiserunt. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Johannes (de Villula) Turonensis arte, medicus, qui, destructis claustro et aliis ædificiis canonicorum . . . (Hist. de episc. Bathon. et Wellens. Anglia sacra, i. 559.)

¹² Ut mallent mori. (Annal. eccles. Winton.; Anglia sacra, i. 295.)

¹³ Nec etiam pompam Normannorum omitebat quin stipatus militibus incederet quotidie ad missam. (Henr. Knyghton de event. Angl. lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script. ii. col. 2367, ed. Selden.)—Omnes fere tunc temporis in Angliâ monachi, secularibus haud absimiles, venari, aucupari, tesseras quater, potibus indulgere consueverunt, ut majus illos consules quam monachos, pro famulorum frequentia, putares. (Id. ibid., ii. col. 2362.)

¹⁴ Cibos vetitos publicè apposuit, mulieres vultu et veste procaces, sparsis post tergum crinibus, ministrare constituit. (Henr. Knyghton, ii. col. 2372.)

¹⁵ Si oculos averteret, hypocrita diceretur. (Ibid.)

¹ Regi Willelmo amatissimum. (Chron. Will. Thorn. loc. supr. cit.)

² Qui unanimiter animati responderunt . . . (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 179.)

³ Elfwinum, et alios quos voluit, cepit. (Ibid.)

⁴ Æluredum unum ex illis vagantem fugiendo cepit, et Cantuarie cum quibusdam sociis illius ferro compeditis multis diebus rigorem ordinis in claustro discere fecit. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 180.)

⁵ Perniciem abbatis clam machinati sunt. (Ibid.)

⁶ Si potuissem, pro certo eum interfecissem. (Ibid.)

⁷ Cives Cantuarie contra eum concitaverunt. (Ibid.)

⁸ Evasit, et, querendo auxilium, fugit. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 180.)

first energetic, gradually died away.¹ Moreover, each convent in England had a title to the hatred and persecution of the great, in being still, for the major part, a community of men of English race. This was experienced, for instance, in the reign of William Rufus, by the monastery of Crowland, which had already been so severely handled at the epoch of the Conquest. After a fire which consumed a part of the religious edifice, the Norman count of the province in which it was situated, presuming that the charters of the abbey had perished in the flames, summoned the monks to appear at his justice-court at Spalding, there to exhibit their titles.² On the day appointed they sent one of their number, named Trig, who carried with him the ancient charters in the Saxon language, confirmed by the Conqueror, whose seal was thereto appended. The monk displayed these parchments before the count and his officers, who began to laugh at and abuse him, saying that such barbarous and unintelligible writings were of no validity.³ The sight of the royal seal, however, had some effect; the Norman viscount, not daring to break it, nor to make a public seizure of deeds to which it was appended, suffered the monk to depart. He sent after him some of his men, to surprise him on his way back and take from him the titles; but Trig eluded his pursuers by taking a by-road.

(A.D. 1094.) The peace that existed among the conquerors of England was, in the year 1094, once more disturbed by the revolt of some chiefs against William I. A chief cause of this dissension was the exclusive right to the forests of England, established by William I., and rigorously maintained by his son.⁴ At the head of the malcontents was Robert son of Roger de Mowbray or Mowbray, count of Northumberland, who possessed in England two hundred and eighty manors.⁵ Robert had neglected to make his appearance in the king's bench, as his station required, on one of the great council-days appointed for the public and political conferences of the Anglo-Norman barons and knights. His non-appearance thereat gave rise to suspicions; and the king made proclamation that every great landowner who did not repair to his court at the approaching feast of Pentecost should be declared a delinquent against the public peace.⁶ Robert de Mowbray did not appear, lest he should be seized and imprisoned; William thereupon marched with the royal army against Northumberland. (A.D. 1095.) He besieged and took several castles; he blockaded that of Bamborough, into which count Robert had retired, but the king was unable to reduce it. After various fruitless attacks, William constructed a wooden fort opposite to Bamborough, calling it in his Norman tongue *Mal-*

peisin (a bad neighbour), placed a garrison therein, and returned towards the south.⁷ The keepers of the new fortress surprised Robert in a sally, wounded him, and took him prisoner. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his accomplices were banished out of England.

(A.D. 1095 to 1098.) The property of these exiles, whether situated in the townships or in the agricultural parts, remained for some time without owners, and untilled. It seems that the king's favourites left them uncultivated, after they had made booty of every article of value; making little account of the possession thereof under a temporary and precarious title, which the fluctuations of political agitation must of necessity endanger. But, on their side, the royal officers, in order that the exchequer might lose no part of its revenues, continued to exact, from the town or the hundred where the abandoned property was situated, the full amount of land-tax formerly levied, and this surcharge fell especially on the people of English race.⁸ According to an old account, the people of Colchester made great demonstrations of gratitude to Eudes son of Hubert, viscount or governor of their town, for having taken in his own name the lands of the disinherited Normans, and having consented to liquidate the fiscal demands on those lands.⁹ By the same account, the Norman Eudes gained the affections of the inhabitants of Colchester by his temperate and impartial administration.¹⁰ This is the only chief imposed upon the English by the foreign power, concerning whom history bears the like honourable testimony.

(A.D. 1098 to 1100.) This exception to the general administration of the law of the Conquest extended not beyond this solitary town: everywhere else things took their course, and the royal officers were worse than thieves; such are the very words of the chronicles: they plundered without mercy both the farmers' barns and the tradesmen's warehouses.¹¹ At Oxford the command was intrusted to Robert d'Ouilly, who spared neither rich nor poor: in the north, Odoineau d'Omfreville seized the property of the English of his neighbourhood, so as to compel them to quarry and transport stone for the building of his castle.¹² Near London, also, the king forcibly raised troops of men, to build a wall encircling the Conqueror's Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and near the West Minster a hall or palace of audiences for the stated assemblies or assizes of the great barons.¹³ "The counties upon which these forced labours fell," says the contemporary Saxon chronicle, "were grievously tormented: each year passed by heavily and sorrowfully, on account

¹ Illudque sua lingua Malvaisin nominavit. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 292.)

² Terras damnatarum et pro culpis eliminatarum dum nemo coleret, exigebantur tamen pleniter fiscalia, et hinc de causa, populus valde gravabatur. (Dugdale, Monast. Ang. ic., ii. 890.)

³ Has ergo terras Eudo sibi vindicavit ut pro his fisco satisfaceret, et populum extensis alleviaret. (Ibid.)

⁴ Sublevare gravatos, comprimere elatos, et in suis primordiis omnibus complacere. (Ibid.)

⁵ Latronibus peiores, agriculturalum acervos ac negotiatorum congeries immisericorditer diripiabant. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. x., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 773.)

⁶ Ut eos compelleret venire ad edificationem castelli. (Lelandi Collectanea, iv. 116.)

⁷ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 296.

¹ Normanni, jam multiplicati, invaluerunt, Angli, jam senescentes et imminuti. . . (Math. Paris. Vite abbat. S. Albani, i. 54.)

² Estimans chartas nostras, ut fama fuit, omnes incendio deperisse. (Hist. Ingulf. Croiland, apud rer. Anglie. script., i. 107, ed. Gale.)

³ Dicens barbaram scripturam risu et derisu fore dignam, et nullius momenti seu roboris esse tenendam. (Ibid.)

⁴ Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. iv., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 124, ed. Savile.

⁵ Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 703.

⁶ Jussit omnes, qui a rege terras tenebant, modo pace dignos haberi si vellet, alesse aum curias. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 293.)

of numberless vexations and multiplied contributions."¹

Historians, not quite so laconic, have transmitted to us some details of these torments and vexations undergone by the subjugated nation. Wherever the Norman king was passing, in his progresses through England, the servants and soldiers in his train were accustomed to ravage the country.² When they could not wholly consume the provisions of various kinds, which they found in the houses of the English, they had them carried to the neighbouring market by the proprietor himself, and obliged him to sell the same for their profit. At other times they would burn them for pastime, and when they found an overplus of strong drink they used it to wash their horses' feet.³ "Their ill usage of the fathers of families, their insults to the wives and daughters," according to the historian of that day, "were too shameful to relate; so that on the first rumour of the king's approach every one would fly from his dwelling and retreat, with whatever he could save, to the depths of the forests and into desert places."⁴

Fifty Saxons who, by good fortune, or perhaps through an exhibition of political cringing, had succeeded in retaining some remnant of their ancient patrimony,⁵ were accused, whether falsely or truly, of having hunted in the royal forests, and taken, killed, and eaten the king's deer; such were the express terms of the criminal accusation instituted against them.⁶ They denied the charge. They were brought to trial; and the Norman judges inflicted on them the ordeal of heated iron, which the old English laws ordained only with the consent and by the request of accused parties. "On the day appointed," such are the words of an ocular witness thereof, "they all suffered this sentence in its utmost rigour: it was a painful sight to see; but God, by preserving their hands from any mark of burning, clearly showed their innocence and the malice of their persecutors."⁷ When it was related to William that after three days the hands of all the accused had appeared unscathed, "And what then?" returned he; "God is no judge of these matters: such affairs concern me; and it is I who must judge therein." The historian is silent concerning this new sentence and the fate of the unfortunate Englishmen, whom no pious deception was any longer available to save.

The Saxons, thus persecuted by William Rufus for transgressions of the laws of the chase, even more rigorously than by his father, could take no other revenge than that of styling him in derision the Keeper of the woods and of the deer; and they

circulated the most sinister stories with regard to the New Forest, which no man of English race bearing any arms or weapon might enter but at the risk of being condemned to die. It was said that the devil, under various horrible shapes, had appeared there to certain Normans, and had told them of a dreadful fate which he had in reserve for the king and his councillors.⁸ This popular superstition was strengthened by the singular chance which had rendered hunting in the forests and chaces of England, and more particularly in the New Forest, so fatal to the family of the Conqueror. In the year 1081, Richard, the eldest son of William the Bastard, had therein mortally wounded himself. Likewise, in the month of May, A.D. 1100, Richard, son of duke Robert, and nephew of William Rufus, was killed there by an arrow discharged imprudently;⁹ and it is a singular coincidence that the Red King himself perished in this great forest, by the like fatality of an unexpected and accidental death, in the month of July of that year. On the morning of the day which thus terminated his life and reign, William II. and his favourites partook of a great repast¹⁰ in the castle of Winchester, after which he prepared for the projected hunt. While tying on his hose and joking with his guests, a workman presented to him six new arrows. He examined them, praised the workmanship, kept four of them for himself, and gave the other two to sir Walter Tirel, saying, "A good marksman should have good arrows."¹¹ Walter, or properly Gaultier Tirel, was a French knight, then possessing extensive lands in the country of Poix and in Ponthieu; he was the king's most familiar friend and assiduous attendant.¹² At the moment of departure a monk from St. Peter's convent at Gloucester entered, and put into William's hands dispatches from his abbot. This abbot, of Norman birth, named Serlon, sent word to the king, through some excitement of consternation and zealous superstition, saying that one of his monks (probably of English race) had had in his sleep a vision of ill augury; that he had seen Jesus Christ sitting on a throne, and at his feet a woman supplicating him in these terms: "O Saviour of the world! look down with pity on thy people, groaning under the yoke of William."¹³ On hearing this message the king laughed aloud. "Do they take me for an Englishman," said he, "with their visions? Do they think me one of those fools who leave their business and go out of their way because an old woman dreams or sneezes? Come, Gaultier de Poix, to horse!"¹⁴

The king's brother Henry, William de Breteuil, and several other lords, accompanied him to the forest. There the rest of the hunters dispersed; but Gaultier de Poix, that is to say, sir

¹ Fuerunt vehementer afflictati. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 206.)

² Ut quaque pessumderent, diriperent, et totam terram per quam rex ibat devastarent. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 94, ed. Selden.)

³ Et aut ad forum per eosdem ipsos quorum erant, pro suo lucro ferre ac vendere, aut cremare, aut si potus esset, lotis ex indè equorum suorum pedibus. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 94, ed. Selden.)

⁴ Præcogito regis adventu, sua habitacula fugiebant, in sylvis vel aliis locis, in quibus se totati posse sperabant. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quibus, ex antiquâ Anglorum ingenuitate, divitiarum quedam vestigia stridere videbantur. (Ibid., p. 48.)

⁶ Quòd cervos regis ceperint, mactaverint, manducaverint. (Ibid.)

⁷ Præfixi penei iudicii pariter subacti sunt, remotâ pietate et misericordiâ: erat ergò miseriam videre. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 48, ed. Selden.)

⁸ Multis etiam Normannis, diabolus in horribili specie se frequenter in silvis ostendens, palam cum eis de rege et... aliis locutus est. (Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. Dunelm. apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 225, ed. Selden.)—Roger de Hoveden, annal. pars prior, apud rer. Angl. script., p. 468, ed. Savile.

⁹ Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. x., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 780.

¹⁰ Rex manè cum suis parasitis comedit. (Ibid., 782.)

¹¹ Justum est, ut illi acutissimè dentur sagittæ, qui lethiferos indè noverit ictus indigere. (Ibid.)

¹² Regis familiaris conviva. (Ibid.)

¹³ Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator generis humani, respice populum tuum. (Ord. Vital., ibid., p. 781.)

¹⁴ Nam prosequi me ritum autumnat Anglorum, qui pro superstitione aut somnio vetularum dimittunt iter suum seu negotium? (Id. ibid., 782.)

Walter Tirel, stayed by the king, and their dogs coursed in company. They had taken their station opposite to each other, each with his arrow on his cross-bow, and his finger on the trigger,¹ when a large stag, tracked by the attendant beaters, advanced between the king and his friend. William let fly; but, his bowstring breaking, the shaft sped not, and the stag, confounded by the sound, stood at bay, looking around him.² The king made a sign to his companion to shoot; but the latter kept quiet, either not seeing the stag or not understanding the signal. Then William, in his impatience, called out, "Shoot, Walter, shoot—in the devil's name, shoot!" and instantly an arrow, whether sped by sir Walter, or by another, entered the king's breast.³ He fell without uttering a word, and expired. Walter Tirel ran in haste to the king; but, finding he did not breathe, he remounted his horse, galloped to the sea-coast, went over to Normandy, and from thence to the French territory.

On the first rumour of the king's death, all who attended the hunt hastily quitted the forest, and went to take care of their property. His brother Henry flew to Winchester, to secure the royal treasure;⁴ and the corpse of William Rufus lay deserted on the ground, as that of the Conqueror had formerly been. Some charcoal-burners, who found it, with the arrow still in the wound, placed it on their cart, wrapped in old linen, through which the blood dripped along the entire road.⁵ In this condition were the remains of the second Norman king carried to the castle of Winchester, where Henry had already arrived, and was imperiously demanding the keys of the royal treasury. While the keepers thereof were yet hesitating, William de Breteuil arrived in breathless haste from the New Forest to oppose the demand. "Both you and I," said he to Henry, "should loyally bear in mind the faith we have promised to duke Robert your brother. He received our oaths and our homage; and, whether present or absent, he has the right."⁶ A violent quarrel ensued: Henry drew his sword, and, with the aid of the crowd that assembled, soon got possession of the royal treasure and the regalia.

It was indeed true that, by the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between William and duke Robert, and sworn to by all the Anglo-Norman barons, the royal dignity had devolved on the duke. But he was then absent alike from England and from Normandy. The preaching of pope Urban II., exhorting all christians to undertake the conquest of the Holy Land, had made a lively impression on his mind, which was much given to adventurous chivalry. Robert had set out with the foremost crusaders of that great levy throughout

Christendom which voluntarily marshalled itself, in the year 1096, to the cry of "It is the will of God:" and three years subsequently the Norman duke had satisfactorily concluded his military pilgrimage by the taking of Jerusalem. At the moment of the fatal accident to his brother king William, duke Robert was actually on the road returning to Normandy; but, little suspecting that the delay would prove ruinous to him, he had sojourned for a considerable time, prompted by his passion for a lady, at the court of one of the Norman chieftains who had established their dominion in the Italian principalities. The partisans of duke Robert, now taken unprepared and without their chief, could not make head against those of Henry. The latter, being master of the late king's treasure, came to London, where the principal Normans assembled; and, three days after his brother's death, he was elected king by them, and was solemnly crowned.⁷ The prelates favoured him, because he had a great liking for them and for the literature of the age, whence he received, in the Norman tongue, the surname of *Clerc* or *Beau-Clerc*.⁸ It is even said that the Saxons desired him in preference to his competitor, because he had been born and brought up in England.⁹ He promised at his coronation to observe the good laws of king Edward; but he declared that he would, like his father, maintain the exclusive right and enjoyment of the forests.¹⁰

(A.D. 1100 to 1101.) Henry I. was free from those weaknesses of character that have so frequently been remarked in his eldest brother, but he was not endowed with the generous qualities of Robert. If the latter united with a light and romantic mind a loyal and magnanimous spirit, his fortunate rival displayed every talent for public affairs coupled with a profound dissimulation. Notwithstanding the small opposition to this prince on his usurpation of the vacant throne, he judged it prudent to ensure himself against any disloyalty on the part of the Normans who had elected him. Henry suspected the fidelity of those Anglo-Normans; he resolved upon creating in England an influence superior to, or independent of, the power of the barons, and of calling into action, for his own advantage, the patriotism of the Saxon people. He therefore held out his sceptre to that miserable nation, which was the object of flattery in the hour of danger, and of oppression on the morrow. He convened the chief persons of the national party, and addressed to them, by means of an interpreter, the following speech: "My friends and faithful subjects, natives of this land, in which I also was born, you know well that my brother seeks my kingdom. He is a proud man, who knows not how to live in peace; he manifestly contemns you, he calls you cowards and gluttons, and desires only to trample you under foot."¹¹ But I, like a mild and peaceful king, purpose to maintain your ancient liberties, and to govern you after your own wishes, with mode-

¹ Cum arcu et sagittâ in manu expecteoli. (Henr. Kayngton, de event. Angl., lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 2373, ed. Selden.)

² Sed, fractâ cordâ, cervus de sonitu quasi attonitus restitit circumcirca respiciens. (Ibid.)

³ Trahe, trabe arcum, ex parte diaboli! (Ibid.)

⁴ Henricus concito cursu ad arcem Guentonie, ubi regalis thesaurus continebatur, festinavit. (Ord. Vital., lib. x., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 782.)

⁵ Supra bigam ejusdem carbonatoris. (Math. Paris., i. 24.)—Crucore nudatim per totam viam stillante. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., p. 126, lib. iv., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 126, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Legaliter, inquit, reminisci fidei debemus quam Rodberto duci germano tuo promisimus. (Ord. Vital. hist. loc. supr. cit.)

⁷ Optimates qui propè fuerunt, ejus fratrem Henricum in regem elegerunt. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 208.)

⁸ Dictus clericus. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 997, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 297, ed. Hearne.

¹⁰ Chron. J. Bromton loc. supr. cit.

¹¹ Amici et fideles mei indigenæ ac naturales... vosque scienter quasi contemptibiles, et quos desideres vocat et gluttones, conculcare desiderat. (Math. Paris., i. 62.)

ration and wisdom.¹ I will, if you desire it, sign a writing to this effect, and will confirm it by oath. Stand by me, then, faithfully; for, if English valour second me, I fear not the vain threats of the Normans."²

The writing promised to the English by the king, or (as it was called in the language of the age) his royal charter, was actually drawn up. As many copies were made of it as there were Norman counties in England; and, to make it appear a more solemn and formal act, there was affixed to it a new great seal made for the occasion.³ The copies were deposited in the principal church of each province: but they did not long remain there; they were all carried off when the king retracted, and, according to the strenuous expression of an old historian, impudently belied his word.⁴ Three copies only were left, which by some chance escaped the perquisition, one at Canterbury, one at York, and one at St. Alban's.

(A.D. 1101 to 1102.) The same policy which made Henry take this step towards the English prompted him to another and a more decisive one, that of taking a wife of the Anglo-Saxon race. There was then in England an orphan daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, and of Margaret sister to king Edgar. This princess was named Editha; she had been educated at the abbey of Rumsey, in Hampshire, under the tutelage of another sister of Edgar's, named Christina, who, having fled to Scotland with her brother, had taken the veil in the year 1088.⁵ Being a king's daughter, several of the great Norman barons had solicited to wed the niece of Edgar. Alan the Breton, lord of the castle and honour of Richmond in Yorkshire, demanded her hand in marriage of William Rufus; but earl Alan died before that monarch had consented to grant him the royal maiden.⁶ William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, next desired to espouse Editha, but the marriage, from what impediment is unknown, did not take place.⁷ Such was the princess whom the wisest councillors of king Henry proposed to him for his queen, being a politic device whereby to gain the firm support of the whole Anglo-Saxon race against duke Robert and his partisans. On their side, also, many of the English entertained the idle hope of seeing the old Saxon times return, when the fair descendant of the Saxon kings should wear the crown of England. They who were connected with Edgar's family by the ties of kindred repaired to Editha, and importuned her not to decline these nuptials.⁸ She testified considerable repugnance, and the motive for this feeling is not clearly recorded; but the friends who counselled her were not thereby discouraged, and so earnestly im-

plored her to hearken to them, says an old author, that she at length complied, being wearied out by solicitation and against her own wish.⁹ "Noble and gracious lady," they so addressed her, "if thou wouldst, thou couldst raise up from its abject condition the ancient honour of England; thou wouldst become an emblem of concord, a pledge of reconciliation and peace: but if thou persist in thy refusal, the enmity between the two races will be eternal, and the shedding of this nation's blood will never cease."¹⁰

When the niece of Edgar had given her consent to Henry's proposal, her name was changed from Editha to Matilda, which had a more agreeable sound to the ear of the Normans.¹¹ Nor was this the only necessary precaution; for there arose among the Normans a strong party against the marriage. This party was chiefly composed of the secret adherents of duke Robert; to whom were added those men who, from their Norman arrogance, were indignant that a Saxon woman should become queen over the conquerors of England. Their ill-will gave rise to many unforeseen obstacles. They asserted that Matilda, brought up from her infancy in a convent, had been by her parents devoted to God: it was rumoured that she had been seen publicly to wear the veil; which rumour suspended the celebration of the marriage,—much to the satisfaction of those who were against it.¹²

Lanfranc, the late primate, had been succeeded in the see of Canterbury by a monk from the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, named Anselm, noted for his great learning and virtues, concerning whom the writers of the time bear the honourable testimony that the natives of England loved him as if he had been one of themselves.¹³ It happened that Anselm came into England in the reign of the first William, at the time when Lanfranc, seeking to destroy the reputation of the English saints, so bitterly attacked the sanctity of archbishop Elfeg, the victim of Danish fury. Fully occupied with his project, the primate had discoursed with the Norman monk upon the history of the Saxon Elfeg, and upon his pretended martyrdom, as he chose to designate it. "I, for my part," replied Anselm, "believe the Saxon a martyr, and a true martyr; for he chose rather to die than to wrong his fellow-countrymen. He died for justice, as John did for truth; and they died alike for Christ, who is both truth and justice."¹⁴

Anselm, having in turn become primate under William Rufus, persisted in the spirit of equity which had prompted the above reply, and in his benevolent intentions towards the English people. He was one of the most zealous advocates for the marriage which the Anglo-Saxons desired should

¹ Ego verò rex humilis et pacificus, et vestris inclinando consiliis, consultius et mitius gubernare. (Math. Paris, i. 62.)

² Et super his (si provideretis) scripta subarata roborare et juramentis confirmare. Si enim fortitudine Anglorum roborer, inanes Normannorum minas nequaquam censeo formidandas. (Ibid.)

³ Et expedienter fabricato sigillo, consignate sunt. (Thomas Rudborne hist. major Winton., Anglia Sacra, i. 274.)

⁴ (Promissa) impudentur violavit. (Math. Paris, i. 62.)

⁵ Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. v., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 164, ed. Savile.—Annales Waverleiensis, ad ann. MLXXXVI, apud rer. Anglie script., ii. 133, ed. Gale.

⁶ Alanus enim Rufus Britannorum comes, Mathildem in conjugem sibi a rege Rufo requisivit. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 702.)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Parentum et amicorum consiliis. (Math. Paris, i. 58.)

⁹ Ipsa verò invita nupsit ei, et tandem tedio affecta adquevit. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Instantes enim importunè dicebant: ò mulierum generosissima ac gratissima . . . quòd si non feceris, causa eris perennis inimicitie gentium diversarum, et sanguinis humani effusionis irrestaurabilis. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Mathildem quæ prius dicta est Edith. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 702.)

¹² Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 56, ed. Selden.

¹³ Pro mansuetudine suà ab indigenis terræ, quasi unus eorum, diligebatur. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 112, ed. Selden.)

¹⁴ Martyr, inquit, videtur egregius qui mori maluit . . . Sic ergò Johannes pro veritate, sic et Elfegus pro justitia. (Johan. Sarisbur. de vitâ Anselmi, Anglia Sacra, ii. 162.)

take place; but when he heard the reports that were circulated respecting Edgar's niece he declared that nothing should induce him to ravish from God her who was his spouse, and give her to a carnal husband.¹ Desirous, however, of ascertaining the truth, he questioned Matilda, and she denied that she had ever been devoted to God. She also denied that she had ever worn the veil of her free consent, and offered to give proof of the same before all the prelates of England. "I must confess," said she, "that I have sometimes appeared veiled; but the reason was this: in my early youth, when I was under the care of my aunt Christina, she, in order, as she said, to screen me from the ungoverned licentiousness of the Normans, by whom the honour of all women was threatened, used to put a piece of black stuff over my head; and when I refused to cover myself with it she treated me very harshly. In her presence I wore that piece of cloth, but when she was away I used to throw it on the ground and trample upon it with childish anger."²

(A.D. 1102.) Anselm would not decide alone in a question of such great difficulty, but convoked an assembly of the bishops, abbots, monks, and lay chiefs, in the city of Rochester. Witnesses cited before the council confirmed the truth of the princess's asseverations. Two Norman archdeacons, William and Humbault, were sent to the convent where Matilda had been brought up, and deposed that the public report, as well as the testimony of the nuns, accorded with her declaration.³ When the assembly were about to deliberate, archbishop Anselm retired, that he might not be suspected of exercising the least influence over it; and upon his return he was addressed by the president of that council, who declared to the archbishop the decision they had come to, in the following terms: "We are of opinion that the young woman is free, and may dispose of her person; our authority being the judgment given, in a like cause, by the venerable Lanfranc, at the time when the Saxon women, who had taken refuge in the monasteries through fear of the soldiers of the great William, claimed their liberty."⁴

Archbishop Anselm replied that he fully concurred in their decision; and a few days afterwards he celebrated the marriage of the Norman king with the niece of the last king of English descent. But before he pronounced the nuptial benediction, wishing to dissipate every suspicion and disarm all malevolence, he mounted a stage before the door of the church, and explained the question lately debated, and the decision of the bishops thereon, to the assembled people. These facts are related by an eye-witness—by Edmer, an Englishman by birth and a monk of Canterbury.

(A.D. 1102 to 1103.) But all these precautions did not subdue what the historian Edmer calls "the malice of heart of certain men"⁵—that is, the repugnance of many of the Normans to this

ill-assorted alliance of their king. They showered the most cutting railleries on the royal couple. They called them Godrik and Godiva, using these two Saxon names as epithets of derision.⁶ "Henry knew and heard it," says the old historian, "but he affected to laugh heartily at it, wisely concealing his chagrin."⁷ As soon as duke Robert disembarked in Normandy the irritation of the malcontents assumed a graver character; and many Anglo-Norman barons crossed the Channel to embrace the cause of the dispossessed brother, and others sent him messages. They urged him speedily to land in England, and gave him the assurance of their fidelity according to the compact formerly concluded with William Rufus.⁸ Upon the arrival, accordingly, of duke Robert in England, his army was speedily joined by numerous barons and knights; but the bishops, the private soldiers, and the English by birth, remained attached to the king's cause.⁹ The latter in particular, following their old instinct of national hatred, ardently desired that the two Norman factions should come to a conflict. No action was fought at the place of disembarkation, for Robert landed on the coast of Hampshire, while his brother Henry was waiting for him on that of Sussex. It required several days for the contending forces to come in sight of each other; and the less impetuous among the Normans of both parties, profiting by this interval of time, acted as mediators, and appeased this dissension between the royal brothers and their fellow-countrymen.¹⁰ It was decided that Robert should once more relinquish his pretensions to the kingdom of England for an annual pension of two thousand pounds of silver; and that the property of the duke's friends confiscated by the king, as likewise of the king's friends confiscated by the duke, should be gratuitously restored.¹¹

(A.D. 1103.) This treaty deprived the English of an opportunity of safely gratifying their aversion for the race of their conquerors, and of killing Normans with permission under the shelter of a Norman banner. But shortly afterwards another opportunity presented itself, and was eagerly seized. Robert de Belesme, one of the most powerful counts of Normandy and of England, was cited before the general assembly held in the king's palace, to answer to forty-five heads of accusation against him.¹² Earl Robert appeared; and, according to custom, asked liberty to go and consult with his friends on his allegations in answer thereto: but he was no sooner out of the court than he mounted his horse and rode off to one of his fortified castles.¹³ The king and his barons awaited his answer in vain, and declared him a public enemy unless he returned and pre-

⁶ Omnes palam contumelis dominum inurere, Godricum eum et comparem Goditham appellantes. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. v., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 156, ed. Savile.)—Vocantes eum Godrych Godefridyr. (Heur. Knyghton, de event. Angl. lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2375, ed. Selden.)

⁷ Audiebat hæc ille, et formidabiles cachinnos, iram differens, ejiciebat. (Will. Malmesb. loc. sup. cit.)

⁸ Regnum illi promittentes. (Florent. Wigorn. ehron., p. 650.)

⁹ Episcopi, milites gregarii, et Angli. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Verum sapientiores utriusque partis, habito inter se salubriter consilio. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Florent. Wigorn. ehron., p. 650.

¹² XLV reatus in factis seu dietis. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. xi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 806.)

¹³ Licentiam, ut moris est, eundi ad consilium cum suis. (Ibid.)

¹ Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 56, ed. Selden.

² Cum adolescentula essem et sub amita mese Christiane virgè paterens, illa servandi corporis mei causâ, contra futurum et exajscio pudori insidiantem Normannorum libidinem, nigrum paniculum capiti meo superponere solebat. (Ibid.)

³ Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 57, ed. Selden.

⁴ See Bosk x., p. 110.

⁵ Eadmeri Hist. nov., p. 57, et seq.

sented himself at the next court.¹ But Robert de Belesme prepared for defence, and stored with arms and provisions his castles of Arundel and Tickehill, and likewise the citadel of Shrewsbury, which was in his keeping. He also fortified Bridgenorth, on the frontier of Wales;² and it was to this point that the march of the royal army was directed in pursuit of him.

The king had besieged Bridgenorth for three weeks when the Norman counts and barons undertook to put an end to the war, and to reconcile Robert de Belesme with the king; "For they thought," says an old historian, "that a victory obtained by the king over earl Robert would furnish him with more authoritative means whereby to constrain their entire order to render an implicit and abject obedience to his will."³ They resorted to Henry in great numbers, and asked a conference, or, as it was then expressed in the French tongue, a *parlement*, in order to treat for a pacification. The assembly was held in the plain around the royal camp.⁴ On the neighbouring heights there was stationed a body of three thousand English, who, being apprised of the object of the conference, murmured loudly,⁵ and exclaimed, "King Henry, believe them not! they seek to lay a snare for thee; but we are in readiness to give thee our aid, and will march to the assault: make no peace with the traitor, until, dead or alive, he is in thy hands."⁶ This time the Normans failed in their attempt at reconciliation: the siege of Bridgenorth was vigorously pressed, and the fortress was taken; that of Shrewsbury was next captured; and Robert de Belesme, being forced to capitulate, was disinherited and banished.⁷

The vanity of the English, thus combating under the royal standard, was perhaps flattered by their military success against the Norman insurgents; but the nation itself reaped no assuagement thereby; and, if it thus took vengeance against some of its mortal enemies, it served but to secure an advantage to another enemy. Although king Henry had married a Saxon woman, and notwithstanding the Saxon sobriquet given him by the Normans, he was himself a Norman at heart. His favourite minister, the count de Meulan (or earl of Mellent), distinguished himself among the foreign dignitaries by his hatred against the native population.⁸ The voice of the people called Matilda the Good Queen, and it was commonly declared that she habitually counselled the king to be indulgent to and love the people;⁹ but no facts are recorded which show any traces of the good effects of those counsels, or of the queen's influence. The Saxon chronicle of the monastery of Peterborough thus prefaces the recital of the events that followed the so much desired marriage of Henry with Edgar's niece:

¹ Nisi ad iudicium rectitudinem facturus remearet. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. xi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 806.)

² Ibid.

³ Si rex magnificum comitem subegerit, omnes nos ut imbelles ancillas à modo conculecabit. (Ibid.)

⁴ In medio campo colloquium de pace fecerant. (Ibid., p. 807.)

⁵ Ad regem vociferando clamabant. (Ibid.)

⁶ Domine rex, noli proditoribus istis credere. (Ibid.)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Prefatus comes nec Anglos diligere. (Radmeri hist. nov. p. 94, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Mold the gode queene gaf in conselle, To luf his folc.

(Robert of Brunne's Chron., p. 98.)—Robert of Gloucester's Chron., p. 193, ed. Hearne.

"It is no easy task to relate all the miseries with which the country was that year afflicted, by unjust and incessantly renewed contributions. Where-soever the king went, those in his train vexed the poor people, and were guilty of murders and conflagrations in many places."¹⁰ Each succeeding year in the chronological series is marked by the repetition of the same complaints, expressed in almost similar terms; and this monotony adds to the gloominess of the narration. "The year 1105 was very calamitous on account of the loss of the crops, and the incessant levying of contributions."¹¹ The year 1110 was full of misery, caused by the bad season and the taxes which the king exacted for the dowry of his daughter.¹² This daughter, who was called after her mother Matilda, and was then five years old, was married to Henry V., emperor of Germany. "All this," says the Saxon chronicle, "cost the English nation dear."¹³

(A.D. 1106.) That nation paid still dearer for an invasion which king Henry undertook against his brother the duke of Normandy. Henry had no personal motive for being the first to break the peace which had subsisted between Robert and himself since the time when Robert had relinquished all pretension to the kingdom of England. The duke had but a short time before come to visit his brother, as a bosom friend; and had even, in return for the hospitality shown him on that occasion, made a present to his sister-in-law Matilda of the pension of two thousand pounds which, by the stipulations in their treaty of peace, the king was annually to pay him.¹⁴ This act of courtesy was not the only good office that Henry experienced from his elder brother, the most generous and the least politic of their family. Long before, while Henry was yet without lands, and dissatisfied with his condition, he had attempted to possess himself of the fortress of Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy.¹⁵ Robert and William Rufus besieged him therein; and, being closely pressed, he was in want of water. The besieged prince sent to beg that his brothers would not deny him the free use of that which was common to all men; and Robert, sensible to this appeal, ordered his soldiers to permit those of Henry to provide themselves with water. But William Rufus was angry with Robert for this act. "Truly," said he, "you display great skill in warfare, when you furnish the enemy with drink; you have now only to provide him with meat."¹⁶ "What!" returned Robert, warmly, "ought I to let a brother die of thirst! What other brother shall we have if we lose him?"¹⁷

No sooner was he king than the memory of this service, and of this generous exhibition of fra-

¹⁰ Haud facile explicari possunt hujus terræ miseria. Quicumque rex ivit, familia ejus populum infelicem oppressit; subinde . . . incendia et homicidia exercebant. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 212.)

¹¹ Hic annus fuit valde calamitosus. (Ibid., p. 213.)

¹² Per tributa que rex erogavit, in fluvio dotem. (Ibid., p. 216.)

¹³ Totum hoc carè constitit Anglorum terræ. (Ibid., p. 220.)

¹⁴ Regine indulsit. (Ord. Vital., lib. xi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 805.)

¹⁵ Infrensens quòd nil sibi de terris impertiebatur. (Thomæ Rudborne hist. major Winton., Anglia Sacra, i. 263.)

¹⁶ Benè seis actilare guerram, qui hostibus præbes aquam copiam. (Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. iv., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 121, ed. Savile.)

¹⁷ Et quem alium habebimus, si eum amiserimus? (Ibid., p. 122.)

ternal affection, vanished from the breast of Henry: he sought every way of injuring Robert, and of turning to his disadvantage the inconsiderate character of the duke, and his frankness, which bordered upon imprudence. This facility of temper rendered the duke of Normandy ill calculated to manage his own affairs. Many abuses and disorders arose in his duchy; there were many malcontents; and Robert's levity of character prevented him from taking notice of them, and his mildness from punishing them. King Henry artfully availed himself of these circumstances to intermeddle in the disputes between the Normans and their duke: at first in the character of a mediator; but when discord again broke out he lifted the mask, and declared himself protector of Normandy against his brother's bad government.¹ He summoned Robert to cede the duchy to him in exchange for a sum of money. "Thou hast the title of lord thereof," said he in his message, "but thou art no longer such in reality; for they who should obey thee laugh thee to scorn."² The duke, indignant at this proposal, positively refused; and Henry then prepared to ruin and dispossess his brother by force of arms.

When on the point of departing for Normandy, he ordered a levy of money in England to defray the expenses of this expedition; and his tax-gatherers practised the most cruel violence towards the Saxon burgesses and agriculturists.³ They drove from their poor and ruinous dwellings such as had nothing to give; they tore away the doors and windows, and seized even the commonest articles of furniture.⁴ Against such as appeared to be possessed of anything imaginary charges were invented; they dared not take their trial, and consequently their goods and chattels were confiscated.⁵ "To many people," says a contemporary, "there would be nothing strange in these grievances—knowing, as they did, that they existed during the entire reign of the present king's brother, not to mention what was done in the time of William their father. But in our own days an additional motive has arisen for these inveterate, but now still more harsh and insupportable, vexations; they are exercised upon a people already utterly ruined, against whom a new cause of irritation is founded upon the lamentable fact that they have at length nothing left to lose."⁶ Another writer of that period relates that troops of labourers came to the palace of the Norman king, or to the roadside where he was expected to pass, and threw down their plough-shares at his feet, in token of distress, and as if to declare that they relinquished the culture of their native soil.⁷

The king departed for his invasion of Normandy;

where he defeated duke Robert, and took him prisoner, together with his most faithful friends, in a battle fought near the castle of Tinchebray, three leagues distant from Mortain. It was a remarkable incident of this victory that the Saxon king Edgar was in the number of the prisoners.⁸ Having relinquished all his former hopes, alike for his country and for himself, he had quitted England, and fixed his abode in Normandy, at the court of duke Robert, to whom he bound himself by the ties of affection, even accompanying him to Palestine.⁹ He was conducted to England, and Henry I., who had espoused his niece, granted him a small pension, with the aid of which he lived for the rest of his days on a small farm, in solitude and obscurity.¹⁰

(A.D. 1107.) Duke Robert experienced, by command of his brother, more rigorous treatment: he was sent under a strong guard to Cardiff castle, which stood on the southern coast of Wales, opposite to that of Gloucester, on a spot recently conquered from the Welsh. Robert, separated from England by the current of the Severn, at first enjoyed a small degree of liberty; he was permitted to take exercise in the vicinity, and adjacent woodlands. He, however, one day seized a horse and attempted to escape; he was pursued, and carried back to his prison, which he never afterwards quitted. Some historians, but these lived in the century next ensuing, affirm that he was deprived of his eyes by his brother's order.¹¹ At the time of his defeat, duke Robert had a son named William [Guillaume Courte-cuisse], yet very young, whom Henry strove to get into his power; but he was saved by the zeal of one of his father's friends, and conducted into the French territory.¹² Louis le Gros, king of the French, adopted young William, and brought him up in his palace; he gave him horses and harness, according to the custom of the age; and, feigning to take a sincere interest in his cause, made use of him to disturb the quiet of the king-duke his neighbour, whose power gave him umbrage. The king of France, in the name of Robert's son, entered into a league with the Flemings and the Angevins. King Henry was attacked at every point of his Norman frontier; he lost some towns and castles: at the same time, the friends of duke Robert conspired against his life.¹³ For several years he never slept without having a sword and buckler at his pillow.¹⁴ But, formidable as was the confederacy of his foreign and domestic enemies, it did not prevail against the power which he drew from Normandy and England united.

Robert's young son continued to live in the pay of the French king, as his vassal, and to follow him in his wars. They went together into Flanders, upon the conclusion of some sedition there,

¹ Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. xi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 820.

² Dux quidem nomine tenis vocaris, sed à clientibus tuis palam subannaris. (Ibid.)

³ Nullus in collectoribus pietatis aut misericordie respectus fuit, sed crudelis exactio super omnes desavit. (Eadmeri hist., nov. p. 83, ed. Selden.)

⁴ Aut à suis domoneulis pelli, aut avulsis asportatisque octis domorum . . . (Ibid.)

⁵ Aliis stque aliis miserabilibus modis affligi et cruciari. Nova et excogitata forisfacta objiciebantur. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Querula multitudo colonorum præterenti (regi) frequenter occurabat, oblati vomeribus, in signum deficientis agriculturæ. (Dialog. de Scaccario, Seldeni notæ ad Eadmerum, p. 216.)

⁸ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 214.

⁹ Duceum quasi collectaneum fratrem diligebat. (Ord. Vital. hist., lib. x., p. 778.)

¹⁰ Pedetentim pro ignavia contemptui haberi cepit, nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit. (Will. Malmesb., p. 103.)

¹¹ Math. Paris., i. 65.

¹² Ord. Vital., lib. xi., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 838.

¹³ Ibid., p. 838 et seq.—Sugerii Vita Ludovici Grossi, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 44.

¹⁴ Ante se dormientem scutum et gladium omni nocte constitui imperaret. (Ibid.)

which had been fatal to the duke of the Flemings, Karl or Charles, son of Knut king of the Danes, who had likewise lost his life by treason.¹ The king of the French entered Flanders, with the consent of the chief men of that country, to punish the murderers of the late duke; but he afterwards, without the country's consent, by virtue of his right as the feudal suzerain, a right very subject to litigation and resistance, gave the territories of the deceased duke to young William, whom he was resolved to render powerful, that he might oppose him to king Henry.² While the king of France and his soldiers remained in Flanders, little resistance was made to this unpopular act; but no sooner had they withdrawn than a general revolt took place against the new lord imposed by the foreign power.³ A war commenced, with various fortune, between the Flemish barons and the son of Robert. The insurgents placed at their head the Alsatian count Dietric or Thiedrik, a man of their own race—of Teutonic origin, and akin to their ancient chiefs.⁴ This popular candidate attacked the duke chosen by the king of France; and William, having been wounded at the siege of a town, died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Dietric of Alsace; and king Louis found himself obliged, notwithstanding his lofty pretensions, to recognise as legitimate duke of the Flemings the man whom the Flemings had chosen.⁵

When about to depart for the continent, to carry on the long war commenced against him by his nephew and the king of France, Henry had made in England, with the advice of his bishops and barons, a great promotion of abbots and prelates. "Never," says the contemporary Saxon chronicle, "were there so many abbeyes given at one time as in the forty-first year of the Frenchmen's rule in England."⁶ In that age, when the daily intercourse with the churchmen occupied so large a portion of men's lives, an event like this, though to us it may seem scarce worthy of remembrance, was not unconnected with the future destiny of the English population, whether in the cloisters or out of them. "Of these new pastors," says Edmer, a contemporary, "the greater part were wolves rather than shepherds."⁷ That such was not the intention of the king who appointed them we must believe; but it would have been still easier to believe it, had he taken even a few of them from among the natives of this country.⁸ But the difference of nation opposed an insurmountable barrier: if you were English, no degree of virtue or merit could raise you, not even to the meanest office; while the man of foreign birth was deemed worthy of everything. We live in evil days.⁹

¹ Johan. Iperii Chron., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xlii. 466.

² Ibid.

³ Fuit terra et populo gravis quare plures de Flandriâ, tædio . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ Theodericum de Holsate. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quem verum Flaudriæ heredem rex declarans, eum ad Flandriæ hommagium recepit et approbavit. (Johan. Iperii Chron., ibid., xlii. 466.)

⁶ Primo et xi^o anno ex quo Franci (the Fræncan) hanc terram gubernârunt. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 214.)

⁷ Lupi magis quàm pastores effecti sunt. (Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 110.)

⁸ Quod tamen credibilius videretur, si aliquos saltem ex indigenis, terræ non usquequaque Anglos perous . . . (Ibid.)

⁹ Unum eos, natio scilicet, dirimebat. Si Anglus erat, nulla virtus eum poterat adjuvare; si alienigena . . . honore præcipuo illic dignus judicabatur. Dies enim mali sunt. (Ibid.)

Among the new abbots appointed by king Henry in the year 1107, the contemporary Saxon chronicle mentions one Henry de Poitou, who came over to England, because it was a country where priests made their fortunes more quickly, and lived more at their ease, than elsewhere. This Poictevin clerk obtained from the king the abbey of Peterborough, "where," says the Saxon chronicle, "he conducted himself like a hornet in the hive, taking whatever he could lay hold of, whether in the convent or not appertaining to it, and causing all his plunder to be conveyed beyond sea to his own country."¹⁰ He was a monk of Cluny; and had promised the superior of that order, by oath upon the true cross, to procure for the convent of Cluny the full and perpetual property of the abbey of Peterborough, with all its possessions, whether in lands or movables.¹¹ At the moment when the Saxon chronicler was writing this account the abbot had made his demand, and was awaiting the royal decision. "May God have pity," exclaims the Saxon, "on the unfortunate monks of Peterborough, and on this ill-fated monastery! Now do they truly need the assistance of Christ and of all christian people!"¹²

(A.D. 1107 to 1112.) These sufferings, which we must compassionate, since they were endured by men, and the foreign government made the clergy and the laity alike participate therein, seem, by daily torturing the minds of the people of England, to have increased in them the superstitious disposition of their nation and their age. They appear to have found some secret consolation in imagining that God then manifested his anger against their oppressors by various terrific signs. The Saxon chronicle affirms that, at the time when the abbot Henry de Poitou made his entry into Peterborough, there appeared at night, in the forests which lay between that monastery and the town of Stamford, gigantic and deformed black hunters, mounted on black coursers, pursuing black hinds, with black and haggard-eyed dogs. "Creditable persons have seen them," says the narrator, "and the sound of their horns was heard for forty successive nights."¹³ At Lincoln, on the tomb of the Norman bishop Bluet, famed for his debaucheries, frightful phantoms likewise made their appearance for several nights.¹⁴ According to public rumour, king Henry had horrible visions in his sleep, which so troubled him that, three times in one night, he had leaped out of bed and laid his hand upon his sword.¹⁵ (A.D. 1112.) About the same time the pretended miracles at the tomb of Waltheof were renewed.¹⁶ The miracles of king Edward, who was reputed a saint, and was acknowledged even by the Normans as such, on account of his relationship to William the Conqueror, in like manner occupied the imagination

¹⁰ Tanquàm fucus in alveario. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson., p. 232.)

¹¹ Ibid., p. 235.

¹² Ibid., p. 236.

¹³ Ibid., p. 232.

¹⁴ Robertus Bluet, vir libidinosus . . . loci custodes nocturnis umbris exagitatos. (Henr. Knyghton, p. 2364, de event. Angl. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2364, ed. Selden.)

¹⁵ Exsiliit rex de strato suo, gladium arripiens. (Ibid., p. 2383.)

¹⁶ Eisdem diebus miranda valde magna ad tumulum sancti Waldevi martyris. (Petri Blesensis, Infulsi continuat. apud rer. Angl. script., i. 116, ed. Gale.)

of the English.¹ But these idle tales of the fireside, these superstitious recollections of men and by-gone days, gave to the subjugated people neither relief for the present nor hope for the future.

(A.D. 1112 to 1118.) The son of king Henry and Matilda inherited from his mother no compassionate feelings towards the English. He was heard publicly to say that, if ever he came to reign over these miserable Saxons, he would yoke them, like oxen, to the plough.² At the age when this son, named William, received, with the accustomed ceremony, his first arms, all the Norman chiefs acknowledged him as king Henry's successor, and swore allegiance to him beforehand. A short time after, he was married to the daughter of Fulk count of Anjou: this union detached the Angevins from the confederacy formed by the king of France, who himself soon relinquished the war, on condition that Henry's son William should acknowledge himself his vassal for Normandy, and do him homage for that duchy.³ Peace being thus completely restored, in the year 1120, at the beginning of winter, king Henry, his legitimate son William, several of his natural children, and the Norman barons of England, made preparation for crossing the Channel into England.⁴

The fleet was assembled in the month of December in the port of Barfleur; and at the moment of its departure, one Thomas, son of Etienne, came to the king of England, and, offering him a mark of gold, addressed him thus:—"Etienne, son of Erard, my father, all his life served thy father by sea: it was he who steered the vessel in which thy father embarked for the conquest of England. My lord the king, I supplicate thee to grant me the same office. I have a ship called *La Blanche Nef*, which is well rigged and manned."⁵ The king answered that he had made choice of a ship for his passage; but that, in consideration of the request of the son of Etienne, he would intrust to his safe conduct his two sons, his daughter, and all their attendants. The vessel which carried the king was the first to set sail, with a south wind, when the night was coming on, and Henry landed in safety on the English coast the next morning. The other ship sailed a little later in the evening: the crew at the moment of weighing anchor had demanded some wine, and the young passengers had treated them with it too abundantly.⁶ The vessel was manœuvred by fifty skilful rowers; Thomas son of Etienne was at the helm; and they held on their rapid course by a fine moonlight, steering along the coast in the vicinity of Barfleur.⁷

The mariners, stimulated by the wine, gave way and pulled stoutly at the oar, so as to come up with the king's ship; and, being too eager to accomplish their purpose, they incautiously entangled themselves among some rocks just under the surface, which are situated in a place then called the Ras de Catte, and now Ras de Catteville.⁸ The *Blanche Nef* struck against a rock with all the velocity of her course, and her left side was stove in. The crew uttered a cry of distress which was heard in the king's vessels, already far at sea; but no one suspected the cause.⁹ The water poured in, and the ship soon went down, with all on board, to the number of three hundred persons, among whom were eighteen women.¹⁰ Two men only clung to the great yard, which was left floating on the water: these were a butcher of Rouen, named Bérald, and a young man of more elevated birth, named Godefroy son of Gilbert de l'Aigle.¹¹

Thomas, the master of the *Blanche Nef*, after sinking once, rose to the surface of the water, and, perceiving the heads of the two men who held by the spar, said to them, "And the king's son—what has become of him?"¹² "We have seen no more of him," was the answer, "nor of his brother, nor of his sister, nor any of their companions." "Woe is me!" exclaimed the son of Etienne, and voluntarily sunk to rise no more.¹³ That December night was extremely cold; so that the weakest of the two survivors, being exhausted, lost his grasp of the spar that had supported him, and, commending his companion to the Almighty, went to the bottom.¹⁴ Bérald, the poorest of the number of the shipwrecked, in his sheepskin doublet, supported himself on the surface of the water, and was the only one who again beheld the morning light; he was picked up by some fishermen; he outlived the disaster, and from him were learned the details of this event.¹⁵ Most of the English chroniclers, in relating this catastrophe, so grievous to their masters, seem to have but very little compassion for the misfortune of the Norman families. They call this misfortune a divine vengeance, a judgment of God, and dwell with satisfaction on the idea of something supernatural in a shipwreck that took place in calm weather on a tranquil sea.¹ They remind us of young William's words, and of his designs towards the English nation. "The proud youth!" exclaims a contemporary; "he thought of his future reign: but God said, It shall not be so, thou impious man, it shall not be so; and it has come to pass that his brow, instead of being encircled by the crown of gold, has been dashed

¹ Cujus cognatione ac consanguinitate, rex noster Wilhelmus fundat conscientiam suam regnam Angliæ invadendi. (Ingulf. Croyl. hist., *ibid.*, i. 84.)

² Pallam comminatus fuerat Anglis quod si quando acciperet dominium super eos, eos quasi boves ad aratrum trahere faceret. (Heur. Knyghton, ii. col. 2382, ed. Selden.)—Chron. J. Bromton, i. col. 1013, ed. Selden.—Thom. Walsingham, ypodigma Neustrie, apud Camden, Anglica, &c., p. 444.

³ Sicut Rollo primas Normannias dux jure perpetuo promiserat. (Anonymus, apud script. rer. Gallicæ et Francicæ, *liv.* 16.)

⁴ Ord. Vital., lib. xii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 867.

⁵ Eique marcum auri offerens, ait. Hoc fecidum, domine rex, à te requiro, et vas quod *Candida Navis* appellatur. (*Ibid.*, p. 867 et 868.)

⁶ Ad bibendum postalaverunt. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. xii., *ibid.*, p. 868.)

⁷ Periti enim remiges quinquaginta ibi erant. (*Ibid.*)

⁸ In quodam maris loco periculo qui ab incolis *Catta Ras* dicitur: (al. *catte raz*.) (Willelm. Gemet. Hist. Norm., *ibid.*, p. 257.)

⁹ Omnes in tanto discrimine simul exclamaverunt. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*—Will. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl., lib. v., apud rer. Anglicæ script., p. 165, ed. Savile.

¹¹ Duo soli virge quæ velum pendebat manus injeceunt. (Ord. Vital., lib. xii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 868.)

¹² Filius regis quid devenit? (*Ibid.*)

¹³ Miserum, inquit, est amodò tecum vivere. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁴ Vires amisit, sociumque suum Deo commendans, relapsus in pontum obiit. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁵ Beroldus autem, qui pauperior erat omnibus, renone amictus ex arietinis pellibus, de tanto solus consortio diem vidit. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁶ Manifestum Dei judicium mare tranquillo perierunt. (Gervas Cantuariensis, Chron. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1339, ed. Selden.)—Enormiter in mari tranquillissimo. (Math. Westa. dot. histor., p. 240.)

against the rocks of the ocean.¹ 'Twas God himself who so ordered that the son of the Norman should not again see England."² Lastly, they accuse this young man and those who shared his fate of shameful and infamous vices, unknown (say they) in England until the coming of the Normans:³ their invectives and their accusations often exceed all measure; and often, too, do they display nauseous excessive flattery and obsequiousness, like men who hate and yet tremble. One of these writers, in a confidential letter, exclaims, "Thou hast seen Robert de Belesme, the delight of whose soul was murder; thou hast seen Henry earl of Warwick, and Roger his son, whose soul was base; thou hast seen King Henry, the murderer of so many men, the violator of so many oaths, the gaoler of his brother . . .⁴ But thou wilt perhaps ask me why, in my history, I have so extolled this same Henry. I have said that he was remarkable among kings for his prudence, his bravery, and his wealth: yet these kings, to whom we bind ourselves by oaths, before whom the very stars of heaven seem to bow down, and whom women, children, and stupid men, throng eagerly to view as they pass by, are not surpassed in their faults by any man in their kingdom: and this it is which makes the regal office appear criminal in the eyes of some."⁵

(A.D. 1120 to 1124.) The old historians affirm that king Henry never smiled after hearing of the shipwreck of his children. His wife Matilda was dead, and lay at Winchester, the epitaph on her tomb containing a few English words—of which it was to be long before the monuments of the rich and great of England furnished another instance.⁶ Henry took a second wife—not from the Anglo-Saxon race, which had once more fallen into contempt, now that the son of the Conqueror no longer needed its support. This new marriage proved unfruitful; and all his tenderness was then concentrated on a natural son named Robert, his only remaining offspring.⁷ It happened, about the time when this son was of age to marry, that Robert Fitz-Aymon, a wealthy Norman, the possessor of extensive domains in Gloucestershire, died, leaving an only daughter, named Aimable, or familiarly Mabella and Mabile, the heiress to his lands. King Henry negotiated with the relatives of this noble lady a marriage between her and his illegitimate son Robert: the relatives consented, but Aimable refused. She refused for a long time without explaining the motives of her

repugnance; but at last, being much urged thereto, she declared that she would never be the bride of a man who had not two names. Such two names, or modern twofold name, consisting of the christian and surname, whether purely genealogical or indicating the possession of a landed estate or the exercise of some office, was one of the marks by which the Norman race in England distinguished themselves from the English.⁸ If, in the ages that followed the conquest of England, a man bore only a christian name, he ran the risk of being considered a Saxon; and the pride of birth wisely exhibited by the heiress of Robert Fitz-Aymon took alarm, on this occasion, at the idea of her proposed lord and husband being possibly confounded with the indigenous and ignoble class of the English. She plainly avowed this scruple in a conversation which she had with king Henry himself, and which is thus detailed in an old chronicle in verse:—"Sire," said the young Norman heiress, "I know that you condescend to cast your eyes upon me much less for myself than for my inheritance; but, possessed of so noble an inheritance, would it not be a great shame for me to take a husband who does not bear two names?" My father, when he was living, was called sir Robert Fitz-Aymon: I will therefore belong to no man whose name does not also tell whence he springs." "Well spoken, maiden!" replied Henry: "sir Robert Fitz-Aymon was thy father's name; sir Robert Fitz-Roy shall be that of thy husband."¹⁰ "This, I grant, is a fine name, and will do him honour all his life: but how shall his sons and his sons' sons be named?" The king now fully perceived the gist of Mabella's demand, and immediately replied to it in a manner sufficiently satisfactory: "Maiden, thy husband shall bear a name without reproach for himself and his heirs: he shall be called Robert of Gloucester; for I will that he be earl of Gloucester, he and all who shall spring from him."⁹

After recording this anecdote, which is illustrative of the life and manners of the conquerors of England, we shall turn once more to those less brilliant, gay, and courtly facts, which portray the destiny of the native English. In the year 1124 Ralph Basset, the grand justiciary, and others of the Anglo-Norman barons, held a great assembly of assize in Leicestershire. They summoned to appear before them a great number of Saxons, accused as brigands, that is, of having waged the partisan-warfare which had succeeded to the regular national defence against a foreign power. Forty-four of them, charged with robbery and with bearing arms, were condemned to die, and six others to lose their eyes, by chief-justice Basset and the barons of assize.¹¹ "It is attested," the contemporary chronicle informs us, "by creditable persons, that most of them were put to death unjustly: but God, who beholds all, knows that his unhappy people are grievously oppressed against all justice; they are first stripped of their property, and then

¹ Ille de regno futuro cogitabat; Deus autem dicebat, non sic, imple, non sic. Contigit autem ei quod pro coronâ auri, rupibus marinis capite scinderetur. (Henr. Huntingd. Epist. de contemptu mundi, apud Angliam sacram, ii. 696.)

² Obstitit ipse Deus.
(Chron. J. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1013, ed. Selden.)

³ Superbis tunc, luxurie et libidinis omnis tunc maculati. (Gervas. Cantuar. Chron. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1339, ed. Selden.)—Eadmeri hist., p. 24.—Anglia sacra, ii. 40.

⁴ Henr. Huntingd. epist. de contemptu mundi; Anglia sacra, ii. 698.

⁵ Nemo in regno eorum par eis sceleribus, unde dicitur: Regia res scelus est. (Henr. Huntingd., ibid., ii. 699.)

⁶ Hic jacet Matildis regina . . . ab Anglis vocata *Mold the good queen*. (Thomæ Rudborne hist. major Winton., Anglia sacra, i. 277.)

⁷ Wilhelm. Gemet. Hist. Normann. apud script. rer. Normann., p. 606.

⁸ Hicessii dissertatio epistolaris, Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium, ii. 27.

⁹ yt were me gret sname
Vor to abbe an loverd, bote he adde an tuo name.

(Robert of Gloucester's Chron., p. 431, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁰ "Damysle" quath the kyng . . .
Syre Robert le' fyz Haym . . .
Syre Robert fit le' roy . . .

(Ibid., p. 433.)

¹¹ Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 228.

their lives are taken from them.¹ This was a hard and bitter year to endure; for whosoever possessed a little property was deprived of it by the taillages and by judgments of the men in power; whosoever had nothing died of hunger.²

An occurrence which took place some time before may serve to throw some light on what the chronicle means by these judgments which despoiled the unhappy Saxons of all their chattels. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Henry I. a man named Brihtstan, dwelling in Huntingdonshire, was desirous of dedicating himself and all his worldly possessions to the monastery of Saint-Ethelrude. Robert Malartais, the Norman provost of that canton, imagining that the Englishman wished to turn monk only for the purpose of escaping the due chastisement for some secret offence against the foreign rule, accused him, apparently by surmise or at a venture, of having found a treasure and appropriated it to himself.³ This would have been an infringement on the king's own rights; for the Norman kings pretended that they were owners by royal birthright of all sums of money found underground.⁴ Malartais, in the king's name, forbade the monks of Saint-Ethelrude to receive Brihtstan among them; he then had the Saxon and his wife seized, and sent them before the justiciary Basset at Huntingdon.⁵ The accused denied the charge; but the Normans called him a liar, rallied him on his short stature and excessive corpulence, and, after many insults, passed a sentence, adjudging him, with all his chattels, to the king.⁶ Immediately on the passing of this judgment they demanded from the Englishman a declaration of his property, real and personal, as also the names of those indebted to him. Brihtstan complied; but the judges, not satisfied with the amount thereof, repeatedly told him that he was an impudent liar. The Saxon, in his own tongue, answered, "My lords, I call God to witness that I speak the truth." He repeated with calmness these words, says the historian, without adding anything more.⁷ His wife was forced to give up fifteen sols and two rings which she had about her, and to swear that she kept back nothing. The condemned was then carried, bound hand and foot, to London, cast into a dungeon, and loaded with chains too heavy for his strength.⁸

(A. D. 1116 to 1126.) Judgment was passed on the Saxon Brihtstan, according to the testimony of the ancient historian, in the session of assize, or, as the Normans termed it, the *cour du comté* of Huntingdon.⁹ In these courts, in which all causes were tried, excepting only those of the great barons, which were

reserved for the king's bench, held in his palace, the viscount of the shire or province presided, whom the English denominated the sheriff, or else a justice of assize or *tournee*, the *justicier errant* (itinerant justice) in the Norman law-terms.¹⁰ In the county-court there sat, as judges, the possessors of free lands—they whom the Normans called freeholders, and the native English termed *franklings*, joining to the French adjective a Saxon termination.¹¹ The county-court, like the king's bench, had periodical sessions; and such as failed to attend them paid a certain fine for having, as the acts of the time express, left justice without judgment.¹² No one could sit there unless he wore the sword and baldric, the ensigns of Norman liberty, and unless he, moreover, spoke the French tongue.¹³ Each one repaired to the court girt with his sword; which obligation served to keep therefrom the Saxons, or, according to the language of the old acts, the villains, the cotters and inhabitants of hamlets, and all men of an ignoble and low caste.¹⁴ The French idiom may be said to have been the criterion by which to distinguish those who were qualified for judges: there were even cases at law in which the testimony of a man ignorant of the language of the conquerors, and thus betraying his English descent, was deemed invalid evidence. This is proved by a fact which occurred more than sixty years later than the period at which we are now arrived. In the year 1191, in a litigation in which the abbot of Crowland was interested, four persons bore witness against him; these were Godefrey de Thurleby, Walter le Roux de Hanneby, William son of Alfred, and Gilbert de Bennington. "The false testimony which they gave was recorded," says the historian; "and the truth which the abbot spoke was not received; yet all present thought the judgment would still be favourable to him, since not one of the four witnesses possessed a knight's fee nor wore a sword, and because the third witness could not speak French."¹⁵

Of king Henry's two legitimate children there now remained to him only Matilda, wife of Henry V. emperor of Germany. In the year 1126 Matilda, familiarly named Maud, became a widow, and returned to the court of her father: notwithstanding her widowhood, the Normans continued to honour her with the style and title of *emperesse*, or empress.¹⁶ At Christmas Henry held his court in great pomp in the halls of Windsor castle; and there all the Norman barons of the two countries assembled at his invitation, promised fealty to Matilda, as well for the duchy of Normandy as for the kingdom of England, swearing

¹⁰ *Justitiani itinerantes.*

¹¹ *Frank tenentes* ... The termination *ling* in the Germanic tongues denotes resemblance or filiation. When the English had gradually dropped the strong aspiration of their language, the word *frankling* became *franklyn*. See Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

¹² *Quod justitiam sine judicio dimiserint.* (*Leges Henr. I.*)
¹³ *Duodecim milites acclinetis gladiis.* (*Gloss ad Math. Paris, verbo Assis.*)

¹⁴ *Villani vel Cotseti vel Perdingi, vel qui sunt istius modi vilos vel inopes persona, non sunt inter legum iudices numerandi.* (*Leges Henr. I.*, apud *Gloss, Spelman*, verbi *Cotseti, Cotsetanus, Cotsetus*.)

¹⁵ *Et quod non erant de militari ordine, nec acclineti gladio, et tertius eorum Gallicè loqui non noverat.* (*Petri Blesensis, lugaliū continuat.*, apud *rer. Anglie, script.*, l. 458, ed. Gale.)

¹⁶ *Quod vixit sibi nomen retinens imperatris.* (*De orig. comit. Andegav.*, apud *script. rer. Gallic. et Francic.*, xii. 337.)

¹ *Multi sile digni homines ... sed noster dominus Deus videt oppressum esse miserum populum contra jus omne.* *Primo spoliantur possessionibus, deinde trucidantur.* (*Ibid.*)

² *Mid strange goides, and mid strange notes qui illi habebat perit fame.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Thessurum multum invenit.* (*Ord. Vital.*, lib. vi., apud *script. rer. Normann.*, p. 629.)

⁴ *Thesauri de terrâ regis sunt.* (*Leges regum Anglo-Normann.*, apud *Wilkins*.)

⁵ *Interitio ne illam in vestro collegio audeatis suscipere.* (*Ord. Vital.*, loc. *supr.*, cit.)

⁶ *Prejudicaverunt ipsum cum omni possessione ditioni regis tradendum.* (*Ibid.*)

⁷ *Wat, mis lassert, gode! mihtin hic zege so!*, respondebat. *Et hoc verbo sæpius repetito nihil aliud dicebat.* (*Ord. Vital.*, *Exat. ecclesiast.*, lib. vi., apud *script. rer. Normann.*, p. 629.)

⁸ *Londoniam ductus, in carcerem obscurum retruditur.* *Et hinc vinculis ferreis* (*Ibid.*, p. 630.)

⁹ *Congregatis provincialibus apud Huntingdoniam.* (*Ibid.*, p. 629.)

the same allegiance to her as to her father, in the event of his death.¹ The first to take this oath was Stephen, son of the count of Blois and of Adela daughter of William the Conqueror, one of the king's most intimate friends, and almost considered as his favourite.² In the same year, Foulques or Fulk, count of Anjou, led away by the new enthusiasm of his age, constituted himself, as the term was, a soldier of Christ, marked his coat of mail with the cross, and set out for Jerusalem. Being uncertain of his return, he delivered over his county to his son Geoffrey, surnamed *Plante-Genest*, or Plantagenet, from his custom of placing a branch of this flowering shrub, or yellow broom in full blossom, in his cap or helm by way of plume.³

(A.D. 1126 to 1127.) King Henry took a great liking to his young friend count Geoffrey of Anjou, for his noble person, his elegant manners, and his reputed valour. He even chose to become his sponsor in chivalry, and to perform at his own expense, at Rouen, the ceremony of receiving Geoffrey into the high military order.⁴ After the bath, in which, according to custom, the new knight was plunged, Henry gave him, as his son in arms, a Spanish horse, a complete suit of mail with mailed chausses or cuisses, proof against lance and javelin, the golden spurs, an escutcheon adorned with golden lions, a helmet enriched with jewels, an ashen lance armed with a head of Poitiers steel, and a sword of which the temper of the blade was of that perfection that it was supposed to have been annealed by Waland the fabulous artificer recorded in the ancient traditions of northern romance.⁵ The king of England did not confine his friendship to these testimonies of regard; he resolved that his daughter, the empress Matilda, should take the count of Anjou for her second husband. The marriage was concluded, but without the previous consent of the barons of Normandy and England, a circumstance which ever afterwards clouded the destinies of the youthful couple.⁶ The nuptials were celebrated in Whitsun-week of the year 1127, and the festival was prolonged for three weeks.⁷ On the first day, heralds in grand costume went through the streets and squares of Rouen, shouting at every crossway this quaint proclamation:—"Thus saith king Henry: Let no man here present, whether native or foreigner, rich or poor, noble or villain, be so bold as to stay away from the royal rejoicings; for whosoever shall not take part in the games and diversions will be considered as guilty of an offence against his lord the king."⁸

¹ Math. Paris., i. 70.

² Et primus omnium comes Blesensis. (Ibid.)

³ Dictum etiam, idque usitatus Plantagenest, eo quod genista ramum pileolo insertum gestaret. (Script. rer. Francic., xii. 281, in notâ c, ad calc. pag.)—Chron. de Normandie, p. 247, *ibid.*, xiii. 247.

⁴ Johannis Monac. major. monast. hist. Gaufredi ducis Normann., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 520.

⁵ Lorica maculis duplicibus intexta, hasta fraxinea ferrum Pictavense prætendens, ensis de thesauro regio, in quo fabricando fabrorum superlativus Galannus multa operâ et studio desudavit. (Ibid., xii. 521.)—He was the *Volundur* of the Edda of the Scandinavians, and the *Weyland-Smith* of the popular romances of England and Scotland.

⁶ Willelm. Malmesh. historia novella, lib. i., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 175, ed. Savile.

⁷ Chron. J. Bromton. i. col. 1016, ed. Selden.

⁸ Clamatum est voce præconis ne quis . . . ab hac regali lætitiâ se subtraheret. (Script. rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 521.)—Johann. Monachi major. monast. hist. Gaufredi ducis Normann., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 521.

From the union of Henry's daughter Matilda with Geoffrey Plantagenet was born in the year 1133 a son, who, after his grandfather, was named Henry, and whom the Normans surnamed *Fitz-emperesse* (Fitz-Empress), to distinguish him from his grandfather, whom they had surnamed *Fils* or *Fitz-Guillaume-Conquereur*. On the birth of his grandson the Norman king once more called together his barons of England and of Normandy, and required them to recognise his daughter's children as the successors to the kingdom, after him and after Matilda.⁹ They consented to this request in appearance, and swore to it. (A.D. 1133.) Henry I. died two years after, in Normandy, believing that his crown would assuredly pass, without contestation, to his daughter and his grandson. On the first rumour of his death, his nephew, Stephen of Blois, set sail in great haste for England, where he was elected king by the prelates, earls, and barons, who had sworn to give the kingdom to Matilda.¹⁰ The bishop of Salisbury declared that such oath was not binding, because the king had married his daughter without the consent of the barons; and others said that it would be shameful for so many noble knights to be under the rule of a woman.¹¹ The election of Stephen was sanctioned by the solemn benediction of the archbishop of Canterbury, and, which in that age was very important, approved of by a letter of pope Innocent II. "We have learned," said the pontiff to the new king, "that thou hast been elected by the common wish and unanimous consent both of the nobles and of the people, and that thou hast been anointed by the prelates of the kingdom." Considering that the suffrages of so many men cannot have been united in thy person without the especial co-operation of Divine grace, and that, moreover, thou art akin to the late king in the nearest degree, we look with satisfaction on all that has been done in thy favour, and adopt thee with paternal affection as a true son of the blessed apostle Peter, and of the holy Roman church."¹²

(A.D. 1135 to 1137.) Stephen of Blois was very popular with the Anglo-Normans, for his tried valour, and for his affable and liberal spirit. He promised, on receiving the crown, to restore to each and every of the barons the free use and enjoyment of the forests, which king Henry, following the example of the two Williams, had appropriated to himself.¹³ The early days of the new reign were peaceful and happy—at least for the Norman race. The king was prodigal and magnificent: he gave largely to those about him,¹⁴ and took great sums from the treasure which the Conqueror had amassed, and his two successors had increased. He made grant of, and alienated as fiefs, or possessions in fee, such English estates as William had reserved for his share of the Con-

⁹ Math. Paris., i. 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 74.

¹¹ Fore nimis turpe si tot nobiles feminæ subderentur. (Ibid.)

¹² Communi voto et unanimi assensu tam procerum quam etiam populi te in regem eligere. (Epist. Innocent II. 1070, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xv. 391.)

¹³ Te in specialem B. Petri et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ filium. (Ibid. *ibid.*, xv. 392.)

¹⁴ Vorit quod nullius vel clerici vel laici sylvas in manu suâ retineret. (Math. Paris., i. 74.)

¹⁵ Cùm esset ipse in dando diffusus. (Will. Malmesh., historia novella, lib. i., apud rer. Anglie script., p. 176, ed. Savile.)

quest, which were hitherto crown-lands, and formed the royal domains. He created earls and provincial governors over districts which had, until Stephen's reign, been administered by royal prefects for the king's sole profit. Geoffrey of Anjou, husband of the empress Matilda, engaged to remain at peace for an annual pension of five thousand marks; and even the late king's natural son, Robert of Gloucester, who had at first manifested an intention of asserting his sister's right, founded on the oath of the chiefs, took upon king Stephen's hands the oaths of homage and allegiance.¹ This period of calm did not, however, last long; and about the year 1137 several young barons and knights, who had fruitlessly solicited the new king for a share of his castles and domains, proceeded to take possession of them by force of arms. Hugh Bigod seized on the fortress of Norwich, and one Robert on that of Badington: the king compelled them to restore them to him; but the spirit of opposition, once kindled, spread without intermission.² King Henry's bastard son suddenly broke the peace which he had sworn to Stephen; he sent him a message of defiance from Normandy, declaratory of his having renounced his homage and allegiance to him. "Robert," says a cotemporary author, "was induced to this proceeding by the answers of several religious men whom he had consulted, and more especially by a decree of the pope, enjoining the necessity of obedience to the oath which he had sworn to his sister Matilda, in the presence of their father."³ Thus was annulled that brief which the same pope, Innocent II., had published in favour of king Stephen; and war alone was left to decide the rival claims of the competitors for the English crown. The malecontents, encouraged by the defection of the late king's son, were on the alert throughout England, and preparing for the conflict. "They made me king," said Stephen, "and now they abandon me; but, by the birth of God, they shall never call me the deposed king."⁴ In order to have an army on which he could depend, he called over auxiliaries from every part of Gaul: "as he promised great pay, many soldiers came with eager haste to enlist themselves under his banner, both heavy cavalry and light-armed foot, especially the Flemings and Bretons."⁵

The conquerors of England were once more divided into two hostile factions. The state of things was becoming the same as when, in the two preceding reigns, the sons of the vanquished had entered into the quarrels of their masters, and sunk the balance on one side or the other, in the vain hope of bettering by some chance their own condition. In Stephen's reign similar conjunctures occurred; but the Anglo-Saxon people this time stood aloof, enlightened by their experience of the past. In the quarrel between Stephen and

the partisans of Matilda, the English neither declared for the established king, who asserted that his cause was that of the public peace and of good order, nor would they support the daughter of Henry the Norman by the Saxon princess: they resolved to act decisively in their own cause. Once more was formed in England what had not been known since the destruction of the camp of Ely, a great national conspiracy to free the land from servitude and slavery. The cotemporary historian tells us that "on a day appointed a general massacre of the Normans was to take place throughout England."⁶

The manner in which this formidable plot was divulged, who were its chiefs, what classes of the English people entered into it, in what places and upon what signals it was to break out, the historian has not recorded. We only learn from him that the conspirators of the year 1137 had renewed the ancient alliance of the Saxon patriots with the Welsh and Scottish nations;⁷ and that they had even offered to instate a Scot as ruler over the emancipated kingdom; designing thereby, possibly, the monarch then occupying the Scottish throne, who was king David, the son of Margaret, Edgar's sister.⁸ The whole design was, however, frustrated, through the means of information given to Richard Nigel, or Lenoir, bishop of Ely, who, it is believed, made the discovery of this great conspiracy by revelations confided to him under the presumed secrecy and sanctity of the confessional.⁹ In that age, men endowed with minds of the most resolute stamp seldom or never exposed themselves to an evident danger of impending death, without first settling every account with their conscience; and when the resort of penitents, to make confession and seek for absolution, was more frequently remarkable than in ordinary times, this was a never-failing sign of political agitation and the outbreak of revolt: in presiding over the consciences and moral feelings of the Saxons, the higher clergy, of Norman race, thus fulfilled the principal purpose of their transplantation into England. By their insidious questions, the purpose of which they were well practised how to conceal, they elicited, during the outpourings of devotion, the slightest tokens of their people entertaining the thought even of revolt; and it was indeed seldom that the man, under influences of religious humiliation, who submitted to be questioned by his priest and confessor, knew how to guard himself against one whom he believed to possess the power of binding and loosing upon earth and in heaven. The bishop of Ely hastened to apprise the other bishops, and the superior officers and ministers of the king's government, of this important discovery;¹⁰ but, notwithstanding the promptitude of the measures taken in so great a peril, many of the conspirators, and, according to the cotemporary narrator, those of most consequence and influence among them, had time to

¹ Will. Malmesb., *ibid.*, p. 179.

² *Cepit ergo deinceps Normannorum proditione pullulare.* (Matth. Paris., l. 73.)

³ *Hommagio abdicato . . . adde etiam quod apostolici decreti præ se tenorem ferebat, præcipientis ut sacramento quod præserte patre fecerat, obediens esset.* (Will. Malmesb., *ibid.*, p. 180.)

⁴ *Sed per nascentiam Dei, nunquam rex dejectus appellabitur.* (*Ibid.*)

⁵ *Curvabatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus et à levis armaturæ hominibus, maximeque ex Flandriâ et Britannia.* (Will. Malmesb., *ibid.*, p. 179.)

⁶ *Conspirationem fecerant et clandestinis machinationibus sese invicem animaverant ut, constituto die, Normannos omnes occiderent.* (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. xlii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 912.)

⁷ *Fœdus cum Scottis et Guallis.* (*Ibid.*)

⁸ *Et regni principatum Scottis traderent.* (*Ibid.*)

⁹ *Tanta perversitas Ricardo Nigello, Eliensi episcopo, primitis nota, per conjuratos nequitie socios, lieta est.* (*Ibid.*)

¹⁰ *Et per eum reliquis præsulibus regni et optimatibus atque tribunis regisque satellitibus pervulgata est.* (*Ibid.*)

fly.¹ They made good their escape into Wales, hoping to animate the Welsh people to a war against the Normans.² Those who were seized perished in great numbers, by the gibbet and other modes of death.³

This event happened sixty-six years after the last defeat of the insurgents in the isle of Ely, and seventy-two after the battle of Hastings. Whether it be that the chroniclers have not told us all, or that after that time the links of union which had once attached Saxons to Saxons, and preserved them still as a nation, were never again joined, we can trace in no subsequent age any project of deliverance conceived with one common accord by all the classes of the Anglo-Saxon population. The old English cry of *No Normans!* here ceases to resound in the records of history; and later insurrections had simply for their rallying-cry the more ordinary forms of exclamation peculiar to the partial and temporary excitements of civil wars. Thus, in the fourteenth century the insurgent peasants of England cried *No gentlemen!*⁴ and in the seventeenth, the towns and the fields rang with the exclamations of *No haughty lords!* *No hollow-hearted bishops!*⁵ It will be possible, notwithstanding the foregoing remarks, still to seize, in the historical facts we are about to enter upon, some vivid and enduring traces of the old hostility of the two races to each other.

It is at this day very uncertain for how long a space of time the words noble and rich were, according to the popular notions thereof entertained by the English, synonymous with usurper and stranger; for the exact import of the phraseology, generally speaking, of ancient historians, is too often a problem with the modern historian, and calls for literary and critical inquiry. They wrote for men who were thoroughly acquainted with many secrets respecting their own social condition which have not come down to posterity: they were therefore at liberty to use vague allusions and to write with allowable reservations; an apposite word, and a simple hint, were often sufficient to make them clearly understood. But how can we be sufficiently acquainted with the turns of expression of the old chroniclers, when we do not so much as understand the general features of the times in which they lived? and from what sources can we draw our knowledge of by-gone ages but from those very chronicles? Such is the fallacious circle within the bounds of which all modern writers are necessarily circumscribed, who endeavour faithfully to depict the ancient scenes of this sublimary world, and the happy or unhappy lot of generations that have been long numbered and are no more. The labour of historians so replete with difficulties cannot therefore be expected to prove completely successful; may the few rays of light which, by their painful investigations, they succeeded in directing with effect to the truth and the revival of historical lore, gain for them the meed of approbation.

¹ Porò nonnulli malitie conscii fugerunt, et relictis omnibus divitiis et honoribus suis, exulaverunt. (Ibid.)

² Potentiores siquidem ad resistendum temerè animati sunt. (Ibid.)

³ Patibulis aliisque generibus mortis interierunt. (Ibid.)

⁴ When Adam delved and Eva spau,
Where was then the gentleman?

⁵ Proud lords and rotten-hearted bishops.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD TO THE
INSURRECTION OF THE POITEVINS AND BRETONS
AGAINST KING HENRY II.

A.D. 1137 to 1189.

THE friendship which, at the moment of the conquest by William, had been suddenly established between the Anglo-Saxon people and the Scottish nation, though since weakened by various circumstances, had never been entirely broken. (A.D. 1066 to 1137.) The day on which Malcolm Kenmore, brother-in-law of king Edgar, was compelled to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Conqueror of England, had, it is true, been the moment when was erected a moral barrier between the Scottish kings and the race of the Anglo-Saxons. But Malcolm, as well as his successors, bore with impatience this condition of vassalage which force had imposed. In their desire to throw it off they repeatedly became aggressors against the Anglo-Normans, and made forays into the country south of the Tweed; the Normans, too, passed that river several times, to make reprisals; and the oath of feudal subjection was alternately broken or renewed, as the chances of war determined. Moreover, the kings of Scotland never numbered among the obligations which they had incurred by accepting the title of *liege-men*, an obligation to shut their country against the Anglo-Saxon emigrants. The multitude of men, of every rank and condition, who, after a useless struggle against the invaders, went into exile on the Scottish territory, considerably augmented the ancient mass of Germanic population established between the Tweed and the Forth.⁶ The kings who succeeded Malcolm showed no less generosity to these refugees than himself. They gave them estates and offices, and admitted them into their council of state, in which, by degrees, the true Scottish tongue, the Gaëlic or Erse, was supplanted by the Anglo-Danish dialect spoken in the lowlands of Scotland. Another consequence of the same revolution was, that the Scottish kings laid aside those patronymic surnames which bore evidence of their Celtic origin, and retained only a christian name in their royal style, often Saxon or foreign, as Edgar, Alexander, David, &c.

This hospitality which the chiefs of Scotland exercised towards those Saxons who fled before the swords of the Normans, they also offered to those men of Norman race who were either dissatisfied with their allotments in the division of property and honours made after the Conquest, or had been banished by sentence of their own chiefs. These sons of the conquerors of England resorted in great numbers to seek their fortune in that land where the vanquished had found succour. Most of them were good and tried soldiers; and the Scottish kings took them into their service, rejoiced at having Norman knights to oppose in the field to the Normans of the other side of the Tweed. They admitted these bold warriors to their intimacy; intrusted them with high commands; and, to make their court more agreeable to these new

⁶ See book iv. p. 82.

guests, even studied to introduce into the Teutonic language, there spoken, a great many Norman words and idioms.¹ Fashion and custom gradually naturalized these exotic modes of speech in all the country between the Forth and the Tweed; in which, in a very short time, the national tongue became an odd admixture of French and Tudesque, in almost equal portions.

This tongue, which to the present day is still the popular dialect of the people of the south of Scotland, retained but a slender proportion of Celtic, or of Erse and British words, and most of these were designed to represent objects peculiar to the country, as the different changes, that is to say, the different shades, of an extremely varied soil; but, faint as were the traces in the new language of the old idiom of the Scottish plains, it was easy to discover, in the spirit and manners of the population of those countries, that it was originally a Celtic race, on which other races had been, as it were, engrafted, without entirely renewing it. Quickness of imagination, a taste for music and poetry, the doubling, or enhancing in a powerful degree, the social obligations, by a peculiarly national observance of the ties of kindred, which the clans accurately trace from the earliest genealogies of the several families inhabiting the northern portion of the island, are original features which have always distinguished and still distinguish the inhabitants of the left bank of the Tweed from their southern neighbours.

Advancing westward in the plains of Scotland, these Celtic traits were more strongly marked; because the people there were more remote from the influence of the royal towns of Scone and Edinburgh, whither the great mass of the foreign emigrants resorted. In the province of Galloway, for instance, the administrative authority was, in the twelfth century, still regarded as no other than a *fiction* of the paternal authority; nor could any one, sent by the king to govern that country, exercise his command in peace, unless he was accepted as head of the family, or chief of the clan, by the people whom he was to rule.² If the inhabitants did not think fit to adjudge this title to the man appointed by the king, or if the ancient hereditary chief of the clan did not voluntarily cede to him his privilege, the clan, notwithstanding the royal commission, would not recognise him; and he was soon compelled either to resign or to sell his commission to the chief recognised by the people.³

In those places where the emigrants from England, whether Saxon or Norman, obtained territorial domains on condition of fealty and service, it was their custom to build a church, a mill, a brewery, and a few houses for their train, whom the Saxons called the *hirede*, and the Normans *la menie*. All these buildings together, surrounded by a fence or a wall, were named *lenclos*, or, in the vernacular of the lowlands of Scotland, *the tun*. The inhabitants of this inclosure, consisting of

proprietors and of tenants, composed a sort of little city, united like a Celtic clan, but by other ties than those of kindred, that is to say, by hire and service, by duty and command. The chief, in his square tower or embattled bawn, built in the midst of the humble dwellings of his vassals or his husbandmen, resembled in appearance the Norman of England, whose strong castle commanded the cabins of his serfs. But between the real condition of the one and of the other of these the difference was great; for in Scotland the subordination of the poor to the rich man was not servitude. The latter did, it is true, bear the title of *lord*⁴ in the Teutonic tongue, and of *sire* in French; but, as he was neither a conqueror nor the son of a conqueror, he was neither hated nor dreaded. A social familiarity might be daily witnessed betwixt the occupants of the tower and of the cabin: they well knew that their ancestors had not bequeathed to them any mortal injuries and insults to revenge upon either side.

When war called them to arms they did not form two separate classes of people, one of horsemen, the other of foot-soldiers; one clad in complete steel, the other forbidden to wear the spurs on pain of ignominious chastisement. Each man, armed according to his means, in a coat of mail or in a lined doublet, mounted his own horse, whether well or ill harnessed. In time of peace the condition of cultivator of another's land was not a humiliation as in England, where the Norman word *villain* passed in the vulgar tongue for the most odious of epithets. A Scottish farmer was vulgarly styled *le bonhomme*, "the gude-man." His lord had no pretensions over him but to rents and services conventionally settled; on him no capitation was levied, without exception of aged and infant, as in a conquered country.⁵ Nor was there ever in Scotland an insurrection of the peasantry; the poor and the rich sympathised with each other, because their poverty and their substance had not originated in victory, nor from confiscations. The various races, like the languages in use, had become intermingled with respect to every class of society: the same language was spoken in the castle, the town, and the cottage.

This language, which, from its resemblance to that of the Anglo-Saxons, was called *Anglic*, or *English*, had very different destinies in Scotland and in England. In England it was the idiom of the serfs, the tradesmen, the herdsmen; while the poets who sang to the higher classes composed only in pure Norman; but north of the Tweed English was the favourite tongue of the minstrels who followed the court; it was polite, finished, graceful, refined; while on the other side of the same river the Anglo-Saxon tongue was reputed to be as rude and graceless as the oppressed people who spoke it. The few popular poets who, instead of rhyming in French for the sons of the Normans, persisted in composing their romances in English for the Saxons, became sensible of this difference, and complained that they should run the risk of not being understood, were they to employ the fine language, the bold turn of expression, and complicated versification of the ballad-

¹ The charters of the kings of Scotland, at the end of the tenth century, bore this superscription: *N. omnibus per regnum suum Scotis et Anglis salutem.*" In the twelfth century it was, "Omnibus fidelibus Francis et Anglis et Scotie." (Dugdale, *Monast. Anglie. passim.*)

² Capot progeniei: *hen-binneol*. (Charta Alexandri II., see Grant's *Descent of the Gaels*, p. 378.)

³ Charta Thomae Fleming. *ibid.*, p. 377.

⁴ According to the Scottish orthography and pronunciation, *laird*.

⁵ Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, l. 81—169.

writers of south Scotland. One of them expresses himself thus: "I have put in my plain English, for the love of simple men, what others have written and recited with more of elegance; for I do not address myself to pride and nobility, I write only for those who do not comprehend the more refined English."¹ In this polite English of the lowlanders of Scotland were clothed the old British traditions, which remained in the memories of the inhabitants of the banks of Clyde long after the British tongue had perished in those countries. In the lowlands of the south-west Arthur and the British heroes were more popular than the heroes of the ancient Scots, than Gaul Mac-Morn, and Fin Mac-Gaul (Fingal) father of Oshinn (Ossian), sung in the Gaelic tongue in the mountains and islands.²

The people who spoke that language (the Gaelic), which bears a close affinity to Irish, spoken by the natives of Hibernia, were still in the twelfth century the most numerous population of Scotland; but they were politically the least powerful from the time that their own kings deserted their alliance for that of the inhabitants occupying the south-eastern division of the ancient Caledonia. They knew this well, and remembered that the plains occupied by those new comers had once been the property of their forefathers; they hated them, therefore, as usurpers, and refused to them the appellation of Scots, which the strangers affected, and were indeed known by that name to other nations; but in Scotland the foreign colonists were generally called Sassenachs, that is to say Saxons, because, although of a great diversity of race, they all spoke the English language. Long did the descendants of the Gaëls consider their warlike and marauding incursions into the lowlands of Scotland in the light of lawful reprisals. "The plains," they said, "are our inheritance; it is right that we should take that wealth which is justly our own."³ This national hostility, the dire effects of which were greatly dreaded by the inhabitants of the plains, made them ever disposed to instigate all sorts of arbitrary and tyrannical measures on the part of the kings of Scotland, to ruin the independence of the Highlanders: but there seems to be in the manners, as well as in the language, of the Celtic populations, a principle of duration which sets time and the efforts of man at defiance. The clans of the Gaëls were perpetuated in freedom under the patriarchal chieftains; to whom the clan, all bearing the same name, were obedient, as sons unto a father. Every tribe which did not recognise a head of the clan, and constitute one great family, was considered base: few, however, of the Scottish clans incurred this dishonour; and, the more carefully to avoid so great a disgrace, the bards, who were the national historians and the acknowledged authori-

ties for each pedigree, customarily deduced the genealogy of every new chieftain from the primitive ancestor of the entire clan.⁴ In token of this filiation, which was never to be interrupted, the actual chief added to his name a patronymic surname, which all his predecessors had antecedently borne, and which his successors were in like manner to assume; this surname, according to the Celtic etiquette, serving them as a title. The feudal style of the public acts of Scotland was never current in the Highlands and the Hebrides; but the same man who at the royal court entitled himself duke or earl of Argyle, on his return to his clan was only Mac-Callan-More, that is to say, Son of Callan the Great.⁵

All the clans scattered on the western coast of Scotland from the point of Cantire to the northern cape, and in the Hebrides, which were also called the isles of the Gaëls,⁶ lived in separate societies under this patriarchal authority: but over all the local chieftains there existed, in the twelfth century, a supreme chief, who, in the language of the lowlands, was called the lord, or king, of the isles. This king of the whole Gaelic population of Scotland resided at Dunstaffnage, on a rock of the western sea, which was the ancient abode of the kings of the Scots, before they emigrated to the east: sometimes, also, he dwelt in the fort of Artornish, on the strait of Mull; and sometimes in the isle of Ilay, the most fertile, if not the largest, of all the Hebrides. There, was held the high court of judicature, the members of which sat in a circle, on seats cut in the rock: and there was to be seen a stone seven feet square, upon which the king of the isles stood on the day of his coronation, and swore to preserve to each one his rights, and to do justice at all times; the sword of his predecessor was then placed in his hands, and the bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him in presence of all the chiefs of clans of the western isles and of the Highlands.⁷

The power of the king of the islands, or of the Hebrides, extended sometimes over the isle of Man, situated more to the south, between England and Ireland; and sometimes that island had a separate king, sprung from the Irish race, or descended from ancient Scandinavian chiefs who had retired thither after their marine expeditions. The kings of the Western isles acknowledged as their suzerain, at one time the king of Scotland, at another the king of Norway, as superior power compelled them, or their own interests dictated.⁸ The national aversion of the Gaelic population for the Scotch of the lowlands tended to preserve this royal authority among the Gaëls; which, at the period to which this narrative has arrived, was still existing in all its plenitude. The king of the isles treated, as an independent potentate, with the king of Scotland, who was his rival in ordinary times, but was his natural ally against a common enemy, as, for instance, against the kings of England; for the instinct of national antipathy,

¹ Als thai haf wryten and sayd,
Haf I alle in myn Inglis layd,
In symple speche as I couthe.
Bot for the luf of symple men,
That strange Inglis cannot ken;
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye.

(Robert de Brunne's prologue to his Chronicle, p. xevii, ed. Hearne.)

² Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iii. 245.—Scott's 'Sir Tristram,' Edinburgh, 1806.

³ Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, notes, p. 321.—*Johan. de Fordun, Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. p. 79, ed. Hearne.)

⁴ Lady of the Lake, *ibid.*, notes, p. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁶ *Iunia Gail.*

⁷ Sir Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, notes, pp. 170, 176.

⁸ *Triginta duas insulas tenet rex insularum . . . de rege Norwegie.* (Robertus de Monte, sub anno 1166, apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie, xvi. 296, in notis.)—*Rex Mannie et insularum.* (Charta regis Mannie, apud Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, ii. 427.)

which had frequently excited the ancient Scots to invade the borders of England, was not yet extinguished in the breasts of the Highland clans.¹ In the lowlands of Scotland, too, a war against the Normans could not fail to be extremely popular. Those of Saxon origin who inhabited that country ardently desired to revenge their own wrongs and those of their forefathers; and, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, the Norman refugees in Scotland themselves wished to measure swords with their own countrymen who had banished them from England. The desire of once more gaining possession of the domains which they had formerly usurped was no less keen in their breasts² than was in those of the Anglo-Saxons the desire of recovering their native land and their ancestral estates: so that, in the council of the kings of Scotland, in which a great many of the new citizens sat, the almost universal opinion was for war with the conquerors of the English people. Gaëls, Saxons, Normans, Highlanders, and Lowlanders, moved by these various interests, all agreed on this point: and it was probably this unanimous sentiment, being well known to the subjugated English, which had encouraged the latter to rely on the support of Scotland in the great plot laid, and discovered, in the year 1137.

(A.D. 1135 to 1137.) Emissaries from the English people had long been arriving at the court of the Scottish kings, who were nephews of the last Anglo-Saxon king, and implored them, by the memory of their uncle Edgar, to come to the assistance of the oppressed nation to whom they were bound by the ties of kindred. But the sons of Malcolm Kenmore were kings; and, as such, were little disposed to commit themselves, without the strongest motives of personal interest, by giving their aid in a national revolt. They were deaf, therefore, to the complaints of the English, and to the suggestions of their own courtiers, during the lifetime of king Henry I., between whom and themselves there were also some ties of kindred, through his wife Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm. When Henry made the Norman chiefs swear to give the kingdom of England, on his death, to his daughter by Matilda, David, at that time king of Scotland, was present at the assembly, and took the oath as Henry's vassal: but when the chiefs of England, breaking their faith, gave the kingdom to Stephen of Blois, instead of to Matilda, the king of Scotland began to think that the cause of the Saxons was the good cause.³ He promised to assist that nation in their project of exterminating the Normans; and perhaps it was as a recompense for this vague promise that he stipulated, as was the rumour of that age, that, if the enterprise proved successful, he should himself be made king of England.

The English, as we have said above, did not re-

¹ *Inulsua sive montana gens ... populo Anglorum et lingua ... infesta jugiter et crudelis.* (Johan. de Fordun. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. 79, ed. Hearne.)

² *Habebat rex (Scotorum) secum, qui eum crebro admonitionis calcare stimulabant, hinc filium Roberti de Bathenou, ejusque collaterales, qui ex Angliam exulati sub spe recuperande patrie ad illum confugerant, alioque quam plures qui vel questis gratia ...* (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 239.)

³ *Zeloque justitie succensus, tum per communis sanguinis cognatione, tum pro fide mulieris reponnissa et debita, regnum Anglie turbare disposuit.* (Ibid.)

gain their freedom; thanks to the vigilance of a bishop. (A.D. 1138.) However, the king of Scotland, who had bound himself to the Saxon people only because he had himself entertained projects of hostility against the Anglo-Normans, assembled his army and marched southward. It was not in the name of the oppressed Saxon race that he made his entry into England; it was in the name of his cousin Matilda, dispossessed, he said, by the usurper of the kingdom, Stephen of Blois.⁴ The English people had no greater regard for the wife of Geoffrey of Anjou than for Stephen of Blois; nevertheless, the population nearest to the Scottish border, namely the inhabitants of Cumberland and of Westmoreland, and of all the valleys watered by the streams which fall into the Tweed, impelled simply by the instinct which makes men eagerly embrace every means of relief, welcomed the Scotch as friends, and joined their standard.⁵ These valleys, which were naturally difficult of access, and had not as yet been brought under complete subjection by the Normans, were in great part peopled by Saxons whose fathers had been banished at the period of the Norman Conquest.⁶ They came to the Scottish camp in great numbers and without any military discipline, they were mounted on ponies of the Fells, which were indeed the only property they were possessed of.

In general, excepting the Norman or French knights whom the king of Scotland brought in his train, who wore complete suits of mail, and were uniformly accoutred cap-à-pié, the great mass of his troops displayed a disorderly equipment of arms and habiliments. The inhabitants of the eastern part of the lowlands, men of Danish or Saxon origin, formed the heavy infantry: these were armed with cuirasses and large spears. The inhabitants of the west, especially of Galloway, still retaining strong marks of their British descent, had, like the ancient Britons, no defensive armour; and carried long javelins, of which the heads were sharp, and the shafts slender and fragile. Lastly, the true Scottish race, from the Highlands and the Hebrides, wore their national bonnets adorned with plumes, and large plaid cloaks over their shoulders, fastened at the waist with a leathern baldric, from which hung the claymore or broad sword; they also bore on the left arm a small round buckler of light wood, covered with a thick hide. Some of the island clans were armed with heavy two-handed battle-axes, after the manner of the Scandinavians. The chiefs wore the same arms as the clansmen, being distinguished only from their retainers by their lighter, longer, and more gracefully waving plumes.

(A.D. 1138.) The troops of king David were numerous and irregular; they occupied without resistance all the country betwixt the Tweed and the northern limit of the province of York. The Norman kings had not yet built in that northern country those imposing fortresses which they

⁴ *In ultionem enim imperatricis, cui idem rex fidelitatem juraverat.* (Math. Paris., l. 76.)—Henr. Huntingd. *hist.*, lib. viii., apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 388, ed. Savile.

⁵ *Coadunatus erat iste exercitus de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbranis et Cumbris, de Teawetadala et Lodoned, de Pietis, qui vulgo Galloweianens dicuntur, et Scottis.* (Hist. Ricardi Hagustaldensis, sub anno 1138, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 316, ed. Selden.)

⁶ *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border; Introduction, p. xi.*

erected therein at a later period: wherefore there was no obstacle to arrest the progress of the Scottish *ants*, as an old author calls them.¹ It appears that this army committed many cruelties in the places through which it passed: the historians tell us of women and priests massacred, of children thrown up in the air, and caught on the point of their lances;² but, as they do not explain themselves with precision, we know not whether these horrors were committed solely by those of Norman descent, or were a retributive vengeance taken by the English auxiliaries; or, finally, whether the national animosity of the Gaëlic people against the inhabitants of England also directed the fury of this invasion alike upon the Saxon serf and the Norman baron. The Norman chiefs of the north, and especially the archbishop of York, Toustain or Thurstan, took advantage of the rumour of these barbarities, spread perhaps in an imperfect or an exaggerated manner, to prejudice the minds of the Saxon inhabitants of the banks of the Humber against the natural influence over their resolves which the interests of the common cause of all such as were hostile to the Norman king were so well calculated to excite. The better, therefore, to determine these subjects of king Stephen to march, under their conduct, against the king of Scotland, the Normans had also the address to reawaken the old national superstitions: they invoked the saints of English race, whom they had once so contemptuously inveighed against; they now turned these ancient saints into feigned generalissimos of their army, and archbishop Thurstan unfurled the banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, of St. John of Beverley, and of St. Wilfrid of Rippon.³

These popular standards, which since the Conquest could scarcely have seen the light, were brought forth from the dust of the churches, to be conveyed to Elfer-tun [now Allerton, twenty-three miles north of York], the place where the Norman chiefs resolved to await the enemy. The commanders were William Piperel and Walter Espec from the county of Nottingham, Gilbert de Lacy and his brother Walter from the county of York. The archbishop was prevented by sickness from going thither in person, and sent in his place Ralph bishop of Durham, who had probably been driven from his church by the Scottish invasion.⁴ An instinct, half religious, half patriotic, caused a multitude of the English inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and plains to rally around the ancient Saxon standards erected in the camp of Allerton by the lords of foreign race. They no longer carried the great battle-ax, the favourite weapon of their ancestors, but were armed with large bows, and arrows two cubits long. This change had been operated by the Norman Conquest, in two different ways. First, such of the natives as had submitted to serve the Norman kings in their wars, for bread

and for pay, had of course been exercised according to the military tactics of the Normans; and, secondly, such as, having more pride, had embraced the hard life of guerillas on the roads and of free hunters in the forests, had consequently in like manner laid aside the arms adapted for close combat, for others more calculated to reach either the Norman knights or the king's deer. The sons of each of these classes having been thus from their infancy practised in drawing the bow, England had, in less than a century, become the land of good archers, as Scotland was that of good spearmen.

While the Scottish army was passing the river Tees the Norman barons were actively preparing to receive its attack. They set up, on four wheels, the mast of a ship, at the top of which was placed a small box containing the consecrated eucharist; and all about it hung the banners which were to excite the English to fight stoutly for their masters.⁵ This standard, of a kind very common in the middle ages, occupied the centre of the army when drawn up in order of battle. The flower of the Anglo-Norman chivalry, says an ancient historian, took their post around it, after binding themselves to one another by faith and by oath, and swearing to remain united in defence of the territory in life and to the death.⁶ The Saxon archers flanked both wings of the main body, and formed the front ranks. On the rumour of the near approach of the Scots, who were advancing rapidly, though in bad order, the Norman Ralph, bishop of Durham, ascended an eminence, and, in the French tongue, spoke as follows:⁷—"Noble lords of Norman race, you who cause France to quake and have conquered England, behold the Scots have undertaken to drive you from your manors, although they have done homage to you.⁸ Your fathers, few in number, subjected a great part of Gaul: shall we not vanquish these half-naked men, who oppose to our swords and lances nothing but the skin of their own bodies, or a shield of calf-skin?⁹ Their spears are long, it is true; but the heads are not of good steel, and the staves are weak.¹⁰ These men of Galloway have been heard, in their boasting, to say that the beverage sweetest to them was the blood of a Norman. Do you, then, so behave this day that not one of them shall return home to boast of having killed Normans."¹¹

The Scottish army, with merely a lance decorated with a streamer for its standard, marched in several separate bodies. Young Henry, son of the king of Scotland, commanded the Lowlanders, and the English volunteers of Cumberland and Northumberland; while the king himself was at the head of all the clans of the Highlands and the

⁵ Fixo apud Alvertonam standardo. (Math. Paris. i. 76.)—Ailred. Rievall. de bello Standardii, loc. supr. cit., col. 337.

⁶ Decus Normannorum . . . (Math. Paris.)—Communi consensu et consilio juramentum facere ut resisterent. (Florent. Wigorn., p. 670.)

⁷ Stans in acie mediâ, in loco eminenti. (Math. Paris., i. 76.)

⁸ Proceres Angliæ clarissimi Normanigenæ . . . ferrox Angliâ à vobis capta succumbit, nunc Scotia . . . (Ibid.)

⁹ Nudum objiciunt corium, pelle vitulinâ pro sento utentes. (Ailred. Rievall. de bello Standardii, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 340, ed. Selden.)

¹⁰ Lignum fragile est, ferrum obtusum. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Dicentes se felicissimos quos in illud tempus fortuna servaverat, quò Gallorum sanguinem bibere possent . . . Ecce quot hodiè Gallos solus occidi. (Ibid.)

¹ Formicæ Scotiæ. (Math. Paris., i. 130.)

² Pueros super acumina lancearum jactabant, presbyteros super altaria detrucebant, crucifixorum capita abscessa super cesorum corpora ponebant, mortuorum vero capita mutantes super crucifixâ reponebant. (Henr. Huntingd. hist., lib. viii., apud rer. Angl. script., p. 388, ed. Savile.) Math. Paris., i. 76.—Chron. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 977.—Johan. Hagustaldensis, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 85.

³ Ailred. Rievall. de bello Standardii, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 341, ed. Selden.

⁴ Math. Paris., i. 76.

Isles, the refugee Norman knights, armed in complete mail, forming his guard.¹ One of these, named Robert de Brus, a man far advanced in years, who held for the Scottish king by reason of his fief of Annandale,² and had not otherwise any cause of personal enmity against the Normans of England, approached the king when he was on the point of giving the signal of attack, and, with a melancholy look, said to him, "O king, considerest thou against whom thou wouldst this day fight? It is against Normans and Englishmen, who, by their counsels and their arms, have done thee such good service, and by whose aid thou hast brought under subjection to thy will all the tribes of the Gaëlic race."³ Art thou, indeed, sure of the submission of these tribes? Thinkest thou that henceforth Scotchmen will suffice thee to retain them in their allegiance?⁴ Yet, remember that we mainly contributed to reduce them to thy obedience, and that from that cause has arisen the hatred that animates them against our fellow-countrymen."⁵ This address appeared to make a strong impression upon the king;⁶ but his nephew William exclaimed impatiently, "This is a traitor's speech!"⁷ The veteran Norman made no other answer to so great an affront but by an immediate retraction, according to the forms used in that age, of his oaths of fealty and homage; he set spurs to his horse and galloped towards the enemy's encampment.⁸ Then the Highlanders who surrounded the Scottish king, all raising their voices at once, shouted the ancient name of their country, "Alben! Alben!"⁹ This was the signal of battle. The men of Cumberland, and those of Liddisdale and Teviotdale, made a quick and resolute charge against the centre of the Norman army, and, as an old narrator expresses himself, broke it like a cobweb;¹⁰ being ill-supported, however, by the other Scotch divisions, they did not succeed in reaching the standard of the Anglo-Normans. The latter formed again, and repelled the assailants with loss. In the second charge the long javelins of the Scotch of the south-west were shivered against the mailed hauberks and the shields of the Normans.¹¹ The Highlanders drew their broad swords to come to close quarters;¹² but the Saxon archers, extending themselves on the flanks, assailed them with a shower of arrows; while the Norman knights charged them in front in serried ranks, with their lances couched. "It was fine," says a cotem-

porary, "to see these stinging flies, sped with clangor and buzzing from the bowstrings of the southern archers, fall downward like a weighty shower."¹³

The Gaëls, bold and brave, but unpractised in regular evolutions, no sooner felt themselves unable to bear down the enemy's ranks than they dispersed;¹⁴ and the whole Scottish army was compelled to retreat as far as the Tyne. The Normans pursued it no farther than that river; and the extent of country which had risen on the approach of the Scotch remained, notwithstanding their defeat, free from the Norman dominion. Long after that day's battle, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland were part of the kingdom of Scotland. The new political condition of these three provinces prevented the Anglo-Saxon spirit and character from declining there so fast as in the southern parts of England. The national traditions and popular romances survived and were perpetuated in the country north of the Tyne;¹⁵ from thence it was that the old English poetry, although obsolete in all places inhabited by the Normans, again made itself heard, in a later age, in the southern provinces of England.

(A.D. 1137 to 1138.) While these things were passing in the north of England, the nation of the Welsh, which had promised assistance to the Saxons in their great plot of deliverance, performing their promise, notwithstanding the bad success of that enterprise, began, along the whole line of their frontier, an attack on the strong walled castles built by the Normans. The Cambrians, an impetuous and passionate race of men, were impelled by a sort of national fanaticism in this sudden aggression: they gave no quarter to any one speaking the French tongue; barons, knights, and soldiers, in possession of Welsh lands, priests and monks, obtruded into Welsh churches, and portioned with the lands of the Welsh, were indiscriminately killed, or driven from the domains which they occupied by right of conquest.¹⁶ The Cambrians were cruel in these reprisals; but they had themselves suffered unheard-of cruelties at the hands of the Anglo-Normans. Hugh the Wolf and Robert de Malpas had driven out, or slain, most of the inhabitants of the country of Flint which borders upon Cheshire; Robert de Ruddlan seized all he met with in their dwellings, and made serfs of them; the historians of that age relate that Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, also cruelly lacerated the Welsh people with his finger-nails of iron.¹⁷ The conquerors of the English nation, not satisfied with the possession of the productive lands belonging to that people, in like manner invaded, at an early period, the rocks and morasses of Cambria.¹⁸ Such chiefs of the Norman bands as had established themselves in the western provinces solicited from

¹ Rex in suis acie Scottis et Muranenses retinuit. (Ibid.)—Circa regem steterunt equestres ordines, militaribus armis instructi. (Johan. Hagustald., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 86.)

² Ratione terrarum suarum, scilicet vallis Anandie. (Dugdale Monast. Anglic., ii. 148.)

³ Adversum quos hodie levans arma? adversum Anglos certe et Normannos, quorum semper et consilium utile et auxilium promptum. (Ailred Rievall. loc. supr. cit.)

⁴ Nova tibi est ista in Walensibus securitas. quasi soli tibi sufficienti Scotti etiam contra Scottos. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quicquid odii, quicquid inimicitiarum adversum nos habent Scotti, tui tuorumque est causâ, pro quibus contra eos totiens dimicavimus. (Ibid., i. col. 344, ed. Seiden.)

⁶ Rex in lacrymis solvebatur. (Ibid., i. col. 345.)

⁷ Robertum ipsum arguit proditoriis. (Ibid.)

⁸ Vinculum fidei, patrio more, dissolvens. (Ibid.)

⁹ Exclamant, Albau! Alban! (Chron. Johan. Bromton, ibid., i. col. 1027.)

¹⁰ Ipsa globi australis parte instar cassis aranee dissipata. (Ailred, Rievall., loc. supr. cit.)

¹¹ Ferri soliditate, Sooticorum lancearum est delusa fragilitas. (Ibid.)

¹² Eductis gladiis, cominus decertare tentabant. (Ibid.)

¹³ Australes muscæ de cavernis pharetrarum ebullientes, et instar densissimæ pluvie. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Omnes à campo dilapsi sunt. (Johan. Hagustald., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 86.)

¹⁵ Jamison's Popular Songs, ii. 97.

¹⁶ Gesta Stephani regis, p. 930.—Dugdale Monast. Anglic., ii. 62, 63.

¹⁷ Cominus ut pecudes occidit aut indebite servituti atrociter subjugavit. (Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesiast., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 670.)—Ferreis ejus unguis excoriati. (Ibid., p. 768.)

¹⁸ Postquam Normanni, bello commisso, Anglos sibi subjugarunt, Walloniam terram adjacentem. (Gesta Stephani regis, ibid., p. 930.)

king William, or from his sons, as an addition to their stipulated pay, a *licence* to make conquests of the Welsh: such is literally the expression of the old acts.¹ Many men obtained this permission; other leaders even without the king's letters made inroads upon the Cambrians, who, however, made a bold resistance and defended stoutly every foot of their territory. The Normans, having made themselves masters of the eastern parts of Wales, built, as was their custom, a barrier line of strong castles.²

The chain of Norman citadels had gradually contracted the Welsh territory; and when, in the year 1138, the Welsh undertook to force it, nearly all the southern part of their country, the valleys of Glamorgan and Brecknock and the great promontory of Pembroke, were already detached from ancient Cambria. Various accidents had contributed to facilitate these conquests. (A.D. 1088.) In the first place, in the reign of William the Red, a civil war among the southern Welsh, an occurrence too common with that people, introduced into the country of Glamorgan, as paid auxiliaries of one of the belligerent parties, a company of Norman adventurers led by Robert Fitz-Aymon. This Robert, being the same whose daughter would not accept a husband not having two names,³ when he marched homewards to his demesnes in Gloucestershire, after having fought in the cause of the Welsh chief and received his pay, turned over in his thoughts the events of his campaign and the terrible effect which his men and horses, clad in steel,⁴ had produced upon the Welsh. This reflection suggested to him the project of visiting as a conqueror the very chief whom he had served as a soldier: he assembled a more numerous band, entered the vale of Glamorgan, and took possession of the parts nearest to the Norman frontier. (A.D. 1088 to 1110.) The invaders shared the country according to their rank. Robert Fitz-Aymon had three towns for his share, and became earl of all the newly conquered territory. Among the principal of his companions, history mentions Robert de St. Quentin, Pierre-le-Sourd, Jean-le-Flamand, and Richard de Grainville, or *Grainville*, as the Normans pronounced it.⁵ Each of these had entire hamlets and large domains; and, from being simple *soudoyers* [mercenary soldiers], they became the founders of noble and powerful families. About the same period Hamlin, son of Dreux or Dru de Balaon, built a castle at Abergavenny. One adventurer named Guillaume built the castle of Monmouth, and assumed the style and appellation of Guillaume de *Monemue*, according to the Norman euphony.⁶ This William de Monmouth, for the salvation of his soul, made gift of a Welsh church to the monks of St. Florent of Saumur; and, in the same neighbourhood, Robert de Candos or Chandos established and endowed some Norman monks on lands which he had invaded.⁷ During the wars which a numerous fac-

tion of Normans carried on against William Rufus and also against Henry I., in favour of their elder brother Robert, those two kings called to their aid whatever soldiers of fortune were to be found in Normandy, France, and Belgium. Most of those who crossed the sea in obedience to this call, demanded, like the soldiers who had followed the Conqueror, a promise of some territorial domain, for which they did homage to those kings beforehand. At first, the lands to be confiscated from the Normans of the opposite party were appropriated to the payment of these debts; and, when they were no longer sufficient, the adventurers were paid with letters of marque against the Welsh.⁸ Many captains of free companies who received their wages in this coin distributed among themselves, even before they had conquered them, the districts adjoining the territory of Glamorgan, and, according to the fashion of the day, added the names to their own: then, when the time of their service in England had expired, they proceeded in arms into the west, to take possession, as they said, of their inheritances.⁹ In the reign of William Rufus, Bernard de Neuf-Marché seized in this manner the territory of Brecknock; and at his death he left it, say the records, to his daughter Sybilla, as a lawful inheritance.¹⁰ (A.D. 1110.) In king Henry's time, Richard count of Eu, a Norman by birth, conquered the Welsh province of Divet or Pembroke with a small army of Brabançons, Normans, and even of English, who had been reduced by the evils of the Conquest in their own country to the condition of adventurers and conquerors of the country of others. In this campaign Richard of Eu received from his Flemings and from his English soldiers the Teutonic surname of *Strong-boghe*, meaning *Strong Bowman*; and, by a singular chance, this *epithet*, unintelligible to the Normans, remained hereditary in the family of the Norman chief.¹¹ Strongbow and his companions in arms repaired by sea to the westernmost point of the country of Divet, and drove the Cambrian population from the coasts towards the east, slaughtering all who resisted. The Brabançons were then the best infantry of Europe; and the almost level surface of the country permitted them to avail themselves with advantage of their strong and heavy armour.¹² They conquered it with rapidity; shared among themselves the towns, houses, and domains, and built castles to secure themselves against the incursions of the vanquished. The Flemings and the Normans, holding the highest rank in the conquering army, were the most favoured in the partition; and their posterity became the new lords and rich landholders of the country: several centuries after, these nobles and wealthy proprietors were still distinguished by their names of French etymology, preceded by the particle *de* or the word *fitz*, or, according to the old orthography, *fitz*.¹³ The descendants of the Englishmen enlisted in this expedition composed the middle class of small proprietors and free farmers: their language be-

¹ Conquestor dedit ei licentiam conquiritendi super Wallenses. (Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., i. 724, et passim.)

² Innumeris castellis cinxere .. (Gesta Stephani regis, p. 230.)

³ See Book vii. p. 144.

⁴ Cambrian Biography, p. 107, at the words "*Einion ab Colleys*," and p. 197, at "*Teatyn ab Gurgant*."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁶ Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., i. 556, 600.

⁷ Et post dictum conquestum, Robertus fundavit prioratum de Goldelyvo in proprio solo per eum conquesto. (Id. ii. 904.)

⁸ Invasendæ Cambrie facultatem petiverunt, quæ concessa .. (Girald Cambrensis. Itinerar. Wallie, ed. Camden.)

⁹ Assignant sibi provincias quas invadere constituerunt, pro quibus se regi fidelitatis sacramento adstringunt. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁰ Dugdale, Monast. Anglie., i. 320.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 722, 724.

¹² Girald. Cambrensis de illaudabilibus Wallie, cap. viii.; Anglia Sacra, ii. 452.

¹³ Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 68.

Martin de Tours.
Builds a church and priory.
Welsh clergy dispossessed.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

They complain to the pope.
See of Bangor.
National character of the Welsh.

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came the ordinary language of the conquered territory, and banished from it the Welsh tongue, a circumstance which caused the county of Pembroke to receive the name of *Little England beyond Wales*.¹ There long existed in that country a curious monument of this conquest: viz. a great road traced along the tops of the hills in such a manner that it was nowhere commanded by a superior elevation, but might be travelled on with safety the whole of the way. This road, constructed by the invaders to facilitate their march and ensure their communications, kept for several centuries the name of the *Flemings' Way*.²

Encouraged by the example of Richard Strongbow earl of Pembroke, other adventurers put to sea and landed in the bay of Cardigan; and Martin de Tours, or des Tours, invaded the territory of Keymes, with Guy de Brienne and Guérin de Mont Cenis, called in Norman *Mont Chensey*. Martin de Tours took the title of lord of Keymes, as sovereign administrator of the portion of country in which his men-at-arms had established themselves.³ There he offered a reception to all men of French, Flemish, or even English birth, who would come to swell his colony, swear fealty and homage to him against the Welsh, and receive lands on condition of service with the title of free guests of Keymes.⁴ The town which these adventurers formed was called *New-town*; and the place where the warrior-chief, who became lord of the country, built his principal residence, was long called *Castle-Martin*, according to the genius of the old French tongue.⁵ To sanctify his invasion, Martin built a church and a priory, which he filled with clerks brought over at a great expense from the abbey of St. Martin of Tours. He made choice of them, either because Tours was his native place, or because the name of that place bore a sort of allusion to his own name.⁶ On his death he was buried in a marble tomb in the middle of the choir of his new church; and the Touraine priests of the lordship of Keymes commended to the benedictions of the whole christian people the memory of their patron, who, said they, had revived in that country by his pious zeal the declining faith of the Welsh.⁷ This accusation, heretofore made use of by the Norman prelates to authorise or furnish a sufficiently plausible reason for their own intrusion and the degradation of all the Anglo-Saxon clergy, was revived against the Cambrians by all those to whom the conquerors of Wales gave the churches and abbacies. To give a colour of justice to this violent expulsion of the native bishops and priesthood of the country, they alleged that the entire body were heretics and bad christians.⁸ Nevertheless the bishops of Cambria had long made their peace with the church of Rome; they had submitted themselves to the general union of catholicism; and one of their number, the bishop

of St. David's, had been decorated with the pallium.⁹ They made bitter complaint, therefore, to the pope, of the usurpation of their churches by men of foreign extraction, who were at the same time devoid of all religious character.¹⁰ The pope did not hearken to this remonstrance, nor doubt for a single moment that chiefs and soldiers who had re-established the impost of St. Peter's pence were excellent judges of what was good for the people's souls. After this fruitless appeal, the Welsh, now driven to extremity, took the dispensation of ecclesiastical justice into their own hands, and in several places drove away, by an armed force, the foreign priests who had dispossessed the Welsh clergy, and disposed of the churches as if private patrimony.¹¹

These acts of national vengeance were frequent in the maritime parts of Wales, more remote from England and from the centre of the Norman power. On the shore of the Menai, opposite the island of Anglesea, invaded from the sea at the same time as that island by the men-at-arms of the earl of Chester, there was an episcopal city called Bangor, where king Henry I. had installed a Norman prelate named Hervé. That he might fulfil to the king's contentment his pastoral duties, well knowing with what intent he had been put in this post in the midst of a country scarcely yet subdued, bishop Hervé drew the two-edged sword, says an old author;¹² he fulminated daily anathemas against the Cambrians, and at the same time, placing himself at the head of a body of soldiers, he waged war upon them.¹³ The Welsh would not, however, be excommunicated and slaughtered without making a resistance: they defeated the bishop's army, killed one of his brothers and many of his men, and compelled him to take to flight.¹⁴ Hervé returned into England to King Henry, who congratulated him on his having suffered for religion, and promised him a reward;¹⁵ and the reigning pope, named Pascal, wrote with his own hand a letter to the king, recommending yet more especially to his favour the man of religion who had thus become a victim to the persecution and ferocity of barbarians.¹⁶

Nevertheless the Welsh nation was perhaps in that age, of all others in Europe, that which least merited the designation of barbarous. Notwithstanding the injuries they daily suffered at the hands of the Anglo-Normans, all who visited Wales merely as travellers, and unarmed, were everywhere welcomed with eager good-will: they were admitted from their first arrival into family intimacy, and shared each day in the festivities of Cambrian society, of which the chief delight consisted in music and song. "They who arrive in the morning hours," says an author writing in the twelfth century, "are amused until evening by the conversation of the young women and the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

² *Hæc ecclesia annihilata invasione superveniens gentis Normannicæ, maximâ cleri parte deletâ. (Hist. de primo statu Landavensis eccl.; Anglia sacra, ii. 673.)*

³ Ipse enim Godefridus episcopatum suum deseruit, Wallensium infestatione compulsus. (Rog. de Hoved. annal., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 544, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Gladium bis acutum ad eos mandans exercuit. (Ex Hist. Eliensi MSS.; Seldeni note ad Eadmer. list., p. 209.)

⁵ Nunc crebro anathemate, nunc propinquorum et aliorum hominum eos coercens multitudine. (*Ibid.*)

⁶ Nec minor fuit eorum contra eum rebellio. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Religiosi episcopi. (*Ibid.*)

⁸ Nimîâ barbarorum ferocia et persecutione. (*Ibid.*, p. 210.)

¹ Anglia Transwallana. (*Ibid.*)

² Sicut via Flandrensia ducit per summitatem montis. (Vetus Charta, in the Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 124.)

³ Martinus Turonensis [al. de turribus], dominus de Keymes. (*Ibid.*, p. 125.)

⁴ Omnes liberos hospites suos de Kemes. (*Ibid.*, p. 158.)

⁵ Villam . . . de Novo Burgo . . . Castrum Martini.

⁶ Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., i. 445.

⁷ Consuetam gentis illius . . . rabiem, effrenatam, insolentem circumquaque discurrendi audaciam et christiani fidei magnâ ex parte ignorantiam. (*Ibid.*, ii. 63.)

⁸ Tantam in moribus eorum perversitatem. (Seldeni note ad Eadmeri hist. nov., p. 209.)

sound of the harp."¹ There was a harp in each house, however poor its master; and the company, seated in a circle around the musician, sung stanzas alternately, and sometimes impromptu. Challenges for singing and extemporaneous versification were frequently given, one man defying another to excel him in the display of musical talent, and the bards of one hamlet vying in the contest with those of another.²

The vivacity natural to the Celtic tribes was, besides, manifested among the Cambrians by their excessive fondness for conversation and the quickness of their replies. "All the Welsh without exception, even in the lowest ranks," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "are endowed by nature with a great volubility of speech and an extreme assurance in giving answers before princes and great men."³ The Italians and the French appear to have the same faculty; but it is to be found neither in the English race, nor in the Saxons of Germany, nor in the Germans. It will doubtless be alleged, as the cause of this want of boldness in the English, that they now live in a state of servitude: but such is not the real cause of these original differences; for the Saxons of the continent are free, yet the same defect is observable in them as in the English."⁴

The Welsh, who never, like the Germanic populations, undertook an invasion out of their own country, but wished, in one of their national proverbs, that each beam of the sun might be a dagger to pierce the heart of that man who was fond of war,⁵ never made peace with a foreigner so long as he occupied their territory, not even when he had resided on it for many years, and had upon it castles, villages, and towns. The anniversary of the day on which any one of such castles had been utterly destroyed was a day of universal rejoicing, a day on which, in the words of a Welsh writer, even the father bereft of his only son forgot his misfortune.⁶ In the great appeal to arms which was made A.D. 1138, the Normans, being attacked along the whole line of their marches, from the mouth of the Dee to the Severn, lost some of their posts, and were for some time obliged in their turn to put themselves in a posture of defence;⁷ but the advantage gained by the Welsh could not be of great importance, for they never carried the war beyond the limits of their mountains and their valleys. Their attack, however warm it might be, occasioned fewer alarms to the conquerors of England than did the recent invasion by David king of Scotland, and was consequently of less benefit to the Anglo-Saxons who had placed so much trust in the support of them by the Welsh.⁸

King Stephen had no need to quit his residence in the south, and march in person either against

the Scots or against the Welsh; but a short time afterwards the Norman partisans of Matilda daughter of Henry I. gave him cause for more serious alarm. The empress Maud, being called into England by her friends, landed therein September 22, A.D. 1139. She threw herself into Arundel castle on the coast of Sussex; and from thence she succeeded in reaching that of Bristol, commanded by her brother, Robert earl of Gloucester.⁹ On the rumour of this pretender's arrival, many discontents and secret intrigues came to light. Most of the chiefs of the north and west made a formal renunciation of their homage and obedience to Stephen of Blois, and renewed the oath which they had taken to king Henry's daughter.¹⁰ The whole of the Norman race in England was instantly divided into two factions, which, before they appeared in the field, observed each other with mutual distrust. "Neighbour," say the historians of the time, "suspected his neighbour, friend his friend, and brother his brother."¹¹

(A.D. 1139 to 1140.) Fresh bands of Brabantian soldiers, hired by one or the other of the two rival parties, came with arms and baggage by different ports and by divers roads to the several places of rendezvous appointed by the king or by Matilda.¹² Each side had promised to pay them with the lands of the opposing faction. To support the expenses of this civil war, the sons of the Normans had recourse to the expedient of buying and selling their English villages and domains; together with the inhabitants, body and goods.¹³ Many of them made incursions on the domains of their adversaries, and carried off the horses, the oxen, the sheep, and the Englishmen, who were seized even in the towns, and led away bound with ropes.¹⁴ So great was the terror among them, that, if the inhabitants of a city or town saw but three or four horsemen approaching at a distance, they would immediately take flight.¹⁵

This extraordinary dread arose from the sinister reports that were circulated respecting the fate of those whom the Normans had seized and shut up in their castles.¹⁶ An Anglo-Saxon chronicle relates that "they seized all who they thought possessed any kind of property, men and women, by day and by night; and when they had them in prison they inflicted on them tortures, such as no martyr ever underwent, to obtain from them gold and silver.¹⁷ Some they suspended by the feet, with their heads hanging downwards amid smoke; others were hung up by their thumbs, with fire under their feet; they pressed the heads of some with a leathern thong, so tightened as to break in the skull; others were thrown into pits full of

⁹ Gervasi Cantuar. Chron., apud hist. Anglic. script., col. 1349, ed. Selden.

¹⁰ Ab obsequio regis recesserunt, et pristinis fidei sacramentis innovatis... (Ibid.)

¹¹ Nec vicinus in proximo, nec amicus in amico, nec frater in fratre, potuit fidem habere. (Ibid., col. 1350.)

¹² Flandrenses igitur, relicto natali solo, catervatim in Angliam confluerunt. (Ibid., col. 1349.)

¹³ Quibus in stipendium dantur et venduntur vicorum ac villarum cultores atque habitatores, cum rebus suis universis ac substantiis. (Florent. Wigorn. Chron. cont., p. 672.)

¹⁴ Per vicos et plateas capiuntur, et velat in cornua canum constringuntur. (Ibid., p. 673.)

¹⁵ Si duo aut tres equites appropinquarent alicui oppido, omnes oppidani fugerunt. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 238.)

¹⁶ Deuiles and yuele men. (Ibid., p. 238.)

¹⁷ Adeo ut nulli unquam martyres talia senserint. (Ibid.)

¹ Qui matutinis horis adveniunt puellarum affatibus et cytherarum modulis, usque ad vesperam delectantur. (Girald. Cambrensis, Cambrie Descrip. ed. Camden, p. 888.)

² Pennant's Tour in Wales.

³ Loquendi audaciam et respondendi fiduciam eorum principibus et magnatibus. (Girald. Cambri., apud Camden, p. 891.)

⁴ Si servitutem canseris in Anglis, et hunc eis defectum assignas in Saxonibus et Germanis, qui et libertate gaudent et eodem tamen vitio vexantur, ratio non provenit. (Ibid.)

⁵ Cambro-Briton, ii. 13.

⁶ Ibid., i. 137.

⁷ Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 931. — Florent. Wigorn. Chron. continuat., p. 666.

⁸ Orderic. Vital. hist. ecclesias., lib. xiii., apud script. rer. Normann., p. 912.

snakes, toads, and other reptiles; others were put in the *chambre à crucir*: this was the name given in the Norman tongue to a strong chest, short and shallow, lined with sharp-pointed stones, in which the sufferer was inclosed, and which caused the dislocation of his limbs.¹ In most of the castles there was kept a set of chains, so heavy that two or three men could hardly lift them:² the unfortunate person upon whom they were laid was kept on his feet by an iron collar fixed in a post; and could neither sit, nor lie, nor sleep. They made many thousands die of hunger.³ They laid tribute upon tribute on the towns and villages, calling this in their language *tenserie*.⁴ When the burgesses and tradesmen had no longer anything to give, they plundered and burned their town.⁵ You might have travelled a whole day without finding one living soul in the towns, or in the country one cultivated field. The poor died of hunger, and they who had formerly possessed something now begged their bread from door to door.⁶ Every one who could expatriate himself abandoned England. Never were more griefs and woes poured upon this land: nay, the pagans in their invasions caused fewer miseries than the men of whom I now speak.⁷ They spared neither the cemeteries nor the churches; they took all that could be taken, and then set fire to the church: to till the ground would have been as useless as to till the sands of the sea-shore. It was said aloud that Christ and his saints were sleeping.⁸

It was especially in the vicinity of Bristol, where the empress Matilda and her Angevins had established their head-quarters, that terror reigned supreme. All day long, men were brought into the town bound, and gagged either with a piece of wood or with a notched iron bit.⁹ Troops of soldiers were incessantly going out, disguised in the English habit, concealing their arms and their language, scattering themselves in the populous places, and mixing with the crowd in the markets and streets; then all of a sudden they seized and carried off such as had the appearance of being in somewhat easy circumstances, and conducted them to their head-quarters, there to set a ransom on them.¹⁰ King Stephen first marched against Bristol: that town, being strong and well defended, offered a successful resistance to the royal army, which, in revenge, devastated and burned the

places in the environs.¹¹ The king then, with more success, attacked one by one the Norman castles on the Welsh frontiers, nearly all the barons in that quarter having declared against him.

(A.D. 1140.) While he was occupied with this long and harassing war, an insurrection broke out on the eastern side. The fens of Ely, which had afforded a refuge to the last free Saxons, now became a camp for the Normans of the Anjou faction. Baldwin de Revers and Nigel bishop of Ely raised entrenchments of stone and cement¹² against king Stephen, on the very spot where Hereward had erected a fort of wood. This locality, which gave such constant uneasiness to the Norman authorities, on account of the facilities which it presented for concentration and defence, had been placed by king Henry under the power of a bishop, whose superintendance was to be joined with that of the count and the viscount of the province.¹³ The first bishop of the new diocese of Ely was the same Hervé whom the Welsh had expelled from Bangor: the second was Lenoir, or Nigel, who discovered and denounced the great conspiracy of the English in the year 1137. It was not from personal zeal for king Stephen, but through his patriotism as a Norman, that he then served that king against the Saxons: and, so soon as the Normans declared against Stephen, Nigel joined them, and undertook to make the islands comprised in his diocese an insurgent camp for Matilda's party.¹⁴

Stephen attacked his adversaries in this camp in the same manner as William the Conqueror had formerly attacked therein the Saxon refugees. He constructed bridges of boats, over which the cavalry passed, and completely routed the soldiers of Baldwin de Revers and of bishop Nigel.¹⁵ The bishop fled to Gloucester, where Henry's daughter then was, with the principal of her partisans. All those whom she had in the west, emboldened by the king's absence, repaired the breaches of their castles; or, turning the steeples of the great churches into fortresses, filled them with warlike engines and stores; they dug trenches around, even in the churchyards, so that the bodies were uncovered, and the bones of the dead scattered about.¹⁶ The Norman bishops did not scruple to take part in these military operations; nor were they the least active of those who occupied themselves in torturing the English to make them pay a ransom. They were seen, as in the early times of the Conquest, mounted on chargers and clad in armour, with a lance, or a truncheon in their hands, directing military works and attacks, or drawing lots for their share of the booty.¹⁷

¹¹ Quæ in circuitu et quasi sub manu eorum erant, in partitionis barathrum redacta. (Ibid.)

¹² Ex lapide et cæmento. (Hist. Eliensis, apud Angl. sacr., i. 620.)

¹³ Cernens insulam Helyensem locum periculosissimum si qua seditio in regno oriretur . . . studuit locum sub sede episcopi applicare. (Petri Blesensis Ingulâ continuat., apud rer. Anglic. script., i. 117, ed. Gale.)

¹⁴ Consideratâ mirâ et insuperabili loci munitione. (Gesta Stephani regis, p. 949.)

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 950.—Thomæ Eliensis Hist. Eliensis; Anglia sacra, i. 620.

¹⁶ Cemeterium in castelli sustollebatur vallum. parentumque et cognatorum corpora, alia semiputrefacta, alia recentissime humata, crudele spectaculum, ab imo tractata. (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 950.)

¹⁷ Ipsi episcopi, ferro accincti, cum patriæ perversoribus superbis inveni equis, prædæ participari, pecuniosos cruciatibus exponere. (Ibid., p. 962.)

¹ Alios iniecerunt in crucetum (*crucet-hus*), id est cistam quam erat brevis et angusta et depressa. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 239.)—In old French, *crucir* signifies to torture.

² In compturibus castellorum erat horridum quiddam ac detestandum scilicet *sachen-teges*. (Ibid.)—*Sac* al. *sache*, questio judiciaria; *tege*, *teag*, a chain. (See Lye's Glossary.)

³ Multa millia fame occiderunt. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 239.)

⁴ Imposuerunt tributa oppidis valdè frequenter, et illud vocarunt *Tenserie*. (Ibid.)—*Tenser* or *tanser*, in old French, to chastise.

⁵ Vastaverunt et incenderunt omnia oppida. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ostiatum victum petebant. (Ibid.)

⁷ Neque unquam pagani plus mali quam hi fecerunt. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson, p. 239.)

⁸ Dixerunt enim aperte quod Christus dormivit et ejus Sancti. (Ibid.)

⁹ Ore obdurato, vel cum massâ aliquâ illic urgerent impressâ, vel eum machinulâ ad formam asperi freni capistratâ et dentatâ. (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 941.)

¹⁰ In die per tritam et populosam viam, nunc huc nunc illic itinerare, nomen suum, personas et officium mentiri, non arma, non notabilem habitum. (Ibid.)

(A.D. 1141.) The bishops of Chester and of Lincoln distinguished themselves among the most warlike. The latter gathered together the scattered remnant of the soldiers beaten at the camp of Ely, and formed on the eastern coast another army, which king Stephen came to attack: but on this occasion he was less successful. His troops, which had been victorious at Ely, took to flight near Lincoln. Forsaken by those around him, Stephen defended himself single-handed for some time; but, being forced at last to surrender, he was led captive to Gloucester to the head-quarters of the countess of Anjou; and the empress, by the advice of her council of war, imprisoned him in the keep of Bristol castle.¹ This defeat was ruinous to the royal cause: the Normans of Stephen's party, seeing him vanquished and a prisoner, flocked over to the party of Matilda.² His own brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, declared for the victorious faction; and the Saxon peasantry, to whom the two parties were alike odious, took advantage of the disaster of the vanquished to despoil and ill-treat them when routed.³

The grand-daughter of William the Conqueror made her triumphal entry into the city of Winchester, bishop Henry receiving her at the gates at the head of the clergy of all the churches. She seized the regalia, together with Stephen's treasure,⁴ and convoked a great council of Norman prelates, counts, barons, and knights. This assembly resolved that Matilda should receive the title of queen of England, and the bishop who presided pronounced in the name of all present the following form of recognition: "Having first, as is fit, invoked the aid of Almighty God, we elect as lady of England and of Normandy the daughter of the glorious, the rich, the good, and pacific king Henry; and to her we promise fealty and support."⁵ But Matilda's high fortunes gradually rendered her disdainful and arrogant; she ceased to take council of her ancient friends, and treated with an ill grace all such of her adversaries as consented to come over to her side.⁶ The authors of her elevation, when they made any request, frequently met with a refusal, and, says an old historian, when they bowed down before her she did not rise from her throne.⁷ This impolitic deportment chilled the affection of her most zealous partisans; the greater part absented themselves from her court, without, however, declaring for the dethroned king, and awaited in retirement the final result of the contested succession.⁸

From Winchester the new queen proceeded to London. She was the daughter of a Saxon; and the Saxon citizens, from a sort of national sympathy, more willingly beheld her in their city than they did the king of entirely foreign birth:⁹ but

¹ *Communi consilio . . in turri Bristocensi. (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 952.)*

² *Spontè ad comitissæ imperium conversis. (Ibid., p. 953.)*

³ *A simplici rusticorum plebe in malum illius conjurante. (Ibid.)*

⁴ *Regisque castello, et regni coronâ, thesaurisque. (Ibid.)*

⁵ *Invocatâ primò, ut par est, in auxilium Divinitate, filiam . . in Angliâ Normannique dominiâ eligimus, et ei fidem et mantinentiam promittimus. (Acta concilii Wint., apud Wilkins concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, l. 429.)*

⁶ *Gesta Stephani regis, p. 954.*

⁷ *Non, ipsis antè se inclinantibus, reverenter, ut decuit, assurgere. (Ibid.)*

⁸ *Ad quem finem cepta devenirent taciti observabant. (Gesta Stephani regis, ibid.)*

⁹ *Se illi supplices obtulerunt. (Ibid.)*

this good will of her English subjects moved not the proud heart of the wife of the count of Anjou; and the first words she addressed to the people of London were to demand an enormous tallage.¹⁰ The citizens, whom the devastations of the war and the exactions of Stephen had reduced to such distress that they apprehended an approaching famine, supplicated the queen to take pity on them, and not to impose new public burthens until they should have, in some degree, recovered from their actual state of misery.¹¹ "The king has left us nothing," said the deputies of the citizens in a humble tone. "I well understand," replied the daughter of Henry I. with a frown of disdain. "You have given all to my adversary; you have conspired with him against me; yet you expect that I shall spare you!"¹² The Londoners, being thus obliged to pay an extraordinary levy of the tallage, took this opportunity of addressing an humble request to the queen in the following terms: "Noble dame, may we be permitted to observe the good and just laws of king Edward, thy great-uncle, in lieu of those of thy father king Henry, which are bad and too severe."¹³ But queen Matilda, as if she had cause to blush with respect to her maternal ancestors and had forsworn the recollection of such her Anglo-Saxon lineage, showed great irritation on this demand made by the citizens; she called those who had just addressed her insolent, and uttered menaces against them. Wounded to their heart, yet dissembling their deep vexation, the citizens returned to the Guild-hall,¹⁴ where the Norman authorities, now become less jealous of their holding a common council, permitted them to meet together, to allot by mutual consent the share of each towards the payment of the tallage: for it was now the custom of the Norman government to tax the towns by a stated contribution in mass, and not to trouble itself as to the mode in which the impost should be collected, or as to the amount chargeable on individuals, according to their comparative wealth.

Queen Matilda was awaiting in full security, either in the Conqueror's white Tower, or in the new palace of William Rufus at Westminster, until the deputies of the citizens should come and present to her on their knees the sacks of gold which she had demanded; when suddenly the tocsin sounded from all the steeples of the city, and every street and public place was filled with a tumultuous assemblage of the people.¹⁵ From every house there issued forth a man armed with the first weapon that he could find at hand. An ancient writer compares the multitude, which thus suddenly congregated in arms, to bees murmuring and issuing from their hives.¹⁶ The queen and her Norman

¹⁰ *Infinite copias pecuniam, ore imperioso, exegit. (Ibid.)*

¹¹ *Quatenus calamitatis et oppressionis suæ raisera, vel paucò tempore parceret. (Ibid.)*

¹² *Torva oculos, crispata in rugam frontem, inque, Londonienses . . divitias suas ad eum (Stephanum) roborandum, se autem imbecillandum largissimè prorogasse, eum adversariis suis in malum suum dudum conspirasse. (Ibid.)*

¹³ *Ut leges eis regis Edwardi observare liceret, quâ optimæ erant, non patris sui Henrici, quâ graves erant. (Florent. Wigorn. chron. continuat., p. 677.)*

¹⁴ *Tristes et inextauditi ad sua discesserunt. (Gesta Stephani regis, apud script. rer. Normann., p. 954.)*

¹⁵ *Cum ergò comitissa . . prestolaretur, omnis civitas, sonantibus ubique campanis . . (Ibid., p. 955.)*

¹⁶ *Quasi frequentissima ex apium alveiculis examina. (Ibid., p. 955.)*

and Angevin barons, thus taken by surprise, and not daring to risk in narrow and crooked streets a conflict in which superiority of armour and military science could not avail them, hastily mounted their horses and fled.¹ They had scarcely passed the last houses in the suburb when a band of Englishmen, who had hastened to the royal apartments, broke open the doors, and, finding that those whom they sought had escaped, plundered whatever was left behind.² The queen with her barons and knights galloped off by the road leading to Oxford; and at short intervals, as they proceeded, some one or other of these detached himself from the cortège, to fly more safely alone by cross-roads and by-ways.³ She entered Oxford with her brother the earl of Gloucester, together with a few followers, who either considered that road to be the most convenient for themselves, or forgot their own danger through zeal for the queen.⁴

(S.A.D. 1141 to 1142.) This danger was in reality small, for the inhabitants of London, satisfied with having driven the new queen of England from their walls, did not make a pursuit after the fugitives. Their rising, the effect of an outbreak of indignation, was founded on no previously conceived project, was unconnected with any other popular movement, and is not to be considered in the light of a first act of national insurrection. The expulsion of Matilda and her adherents, therefore, turned not to the advantage of the English people, but to that of the partisans of king Stephen. That Norman party shortly after re-entered London, occupied the city, and garrisoned it with their troops, under colour of forming an alliance with the citizens.⁵ The wife of the captive king repaired to London, and there established her head-quarters. All that the citizens gained at the time was an opportunity of enlisting to the number of one thousand men, and of wearing a casque and hauberk among the troops assembled in king Stephen's cause, and they served as auxiliaries of the Normans, under the command of William and Roger de la Chesnaye.⁶

The bishop of Winchester, seeing that his brother's party was thus once more gaining strength, deserted the opposite cause, and again declared for the royal prisoner in Bristol castle. He hoisted Stephen's banner on the keep of Winchester castle, and on his episcopal palace, which he also crenelated and fortified like a castle.⁷ Robert of Gloucester and the partisans of Matilda came and laid siege to Winchester. The garrison of that castle, built in the heart of the city, set fire to the houses to annoy the besiegers; and, meanwhile, the army from London, attacking the queen's troops unexpectedly, forced them to entrench themselves in the churches, which were burned in order to force them out. Robert of Gloucester was made prisoner, and his followers immediately dispersed. Barons and knights threw away their arms, and,

getting away on foot that they might not be recognised, passed through the towns and villages under false names.⁸ Besides the partisans of Stephen, who pursued them closely, they met with other enemies on their route, namely the Saxon peasantry, no less violent against them in their defeat than they had lately been against those of the opposite faction.⁹ They everywhere assailed those haughty Normans, who, notwithstanding their disguise, were betrayed by their language, and flogged them along the roads with thonged and knotted whips.¹⁰ The archbishop of Canterbury, some other bishops, and many great lords, were severely handled after this fashion, and robbed of all their clothes.¹¹ Thus the civil war among the Normans was to the English race a source at once of misery and of joy, of the frantic joy sometimes experienced in the midst of sufferings, when men return evil for evil. It was pleasing to the grandson of a man whose bones had whitened the field at Battle near Hastings to find himself master of the life of a Norman; and Englishwomen who had plied the distaff and wheel in the service of the high Norman dames laughed on hearing the sufferings of the empress Maud narrated, how she fled from Oxford under the escort of three knights amidst darkness and the falling snow, and had to pass in great terror near the advanced posts of her enemies, trembling at the voices of the sentinels, and at the tramp of men and of steeds.¹²

Shortly after the capture of Matilda's brother Robert earl of Gloucester, the two belligerent parties concluded a convention, by the articles of which the king and the earl were exchanged, and each prince regained his liberty, so that the contest was replaced on its original footing.¹³ (A.D. 1142.) Stephen quitted the strong castle of Bristol, and resumed the exercise of the royal functions: his government extended, at this time, over that portion of the country in which his partisans were the most powerful, that is to say, the midland and eastern provinces of England. As for Normandy, none of his orders reached it; for during his captivity the whole of that country had submitted to Geoffrey count of Anjou, the husband of Matilda, who soon after, with the consent of the Normans, ceded to his eldest son Henry the title of duke of Normandy.¹⁴ (A.D. 1148.) Stephen's party thus lost all hope of recruiting beyond sea; but, as he was master of the coasts, he had the means of preventing any such reinforcements from reaching his adversaries, who were confined to the western counties. Their only resource was to take into their pay bodies of Welsh mercenaries, who, though ill armed, arrested for a time the march of the king's forces by their bravery and their singular tactics.¹⁵

¹ Omnibus militandi abjectis insigniis, pedites et in honori nomen suum et fugam mentiebantur. (Ibid., p. 957.)

² In manus rusticorum incidentes. (Ibid.)

³ Dirissimis flagris atterebantur. (Ibid.)

⁴ Equis quoque et vestibus ab istis captis, ab illis horrendè abstractis. (Ibid.)

⁵ Tribus prudentis ingenii se comitantibus militibus, à castello noctu egreditur, perque nivem et gelu... hinc cornicinum stridore, inde ululatum in altum clamore... (Ibid., p. 959.)

⁶ Ad priorem dimensionis punctum. (Ibid.)

⁷ Guilelm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 98, ed. Hearne.

⁸ Crudelem que et indomitum pedestris multitudinis, Welshensium scilicet... aggregavit exercitum. (Gesta Stephani regis, p. 965.)

¹ Cursatiles ascendi equos. (Gesta Stephani regis, ibid.)

² Vix antemurales civitatis domos fugiendo, liquissent. (Ibid.)

³ Variarum que viarum diversisclina subeantes. (Ibid.)

⁴ Abisque baronibus perpaucis quibus præcipue fugiendi opportunitas illò aptius dirigebatur. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Mille cum galeis et lorici ornatissimè instructi. (Ibid., p. 964.)

⁷ Domum quam ad instar castelli fortiter et inexpugnabiliter firmaverat. (Ibid.)

(A.D. 1153.) While the struggle was thus prolonged, with but very little ardour on either side, prince Henry, the son of Matilda, departed from Normandy with a small army, and effected a landing in England. On the first rumour of his arrival many began to desert the cause of Stephen; but, so soon as they learned that Henry had but few men and little money, many returned to the king, and the spirit of desertion ceased.¹ The war was continued under the same aspect as before; castles were taken and retaken, towns plundered and burned. The English, flying from their houses either through constraint or fear, built themselves huts adjoining the walls of the churches; but from these they were speedily expelled by one or the other faction, who turned the churches into fortresses, embattled the steeples, and placed thereon batteries of their engines of war.²

King Stephen's only son, named Eustace, who had repeatedly signalised himself by his valour, died, after having pillaged certain lands consecrated to St. Edmund, king and martyr; and his death was attributed by the English race to the outrage he had dared to commit against this saint of English birth.³ Stephen, having no longer a son to whom he might desire to transmit the crown, then proposed to his rival, Henry of Anjou, to terminate the war by a mutual compact. He asked that the Normans of England and of the continent should let him reign in peace until his death, on condition that after him the son of Matilda should be king. The Normans consented to these articles, and peace was restored. The tenor of this treaty, sworn to by the bishops, counts, barons, and knights of the two parties, may be contemplated under two very different phases, as given to us by the historians of that time, according to the faction which they favoured. Some of them say that king Stephen adopted Henry as his son; and that, by virtue of this previous act, the barons swore to secure to Henry, as the son by adoption, the inheritance of the father's kingdom:⁴ others, on the contrary, assert that the king positively acknowledged the hereditary right of the son of Matilda to the kingdom; and that, in return, Henry benevolently granted him his sanction to reign during the rest of his life.⁵ Thus contemporary authors, equally worthy of belief, derive the legitimate title of the grandson of Henry I. from two sources diametrically opposite. In this case, which of these historians shall we give credit to? To none of them: for the genuine truth as to the matter is comprised in this, that the same barons who had elected Stephen notwithstanding the oath sworn to Matilda, and who had afterwards elected Matilda notwithstanding the oath sworn to Stephen, finally designated, by a fresh act of their

own will, Henry, the son of Matilda, and not Matilda herself, as the heir presumptive of Stephen; and that the will of the Norman grandees was all-powerful in determining the question of the legitimate succession.⁶

(A.D. 1152 to 1153.) A short time before his expedition into England Henry had married the divorced wife of the king of France, Eleanor or Alienor (more familiarly Aenor), daughter of William count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, that is to say, sovereign of all the western coast of Gaul, from the mouth of the Loire to the foot of the Pyrenees.⁷ According to the usages of that country, Eleanor enjoyed therein the plenary authority which her father had exercised; and, moreover, her husband, though a foreigner, might share the sovereignty with her. Louis VII. king of France had this privilege so long as he remained united to count William's daughter, and he placed garrisons and commandants in all the towns of Aquitaine; but when he had repudiated queen Eleanor he was obliged to withdraw his seneschals and his soldiery.⁸ It was in Palestine, whither Eleanor accompanied her husband when he departed for the crusade, that their quarrel arose. Persuaded, whether erroneously or with justice, that the queen was false to him for the love of a Saracen youth, Louis VII. solicited and obtained a divorce, which, although refused by the church to private persons, was often granted to princes.⁹

There was held at Beaugency-sur-Loire a council of prelates, before which Eleanor was obliged to appear. The bishop who spoke as the accuser announced that the king asked a divorce "because he had no confidence in his wife, and could never be assured respecting the line that should spring from her."¹⁰ The council, without discussing this delicate point, declared the marriage null on pretence of kindred, bethinking themselves, rather late, that Eleanor was a cousin of her husband within the degrees forbidden by the church.¹¹ The repudiated wife set out forthwith to return to her own territories, and sojourned for some time at Blois. Thibaut count of Blois endeavoured to ingratiate himself with this princess, and to obtain her hand in marriage. Indignant at her refusal of his suit, the count resolved to detain the duchess of Aquitaine a prisoner in his castle, and, says an old historian, to marry her by force.¹² She suspected this ill design, and, taking her departure in the night, went down the Loire to Tours, which city was then part of the county of Anjou. On the rumour of her arrival, the second son of the count of Anjou and the empress Matilda, named

¹ Sciat quod ego rex Stephanus Henricum ducem Normannie post me successorem regni Anglie et heredem meum, jure hereditario constitui, et sic ei et heredibus suis regnum Anglie donavi et confirmavi. (Instrumentum Pacis, Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1037, ed. Selden.)

² Guillelm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie, p. 105, ed. Hearne.—Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie, xiv. 11, note.

³ Munitiones remotet, gentes suas exinde reducit. (Chron. Turon., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie, xii. 474.)

⁴ Noluit eam ulterius uxorem habere. (Hist. Ludovici, vii., ibid., p. 127.)—Uxorem suam repudiavit. (Chron. Turon., loc. supr. cit.)

⁵ De Potter, l'Esprit de l'Eglise, vi. 33.

⁶ Quod inter ipsam et regnum Alienoridem linea consanguinitatis erat. (Hist. Ludovici VII., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie, xii. 127.)

⁷ Eam per vim nubere sibi volente. (Chron. Turon., ibid., xii. 474.)

¹ Gesta Stephani regis, p. 973.—Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1366, ed. Selden.

² Alii circa templa, spe videlicet se tutandi, humilia contextentes tuguria. (Gesta Stephani regis, p. 961.)—De turri undè dulces et imbelles audierant tintinnabulorum monitus, nunc balistas erigi. (Ibid., p. 951.)

³ Chron. Normann., apud script. rer. Normann., 989.

⁴ Et rex quidem, ducem adoptans in filium, eum solemniter successorem proprium declavavit. (Guill. Neubrig de reb. Anglie, p. 102, ed. Hearne.)

⁵ Rex recognovit hæreditarium jus quod dux Henricus habebat in regno Anglie, et dux benigne concessit ut rex tota vitâ suâ, si vellet, regnum teneret. (Chron. Normann., p. 989.)

Geoffrey, being seized with the same desire that was evinced by Thibaut of Blois, went and placed himself in ambush at a port on the Loire, called *le Port de Piles*, on the common boundary of Poitou and Touraine, to stop the duchess and her train, to carry her off, and then marry her.¹ But, says the historian, Eleanor was forewarned by her good angel, and took another road by which to reach Poitiers.²

Thither Henry, eldest son of Matilda and the count of Anjou, repaired, with more of princely courtesy than his brother, to solicit the hand of the daughter of the duke of Aquitaine. He was accepted, and he conducted his bride into Normandy: he also at the same time despatched to the cities of the south of Gaul his Norman officers, bailiffs, and justices. To his title of duke of Normandy he thenceforward added the style of duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou;³ and, his father already possessing Anjou and Touraine, their sovereignty extended over all the western part of Gaul, from the Somme to the Pyrenees, excepting only the point of Brittany. The French king's territories, bounded by the Loire, the Saône, and the Meuse, were far from being of an equal extent. That king was alarmed at such an increase of the Norman power, which had been the rival of his own from its first establishment in France, and was still more so since the conquest of England. He had made great efforts to prevent the union of young Henry with Eleanor, and had summoned him, as his vassal for the duchy of Normandy, not to contract a marriage without the consent of his liege lord.⁴ But the obligations of the liege-man to the suzerain, even when both parties had acknowledged them and consented to their fulfilment, had little force when those parties were equal in power. Henry made no account of the prohibition to marry; and Louis VII. was obliged to accept the new oaths of homage which the future king of England now swore to him for the county of Poitou and the duchy of Aquitaine.⁵ Oaths of this kind, which were very vague in their tenor, and were mostly taken with a bad grace, and in some sort as a mere matter of form, had long been the only bond that still subsisted between the successors of the ancient Frankish kings and the sovereign lords of all the country comprised betwixt the Loire and the two seas (A.D. 600 to 1152): for the Frankish dominion had not been able to strike its roots so deeply in those provinces as in the French territories that bordered on Germania. In the seventh century it had already become the custom of such of the nations of Europe as had any relations with Gaul to call the whole extent of it *France*; but in the heart of Gaul itself this name was far from being used in so general a sense. The course of the Loire formed the southern limit of the French country or Frankish Gaul. Beyond that great river the Roman provinces were situated; and these differed from the other in language, in manners, and, above all, in their civilisation.⁶

(A.D. 600 to 750.) In the southern territories the inhabitants, high and low, rich and poor, were entirely or nearly all of the pure Gallic race; or, at least, a Germanic descent was not there attended by the same superiority of social condition and of rank that attached to it in the north. The Franks who settled in the south of Gaul, either by title of conquest, or as agents and commissaries of those conquerors who had firmly established their dominion over the country lying to the north of the river Loire, did not succeed in making their children and descendants be considered as a separate nation in the southern provinces beyond that stream; on the contrary, they became amalgamated with a numerous indigenous population that inhabited the great cities: so that the people of France and of Burgundy habitually called by the name of Romans all such as dwelt in the south.⁷

Several of the successors of Clovis added to their title of king of the Franks that likewise of prince of the Roman people:⁸ on the decline of this first dynasty the population of Aquitaine and of Provence took for their dukes and their counts native chiefs bred up in their country; or else, and which is not the least remarkable fact, constrained the descendants of their governors of Teutonic race to revolt in association with themselves. But this emancipation of the south of Gaul had scarcely been effected, when the elevation of a second dynasty of kings restored to the nation of the Franks all its ancient energy, and enabled it to undertake anew the conquest of the south of Gaul. (A.D. 750 to 814.) The Gallo-Franks, thus again masters of those rich and fertile provinces, placed therein governors and judges⁹ who amassed under the form of tribute all the money of the country: it happened, however, that the southern Gauls seized the first favourable occasion of refusing to pay the contributions; they rose in arms and expelled the strangers. Then the Franks came down from the north to re-assert their right of conquest: they repaired to the banks of the Loire, whether at Orleans, at Tours, or at Nevers, to hold their field of May in arms.¹⁰ The war commenced between them and the inhabitants of Limousin and of Auvergne, who formed the vanguard of the Gallo-Roman population. If the Romans (to continue our use of the language of that period), finding themselves too weak to resist, proposed to the leader of the Franks to pay him a yearly tribute,¹¹ it was on condition that they should in other respects preserve their political independence. The Frank prince customarily submitted this proposition to his *leudes*¹² in their assembly held in the open air: if that assembly voted against peace, the army continued its march, rooting up the vines and fruit-trees, and carrying off the men, the cattle, and the

⁷ *Fredegarii Chron.*, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., ii. 458, et passim.

⁸ *Rex Dagobertus Francorum et Romani populi princeps*, (*Vita Sti. Martini Vertav.*, apud hist. Franc. script., i. 655, ed. Du Chesne.)

⁹ *Suis iudicibus constituit.* (*Fredeg. Chron. continuat.*, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., ii. 456.)

¹⁰ *Cum omni exercitu, cum Francis et proceribus suis, placitum suum campo medio tenens; postea Ligere transacto...* (*Fredegarii Chron. cont.*, *ibid.*, v. 6.)

¹¹ *Tributa vel munera quae reges Francorum de Aquitania provinciâ exigere consueverunt.* (*Ibid.*, v. 7.)

¹² *Leod, lied, liet, leude*, people.

¹ *Cum ipsam in uxorem ducere, et apud portum de Piles rapere voluisset.* (*Chron. Turon.*, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 474.)

² *Ipsa communata ab angelis suis, per aliam viam reversa est.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Ibid.*—Guillelm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 105, ed. Haerue.

⁴ *Chron. Turon.*, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 474.

⁵ *Gisleberti Hannouâ Chron.*, *ibid.*, xiii. 565.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vols. xiii—xviii., passim.

horses.¹ When the cause of the south was completely overthrown the Frankish judges, the *grafs*, and *skepen*² were installed afresh in the cities, and, for a certain length of time, the civil acts were headed with the following formulas: "In the reign of the glorious king Pepin," or, "In the reign of the illustrious emperor Karle."

Charlemagne, established as king in Aquitaine, with the consent of all the Frank peers, his son Lodewig or Ludovicus, whose name was abridged to Louis,³ by the Gauls. Louis I., or le Débonnaire, in his turn became emperor or *keisar* of the Franks, under which style and titles he ruled alike over Germany, Italy, and Gaul. He chose that his sons should all participate in this immense authority while he was yet living; and his unequal partition of the western empire gave rise to discord among those princes. (A.D. 814 to 839.) The southern Gauls eagerly took part in the quarrel, in order to aggravate these family dissensions, and thus contribute to invalidate the sovereign power of their masters. While they were themselves awaiting the favourable moment for rising in a body under chiefs of their own race and language, they artfully invested with the royal dignity, in their country, such members of the imperial family as neither the emperor nor the sovereign assembly of the Franks were desirous of seeing reign in Aquitaine:⁴ the result of this device was, that long and severe wars afflicted the cities of that country by oft-repeated devastations. (A.D. 839 to 888.) The great struggle for the crown, which commenced towards the close of the ninth century, and was prolonged for the space of one hundred years, gave the inhabitants of Aquitaine an interval of repose. Indifferent to the rival parties, having no interest in common either with the family of Charlemagne or with the princes of the new race, they kept aloof, and availed themselves of the dispute as a pretext for resisting alike the authority of each. (A.D. 888.) When the Gallo-Franks, renouncing their obedience to the Austrasian Charles le Gros, chose for king the Neustrian Eudes count of Paris, there arose in Aquitaine a national king named Ranulf, who soon after, under the less assuming titles of duke of the Aquitanians and count of the Poitevins, reigned in full sovereignty from the Loire to the Pyrenees. King Eudes, quitting his French territory, marched against Aquitaine, but did not succeed in reducing that country to his rule. The inhabitants of the south united with their physical resistance to Eudes a moral opposition likewise. They assumed the character of being the defenders of the rights of the deposed ancient line of kings, and did this for no other reason than that the French would themselves no longer acknowledge those rights. Nearly all the independent chiefs of Aquitaine, Poitou, and Provence, thought fit to pretend that they traced a descent from Charlemagne in the female line; and enforced these supposititious pretensions of so illustrious a genealogy by turbulent

and arrogant clamouring, that they might consequently authorise their designating the kings of the third dynasty as usurpers.⁵ (A.D. 923 to 936.) After king Charles the Simple,⁶ who was the legitimate heir to the throne of Charlemagne, had been imprisoned at Peronne, his name was recited at the head of all public acts in Aquitaine, as if he had always held the sceptre; yet, when his son Louis IV, was restored to power (A.D. 936), the Aquitanians did not suffer him to exercise over them, directly or indirectly, the smallest authority.

(A.D. 987.) The victory of the French over the second and last German dynasty was consummated by the election of Hugues, surnamed, in the Roman tongue spoken beyond the Loire, Capet or Chapet.⁷ The inhabitants of the south took no part in this election, and did not recognise king Hugues. (A.D. 988.) Wherefore the newly-elected monarch, putting himself at the head of his subjects who inhabited the territories lying between the rivers Meuse and Loire, made war against Aquitaine; but, after a long struggle, he only succeeded in establishing his title as suzerain over those provinces situated the nearest to the Loire, named le Berry, Touraine, and Anjou.⁸ As the price of his adhesion, the count of this latter country obtained the title of hereditary seneschal of the kingdom of France; and at all solemn banquets he had the right of serving the dishes of the king's table on horseback. (A.D. 988 to 1152.) The exercise of such offices had no similar attractions for the chiefs of the more southern territories; they continued the conflict; and the great mass of the population speaking the *Lingua d'oc* were totally unwilling to submit, either in semblance or in good faith, to the authority of the kings of that country in which the word *oui* was in use. The south of Gaul, spontaneously divided into different principalities, according to the natural divisions of the territory or the ancient boundaries of the Roman provinces, appeared in the eleventh century free from every vestige of the subjection imposed on them by the Franks, and the people of Aquitaine had from that time no sovereigns but such as were of their own race and spoke their language.

It is true that north of the Loire, after the end of the tenth century, one tongue had there likewise been common to the kings, the nobles, and the people; but in that country, where the validity of the conquest had never been challenged, the chiefs loved not the people. There was a secret feeling of their breasts, of the impulse of which they were perhaps scarcely sensible, that their rank and their power were derived from a foreign source. Though completely detached from the old Tudesque stem, they had never renounced the habits and customs of conquerors: they alone, of all the kingdom, were possessed of landed estates and of individual liberty. In the small southern sovereignties, on the contrary, although men were of different ranks, although there were grades of higher

¹ Sed hoc rex, per consilium Francorum, facere contemst, totam regionem vastavit, cum prædâ, equitibus, captivis, thesauris, Christo duce, reversus est in Franciam. (Freedg. Chron. continuat., v. 3-7.)

² See Book ii. p. 32, note 3.

³ Script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. v. passim.

⁴ Nithardi hist., lib. ii. c. 8, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vii. 19.

⁵ D. Vaissette, Histoire générale du Languedoc, livre xi. tom. ii.

⁶ See Book ii. p. 36, note 3.

⁷ Huc Chapet. (Chroniques de St. Denis: Recueil des historiens de la France, x. 303.)

⁸ D. Vaissette, Histoire générale du Languedoc, liv. xii. tom. ii.

and lower classes, some dwelling in castles and others in huts, although the wealthy may have been insolent and the powerful tyrannical, the soil itself belonged to the body of the people, and no one disputed their free property therein, or their *franc-aleu*, as the laws of the middle ages express it. It was the mass of the people that had at several intervals reconquered this soil from the invaders, who had crossed the Loire and were by them driven back upon the north. The duchies, the counties, the viscounties, all the *seigneuries*, were, more or less, national. Many of these had originated in the time of popular insurrections against the rule of foreigners, and their tenure had been legitimatised and ratified by the approval of the people. Wherefore the people exercised, in return, a right of controlling the conduct of their lords and great men. To satirise the chiefs, whether of the state or the church, by pointed epigrams or biting pasquinades, did not, to the south of the Loire, amount to a misprision of treason. In that country there was some political life, the presence of the nation itself was consciously felt; whilst north of the same river Loire the people were scattered over the fields, where they lived and died as serfs, or else penned up in miserable towns, laboured and wore out their existence in the service of their jealous masters.

Yet, notwithstanding this absence of social life and abnegation of civil liberty, the kingdom of France was powerful by its extent, and was formidable beyond its frontiers; not one of those states which shared with it a portion of the old Gallic land was its equal in strength, and its kings or chiefs often made the southern dukes and counts tremble in their great cities, that were enriched by commerce and art. Moreover, they often, for the sake of securing a more lasting peace with France, offered their daughters in marriage; and thus by a dangerous policy gave the French princes the right of visiting their countries as relations and allies. (A.D. 1152.) Thus it was that the union of the daughter of duke William with king Louis VII. opened, as we have narrated already, the cities of Aquitaine and Poitou for the reception of foreign garrisons. When, upon Eleanor's divorce, the French had retired, her second nuptials brought in the Angevins and the Normans, who, like the French, said *oui* and *nelly* instead of *oc* and *no*.¹ Perhaps there was somewhat more of sympathy between the Angevins and the Southern than between the latter and the French; for in Gaul civilisation increased as you proceeded southward: but the difference of language, and especially of accentuation, must have incessantly reminded the Aquitanians that Henry, son of the empress Matilda, their new lord, was still a foreigner.

Shortly after the marriage which made him duke of Aquitaine, Henry became count of Anjou by the death of his father; but on the express condition of resigning that province to his younger brother on the day that he himself should become king. He swore this in solemn pomp over the body of the deceased: but this oath was violated, and Henry kept the county of Anjou when the Norman chiefs, more faithful to their word than himself, had called him to England to succeed king

Stephen.² (A.D. 1154.) No sooner had he taken possession of the kingdom than he declared Stephen to have been an usurper, and was active in abolishing all that had been done in his time.³ (A.D. 1155.) He drove out of England all those Brabançons who had settled there after serving in the royal cause against Matilda. He confiscated the lands with which these men had been paid; he demolished their castles, and, in general, all those belonging to partisans of the late king, wishing, as he said, to reduce their number to what under Henry I. his grandfather⁴ it had been. The companies of foreign auxiliaries who had come into England during the civil war had in numerous instances pillaged the Normans of the party opposed to that which they served; their chiefs had seized on estates and mansions, and had fortified them against the dispossessed Norman *seigneurs*, therein only imitating the forefathers of the latter, who had in like manner fortified the dwellings of which they deprived the Saxons.⁵ The expulsion of the Flemings was to the whole Norman race in England a subject of rejoicing equal to that which their own expulsion would have been to the Saxons. "We saw them all," says a writer of that age, "recess the sea, to return from the camp to their ploughs, and to resume their old condition of serfs after having been masters."⁶

Thus each of those who had unyoked his oxen about the year 1140, to cross the strait at the call of Stephen and come to fight at Lincoln, was treated as an usurper by the men whose fathers had unyoked theirs in 1066, to follow the standard of William the Bastard. The conquerors of England had by this time learned to consider themselves as its legitimate possessors; they had effaced from their minds all remembrance of their anterior condition and of their violent usurpation, imagining that their now noble families had never exercised any other occupation than that of governing men. But the memories of the Saxons were more retentive; and in the complaints forced from them by the hard heart of their conquerors, they said of more than one earl and arrogant prelate of Norman origin, "He torments us, he goads us, as his grandfather used to goad the oxen on the other side of the water."⁷

(A.D. 1155 to 1156.) Notwithstanding this consciousness of their own situation, and of the origin of the actual government, the Saxon race, depressed by suffering, sunk into a state of resignation and apathy. The little of English blood which the empress Matilda had transmitted to Henry II. was considered as a sure pledge of his goodwill to the

¹ A principibus Angliæ vocatus. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1376, ed. Selden.)

² Tempore Stephani ablatoris mei. (Charta Henrici II., Invasoris. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, ed. Selden. i. col. 1046.)

³ Castella nova quæ in diebus avi sui . . . exiterant præcepit citius complanari. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Selden, i. col. 1043.)

⁴ Castella passim per Angliam edificata. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud Selden., ii. col. 1377.)

⁵ A castris ad aratra, à tentoriis ad ergasteria revocabantur; et quas nostratibus operas indixerunt, dominis suis ex necessitate persolvunt. (Radulphi de Diceto, Imag. hist., apud Selden, i. col. 528.)

⁶ Aculeo pungebantur quem dominus præ maribus habebat, memor pio recordationis avi sui, qui aratrum ducere et boves castigare consueverat. (Rog. de Hoved. xxxiii., xxxv. rer. Angl. script., p. 703, ed. Savile.)

⁷ See Raynouard, Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours, tom. iv., passim.

English people,¹ and the haughty conduct of Matilda herself towards the citizens of London, although she was more nearly a Saxon than her son, was forgotten. It was published by writers either simple and sincere, or paid to laud the new reign beforehand, that England at last possessed a king of English race; that it had bishops, abbots, chiefs, barons, and knights, sprung from both races; and that national hatred would thenceforward be without a motive.² There is indeed no doubt that the Saxon women, carried off and forcibly espoused by the Normans after the battle of Hastings and the routs of York and Ely, had, under their misfortune, borne children to their masters: but then, did these sons of foreign fathers consider themselves as brethren of the Saxon townsmen and serfs! On the contrary, did not the desire of effacing this stain upon their birth in the eyes of such as were of purely Norman race render them yet more harsh and still more insolent towards their maternal kinsmen and the Saxon nation! It is also true that in the early times of the invasion William the Conqueror had offered women of his own nation, and even of his own family, to certain Saxon chiefs who were still free; but unions of this sort were not numerous; and when the enslavement of the vanquished nation appeared complete there was no longer any Englishman esteemed sufficiently noble for a Norman woman to honour him with her hand. Moreover, supposing it true that many of the English race, in renouncing the cause of their country, in dropping their native language for another, in acting the part of flatterers and parasites, had succeeded in raising themselves to equal privileges with the men of foreign extraction, this individual good fortune did not alleviate, for the mass of the vanquished Saxons, the sorrowful effects of the Conquest.

Possibly the intermixture of the two races now inhabiting England was more favourable to the oppressors than to those oppressed; for, in proportion as the first lost their character of foreigners, the inclination to make resistance was weakened in the breast of the latter. A violent reaction, the only real remedy against the injustice committed during the Conquest, became less feasible. To the fetters imposed by the foreign domination were superadded moral bonds, the regard which men feel for their own blood, and those benevolent affections which make us so patient in supporting domestic despotism. So, Henry II. saw without displeasure the Saxon monks, in dedicating their books, set forth his Saxon genealogy and boast of his descent from the great Alfred, without mentioning either his grandfather Henry I. or his great-grandfather the Conqueror. "Thou art son," said they, "to the most glorious empress Matilda, whose niece was Matilda daughter to Margaret queen of Scotland, whose father was Edward son of king Edmund Ironside, who was great-grandson of the noble king Alfred."³

At the same time, either by chance or by design,

¹ Math. Paris., i. 92.

² Habet nunc certè de genere Anglorum Anglia regem, habet de eadem gente episcopos et abbates; habet et principes et milites etiam optimos qui ex utriusque seminis conjunctione procreati. (Ailred. Rievall. de vitâ Edwardi Confess., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 401, ed. Selden.)

³ Filius es gloriosissime imperatricis Matildis. (Ailred. Rievall. Geneal. reg. Angl., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 350, ed. Selden.)

false predictions announced the reign of Henry of Anjou as a period of alleviation, and, in some sort, of resurrection, for the conquered race of England. One of these prophecies was attributed to king Edward on his death-bed; and he was said to have pronounced the same for the purpose of comforting those who were then fearing, with regard to England, the projects of ambition entertained against the kingdom by the duke of Normandy.⁴ "When," said he, "the green tree, after being cut at the foot and removed from its root to the distance of three acres, shall return to the root of itself, blossom, and bear fruit, then may better times be expected."⁵

This allegory, written after the circumstances it bears allusion to had occurred, could be interpreted without much difficulty. The tree cut down was the family of Edward, which had lost the kingdom at the election of Harold. After Harold, had come the Conqueror and his son William Rufus, completing the number of three kings foreign to the ancient family: for it must be observed that king Edgar was suppressed, perhaps because there were still relatives of his in England or in Scotland, and that in this particular of descent from Edward they would have appeared much superior to the Angevin Henry II. The tree had re-approached its root when Henry I. espoused Matilda; it had blossomed by the birth of the empress Maud, and had at last borne fruit by the birth of Henry II. These wretched stories merit a place in history on no other account than that of the moral effect which they may have produced on men's minds in that superstitious age. Their tendency visibly was to except king Henry II. from the hatred still nurtured by the Saxons against the Norman race; yet nothing could abstract from Henry II. his true character of being the representative of the Conquest. In vain was he mystically denominated the cornerstone uniting the two walls, that is to say, the two races;⁶ for there was no possible point of union for so unqualified an inequality of civil rights, of wealth, and of power.

Difficult as it might already be for an Englishman of the twelfth century to discover a natural successor of the kings of English race in Henry II., who did not even know the English word for a king, the more obstinate reconcilers of the Saxons to the Normans advanced assertions much more extraordinary, striving to make the Conqueror himself appear to have been the legitimate descendant from king Alfred. A very old chronicle, quoted by an author who is himself ancient, relates that William the Bastard was king Edmund Ironside's own great-grandson.⁷ "Edmund," says the chronicle, "had two sons, Edwin and Edward, and also an only daughter, whose name does not appear in history because of her bad life, for she was guilty of an illicit commerce with the king's

⁴ See Book iii., p. 58.

⁵ Arbor . . . viridis à suo trunco decisa ad trium jugerum spatium à radice propria separetur, que cum nulla manu hominis cogente . . . ad suum truncum reversa, in antiquam radicem sese receperit . . . rursùm flourerit et fructum fecerit; tunc sperandum est aliquid in hâc tribulatione solutum. (Ailred. Rievall. de vitâ Edwardi Confess., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 402, ed. Selden.)

⁶ In quem, velut in lapidem angularem, Anglici generis et Normannici gaudemus duos parietes convenisse. (Ailred. Rievall. ibid., i. col. 370, ed. Selden.)

⁷ Ut reperi in quâdam vetustissimâ chronicâ. (Thomas Rudborne hist. major. Winton., Anglia sacra, i. 246.)

skinner." The king, in anger, banished the furrier from England, together with his daughter, who was then pregnant.¹ They both went over into Normandy, where they lived on the public charity, and had successively three daughters. Having one day come to Falaise, to beg at duke Robert's door, the duke, struck with the beauty of the woman and her three children, asked who she was. "I am an Englishwoman," she replied, "and of the royal blood."² The duke, on this answer, treated her with honour, took the furrier into his service, and had one of their daughters brought up in his palace; she became his mistress, and the mother of William called the Bastard, who was still said to be the grandson of a skinner of Falaise, although by the mother's side he was of Saxon blood, and sprung from the Saxon kings.

(A.D. 1156.) The violation of the oath which Henry II. had sworn to his brother Geoffrey, drew upon him, soon after his arrival in England, a war in his native country. Geoffrey, aided by some partisans of his right, had seized on several of the fortresses. Henry sent over to the continent an army of men of English race. The English, prompted by that antipathy which ever since the Conquest they had entertained against the entire population of Gaul, pursued the war with ardour, and soon rendered the ambitious and unjust brother triumphant.³ Geoffrey, being vanquished, was compelled to accept, in exchange for his lands and his title of count, a pension of one thousand pounds English, or two thousand of Anjou.⁴ He had resumed the station simply of an Angevin baron, when, by a fortunate chance, the inhabitants of Nantes in 1157 elected him as count of their town and territory.⁵ By this election they detached themselves from the government of Armorica or Brittany, to which they had formerly been annexed by conquest, and which they had preferred to the dominion of the Frank kings, although they had little affection for the Armorican nation, because of the difference of language.

(A.D. 850 to 1157.) Subsequently to the aggrandisement of Brittany by the result of successful wars in the interval from the ninth to the eleventh century, the prosperity to which that duchy attained became a cause of its being distracted in the very next century by intestine divisions. Its territory, which extended even beyond the course of the river Loire, included two different races of men; the one speaking the Celtic language, the other the Roman tongue of France and Normandy; wherefore, when it happened that the counts or dukes who governed the entire of Brittany enjoyed the favour of one of these two races, they were regarded with ill-will by the other. The people of Nantes, who chose Geoffrey of Anjou for their count, belonged naturally to the latter of the two parties, speaking the vernacular Roman tongue, and they therefore made choice of the Angevin prince to govern them, only that they might thereby throw off the authority of a lord of purely Celtic

race.⁶ (A.D. 1158.) Geoffrey of Anjou did not live to enjoy his new dignity long; and on his death their city passed, if not by their free consent, at least without their testifying much repugnance, under the authority, as suzerain, of Conan⁷ the hereditary count of Brittany, who was also the possessor of the castle of Richmond in Yorkshire, built at the time of the Conquest by Alan Fergan the Breton.⁸ Henry II. king of England then claimed by a new pretension the city of Nantes, as a portion of his brother Geoffrey's inheritance; he affected to consider the count of Brittany as having usurped the government,⁹ he likewise confiscated his estate and honour of Richmond; then, crossing the Channel, the king appeared before Nantes at the head of a numerous army, and compelled the citizens to acknowledge him for their liege, and to reject count Conan: this, from their utter inability to make resistance, they unwillingly consented to. The king placed a garrison in the town, and occupied the whole space of country between the Loire and the Vilaine.¹⁰

(A.D. 1159.) Having thus set his foot on the soil of Brittany, Henry II. carried his views still further, and made with the same Conan, whom he had just deprived of the city of Nantes, a compact which threatened the independence of the whole of Brittany. He affianced his youngest son, named Geoffrey, eight years of age, to the daughter of Conan, named Constance, then but five years old.¹¹ By this treaty the Breton count engaged to make his daughter's future husband the heir to his power; and the king, in return, guaranteed to Conan the possession, during life, of the county of Brittany, promising him aid, succour, and support against all men whomsoever. This treaty, which it was evident must, one day, infallibly have for its result the extension of the dominion of the Anglo-Normans over all western Gaul, gave great alarm to the king of France. He negotiated with pope Alexander III. to induce him to interdict the union of Geoffrey and Constance, on the ground of consanguinity, seeing that Conan was grandson of a bastard daughter of Henry II.'s grandfather. But the pope refused to recognise that species of consanguinity, and the premature nuptials of the young couple were celebrated in the year 1166.¹²

(A.D. 1166 to 1167.) Shortly afterwards a national insurrection broke out in Brittany against the chief who thus disposed of his country by private agreement with a foreign monarch. Conan called on Henry II. to aid him; and, according to the terms of the treaty of alliance, the king's troops marched across the Norman frontier, on pretence of defending the legitimate count of the Bretons against his revolted subjects.¹³ Henry seized on

⁶ *Hoëlli cogente inertia.* (Chron. Britann., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 560.)

⁷ *In comitem sibi recipient.* (Ibid.)

⁸ See Book iv. p. 90.

⁹ *Civitatem Namnetensem tanquam jure fraternæ successio- nis repositens.* (Guill. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 126, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁰ *Magni apparatus terroribus.* (Ibid.)

¹¹ *Conani filiam parvulam filio suo infantulo.* (Chron. Britann., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xii. 566.)

¹² *Regem Francorum in eum (Alexandrum III.) graviter commotum quod matrimonium inter filium Anglie regis et filiam comitis Britannia, licet in tertio gradu consanguineus, auctoritate sua confirmaverit.* (Summarium epist. Lombardi ad Alexandr. III. papam, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 282.)

¹³ *Script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., vol. xvi. passim.*

¹ *Ut agnovit filium suam illegitimè impregnatam, tam virum quam concubinam exlegavit.* (Id. ibid.)

² *Se in Angliâ exortum et de regali genere.* (Id. ibid.)

³ *Ubi Anglos et Normannos, quos jam multiplex contestatio univit, strenuos exitiase nemo ignorat.* (Script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiv. 12.)

⁴ *Robert. de Monte, ibid., xiii. 229.*

⁵ *Eum sibi in veram certumque dominam elegerunt.* (Guill. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 126, ed. Hearne.)

his reason was disturbed by excessive joy at now having the Breton and Poitevin emigrants in his power. King Louis delivered them up to him, on the derisory condition that he should take them again into his royal favour, and restore unto them their estates. Henry promised this, and even publicly gave them the kiss of peace as a guarantee of that promise; but most of them ended their lives in prison or were capitally punished.¹

When the two kings had separated under this appearance of perfect harmony, which, however, was of no long duration, Henry, the eldest son of the king of England, gave to his younger brother Geoffrey the dignity of duke of Brittany, retaining only the county of Anjou. Geoffrey did homage for the same to his brother, as the latter had done to the king of France: he then repaired to Rennes, to receive the submissions of the lords and knights of Brittany.² Thus did the two hereditary enemies of the liberty of the Bretons deprive them, by this mutual compact, of the sovereignty of their native soil; the Angevin prince thus becoming the immediate lord, and the French prince the suzerain. This great revolution was effected without apparent violence: Conan, the last count of the pure Breton race, was not deposed, but his name did not again appear in any public act. Thenceforward, properly speaking, there was no longer a Breton nation; there was a French party, and an Angevin or Norman party, who laboured with different views, to serve the one or the other power.

The old national language, abandoned by all who sought to please either of the two monarchs, slowly lost its form in the mouths of the poor man and the peasant; they alone adhered to it faithfully, preserving it through a succession of ages, with that tenacity of memory and of will which is peculiar to the Celtic tribes. Notwithstanding the desertion of their national chiefs to the foreigner, whether Norman or French, and the condition of public and individual servitude which was its result, the inferior classes of the people of Lower Brittany never ceased to recognise in the Breton nobles the inherent character of children of the native soil; they never hated them with that violence of hatred which in other lands was indulged against lords of foreign lineage. Under the feudal designations of barons and knights, the Breton peasant still recognised the *tierns* and *mac-tierns* of the times of his independence; he obeyed them with zeal, both for good and harm; he engaged in their intrigues and political dissensions, often without comprehending their motives, but by habit and through the same instinct of devoted regard which the Welsh people also and the Scotch Highlanders ever evinced for the chiefs of their tribes and clans.

(A.D. 1165 to 1170.) The populations bordering on the French territory, as the Bretons and the Poitevins, were not the only ones that, in their quarrels with the king of England, sought to make alliance and common cause with his political rival. After the rupture of the peace of Montmirail, Louis VII. received from a country with which, until then, he had had no sort of relations, and of which he was hardly aware of the existence, a

despatch conceived in these terms:—"To the most excellent the king of the French; Owen prince of Wales, his liege-man and faithful friend, sends greeting, obedience, and devotion."³

"The war which the king of England had long meditated against me broke out this last summer without any provocation on my part; but, thanks to God and to you,⁴ who then occupied his forces abroad, there perished on the fields of battle more of his people than of mine. In his spite, he has wickedly mutilated the hostages he held from me; and, retiring without concluding either peace or truce, has ordered his soldiers to be ready to march against us next Easter.⁵ I therefore beg of you, through your royal clemency, to announce to me by the bearer of these presents if it be your intention to make war upon him at that time; in order that I, on my side, may serve you by doing him all the mischief that you shall wish.⁶ Let me know what you advise me to do, and also what succours you will furnish me; for without aid and counsel from you I doubt that I shall be sufficiently strong against our common enemy."⁷

This letter was brought by a Welsh priest, who presented it to the king of France in solemn audience. But the king, having scarcely ever heard of Wales, suspected that the messenger was some impostor, and would recognise neither him nor the despatches of Owen. The Welsh prince was therefore obliged to write a second missive, to confirm the contents of the first. "You thought," said he, "that my letter was not really mine. However, I assure you it was truly so, and I call God to witness thereof."⁸ The Cambrian chief persisted in calling himself the faithful servant and vassal of the king of France. This trait is worthy of citation, principally because it may serve to teach us not to interpret literally, without serious examination, the formulas and modes of speech of the middle ages. The words vassal and lord often really denoted a relative condition of subordination and dependence; but often, too, they were merely a polite form of expression, especially when the feeble claimed the alliance of the more powerful.

The duchy of Aquitaine or Guienne extended only to the eastern limits of the second, in point of time, of the old Aquitanian provinces; so that the towns of Limoges, Cahors, and Toulouse were not included therein. This latter city, the ancient residence of the Gothic kings, and of the Gallo-Roman chiefs who after them had governed the two Aquitaines united to resist the Franks, had become the capital of a small separate state called the county of Toulouse. There had been a constant rivalry in ambition between the counts of Toulouse and the dukes of Guienne, and various attempts, on both sides, to bring under subjection to one sole authority all the country situated between the Rhone, the sea, and the Pyrenees. Thence had

³ Owinus Walliarum princeps, suus homo et amicus fidelis, devotissimum cum salute servitium. (Epist. Owini ad Ludovic. VII., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 117.)

⁴ Deo gratias et vobis. (Ibid.)

⁵ Meos obsides nequiter et injuriosè demembravit. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ut in illâ werrâ et vobis servitium, nocendo ei secundùm consilium vestrum. (Ibid.)

⁷ Quid consulas, quod adjutorium mihi largiri vis . . . mihi nunciatis. (Ibid.)

⁸ Literis meis non credidistis quòd essent meæ; sed sunt hæc, Deum testem induco. (Ibid.)

¹ Epist. Johan. Salisburiensis, *ibid.* xvi. 596.

² *Ibid.*, p. 596 et seq.

sprung many differences, as well as many treaties and alliances, concluded and broken by turns, in conformity with the naturally fickle character of the inhabitants of the south. (A.D. 1159.) When king Henry II. became duke of Guienne, he ransacked the records of these anterior conventions; and, having by chance found in them a pretext for attacking the independence of the county of Toulouse, he caused his troops to advance, and laid siege to the city. Raymond de St. Gilles, count of Toulouse, raised his standard against him; and the commune of Toulouse, a corporation of free citizens, raised their standard also.¹

The common council of the city and its suburbs, such was the title taken by the municipal government of the Toulousains, entered, in their name, into negotiations with the king of France to obtain from him some assistance.² Louis VII. marched upon Toulouse through Berry, a great part of which belonged to him, and the Limousin, which gave him a free passage; he compelled the king of England to raise the siege of the city, and was welcomed there with great joy, say the authors of the time, by the count and by the citizens.³ The latter, united in solemn assembly, decreed him a letter of thanks for having assisted them like a patron and a father, an expression of affectionate gratitude, implying on their part no avowal of civil or feudal subjection.⁴

But this habit of imploring the protection of one king against another became in the sequel a source of dependence: and the epoch when the king of England, becoming duke of Aquitaine, obtained influence in the affairs of the south of Gaul was, for its inhabitants, the commencement of a new era of decline and misfortune. Being thenceforward placed between two rival powers equally ambitious, they attached themselves sometimes to one, sometimes to the other of these, as circumstances directed; and were by each alternately supported, deserted, betrayed, and sold. From the twelfth century, the men of the south were never so well satisfied as when the kings of France and England were quarrelling. "When," said they, in their national songs, "will the truce be at an end between the sterlings and the tournois?"⁵ Their eyes were incessantly turned towards the north: "What," they incessantly asked of each other, "are the two kings about?"⁶ They hated the foreigners, yet a turbulent agitation and an inordinate love of novelty and movement constantly impelled them to court their alliance: while internally they were disturbed by domestic quarrels, and by petty rivalries between man and man, town and town, or between one province and another. They were passionately fond of war, not from any sordid love of gain, nor yet from a noble impulse of patriotism, but because combats were

romantic and poetical, for the sake of the turmoil, the apparatus, and the passions of a field of battle, they loved to see arms gleaming in the sun, and hear horses neighing in the wind.⁷ One word from a fair lady made them fly to the crusade under the banner of the pope, whom they cared little about, and risk their lives against the Saracens, the people of all others to whom they had the greatest sympathy in point of sentiments, and the strongest moral resemblance. To this levity of character they united the graces of imagination and genius, a taste for the arts and for all delicate enjoyments; they moreover possessed industry and wealth. Nature had bestowed on them every gift, with the exception of political prudence and that spirit of union so desirable in people springing from one race, and children of one country. Their enemies combined to injure them; but they themselves never understood the principle of love as compatriots, or the system of mutual defence and of making a common cause. They severely paid the penalty of this dereliction of good feelings, by the loss of their independence, of their riches, and of those cultivated talents which they once inherited. Their language, the second Roman language, nearly as polished as the Latin, from whence it immediately derived, has given place, in their own mouths, to a foreign idiom, whose accentuation is repugnant to them; while their national and vernacular idiom, which was that of their ancient liberty and glory, the language of the genuine poetry of the middle ages, has become the patois of the day-labourers and servant-maids. Unavailing is all regret at this day expressed for these irrevocable changes: there are ruins which the scythe of Time has made, but which he will never repair.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN KING HENRY II. AND THOMAS A BECKET, TO THE MURDER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

A.D. 1160 to 1171.

AMONG the multitude of Englishmen who, yielding to the necessity of obtaining a livelihood, attached themselves to the rich Normans as their esquires and domestic attendants, there was in the time of Henry I. a native of London, whom historians call Gilbert Becket.⁸ It appears that his real name was Beck, and that the Normans, among whom he lived, changed it into a diminutive, as was customary with them, making it Becket, and in the like style the Anglo-Saxons converted it to Beckie.⁹ In the first years of the twelfth century Gilbert Beckie or Becket followed his lord of the Norman race to the crusade, and went to seek adventures and fortune in the kingdom of Jerusalem; but

¹ Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xlii. 739.

² Commune consilium urbis Tolose et suburbii. (Epist. Communis consilii Tolose ad Ludovic. VII., *ibid.*, xvi. 69.)

³ A comite et a civibus cum gaudio magno susceptus est. (Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xlii. 739.)

⁴ Quod laboribus nostris et imminutis periculis more paterno providatis. (Epist. Communis consilii Tolose, *ibid.*, xvi. 69.)

⁵ E m plai quan la treza es fracha
Dels Esterins e dels Tornés.

(Bertrand de Born; Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, iv. 264.)

⁶ Il dui rei. (*Ibid.* passim.)

⁷ Guerra m plai. (*Ibid.* iv. 264.)

⁸ Anglieus et Londoniarum incola civitatis. (Chron. Joh. Brompton., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1033, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Young Bekie was as brave a knight

In London was young Beichan born.

(Jamieson's Popular Songs, ii. 117, 127.)

Birth of Thomas à Becket.
His education at Paris.
Intimacy with a wealthy baron.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

His negotiations at Rome.
Appointed chancellor by Hen. II. 169
His magnificence.

he prospered less in Palestine than the serjeants of Normandy had done in England, and, instead of becoming, like them, rich and powerful through conquests, he was made prisoner and reduced to slavery.

Unfortunate and despised as he was, the English slave gained the love of the daughter of a Saracen chief. By her assistance he made his escape and returned to his native land. But his deliverer, unable to live without him, shortly afterwards forsook her father's house to go in search of him. She knew but two words intelligible to the inhabitants of the west: these were, *London* and *Gilbert*.¹ By the aid of the former she embarked for England in a vessel carrying traders and pilgrims; by that of the latter word, running from street to street, repeating Gilbert, Gilbert, to the astonished crowd that gathered around her, she found the man whom she loved.² Gilbert Becket, after taking the advice of several bishops on this miraculous incident, had his mistress baptized, changed her Saracen name into Matilda, and married her. The singularity of this marriage made it much talked of; and it became the subject of several popular romances, two of which, still extant, contain very affecting details.³ In the year 1119, Gilbert and Matilda had a son, who was called Thomas Becket, according to the mode of double names introduced into England by the Normans.

Such, as related by several of the old chroniclers, was the romantic origin of a man destined to trouble, in a manner alike violent and unforeseen, the great-grandson of William the Conqueror, in the happy and peaceful enjoyment of his royal power.⁴

(A.D. 1119 to 1152.) This man, born for the torment of the Anglo-Norman race, received the education most fitted to give him access to the nobles and men in power, and recommend him to their favour. While young he was sent into France to study the laws, the sciences, and the languages of the continent, and to lose the English accent, which was then in England a mark of reprobation.⁵ Thomas Becket, when returned from his travels, found himself capable of conversing and living with the most refined persons of the ruling nation, without shocking their ears or their taste by any word or gesture indicative of his Saxon origin. He promptly made use of this talent, and, whilst yet very young, insinuated himself into the familiarity of one of the wealthy barons residing near London; he became his every-day guest and the companion of his pleasures.⁶ He rode out on his patron's horses, hunted and hawked with his dogs and his birds, passing the day in these pleasures, forbidden to every Englishman who was not

either the servant or the table-companion of a man of foreign origin.⁷

Thomas, gay and subtle, fawning, polite, obsequious, soon acquired a great reputation with the high Norman society.⁸ The archbishop of Canterbury, Thibaut or Theobald, who, owing to the absolute supremacy established by the Conqueror, was the second personage of the kingdom, heard of the young Englishman, wished to see him, and, finding him to his liking, attached him to his service. He made him take orders, appointed him archdeacon of his metropolitan church, and employed him in several delicate negotiations with the court of Rome. (A.D. 1152.) In king Stephen's reign archdeacon Thomas conducted at the court of pope Eugenius an intrigue of the bishops, partisans of Matilda, to obtain from that pope a formal prohibition to consecrate the king's son.⁹ When the son of Matilda had afterwards obtained the crown, Thomas Becket was presented to him as a zealous servant of his cause during the time of the usurpation, for so the reign of Stephen was then called by most of those who had elected him, consecrated him, and even defended him against the pretensions of Matilda.¹⁰ (A.D. 1152 to 1157.) The archdeacon of Canterbury so much pleased the new king, that in a few years the royal favour elevated him to the high office of chancellor of England, that is to say, keeper of the seal of the three lions, the legal sign of the power founded by the Conquest. Henry II. moreover intrusted the archdeacon with the education of his eldest son; and, as the salary of these two appointments, gave him large revenues, which by a strange chance were attached to places mournfully memorable to an Englishman; for he now held the prebend of Hastings, the keeping of the castle of Berkhamstead, and the government of the tower of London.¹¹

(A.D. 1157 to 1161.) Thomas was king Henry's most assiduous and most intimate companion; he shared in his most worldly pleasures and his most frivolous amusements.¹² Elevated in dignity above all the Normans of England, he affected to surpass them in luxury and lordly pomp; he kept in his pay seven hundred horsemen completely armed. The harness of his own horses was embossed with gold and silver; his service of plate was magnificent, and he kept open table suitable for the entertainment of guests of exalted rank. His purveyors procured from a distance, at great expense, the choicest and most delicate cates.¹³ The earls and barons esteemed it an honour to visit him, and no foreigner coming to his mansion departed thence without receiving a present of hounds or falcons,

¹ *Varias seculi sequens curiositates, nunc venatum, nunc avium capturam.* (Ibid.)

² *Suffragantibus obsequiis . . . Ad jussa promptum . . . in obsequiis sedulum.* (Ibid.)

³ *Subtilissimâ prudentiâ et perquisitione ejuſdem Thomæ, clerici natione Londoniensis.* (Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1371, ed. Selden.)

⁴ See Book viii.

⁵ *Fili sui Henrici tutorem fecit et patrem.* (Vita B. Thomæ quadripartita, lib. i. cap. 5, p. 9.)

⁶ *Regis si quidem se conformans moribus, pariter nugis vel seriis intendere, pariter venari . . . satagebat.* Ad hæc curiales facietis amplecti . . . (Ibid., lib. i. cap. 4, p. 8.)

⁷ *Numerosa clientelâ gaudere . . . fallacibus delectari, nam, ut de suppellectili tacem, frons utens argenteis, spumosa thesaurum lupatis inferelat, mensas et expensas comitum antecedeat.* (Ibid.)

¹ Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1053, ed. Selden.

² *Cum quibusdam peregrinis et mercatoribus . . . quasi bestia erratica derisus omnibus habebatur.* (Ibid.)

³ Jamieson's Popular Songs, 117, 127.

⁴ *Parentum mediocrium proles illustris.* (Gervas. Cantuar. Act. pontif. Cantuar., apud Selden., i. col. 1168.)

⁵ *Thomas adolescens studuit Parisius.* (Willielmi filii Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 11, apud hist. Angl. script., ed. Spurke, Londini, 1723.)—Chron. Johan. Bromton, ed. Selden., i. col. 1056.

⁶ *Ad virum quendam genere insignem, et multarum possessionum præcipuum, adhiuit . . . rure cum divite morabatur.* (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Selden., i. col. 1056.)

of horses, or of rich apparel.¹ The lords sent him their young sons to serve in his household and to be educated near him; he maintained these for some time; then equipped them at all points as knights, furnishing them at his own expense with every requisite of military officers.²

In his political conduct Thomas behaved like a true and loyal chancellor of England, according to the sense which was already attached to those words, that is to say, he laboured with all his might to uphold, and even to increase, the personal power of the king over and against all men, without distinction of race or condition, Normans or Saxons, clerks or laymen. Though a member of the ecclesiastical order, he repeatedly contended against it when the fiscal interests of the king's exchequer were concerned. At the time when Henry II. undertook the war against the count of Toulouse, there was levied in England for the expenses of the campaign the tax which the Normans called *escuage*, that is to say, an escutcheon-tax, because it was due from every possessor of a knight's fee, or an estate sufficient for the maintenance of a man-at-arms, who did not, within the time prescribed by the summons, present himself at the review, completely armed, with his *écu*, escutcheon, or shield on his arm.³ The rich prelates and abbots of Norman race, whose warlike spirit had grown cool from the time that there were no longer any Saxons to be plundered, nor any civil war among the Normans, excused themselves from obeying the summons thus issued to the knights and all such as held estates equivalent to those above described, because, said they, the holy church forbade them to shed blood: they also refused, for the like motive, to pay the tax of absence; but the chancellor resolved to compel them. The high clergy then uttered violent invectives against Thomas's audacity. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, publicly accused him of plunging the sword into the bosom of his mother the church; and archbishop Thibaut, though formerly his patron, threatened to excommunicate him.⁴ Thomas was not moved by these ecclesiastical censures; and shortly after he exposed himself to them afresh by fighting in person in the war against Toulouse, and being, notwithstanding his deaconship, one of the first to mount the breach at the assault of the fortresses.⁵ Once, in an assembly of the clergy, some bishops affected to set forth exaggerated maxims of independence in opposition to the royal power: the chancellor, who was present, openly contradicted them, and reminded them in a tone of severity that they were bound to Henry by the same oath as were military men, the oath obliging all men to preserve the king's

life and limbs, and to uphold his dignity and honour.⁶

The harmony which in the early times of the Conquest had reigned between the Norman barons and priests, or, to speak the language of the age, between the empire and the priesthood, had not been of any long duration. Scarcely were the bishops and abbots, from beyond sea, installed in the churches thrown open to them by the lances of William and his knights, before they became ungrateful to those who had procured them their new dignities and possessions. At the same time that disputes arose between the kings and the barons, there were also sundry misunderstandings between the barons and the clergy, and between the prelates and the kings. These three powers separated from one another when the power hostile to all three—the English race—had ceased to be formidable. William I. was mistaken in counting on a longer union, when he gave to the clergy created by the Conquest a power unknown in England in the times of English independence. He might by this means acquire an increase of personal power: for himself, perhaps he was right; but for his successors, he was wrong.⁷

The reader is already acquainted with the royal decree by which, breaking through the ancient responsibility of the priests to the civil judges, and assigning to members of the higher clergy the privilege of being judged by themselves, William instituted the episcopal courts for the arbitration and decision of certain complaints and suits against laymen, and of all prosecutions commenced against clerks. It was not long before the Norman clergy, who were clerks of fortune (to use a paraphrase of a military term), exhibited in England the greatest depravity of morals. They committed murders, rapes, robberies; and, as they could be brought to justice by none but their own cloth and order, these crimes were rarely, if ever, visited with punishment; and this circumstance caused a frightful increase of them. In the first years of the reign of Henry II. there were reckoned nearly one hundred homicides committed by priests then living. The only means of punishing and putting a stop to these disorders was to abolish the ecclesiastical privilege instituted by the Conqueror, the temporary necessity for which had ceased, now that the rebellions of the English no longer excited much dread. Reason prescribed this measure; and besides, from a motive less pure, that is to say, for the aggrandisement of their own territorial jurisdictions, the men of the sword wished for this reform, and blamed the law voted by their ancestors in the great council held by William I. It was therefore with a view to promote the temporal authority, of which the executive power was vested in himself as sovereign, and, we may suppose, with some consideration also for the interests of justice and the dictates of reason, that Henry II. conceived the design of executing this reform.⁸ But, in order to effect it easily and without disturbance, it was necessary that the primacy of Canterbury, so long considered as a kind of eccle-

¹ Nullâ ferè die comedabat absque comitibus et baronibus quos ipsemet invitabat. (Willelmi filii Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 14, ed. Sparke.)

² Cancellario et regni Angliæ et regnorum magnates liberos suos servituros mittebant quos cingulo donatos militie. . . (Ibid., p. 15.)

³ Scutagium. See Chron. Gervas. Cantuar. apud Selden, ii. col. 1381.

⁴ Sharon Turner's History of England, p. 202.

⁵ Ipsemet clericus cum esset, lorica indutus et galeâ. (Wili. filii Stephani vita S. Thomæ.)—Quam audenter quam strenue in partibus Tolosanæ cum paucâ manu militari, domino suo rege ab obsidione Tholose tunc recedente, remanserit, captasque in terrâ illâ à rege munitiones conservavit aliasque in manu forti acquisierit. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart. lib. i. cap. v. p. 9.)

⁶ Wilkins's Concilia Magnæ Britan., i. 431.

⁷ See Book vi. p. 128.

⁸ Rex etenim populi sui pacem zelans . . . audiens tallium clericorum immo verius coronatorum demouum flagitia non reprimi. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripartita, lib. i. cap. 17, p. 33.)

ecclesiastical royalty, should fall into the hands of a man devoted to the king's person, to the interests of the royal power, and to the cause of the barons against the churchmen. It was, moreover, reckoned indispensable that the man to be selected should be indifferent as to the amount of sufferings, more or less, of the native English: for what was then esteemed the absurd law of clerical independence, which had been directed especially against the vanquished nation, after such new laws had greatly injured them in those times when they were yet struggling, had in their result become favourable to them. Every Saxon serf who succeeded in procuring himself to be ordained a priest, became thenceforward for ever exempt from servitude; because no action brought against him as a fugitive slave, whether by the royal bailiffs or by the officers of the seigneurs, could force him any longer to appear before a secular court; and no ecclesiastical court would suffer those to return to the glebe and the plough who had become the anointed ministers of Christ. The ills of national enslavement had multiplied in England the number of these clerks by necessity, who were indeed appointed to no church, and who often subsisted on alms, but who at least differed from their fathers and their fellow-countrymen, in being neither attached to the glebe, nor penned like cattle within the walls of the royal towns.¹ The feeble hope of this refuge from foreign oppression was then, next to the miserable successes of cringing and adulation, the most brilliant prospect that presented itself to an Englishman by birth. Thus the common people were as ardently zealous in favour of the privileges of the priests, as their ancestors had been, in other times, against the resistance of the priests to the common law of the country.

The chancellor, whose youth had been spent among personages of the most exalted rank, appeared to be entirely divested of native sympathy for the oppressed people of England. On the other hand, all his friendly connexions were with laymen; he seemed to recognise no rights extraneous from the regal rights; he was the king's favourite, and was the most skilful man in public affairs; for which reasons the partisans of the ecclesiastical reform deemed him a very fit person to become the principal instrument in effecting it. So that long before the death of archbishop Thibaut or Theobald, it was the common rumour at court that Thomas Becket would obtain the primacy.² In the year 1161 Thibaut died; and immediately the king recommended his chancellor to the bishops, who never failed to elect, in the name of the Holy Ghost, the candidate so patronised. But on this occasion they opposed a resistance which the royal power was not accustomed to encounter from them. They declared that in their consciences they did not think they could raise to the primacy, to the seat of the blessed Lanfranc, a hunter and a soldier by profession, a man of noise and of the world.³

(A.D. 1161 to 1162.) And, on the other hand, among the Norman chiefs who lived out of the court intimacy, especially beyond sea, there was a violent opposition to the nomination of Thomas. The king's mother made great efforts to dissuade him from the project of making the chancellor archbishop.⁴ An undefined dread of beholding a Saxon in possession of such great power, perhaps operated more strongly on the minds of those who had not seen Becket often or closely enough to place full confidence in him: but the confidence of the king was unbounded. He was proof against every remonstrance, and swore that his favourite friend should be primate of England. Henry II. was then holding his court in Normandy, and Becket was in attendance upon him. In one of the conferences which it was their custom to have together on state affairs, the king told him that he must prepare to re-cross the Strait on an important mission; to which the chancellor answered, "I will obey as soon as I have received my instructions." "What!" returned the king in an expressive tone, "dost thou not guess what the matter is? dost thou not know that I am firmly resolved that thou shalt become archbishop?"⁵ Thomas smiled thereat; and, lifting up one corner of his rich habit, said, "Such, then, is the learned and holy man to whom you would commit such sacred functions!"⁶ Besides, you have views concerning the affairs of the church to which I could not lend myself. I feel that if I were to become archbishop, we should soon cease to be friends."⁷ The king received this answer as a mere piece of raillery; and immediately sent one of his justices to the bishops of England, who had postponed the election for thirteen months, with a formal order to appoint the court candidate without delay.⁸ The bishops bowed beneath what was then called the royal hand, and obeyed with apparent good grace.⁹

Thomas à Becket, the fifth primate from the Conquest, and the first who had sprung from the English race, was ordained priest on the Saturday of Pentecost, in the year 1162; and the next morning was consecrated archbishop by the prelate of Winchester, in presence of the fourteen suffragans of the see of Canterbury. A few days after his consecration his appearance was so totally changed, that those who beheld, no longer recognised, him for the same man. He had laid aside his rich apparel, unfurnished his sumptuous house, given up the old intimacy with all his noble guests, and become the friend of the poor, the mendicants, and the Saxons.¹⁰ Like them, he was clad in a coarse habit, lived on herbs and water, and assumed an air of gravity

¹ Dissuadente matre sua. (Cleri Angliæ ad B. Thomam epist., apud epist. Divi Thomæ, lib. i. p. 190, ed. Lupus.)

² Mæu voluntatis est to Cantuariensem præsulum fore. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. i. cap. 6, p. 11.)

³ Stemmata . . . quibus tunc indutus erat, subridendo ostendens et quasi oculis ingerens, "Quam religiosum, inquit, virum, quam sanctum in tam sanctâ sede . . . constitui desideras." (Ibid.)

⁴ Citissime à me auferes animum, et gratia, quæ nunc inter nos tanta est, in atrocissimum odium convertetur. (Ibid.)

⁵ Regni sui clero sedule inunxit. (Ibid.)

⁶ Minus sincerè et canonicè, id est per operam manuumque regiam. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ, p. 157, ed. Hearn.)

⁷ Willelmi filii Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 24, apud hist. Angliæ script., ed. Sparke.—Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. i. cap. 8—13.

¹ Clerici accephali.

² Rumor in curiâ frequens. (Willelmi filii Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 17, ed. Sparke.)

³ Quod si nimis foret absorum et omni divino juri adversum hominem militari potius cingulo quam clericali officio mancipatum; eorum scaborem . . . (Vita B. Thomæ quadripartita, lib. i. cap. 6, p. 13.)

and humility. For them alone his banquetting-hall was thenceforward open, and his silver lavished. Never did a change of life appear more sudden, or excite on the one side so much anger, on the other so much enthusiasm.¹ The king and the courtiers, the earls and barons, all those whom Becket had formerly served, and who had laboured to elevate him, thought themselves odiously betrayed. The bishops and the Norman clergy, his old antagonists, remained in suspense and watched his conduct: but he became the idol of the low in station, of the undignified monks; and the clergy of inferior rank, together with the natives of all conditions, regarded him as a brother and a protector.

The king's astonishment and indignation knew no bounds when he received in Normandy a message from the primate, returning him the great seal, with a declaration that, being insufficient for his new office, it was impossible for him to retain two at once.² Henry II. suspected there was a predetermined hostility in this resignation of the chancellorship, by which the archbishop seemed desirous of emancipating himself from every tie of dependence upon him. His resentment was the greater as the cause of it was so unexpected; his friendship was turned into violent aversion; and on his return to England he received his old favourite with disdain; and affected to despise, now that he appeared in a monk's frock, the man whom he had so magnificently entertained when in the habit of a Norman courtier, with the dagger at his side, the cap and plume on his head, and the shoes with long points curled like rams' horns on his feet.³

(A.D. 1162.) From that moment Henry II. commenced against the archbishop a regular system of personal attacks and vexations. He took from him the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which he still held together with the episcopal see. He then raised up one Clérambault, a monk of Normandy, an audacious man, of dissolute morals, who had laid aside the frock in his own country, but whom the king made abbot of the monastery of St. Augustin, at Canterbury.⁴ Clérambault, supported by the court, refused to take the oath of canonical obedience between the hands of the primate, according to the law established by Lanfranc to ruin the independence of the monks of St. Augustin, in the time when the Anglo-Saxon religious communities still resisted the Normans.⁵ The new abbot grounded his refusal on the monastery's having anciently, that is to say before the Conquest, enjoyed full and perfect liberty. Becket defended this prerogative of his see, as instituted by the first Norman kings. The dispute grew warm on both sides; and Clérambault, thereto advised

by the king and the courtiers, referred his cause to the judgment of the pope.

At that time there were two popes; for the Roman cardinals and nobles had been unable to agree in the election. Victorius had been recognised as the legitimate pope by Frederic emperor of Germany, but was disowned by the kings of France and of England, who had acknowledged the rival pope Alexander III.; this latter had been expelled from Rome by his adversaries, and had taken refuge in France.⁶ To him the new abbot of St. Augustin's addressed a protest against the primate of England, in the name of the ancient liberties of his convent: and, strange as it appears, these same liberties, formerly annihilated by the authority of pope Gregory VII. for the interests of the Norman Conquest, were declared inviolable by pope Alexander III. on the petition of a Norman abbot against an archbishop of English race.

(A.D. 1163.) Thomas, irritated by his defeat, returned the courtiers attack for attack; and, as they had availed themselves against him of rights which had existed anterior to the Conquest, he in his turn laid claim to all that his church had been deprived of since the Norman invasion. He summoned Gilbert de Clare to make restitution to the see of Canterbury of the lands of Tunbridge, which had been granted as a fief to his grandfather;⁷ he made similar claims against several other barons and against the officers in charge of the royal domains. The preferring such demands for restitutions tended to overthrow totally the principle of the legal right of all the great Anglo-Norman families to their acquired possessions; and accordingly they produced a general alarm. Prescriptive rights were therefore invoked and maintained, but Becket briefly and plainly answered that he knew of no prescription for injustice, and that what had been taken possession of without good and sufficient title must be restored. The sons of the companions of William the Bastard thought that the soul of Harold animated the body of him whom they had themselves made primate.

The archbishop gave them no time to recover from their first embarrassment; but, violating another of the usages most respected since the Conquest, he placed a priest of his own choice in the vacant church of Aynesford, on the lands of a Norman named William, holding a knight's fee, and being a tenant in chief of the king.⁸ This William, like all the other Normans, pretended to dispose of the churches situated on his manors, and did actually dispose of them in the same manner as of the farms: he named the priests, like the farmers, at his pleasure; and thus, by men of his own choice, he administered all religious aid and instruction to his English freemen and serfs. This privilege was called the right of patronage⁹ of the churches. By virtue of his right of patronage William of Aynesford expelled the priest sent thither by Becket; whereupon the archbishop ex-

¹ Ita seculum deseruit, ita repente mutatus est, ut omnes mirarentur. (Will. fil. Steph., p. 27.)—Veterem hominem renovare disposuit, jam transformatus in virum alterum. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., cap. 9, p. 16, 17.)

² Mittens regem rogavit cancellarium sibi providere, quia ipse vix uni nedum duobus officiis poterat sufficere. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. i. c. 17, p. 32.)—Sigillum resignans, quod in cor regis altius ascendit. (Math. Paris., i. 98.)—Radulf. de Dicto Imag. histor., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 534, ed. Selden.

³ Ord. Vital. hist. ecclesias., passim.

⁴ Monachus fugitivus et apostata in Normanniâ. (Chron. Will. Thorn., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1819, ed. Selden.)

⁵ See Book vii., p. 133.

⁶ Alexandrum, qui tunc Romanorum schisma devitans degebat in Franciâ. (Gervas. Cantuar., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1669, ed. Selden.)

⁷ Gerv. Cantuar. Chron., ibid. ii. col. 1384.

⁸ Radulph. de Dicto, Imag. histor., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 536, ed. Selden.

⁹ Willelmus Villæ dominus sibi vindicans jus patronatus in eadem ecclesiâ. (Ibid.)

communicated William for offering violence to a clerk. The king interfered against the archbishop; he complained of his having, without first informing him, excommunicated one of his tenants-in-chief, a man capable of being called to his council and his court, a man qualified to present himself before him at all times and in all places, which had consequently exposed the royal person to the danger of unwittingly communicating with an excommunicated man.¹ "As I was not forewarned," said Henry II., "and my dignity has been wronged in this essential point, I require the archbishop to retract it."² The archbishop yielded with evident ill-will, and the king's hatred was consequently aggravated. "Henceforth," said he, "all confidence is at an end between this man and me."³

In the year 1164 the royal justiciaries, revoking *de facto* the law of William the Conqueror, cited before their assizes a priest accused of rape and of murder; but the archbishop of Canterbury, as ecclesiastical superior over all England, declared the citation to be null, by virtue of the privileges of the clergy, as ancient in the land as were those of the Norman kings. He had the culprit seized by his own agents, brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal, deprived of his prebend, publicly beaten with rods, and suspended from every office for a term of several years.⁴ This procedure, in which justice was to a certain point respected, but in which the royal judges were completely superseded in their office, gave great offence: all of Norman race in England thereupon divided into two parties, of which one approved and the other strongly blamed the conduct of the primate. The bishops were for him; but the men of the sword, the court, and the king, were against him. The king, who was obstinate by character, suddenly changed this personal dispute into a question of legislation: calling together a great and solemn assembly of all the barons and prelates, he laid before them a complaint, in detail, of the many flagrant crimes daily committed by priests; adding that he had discovered the means of repressing these disorders, in the ancient usages of his predecessors, and especially in those established by his grandfather Henry I.⁵ He asked, as was the custom, all the members of this assembly severally if they did not think it fitting that he should revive the customs and usages of his grandfather. The laymen answered that such was their wish; but all the clerks, with Thomas at their head, answered, "Saving the honour of God and of the holy church."⁶ To which the king angrily replied, "There is venom in that reservation:" he immediately turned from the bishops without saluting them, and the affair was left undecided.⁷

A few days afterwards, Henry II. called separately to his presence Roger archbishop of York,

Robert de Melun bishop of Hereford, and several other English prelates whose origin was sufficiently indicated by their French names. By promises, by long explanations, and perhaps by insinuations concerning the presumed intentions of the Englishman Becket against all the great men of England, and, in short, by a multitude of arguments which the historians do not particularise, the Norman bishops were nearly all brought over to the king's party.⁸ They promised to favour the re-establishment of the pretended customs of Henry I., who, in truth, had never practised any but those of William the Conqueror, the founder of the ecclesiastical privileges. Moreover, for the second time since his differences with the primate, the king applied to pope Alexander; and the pope, compliant to excess, gave him full satisfaction without thoroughly investigating the affair: he even deputed a special messenger, with apostolical letters, enjoining all the prelates, and particularising especially him of Canterbury, to accept and observe all the king of England's laws whatsoever, without any reservation.⁹ Left alone in his opposition, and thus deprived of all hope of receiving aid or support, Becket was compelled to yield. He went to the king at his residence at Woodstock, and promised, like the other bishops, to observe with good faith, and without reservation, all the laws that should be made.¹⁰ In order that this promise might be renewed in an authentic form, in the bosom of a solemn assembly, Henry convoked in the borough of Clarendon, at a short distance from Winchester, the great council of the Anglo-Normans, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and knights.¹¹

The assembly of Clarendon was held in the month of March 1164, John bishop of Oxford presiding therein. There the speakers for the king made a statement of the reforms and entirely novel dispositions which he was pleased to entitle the customs and liberties of his grandfather Henry I.¹² The bishops solemnly gave their approbation to all they had heard set forth; but Becket refused his, and, on the contrary, accused himself of folly and weakness in having promised to observe, without reservation, the king's laws, whatever they might be.¹³ The whole Norman council was then in an uproar; the bishops supplicated Thomas, and the barons threatened him. Two Knights Templars asked him, with tears, not to dishonour the king; and while this scene took place in the great hall, there could be seen through the doorways in the adjoining apartment men engaged buckling on their coats of mail and girding themselves with their swords.¹⁴ The archbishop became

¹ *Micimè certiorato rege . . . ne ignorantia lapsus communicat excommunicato.* (Ibid.)

² *Aversit namque rex juxta dignitatem regni.* (Ibid.)

³ Will. II., Stephani Vita S. Thomæ, p. 28, ed. Sparke.

⁴ *Publicè virgarum disciplinam adjudicatus, et per annos aliquos ab omni officio suspensus.* (Vita B. Thomæ quadripartita, lib. I. cap. 17, p. 33.)

⁵ *Schētabatur au consuetudines suas regias forent observari.* (Ibid., l. I, p. 31.)—Will. II. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 31.

⁶ *Salvo in omnibus ordine suo et honore Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ.* (Reg. de Hoved., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 492, ed. Savile.)

⁷ Willm. II. Stephani, p. 31, ed. Sparke.

⁸ *Rex separavit Rogerum archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et Robertum de Melun, et alios prelatos a consortio et concilio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.* (Reg. de Hoved., p. 493, ed. Savile.)—Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., l. c. 20, p. 35.

⁹ *Ut ipse pacem cum domino suo rege Angliæ faceret, et leges suas sine aliqua exceptione custodiendas promitteret.* (Reg. de Hoved., p. 493, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ *Se bonâ fide et sine malo ingenio leges suas servaturum.* (Ibid.)

¹¹ Math. Paris., l. 100.

¹² *Facta est recognitio sive recordatio consuetudinum et libertatum antecessorum suorum, regis videlicet Henrici avi sui.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Peccavit archiepiscopum quod ipse concessionem illam fecerat regi.* (Reg. de Hoved., p. 493, ed. Savile.)

¹⁴ *Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., apud hist. Angl. script., II. col. 1366, ed. Selden.*

alarmed, and gave his word that he would observe without reservation the customs of the king's grandfather; only demanding that he should be indulged with time and opportunity to investigate at greater leisure and to verify those customs. The assembly appointed commissioners to digest them into articles, and adjourned to the following day.¹

In the evening the archbishop set out on his return to Winchester, where were his lodgings. He proceeded thither on horseback with a numerous suite of clergymen, who on the road entered into conversation upon the important events of that day: their conversation, which was at first peaceful and moderate, became animated, and an argument arose in which each clerk expressed himself according to the party he favoured. Some lauded the conduct of the primate, and considered the force exhibited against him as an apology for his yielding to circumstances. Others greatly blamed him, and declared that the liberties of the English church were about to be lost through the fault of one man. The most fervent of all was a Saxon named Edward Grim, who carried the cross before the archbishop: excited by the warmth of dispute, he spoke loud, and used much gesticulation. He exclaimed, "I see perfectly that those men only are held in esteem, at this day, who show a complaisance towards princes that knows no limits; but what becomes of justice? Who will fight for it when the chief, who upheld justice and right, has let himself be vanquished? What virtues shall we for the future be able to recognise in a man who has lost all courage?" These last words were heard by Thomas à Becket, whose attention had been aroused by the agitation and the loud exclamations, and he said to the cross-bearer, "Who is it you are excited against, my son?" To which the latter replied with energy, "Against yourself; it is you whom I blame, who have sworn your conscience by holding up your hand in token of your promise to obey and keep these detestable customs." The archbishop showed no anger on being thus boldly reproached; for the reproach was evidently dictated by a national sentiment as well as by religious convictions and zeal. He appeared for a moment lost in thought, and then addressed his fellow-countryman in the meekest tone, saying, "My son, you are right! I have committed a great fault, and I repent it!"²

The next day the alleged ancient customs, or the Constitutions of Henry I., were produced in writing, divided into sixteen articles, containing a system of dispositions entirely contrary to the ordinances of William the Conqueror. There were, moreover, several special regulations, one of which forbade the ordaining as priests, without the consent of the lords of manors, those who in the Norman tongue were called *natifs* or *naifs*,³ that is to say the serfs, who were all of old Saxon and indigenous race. The bishops were required to affix their seals in wax at the foot of the parchment, which roll contained the sixteen articles; and all did so, excepting only Thomas, who, without openly retracting his promise of adhesion thereto, still demanded further time. The council of Clarendon

thereupon completed its labours without taking further notice of the archbishop: his refusal was not heeded, and did not prevent the promulgation of the new constitutions. Letters were issued from the royal chancery, addressed to all the judges or Norman justiciaries of England and on the continent; which letters commanded them, in the name of Henry II., by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy, duke of Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to cause to be executed and observed by all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests, earls, barons, citizens, townsmen, and countrymen, the ordinances decreed in the great council of Clarendon.⁴

A letter from the bishop of Poitiers, who received despatches to this effect, brought to his diocese by Simon de Tournebu and Richard de Lucy, justiciaries, makes known in detail the instructions therein contained. These instructions are curious when compared with the laws published eighty years antecedently in the name of William I. and his barons; for, in the two cases, we find the same threats and the same penalties employed for sanctioning decrees that were in direct opposition, the later to the longer established.⁵

"They have forbidden me," says the bishop of Poitiers, "to bring into court any person of my diocese whomsoever, on the petition of any widow, orphan, or priest, unless the king's officers, or those of the seigneur of the fief to which the cause litigated appertains, should have denied justice."⁶ They have declared that, if any one make appearance on my summons, all his goods shall be confiscated, and himself imprisoned.⁷ Finally, they have signified to me that, if I should excommunicate such as refuse to appear before my episcopal court, the excommunicated might, without displeasing the king, lay hold on my person or the persons of my clerks, on my own goods or on the goods of my church."⁸

From the moment that these laws, made by the Normans in an English borough, were declared obligatory on the inhabitants of nearly the whole extent of western Gaul, whether Angevins, Manseaux, Bretons, Poitevins, or Aquitanians, and that all this varied population was set in ferment by the quarrel of Henry II. and archbishop Thomas à Becket, the court of Rome began to consider more attentively an affair which in so short a time had assumed so great an importance. That profoundly politic court thenceforward applied itself to reap the greatest possible advantage for itself, whether war or peace should ensue. Rotrou archbishop of Rouen, a man less interested than the Normans of England in the conflict between the English king and primate, landed with a mission from the pope to observe how matters should turn

⁴ Hoc faciunt archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, et clerici, comites, barones, vavassores, milites, cives, burgenses, rustici. (Gerv. Cantuar. chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1399, ed. Selden.)

⁵ See Book vi. p. 128.

⁶ Querelas viduarum vel orphanorum . . . in facienda justitia eis defecissent. (Johan. Pictav. episc. ad Thomam eplam, apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xvi. 216.)

⁷ Omnia illius bona confiscarentur, ipso publico carceri deputando. (Ibid.)

⁸ Scirent excommunicati illi regi non displicerent si vel in personam meam manum extenderent, vel in bona grassarentur, vel in personas, vel in bona clericorum meorum. (Ibid.)

¹ Rog. de Hoved., p. 493, ed. Savile.

² Fleury Hist. ecclésiastique, xv. 150.

³ *Neif, nief, knace*, a peasant, a labourer.

out in England, and to propose, at all events, an accommodation under the pontifical mediation.¹ But the king, now elated by his recent triumph, answered that he would not accept of the mediation of Alexander III. unless that pontiff should previously confirm, by an apostolical bull, the articles of Clarendon.² The pope, who duly considered that he would himself gain, and lose nothing at all, by a delay, refused to give his sanction until he should obtain better information of all the bearings of the question.

Upon this, Henry II., soliciting for the third time the support of the pontifical court against his antagonist Becket, sent a solemn embassy to Alexander III., asking from him for Roger archbishop of York the title of apostolical legate in England, with the power of doing and undoing; of appointing and degrading.³ Alexander did not grant this request; but he conferred on the king himself, by a formal commission, the title and functions of legate, with plenary power to act, restricting him in one particular only, and that was especially forbidding the deposition of the primate.⁴ The king, seeing that the pope's intention was to decide nothing, received this commission of so novel a nature with marks of deep vexation, and immediately sent it back to Rome.⁵ "We will make use of our own royal power," said Henry; "and we trust that it will suffice us to cause all such to return to the path of duty as shall aim at our honour." The primate, who had thus been abandoned by the Anglo-Norman bishops and the barons, and found that none declared themselves favourable to his cause, became sensible that he should ever be too weak against his royal opponent if he remained in England; he resolved, therefore, upon seeking support from some other quarter, and an asylum. He repaired to the seaport, and twice embarked on board a ship ready to weigh anchor, but each time the winds proved contrary, or else the captain of the vessel, fearing the king's anger, refused to set sail.⁶

A few months after the great council had been held at Clarendon, another assembly was convoked by Henry II. in the town of Northampton.⁷ Thomas, like the other prelates, received his letter of convocation: he arrived by the appointed day, and took a lodging in the town; but scarcely had he engaged the same when the king caused it to be occupied by his horses and servants.⁸ Highly affronted by this contumely, the archbishop sent word that he should not repair to the parliament unless his hired house was immediately quitted by the

king's men and horses.⁹ It was consequently given up to him; but the natural uneasiness which he felt respecting the issue of so unequal a struggle made him cautious of exhibiting at this moment a greater degree of pride and character; wherefore, humiliating as it was for him to supplicate the man by whom he had just been grossly insulted, he went to the king's apartments and requested an audience; he remained in attendance the whole day in vain, for Henry was diverting himself with his falcons and dogs.¹⁰ The next day he went again, and placed himself in the chapel while the king was hearing mass; and on the conclusion of the service, when departing, he approached with a respectful air, and asked the king's permission to go over into France.¹¹ "If you choose it; yet before you travel," answered the king, "you must render me an account of many things, and in particular of the wrong which you have done in your court to John my marshal."¹²

The fact was, that some time before, the Norman John, surnamed the marshal because of his military office, had come before the episcopal court of Canterbury, and claimed some land belonging to the bishopric, which he pretended that he had a right to hold as an hereditary fee.¹³ The primate's judges had rejected his claim as ill-founded; on which the complainant had *falsified* the court, that is, had maintained by oath that it had denied him justice.¹⁴ "It is true," answered Thomas to the king, "that John the marshal presented himself before my court; but, so far from receiving any injury from me, he did me an injury; for he came and brought a song-book, and by that volume he swore that my court was false and denied justice; whereas, according to the law of this kingdom, whosever would falsify the court of another must swear on the holy Gospels."¹⁵ The king affected to make no account of this excuse: the charge of denying justice, brought against the archbishop, was prosecuted before the great Norman council, which condemned him, and by its sentence adjudged him to the king's mercy, that is, adjudged to the king whatever he should be pleased to take of the goods of the condemned.¹⁶ Becket was at first tempted to protest against this sentence, and to falsify judgment, as was then the expression; but the consciousness of his weakness in such a struggle determined him to compromise with his judges: he compromised the affair by paying a fine of 500 pounds of silver to the king.¹⁷

Becket returned to his house with a heart saddened by the disgusts he had just experienced,

¹ Ad pacem faciendam inter regem et archiepiscopum. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 493, ed. Savile.)

² Nisi dominus papa bullâ suâ leges illas confirmasset. (Ibid.)

³ Ut sic per eum posset Cantuariensem archiepiscopum confondere. (Ibid.)

⁴ Tamen concessit ut rex ipse legatus esset totius Angliæ. (Ibid.)

⁵ Rex per indignationem remisit domino papæ litteras legationis suæ. (Ibid.)

⁶ Will. fil. Stephani, p. 33, ed. Sparke.—Vita quadripart., cap. 25, p. 42.—Natus regis iram verit. (Edwardi vita S. Thomæ, apud Surium de probatis sanctorum vitis, &c., p. 337.)

⁷ Rex aliud generale edicit concilium locum designans apud Northamptonam. (Will. fil. Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 23, ed. Sparke.)—Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., cap. 25, p. 46.

⁸ Pœcit rex equos suos hospitari in hospitibus illius. (Rog. de Hoved. Annal., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Donec hospitia sua vacarentur ab equis et hominibus. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Quia rex circa rivos aquarum et fluentia in avibus cœli ludens. (Will. fil. Stephani, vita S. Thomæ, p. 36–38., ed. Sparke.)

¹¹ Licentiam transfretandi. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

¹² Tu prius respondebis mihi de injuriâ quam fecisti Johanni mareseallo meo in curiâ tuâ. (Ibid.)

¹³ Terram quandam de illo tenendam jure hæreditario. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Curiam archiepiscopi falsificaverat. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

¹⁵ Ipse attulit in curiâ meâ quandam *tope*, et juravit super illum, et ipse injuriâ mihi fecit, cum statutum sit in regno. . . (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Judicaverunt eum esse in misericordiâ regis. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Posuit se in misericordiâ regis de quingentis libris, et invenit ei iude fidejussores. (Ibid.)

and fell sick in consequence of his chagrin.¹ The king no sooner received intelligence of this than he hastened to send him a summons to appear, within the term of one day, before the assembly at Northampton, there to render an exact account of the sums of money and all the public revenues of which he had had the management while he was chancellor.² "I am weak and suffering," answered Thomas to the royal officers: "besides, the king knows as well as I do that on the day on which I was consecrated archbishop the barons of his exchequer, and Richard de Lucy, grand-justiciary of England, declared me to be acquitted of every account and of every claim."³ Nevertheless, the legal citation remained in force; but Thomas neglected to obey it, on pretext of his illness. Agents of justice came several times to ascertain his incapacity to perform the journey; they also communicated to him a note of the king's claims, amounting to forty-four thousand marks of silver.⁴ The archbishop offered to pay two thousand marks, to rid himself of these disagreeable proceedings, dishonestly instituted; but Henry II. refused every sort of accommodation. In this affair it was not the sum of money that tempted him. "Either," he would exclaim, "I will cease to be king, or this man shall cease to be archbishop."⁵

The legal term was now expired: it was necessary that Becket should present himself; and, on the other hand, he had been warned that if he appeared in the court it would not be without the risk of his liberty, or possibly of his life.⁶ In this extremity, collecting all his strength of soul, he resolved to go thither and to be firm. On the morning of the decisive day he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen the first martyr, of which the office begins with these words: "The princes have sat in council, and have deliberated against me."⁷ After the mass he clothed himself in his pontifical habit; and, having taken his silver cross from the hands of him who commonly bore it, he set out, carrying it himself in his right hand, and holding his horse's reins in his left.⁸ Alone, and still holding his cross, he arrived in the great hall of assembly, passed through the crowd, and sat down.⁹ Henry II. was then in an inner apartment with his most confidential friends, engaged in discussing in this cabinet council the means of getting rid of the archbishop as quietly as possible.¹⁰ The

¹ *Propter tedium et dolorem.* (Rog. de Hoved., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

² *Statim misit ad eum et summonuit eum per bonos summonitores quod in crastino veniret.* (Ibid.)

³ *Rex scripsit quod in electione mea . . . omnes barones seaccarii et Ricardus de Lucy, justiciarius Angliæ, clamaverunt me quietum.* (Ibid., p. 495.)

⁴ *Quadragesima marcarum millia vel amplius . . . bonæ suæ fidei commissæ . . . regi solvere.* (Episcop. et cleri Angliæ ad Alexandrum papam epist., apud epist. Divi Thomæ, lib. ii. p. 364.)

⁵ *Regem dixisse, quod non amplius in Angliâ simul eritis, ille rex, vos archiepiscopus.* (Willelmi filii Steph. vita S. Thomæ, p. 39, ed. Sparke.)

⁶ *Dictum erat ei et nunciatum, quod si ipse ad curiam regis venisset, vel in carcerem mitteretur, vel interficeretur.* (Rog. de Hoved., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

⁷ *Missam de Sancto Stephano protomartyre cujus officium tale est: Etenim sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur.* (Ibid.)—Wil. fil. Stephani, p. 40, apud hist. Angliæ, script., ed. Sparke.

⁸ *Crucem suam portabat in manu suâ dextrâ, sinistrâ verò tenebat lorum equi.* (Rog. de Hoved., p. 494.)

⁹ *Solus portans crucem suam.* (Ibid.)

¹⁰ *Rex autem erat in secretiori thalamo cum suis familiaribus.* (Ibid.)

news of the kind of unexpected pomp with which he made his entry, disturbed the king and his advisers. One of these, Gilbert Foliot bishop of London, hastily quitted the small apartment, and, going up to the place where Thomas was sitting, "Why," said he, "do you come thus armed with your cross?" So saying, Foliot seized the cross, to take it from him; but the primate firmly kept his hold.¹¹ The archbishop of York then came and joined the bishop of London; and, addressing himself to Thomas à Becket, exclaimed, "It is a defiance to the king, our lord, your coming thus armed to his court; but the king has a sword whose point is sharper than that of your pastoral staff."¹² The other bishops, testifying less violence, contented themselves with advising Thomas, in the name of his own interest, to place his archiepiscopal dignity at the king's mercy; but he hearkened not to their counsel.¹³

While this scene was taking place in the great hall, Henry II. showed great vexation at beholding his adversary under the safeguard of his pontifical ornaments. The bishops, who at the first moment had possibly consented to the projects of violence formed against their colleague, now held their peace, and were careful not to incite the courtiers to lay hands on the stole and cross. The king's counsellors were undetermined as to what resolution should be taken, when one of them raised his voice, and said, "Why should we not suspend him from all his rights and privileges by an appeal to the Holy Father? that is the way to disarm him."¹⁴ This advice, which was received as a new ray of light, pleased the king uncommonly, and by his order the bishop of Chichester, advancing at the head of all the others towards Thomas, addressed him as follows:¹⁵—

"In former time thou wert our archbishop; this day we disown thee: for, after promising fidelity to our common lord the king, and having sworn to maintain his ordinances, thou hast endeavoured to destroy them.¹⁶ We therefore declare thee to be a traitor and a perjurer, and we profess plainly that we are no longer bound to obey him who has perjured himself; we place our cause in the hands of our lord the pope, and cite thee before him to make answer to these charges."¹⁷

To this declaration, made with all the show of legal forms, and with all the emphasis of confidence, Becket made only this short answer, "I hear what you say."¹⁸ The great assembly of the barons then sat, and before it Gilbert Foliot ac-

¹¹ *Qui multum increpavit eum quod sic cruce armatus venit in curiam, et voluit crucem à manibus ejus eripere.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Dicens quod rex gladium habebat acutiorum.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Ut ipse satisfaciens voluntati regis, redderet archiepiscopatum suum in misericordia illius.* (Ibid., p. 495, ed. Savile.)

¹⁴ *Nos, inquit, eum appellabimus coram papâ; sine remedio deponetur.* (Gerv. Cantuar. chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1392, ed. Selden.)

¹⁵ *Que cum plurimum placebant regi, continuo exierunt omnes episcopi ad Cantuarien-em, quorum unus, Ciestretensis episcopus, prorumpens in vocem . . .* (Ibid.)

¹⁶ *Quandoque noster fuisti archiepiscopus, sed quia domino regi fidelitatem jurasti . . .* (Ibid.)

¹⁷ *Ideirco te reum perjuri dicimus, et perjurio episcopo de cætero obedire non habemus, nos itaque et nostra sub domini papæ protectione ponentes, te ad ipsius presentiam appellamus super his responsurum.* (Ibid.)

¹⁸ *Audio inquit Cantuariensis, que dicitis.* (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., ii. col. 1392, ed. Selden.)—Wil. fil. Stephani, p. 44.

Becket sentenced to imprisonment.
He appeals to the pope.
Flies from Northampton.

Repairs to St. Omer.
Embassy to Louis VII.
Henry II.'s letter.

cused the ex-archbishop of having celebrated an impious mass in contempt of the king, under the invocation of the evil spirit;¹ then followed the demand for the accounts of the revenues of the office of chancellor, and the claim of forty-four thousand marks in the name of the king. Becket refused to plead, attesting the solemn declaration of indemnity which had formerly discharged him from all ulterior responsibility.² Then the king, rising, said to the barons and prelates, "By the faith which you owe me, do me speedy justice upon him who is my liege-man, and who, when duly summoned, refuses to answer in my court."³ The Norman barons then gave their votes, and returned against Becket a sentence of imprisonment.⁴ When Robert earl of Leicester, charged with the reading of the sentence, pronounced in French the first words of the prescribed formula, "Oyez-ci le jugement rendu contre vous—" the archbishop interrupted him: "Earl," said he, "I forbid you, in the name of Almighty God, to give judgment here against me, your spiritual father; I appeal to the sovereign pontiff, and cite you before him."⁵

After this sort of counter-appeal to the power which his adversaries themselves had first invoked, Becket rose, and passed slowly through the crowd.⁶ A murmur then arose on all sides, and the Normans exclaimed, "The false traitor! the perjurer! whither is he going? why is he suffered to go in peace! Remain, thou traitor, and hear thy judgment!"⁷ As he was going out Becket turned round, and, looking coolly about him, said, "But that the sacredness of my order forbids me, I could reply with arms to such as call me traitor and perjurer."⁸ He mounted his horse, went to the house where he lodged, had tables prepared for a grand repast, and gave orders to assemble all the poor that should be found in the town.⁹ A great number came, all of whom he invited to eat and drink. He supped with them; and the same night, while the king and the Norman chiefs were prolonging their evening banquet, he quitted Northampton, accompanied by two Cistercian friars, the one of English race, named Skaiman, the other of French origin, called Robert de Caune.¹⁰ After three days' march he reached the fens of Lincolnshire, where he hid himself in a hermit's hut. Thence, in complete disguise, and under the false name of Dereman, the Saxon form of which was a warrant of obscurity, he made his way to Canterbury, and reached the coast near the port of Sandwich.¹¹ It was now the end of November, a season

when the passage across the Straits was exceedingly perilous. The archbishop embarked in a small boat, to avoid all suspicion, and, after running many risks, entered the harbour of Gravelines. Thence he repaired, on foot and ill equipped, to the monastery of St. Bertin, in the town of Saint Omer.¹² (A.D. 1164 to 1165.) On the news of his flight a royal edict was published in all the king of England's provinces on both shores of the Channel. By the terms of this edict all the kindred of Thomas à Becket, whether in the ascending or the descending line, old men, pregnant women, children in the cradle, were condemned to banishment.¹³ All the chattels of the archbishop and his adherents, or presumed adherents, were sequestrated into the king's hands, who made presents of them to such as had proved their zeal in this affair. John bishop of Poitiers, suspected of friendship for the primate and of partiality to his cause, received poison from an unknown hand, and escaped death by mere chance.¹⁴ Royal letters, in which Henry II. called Thomas his adversary, and forbade counsel or succour to be given to him or his, were sent into all the dioceses of England.¹⁵ Other letters, addressed to the count of Flanders and all the great barons of that country, called upon them to seize Thomas, heretofore archbishop, a traitor to the king of England and a fugitive with evil intent.¹⁶ And, lastly, Gilbert Foliot bishop of London, and William earl of Arundel, repaired to Louis VII., at his palace of Compiègne, and presented to him despatches sealed with the great seal of England, and conceived in the following terms:—

"To his lord and friend Louis king of the French, Henry king of England, duke of Normandy, duke of Aquitaine, and count of Anjou:—

"Know that Thomas heretofore archbishop of Canterbury, by public judgment given in my court by the plenary assembly of the barons of my kingdom, has been convicted of fraud, perjury, and treason against me;¹⁷ and has since fled from my kingdom as a traitor and with evil intent.¹⁸ I therefore earnestly pray that you will not permit this man, loaded with crimes, nor any of his adherents, to take up his or their abode within your territories, and that none of your people may lend to my greatest enemy succour, aid, or counsel;¹⁹ for I protest that your enemies and those of your kingdom would not receive any from me or from my people.²⁰ I expect you to assist me in revenging

¹ Nocte in scaphâ intravit in mare. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 64.)

² Omnes homines et feminas, quoscunque invenire potuit de cognatione beati Thomæ Cantuariensis, pueros etiam in cunis vagientes et adhuc ad ubera matrum pendentes. (Reg. de Hoved. Annal., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 500, ed. Savile.)—Mulieres in puerperio decubantes. (Gervas. Cantuar. Act. Pontif. Cantuar., apud Selden., ii. col. 1671.)

³ Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Johan. Pietar. episc., apud rer. Gallie. et Francie. script., xvi. 251.

⁴ Nec habeant aliquod auxilium vel consilium à te. (Litteræ Henrici regis, apud Divi Thomæ epist., lib. i. p. 26.)

⁵ Thomam quondam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 5, p. 67.)

⁶ Ut iniquus et proditor meus et perjurus publicè iudicatus est. (Epist. Henr. Angl. regis ad Ludovicum, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 107.)

⁷ Iniquè decessit. (Ibid.)

⁸ Ne hominem tantorum scelerum et proditorum infamem, in regno vestro, nec à vobis nec à vestris aliquod consilium vel auxilium tantus inimicus meus percipiat. (Ibid.)

⁹ Quia inimicis vestris nec à me, nec à terrâ meâ. (Ibid.)

¹ Quod missam illam celebraverat per artem magicam et pro contemptu regis. (Reg. de Hoved., p. 494, ed. Savile.)

² Ideo amplius volo iudè placitare. (Ibid., p. 495.)

³ Cito facite mihi iudicium de illo qui homo meus ligatus est, et stare juri in curiâ meâ recusat. (Ibid.)

⁴ Iudicaverunt eum capi dignum et in carcerem mitti. (Ib.)

⁵ Prohibeo vobis, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, ne faciatis huius de me iudicium. (Ibid.)

⁶ Sharon Turner's Hist. of England, p. 320.

⁷ Quo proditoris, proditor? Expecta et audi iudicium tuum. (Reg. de Hoved., p. 495.)

⁸ Ipse vero, sic se vertens et austero vultu respiciens, respondit quod nisi ordo sacerdotalis obstaret, in armis bellicis à perjurio et prodicione se contra ipsos defenderet. (Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., ii. col. 1393, ed. Selden.)

⁹ Omnes pauperes quicumque inventi fuerint. (Reg. de Hoved., p. 495.)

¹⁰ Ipse vero cum illis et gente suâ conavit. . . . Dùm rex et alii conarent. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Habitum suum mutavit, et mutato nomine fecit se appellari Dereman, et ita à paucis cognitus per ignotas vias et semitas ad mare properavit. (Ibid.)

my honour and punishing my enemy, as you would that, if need were, I should do the like in your cause."¹

(A.D. 1165.) In his asylum at St. Bertin, Thomas waited to hear the effect of Henry II.'s letters to the king of France and the count of Flanders, in order to know to which side he might turn without peril. "The dangers are numerous; the king has long hands;" wrote the friend whom he had commissioned to try the ground near king Louis and the papal court then established at Sens.² "I have not yet gone down to the Roman church," said the same correspondent, "not having seen what I could obtain therefrom. They will do much against you, and but little for you."³ There will come to them men of power and wealth, lavishing money with both hands, which Rome never despised; and what will the Romans care for us who are poor and friendless?⁴ You bid me offer them two hundred marks; but the adverse party will propose to give them four hundred; and I will answer for it that, from love for the king and respect for his ambassadors, they will prefer taking the greater sum to waiting for the less."⁵ From the very first, the king of France gave Thomas à Becket's messenger a favourable reception; and, after holding a council of his barons, he granted to the archbishop, and his companions in exile, peace and security in his kingdom, adding most graciously that "the protection of exiles against their persecutors was one of the gems adorning the French crown."⁶

As for the pope, who then had no interest in thwarting the king of England, he hesitated for two whole days to receive those who came to Sens from the archbishop; and when they asked of him a letter of invitation for Thomas to his court, he positively refused it.⁷ But, by virtue of the free asylum granted him by the king of France, Becket repaired to the papal court without being invited. There he was received with coldness by the cardinals, who affected to consider him as a turbulent and designing character worthy of a rebuke.⁸ He exposed to them the causes and the whole history of his difference with Henry II. "I do not pique myself on great wisdom," said he, "but I should not be mad enough to stand up against a king for empty nothings. Know that, if I would have done his will in all things, there had not now been in his kingdom any power equal to mine."⁹ The pope, without taking any decided part in the quar-

¹ Sicut velletis quid vobis facerem, si opus esset. (Epist. Henr. Angl. regis ad Ludovicum, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 107.)

² Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Thomam, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 507.

³ Contrà vos facient multa, pauca pro vobis. (Ibid.)

⁴ Venient enim magni viri, divites in effusione pecunie quam nunquam Roma contempsit. Nos humiles, inopes, immaniti. (Ibid.)

⁵ Scribitis ut promittamus ducentas marcas. Ego respondeo pro Romanis quod, pro amore domini regis, mallent plus recipere quam sperare minus. (Ibid.)

⁶ Hoc de pristina dignitate diadematis regum Francorum fore, ut exules et presertim persone ecclesiastica regum et regni securitate et pace perfruantur et à persecutorum injuriâ defendantur. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 7, p. 71.)

⁷ Nuncii ad Thomam epist. apud Divi Thomæ epist., lib. i. p. 33.

⁸ Tepidè quidem exceptus à cardinalibus. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 11, p. 77.)

⁹ Si vellemus suæ per omnia placere voluntati, in suâ potestate vel regno non esset quis. (Ibid.)

rel, gave the fugitive permission to receive succour from the king of France in money and in provisions. He, moreover, permitted him to excommunicate all those who had seized and still kept the goods of his church, with the sole exception of the king, who had presented them with the same.¹⁰ Finally, he asked him to repeat in detail the articles of Clarendon, which pope Alexander had, on king Henry's solicitation, approved, without, as it would appear, being acquainted with them. Alexander this time, however, judged the sixteen articles to be materially contrary to the honour of God and of the holy church. He spoke of them as tyrannical usurpations; he harshly rebuked Becket for the temporary assent which he had formerly given them in pursuance of the injunction of a pontifical legate.¹¹ The pope excepted from his condemnation of the articles of Clarendon only six of them, among which latter was that which deprived serfs of the right of freedom on their becoming priests; and he solemnly pronounced an anathema against the partisans of the ten others.¹²

The archbishop then discoursed on the ancient liberties of the church of Canterbury, for the cause of which he declared that he was willing to devote himself; and, accusing himself of having been obtruded into his see by the royal power, in contempt of those very liberties, he resigned his episcopal dignity into the hands of the pope.¹³ The pope invested him with it afresh, pronouncing these words: "Now go and learn in poverty to be a consoler of the poor."¹⁴ The archbishop was recommended to the superior of the abbey of Pontigny, on the confines of Burgundy and Champagne, to live in that convent simply as a monk. He submitted to everything, took the religious habit of Cîteaux, and began to follow in all its rigour the discipline of the monastic life.¹⁵

(A.D. 1165 to 1166.) In his retirement at Pontigny archbishop Thomas wrote much and received many letters. He received some from the English bishops and the whole body of the Anglo-Norman clergy, which were full of bitterness and irony: "Fame has brought to our ears that, henceforth renouncing the contrivance of plots against your lord and king, you support with humility the state of poverty to which you have been reduced, and that you are redeeming your past life by study and abstinence."¹⁶ We congratulate you, and counsel you to persevere in this good way." The same letter reproached him in humiliating terms with the meanness of his birth and his ingratitude to the king, who, from his condition as a Saxon and a

¹⁰ Epist. Hervei clericus ad Thomam, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 244.

¹¹ Arguens eum et durè increpans. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 11, p. 76.)

¹² Damnavit illos in perpetuum, et anathematizavit omnes qui eas tenerent. (Rog. de Hoved., apud script. rer. Angl. script., p. 496, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Ascendit in ovile Christi, sed non per ipsum ostium, velut quem non canonice vocavit electio, sed terror publicæ potestatis intrusit. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. c. 12, p. 79.)

¹⁴ Ut discas esse pauperum consolator, docente religionis matre ipsâ paupertate. (Ibid., p. 80.)

¹⁵ Non quidem splendide sed simpliciter ut decet exulem et Christi atheniam. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron. ed. selden, li. col. 1398.)

¹⁶ Famâ divulgante pervenit vos in transmarinis, in dominium. Regem nullâ machinatione insurgere, sed sponte susceptum paupertatis onus cum modestâ sustinere. (Cleri Angliam ad Thomam epist., apud Divi Thomæ epist., lib. i. p. 189.)

The primate's partisans.
He excommunicates his enemies.
Rage of the king.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

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man of no account, had elevated him to equal grandeur with himself. Such was the language held respecting Becket by the bishops and the great men of England; such were their invectives against what they called the insolence of an upstart.¹ But by the inferior ranks, whether clergy or laity, he was loved, he was pitied, and, says a contemporary, silent yet fervent prayers were offered up for his success in whatever he should undertake.² In general, he had for adherents all who were hostile to the Anglo-Norman government, whether as subjects by conquest or as political enemies. One of the men who most courageously exposed themselves to persecution to follow him was a Welshman named Cuelin.³ A man of Saxon birth was long in prison on his account: and the poison given to the bishop of Poitiers proves that he was supposed to have zealous adherents in the southern provinces of Gaul, which obeyed with reluctance a king of foreign race. In like manner he had zealous friends in Lower Brittany: but it does not appear that he had very warm partisans in Normandy, where obedience to king Henry was considered as a national duty. As for the king of France, he favoured the antagonist of Henry II. from motives of a less exalted nature, from no real regard for him, but merely to occasion some embarrassment to a political rival.

(A.D. 1166.) In the year 1166 Henry II. crossed over from England to Normandy; and, on hearing of his disembarkation, Thomas left his convent of Pontigny, and repaired to Vezelay, near Auxerre. There, in the presence of the people assembled in the principal church on Ascension-day, he mounted the pulpit, and with the greatest possible state, with the church-bells solemnly rung, and wax tapers lit, the primate pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who maintained the constitutions of Clarendon, as well as against all who unlawfully kept possession of the sequestrated lands and property of the church of Canterbury, and all who kept clerks or even laymen in prison on his account.⁴ Becket moreover pronounced the same sentence, by name, against the Normans Richard de Lucy, Jocelin Bailleul, Alan de Neuilly, Renouf de Broe, Hugh de St. Clair, and Thomas son of Bernard, courtiers and favourites of the king. Henry II. was then at Chinon, a town of his county of Anjou; and, on hearing of this new sign of life given by his adversary, he was suddenly seized by a fit of frantic fury; he exclaimed, in this state of distraction, that it was sought to slay both his body and soul; that he was so unfortunate as to have about him only traitors,⁵ not one of whom thought of delivering him from the molesta-

tions of this single man. He threw his cap on the ground, unbuckled his baldric, threw off his clothes, pulled off the silken coverlet of his bed, and rolled himself in it before all the chiefs, and with his teeth tearing therefrom the flocks of wool and hair.⁶

When he had come a little to himself, he dictated a letter to the pope, reproaching him with protecting the traitors, and sent orders to the clergy of the province of Kent to write in a body to the pontiff that the sentences of excommunication issued by the archbishop were held to be null.⁷ The pope answered the king, begging that he would not communicate his letters to any living soul, that he was ready to give him full satisfaction, and that he had deputed towards him two legates extraordinary, with power to absolve all the excommunicated persons.⁸ And he actually sent into Normandy, under that title and with such powers, the cardinals Wilhelmus and Otho; the former openly sold to the king, the latter ill-disposed towards the archbishop.⁹ While these two ambassadors were traversing France, and publishing on their way that they were going to give satisfaction to the king of England, and to confound his enemy,¹⁰ the pope on his part bade Thomas have full confidence in them, and begged, in return for the care he had taken to choose legates favourable to his cause, that he would use his endeavours with the count of Flanders to obtain from him some alms for the holy Roman church.¹¹

(A.D. 1167.) But the archbishop was warned how little faith he ought to place in the pontiff's assurances; and complained bitterly, in a letter he addressed to the pope himself, of the falsehood that was practised in his regard. "There are people," said he, "who assert that you have intentionally protracted, during an entire year, my exile, and that of my companions in misfortune, in order to make, at our expense, a better treaty with the king.¹² I hesitate to believe it: but, to give me for judges such men as your two legates, is it not administering to me the chalice of the passion and of death?"¹³ In his indignation Thomas sent despatches to the papal court, in which he spoke unreservedly of the king, calling him a malignant tyrant; and these letters were either given up or sold to Henry II. by the Roman chancery.¹⁴ Before they entered, in pursuance of their mission, into conference with the king, the legates invited the archbishop to a private interview; to which he repaired, full of distrust and with scorn that he

⁶ *Pileum de capite projecit, balteum discinxit, pallium et vestes longius abiecit. stratum sericum quod erat supra lectam manu propria removit, et cepit straminis masticare festucas.* (Anonymi ad Thomam epist., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 227.)

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁸ *Litteras verò suas nulli mortalium revelet.* (Summarium epist. Alexandri pape ad Henricum, *ibid.*, xvi. 279.)

⁹ *Epist. Johan. Saresber., ibid.*, xvi. 578.—*Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 22, p. 90.*

¹⁰ *In damnum et confusionem domini Cantuariensis, . . . ad faciendum voluntatem regis.* (*Ibid.*, lib. ii. cap. 22, p. 81.)

¹¹ *Ut à comite Flandriæ aliquam pro ecclesiâ Romanâ elemosynam, . . .* (Summarium epist. Alex. III. ad Thomam, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 279.)

¹² *Quod exilium nostrum prolongasti in annum, ut vobis Anglorum rex confederetur interim.* (Epist. Johan. Saresber., *ibid.*, p. 523.)

¹³ *Nihil aliud est quàm nobis ministrasse calicem passionis et mortis.* (*Ibid.*)

¹⁴ *In literis vestris quas domino pape direxisti et quas modò regi reportasti, regem malignissimum tyrannum nominasti.* (Epist. Johan. Pictav. episc. ad Thomam., xvi. 282.)

¹ *Arbitrantur aliqui . . . quod nescit opus vestrum de superbia, non de virtutis procedere veritate.* (Epist. Arnulphi Lexoviensis episc., apud Acheri Spicilegium, lib. 512.)—*Quorum ope niti, quorum munro consilio, quorum fulciti suffragio debetis à vobis, velut facto agmine, discesserunt.* (*Ibid.*, lib. 513.)

² *Qui in inferioribus sunt gradibus constituti personam vestram summe caritatis brachiis amplexantur, alii, sed in silentio, suspiriis implorantes ut sponsus ecclesie ad gloriam sui nominis felici vota vestra secundet eventum.* (*Ibid.*, p. 514.)

³ *Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 295, notâ.*

⁴ *Candide excommunicavit necensis.* (Math. Paris, i. 105.)—*Epist. B. Thomæ ad episcopos provincie Cantie, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 248.*

⁵ *El corpus et animam pariter auferret: quod omnes prodiiores erant, qui eum ab unius hominis infestatione volebant expestire.* (Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Bartholomeum Exoniensem episc., *ibid.*, p. 519.)

could but ill conceal. The Romans talked to him of nothing but of king Henry's grandeur and power, of the low condition from which the king had raised him, and of how perilous it was for him to brave a man so mighty and so well beloved by the holy church.¹

When they arrived in Normandy the pontifical envoys found Henry II. surrounded by his barons and the Norman prelates of England. The discussion was opened with regard to the causes of the quarrel with the primate; and Gilbert Foliot bishop of London, in a speech, made a statement of the facts. He said that the whole difference arose from a sum of forty-four thousand marks, of which the archbishop obstinately refused to render any account, pretending that his ecclesiastical consecration had freed him from all debts, as baptism frees from all sin.² To these sallies of wit, Foliot added other railleries concerning the excommunications pronounced by Becket, saying that they were not received in England, from a desire of saving fatigue to both horses and men, seeing they were so numerous that forty couriers would not suffice to distribute them all.³ At the moment of breaking up the conference, Henry, in an humble tone, asked the cardinals to intercede for him with the pope, that he might deliver him from the torment which one man had caused him.⁴ As he uttered these words tears came into his eyes; and that cardinal who was manifestly sold to the king wept from sympathy; while his colleague could hardly refrain from laughing.⁵

(A.D. 1168.) When pope Alexander, having concluded a reconciliation with all the Romans upon the death of his rival Victorius, had returned into Italy, he sent letters from Rome to Henry II., in which he announced to him that, decidedly, Thomas à Becket should be suspended from all authority as archbishop until fully restored to the king's favour.⁶ Nearly at the same time there was held at La Ferté-Bernard, in Vendômois, a diplomatic congress between the kings of England and France. There Henry II. publicly showed the pope's letters, saying with a joyful air, "Thank heaven, here is our Hercules without his club.⁷ Henceforward he can do nothing against me or against my bishops, and his great threats are only laughable; for I have the pope and all the cardinals in my purse."⁸ This confidence in the success of his intrigues gave king Henry fresh ardour in persecuting his adversary. The general chapter of Cîteaux, on which the abbey of Pontigny depended, soon received a despatch from Henry II., notifying to the priors of the Cistercian order that

if they wished to keep their possessions in England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, they must cease to shelter his enemy Thomas.⁹ On the receipt of this letter the chapter of Cîteaux were in great alarm; the superior set out for Pontigny with a bishop and several abbots of the same order: there they visited the exiled archbishop, and said to him, in a mild but significant tone,¹⁰ "God forbid that the chapter should dismiss you in consequence of these injunctions addressed to us; but we have come to inform you thereof, that you may, in your prudence, yourself decide on what is to be done."¹¹ Becket answered without hesitation that he would prepare all things for his departure. He quitted his cloister of Pontigny in the month of November, 1168, after a sojourn therein of two years. He then wrote to the king of France to ask of him another asylum; and Louis VII., on receiving his letter, exclaimed, "O religion! religion! what art thou become! Behold, they who call themselves dead unto secular things expel, for the sake of worldly advantages, him who has been exiled from his native land for the service and cause of God!"¹² He granted a gracious reception to the archbishop in his states; but it was evidently through motives of policy that he showed himself on this occasion more humane than the monks of Cîteaux.

(A.D. 1169.) About a year afterwards there was a revival of good understanding between the kings of France and of England. A meeting was mutually agreed upon by the monarchs to take place at Montmirail, in Perche, to agree upon the articles of a truce; for, after the Normans had established their rule in England, there were scarcely any lengthened durations of peace between the two countries.¹³ Frequent assemblies, however, were held in or nigh to the frontier towns of Normandy, Maine, or Anjou; and in these the opposing interests were discussed with the greater facility, as both kings and all the lords of France and of England spoke exactly the same language. Those of the former kingdom conducted Thomas à Becket to the congress of Montmirail. Employing those persuasions to influence him to which his state of dependence on king Louis gave weight, they succeeded in disposing him to an act of submission to the king of England, under their mediation, thereby to effect a reconciliation between Henry and the primate;¹⁴ and the archbishop yielded to their solicitations, although such were possibly interested, as he experienced much of ennui in his long-continued wanderings, as also in receiving his daily subsistence from the bounty of strangers.¹⁵

¹ Adjicientes multa de magnitudine principis, et potentiâ, de amore et honore quem ecclesie Romanæ exhibuit, de familiaritate et gratiâ et beneficiis que in nos exereuit. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 297.)

² Et tibi derisit vos Londoniensis (episcopus), dicens vos credere quòd, sicut in baptismo remittuntur peccata, ita in promotione relaxantur debita. (Anon. ad Thomam epist., xvi. 301.)

³ Et huic officio non sufficere ei quadraginta cursores. (Ibid.)

⁴ Cum multâ humilitate . . . ut liberaret eum à vobis omnino. (Ibid., xvi. 302.)

⁵ Et incontinenti eorum cardinalibus et aliis lacrymatus est, et dominus Willelmus cardinalis visus est lacrymari; dominus Otho vix à cachinno se potuit abstinere. (Ibid.)

⁶ Epist. Alexandri III. ad Henricum, ibid., xvi. 312.

⁷ Ovens quòd Herculi clavum detraxisset. (Ibid.)

⁸ Quâ nunc dominum papam et omnes cardinales habet in bursâ suâ. (Ibid., xvi. 293.)

⁹ Si ulterius adversarium suum apud se retinerent. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. c. 17, p. 85.)—Thomæ ad Alex. papam, et Alexandri ad universos Cisterciensis ordinis fratros epist., apud script. rer. Francic., xvi. 267 et 268.—Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., apud Selden., ii. col. 1400.

¹⁰ Et venerunt festinantes nomine capituli. (Gervas. Cantuar. ibid.)

¹¹ Capitulum propter mandatum tale nec fugat, nec expellit te, nec licentiat, sed tibi et prudenti tuo consilio hoc significat, ut videas et attendas quid agendum. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., ii. col. 1401.)

¹² O religio, ô religio, ubi es? Ecce enim quos credebamus sœculo mortuos . . . Dei causâ exalantem ejicientes à se. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. c. 17, p. 85.)

¹³ Simonis et Ingelberti primum epist. ad Alex. III. papam, apud script. rer. Gall. et Franc., xvi. 333.

¹⁴ Ut se eorum rege humiliaret et rigorem ejus humilitate precum et sedulitate obsequii staderet emollire. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Arctatus regis consilio et omnium archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et baronum, acquievit. (Ibid.)

As soon as the two great antagonists were in presence of one another, Thomas, laying aside his former lofty deportment, bent one knee to the ground, and said to the king, "Sire, all the differences that unto this day have existed between us I here submit to your judgment as sovereign arbiter in all things, saving the honour of God."¹ But, the moment that this fatal reservation fell from Becket's lips, the king, making no account of his humble procedure nor of his suppliant posture, overwhelmed him with a torrent of opprobrious epithets, calling him proud, ungrateful, and bad of heart; then, turning to the king of France, he exclaimed, "Can you not foresee what would happen to me if I were to pass over this reservation? He would pretend that all that pleases me and does not please him is contrary to the honour of God, and by these two words alone would take from me all my rights.² But I will make him one concession.³ Certes, there have been kings in England before me less powerful than I am; and doubtless, also, there have been in the see of Canterbury archbishops more holy than he is. Let him but act towards me as the holiest of his predecessors has done towards the least of mine, and I shall hold myself satisfied."⁴

At this proposal, so evidently ironical, and involving at least as much of mental reservation as Thomas could have put into the clause "saving the honour of God," the whole assembly, Frenchmen and Normans, cried out that it was quite enough, that the king humbled himself sufficiently;⁵ and, as the archbishop continued silent, the king of France in his turn said to him, "Well! what would you have? Here is peace offered you, and placed in your hands."⁶ The archbishop answered calmly that he could not in conscience make peace, give himself up, and alienate his liberty of action, otherwise than saving the honour of God. At these words all present, of both nations, vied with one another in accusing him of inordinate pride, or of *outréissance*, such was then the expression.⁷ One of the French barons exclaimed aloud that he who resisted the counsels and the unanimous voice of the lords of both kingdoms deserved no longer to find an asylum.⁸ The kings remounted their horses without saluting the archbishop, who retired much dejected. No one now offered him on the part of the king of France either lodging or bread; and in his journey back he was reduced to live on the alms of the priests and the people.⁹

¹ *Tuo committo arbitrio, salvo honore Dei.* (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. c. 25, p. 95.)

² *Rex multis ipsum contumellis afficiens . . et ait regi Francie . . quidquid isti displicerit, dicit honori Dei esse contrarium, et sic sua et mea omnia sibi vindicabit.* (Ibid.)

³ *Hæc illi offero.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Quod igitur antecessorum suorum major et sanctorum fecit antecessorum meorum mihi, hoc mihi faciat, et quiesco.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Acclamabatur undique: Satis rex se humiliat.* (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii., cap. 25, p. 96.)

⁶ *Quid dubitas? Ecce pax præ foribus.* (Ibid.)

⁷ *Insurrexerunt itaque magnates utriusque regni in eum, impugnantes arrogantiam archiepiscopi impedimentum pacis.* (Ibid.)

⁸ *Quia archiepiscopus utriusque regni consilio et voluntati resistit.* (Ibid.)

⁹ *Exinde nihil omnino sibi fuit exhibitum . . vel aliquis alius super ejus miseria afflictus, eum exhibuit ut mendicam.* (MSS., eod. Biblioth. regie, 5370, quo continetur Vita quadripart., contractor, citatus apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xiv. 464, in notâ a.)

For his vengeance to be complete, Henry II. had now only to wish for a little more of decision in the counsels of pope Alexander. To obtain from him the deposition of the primate from his see, which was the object of all his measures, he exhausted the resources presented to him by the diplomacy of the age, resources much more extensive than is at this day imagined. The cities of Lombardy, whose national cause was then united with that of the pope against the emperor Frederic, all received messages from the king of England. He offered to the Milanese three thousand marks of silver and the expenses of repairing their walls, which the emperor had destroyed; to the people of Cremona he proposed three thousand marks, to those of Parma one thousand, and the same sum to the Bolognese, if they would engage to solicit from their ally Alexander III. the degradation of Becket, or at least his translation to an inferior episcopal see.¹⁰ Henry, moreover, applied to the Norman lords of Apulia, to use likewise their interest in favour of a king of the same race with themselves. To the pope himself he promised as much money as should be necessary to extinguish the last remains of the schism at Rome, and ten thousand marks more, with liberty to dispose absolutely of the nomination to bishoprics and archbishoprics vacant in England. This last proposal proves that, in his hostility to archbishop Thomas, Henry II. was then pursuing quite a different object from that of diminishing the papal authority.¹¹ Fresh edicts, moreover, forbade, under extremely severe penalties, the permitting any friends or relatives of the exile to land in England, as also the reception of any letters from himself or his friends, or letters from the pope that might be at all favourable to his cause; these were, indeed, greatly to be apprehended in the very possible case of some new diplomatic ruse of the pontifical court.¹²

In order to carry on their correspondence in England in spite of this prohibition, the archbishop and his friends made use of the disguise of Saxon names. These names, on account of the low condition of those who bore them, were less calculated to awaken the jealousy of the Norman authorities. John of Salisbury, who had lost his property through his attachment to the primate, and was one of the most intelligent writers of the age, wrote under the name of Godrik,¹³ and styled himself a knight in the pay of the commune of Milan; and, as the Milanese were then at war with the emperor Frederic, he said in his letters all the ill of Frederic that he wished to be understood of the king of England. The number of persons oppressed by the Norman authorities on this account was greatly augmented by a royal decree couched in the following terms: "If any Welshman, either clerk or lay, shall enter England, unless he have letters of passage from the

¹⁰ *Transmissâ legatione ad Italicâ civitates . . ut impetrarent à papâ et ecclesiâ Romanâ dejectionem vel translationem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.* (Anonymi epist. apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xvi. 602.)

¹¹ *Liberaret eum ab exactionibus omnium Romanorum et decem millia marcarum adjiceret, concedens etiam ut tam in ecclesiâ Cantuariensi quàm in aliis vacantibus in Angliâ pastores ordinaret ad libitum.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Gervas. Cantuar. chron. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1409, ed. Selden.*

¹³ *Godwino filio Eadwini sacerdotis miles suus Godricus salutem.* (Script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xvi. 580, in notis.) — *Qui me in Italiâ donasti cingulo militari.* (Epist. Johan. Saresber., xvi. 581.)

king, he is to be seized and kept in prison; and all the Welsh shall be expelled from the schools of England."¹ To discover the motives of this ordinance, as also to understand clearly what was the point in Thomas à Becket's resistance which so sensibly wounded the interests of the king and of the Anglo-Norman barons, the reader must cast his eyes for a moment on the territories newly conquered from the ancient Cambrian nation.

The country of Wales, encroached on, as has been seen, by invasions on various points, presented at that time the same scenes of oppression and national strife that England had exhibited in the first fifty years of the Conquest.² There were daily insurrections against the conquerors, especially against the priests who had come in the train of the soldiery, and who, being in a manner soldiers themselves under a garb of peace, devoured, together with their kinsmen settled around them, whatever war had spared.³ Forcibly imposing themselves upon the native Welsh as spiritual pastors, they came, by virtue of their commission from a foreign king, to seat themselves in the churches of the ancient prelates formerly elected by the clergy and people of the country.⁴ To receive the sacraments of the church from the hands of a stranger and a foe was an intolerable annoyance to the Welsh, and formed the most cruel of the tyrannical grievances inflicted on them by the Conquest. From the moment, therefore, that the English archbishop Becket opposed himself to the views and policy of the king of England, the national opinion of the Welsh declared itself strongly for the archbishop; first, for the popular reason that each enemy of one's own enemy is one's friend; and next, because a prelate of English race, struggling against the power of the grandson of the Conqueror of England, seemed in some sort the representative of the religious rights of all men forcibly subjected to the Norman rule.⁵ Although Thomas à Becket was completely a stranger to the Cambrian nation, in affection as well as in birth; although he had never testified the smallest interest for it, yet that nation loved him; and it would in like manner have loved any stranger who, by a remote possibility of benefiting it, even indirectly and without any ostensible good will, might revive its hope of one day obtaining the re-establishment of priests born in Wales and speaking the language of the country.

This patriotic sentiment, rooted in the hearts of the inhabitants of Wales, manifested itself with invincible pertinacity in those ecclesiastical chapters which consisted partly of foreigners and partly of natives. It was hardly ever possible to determine the latter to give their suffrages to a man who was not of pure Welsh race without any mixture of

foreign blood;⁶ and, as the choice of such candidates was never confirmed by the royal power of England, while, on the other hand, nothing could conquer the obstinacy of the voters, there was a sort of perpetual schism in most of the Cambrian churches, a schism better founded in reason than some that have been more famous.⁷ Thus, to the cause of Becket, whatever may have been the impulse that prompted his actions, whether it were ambition, or love of resistance, or stubbornness in his determinations, or conviction of religious duty, or a dim and ill-defined consciousness of national hostility, there now allied itself a cause more worthy than his own, that of the several races of men enslaved by the ancestors of that monarch to whom the primate had declared himself inimical. This it is which has raised this great intrigue to a higher rank in history than the ordinary disputes between the crown and the mitre.

Meanwhile the archbishop, forsaken by the king of France, and reduced to subsist on alms, was sojourning at Sens in a sorry hostelry. One day, when he was sitting in the public room of the inn conversing with his companions in exile,⁸ a servant of Louis VII. presented himself and said to them, "The king my master invites you to repair to his court." "Alas!" exclaimed one of the company, "it is doubtless for the purpose of banishing us. Thus the entrance of two kingdoms will be forbidden us; and we can expect no succour from those Roman robbers, whose only care it is to steal the spoils of the innocent and the unfortunate."⁹ They followed the messenger, sad and anxious, like men foreseeing some disaster. But, to their great surprise, the king received them with extraordinary marks of affection, and even of tenderness. He wept as he saw them approach;¹⁰ and he said to Thomas, "You, father, you alone saw clearly; we were all blind in giving counsel to you against God. I repent, father, I repent myself, and promise henceforward never to be wanting to you or to yours."¹¹ The true cause of this speedy return to a sentiment of commiseration, and of this lively interest, was that the king of France meditated a fresh war against Henry II. The pretext for this war was that the king of England had exercised a savage vengeance upon such of the refugee Bretons and Poitevins as the French monarch had delivered into his hands, on the condition of their being restored to favour, or meeting with the royal clemency. It is probable that, on signing the peace of Montmirail, king Louis had no expectation of this clause being duly observed,

¹ Dici poterit quòd ubiqueque Walenses liberas ad eligendum habenas haberint, nunquam quoniam præter Walensem sibi præficient, et illum gentibus aliis neque naturâ nec nutriturâ nec natione sed nec educatione permixtum. (Girald. Camb. de jure et statu Menevens. ecclies., Anglia sacra, ii. 522.)

² Schismate in ecclesiâ facto . . in purum Walensem consenserunt. (Ibid.)

³ Sedente archiepiscopo cum suis in hospitio, dôm confabularentur . . (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 27, p. 98.)

⁴ Ut ejiciamur à regno. Nec ad Romanos latrones nos expedit recurrere; quippe qui miserorum spolia diripiunt. (Ibid.)

⁵ Obortis lacrymis projecit se ad pedes archiepiscopi cum singultu. (Gervasi Cantuar. chron., apud Selden, ii. col. 1406.)

⁶ Verè, domine mi pater, tu solus vidisti; verè, pater mi, tu solus vidisti; nos omnes cæci fuimus, qui contra Deum tibi dedimus consilium . . peniteo, pater, et graviter peniteo. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 27, p. 99.)

¹ Nisi habeat litteras domini regis de passagio suo . . et omnes Wallenses qui sunt in scholis in Angliâ ejiciantur. (Gervasi Cantuar. Chron., apud Selden, ii. col. 1409.)

² See Book viii.

³ Plus militaris in multis quàm clericalis existens. (Girald. Cambrensis de jure et statu Menevens. ecclies., Anglia sacra, ii. 535.)—Quo morbo laborant ferè singuli ab Angliâ furtibus hic intrusi; terras ecclesiæ suæ alienavit ut ubi militibus . . manu amplissima largiretur . . nepoti suo contulit. (Ibid., ii. 534.)

⁴ Advenæ et alienigenæ. (Id. ibid. passim.)

⁵ Ecclesiasticam namque libertatem olim in regno perditam quam dictus martyr egregius cepit ad hoc gladii exponens. (Girald. Cambrensis de rebus à se gestis; Anglia sacra, ii. 523.)

as it seemed to have been inserted, as an article, simply from a sense of shame; but shortly after, when Henry II. had already put the most wealthy among the Poitevins to death, the king of France, influenced by certain motives of personal interest that tempted him to renew the war, made Henry's disloyal conduct as to the refugees¹ his plea; and his first overt act of hostility was to afford renewed protection and succour to Becket. Henry II. complained by an express message of this flagrant violation of the treaty of Montmirail: "Go," replied the king of France to the messengers, "and tell your king that, if he holds to the customs of his grandfather, I may well hold to my hereditary right of succouring the exiled."²

The archbishop, thereupon resuming the offensive, reiterated his sentences of excommunication against the king of England's courtiers, servants, and chaplains, and in particular against such as detained the property of the archbishopric of Canterbury. He excommunicated so great a number that, in their doubt whether the sentence was not secretly ratified by the pope, there was no longer any one in the king's chapel who at the celebration of the mass dared to give him the kiss of peace.³ Thomas addressed, moreover, to Henry bishop of Winchester, brother of king Stephen, and as such a secret enemy to Henry II., an interdict, forbidding throughout England the performance of all religious ceremonies except baptism of infants and confession of the dying, unless the king of England within an appointed time gave satisfaction to the church of Canterbury.⁴ One English priest, in pursuance of this command, refused to celebrate mass: but his archdeacon imperatively ordered him so to do, adding, "If some one were to come from the archbishop, and tell you to give over eating, would you therefore cease to eat?"⁵ The sentence of Interdict, not having been assented to by a single bishop in England, was not carried into effect, and the bishop of London set out to repair to the court of Rome, being the bearer of letters and presents from the king.⁶ He brought back, after paying a handsome sum for it, an authentic declaration affirming that the pope had not ratified, and did not purpose to ratify, the sentences of excommunication issued by the archbishop. The pope himself wrote to Becket, commanding him to revoke those sentences without delay.⁷

But the court of Rome, careful on all occasions to exact personal sureties, required that the excommunicated, on receiving absolution, should take an oath never to separate from the apostolic church.⁸ All of them, and especially the chaplains, would willingly have consented, but the king did

not permit them, for he preferred leaving them under the sword of St. Peter⁹ to depriving himself of a means of annoying the Roman church. To terminate this new difference, two legates, Vivian and Gratian, repaired to Henry at Domfront. He was hunting at the time of their arrival, and immediately left the forest to visit them at their lodgings.¹⁰ During his interview with them the whole troop of hunters, with young Henry the king's eldest son at their head, came to the hotel of the legates, shouting and blowing the horn to announce the taking of a stag.¹¹ The king very cavalierly broke off his conversation with the Roman envoys, went out to the hunters, complimented them on their prize, said he made them a present of the animal, and then went back to the legates, who appeared not at all offended by this odd incident, nor by the levity with which the king of England treated them and the object of their mission.

A second conference took place in the park of Bayeux, whither the king repaired on horseback, with several bishops of England and of Normandy. After a few insignificant words he asked the legates if they decidedly would not absolve his courtiers and chaplains without taking the oath.¹² The legates answered that it could not be. "By the eyes of God!" replied the king, "never more while I live will I hear speak of the pope;"¹³ and he called in haste for his horse. The legates, after making some show of further resistance, granted all that he wished.¹⁴ "So then," returned Henry, "you will now go over to England, in order that the excommunication may be taken off with the greatest possible solemnity."¹⁵ The legates hesitated to answer. "Well!" said the king sharply, "do what you please; but know that I make no account of either you or your excommunications; I care no more for them than I do for an egg."¹⁶ So saying, he suddenly mounted his horse; but the Norman archbishops and bishops ran after him, crying out, to persuade him to dismount and begin the conference anew. "I know, as well as you, all that it is in their power to do," said the king, still riding on; "they will lay my territories under Interdict; but think you that I, who can reduce a strong fortress in a single day, shall not make any priest answer for daring to proceed to my kingdom to lay it under Interdict!"¹⁷ The minds of all at length becoming calmer, a new discussion was come to on the king's difference with Thomas à Becket. The legates said that the pope wished an end to be put to that scandal, that he would do much for the sake of peace, and would engage to render the archbishop more docile and tractable. "The pope is my spiritual father," the king then

¹ See Book viii.—Quod rex Angliæ omnes conventiones illas quas cum Pictavis et Britonibus, ipso rege Francorum mediante, fecerat, confregisset. (Gervasi Chron., apud Selden, li. col. 1406 et 1407.)

² *Ite regi vestro nuntiantes, quia si rex Angliæ consuetudines, avitas quas vocat consuetudines, non sustinet abrogari, ego ..* (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. ii. cap. 28, p. 100.)

³ *Ut vix in capellâ regis inveniretur qui regi, de more ecclesie, pacis osculum dare valeret.* (Gervasi Chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ed. Selden, li. col. 1407.)

⁴ Epist. B. Thomæ ad Winton. episcop., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 388.

⁵ *Sacerdos cessaret à comestione, si nuncius dixisset ei ex parte archiepiscopi ne comederet?* (Willelmi ad Thomam epist., apud rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 357.)

⁶ Epist. B. Thomæ ad Johan. Neapolitanum, xvi. 392.

⁷ Epist. Alexandri pape ad Thomam, xvi. 268.

⁸ Anonymi ad Thomam epist., xvi. 370.

⁹ *Gladius beati Petri, spiculum beati Petri.*

¹⁰ *Venit rex de nemore.* (Anonymi ad Thomam epist., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 370.)

¹¹ *Rucinantibus sicut solet de captione cervi.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Petens ab eis quod absolvent sine juramento clericos suos.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Per oculos Dei!* (Ibid.)

¹⁴ *Quo audito, archiepiscopi et episcopi quotquot erant, ad nuncios venerunt, et supplicaverunt eis quod hoc facerent, ipsi verò cum summâ difficultate concesserunt.* (Ibid.)

¹⁵ *Quod ipsi irent in Angliam causâ absolventi excommunicatos.* (Ibid., xvi. 371.)

¹⁶ *Facite quod vultis, ego neque vos neque excommunicationes vestras appetit, nec dubito unum ovum.* (Ibid.)

¹⁷ *Scio, scio, interdicit terram meam; sed nunquid ego qui possum capere singulis diebus castrum fortissimum potero capere unum clericum si interdixerit terram meam?* (Ibid.)

replied, quite softened; "and I, on my part, will consent to do much at his request:¹ I will even, if required, restore to him of whom we speak his archbishopric and my royal favour, both to him and to all who have incurred banishment from my states on his account."² The interview in which the precise terms of peace were to be agreed on was fixed for the next day; but in that conference king Henry began to practise the expedient of reservations, for which he had himself reproached the archbishop, and wished to have it inscribed that he should be bound to nothing otherwise than saving the honour and dignity of his kingdom.³ The legates refused to accede to this unexpected clause; but their temperate refusal, while it suspended the decision of the affair, did not disturb the good understanding which now existed between them and the king. They gave full power to Rouen archbishop of Rouen, to go by the pope's authority and release Gilbert Foliot bishop of London from the excommunication.⁴ At the same time they sent letters to archbishop Thomas, recommending to him, in the name of the obedience he owed to the church, humility, mildness, and circumspect conduct towards the king.⁵

It will be recollected with what care William the Bastard and his counsellor Lanfranc had laboured to establish, for the maintenance of the order established by the Conquest, the absolute supremacy of the see of Canterbury. It will be recollected, also, that one of the privileges annexed by them to that supremacy was, the exclusive right of consecrating the kings of England, lest the metropolitan of York should be some day led, by the rebellion of the people of his diocese and province, to oppose a Saxon king, anointed and crowned by him, to the kings of the conquering race.⁶ As that danger no longer existed after a century's possession of the kingdom, the politicians of the court of Henry II., in order to diminish and enfeeble the high powers of Becket, resolved to have a king of England consecrated and crowned without the participation of the primate of Canterbury.⁷

(A.D. 1170.) In order to execute this design king Henry presented his eldest son to the Anglo-Norman barons; he stated to them that, for the good of his extensive provinces, it was now become necessary that he should have a colleague to participate in the executive government, and that he desired to see his son Henry decorated with the same royal style and title as himself.⁸ The barons opposed no obstacle to their king's intentions; and the young man received the royal unction from the hands of the archbishop of York, assisted by the suffragans of the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the abbey church of Westminster, which was immediately dependent on that archbishopric. All these circumstances constituted, according to

the ecclesiastical code, a complete violation of the privileges of the English primacy.⁹ At the banquet which followed this coronation the king chose to wait on his son at table, saying, in the overflowing of his paternal joy, that from that day forward the royalty ceased to belong to him.¹⁰ He did not foresee that within a few years these words, which he then so lightly dropped, would be cited against himself, and that his own son would summon him no longer to bear the title of king, seeing that he had solemnly abdicated it.

This violation of the ancient rights of the primacy of Canterbury did not take place without the pope's assent; for before undertaking it Henry II. had provided himself with an apostolical letter, authorising him to have his son consecrated as he chose, and by whom he chose;¹¹ but, as this letter was to remain secret, the Roman chancery made no scruple of sending to Thomas à Becket another letter, also secret, in which the pope protested that the coronation of the young king by the archbishop of York had been performed without his concurrence, and that it was also contrary to his orders that the bishop of London had been relieved from his excommunication.¹² At these manifest misrepresentations Thomas lost all patience; he addressed to a Roman cardinal named Albert, in the name of himself and his fellow exiles, a letter full of reproaches, the asperity of which passed all bounds: "I know not how it happens that in your court of Rome it is always the cause of God which is sacrificed; so that Barabbas is saved, and Christ is put to death."¹³ The seventh year is now arrived in which by the authority of that court I am still proscribed, and the church still suffering. The unfortunate, the exiled, the innocent, are condemned before you for no other reason than that they are weak, that they are the poor in Jesus Christ, and that they abide by justice.¹⁴ I know that the king's envoys distribute or promise my spoils to the cardinals and courtiers: but let the cardinals rise up against me if they will; let them arm against me not only the king of England, but the whole world for my ruin, I will never swerve from the fidelity due to the church either in life or in death, placing my cause in the hands of God, for whom I am suffering proscription and exile.¹⁵ It is my firm purpose never more to importune the pontifical court. Let those repair thither who seek profit from their iniquities, and return thence glorious for having oppressed the righteous cause and made innocence captive."¹⁶

These energetic accusations were insufficient to prevail on the transalpine diplomacy to yield a single step in its measures of policy; but some positive threats from the king of France, who was

⁹ Vit. B. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 31, p. 103.

¹⁰ Post coronationem, celebrato convivio, pater filio dignatus est ministrare, et se regem non esse protestari. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alexandrum III., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 414.

¹² Ibid., 430.

¹³ Nescio quo pacto pars Domini semper maclatur in curiâ. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Albertum cardinalem, xvi. 416.)

¹⁴ Condemnantur apud vos miseri exiles, innocentes, nec ob aliud nisi quia pauperes Christi sunt et imbecilles. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Nonne nostra spolia que nunciis regis cardinalibus et curialibus largiuntur et promittunt? . . . Insurgant qui voluerint cardinales. (Ibid. 417.)

¹⁶ Non est mihi ulterius propositum vexandi curiam; eam adeant qui . . . Utinam via Romana non gratis peremisset tot miseros innocentes? (Ibid.)

¹ Oportet me facere multum pro prece domini Papæ, qui dominus et pater meus est. (Ibid.)

² Et ideo reddo ei archiepiscopatum suum et pacem meam; et omnibus qui pro eo exirâ terram sunt. (Ibid., xvi. 371.)

³ Quod in formâ pacis scriberetur, salvâ dignitate regni sui. (Ibid.)

⁴ Epist. Alexandri pape ad Rotomag. et Niveru. episc., xvi. 413.

⁵ Viviani legati ad Thomam epist., xvi. 393.

⁶ See Book v. p. 98.

⁷ In odium archi-presulis et in lesionem dignitatis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 31, p. 102.)

⁸ Epist. B. Thomæ ad Winton. episc., xvi. 422.

⁹ Convocatis regni proceribus. (Vit. B. Thomæ loc. cit.)

then in open rupture with the rival monarch, gave efficacious support to the exile's remonstrances. Louis VII. addressed the pope as follows: "I expect that you will at length relinquish your deceitful and dilatory proceedings."¹ Pope Alexander, who said of himself that he was placed like an anvil between two hammers² (for so he called the two kings), seeing that the hammer of France was lifted to strike him, began again very suddenly to think that the cause of the archbishop was really the cause of God. He forwarded to Thomas a brief of suspension for the archbishop of York and for all the prelates who had assisted at the coronation of the young king; and even went so far as to threaten Henry II. with ecclesiastical censures if he did not promptly enforce the rights of the primate against the courtiers who detained his property and the bishops who usurped his privileges.³ Henry II., really alarmed at the good intelligence then subsisting between the pope and the king of France, yielded for the first time; but his doing so was through motives of interest that actuated him, and not through any dread of a banished prelate, whom all his temporary protectors abandoned and betrayed whenever any of them pleased to do so.

The king of England announced that he consented to enter definitively into negotiations for peace. The archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury strove to dissuade him from this design: "labouring with all their might to prevent any conciliation, they told the king that peace would be of no advantage to him unless the donations made out of the bishopric of Canterbury were confirmed;"⁴ "And," said they, "it is known that the annulling these royal gifts will be the principal article in the archbishop's demands." Weighty reasons of foreign policy determined Henry II. not to yield to these counsels, although they were in perfect accordance with his personal hatred against Becket. The negotiations commenced; and letters were exchanged between the king and the archbishop, indirectly and through the hands of a third party, as between two contracting powers. One of Thomas's letters, drawn up in the form of a diplomatic note, is worthy of citation as a curious specimen of the diplomacy of the middle ages. "The archbishop," said Becket, speaking of himself, "strongly urges that if the reconciliation take place the king shall publicly give him the kiss of peace; for this formality is of solemn usage in all nations and all religions, and nowhere is any peace concluded without it between persons formerly enemies."⁵ The kiss of any other than the king, as of his son for instance, would not fulfil this end; for it might thence be inferred that the archbishop had returned into favour with the son rather than the father; and if once this were rumoured, what resources would it not furnish to the malevolent!⁷

¹ Nè ulterius dilaciones frustratorias prorogaret. (B. Thomæ vita, lib. ii. cap. 32, p. 104.)

² Inter duos malleos positus. (Epist. Johan. Salisburiensis, apud script. rer. Francic., xvi.)

³ Epist. Alex. pape ad episc. Cantie, *ibid.*, xiv. 449.

⁴ Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiv. 463.

⁵ Concordiam regno inutilem fore, nisi. . . (*Ibid.*)

⁶ Quæ forma solemniss est in omni gente et in omni religione, et citrà quam nusquam pax antea dissidentium confertur. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Bernard. Nivern. episc., xvi. 424.)

⁷ Vicario filii regis osculo. . . quod verbum si semel auferetur in turbâ. . . (*Ibid.*)

The king, too, might assert that his refusal to give the kiss meant that he did not pledge himself cordially, and might in the end break his word without believing himself to be branded with infamy.⁸ Besides, the archbishop remembers what happened to Robert de Silly and the other Poitevins, who made their peace at Montmirail: they were received into favour by the king of England with the kiss of peace; yet neither this mark of sincerity publicly given, nor the consideration due to the king of France as mediator in that affair, had power to secure to them either peace or life.⁹ It is not, then, asking too much to require at least this guarantee, which itself affords so little security."¹⁰

(A.D. 1170.) On the 22d of July of this year a solemn congress was held in an extensive meadow between Freteval and La Ferté-Bernard, for the double pacification of the king of France with the king of England, and of the latter with Thomas à Becket.¹¹ Thither the archbishop repaired; and when, after the discussion of political affairs, his own came under consideration, he had a conference with his royal adversary apart and in the open field. The archbishop asked the king in the first place that he might be permitted to punish the injury done to the dignity of his church by the archbishop of York and by his own suffragans. "The coronation of your son by another than myself," said he, "was an enormous breach of the ancient rights of my see." "Yet who," replied the king, "crowned my great-grandfather William, the Conqueror of England? Was it not the archbishop of York?"¹² Becket answered that "at the moment of the Conquest the church of Canterbury was without a lawful pastor; that it was, as it were, in captivity under one Stigand, an archbishop reprobated by the pope; and that, in such emergency, it was necessary that the prelate of York, who had a better title, should crown the Conqueror."¹³ After this historical citation, the justness of which the reader can appreciate, and some further discussion, the king promised to redress all Thomas's grievances; but as for the demand of the kiss of peace, he politely declined it, saying to the archbishop, "We shall soon meet again in England, and there we will embrace."¹⁴ At the moment of parting from the king Becket saluted him by bending his knee; and, by a return of courtesy which astonished all present, Henry II., when the primate re-mounted, arranged and held his stirrup.¹⁵ The following day there was thought to be observable between them some return of their old familiarity.¹⁶

⁸ Rex, sub prætextu negati osculi, crederetur exemptus infamie. (*Ibid.*)

⁹ Redeat in memoriam Robertus de Silliacco, et alii qui. . . quibus si nec osculum publicè datum verum contulit pacem. . . (*Ibid.*)

¹⁰ Solemnem exigit cautionem. (*Ibid.*)

¹¹ In prato amoenissimo. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 107.)

¹² Quis, inquit, coronavit regem Willelmum, qui sibi Angliam subjugavit? Nonne Eboracensis? (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 429.)

¹³ Quâ necessitate tunc, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, qui erat clarioris opinionis, illi regi coronam imposuit. (*Ibid.*)—See Books iii. and iv.

¹⁴ In terrâ meâ. . . ejus osculabor os. (Will. fil. Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 68, apud. hist. Anglie, script., ed. Sparke.)

¹⁵ Staphum archiepiscopi arripiens, eum levavit in equum. (Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., ed. Selden, ii. col. 1412.)

¹⁶ Secundùm morem familiaritatis antique. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III. papsm, xvi. 441.)

The king's messengers carried to young Henry, his father's colleague and his lieutenant in his absence, letters couched in these terms: "Know that Thomas of Canterbury has made his peace with me, to my full satisfaction: I command you therefore to cause him and his to hold all their possessions freely and peaceably."¹ The archbishop returned to Sens to prepare for his journey; and his friends, poor and dispersed in different places, prepared their slender baggage; after which they went together to pay their respects to the king of France, who (to use their own words) had not spurned them when all the world abandoned them.² Louis VII. thus addressed Becket: "You are resolved to set out: I would not for my weight in gold have counselled you to do so. If you will believe me, trust yourself not in your king's hands until you have received from him the kiss of peace."³

Several months had already elapsed since the reconciliatory interview, yet, notwithstanding the ostensible despatches sent to England by the king, nothing was yet heard of the detainers of the property of the church of Canterbury having been compelled to make restitution; on the contrary, they publicly made a jest of the simplicity of the primate in believing that he was restored to favour. Ranulph de Broc, the Norman, went so far as to say that if the archbishop came to England he would not have time to eat a whole loaf there.⁴ Thomas received also letters from Rome, apprising him that the king's peace was a peace in words only, and recommending to him for his own safety to be humble, patient, and circumspect.⁵ He solicited of the king a second interview, for the obtaining of explanations concerning these new grounds of complaint; and the meeting took place at Chaumont, near Amboise, under the auspices of the count of Blois. On this occasion there was nothing but coldness in the behaviour of Henry II., and those in his train affected not to look at the archbishop.⁶ The mass which was celebrated in the royal chapel was a mass in the office for the dead, and had been purposely chosen because in that office those present did not customarily offer one another the kiss of peace at the Gospel.⁷ The archbishop and the king before they separated proceeded some distance in company, each loading the other with expressions of bitterness and reproach.⁸ At the moment of parting, Thomas fixed his eyes upon Henry in an expressive manner, and

said to him with a sort of solemnity, "I believe that I shall never see you again." "Do you take me, then, for a traitor?" the king warmly replied, guessing the meaning of those words. The archbishop bowed, and departed.⁹

In the last conversations which they had had together on the day of the reconciliation, Henry II. had promised to go to Rouen to meet the primate, there to defray all the debts which he had contracted in exile, and then to accompany him to England, or at least to send with him the archbishop of Rouen. But on his arrival at Rouen Becket found neither the king nor the money which had been promised, nor any order transmitted to the archbishop to accompany him.¹⁰ He borrowed three hundred pounds, and by means of that sum set off towards the coast in the vicinity of Boulogne. It was the month of November, the season of storms at sea; and the primate and his companions were obliged to wait some days at the port of Wissant, near Calais. Once, when they were walking on the shore, they were approached by a man whom they took for the master of the ship coming to desire them to make ready to embark;¹¹ but this person told them that he was a clerk and dean of the church of Boulogne; that he came from his lord the count to warn them not to embark, for troops of armed men were keeping watch on the English coast, to seize upon or to kill the archbishop.¹² "My son," replied Thomas to the messenger, "though I were certain that I should be torn limb from limb and cut in pieces on the opposite shore, I would not stop in my way: seven years' absence is quite enough for the pastor and for the flock."¹³ The travellers embarked; but, turning to some account the information they had just received, they avoided landing at a frequented port, and went on shore in the bay of Sandwich, at that point of the coast nearest to Canterbury.¹⁴

Notwithstanding their precautions, it was rumoured that the archbishop had disembarked near Sandwich. Immediately the Norman Gervas, viscount of Kent, marched towards that town, with all his men-at-arms, accompanied by Ranulph de Broc and Reginald de Warenne, two powerful barons, and Becket's most deadly enemies.¹⁵ It is remarkable that on receipt of the same intelligence the townspeople of Dover, men of English race, also took up arms to succour the archbishop; and that the townsmen of Sandwich likewise armed themselves when they saw the Norman horsemen approaching.¹⁶ "If," said the viscount Gervas, "he has had the effrontery to land, I will cut off

¹ Sciatis quod Thomas Cantuariensis pacem mecum fecit ad voluntatem meam . . . faciatis habere ei et suis res suas bene et in pace. (Gervasil Chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1413, ed. Selden.)

² Pro ut adhuc pauperes et exules poterant . . . qui, deserente eos mundo, tam benignè eos susceperat. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii., cap. 3, p. 110.)

³ Quod pro tantâ quantitate auri, quantus ipse est, non consuleret ut terram ejus, nisi prius accepto publicè pacis osculo, ingrederemur. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Willelmum Senonens. archiep., xvi. 400.)

⁴ Ranulphus de Broc glorians est quod non diù gaudebitus de pace vestrà, quia non comedemus panem integrum in Angliâ antequam ille, ut minatur, nobis auferat vitam. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Henricum, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 460.)

⁵ Pacem cum Angliæ rege factam, in solis verbis consistere. (Petri Cardinal. epist. ad Thomam, *ibid.*, xvi. 455.)

⁶ Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii., cap. 2, p. 109.

⁷ Ne si fortè archiepiscopus alii missæ interesset, in missa osculum pacis sibi offerret. (*Ibid.*)

⁸ Tuler viandum mutuo se invicem objurgantes, uterque vicissim alter alteri collata pridem beneficia improperavit. (*Ibid.*)

⁹ Dicit mihi animus quod sic discedo à vobis, quasi quem amplius in hæc vitâ non videbitis. Rex: habes me proditorum? (Will. fl. Stephani vita S. Thomæ, p. 71, apud hist. Angl. script. ed. Sparke.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Tanquam ad nauticum exigendum properantem. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii., cap. 3, p. 110.)

¹² Provide tibi, parati sunt qui querent animam tuam, porius transmarinis obsidentes, ut exeuntem te à navi rapiant et trucident. (*Ibid.*)

¹³ Crede, fili, nec si membratim decerpendus sim . . . sufficiat gregem pastoris sui absentiam luxisse septennem. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁴ Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii., cap. 4, p. 112.

¹⁵ . . . Arreptis armis, satellites plurimi cum festinatione Sandwicum petierunt. (Gervasil chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1413, Selden.)

¹⁶ Audito armorum adventu, homines de villâ cucurrerunt ad arma, pro domino suo et pastore si necesse esset pug-nare volentes. Idem fecerunt burgenses Dovorin. (*Ibid.*)

Becket welcomed by the people.
Commanded to quit London.
Returns to Canterbury.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Confined to his church.
Is sensible of his peril.
Excommunication of prelates.

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his head with my own hand."¹ The ardour of the Normans was somewhat abated by the attitude of the people: they however advanced with their swords drawn, and John dean of Oxford, who accompanied the archbishop, ran to meet them, exclaiming, "What would you do? Put up your swords. Would you have the king pass for a traitor?"² The multitude was increasing: the Normans sheathed their swords, contented themselves with visiting the archbishop's chests to search for any briefs of the pope, and returned to their castles.³

On the whole of the way from Sandwich to Canterbury the peasants, the artisans, and the tradesmen, came to meet the archbishop, saluting him, shouting, and flocking together in great numbers; but not one man of wealth, not one person of distinction, not one man of Norman origin, congratulated the exile on his return;⁴ on the contrary, they removed from the places through which he had to pass; they shut themselves up in their strongholds, and circulated from castle to castle the alarm that Thomas à Becket was setting free the serfs of the fields and the tributaries of the towns, and parading them in his train drunk with joy and frenzy.⁵ From his episcopal city the primate repaired to London, to salute the son of Henry II. All the townspeople of the great city crowded into the streets as he passed: but a royal messenger came in the young king's name to bar his way, and communicate to him a formal order to return to Canterbury, and not again to quit it.⁶ At that moment a citizen of London, who had grown rich by trade notwithstanding the Norman exactions, advanced toward Becket to offer him his hand. "What!" said the messenger to him, "are you too going to the king's enemy?"⁷ The archbishop received with disdain the injunction to retrace his steps, and said that he would not do so but that he was called back to his church by a great approaching solemnity.⁸ The time of Christmas was near: Thomas returned to Canterbury, surrounded by poor people, who, at their own peril, armed themselves with rusty shields and lances to defend him on the road. Different attempts at insult were made on the way, to irritate those who escorted him, and make them engage in a quarrel, in order that the king's soldiers might have a pretext for hostile interference, and so kill the archbishop with less of scandal in the midst of the tumult. But the English suffered all provocations with an imperturbable coolness.⁹ The order communi-

cated to the primate to confine himself within the precincts of his church and its immediate appurtenances was published in the towns by sound of trumpet, as an edict of the executive authority: other edicts declared that whosoever should look upon him with a gracious countenance should be deemed enemies of the king and the kingdom.¹⁰ A great many citizens of London were cited before the Norman judges to answer the charge of treason against the king, on account of the favourable reception of the archbishop in their city.¹¹ When he learnt all these manoeuvres of the men in power, Becket foresaw that his end was approaching. He wrote to the pope to ask him to have said, at his instance, the prayers for the dying.¹² He ascended the pulpit; and, before the people assembled in the great church of Canterbury, delivered a sermon on this text: "I am come unto you, to die in the midst of you."¹³

We must not forget to say that the court of Rome, according to its constant policy of never letting a quarrel in which it could interfere be completely extinguished, after sending the archbishop orders to absolve the prelates who had crowned the king's son, had given him fresh permission to excommunicate the prelate of York and suspend all the rest.¹⁴ It was Henry II. who was this time sported with by the pope; for the former was entirely ignorant that at his departure for England Thomas was provided with such letters.¹⁵ He had at first proposed to use them simply as a comminatory instrument, to constrain his enemies to capitulate; but the fear that his papers would be seized on his disembarkation subsequently determined him to send them off before him;¹⁶ so that the pope's letter and the new sentence of excommunication were made public too soon. The anger of the bishops, who were thus struck at by surprise, passed all bounds. The prelate of York and several others made haste to cross the Channel; they repaired to Henry II. in Normandy, and, presenting themselves before him, they said, "We supplicate you in the cause of your kingdom and of the prelates thereof;¹⁷ your bishops in England have been excommunicated for having, by your orders, crowned the young king your son." "If it be thus," replied the king in a tone of astonishment, "if all those who assisted in the inauguration of my son are excommunicate, by God's eyes I am so likewise!" To which the bishops returned in answer, "Sire, this is not all: the man who has done you this great injustice is about to set England in flames; he marches with troops of armed horsemen and foot before and behind him, roaming around the fort-

¹ Gervasium Cantia comitem qui palam minabatur, si forte presumeremus applicare, nobis caput amputaturus. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III., apud script. rer. Gallie, et Francie., xvi. 464.)

² Ne temeritas eorum dominum regem notâ proditoris ingereret. (Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Petrum abbat. S. Remigii. xvi. 613.)

³ Et fortasse satellites vim parassent, nisi eos compescuisset tumultus popularis. (Ibid., xvi. 614.)

⁴ Barus de numero divitum aut honororum visitator accessit. (Ibid., xvi. 615.)

⁵ Willelmus fil. Steph., p. 76, ed. Sparke.

⁶ Denunciavit ei ne progrediretur, nec civitates ejus aut castella intraret, sed reciperet se cum suis intra ambitum ecclesie sue. (Epist. Johan. Saresber., xvi. 614.)—Roger, de Hoved., apud rer. Anglie. script. ed. Savile, p. 521.)

⁷ Numquid tu venisti ad inimicum regis? redi occyis. (Willelmus, fil. Steph., p. 76, apud hist. Angl. script., ed. Sparke.)

⁸ Se nullatenus regressurum, nisi quâ tunc solemniter urgebat dies. (Vita B. Thomæ, lib. iii. cap. 9, p. 117.)

⁹ Willelmus filii Steph. vita S. Thomæ, p. 77, apud hist. Anglie. script. ed. Sparke.

¹⁰ Edicto publico .. Quisquis ei vel aliqui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censetur. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 521, ed. Savile.)

¹¹ Judicio curia regis stare, quia in occursum archiepiscopi processerant inimici regis. (Will. fil. Steph. loc. cit.)

¹² Sciebat quod brevis foret vita ejus et mors in januis. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 521, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Veni ad vos, mori inter vos. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 4, p. 112. Guillelmi Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 184, ed. Hearne.

¹⁵ Rege inscio. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 185.)

¹⁶ Litteras quas impetravimus à majestate vestrà nobis auferrent. (Epist. B. Thomæ ad Alex. III. papam, xvi. 464.)

¹⁷ Pro regno et pro sacerdotio et pro semet ipsis. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 9, p. 115.)

resses and seeking to have them opened unto him."¹

On hearing this exaggerated relation, the king was seized with one of those fits of frantic rage to which he was subject.² "What!" exclaimed he, "a wretch who has eaten my bread, a beggar who came to my court on a limping pack-horse, carrying all his baggage at his back, shall he insult his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom, and not one of those dastardly knights whom I feed at my table will go and deliver me from a priest who insults me?"³ These words did not fall from the king's lips in vain. Four knights of the king's palace, Richard Brito, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, who heard them spoken, conspiring and binding themselves by oath to support each other until death, suddenly departed for England on Christmas-day.⁴ Their absence was not perceived, nor was its cause at all suspected; and, at the very time when they were galloping with all speed towards the sea, the council of the barons of Normandy, assembled by the king, appointed three commissioners to go and seize Thomas à Becket legally, and imprison him on the charge of high treason.⁵ But the conspirators had the start, and they left nothing for the royal commissioners to do.

Five days after Christmas the four Normans arrived in Canterbury, which was then in an uproar in consequence of fresh excommunications which the archbishop had just been pronouncing against some men who had insulted him, and especially against Ranulph de Broc, who had diverted himself with mutilating one of his horses by cutting off its tail.⁶ The four knights entered Canterbury with a troop of armed men, whom they had gathered together from the castles on their route.⁷ They first required the municipal officer of the city, whom the Normans called the mayor, and who perhaps was at that time a man of English race, to march the citizens in arms for the king's service to the archbishop's house; the mayor refused; and the Normans enjoined him to take at least such measures that not one of the townsmen should stir out during the day, whatever might happen.⁸ The four conspirators, with twelve of their friends, then repaired to the primate's house and to his apartment.

Thomas à Becket had just finished his dinner, and his servants were still at table: he saluted the

Normans at their entrance, and asked the object of their visit. They made him no intelligible answer, but sat down and fixed their eyes upon him for some minutes.⁹ At length Reginald Fitz-Urse broke silence: "We come," said he, "from the king, to demand that the excommunicated may be absolved, that the suspended bishops may be restored, and that you yourself may give an account of your designs against the king."¹⁰ "It was not I," answered Thomas, "but the sovereign pontiff himself, who excommunicated the archbishop of York, and who consequently has alone the right of absolving him: as for the others, I will restore them if they will make their submission to me." "From whom, then, do you hold your archbishopric?" asked Reginald; "from the king or from the pope?" "Its spiritual rights I hold of God and the pope, and its temporal rights of the king." "What! then, the king alone did not give you all?" "By no means," answered Becket.¹¹ The Normans murmured at this answer, treating the distinction as a quibble; and made impatient gestures, shifting about on the seats and twisting the gauntlets which they held in their hands.¹² "You threaten me, I believe," said the archbishop, "but it is useless; were all the swords in England impending over my head, you would get nothing from me."¹³ "And we will do more than threaten," returned Fitz-Urse, suddenly rising: the others followed him to the door, crying, "To arms!"¹⁴

The door of the apartment was immediately closed behind them: Reginald armed in the outer court; and, taking an axe out of the hands of a carpenter who was at work, he struck the door, in order to force or break it open.¹⁵ The people of his household hearing the blows of the axe, entreated the primate to take refuge in the church, which communicated with his apartment by a cloister or a gallery. He refused to do so; and they were about to constrain him to go thither by force, when one of the attendants observed that the vesper-bell had rung.¹⁶ "Since it is the hour of my duty, I will go to the church," said the archbishop; and, causing his cross to be carried before him, he paced slowly through the cloisters, then went up to the great altar, separated from the nave of the church by an iron railing which was half open.¹⁷ Scarcely had he set his foot on the steps of the altar before Reginald Fitz-Urse appeared at the other end of the church, clad in his coat of mail,

¹ Multo comitatu equitum peditumque præsentium et subsequentium stipatus incedit, circumiens et querens ut in præsidia recipiatur. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 8, p. 116.)

² In furorem accensus. (Ibid.)
³ Unus homo qui manducavit panem meum, levavit contra me calcaneum suum; unus homo, beneficia meis insultans, deshonestat totum genus regium, totum sine vindice conculcat regnum; unus homo qui manicato jumento et claudio primò proripit in curiam. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 11, p. 119.)

⁴ In viri dei necem conjurati. (Ibid., lib. iii. cap. 12, p. 120.)

⁵ Ut archiepiscopum caperent. (Will. fl. Steph., vita S. Thomæ, p. 78.)

⁶ Qui die præcedenti amputaverat caudam sumerii sui. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 521, ed. Savile.)

⁷ Vita quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 12, p. 120.

⁸ Ut omnes cives armati cum eis veniant ad domum archiepiscopi ad servitium regis. Cumque civitas eorum furorem admirata contradiceret, statim precipiunt, ut in pace se habeant, non se moveant quoquid audiant vel videant. (Willelmus filius Steph., p. 81, ed. Sparke.)

⁹ Venenum aspidum quod sub labiis gerebant per moram aliquantulam compresserunt silentio. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart. loc. sup. cit.)

¹⁰ Et quæ in regiam majestatem peccasti, emendaturus. (Ibid., lib. iii. cap. 14, p. 123.)

¹¹ A quo ergo habes archiepiscopatum? ille: spiritualia à deo et domino papa, temporalia et possessiones à domino rege. Reginaldus: nonne totum te à rege habere recognoscis? ille: nequam. (Willelmus fil. Stephani, p. 82.)

¹² Chyrotheca retorquentibus, brachia furiosè jactantibus. (Vita quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 14, p. 126.)

¹³ Frustra mihi minamini: si omnes gladii Angliæ capiti meo immineant, me dimoveri non poterunt. (Will. fl. Steph., vita S. Thomæ, p. 83.)

¹⁴ Benè audemus archiepiscopo minari et plus facere. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Reginaldus cuidam fabro lignario securum à vitulis. (Ibid., p. 84.)

¹⁶ Invitum educere satagebant. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 15, p. 128.)

¹⁷ Egressus autem, cum à commitantibus accegerat cogere-tur quasi fugam erubescens, gradum fixit. (Ibid.)—Will. fl. Steph., p. 83.

with his broad two-edged sword in his hand, and exclaimed, "Hither, hither! ye loyal servants of the king."¹ The conspirators followed him closely, armed like himself from head to foot, and brandishing their swords.² The primate's attendants wished then to close the gate of the choir; but he forbade them, and even quitted the altar to prevent it. They earnestly conjured him to take refuge in the vault of the cathedral, or to ascend the staircase, which through many windings led to the top of the building; but both these counsels were rejected by him as positively as the former. Meanwhile the armed men were advancing, and a voice cried out, "Where is the traitor?" No one made answer. "Where is the archbishop?" "Here I am," answered Becket; "but here is no traitor. What come ye to do in the house of God, in warlike equipment, and what is your design?"³ "Thou must die," was the answer he received. "I resign myself to this death; you will not see me fly from the edge of your swords: but I forbid you, in the name of Almighty God, to touch any of those who are with me, clerk or layman, great or small."⁴ At that moment he received from behind a stroke between his shoulders from the flat of a sword; and he who gave it said to him, "Fly, or thou art a dead man."⁵ He did not move a step. The men-at-arms were then proceeding to drag him out of the church, scrupling to kill him therein; but he struggled against them, resolutely declaring that he would not quit the place, and should compel them to execute their intentions or their orders on the spot.⁶ During this struggle the clergy who had till now attended on the primate fled and abandoned him, with the exception alone of his cross-bearer, Edward Grim, the same who had spoken to him with such boldness after the conference at Clarendon. The conspirators, seeing that he had no weapons of any kind, paid little attention to him; and one of them, William de Tracy, raising his sword to strike the archbishop's head, the faithful and courageous Saxon quickly put forth his right arm to avert the blow: he had his arm struck off, and Becket received but a slight wound.⁷ "Strike, the rest of ye strike!" the Norman then exclaimed to his companions, when a second blow aimed at his head brought the archbishop with his face to the ground: a third clove his skull, and was struck with such violence that the sword broke against the pavement.⁸ One man-at-arms, named William Mautrait, kicked the lifeless body, and cried out, "So perish the traitor who dis-

turbed the kingdom and made insurgents of the English!"⁹

One historian relates that the Saxon inhabitants of Canterbury rose and assembled tumultuously in the streets.¹⁰ In this assemblage there was to be seen neither wealthy men nor nobles; all these remained pent up in their houses, and seemed intimidated by the outburst of feeling among the common people.¹¹ Men and women, evidently native English by their dress, rushed toward the cathedral, and entered in a crowd. On beholding the corpse stretched across the steps of the high altar they wept, and cried that they had lost their father; some kissed his feet and his hands; others dipped linen in the blood that covered the pavement. On their side the Norman authorities were not inactive, and an edict published by sound of trumpet forbade any one whomsoever to say publicly that Thomas of Canterbury was a martyr.¹² The archbishop of York preached from the pulpit declaring that his death was an effect of the divine vengeance, and saying that he had perished like Pharaoh in his crime and his pride.¹³ Other bishops preached that the traitor's body ought not to be laid in holy ground, that it should be cast into some pestilent marsh, or left to rot on a gibbet.¹⁴ There was even an attempt by armed men to seize the corpse of the enemy of the Normans from the custody of the clerks of Canterbury; but they were apprised of this design, and hastily buried it in the crypt of their church.¹⁵

(A.D. 1171 to 1173.) All these efforts of men in power to persecute beyond the tomb the prelate who had dared to make resistance against their tyrannies, rendered his memory still more dear to the oppressed people. They looked upon him as a sainted martyr; and from the moment of his death Thomas à Becket worked miracles visible to the imaginations of the English, though disowned by the Roman church, as the Saxon Walthoof had formerly done.¹⁶ Two entire years elapsed before the new saint was recognised as such by the court of Rome, and canonised; during all which time it was under peril of being whipped or hanged that the village priests named him in their masses, or that the sick and poor visited the spot where he was slain.¹⁷

(A.D. 1092 to 1176.) It is worthy of remark that the only primate of Norman race who, before

¹ Adest Reginaldus Ursonis loricator, euse evaginato, et vociferans: nunc huc ad me, homines regis. (Will. fil. Steph., p. 85.)

² In dextris gladios acutos vibrabant. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 17, p. 129.)—Eusibus nudatis. (Will. fil. Steph., p. 85.)

³ Ubi est ille proditor? .. Ecce ego. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 17, p. 130.)

⁴ Prohibeo ex parte omnipotentis Dei ne alicui, sive monacho, sive clerico, sive laico, majori vel minori, in aliquo nocentis. (Ibid.)

⁵ Fuge, mortuus es. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ille mihi facietis quæ facere vultis. (Ibid.)

⁷ Coronam capitis ejus, vulnere capiti inflicto, tanta vi amputavit, ut pariter secaret et præcideret brachia isthæc referentis. (Edvardi vita S. Thomæ, apud Strium de profanis sanctorum vitis, mense decembris, p. 362.)—Roger. de Hoved., p. 522, ed. Savile.—Vita quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 18, p. 131.

⁸ Gladio que in pavimento marmoreo contracto. (Vita quadripart., lib. iii. cap. 18, p. 133.)

⁹ Willelmus Maltret percussit cum pede sanctum Defunctum, dicens: Pereat nunc proditor ille, Qui regem regnumque suum turbavit, et omnes Angligenas adversis eum consurgere fecit. (Guill. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic. p. 723, ed. Hearni, in notis.)

¹⁰ Concurrentium undique utriusque sexus multitudinem. (Roger. de Hoved. Annal., p. 522, ed. Savile.)

¹¹ Pleury, hist. ecclesiast., xv. 310.

¹² Inhibuerunt, nomine publica potestatis, ne miracula quæ fiebant quisquam publicare præsumeret. (Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Johan. Pictav. episc., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic. xvi. 617.)

¹³ Ibid., xvi. 619 et 620.

¹⁴ Dicentium corpus proflitoris inter sanctos pontifices non esse humandum, sed projiciendum in paludem viliores, vel suspendendum esse patibulo. (Ibid., xvi. 617.)

¹⁵ Eum in crypta, antequam satellites Sathanæ qui ad sacrilegia perpetranda convocati fuerant, sepelirent. (Ibid., xvi. 617 et 618.)

¹⁶ Inaudita miracula crebuerunt... Mirarer supra modum cur eum dominus papa in catalogo martyrum recipi non præceperit. (Epist. Johan. Saresber. ad Guillelm. Senonens. archiepisc., xvi. 618.)—See Book v.

¹⁷ Id. apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic. xvi. 619, 633.

the Englishman Becket, had had any differences with the great personages created by the Conquest, was a friend of the Saxons, and was perhaps the only friend they ever found among the race of their conquerors. This was Anselm, the same who pleaded against Lanfranc the cause of the ancient English saints.¹ Anselm, having become archbishop, strove to re-establish the ancient custom of ecclesiastical elections, in opposition to the absolute right of royal nomination introduced by William the Conqueror. He had to combat at once against William Rufus, all the bishops of England, and pope Urban, who supported the king and the bishops.² Persecuted in England and condemned at Rome, he was compelled to retire to France; and from his place of exile he wrote, what Becket likewise wrote after him: "Rome loves money better than justice; there is no redress to be obtained from Rome by such as have not wherewith to pay for it."³ After Anselm came archbishops more docile to the traditions of the Conquest, namely Ralph or Raoul, William or Guillaume de Corbeil, and Theobald or Thibaut, the immediate predecessor of Thomas à Becket. None of those archbishops attempted to oppose the royal power; and concord reigned, as in the time of the invasion, between the royal authority and that of the primate, until the fatal moment when an Englishman by birth became archbishop.

It is a very remarkable fact that a few years after Becket's death there arose in Wales a priest who, like him, but actuated by motives more distinctly national (though the result proved less tragical), struggled against Henry II., and especially against his son and second successor John. In the year 1176 the clergy of the ancient metropolitan church of St. David, in the province of Pembroke, chose for their bishop, saving the definitive approbation of the king of England, Giraldus de Barri, the archdeacon, known as the historian Giraldus Cambrensis; this ecclesiastic was the son of a Norman and grandson of a Norman and a Welshwoman.⁴ The priests of St. David's fixed their choice on this candidate of mixed origin, because, says Giraldus Barry himself, they positively knew that the king would never suffer one of purely Cambrian race to become head of the principal church in Wales.⁵ This moderation was useless: the merely choosing a man born in the country, and Welsh by his grandmother's side, was regarded as an act of hostility to the royal authority. The property of the church of St. David was sequestrated, and its principal clerks were cited to appear before king Henry in person at his castle of Winchester.⁶

(A.D. 1176 to 1184.) Henry asked them with threats, how of themselves and without his order they had had the boldness not only to choose a

bishop, but to occupy themselves at all in his election: then, in his own bedchamber, he enjoined them to choose on the instant a Norman monk named Peter, whom they did not know, who was not brought to them, and of whom nothing was told them but his name.⁷ They accepted him, trembling, and went back to their country, where, shortly after, arrived bishop Peter, escorted by numerous lacqueys and by men and women of his family, amongst whom he distributed the territorial possessions of the church of St. David.⁸ He imposed the *taille* on the clergy of that church; he took tithes of their cattle; he exacted aids and presents from all the people of his diocese at the four great feasts of the year.⁹ He vexed the inhabitants of the country so cruelly, that, notwithstanding the danger to be incurred by resisting a bishop imposed by the Anglo-Normans, they drove him from his church, after having endured his rule during eight years.

While the bishop chosen by Henry II. was plundering the church of St. David, he who had been chosen by the clergy of that church was proscribed and in exile in France, without any support, for no king thought that by protecting an obscure bishop of the little country of Wales he should do much harm to the king of England. Giraldus, wholly unprovided with resources in a foreign land, was obliged, after an exile of eight years, to return to his native land, notwithstanding the danger of taking that step. When on the point of quitting Paris he prayed in the chapel which the archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louis VII., had consecrated to the memory of Thomas à Becket in the church of St. Germanus of Auxerre.¹⁰ When he arrived in England he received, owing to his want of power, no ill treatment; he was even, by a private negociation with the Norman prelate whom the Welsh had expelled from St. David's, charged, *ad interim* and merely as vicar, with the episcopal functions. But he soon relinquished them in disgust at the crosses caused him by the titular bishop, who was every day sending him orders to excommunicate some one of his own partisans and most devoted friends.¹¹ (A.D. 1184 to 1198.) This was the time when the Normans of England were undertaking the conquest of Ireland; and they offered to Giraldus, whom they would not allow to become a bishop in his native country, three bishoprics and an archbishopric in the country of the Irish.¹² But Giraldus, though he was grandson of one of the conquerors of Cambria, did not consent to become an instrument for oppressing a foreign people. "I refused," says he, in his autobiography, "because the Irish, in like manner as the Welsh, will never take or accept for

⁷ Vel etiã ad tractandum de electione processissent, in castello et camerã regis, corã lecto ipsius, monachum quendam sibi ex parte regis oblatum et nominatum tremulis vocibus elegerunt. (Ibid., ii. 536.)

⁸ Terras fertiles septuaginta suis Anglicis dedit; cœneta quæ illi ad manus obvenuerunt in natale solum Angliæ transmittere. (Ibid., ii. 538.)

⁹ Clericis suæ diocesis grave tallagiorum onus adiecit. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ad capellam S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, apud S. Germanum Autissiodorensis ab archiepiscopo Romanæ, regis Ludovici fratre, nomine ipsius inter ipsa martyrii sui initialia constructam et dedicatam. (Girald. Cambrens. de rebus à se gestis; Angliæ sacra, ii. 479.)

¹¹ Id. ibid., ii. 481.

¹² In Hiberniã tres episcopatus et archiepiscopatus unus. (Giraldus de jure et statu Menevens. eccles., ibid., ii. 614.)

¹ See Book vii. p. 138.

² Eadmeri Hist. nov., p. 21—32, ed. Selden.

³ Aurum et argentum Roma præponit justitiæ. Quid subventionis, quid consilii, quid solaminis ibi reperient, qui non habent quod dent? (Ibid., p. 32.)

⁴ Ex utrâque gente oriundum, Britannicã scilicet et Normannicã, Giraldum elegit. (Giraldus Cambrens. de rebus à se gestis; Angliæ sacra, ii. 466.)

⁵ Quod rex Anglorum, de gente sibi inimicissimã scilicet Wallensia in principali ecclesiã Walliæ prælatum fieri, nullatenus admitteret. (Girald. de statu Menevens. eccles., Angl. sac., ii. 521.)

⁶ Rebus et redditibus suis, per ministros regis, spoliatis. (Ibid. ii. 521.)

bishop, unless compelled by violence, a man born out of their country."¹

In the year 1198, in the reign of John son of Henry II., the Norman bishop of St. David's died in England; and then the Welsh chapter followed their own will, and by an unanimous act of courage, without waiting for the king of England's order, proceeded to elect a bishop, and nominated for the second time their formerly chosen prelate Gerald Barry.² At this intelligence John fell into a violent passion; he caused the election to be declared null by the archbishop of Canterbury, by virtue of that pretended right of religious supremacy over all Britain which six hundred years before the Cambrians had so energetically refused to acknowledge.³ Giraldus, now again elected bishop of St. David's, denied this supremacy, declaring that his church had been from remote antiquity metropolitan and free, without subjection to any other; and that consequently no primate had power to revoke his appointment.⁴ Such indeed had been the right of the church of St. David's before the country of Pembroke was conquered in the reign of Henry I. One of the first administrative operations of the Norman authorities was to annihilate that prescriptive right, and extend over the Welsh the ecclesiastical unity established in England as a restraint upon the Anglo-Saxons. "Never, while I live," said Henry I., "will I suffer the Welsh to have an archbishop."⁵

(A.D. 1198 to 1203.) Thus the question of ecclesiastical privilege raised between Giraldus and the see of Canterbury was no other than one of the phases of the great question of the enslavement of the Cambrians. A stout army could alone cut short this difference, and Giraldus had no army. He repaired to the pope at Rome, the ordinary resort of men left without other resource. He found at the pontifical court a commissioner from the king of England, who had arrived before him, laden with magnificent presents for the sovereign pontiff and the cardinals.⁶ The bishop elect of St. David's brought the Romans nothing but old worm-eaten titles and the humble supplications of a country which had never been rich.⁷ In the expectation that king John's ambassador, Reginald Foliot, who by chance bore the same name as one of the mortal enemies of Becket, would procure a decision by the sovereign pontiff, in full conclave, declaring that there had never been an archbishop of St. David's, all the lands which that church still possessed, together with Gerald Barry's own property, were confiscated.⁸ Proclamations declared the self-styled bishop elect of the Cambrians, the rash ecclesiastic who sought to stir up against the king his subjects of Wales, a traitor to the king.⁹

Ralph de Bieuville, bailiff of Pembroke, a man mild in disposition and temperate in his conduct towards the vanquished, was deprived of his office; and one Nicholas Avenel, of notoriously ferocious character, was sent from England to take his place.¹⁰ This Avenel published an address to the Welsh, couched in these terms: "Be it known to you all that Giraldus the archdeacon is the king's enemy and an aggressor against the crown; and that, if any one of you shall dare to hold any correspondence with him, such man's house, land, and moveables, will be delivered over to the first occupier."¹¹ In the intervals of the three journeys which Giraldus made to Rome, and between which prudence obliged him to keep himself concealed, notices were forwarded to his old domicile containing menaces, and one of these was to the following purport: "We order and counsel thee, as thou lovest thy body and thy limbs, not to hold either chapter or synod in any place within the king's dominions; and hold thyself to be warned that thy body and all that belongs to thee, in whatever place thou mayest be found, shall be placed at the king's mercy, and kept in safe custody."¹² (A.D. 1203.) After the lapse of five years, during which the court of Rome, according to its ordinary policy, precluded its definitive decree by fluctuating decisions, alternately contrary and favourable to each of the two parties, Giraldus was formally condemned on the testimony of some Welshmen whom poverty and fear had compelled to sell themselves to the Normans, and whom Reginald Foliot took with great ostentation to Rome, there to depose against their own country.¹³ Terror at last impelled even the chapter of St. David's to forsake the prelate of their choice, and to recognise the supremacy of a foreign metropolitan. When, after his deprivation, Giraldus returned to the country, no man dared open his door to him; all shunned, as if he were infected with the plague, the man who was thus laid under the ban of the conquerors.¹⁴ These last, however, did not contemplate the making Giraldus suffer a like fate with Thomas à Becket: he was only cited to appear in England before a synod of bishops, to be censured and to receive his sentence of canonical degradation. The Norman prelates took pleasure in addressing to him taunting raileries on his great labours and his small success. "You were very foolish," said the bishop of Ely to him, "to give yourself so much trouble to procure for the people blessings which they cared so little about, and to desire to make them free in spite of themselves; for you see that they now disown you."¹⁵ "It is true," replied Giraldus, "and I was far from expecting it. I did not think that the clergy of St. David's, who so few years

¹ Quòd nunquam ab Hibernicis vel etiam Walensicis alienigena quisvis, nisi per publicam potestatis violentiam. (Girald. Camb. de rebus à se gestis.)

² Giraldus de statu Menev. eccl.; Angl. sac., ii. 539.

³ See Book I. p. 14.

⁴ Nullá penitus alii ecclesie factá professione vel subjectione. (Giraldus, Angl. sac., ii. 534.)

⁵ Usque ad plenam. que per Anglorum regem Henricum I. facta est. Cambrie subjectionem. (Ibid.) Quòd nunquam id tempore suo rex permitteret. (Id. de rebus à se gestis, ii. 475.)

⁶ Angl. sac., ii. 554.

⁷ Curia Romana quam corrupti (quod absit) posse putabat. (Ibid., ii. 568.)

⁸ Giraldus Camb. de jure et statu Menevens. eccl.; Anglia sacra, ii. 554.

⁹ Qui se gerebat electum per Walenses . . ut . . totamque simul Walliam contra regem excitaret. (Id. ibid., ii. 555.)

¹⁰ Ut atrocius ageret, quoniam crudelis extiterat. (Angl. sac., ii. 566.)

¹¹ Coram impugnatore . . alloquin et domus vestras et catalla omni occupanti exponemus. (Ibid.)

¹² Tibi jubemus et consulimus ut sicut omnia tua diligens . . et corpus tuum, ubicumque inventum fuerit, in potestate domini regis capi, et salvò custodiri faciam. (Angl. sac., ii. 556, 7.)

¹³ Testium multitudinem de garcionibus et ribaldis. (Id. ibid., ii. 576.)

¹⁴ Capitulum ex toto corruptum ideòque tam minis allectum quam muneribus. (Anglia sacra, ii. 565.)—Nec civis hospitio nec canonici alloquio susceperunt. (Ibid., ii. 603.)

¹⁵ Ingratis beneficium dare, et iuvitos à servitute eripere. (Giraldus Cambrens. de jure et statu Menevens. eccl., ibid., ii. 603.)

ago were members of a free nation, were capable of bending to the yoke like your Englishmen, who have been so long a time serfs and vanquished men, and with whom servitude has become a second nature."¹

Gerald Barry relinquished all political concerns; and, devoting himself wholly to the study of letters under the appellation of Giraldus the Cambrian,² he became more celebrated in the world as an elegant writer than he had been as an antagonist of the royal power. Indeed, few men in Europe in the twelfth century felt any concern whether a last remnant of the ancient population of the Celts should or not be entirely deprived of its religious and civil independence. No sympathy for such sufferings was yet excited among foreigners; nevertheless, in the very heart and mountain recesses of Wales, in that portion of territory into which the terror of the Norman lances had not yet penetrated, the labours of Giraldus for the welfare of the Welsh country became a theme of conversation and of national eulogies among the ancient Cambrians. "Our country," said the chief of Powis in a public political assembly, "has sustained great conflicts with the men of England; yet never has any one of us dared to do so much against them as the bishop elect of St. David's; for he has withstood their king, their primate, their clergy, the whole nation of them in short, for the honour of Wales."³ At the court of Lewellyn, chief of the whole of North Wales, and during a solemn festival, a bard rose and took his harp to celebrate the self-devotion of Giraldus to the cause of St. David and of the Welsh people.⁴ "Long as our country shall last," said the poet in extemporary verse, "let his noble daring be recorded by the pen of historians and by the song of bards."⁵

(A.D. 1203.) It is with reason that at this day men smile at most of the quarrels between kings and bishops which made so much disturbance in ages less enlightened than our own; but let us acknowledge that of those disputes a few at least were profoundly serious. To the Roman chancery, the centre of the diplomacy of the middle ages, there were sometimes carried reclamations founded in justice and on interests truly national; and these in particular, it must be declared, were rarely judged to be worthy of a pontifical bull. Neither bull nor brief came from pope Alexander III. to menace Henry II. when eight Welsh chiefs appealed to that pope against the foreign bandits whom the kings of England had quartered upon them under the names of priests and bishops. "These bishops, arriving from another land," said the chiefs in their supplication, "hate us and our country; they are our mortal enemies: can they

then feel an interest for the salvation of our souls?"⁶ They are placed among us, as if in ambuscade, to discharge their shafts at our backs, and to excommunicate us on the first order sent to them to do so.⁷ Whenever an expedition is preparing in England against us, the primate of Canterbury suddenly lays under interdict that part of the country which it is proposed to invade.⁸ Our bishops, who are his creatures, hurl their anathema against the people collectively, and by name against the chiefs who take up arms to lead them to combat.⁹ So that such of us perish in the defence of our country die excommunicate."¹⁰

When it is considered how horrible such a situation must have been at a time when faith in catholicism prevailed from one end of Europe to the other, it will be understood how dreadful an engine of servitude was wielded by christian conquerors having in the rear of their battalions a reserve of churchmen. It will then easily be conceived that men of sense and spirit could address the pope, could supplicate the pope, could hope in the pope; it will be conceived that men who were neither prebendaries nor monks could, in the middle ages, rejoice at beholding those who trampled nations under the hoofs of their chargers, themselves called to account by a power too often their accomplice in tyranny and in contempt for mankind. Less compassion will then be felt for the great men of those ages, when the arrow of excommunication may have chanced to light on their cuirass of double mail; for they themselves oftener found it ready, on the first waving of their hand, to strike the unarmed population. When once they had planted in another's field their lance, surmounted by a streamer, they proclaimed against every defender of his paternal inheritance death in this life by the sword, and sempiternal condemnation in the life to come. Over the bodies of the dying they stretched forth their triumphant hands to the pope of Rome; they shared with him the spoil of the vanquished, and nurtured or kept in play by voluntary tributes those ecclesiastical lightnings by which they were themselves occasionally scathed, but which, when hurled for their service, struck surely and mortally.

⁶ Nec terram nostram neque nos diligunt; sed sicut innato quodam odio corpora persequuntur, ita nec etiam animarum lincm querunt. (Giraldus de statu Menevens. eccles.; Anglia sacra, li. 574.)

⁷ Ut, quasi Parthicus à tergo et à longè sagittis, securè nos quotiens jubentur excommunicare possint. (Id. ibid.)

⁸ Quoties Anglici in terram nostram et nos insurgunt, statim .. (Id. ibid.)

⁹ Nos qui pro patriâ solùm et libertate tuendâ pugnamus nominatim, et gentem, sententiâ excommunicationis involvunt. (Id. ibid.)

¹⁰ Quoties in bellicis conflictibus pro patriâ tuendâ cum gente inimicâ congregimur, quicumque ex parte nostrâ ceciderint, excommunicati cadunt. (Id. ibid.)

¹ Qui originali gaudebant libertatis honore, sicut et gens sua tota .. de Anglicis .. qui servi sunt olim atque subacti, et jam quasi naturaliter servi, si à longâ sum servilis conditionis consuetudine quæ tanquam in naturam converti potuit. (Ibid., li. 564.)

² Giraldus Cambrensis, often quoted in the foregoing pages.

³ Qui regem et archiepiscopum totamque simul Angliæ clerum et populum, propter honorem Walliæ tantis tam diuturnis et continuis infestare nisibus et molestare non destitit. (Girald. Cambrensis, de jure et statu Menevens. eccles.; Anglia sacra, li. 559.)

⁴ Jura sancti Davidis contra Angliam totam. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quando Wallia stabit, nobile factum hujus et per historias scriptas, et per ora enantium, dignis per tempora cuncta laudibus effretur. (Ibid.)

BOOK X.

FROM THE INVASION OF IRELAND BY THE NORMANS
OF ENGLAND, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY II.

A.D. 1171 to 1189.

THE reader must now take leave of Britain and Gaul, where this history has hitherto detained him, and transport himself for a while to the western island which its inhabitants called Erin, and the English Ireland.¹ The people of that island, brethren of the mountaineers of Scotland, and forming with them the last remnant of a great population which in ancient times had covered Britain, Gaul, and a part of the Spanish peninsula, exhibited many of the physical and moral characteristics which distinguish the races of southern original. The major part of the Irish were men with dark hair, with strong passions, loving and hating with vehemence, irascible, yet of a social temper. In many things, especially in religion, they were enthusiasts, and willingly intermingled the christian worship with their poetry and literature, which was perhaps the most cultivated in all western Europe. Their island possessed a multitude of saints and learned men, venerated alike in England and in Gaul; for no country had furnished a greater number of christian missionaries, animated by no other motive than pure zeal and an ardent desire of communicating to foreign nations the opinions and the faith of their native country.² The Irish were great travellers, and always gained the hearts of those whom they visited by the extreme ease with which they conformed to their customs and way of life.³

This facility of manners was allied in them with an extreme love of their national independence. Though invaded repeatedly by different nations from the south and from the north, they had never recognised any prescription or right of conquest, nor ever made voluntary peace with the sons of foreigners; their old annals contained recitals of terrible vengeance exercised, frequently after the lapse of more than a century, by the natives upon their conquerors.⁴ The remains of the ancient conquering races, and the small bands of adventurers who from time to time went to seek lands in Ireland, avoided the effects of this patriotic intolerance by incorporating themselves with the Irish tribes, submitting to the ancient social order established by the natives, and learning their language. This was done very quickly by the Danish and Norwegian pirates, who in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries founded several colonies on the eastern coast, wherein, relinquishing their

old system of plunder, they built towns and became traders.

(A.D. 600 to 1066.) As soon as the Roman church had established her dominion in Britain by the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, she made continual efforts to extend over the inhabitants of the island of Erin the empire which she pretended to exercise over all the worshippers of Christ.⁵ As there was on the Irish soil no pagan conqueror to convert, the popes confined themselves to negotiations by letters and messages, and endeavoured by such pacific means to induce the Irish to establish in their island an ecclesiastical hierarchy similar to that of the continent, and, like it, capable of serving the ambition of the pontifical throne. The men of Erin, like the Britons of Cambria and of Gaul, having organised christianity in their country spontaneously, without conforming in any way to the official organization decreed by the Roman emperors, had among them no fixed episcopal sees; their bishops were simply priests, to whom had been confided by election the office, purely honorary, of visitors or supervisors of the several churches. They did not constitute a body superior to the rest of the clergy, nor were there among them different degrees of the hierarchy. The church of Ireland, in short, had not a single archbishop; none of its members had occasion to go to Rome to solicit or to buy the pontifical pallium. So that this church, enjoying full independence with regard to all foreign churches, and its administration, like that of every free society, being in the hands of dignitaries elected and recalled by itself alone, was at an early period regarded as schismatic by the conclave of St. John of Lateran; and a long system of attacks was directed against it, with the perseverance innate in the successors of the old senate, which by dint of willing one and the same thing had subjugated the universe.

The new Rome had not, like the ancient mistress of the world, legions issuing from her walls to go and conquer nations; all her strength consisted in address, and in that skill in the forming of unequal alliances with mighty princes which, under the name of friends, had rendered so many of them her vassals and her subjects. The victories of foreign conquerors, and more especially those of barbarians and pagans, were, as this history has more than once given occasion to observe, the most frequent cause of the political aggrandizement of the pontifical court. It sedulously watched the first ambitious thoughts of invading kings, to enter into co-partnership with them, and, in default of foreign conquests, it with crafty policy ever admired and fostered the principle of despotism. Hereditary monarchy was the rule which gave most satisfaction to the court of Rome, because it was then sufficient for the acquiring of absolute authority over an entire people, to rule the minds of a single family by exercising over them the powerful moral influences of the church.

Had such a system of government existed in Ireland, it is probable that at a very early period the religious independence of that country would have been annihilated by a mutual agreement between its kings and the popes. But if there were in Ireland national chiefs to whom the Latin title of *reges* could be strictly applied, and was in fact

¹ In the ancient tongues, *Ierne, Ierna, Invernia, Ouernia, Ithernia*. In the Saxon orthography, *Iraland*.

² See Book i. p. 17.

Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi.

Ivlt ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.

(Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, l. 112.)

³ Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, penè totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem? quorum quisque peritior est, ultrò sibi indicit exilium. (Epist. Hærici monachi ad Carolum calvum, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic. vii. 563.)

⁴ See in the periodical publication *Le Catholique*, xiv. No. 42, A Dissertation by the Baron d'Eckstein on Les Origines de la Nation Irlandaise.

⁵ See Book i. p. 17.

applied in public acts, the great number of these kings, their perpetual dependence on the various Irish tribes (the simple names of which tribes constituted the princely title¹), and the total absence of unity of power, afforded nothing that could be laid hold of by the policy of Rome. There was, indeed, in the island of Erin a chief superior to all the rest, who was called the great king, or the king of the country, and who was chosen by a general assembly of the chiefs of the different provinces.² But this elective president of the national confederation took the same oath to the entire nation which the chiefs of tribes took to their respective tribes, namely, to observe inviolably the ancient laws and hereditary customs. Besides, the great king's office was executive and administrative, and by no means legislative; all state affairs were debated and voted by the greater and lesser councils, held in the open air upon a rath, mote, or artificial hillock, surrounded by a wide foss and vallum.³ There the laws of the country were made; and there all disputes between province and province, town and town, and between one individual and his adversary, were debated and terminated, sometimes not unaccompanied by strife and tumult.⁴

It may well be conceived that a social order like this, the basis of which was in the people, and in which the impulse always proceeded from the fickle and passionate multitude, must ever have been unfavourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Thus, in spite of all their endeavours to treat with the Irish kings during the four centuries and a half which had elapsed between the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and the descent of the Normans in England, the popes did not obtain the smallest change in the religious practices or the organization of the clergy of Erin, nor could they impose the levy of the smallest tax upon the inhabitants of that island.⁵ (A.D. 1066 to 1074.) After the Conquest of England, the intrigues of the primate Lanfranc (a man devoted to the simultaneous aggrandisement of papal power and of Norman domination), being actively directed upon Ireland, began somewhat to bend the spirit of national liberty so long entertained by the priests of that island. Lanfranc, moreover, joined to his high credit as a man of eloquence and science other very efficacious means of persuasion and seduction; for he had accumulated great riches by collecting his share of the plunder taken from the Anglo-Saxons, and afterwards, if we are to believe the ancient testimonies offered of the fact, by selling to bishops of Norman race absolution of their violence, their rapine, and their excesses.⁶

In the year 1074 an Irishman named Patricius, after being chosen bishop by the clergy and the people, and confirmed by the king of his province and by the king of all Ireland, went to Canterbury to receive consecration, instead of being satisfied with the simple benediction of his colleagues.

¹ Each Irish tribe or clan had a family name, common to all its members.

² *Rex Hiberniæ, maximus rex.* In Irish, *Adriugh.*

³ *Montana colloquia.* (Harris's *Hibernica.*)

⁴ *Ibid.*—Spenser's *State of Ireland.*

⁵ There were not even tithes; the Irish clergy lived on offerings and voluntary gifts. (Gordon's *History of Ireland*, 1. 90.)

⁶ *Accipiebat quandoque pecunias quò magis parceret delictis subditorum. . .* (Will. Malmesb. *Vite Pontificum.*)—See *Book v.*

This was a first act of obedience to the laws of the Roman church, which required that every bishop should receive consecration from an archbishop decorated with the pallium. These new seeds of religious servitude fructified in due season; and several Irish bishops from that time successively accepted the title of pontifical legates in Hibernia. (A.D. 1074 to 1148.) At length, about the period at which this history has arrived, Christianus bishop of Lismore and the pope's vicar in Ireland, conjointly with Papius, a Roman cardinal, undertook to reorganise the church of Ireland, in accordance with the views and the interests of the court of Rome. (A.D. 1148.) After efforts for this object continued during four years, his labours were crowned with success; and in a synod which was attended by the bishops, abbots, kings, chiefs, and magistrates of all Hibernia, there were instituted, with the consent of all men present, say the old acts, and by the apostolical authority, four archbishops, to whom were assigned, as fixed sees, the cities of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.⁷ But, notwithstanding the appearance of national assent given to these measures, the old spirit of independence yet prevailed; the clergy of Ireland showed little docility in their submission to the new hierarchical order; and the people had a repugnance for the foreign practices, and especially for the tributes in money which were attempted to be levied, under various specious names, for the benefit of the ultramontane church. The court of Rome, still dissatisfied with the Irish in spite of their concessions, continued to give them the epithets of bad christians and lukewarm christians, rebellious to the apostolic discipline; it watched as attentively as ever for an opportunity of obtaining a stronger hold of them, by associating its own ambition with some temporal ambition; nor was it long before such an opportunity presented itself.

(A.D. 1156.) When Henry, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, had become king of England, he entertained the idea of signalling his accession as the first king of the line of Anjou by a conquest almost as important as that achieved by the Norman William, his maternal great-grandfather. He resolved to take possession of Ireland; and, following the example of the Conqueror of England, his first care was to send envoys to the pope, to propose to him to join in this new enterprise, in like manner as his predecessor Alexander II. had taken a part in the former.⁸ The pope then reigning was Adrian IV., a man of English birth, whose family name was Brekespeare, and who by quitting his country very young had escaped the miseries which his nation suffered. Being too proud, says an ancient historian, to work in the fields or to beg in England, he took a bold resolution, inspired by necessity;⁹ he went to France, then to Provence, and next to Italy, where he entered a rich abbey as a secretary, rose to be abbot, then bishop, and at last pope; for the Roman church was at least endowed with this degree of liberal spirit, that it made the fortunes of all who devoted themselves to

⁷ Girald. Cambrens., *Topographia Hiberniæ; Camden's Anglica, Hibernica, &c.*, p. 742.

⁸ *Math. Paris.* i. 95.—See *Book iii.*

⁹ *Ingenue erubescens in Angliâ vel fodere vel mendicare, forti necessitate aliquid audere coactus.* (Guil. Neubrig. *de reb. Anglic.*, p. 121, ed. Hearne.)

its service, without distinction of race, extraction, or origin. Adrian IV., seated on the pontifical throne, appeared to have consigned to oblivion all those feelings of resentment that would have been natural to an Englishman against the oppressors of his nation;¹ far from evincing anything of that animus which a few years antecedently had excited Thomas à Becket to make opposition to his king, the pope affected the greatest complaisance towards Henry II. He graciously received that monarch's message relative to his project of subjugating Ireland, and, after taking the advice of the holy conclave, he replied by the following bull:—

¹ Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his very dear son in Christ Jesus, the illustrious king of England, apostolical greeting and benediction.²

² Thou hast communicated unto us, our very dear son in Jesus Christ, that thou wouldst enter the island of Hibernia, to subject that land to obedience to laws, to extirpate the seeds of vice, and also to procure the payment, there, to the blessed apostle Peter of the annual tribute of a penny for each house.³ Granting to this thy laudable and pious desire the favour which it merits, we hold it acceptable that, for the extension of the limits of the holy church, the propagation of the christian religion, the correction of morals, and the sowing the seeds of virtue, thou make thy entrance into that island, and there execute at thy discretion whatever thou shalt think proper for the honour of God and the salvation of souls.⁴ Let, therefore, the people of that country receive and honour thee as their sovereign lord and master, saving the rights of the churches, which must remain untouched, and also the annual tribute of one penny from each house due to the blessed Peter;⁵ for it is beyond a doubt (and thy noble nature has itself recognised the truth thereof) that all the islands upon which Christ the sun of justice has shone, and which have been taught the doctrines of the faith, belong of lawful right to St. Peter and to the most holy and sacred church of Rome.⁶

³ If, then, thou think fit to put in execution what thou hast conceived in thy thoughts, use thy endeavours to form that people to good morals: and let the church in that country, as well by thy own efforts as by those of men of acknowledged sufficiency in faith, in words, and in life, be adorned with fresh lustre;⁷ let the true religion of Christ be planted there and increase: in a word, let everything which concerns the honour of God and the salvation of souls be by thy prudence so ordered that thou shalt become worthy of obtaining in heaven a reward everlasting, and

¹ Tanquam de pulvere elevatus sit, ut sederet in medio principum. (Id., p. 120.)

² Math. Paris., l. 95.

³ Significasti siquidem nobis ad subdendum populum legibus christianis et vitiorum inde plantaria extirpanda et de singulis domibus. (Ibid.)

⁴ Nos autem pium et laudabile desiderium tuum favore congruo prosequentes, acceptum habemus ut . . . et que ad honorem Dei et ad salutem illius terre spectaverint, exequantur. (Ibid.)

⁵ Et salvâ beato Petro de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. (Math. Par., l. 95.)

⁶ Omnes insulas, quibus sol justitie Christus illuxit, ad jus Sancti Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ pertinent. (Ibid.)

⁷ Si ergo quod animo concepisti . . . ut decoretur ibi ecclesia. (Ibid.)

upon earth a name illustrious and glorious in all ages."⁸

This flood of mystic eloquence served, as the reader may perceive, as a sort of decent envelop for a political compact entirely similar to that of William the Bastard with pope Alexander II. for the invasion of England. Henry II. would probably have hastened like William to accomplish his strange religious mission, if the care of another conquest, namely of Anjou from his own brother Geoffrey, had not almost immediately diverted his attention. He next warred against the Bretons and the Poitevins; who, being ill advised for their salvation, preferred their national independence to the yoke of a friend of the church. (A.D. 1156 to 1166.) And lastly, the rivalry of the king of France, which was constantly active either openly or in secret, and, above all, the long and aggravated quarrel with the primate of Canterbury, prevented Henry from going over to Ireland to make conquest of the temporal sovereignty for himself, and for Rome the spiritual royalty added to the rent of St. Peter's pence. When Adrian IV. died, the bull authorising the conquest of Ireland was still dormant, and was safely deposited, until an opportunity of its being put in force should occur, in the treasury containing the royal charters of England; and there perhaps it would have remained during the whole of the king's life, had not certain unforeseen events brought about the desired opportunity for exhibiting it to the world.

It has been already seen how some Norman and Flemish adventurers had conquered the territory of Pembroke and a part of the western coasts of Wales.⁹ In settling on the domains which they had so recently usurped, these men had not laid aside their old idle and dissipated manners for habits of order and quiet: they consumed in gaming and debauchery the revenues of their lands, exhausting instead of ameliorating them, counting on fresh expeditions rather than upon domestic economy to repair their fortunes at some future day. In short, in the condition of wealthy proprietors, and of great landholders or *seigneurs terriens*, to use the language of that period, they retained the spirit and the character of soldiers of fortune, ever disposed to try the chances of war abroad, whether on their own account or in the pay of another. Under this aspect it was that they were first observed by the inhabitants of the isle of Erin, whom affairs of trade often brought to visit the coasts of Wales. There was then for the first time in the vicinity of Ireland a colony of men exercised in wearing the complete cavalry armour, which in that age was called the Gallic armour.¹⁰ The sight of the coats of mail and the great Flemish horses of the companions of Richard Strongbow, things new to the Irish, who carried none but light arms, gave them great surprise;¹¹ and the travellers and merchants on their return told wonderful stories of the warlike strength and skill of the new inha-

⁸ Ut et à Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in sæculis obtinere. (Math. Paris., l. 95.)

⁹ See Book viii. p. 154.

¹⁰ Armatura Gallica. (Giraldi Cambrensis de Illaudabilibus Walliæ.)

¹¹ Nudi et inermes ad bella procedunt. (Giraldi Cambrensis. Topographia Hiberniæ; Camden, Anglica, Hibernica, &c., p. 738.)—Inermes corpore pugnant. (Chron. Johan. Brompton, apud Selden, l. col. 1075.)

bitants of the west of Britain. At that same time, the chief of one of the eastern provinces of Ireland was engaged in a quarrel and war with one of the chiefs his neighbours. Struck by what he had heard related of the conquerors of Pembroke, he resolved to send and ask some of them to enlist in his service for large pay, and assist him in ruining his enemy, whose destruction he sought with that passionate animosity which unfortunately distinguished the Irish in their civil and domestic wars.¹

(A.D. 1169 to 1170.) The Normans and Flemings of Wales, though adorned since their conquest with the titles of honour which in the French tongue of the middle ages designated the man of wealth and power, found nothing at all strange in the proposal of the Irishman Dermot son of Morrough (Mac-Morrough), chief or king of the territory of Lagheniagh,² otherwise called Leinster: they agreed with him for the rate of pay and the period of service;³ and embarked to the number of four hundred, knights, esquires, and archers, under the command of Robert son of Stephen (Fitz-Stephen), Maurice son of Gérald (Fitz-Gerald), Hervé de Mont-Marais (de Monte-Marisco), and David Barry.⁴ They navigated in a straight line from the westernmost part of Wales to the most eastern point of Ireland; and landed near Wexford, a town founded by the Danes in the course of their piratical and trading excursions. This town, forming part of the territory of Dermot Mac-Morrough, had been taken from him by the manœuvres of his adversary and the defection of the inhabitants. They who now garrisoned it sallied forth to meet the enemy's army and its auxiliaries; but when they beheld the horses barbed with steel, the accoutrements of mail, and all the equipments, new to their eyes, of the knights come from Wales, they were seized with a panic; though much the most numerous, they dared not give battle in the open country; but, burning in their retreat all the neighbouring villages and such of the provisions as they could not carry off, they shut themselves up within the walls of Wexford.⁵

Dermot and the Normans laid siege to it, and made three consecutive assaults, but without success; for the heavy horses, the lances eight cubits long, the cross-bows, and the mail cuirasses were of great advantage only in the plain. But the intrigues of the bishop of Wexford, who had influence enough to reconcile the inhabitants with their king, caused the gates to be opened to the ally of the foreigners, who, having entered the town without a blow being struck, immediately marched towards the north-west in pursuit of his adversaries, and to deliver his kingdom, which they had already in great part invaded.⁶ In this expedition the military tactics and complete armour of his allies afforded him efficacious assistance. The most formidable weapons of the inhabitants of Erin were a

small steel ax, long slender javelins, and short and very sharp arrows. The Normans, whom their steel attire preserved from scathe and wounds by this kind of weapons, closed with the natives; and while the shock of their large *dextriers* overturned the small horses of the Irish, they attacked with their heavy lances and their broad swords the man who had no defensive arms but a light wooden shield, and long tresses of horsehair, matted and hanging down on each side of the head.⁷ The whole country of Leinster was reconquered by Mac-Morrough, who, delighted at the prodigious aid afforded him by the Normans, invited them, after faithfully paying them their hire, to stay by him; and, to induce them to remain, offered them more land than they possessed elsewhere.⁸ In the overflow of his gratitude, he gave to Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald the government and all the revenue of the town of Wexford and its suburbs; to Hervé de Monte-Marisco, two districts on the coast between Wexford and Waterford; and to all the rest, possessions proportioned to their rank and their military talent.⁹ This calling in of foreigners in the internal quarrels of the country, and above all the establishment of those foreigners as permanent colonies in the towns and on the territory of the king of Leinster, alarmed all the neighbouring provinces; and the private enmity against Dermot was converted into national hostility.¹⁰ He was laid as a public enemy under the ban of the Irish confederation; and not one king only, as recently, but nearly all, then declared war against him. The new colonists, finding their cause intimately connected with his, resolved to use all their endeavours to support him by defending themselves; and on the first rumour of the gathering storm they sent some of their number to England, to recruit from each county the adventurers and vagabonds of Norman, of French, and even of English race.¹¹ They were promised pay and lands; and they came in great numbers; whom king Dermot received like the first; granting to them from the moment of their disembarkation a fortune quite different from their former condition, the bad state of which was betrayed by the surnames of some of them, such as Raymond-le-Pauvre, who, without altering that casual appellation or *sobriquet*, became a high and mighty baron on the eastern coast of Ireland.¹²

The foreign colony, having gradually increased under the auspices of the chief of Leinster, who thenceforward beheld in it his only safeguard, had, notwithstanding its engagements, a tendency to separate its own cause from that of the Irish king, and to form itself into an independent society. The adventurers soon disdaind to march to battle under the command of him whose pay they received, a man ignorant of tactics, or, as it was then

¹ Giraldi Cambrens. Hibernia expugnata; apud Camden, p. 760.—Chron. Walter. Hemingford, apud rer. Anglic. script., ii. 498, ed. Gale.

² In Latin, *Lagenia*.

³ *Spe lucri profusioris.* (Walt. Hem. loc. supr. cit.)

⁴ Robertus filius Stephani, Herveus de Monte-Maurisco. (Giraldi Camb. Hibernia expugnata, apud Camden, p. 761.)

⁵ Videns autem ordinatas præter solitum acies et equatrem turmam lorici et galeis clypeisque fulgentibus insignem . . . suburbio toto igne successo se statim intra muros reversa suscepit. (Giraldi. Cambrens. Hibernia exp. apud Camden, p. 762.)

⁶ *Intervenientibus in urbe episcopis.* (Ibid.)

⁷ Giraldi Cambrens. Topographia Hibernia.—Spenser's State of Ireland.—In the Irish tongue these tresses were called *glibs*.

⁸ *Nec suos adjutores abire passus est.* (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, apud Gale, ii. 498.)

⁹ Giraldi Camb. Hibernia expugn. apud Camden, p. 762.

¹⁰ *Cùm . . . totius Hiberniæ populi indignari et tumultuari inciperent, eò quòd gentem Anglicam Hiberniæ immisisset.* (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, apud rer. Anglic. script., ii. 498, ed. Gale.)

¹¹ *Illi metuentes paucitati suæ, acitis ex Angliâ viris inopiam laborantibus et lucri cupidis.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Le Pauvre*, according to the old French orthography. *Paor* or *Power* is still the name of a noble family in Ireland.

expressed, of the *faits d'armes* of chivalry: they chose to have a captain of great renown in war; and they invited over to take this command Richard son of Gilbert Strongbow, and grandson of the first earl of Pembroke.¹ This man, celebrated among the descendants of the conquerors of Wales as the possessor of the most extensive domains, was at that time so much impoverished by his excessive expenses, and so much harassed by his creditors, that, to escape from their importunities and to repair his fortune, he did not hesitate to obey the call of the Irish Normans.² (A.D. 1170.) His reputation and his rank procured him numerous companions: he landed with soldiers and warlike stores from several vessels at the same place where Dermot's allies had disembarked two years before; and was received with great honours by his countrymen and by the king of Leinster, forced to receive with joy this new friend who might one day become formidable to himself.³ Richard joined his army to the Norman colony; and, taking the command of all these forces, attacked the town of Waterford, in the kingdom of Munham or Munster, which was nearest to the territory occupied by the Normans. This town, founded by the northern corsairs, as its Teutonic name attests, was then taken by assault. The Normans left a garrison in it; and, marching northward, attacked Dyllin or Dublin, another town founded by the Danes, the largest and most wealthy of all the eastern coast.⁴ Supported by all the troops of king Dermot, they took the city of Dublin, and they then began to make excursions in various directions over the flat country; they seized upon several cantons, secured others by capitulation,⁵ and laid the foundations of several strong castles, which edifices were still more scarce in Ireland than they had been in England before the Conquest.⁶

(A.D. 1170 to 1171.) The Irish, forcibly struck by the rapid progress of the foreigners, attributed it to the Divine wrath; and, mixing a feeling of philanthropy with their superstitious fears, they thought to conjure the scourge which came to them from England, by giving freedom to all men of English race who had been made slaves in Ireland, after being carried off by pirates or bought for money.⁷ This generous resolution, decreed in a great council of the chiefs and bishops of the country, did not cause the sword to fall from the stout hand of Richard son of Gilbert. Being master of the kingdom of Leinster, under the name of the Irishman Dermot, whose daughter he married,⁸ and who had become the protégé and vassal of his once hired soldiers, the Norman threatened to conquer the whole country, with the aid of the new adventurers whom he called over as recruits from England.

¹ Et quia nondum habebant proprium principem, nec pro voto pastorem. . . (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, p. 498.)

² Qui cum esset magnanimus, et supra vires in expensarum profusione, amplissimisque redditibus extenuatus, et creditoribus obnoxius. (Ibid.)

³ Prestolantes socios optato laticivivo adventu. (Ibid.)—Giraldi Cambr. Hibernia expugn., p. 769.

⁴ Irruit super Dyvelynum. (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, ed. Gale, ii. 498.)

⁵ Plurimum metu suo territis in fœdus venire coegit. (Ibid.)

⁶ Et locis optimis munitiones construens. (Ibid.)

⁷ Cum universitatis consensu publicè statutum ut Angli nâique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocarent libertatem. (Giraldi Cambr. Hibernia expugnata; apud Camden, p. 770.)

⁸ Federati regis filiam uxorem accepit. (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, ed. Gale, ii. 498.)

But the rumour of the prodigious increase of this new power having reached the ears of king Henry II., inspired him with great jealousy.⁹ Until then he had beheld without uneasiness, and even with satisfaction, the establishment of the knights of Pembroke on the coasts of Ireland, and their connexion with one of the kings of that island, who, under these remarkable circumstances, was actually engaged in hostilities against his countrymen, which were so likely to prove the means of facilitating the king of England's ulterior designs, if he should be desirous of realising his ancient plan of invasion and conquest. But the possession of a great part of the island by a man of Norman race, who was every day augmenting his military strength by offering an asylum to all adventurers, and who could already, if he would, pay to the pope the rent of St. Peter's pence for every hearth, gave just cause of serious alarm to the ambitious monarch.¹⁰ He published a minatory proclamation, ordering all his liege-men at the time present sojourning in Ireland to return to England by the next Easter, on pain of the forfeiture of all their lands and chattels, and of perpetual banishment. He moreover forbade any vessel, having departed from any part of his dominions in England or on the continent, to touch on the Irish coast on any pretext whatsoever.¹¹ This prohibition arrested the progress of Richard Strongbow, who suddenly found himself deprived of all fresh supplies of men, provisions, and arms.¹² (A.D. 1171.) For want of personal boldness in so unforeseen a political difficulty, or of sufficient real means to maintain himself by his own strength, Strongbow tried to negotiate an accommodation with the king, and deputed to him, in Aquitaine, Raymond-le-Gros, one of his lieutenants.¹³ That officer was very ill received by the king, who would not give an answer to any of his proposals, or rather answered in a very expressive manner, by confiscating all the earl's great estates in England and Wales.¹⁴ At the same time the Norman colony in Leinster sustained a violent attack from the men of Danish race established on the north-east coast of Ireland, united with the native Irish; these confederates were supported by Godred king of the isle of Man, a Scandinavian by name and origin, and chief of a mixed people of Gaëls and Teutones. (A.D. 1171 to 1172.) They attempted to retake Dublin: the Normans resisted; but, fearing the effects of this new league formed against them, in the state of utter deprivation of all external succours in which they were placed by the royal ordinances, they thought they could not do better than be reconciled to the king, at whatever cost to themselves.¹⁵ Henry II. exacted very hard conditions; but the earl of Pembroke and his com-

⁹ Fama de magnis semper majora vulgante. (Giraldi Hibernia expugnata, p. 770.)—Cujus tam fastidi successus cum regi innotuissent Angliæ, motus est rex. (W. Hemingford, ii. 498.)

¹⁰ Quod non solum inconsulto, sed etiam ipso inhilente, rem tantam fuisset aggressus. (W. Hemingford, ibid.)

¹¹ Ab Anglorum rege edictum est, ut nulla de cetero navis in Hiberniam advectare præsumat. (Giraldi Hibernia expugnata, apud Camden, p. 770.)—Commercium navium penitus interdixit. (W. Hemingford, loc. cit.)

¹² Ne quod ex Angliâ subsidium inferretur. (W. Hemingford, ibid.)

¹³ Giraldus, loc. supr. cit.

¹⁴ Fisco jusit applicari. (Chron. Walter. Hemingford, apud rer. Angliæ script., ii. 498, ed. Gale.)

¹⁵ In suam gratiam redire compellit. (Ibid.)

panions submitted to them: they gave to the king the city of Dublin and the best of the towns they had conquered.¹ As the price of this abandonment, the king restored to the earl of Pembroke his confiscated domains, and confirmed to the Normans of Ireland their territorial possessions in that country, to be holden of him in fee, on condition of lealty and homage.² Strongbow thus from being a sovereign chief was constituted the king of England's seneschal in Ireland; and the king himself quickly set out to visit these new possessions of which he had made so easy an acquisition.

(A.D. 1172.) The place of rendezvous assigned for the royal army was the western coast of Pembroke-shire. Before he went on board his vessel, Henry II. performed his devotions in the church of St. David's,³ and commended to heaven the voyage and expedition which he was undertaking, as he said, for the increase of the holy church. He landed at Waterford, where the Norman chiefs of the kingdom of Leinster, and Dermot Mac-Morogh, still nominally king, but whose titular royalty must necessarily expire on the entrance of the foreign king, received him as in those ages vassals received their suzerain and lord paramount. Their troops joined his army, which marched westward, and reached without meeting with resistance the city of Cashell. The inhabitants of all the neighbouring country, despairing of making head against such numerous forces, emigrated in crowds and took refuge in the mountainous country beyond the river Shannon. The kings of the southern provinces, left by this panic at the foreigner's mercy, were compelled to surrender at his summons, to swear fidelity to him, and to acknowledge themselves his tributaries.⁴ The Normans shared among them the lands of the fugitive Irish; and when the latter, driven by distress, came back, the conquerors received them under the title of serfs, on the glebe of their own fields. Norman garrisons were placed in the towns; Norman officers took place of the ancient national chiefs; and the kingdom of Cork, a considerable province of the island was given by king Henry to Robert Fitz-Stephen, one of the captains of adventurers who had opened him so easy a way to Ireland.

Having thus made partition of and organised the provinces of the south, the king removed northward to the great town of Dublin, and there, entitling himself lord of all Hibernia, by grant thereof unto him made, as he declared, by the church, he summoned all the Irish kings to come to his court and take the oath of fidelity and liege homage to him.⁵ The kings of the south came; but he of the great western province of Connaught, to whom then belonged the supremacy over all the rest and the national title of king of the country, answered that he would not repair to the court of any one, for that he himself was the chief of all Ireland.⁶

The height of the mountains and extent of the morasses of his province enabled him to give with impunity this example of a just and proud spirit of patriotism.⁷ It was equally in vain that the summons of the Norman king was carried into the north of the island; not a chief of the province of Thual or Ulster came to do homage at the Norman court of Dublin; and the nominal sovereignty of Henry II. remained bounded by a line drawn from north-east to south-west, from the mouth of the Boyne to that of the Shannon.⁸

A palace was erected at Dublin of wood polished and painted in the Irish mode; and there the Christmas festival was passed by such of the kings and chiefs as resigned themselves to the placing their hands as vassals between those of the foreign king.⁹ All the pomp of Norman royalty was displayed there for many days; and the Irish people, mild, social, fond of novelty, and susceptible of lively impressions, took pleasure (the old authors tell us) in contemplating with looks of curiosity the splendour which their masters exhibited, their horses, their arms, and the gold embroidery of their clothes.¹⁰ The clergy, and especially the archbishops installed a few years before by the pontifical legates, played a great part in producing this degree of voluntary submission to the right of the strongest under the accidental circumstances which had so recently established it. It is true that the prelates of the north and west countries did not come to Dublin any more than the political chiefs of those countries; but those of the south and east swore fidelity to king Henry, as towards and against all men;¹¹ and they applied to the bearer of Adrian IV.'s bull the text so often applied to conquerors by the hierarchy: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."¹² Henry II. did not content himself with these precarious testimonials, on their part, of resignation to his will and obedience to his authority: he required that each of the Irish bishops should put into his hands letters signed and sealed in the form of an authentic instrument, declaring that they had constituted of their own accord "king and lord of Ireland the glorious Henry Fitz-Emress (fils de l'Emperesse) and his heirs for ever."¹³

King Henry purposed to send these letters to the pope then reigning, Alexander III., in order to obtain from him a positive confirmation of Adrian's bull: and in the first place, to prove in a striking manner that he thought of executing the clauses in that bull which contained stipulations to the advantage of the Roman church, he assembled in the city of Cashell a synod of Irish bishops and Norman priests, chaplains, abbots, or simple clerks, to commence the grand work of establishing the papal dominion over Hibernia.¹⁴ The synod pre-

⁷ Quia regio, quam inhabitabat, inaccessibilis. (Math. Paris., i. 126.)

⁸ Giraldus, *ibid.*, p. 776.

⁹ Palatium regium miro artificio, de virgis levigatis ad modum patrie illius constructum. (Rog. de Hoved., ed. Savile., p. 528.)

¹⁰ Giraldi Hibernia expugnata, apud Camden, p. 776.

¹¹ Fidelitatis ei contra omnes homines juratis. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1070, ed. Selden.)

¹² Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

¹³ Ipsos eum et heredes suos sibi in reges et dominos imperpetuum constituisse. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, i. col. 1070.)

¹⁴ Giraldus Cambrens., apud Camden, Anglica, et Hibernica, p. 776.—Ad regnum Hibernie sibi et suis hereditibus

¹ Extorsit civitatem Dyvelinon, et caetera quae potiora videbantur. (*Ibid.*)

² Residuum vero acquisitionis suae de rege et haeredibus suis ipse et haeredes sui recognoscere. (Giraldi Cambr. Hibernia expugnata, apud Camden, p. 775.)

³ Sanctique David sede devotis omnibus honorifice requisita. (Giraldus apud Camden., p. 775.)

⁴ Ei fidelitatem juraverunt. (Math. Paris., i. 126.)

⁵ Giraldi Hibernia expugnata, apud Camden, p. 776.

⁶ Diceus se regem et dominum Hibernie esse. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Selden, i. col. 1070.)

scribed the strict observance of the canons prohibiting marriage as far as the sixth degree of kindred, a law quite new to Ireland, where a great many marriages were contracted innocently in a manner reprobated by the church in other christian countries. Other resolutions, having for their object to increase the strictness of canonical discipline, were also taken in the assembly of Cashell; and it was decreed that the service of the church of Ireland should thenceforward be modelled upon that of England. The acts of the council of Cashell declared that "Hibernia being now by divine grace and providence subjected to the king of England, it is quite right that it should receive from that country the order and the rules capable of reforming it, and introducing into it a better way of life."¹

(A.D. 1172 to 1173.) These things happened nearly two years after the murder of Thomas à Becket, at a time when king Henry was brought back by political necessity to dispositions of great humility towards the pope. All his old haughtiness to the cardinals and legates, and his determination to maintain against the episcopal power what he but lately called the rights and dignity of his crown, had now vanished;² nor was his need of the aid and support of the papal power to render his authority perfectly secure over Ireland the sole cause of this change in his conduct; the death of the late primate of Canterbury had also contributed to it in some degree. Whatever desire the king had to be delivered from his antagonist, however warmly he might have expressed this desire in the excess of his irritation, the untoward circumstances of that assassination committed in open day at the foot of the altar displeased and disquieted him. "He was sorry," says a cotemporary author, "for the manner in which the martyrdom had taken place; and greatly feared that he should be branded with the repute of treachery for having in the face of the world given the holy man the assurance of full and ratified peace, and then sent him immediately into England thus to perish by a violent death."³

Henry II.'s political enemies had eagerly caught hold of this charge of treason and perjury; they were zealously spreading it abroad; the name of *traitors' meadow* had already been given to the ground on which the false reconciliation between the primate and the king of England had taken place.⁴ The king of France was pouring forth invectives, declarations, and messages, to excite in all quarters a deep-rooted hatred against his rival, and more especially to renew the insurrectional commotion of the provinces of Guienne and Brittany.⁵ After the example already set by the Saxon population, but from totally different motives, Louis VII. did not wait for a decree of the

Romish church to attribute the character of saint and martyr to one whom he had by turns succoured, forsaken, and again succoured, as the alternations of his own apparent interests dictated. The sensation of horror which the murder of the archbishop had produced on the continent furnished him with a pretext for breaking the truce he had concluded with king Henry, and he flattered himself with the hope of having in his holiness the pope an auxiliary in the war which he was desirous of recommencing. Louis therefore wrote to Alexander III. in these terms: "Let the sword of Peter be drawn from the scabbard to avenge the martyr of Canterbury; for his blood cries in the name of the universal church, and demands satisfaction of her."⁶ Thibault count of Blois, a vassal of the king of France, and one who wished to extend in a rounder belt the limits of his lands, which lay adjacent to Touraine, at the English king's expense, was yet more violent in the despatches which he sent to the pope. He wrote to this effect: "The blood of the just has been shed; the dogs of the court, the familiars, the domestics of the king of England, have made themselves the ministers of his crime."⁷ Most holy father, the blood of the just cries to you; may the Almighty Father inspire you with the will, and grant to you the power, to avenge it!"⁸ Finally, the archbishop of Sens, who styled himself primate of Gaul, issued a sentence of interdict upon all the king of England's continental provinces.⁹ This was the most powerful mode of exciting the revival of the popular discontents in those provinces; for the execution of a sentence of interdict was attended by a dismal and disheartening ceremony, by which men's minds were forcibly struck: the altars were stripped, the crucifixes overturned; the bones of the saints were taken from their shrines and scattered on the floors of the churches; the doors were carried away, whilst thorns and briars were piled on the threshold; and all religious ceremonies were discontinued, excepting only the baptism of new-born infants and hearing the confession of the dying.¹⁰

The prelates of Normandy, having no political hatred against the government of Henry II., did not carry this sentence into effect; and the archbishop of Rouen, who designated himself as primate of the continental provinces subject to the king of England, forbade the bishops of Anjou, Brittany, and Guienne, by pastoral letters, to fulfil the interdict until it should be ratified by the pope.¹¹ Three Norman bishops and several clerks set out on an embassy to Rome, to vindicate king Henry from the charge of murder and perjury.¹² Not one of the clergy of Aquitaine took any concern in this affair, whether it was that the king distrusted them, or that they had manifested a disposition

confirmandum. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, i. col. 1070, ed. Selden.)

¹ Dignum enim et justissimum est ut sicut dominum et regem et Angliam sortita est divinitus Hibernia, sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. (Girald. Cambrensis. Hibernia expugnata, p. 77.)

² See Book ix. *Salva dignitate coronæ nostræ.*

³ Dolebat enim rex de modo martyrii et famæ suæ plurimum metuebat, ne proditoris elogio ubique terrarum notaretur, utpote qui... (Gervas. Cantuar. Chron., apud Selden, ii. col. 1419.)

⁴ Pratum proditorum. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iii. cap. i. p. 107.)

⁵ See Book viii.

⁶ Denudetur gladius Petri, quia sanguis ejus pro universali clamat ecclesiâ. (Epist. Ludovici regis ad Alex. III. papam, xvi. 466.)

⁷ Canes aulici, familiares et domestici regis Angliæ. (Epist. Theobaldi ad Alex. III., *ibid.*, xvi. 469.)

⁸ Vobis inspiret vindictæ voluntatem et suggerat facultatem. (*Ibid.*)

⁹ Epist. Willelmi Senonens. archiep. ad Alexandr. III., *ibid.*, xvi. 467 et 475.

¹⁰ Præter baptismum parvulorum et penitentias morientium, (Epist. Alex. III. ad Rothomag. archiep., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xvi. 409.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 475-7.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 479.

unfavourable to his cause. The spirit by which they were animated may be judged of by the following letter, addressed to Henry II. himself by Guillaume de Trahinac, prior of the abbey of Graudmont, near Limoges, for which monastery the king had testified great partiality, and the church of which he was then having rebuilt at his own cost: "Alas! my lord and king, what is this which I hear concerning you? I would not have you ignorant that, from the day that I learned you had fallen into a mortal sin, I have sent away the workmen in your pay who were building up the church of our house of Grandmont, in order that we may not in any manner share with you in that sin."¹

In like manner as the king of France and the other enemies of Henry II. imputed to him directly the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and strove to represent the crime of the four Norman knights as the consequence of an express mission, so, on the contrary, king Henry's friends tried to obtain the general credence of a quite contrary version of that event, and to make the violent death of Thomas à Becket pass for a merely fortuitous occurrence, in which the king's hatred had no sort of share. A pretended narration of the facts, drawn up and signed by a bishop, was sent to pope Alexander III., in the name of all the clergy of Normandy. The Norman priests related that, being one day assembled around the king to consult upon the affairs of the church and state, they had unexpectedly learned from the mouths of certain persons then just returned from England that certain enemies of the archbishop, urged to that extremity by his provocations, had fallen upon him and killed him;² that this dismal intelligence had been concealed from the king for some time, but that at last it had reached his ear, because he could not be left in ignorance of a crime the punishment of which belonged to him by right of his royal power and the sword of justice;³ that at the first words of the sad recital he had burst into sighs and groans, and had abandoned himself to a grief which had discovered the soul of the friend rather than that of the prince, now appearing as if stupefied, now uttering cries and sobs,⁴ that he had passed three entire days shut up in his chamber, refusing all nourishment and all consolation, and seeming to have resolved to put an end to his life.⁵ These ecclesiastical narrators pleaded thus, in addition, for the justification of the king's innocence: "So much indeed was he visibly affected, that we, who at first lamented the fate of the primate, began to despair of the king, and to think that the death of the one would unhappily lead to that of the other.⁶ At length his intimate friends ventured to ask him what afflicted him to such a degree, and prevented him from returning to himself. 'It is,' answered the king unto them, 'that

I fear lest the authors and accomplices of this abominable crime should have promised themselves impunity beforehand, relying on my former rancour; and lest my reputation should suffer from the evil discourses of my enemies, who will not fail to attribute all to me.⁷ But, by the Almighty God, I have not been accessory to it in any way, either willingly or consciously, unless the opinion still entertained by certain men that I did not like the archbishop be regarded as an offence in me."⁸

This narration, in which the exaggerated sentiment, the dramatic circumstances, the affecting to represent the king as the primate's most tender friend, are so many evident proofs of falsehood, obtained little credit at the court of Rome or in the world. Nor did this false colouring and gloss of misrepresentation prevent those who were ill disposed towards the king from propagating the equally false assertion that Becket had been slain by a formal order from Henry II. To weaken these impressions, the king resolved to write himself to the pope an account of the murder and of his own regret, more nearly approaching the truth than that of the prelates of Normandy, without however being altogether exact. In this letter the king of England was very careful not to acknowledge that the four assassins had departed from his court after hearing him utter an exclamation of rage which might pass for an order; and he exaggerated his good offices towards the primate, as also the ill behaviour of the latter. "I had restored to him," said he, "my friendship and the full possession of his lands and benefice; I had permitted him to return to England with an honourable attendance;⁹ but, on his landing, instead of the glad tidings of peace he carried with him fire and the sword. He called my royal dignity in question, and he excommunicated without any just cause the most zealous of my servants.¹⁰ Then they whom he had excommunicated, with others in England, unable to endure this man's insolence longer, fell upon him and slew him; all which I cannot relate without deep sorrow."¹¹

The court of Rome at first made a great clamour respecting the sacrilegious violence committed upon the anointed priest of the Most High, and when the Norman clerks who were sent to attend the conclave had presented their credentials, and pronounced the style and formula of "Henry by the grace of God king of England," all the cardinals arose and exclaimed, "Hold your peace! ye have already said sufficient!"¹² But when, having quitted the hall of audience, each of the cardinals in private had seen the king's gold glitter,¹³ they became much more tractable, and consented to regard him not as a direct accomplice in the murder.

¹ Ne sceleris auctores et complices, veteris rancoris confidentiâ, impunitatem sibi criminis promississent. (Ibid.)

² Nisi forte in hoc delictum sit, quod adhuc minus diligere credebatur. (Ibid.)

³ Et cum honesto commentu in Angliam transfretare concessi. (Epist. Henr. II. ad Alex. III., ibid., xvi. 470.)

⁴ Ipse verò in ingressu suo, non pacis lætitiâ, sed ignem portavit et gladium. (Ibid.)

⁵ Tantam igitur protervitatem hominis non ferentes, excommunicati et alii de Angliâ, irruerunt in eum. (Ibid.)

⁶ Acclamavit tota curia: Sustinete! sustinete! (Epist. Richardi abbatii ad Henr. II., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvi. 477.)

⁷ Interventu quorundam cardinalium et magna pecunie. (Epist. Anonymi ad Richard. Pictav. archidic., xvi. 479.)

¹ Heu! domine mi rex, quid est quod audio de vobis? Nolo vos ignorare quòd... ne in illo tecum participes esse- mus. (Epist. Guili. de Trahinac ad Henr. II., ibid., xvi. 471.)

²... quòd quidam inimici ejus crebris, ut aiebant, exacerbationibus provocati, tenerè in eum irruptione factâ, personam ejus aggredi et crudeliter trucidare perstitissent. (Epist. Arnulphi Lexov. episc. ad Alex. III., ibid., xvi. 469.)

³ Jure potestatis et gladii. (Ibid.)

⁴ Stupens interitum, et post sinuorem ad genitus acriores, et acerbiore amaritudinis, revolutas. (Ibid.)

⁵ Voluntarium sibi perniciem indicere. (Ibid.)

⁶ Et in alterius necè miserabiliter utrumque credebamus interisse. (Ibid.)

Thus it turned out that, despite the public clamours and the reiterated arguments of the king of England's enemies, Henry escaped excommunication, and two legates were commissioned to repair to his court, there to receive his plea of justification, and finally to give him absolution.¹ His cause had been brought to this point at the period when Henry II. departed for Ireland, and diverted himself by that easy conquest from the disquietudes which tormented him. That signal success, however, placed the king in a new relation of dependence upon the papal power. In the midst of his military and political labours in the country which he had just conquered, he had his eyes incessantly turned to the other coast, and anxiously awaited the coming of the ambassadors from Rome. When at length, in the Lent which terminated the year 1172, he learned that cardinals Albert and Theodinus had arrived in Normandy, he quitted everything to go to meet them, and left his Irish conquests to the care of Hugh de Lacy.²

(A.D. 1173.) The court of Rome had already sold to king Henry the erasure of his name from the list of persons excommunicated for the murder of Thomas à Becket; but the pontifical court, being still the undisputed arbiter in all such causes, had left the accusation of indirect participation in that crime impending over the king's conscience.³ A definitive absolution of this sin was not expected to be formally granted without fresh negotiations and new pecuniary sacrifices. In case that the king should not consent to the conditions of such treaty, the legates were commissioned to put England and the continental possessions under interdict, which would infallibly open to the king of France an entrance into Brittany and Poitou; but, on the other hand, if Henry II. acceded to the proposed conditions, the legates were to force the king of France by the threat of a similar interdict on his kingdom to make peace with Henry. The king of England's first interview with the cardinals took place in a convent near Avranches; and the demands of the Romans, who perceived the awkward position in which the king stood, were so exorbitant, that the latter, notwithstanding his resolution of doing much to please the church, refused to submit to what they proposed to him. He exclaimed, as he was quitting them, "I am going back to Ireland, where I have much to do; as for you, go in peace upon my lands wheresoever you please, and fulfil your mission."⁴ But Henry II. speedily began to feel that his Irish affairs would soon be too weighty for him to manage without the pontifical alliance; and the cardinals, on their part, became rather less extortionate. A second meeting took place; and, after mutual concessions, peace was concluded between the court of Rome and the king, who, according to the official account sent by the legates, showed great humility, fear of God, and obedience to the church.⁵ The conditions imposed upon Henry

were, a tribute in money for the expenses of the war against the Saracens, an obligation to go to that war in person, or to *take the cross*, as was then the expression, and lastly, the abolition of the statutes of Clarendon, and of all laws, whether new or old, that should be condemned by the pope.⁶ In pursuance of a previous arrangement, the king went in ceremony to the great church of Avranches; and there, laying his hand on the Gospel, he swore before all the people that he had neither ordered nor wished the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that when apprised of it he had felt more sorrow than joy.⁷ The articles of the peace and the promises he had made were then read to him; and he took an oath to execute them all honestly and without "*mal engin*," i. e. an evil mind.⁸ Henry his eldest son, and his colleague in the kingdom, and to the articles at the same time as himself; and, as a guarantee of this double promise, an authentic instrument was drawn up, to which the royal seal was appended.⁹ This king, who formerly had exhibited such haughtiness towards the pontifical power, desired the cardinals not to spare him in anything. He addressed them as follows: "Lords cardinals, here is my body, it is in your hands: know for certain that whatsoever you order I shall be ready to obey."¹⁰ The legates contented themselves with making him kneel before them while they gave him absolution for having been an indirect accomplice, exempting him from the obligation of receiving on his bare shoulders the stripes with rods which were inflicted on penitents.¹¹ The same day he despatched to England letters sealed with his great seal, announcing to all the bishops that their promises respecting the observance of the statutes of Clarendon were thenceforward dispensed with,¹² and to the whole people that peace was restored, to the honour of God and his church, of the king and the kingdom.¹³ A pontifical decree, declaring archbishop Thomas to be a saint and martyr, and with which the legates had provided themselves as a piece of diplomacy necessary to their mission, was also sent to England, with orders to promulgate it in the churches and the public places, where until that moment had been flogged and pilloried all such as had dared to call the assassination of *the king's enemy* a crime.¹⁴

On the arrival of this intelligence and of the brief of canonization there was great commotion among the high personages of England, laymen and priests: for here they were called upon for a sudden change of their conduct and opinions, and

⁶ Quod prava statuta de Clarendunâ et omnes malas consuetudines penitus dimitteret juxta mandatum domini pape. (Epist. anonymi, xvi. 484.)

⁷ In publicâ audientiâ, tactis sacrosanctis evangelis . . . et . . . plus inde doluit quàm latatus est. (Ibid.)

⁸ Absque fraude et malo ingenio. (Ibid., xvi. 485.)

⁹ Fecit etiâ Henricum filium suum jurare . . . poni sigillum suum. (Reg. de Hoved., p. 529, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ Ecco, inquit, domini legati, corpus meum in manu vestra est; scitote pro certo, quod quidquid juseritis . . . (Epist. anonymi, apud script. rer. Gallie, et. France, xvi. 485.)

¹¹ Flexis genibus . . . non tamen exusta vestibus, neque vulneribus appositis. (Ibid.)

¹² Relaxavit episcopos de promissione quam ei fecerant. (Alberti et Theodini cardinali, epist. xvi. 486.)

¹³ Ad honorem Dei et ecclesie, et meum et regni mei. (Epist. Henr. II. ad Bartholomæum Exoniens. episc., xvi. 487.)

¹⁴ See Book ix.

¹ Radulf. de Diceto. Imag. histor., apud hist. Anglie. script., vol. 557, ed. Selden.

² Reg. de Hoved., p. 529.—Girald. Camb. Hib. expugn., apud Camden, p. 778.

³ Epist. anonymi ad Richardum Pietav. archidiacon., apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xvi. 479.

⁴ Vos autem in pace ite per terram meam ubi vobis placuerit, et agite legationem sicut vobis injunctum est. (Ibid., xvi. 484.)

⁵ Cum tantâ humilitate obsecrarent Deo . . . (Epist. Alberti et Theodini cardinali., xvi. 486.)

to admit as an object of public worship or reverence the man whom they had so bitterly persecuted. The earls, viscounts, and barons, who had waited on the coast to kill Thomas à Becket; the bishops who had insulted him in his exile, had used their utmost endeavours to aggravate the king's hatred against him, and last of all had carried into Normandy the denunciation which had caused his death, assembled in Westminster Hall to hear the reading of the papal brief, which was couched in the following terms:¹ "We hereby give notice to all who are concerned, and enjoin you by our apostolical authority, solemnly to celebrate the memory of Thomas, the glorious martyr of Canterbury, every year on the day of his passion;² to the end that by addressing to him your prayers and your vows you may obtain the forgiveness of your sins, and that he who living suffered exile, and dying suffered martyrdom in the cause of Christ, being invoked by the faithful, may intercede for us all with God."³

No sooner was the reading of this letter finished than all the Normans, clerks and laymen, seized with a pretended enthusiasm, raised their voices at once, and exclaimed, *Te Deum laudamus*.⁴ While some of the bishops continued singing the verses of the canticle of rejoicing, the rest melted into tears, and said in a tone of great emotion, "Alas, unhappy that we are! we did not reverence our father as we ought to have done, neither in his exile, nor when he returned from exile, nor even after his return."⁵ Instead of succouring him in his crosses, we obstinately persecuted him; we confess our error and our iniquity."⁶ And as if these individual exclamations had not been sufficient to prove to king Henry II, that his faithful bishops of England could veer to any given point at the breath of his royal will, they concerted that one of them, speaking in public, should pronounce on behalf of them all their solemn confession.⁷ Gilbert Foliot bishop of London, formerly the most ardent of the primate's persecutors, the man most deeply inculpated at the pontifical court for the part which he had played in the persecutions of the new saint, and the catastrophe which had crowned them, publicly swore that he had not participated in the death of the archbishop by deed, word, or writing.⁸ He was one of those who by their complaints and by false relations had so greatly excited the king's anger against the primate. But the oath effaced all; the Roman church was satisfied, and Foliot kept his bishopric.⁹

The political advantages which were to result from this great change were speedily reaped by

the king of England. First, by the intervention of the legates, he had an interview with the king of France on the Norman frontiers, and concluded peace on as favourable terms as Henry could possibly expect.¹⁰ Next, as a reward for his having completely abandoned his former projects of church reform, he received from pope Alexander III. the following bull relative to the affairs of Ireland: "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his very dear and illustrious son Henry king of England, greeting, grace and apostolical benediction:¹¹—Seeing that the gifts granted for good and valid causes by our predecessors ought to be by us ratified and confirmed, after maturely weighing and considering the grant and privilege of possession of the land of Hibernia, to us belonging, delivered by our predecessor Adrian, we hereby ratify, confirm, and accord, in like manner, the said grant and privilege, reserving the annual tribute of a penny for each house, due to St. Peter and the Roman church, as well in Hibernia as in England: provided also that the people of Hibernia be reformed in their life and abominable morals, that they become christians in fact as they are in name, and that the church of that country, as rude and disorderly as the nation itself, be brought under better laws."¹² To support this donation of a whole people, body and goods, a sentence of excommunication and abandonment to the power of the devil was issued against every man who should dare to deny the right of king Henry and his heirs to Ireland.

Thus everything seemed to prosper as well as the great-grandson of the Conqueror of England could wish. The man who had molested him for nine years was no more; and the pope, who had made use of that man's obstinacy to alarm the ambition of the king, now zealously seconded him in his projects of conquest. That nothing might disturb his quiet, he freed him by absolution from all remorse that might have troubled his conscience after a murder committed, if not by his order, at least to please him. He even dispensed with the obligation of punishing those who had committed that murder from an excess of zeal for his interest;¹³ and the four Normans, Tracy, Morville, Fitz-Urse, and Brito, remained in a state of perfect safety in a royal castle in the north of England. No judiciary or retributive vengeance followed them to this asylum, excepting that taken by public opinion, which circulated a thousand sinister stories respecting them; as, for instance, that the very animals abhorred their presence, and that dogs refused to touch the remnants of their meals.¹⁴ In gaining the support of the pope against Ireland, Henry II. was by this increase of power abroad amply indemnified for the diminution of his influence over the ecclesiastical affairs of his states; and there is no proof that he did not resign

¹ Apud Westmonasterium recitatae fuerunt literae domini papae in audientia episcoporum omnium ac baronum. (Math. Paris., i. 127.)

² Natalem Thomae martyris gloriosi Cantuariensis, diem videlicet passionis ejus. (Ibid.)

³ Ut qui pro Christo in vitam exilium, et in morte virtutis constantiam, martyrium pertulit. (Ibid.)

⁴ Apicibus autem vix perceptis, levaverunt vocem omnes in sublimem dicentes. (Ibid.)

⁵ Debitum patri reverentiam, aut exultant, aut ab exilio revertenti, vel etiam reverso. (Ibid.)

⁶ Suam confiterentur errorem et iniquitatem. (Ibid.)

⁷ Ex ore unius episcopi omnium episcoporum est expressa confessio. (Ibid.)

⁸ Ibid., p. 127. Neque acto, neque verbo, neque scripto, procuravit. (Radulf. de Diceto, apud hist. Angl. script., col. 560, ed. Selden.)—Math. Paris., i. 127.

⁹ Suo itaque restitutus officio. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ad Marchiam cum Francorum rege Ludovico colloquium habiturus accessit. (Girald. Cambrens. Hibernia espugnata, apud Camden, p. 779.)—Pacificavit se cum rege Francum. (Benedict. Petroburg., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 147.)

¹¹ Rymer Fœdera, i. pars i. p. 45. Londini, 1816.

¹² Ibid.—Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Selden, i. col. 1071.

¹³ Math. Paris., i. 125.

¹⁴ Soli manducabant et soli bibebant, et fragmenta cibarium suorum canibus projiciebantur, et cum inde gustassent, nolabant comedere. (Chron. Johan. Bromton, i. col. 1064.)

himself to it cordially or without regret. It was not a pure wish for good that had guided him in his legislative reforms; and it should be remembered that he had already once offered to the pope to sacrifice the statutes of Clarendon, and still more if he, on his part, would consent to abandon the cause of Thomas à Becket.¹ Thus Henry, after such lengthened agitations, peaceably enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his ambitious hopes fulfilled to his heart's wish; but this calm did not last long, for fresh vexations, with which, strange as it may seem, the memory of the archbishop was still intimately connected, sprung up to afflict the king.

The reader will remember that during the life of Thomas à Becket Henry II., despairing of persuading the pope to deprive the primate of his title, had resolved to abolish the primacy itself, and had caused, with that object in view, his eldest son to be crowned king by the hands of the archbishop of York.² This measure, which seemed to have no other importance than as it struck at the basis of the religious hierarchy established since the Conquest, had political consequences which no one had foreseen. As there were two kings of England, the flatterers and courtiers, having in some sort a double employ, were divided between the father and the son. The younger and the more active in political intrigues ranged themselves on the side of the latter, whose reign it was supposed offered the perspective of longer and more lasting favour.³ One circumstance in particular drew towards him the affections of the Aquitanians and Poitevins, who were clever, insinuating, persuasive, eager for novelty, and ever prompt to seize every means of weakening the Anglo-Norman authority, to which they rendered an unwilling obedience: there had long ceased to be any good understanding between Eleanor of Guienne and her husband. The latter, once in possession of the honours and titles which count William's daughter had brought him as her dowry, and for which alone, say the old historians, he had courted and married her,⁴ had begun to keep mistresses of every rank and nation. The duchess of Guienne, passionate and vindictive like a woman of the south, strove to inspire her sons with dislike of their father; and bestowed upon them the utmost care and tenderness, in order to make them a support to herself against him.⁵ From the moment that the eldest had entered into a share of the royal dignity she gave him friends, counsellors, and intimate confidants, who, during the numerous absences abroad of Henry II., used all their efforts to excite the young man's pride and ambition.⁶ They had not much difficulty in persuading him that his father, by having him crowned king, had fully abdicated in his favour, that he alone was king of England, and that none other ought to take that title or exercise the sovereign power.⁷

¹ See Book ix.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Credentes dominationem filii illicō imminere.* (Math. Paris., i. 128.)

⁴ *Maximē dignitatum que eam contingebant cupiditate illectus.* (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud Selden., col. 1371.)

⁵ *Ex consilio matris sue.* (Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xiii. 749.)—Math. Paris., i. 126.

⁶ *Regis Henrici junioris animam cōperunt avertere à patre suo.* (*Ibid.*)

⁷ *Ibid.*—*Quasi, eo coronato, regnum expressisset paternum.* (Guil. Neubrig. de rebus Anglic., p. 197, ed. Hearne.)

The old king, such was the appellation by which Henry II. was then designated,⁸ was not slow in remarking the bad dispositions which his son's confidants were studying to foster in him; and he several times forced him to change his friends, and dismiss those whom he loved the most.⁹ But these measures, which Henry II.'s continual occupations on the continent, and afterwards in Ireland, did not permit him closely to follow up, soured the young man's character instead of correcting it, and gave him a sort of right to call himself persecuted and complain bitterly of his father.¹⁰ Things were in this posture when peace was restored by the intervention of the pope between the kings of France and England. One cause of their last broil was, that king Henry, in having his son crowned by the archbishop of York, had not caused the prince's wife, Margaret daughter of the king of France, to be crowned at the same time.¹¹ This wrong was repaired at the peace; and then Margaret, having been crowned queen in England, desired much to visit her father in Paris. Henry II. had no reason to oppose this request; he permitted the young king to accompany his wife to the French court; but on their return he found his son more discontented than he had previously been:¹² he made the complaint that he was a king without land and without treasure, that he had not a house of his own wherein to reside with his wife.¹³ He even asked his father to resign to him in full sovereignty either the kingdom of England or one of the two duchies of Normandy or of Anjou.¹⁴ The old king counselled him to remain tranquillised and patient until the time when the succession of all those states should devolve on him. But this simple answer excited the discontent of young Henry to the highest pitch; and from that day, say the old historians, he spoke not one word more of peace to his father.¹⁵

Henry II., conceiving apprehensions about his conduct, and wishing to observe him closely, made him travel with him into the province of Guienne. They held their court at Limoges, whither Raymond count of Toulouse, quitting the alliance of the king of the French, came and did homage to the king of England for his town and county, according to the fluctuating policy of the powerful men of southern Gaul, constantly banded about and passing alternately from one to the other of the kings their enemies.¹⁶ Count Raymond rendered, as a matter of form, the territory which he governed to his new ally; he then by a like fiction received it back from him as a fief, and took the same oath as was taken by a vassal to whom his seigneur really made a grant of lands.¹⁷ He swore

⁸ *Rex senior; sic enim vulgō dicebatur.* (*Ibid.*)

⁹ *Removerat à consilio et famulatu filii sui Asulfum de Sancto-Hilario et alios equites juniores.* (Robert. de Monte, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 316.)

¹⁰ *Indē ille iratus.* (*Ibid.*)

¹¹ *Benedictus Petroburgensis, ibid., 150.*

¹² *Rog. de Hoved., p. 531, ed. Savile.*

¹³ *Ubi ipse cum regiā suā morari posset.* (Ben. Petroburg., xiii. 150.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*—*Rog. de Hoved., p. 531.*

¹⁵ *Nihil cum eo pacificō loqui potuit.* (Benedict. Petroburg., *ibid.*)

¹⁶ *Pro urbe Tholosanā hominūm fecit.* (Gaufredi Vosiensis Chron. ap. Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xii. 443.)

¹⁷ *Predictamque civitatem ex eorum beneficio recepit.* (Gaufredi Vosiensis Chron., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xii. 443.)

to observe fealty and honour to king Henry, to give him aid and counsel at all times, towards and against all men, to betray none of his secrets, and to reveal to him those of his enemies.¹ When the count of Toulouse came to this last part of his oath of homage, he said, "I warn you, sire, to put in a state of defence your fortresses in Poitou and Guienne, and to distrust your wife and your sons."² Henry II. let nothing transpire of this confidential communication, which seemed to announce the existence of some plot in which the count of Toulouse had been solicited to join; he only made a pretext of several great hunting parties, during which, together with some devoted followers, he visited the fortresses of the country, ordered their works to be re-established, and made himself certain of the fidelity of the commandants.³

On the return from their visit to Guienne the king and his son stopped at Chinon to sleep; and the same night the son, without acquainting his father, quitted him, and went forward alone as far as Alençon: the father set out in pursuit of him, but could not overtake him: the young man went to Argentan, and from thence passed by night into the French territory.⁴ When the old king was apprised of this he immediately mounted his horse and proceeded with all possible speed along the whole frontier of Normandy, the fortresses of which he inspected and secured them against a coup-de-main:⁵ he then sent despatches to all his castellans of Anjou, Brittany, Guienne, and England, ordering them to repair as quickly as possible to, and carefully to guard, their fortresses and towns.⁶ Envoys were also sent to the king of France, to learn what were his intentions, and to claim the young fugitive in the name of the paternal authority.⁷ King Louis received these ambassadors in his plenary court, having on his right hand young Henry regally attired. When the envoys had presented their despatches, according to the ceremonial of the age, the king of France demanded of them, "From whom do you bring me this message?"⁸ "From Henry king of England, duke of Normandy, duke of Aquitaine, count of Anjou and Maine." "That," returned the king, "is not true; for here at my side is Henry king of England, who has nothing to communicate to me by your lips.⁹ But if it be his father, the heretofore king of England, to whom you give these titles, know that he has been dead ever since the day when his son first wore the crown; and that as for his pretension to be still a king, after having resigned his kingdom to his son in the face of the whole world, that matter shall be speedily righted."¹⁰

¹ Formulae homagii et .igantie; Ducange, Gloss. mediæ et infimæ latinæ.

² Raymundus tunc patefecit regi qualiter .. (Gaufr. Vosiensis chron., xii. 443.)

³ Quasi gratiâ venandi egressus, velociter urbes munivit et castra. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ab Argentonio nocta recedens. (Radulf de Diceto, Imag. histor. ed. Selden, i. col. 561.)

⁵ Equum ascendit, et transitum habens per marchiam suam, et castellorum custodes præmunens, equis sæpè mutatis .. (Id. ibid., i. col. 562.)

⁶ Bened. Petroburg., apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xiii. 150.
⁷ Paterno jure. (Gall. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 197, ed. Hearne.)

⁸ Quis mihi talia mandat? (Ibid.)

⁹ Ecce adest, per vos mihi nihil mandat. (Ibid., p. 198.)

¹⁰ Scitote quia ille rex mortuus est .. porrò quòd adhuc pro rege se gerit .. maturè emendabitur. (Ibid.)

Young Henry was formally recognised as the only king of England, in a general assembly of all the barons and bishops of the kingdom of France.¹¹ Louis VII. swore first, with his hand upon the Gospel, and after him all the French barons in like manner solemnly engaged to aid the son, according to their ability, in conquering the states of the father.¹² The king of France had a great seal made with the arms of the king of England, in order that Henry the Younger might affix that sign of legality to his charters and despatches.¹³ His first acts of sovereignty were donations of lands and honours in England and on the continent to the principal lords of France and the other enemies of his father. He confirmed to the king of Scotland the conquests made by his predecessor in Northumbria:¹⁴ he gave to the count of Flanders the whole province of Kent and the castles of Dover and Rochester; to the count of Boulogne a large domain near Lincoln, and the county of Mortain in Normandy; and finally, to the count of Blois he granted Amboise, Château-Regnault, and five hundred pounds of silver out of the revenue of Anjou.¹⁵ Other donations were made to many barons of England and Normandy who had promised to declare against the old king; and Henry the Younger¹⁶ sent despatches sealed with his new royal seal to all his friends, to those of his mother, and even to the pope, whom he tried to gain over to his interests by the offer of greater political advantages than the court of Rome derived from its friendship with Henry II. This last letter was to be in some sort the manifesto of the expected rising; for the appeals which in our day are made to public opinion were in the middle ages made to the pontiff of Rome. It is a remarkable particular in this manifesto that Henry the Younger assumes therein all the titles of his father excepting that of duke of Aquitaine, doubtless the better to conciliate the favour of the men of that country, who were pertinacious in acknowledging no right over them but in the daughter of their last national chief. But what is yet more remarkable is the origin of his differences with his father, as declared by the young king, and the manner in which he justifies his having violated that commandment of God which enjoins us to honour our father and mother. This authentic letter says, "I pass over such grievances in silence as are personal to myself, and shall speak of that which has had the most powerful influence on my mind. The signal villains who in the very temple slaughtered my foster-father, the glorious martyr of Christ, St. Thomas of Canterbury, continue safe and secure; they still have root upon earth; no act of royal justice has pursued them for so frightful a crime.¹⁷ I have not been able to endure this negligence; and such has been the first and most serious cause of the present discord. The blood of the martyr cried aloud to me; it has not been in my power

¹¹ Roger. de Hoved., ed. Savile, p. 533.

¹² Quòd auxiliarentur ei modis omnibus ad patrem suum de regno ejiciendum. (Ibid.)

¹³ Sigillo suo novo quod rex Franciæ ei fieri fecit. (Id., p. 534.)

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Id. ibid.

¹⁶ Henricus junior. (Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xiii., passim.)

¹⁷ Proficiunt adhuc et radicem mittunt in terrâ, et nulla, post tam atroç et inauditum maleficium, regie ultionis secuta est manus. (Henrici filii Henrici II. ad Alexandrum III. epist., ibid., xvi. 644.)

to avenge him and render unto him that honour which was due; but I have at least paid him reverence by visiting his sepulchre, in the sight and to the great astonishment of the whole kingdom.¹ For this cause my father has conceived great anger against me; but assuredly I fear not to offend a father when devotion is to be shown to Christ, for whom it is our duty to leave both father and mother.² Such has been the origin of our dissensions; hearken to me, then, most holy father, and judge my cause; for it will be truly just if it shall be justified by thy apostolical authority."³

To estimate these assertions at their just value it is sufficient to call to mind the ordinances framed by the young king himself when Thomas à Becket came to London; for, then, it was by his express command that the archbishop had been forbidden to sojourn in the capital, or in any town in England except Canterbury; and that every man who had offered him his hand in token of welcome had been declared a public enemy.⁴ The remembrance of these notorious facts was yet fresh in the minds of the people; and thence, no doubt, proceeded the general surprise occasioned by the visit of the persecutor to the tomb of the persecuted, if after all the visit was not a mere fable. To this story, adorned with every form of style that could flatter the pride of the Roman pontiff, the young king added a sort of plan of the new system of rule which he proposed to institute in his father's states if God permitted him to make conquest thereof.⁵ First, he would have ecclesiastical elections restored in all their liberty, without any interference by the royal power. The revenues of the vacant churches were to be reserved for the future titular, and no longer levied for the exchequer, "as he could not suffer that the wealth of the cross, acquired by the blood of Him crucified, should go to feed that royal pomp which kings cannot live without."⁶ Bishops were to have the power of excommunicating and interdicting, of binding and unbinding, throughout the kingdom; and no member of the clergy was to be cited or brought before lay judges, as Christ was before Pilate.⁷ Henry the Younger offered to add to these dispositions all that the pope should please; and concluded with begging that he would write officially to all the clergy of England, that, "by the inspiration of God and the intervention of the new martyr, their king had conferred upon them liberties which ought to give them joy and excite their gratitude."⁸ A declaration like this would indeed have been a great help to the young man, who, considering his father as already dead, styled himself Henry the Third. But the court of Rome, too circumspect to abandon on light grounds a certainty for that which was uncertain, was in no haste to answer this despatch; and until fortune should

have declared more decisively it preferred the alliance of the father to that of the son.

Besides this son, who was commonly called the Young King, in the Norman tongue *li reys Joves*, and in the dialect of the southern Gauls *lo reis Joves*, the king of England had three others, namely Richard, who, notwithstanding his youth, had been made by his father count of Poitiers and was called Richard of Poitiers, Geoffrey count of Brittany, and John, surnamed *Sans-terre*, or Lackland, because of them all he alone had neither government nor province.⁹ The latter was of too tender an age to take a part in the quarrel which arose between his father and the eldest of his brothers; but the other two embraced the cause of the eldest, being incited by their mother and silently urged by their vassals of Poitou and Brittany.¹¹

The extensive portion of Gaul then united under the power of Henry II. was in a posture similar to that of the whole of Gaul in the time of the Frank emperor Lodewig, vulgarly called Louis the Pious, or le Débonnaire. The tribes inhabiting south of the Loire no more desired to be associated with those which dwelt north of that river and to the inhabitants of England, than the Gauls and the Italians of Charlemagne's empire had been of remaining united to the Germans under the sceptre of a German king.¹² The rebellion of the children of Henry II., coinciding in some sort with this national repugnance, and associating itself therewith, as that of the children of Louis le Débonnaire had formerly done, could not therefore fail to produce, though on a more contracted stage, those important scenes which had marked the discords of the dynasty of the Frank Cæsars. When once the sword was drawn between the father and the sons, neither the one nor the other were ever to be permitted to return it at will into the scabbard; for, besides the two rival parties in this domestic war, nations took part in the contest, for the sake of popular interests that were incapable of bending as each return of paternal indulgence or filial repentance might direct.

(A.D. 1174.) Richard of Poitiers and Geoffrey of Brittany departed from Guienne, where they were with their mother Eleanor, to go and join their elder brother at the French court: they both arrived there in safety; but their mother, who had arranged to follow them thither, was surprised while travelling in man's attire, and thrown into prison by order of the king of England.¹³ On the arrival of the two younger brothers at the king of France's court, that king made them solemnly swear, like the eldest, to conclude neither peace nor truce with their father without the intervention of the French barons; and the war was then commenced on the frontier of Normandy. No sooner were these events rumoured in England than the whole country was in commotion. Many men of Norman race, especially the young men, declared themselves on the side of the princes.¹⁴

¹ Sancto martyris visitando sepulchram, toto quidem regno hi viante et obisipente. (Ibid.)

² Sed parum certe veremur offensam patris, ubi Christi derotio in causâ est. (Ibid.)

³ Tunc quippè verè erit justa, si apostolatûs vestri auctoritate justificata fuerit. (Id. ibid., p. 645.)

⁴ See Book ix.

⁵ Henrici filii Henr. II. ad Alex. III., xvi. 648.

⁶ Rex cruce, crucifixi elaboratus sanguine, in regios fastus seu luxus seculares converti, sine quibus reges esse non solent. (Ibid., xvi. 646.)

⁷ Christus ante Pilatum judicatus. (Ibid., xvi. 647.)

⁸ Ut et ipsa letetur de munere. (Ibid.)

⁹ Rex Juvenis, rex Junior. (Ibid., xiii. 116.)

¹⁰ Richardus comes Pictaviensis. Johannes qui Sine-terrâ nominatus est. (Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., 565.)

¹¹ Ibid., xvi. 644.

¹² See Book ii.

¹³ Regina verò Alienor, cum, mutata veste muliebri, recessisset, apprehensa est, et sub arcu custodia reservata. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud Selden, ii. col. 1424.)

¹⁴ Tâin de Anglâ quâm de Normanniâ vîci potentes et nobiles. (Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xiii. 749.)

The Saxon population, collectively, remained indifferent to this dispute, and individually the serfs and vassals of English birth attached themselves to the party espoused by their immediate master. The townsmen were enlisted voluntarily or by force in the cause of the earls or viscounts who governed the cities and armed either for the father or for the sons.

Henry II. was then in Normandy, where there was every day flying from him some one of his most intimate courtiers, of those whom he had fed at his table, and to whom he had given with his own hands the baldric of knighthood.¹ "It was to him," says a contemporary, "the height of grief and despair to behold going over, one after another, to his enemies, the guards of his chamber, those to whom he had intrusted the care of his person and of his life."² Almost every night some one departed, whose absence was discovered at the next morning's muster." In this abandonment, and amidst the dangers which it presaged, the king showed an apparent tranquillity: he pursued the chase with more than ordinary ardour;³ he was gay and affable with the companions who remained to him, and answered with mildness the demands of such as, taking advantage of his critical situation, exacted for their fidelity exorbitant salaries.⁴ His greatest hope was in the support of strangers: he sent to distant states to solicit the aid of all such kings as had sons;⁵ he wrote to Rome to ask of the pope the excommunication of his enemies, and, in order to obtain in that court an influence superior to that of his adversaries, he made that acknowledgment of vassalage to the apostolical see which William the Conqueror had so haughtily refused.⁶ His letter to pope Alexander III. contained the following sentences: "O you! whom God has elevated to the sublimity of the pastoral functions, to give to his people the knowledge of salvation, though absent in body yet present in mind, I cast myself at your knees.⁷ To your jurisdiction belongs the kingdom of England, and I am held and bound to you by all the obligations which the law imposes on feudatories.⁸ Let England then feel what the Roman pontiff can do; and if you do not employ material arms, at least defend with the spiritual sword the patrimony of the blessed Peter."⁹ The pope recognised the justice of this demand by ratifying the sentences which the Norman bishops faithful to the king had issued against the partisans of the princes:¹⁰ he moreover sent a special legate commissioned to restore domestic peace, and to take

¹ Hi quos donaverat cingulo militari . . . adeo ut vix aliquem haberet ex omnibus caris suis. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron., apud hist. Angl. script., ed. Selden, ii. col. 1427.)

² In quorum manibus mortem simul et vitam commiserat . . . Manè requisiti non comparebant. (Giral. Cambrens. Hibernia expugnata: apud Camden, p. 782.)

³ Math. Par., i. 128.

⁴ Et non sine magna mercede. (Roger. de Hoveden, p. 534. ed. Savile.)

⁵ Ne ipsi exaltent filios suos supra id quod debent. (Ibid.)

⁶ See Book vi.

⁷ . . . licet absens corpore, præsens tamen animo, me vestris advoivo genibus. (Henr. II. epist. ad Alex. III., apud script. rer. Gall. et Fr., xvi. 659.)

⁸ Vestre jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudatarii juris obligationem, vobis duntaxat obnoxius teneor. (Ibid.)

⁹ Experiatur Anglia quid possit Romanus pontifex: et quia materialibus armis non utitur, patrimonium B. Petri spirituali gladio tueatur. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Rotrodi ad Alienoram epist. xvi. 629.

care that such peace, whatever were its conditions, should produce some new advantage to the princes of the Roman church.

Meanwhile, the king of France and Henry the Younger on one side, and the counts of Flanders and Brittany on the other, marched across the frontier into Normandy. The king of England's second son, Richard, had gone into Poitou, and most of the rich men of that country rose in his cause, rather through hatred of the father than for love of the son.¹¹ In Brittany, they who a few years before had formed a league for their national independence renewed their confederacy and took up arms, apparently for the cause of count Geoffrey, but in reality for themselves. Thus attacked at several points, the king of England had no troops in which he could place full confidence, except a large body of mercenaries, then called *Brabançons*, *Cotereaux*, or *Routiers*, bandits in time of peace, and soldiers in time of war, serving all causes indiscriminately, altogether as brave as, yet better disciplined than, any other militia of that age.¹² With one part of this army Henry II. arrested the progress of the king of France, and the other part he sent against the insurgent Bretons. The latter were beaten in a pitched battle by the military experience of the *Brabançons*, and forced to shut themselves up in their castles, and in the town of Dol, which the king of England besieged in person, and which was surrendered to him after a siege of a few days.¹³ The defeat of the Bretons diminished the ardour, not of the sons of Henry II., nor of their Norman, Angevin, or Aquitanian partisans, but of the king of France, who desired above all things to conduct this war on the smallest possible scale of expense. Being already apprehensive that he should be forced to hazard too great a loss of men and money, or wishing to try other political combinations, he one day said to the revolted sons that they would do well to be reconciled with their father. The young princes thus compelled, by this decision of their ally, to a sudden return of filial affection, followed him to the place that had been assigned for holding the conference for a pacification.¹⁴ This was not far from Gisors, in an extensive plain, where there was a large elm the branches of which hung down to the ground, and near the same had taken place, from time immemorial, all diplomatic congresses between the dukes of Normandy and the kings of France.¹⁵ The two kings went thither, accompanied by the archbishops, bishops, counts, and barons of their respective territories. The sons of Henry II. made their demands, and the father showed a disposition to grant them in a great measure. He offered to

¹¹ Potius odio patris quam amore filii. (Chron. S. Albini, apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xii. 483.)

¹² Brabancones suos, de quibus plus cæteris confidebat.

¹³ Bened. Petroburg, apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xlii. 155.—Viginti millia Brabanconorum qui fideliter servierunt illi. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 534.)—Coterelli, rutari; route, in old French, signifies band.

¹⁴ Gullelm. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ., p. 204, ed. Hearne.

¹⁵ Franci sumptibus tedious affecti . . . filios regis Anglorum ad gratiam patris reducere summo perere studuerunt. (Radulf. de Diceto. Imag. hist., apud Selden, i. col. 582.)

¹⁶ Ulmus erat vis gratissima, gratior usui,

Ramis ad terram redeuntibus.

(Guill. Britonis Philippid., lib. iii., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xvii. 148.)

—Ulmum quamdam pulcherrimam, ubi colloquia haberi solebant. (Roger. de Hoved. ed. Savile, p. 645.)

the eldest a half of the royal revenues of England, and four good castles in that country if he chose to live there, or, if he preferred it, three castles in Normandy, one in Maine, one in Anjou, and one in Touraine, with all the revenues of his ancestors the counts of Anjou, and one half of the income of Normandy.¹ In like manner he offered lands and revenues to Richard and Geoffrey. But this facility on his part, and his eager desire of removing for ever all incentives to a new quarrel between his children and himself, gave fresh alarm to the king of France; who thereupon no longer wished for peace, but allowed the partisans of the sons of Henry II., who greatly dreaded the consequences to themselves of a pacification, to throw difficulties in the way, and labour by their intrigues to break off the commenced negotiations.² One of these men was Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester: he went so far as to abuse the king of England personally, and to lay his hand upon his sword:³ he was held back by the rest who were present; but the tumult which followed this scene put a stop to all accommodation, and hostilities shortly recommenced between the father and the sons. Henry the Younger and Geoffrey remained with the king of France; Richard betook himself to Poitou; and Robert de Beaumont, who had laid his hand on his sword against the king, returned to England, there to join Hugh Bigod, one of the wealthiest barons in the country, and a zealous partisan of Henry II.'s sons.⁴

Before earl Robert could reach his town of Leicester it was attacked by Richard de Lucy, the king's great justiciary. The earl's men-at-arms made a vigorous defence, and obliged the Saxon townsmen to fight for them; but a part of the rampart being thrown down, the Norman soldiers retreated into the castle of Leicester, abandoning the town to itself.⁵ The townsmen continued to resist, being unwilling to surrender at discretion to authorities who considered it to be no more than a venial sin to kill an Englishman in revolt. Obligated at last to capitulate, they bought, for three hundred pounds of silver, the permission to quit their dwellings, and disperse themselves whithersoever they chose.⁶ They sought refuge on the church-lands: many went to the town of St. Alban's, and a still greater number to St. Edmund's-Bury, in the popular confidence that that royal martyr, of English race, was ever ready to protect all men of his nation from the tyranny of foreigners.⁷ On their departure the town was dismantled by the royal troops, who removed the gates and threw down the walls. While the Englishmen of Leicester were thus chastised because their Norman governor, the earl of Leicester, had taken part in the revolt, one of that earl's lieutenants, named Anquetil Malory, having assembled a great number of Robert de Beaumont's vassals and partisans, attacked the town of Northampton, the Norman viscount of which held for the king. This viscount

forced the townsmen to arm for his party, as those of Leicester had been previously forced to take up arms for the other cause. A great many were killed or wounded, and two hundred were led away prisoners.⁸ Such was the melancholy part sustained by the people of English race in the civil war of the descendants of their conquerors.

King Henry's natural sons had remained faithful to their father; and one of these, Geoffrey bishop of Lincoln, was vigorously prosecuting the war, besieging the castles and fortresses of the barons of the other party.⁹ Meanwhile, Richard was fortifying in his own cause the cities and castles of Poitou and the Angoumois; and against him it was that the king first marched, with his faithful Brabançons, leaving Normandy, where he had the most friends, to maintain itself against the king of France. He laid siege to the town of Saintes, then defended by two castles, one of which bore the name of the Capitol, a relic of the memory of ancient Rome long retained in many of the cities of southern Gaul.¹⁰ After taking these outworks of Saintes, Henry II. attacked with his war-engines the two large towers of the cathedral, wherein Richard's partisans had taken up their quarters.¹¹ He carried it, as also the fort of Taillebourg, and several other castles; and in his return to Anjou he laid waste the whole frontier of the Poitevin country, burning the houses and rooting up the vines and fruit-trees.¹² Scarcely had he arrived in Normandy when he learned that his eldest son and the earl of Flanders, having brought together a great naval armament, were preparing to make a descent upon England.¹³ This intelligence determined him to embark for that country himself. He took with him, as prisoners, his wife Eleanor, and his son's wife Margaret, daughter of the king of France.¹⁴

From Southampton, the place of his disembarkation, the king marched upon Canterbury; and the moment he beheld the metropolitan church, that is, from a distance of three miles, he dismounted, laid aside his silk apparel, loosened the ties of his boots, and walked barefoot along the dirty and flinty road.¹⁵ Having arrived in the cathedral which contained the tomb of Thomas à Becket, he there prostrated himself, with his face to the ground, weeping and sobbing, in presence of all the people of the city, drawn together by the sound of the bells.¹⁶ The bishop of London, Gilbert Foliot, who had shown himself the bitterest enemy of Thomas during his life, and who after his death would have had his body thrown into a slough, now mounted the pulpit, and, addressing the congregation, said: "All you who are here

¹ Captis 200 burgensibus præter illos qui vulnerati interierunt. (Chron. Johan. Brompton, apud Selden, i. col. 1093.)

² Ibid.—Chron. S. Albini, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic. xii. 483.

³ Capitellum præsidium majus. (Radulf. de Diceto, Imag. hist. apud Selden, i. col. 575.)

⁴ Accessit ad majorem ecclesiam, militibus multis et armatis refertam. (Ibid.)

⁵ Et vineas et arbores fructiferas extirpari fecit. (Bened. Petrob. apud script. G. et Fr., xiii. 128.)

⁶ Chron. S. Albini, xii. 484.

⁷ Et adduxit secum utramque reginam, et Brabantenos. (Bened. Petrob., xiii. 129.)

⁸ Et per vicus et plateas civitatis luteas, nudis pedibus incessit. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iv. cap. 5, p. 150.) —Math. Paris, i. 129.

⁹ Robert. de Monte, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic., xiii. 318.

¹ Quatuor idonea castella. (Benedict. Petroburg., xiii. 156.)

² Sed non fuit de consilio regis Francie quod filii regis hanc pacem cum patre suo facerent. (Ibid.)

³ Et appositus manum gladio ut percuteret regem. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 536.)

⁴ Ibid.—Chron. Jo. Brompt. apud Selden, i. 128.

⁵ Math. Paris, i. 128.

⁶ Ut haberent quò vellent licentiam abundi. (Ibid.)

⁷ Quasi ad sinum protectionis. (Ibid.)

present, know that Henry king of England, invoking God and the holy martyr for the salvation of his own soul, protests before you that he never ordered, willed, nor knowingly caused, nor desired in his heart, the death of this martyr:¹ but as it is possible that the murderers might avail themselves of some words uttered by him imprudently, he declares that he implores his penance from the bishops here assembled, and consents to submit his naked flesh to the discipline of the rods."²

And in reality the king, attended by a great many Norman bishops and abbots, and by all the monks, Norman and Saxon, of the chapter of Canterbury, descended to the crypt, in which, two years antecedently, it had been necessary to shut up the archbishop's corpse, as in a fort, to protect it from the insults of the royal officers.³ Then, kneeling down on the stone of its tomb, and stripping off his clothes, he placed himself with his back bare in the attitude in which his justices had had those Englishmen placed who were publicly flogged for having welcomed Thomas on his return from exile, or honoured him as a saint. Each of the bishops, for the part to be performed by the assistants was arranged beforehand, took one of those whips with several lashes used in the monasteries to inflict ecclesiastical correction, and thence called *disciplines*; each one discharged three or four strokes upon the shoulders of the king, saying, "As the Redeemer was scourged for the sins of men, so be thou for thy own sin."⁴ From the hands of the bishops the discipline passed into those of the monks, who were very numerous, and most of them of English race.⁵ These sons of serfs, made such by the Conquest, impressed the wales of whips on the flesh of the Conqueror's great-grandson; and perhaps they did so with a secret joy; which, indeed, some bitter pleasantries consigned to the histories of that period sufficiently demonstrate.⁶

But the English nation could reap no fruits from this species of gratification and this momentary triumph; on the contrary, the people were to be duped by the hypocritical scene enacted by the Angevin king. Henry II., finding that the greatest portion of his continental subjects had declared against him, considered it an essential policy to render himself popular with the Anglo-Saxons, and thereby gain their zealous support of his cause. He calculated that a few stripes, in the way of church discipline, might very well be submitted to by himself, if he could thereby obtain the loyal services of the English multitude, as they had formerly afforded them, with a happy issue, to his grandfather Henry I.⁷ Indeed, ever since the

¹ Per os episcopi Londoniensi sermonem ad populum habentis, rex publice protestatus est quod mortem martiris nec mandavit, nec voluit, nec perquisivit. (Math. Paris., i. 130.)

² Carnemque suam nudam disciplinæ virgarum supplicens. (Ibid.)

³ Ad tumbam S. Thomæ in cryptam. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1427, ed. Selden.)

⁴ Ictus ternos vel quinos. (Math. Paris., i. 130.)—Ille, propter peccata nostra, iste propter propria. (Robert. de Monte, apud script. rer. G. et F., xiii. 318.)

⁵ A singulis viris religiosi quorum multitudo magna convenerat. (Math. Paris., i. 130.)

⁶ Disciplinales percussiones singulas, velut quasdam secundas quadragenas apostolicas, immo regias monas, et usque tunc inauditas accepit. Consuetudines etiam illas, que inter martyrem et ipsum fuerunt totius dissensionis materia, abdicavit malas et iniquas. (Vita B. Thomæ quadripart., lib. iv. c. 5, p. 150.)

⁷ See Book vii.

murder of Thomas à Becket, a love of that pretended martyr had become the passion, or rather the madness, of the English people. The religious reverence wherewith the memory of the archbishop was held sanctified had effaced and occupied the place of all other recollections of patriotism. No tradition of their national independence was as influential with the people, as the lively impression that had been made on their minds by the nine years in which a primate of English race had been the sole object of the hopes, vows, and daily conversation of every Saxon. A striking testimony of sympathy with this national feeling was therefore the most attractive bait that the king could offer to the native English, to draw them to espouse his cause, and to make them, in the words of an old historian, manageable under the curb and the harness.⁸ Such was the true motive of Henry II.'s pilgrimage to the tomb of him whom he had first loved as the companion of his pleasures, and afterwards mortally hated as his political enemy. A narration written at the time declares that, "After being thus beaten, entirely of his own accord, he continued in prayer to the holy martyr all the day and all the night: he took no food, nor went out for any occasion; but such as he came such he remained, and did not allow a carpet, or anything of the kind, to be placed under his knees."⁹ After matins he made the circuit of the cathedral above, knelt and prayed before all the altars, and then returned to the vault of the saint. On Saturday, when the sun was risen, he asked for and heard the mass; then, having drunk holy water of the martyr, and having filled a flask with it, he joyfully departed from Canterbury."¹⁰

This exaggerated display of a contrite spirit met with full success. The burgesses of the towns and the serfs in the country heard with enthusiastic delight the clergy declare from the pulpit in all the churches that king Henry had at length been reconciled to the blessed martyr by penitence and tears.¹¹ It chanced that, at the same time, David king of Scotland, who had made a hostile incursion into the English territory, was defeated and taken prisoner near Alnwick in Northumberland.¹² The Saxon population, enthusiastic for the honour of St. Thomas, thought they beheld in that victory an evident sign of the martyr's good-will and protection; and from that day they inclined to the party of the old king which the saint thus appeared to favour. Prompted by this superstitious impulse, the English natives enlisted in crowds under the royal banner, and fought valiantly against the abettors of the revolt. Though poor and despised, they formed the great mass of the inhabitants; and nothing can resist the force of the mass when it is organised. The malcontents were defeated in every county, their castles were taken by assault, and the earls and barons carried off as prisoners. A historian of that day says, "So many were taken that it was not easy to find

⁸ *Eu populo phaleras!* (Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie, xvi.)

⁹ Sed ut venit, ita permansit, non tapetem, non aliquid hujusmodi. (Gervas. Cantuar. chron. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1427, ed. Selden.)

¹⁰ Sanctâ martyris aquâ potatus, et ampullâ insignitus. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Nobili martyre Thomâ jam placato. (Girald. Cambrensis. apud Camden, p. 782.)

¹² Ibid.

corde sufficient to bind them, or prisons enough to contain them."¹ This rapid train of successes arrested the project of a descent upon England, lately planned by Henry the Younger and the earl of Flanders.²

(A.D. 1174 to 1175.) But on the continent, where the population subject to the king of England had no national veneration for the Englishman Becket, Henry II.'s affairs prospered no better after his visit to, and flagellation at, the martyr's tomb than before. On the contrary, the Poitevins and Bretons rose again after their first defeat, and renewed more closely their patriotic confederations. Eudes de Porhoët, whose daughter the king of England had formerly dishonoured, and whom he afterwards banished, returned from exile, and rallied once more in Brittany all those who were weary of the Norman rule.³ The malcontents made several daring coups-de-main, which rendered the daring temerity of the Bretons famous at the time.⁴ In Aquitaine, Richard's party also resumed their courage, and fresh troops of insurgents assembled in the mountainous country of Poitou and Périgord, under the same chiefs who, a few years before, had taken the field at the instigation of the king of France. Hatred of the foreign rule united around the seigneurs of the castles the inhabitants of cities and boroughs, men free both in person and property, for the condition of serfs was not known to the south of the Loire, as it was to the north of that river.⁵ Barons, castellans or constables of certain castles, and sons of castellans having no lands of inheritance, followed the same party from a motive less pure, namely, the hope of making their fortunes in a war.⁶ They began the campaign by a general attack upon the rich abbots and the bishops of the country, most of whom, following the known policy of their order, maintained the cause of the established power. They plundered their domains; and, stopping those dignitaries on the roads, imprisoned them, to force them to pay ransom:⁷ one of their prisoners was the archbishop of Bordeaux, who, in pursuance of the papal instructions, had excommunicated the enemies of Henry II. in Guienne, as the archbishop of Rouen excommunicated them in Normandy, Anjou, and Brittany.

At the head of the insurgents of Guienne, the most distinguished personage, not so much for his fortune and rank as for his indefatigable ardour, was Bertrand de Born, lord of the castle of Haute-Fort, near Périgueux, a man who united in the highest degree all the qualifications requisite for acting a great part in the middle ages.⁸ He was a warrior and a poet; fond of all the excitement of stirring actions

and strong passions; and all the activity, talent, and spirit with which he was gifted, he sedulously employed in political affairs. But this agitation, though seemingly vain and turbulent, was not without a real object, nor was it unconnected with the welfare of that country in which Bertrand de Born first drew his breath. This extraordinary man seems to have had a profound conviction that his country, bordering on the states of the kings of France and England, could not escape the dangers that perpetually threatened it from one side or the other, but by the occurrence of a war between its two enemies. Such indeed appears to have been the consideration which, during the entire life of Bertrand, guided his actions and his conduct. His Provençal biographer tells us that, "At all times he wished the king of France and the king of England to be at war with one another; and if the two kings concluded a peace or a truce, then he strove to his utmost to cause a breach of such truce."⁹ From the like motive, Bertrand employed all the address he was master of to foment and envenom the quarrel between the king of England and his sons: he was one of those who, gaining an ascendancy over young Henry's mind, excited his ambition, and urged him to an open revolt. He afterwards gained a like influence with the other sons, and even over the father, always to their detriment, and to the advantage of Guienne. Such is the testimony given concerning him by his ancient biographer, with all the pride of a man of the south, exhibiting the moral superiority of one of his countrymen over the kings and princes of the north. "He was master whenever he pleased of king Henry and his sons; and he mainly desired that they should be constantly in a state of war, the father with the sons, and the brothers with each other."¹⁰ His efforts being crowned with complete success, acquired him a gloomy celebrity with those who beheld in him only a counsellor of domestic disorders, a man maliciously seeking, to use the mystic language of the age, to stir up the blood against the flesh, and to sever the head from the limbs.¹¹ For this reason it is that the Italian poet Dante Alighieri makes him suffer, in his *Inferno*, a chastisement analogous to the figurative expression by which his crime was designated: "I beheld, and still methinks I behold, a headless trunk approach us: it carries the severed head in its hand by the hair, as if it were a lantern ... Know that I am Bertrand de Born, he who gave the young king such evil counsels."¹² But Bertrand did still more: he did not content himself with giving to young Henry against his father the counsels which the poet calls wicked; he gave him exactly similar advice against his brother Richard. He never suffered a moment of harmony to subsist between them, but exasperated them against each other by his *serventès*, or those

¹ Tot proceres capti, ut vix vincitis vincula, vix captis carceres invenirentur. (Girald. Cambrens. apud Camden, p. 287.)

² Chron. Albani, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Francic. xii. 483.

³ Tunc repedavit Eudo de exilio, et cepit recuperare terram suam. (Ibid. xii. 565.) See Book viii.

⁴ Bretonum temeritate. (Acheri Spiegelium, iii. 565.)

⁵ Gaufridi Vosiensis Chron. apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr. xviii. 216.

⁶ Insurrexerunt ... multi viri inopes. (Addenda Chron. R. Pictav., xii. 419.)

⁷ Archiepiscopi episcopi, monachi, clerici, ubi inventi sunt captivati. (Ibid.)

⁸ Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours*, v. 76.

⁹ E s'il avian patz ni treva, ades se penava e spercassava ab sos serventes de desfar patz. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Seingner era, totas vos quan se volia, del rei Enrie d'Englaterra et del filz de lui; mas tota temps volia que ill aguesson guerra ensens lo paire et lo filz, e' l fraire l'un ab l'autre. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Caro deservit in sanguinem. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 534, ed. Savile.)

¹² Sappi ch' l' son Beltram dal Bornio, quelli che diedi al Re Giovanni' i mai conforti. (Inferno, Canto xxxviii.)

satirical songs that were so much in vogue in that age.¹

In those times, poetry played a considerable part in all the political events of the countries south of the Loire. There was not a peace, a war, a revolt, nor a diplomatic transaction, but it was announced, proclaimed, lauded, or dispraised in verse. These metrical romances, often composed by the very men who had taken an active part in the transactions sung of, possessed an energy which can scarcely be conceived from the languid state into which the ancient tongue of southern Gaul has fallen since the French dialect took its place as the literary language of the entire nation.² The songs of the *Troubadours*, *Trobadores*, of Provence,³ Toulouse, Dauphiny, Guienne, Poitou, and the Limousin, circulating rapidly from castle to castle, and from town to town, nearly performed, in the twelfth century, the office of periodical gazettes in all the country situated between the rivers Vienne and Isère, the mountains of Auvergne, and the two seas. There was not then in the south of Gaul any religious inquisition; a free judgment was formed on those subjects which the rest of Gaul scarcely ventured to examine. The influence of public opinion and of popular sentiments and passions was perceptible in all the south; the monks felt it in the retirement of their cloisters, as the barons did in their castles; and, to return to the subject of this history, the dispute between Henry II. and his sons so deeply stirred the spirit of the people of Guienne, that we find the stamp of these lively emotions in the writings even of the chroniclers, whose works in the Latin language are in general remarkable only for their apathy. One of them, an unknown resident in some obscure monastery, cannot help interrupting his narration to rhapsodise in a poetical prose the war-song of Richard's partisans:⁴ "Rejoice Aquitania! O land of Poitou! for the sceptre of the king of the north shall be withdrawn. Thanks to the pride of that king, the truce is at last broken between the kingdoms of France and England. England is laid desolate, and Normandy is in mourning.⁵ We shall behold the king of the south come to our succour, with his grand army and with his bows and quivers. Woe to the king of the north, who has dared to lift his lance against the king of the south, his suzerain and his lord; for his ruin is at hand, and strangers shall devour his land!"⁶

After this effusion of national hope and resentment, which evidences the patriotic feelings of the author, he apostrophises Eleanor, the only person of Henry II.'s family who was really cherished by the Aquitanians, for she was born among them:

¹ Every piece of Provençal poetry, the subject of which was unconnected with love, was called *serventés*, or, in old French, *servantois*, as being of a kind inferior to the amorous poetry of the Troubadours, called *chevaleresque*.

² Raynouard, *Poésies des Troubadours*, passim.

³ *Trobair*, in the oblique cases, *trobador*, a finder out, an inventor. The population beyond the Loire, according to their system of grammar and pronunciation, said *trouvére*, in all the cases.

⁴ Addenda Chron. Ricardi Pictav., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xii. 419.

⁵ Exulta Aquitania! júbila Pictavia, quia scæptrum regis Aquilonis recedet à te. (Ibid., xii. 420.)

⁶ Rex verò Austri in multitudine gravi, cum arcu et sagittâ ingredietur illuc. Væ regi Aquilonis! (Ibid., xii. 420.)

"Thou hast been carried off from thy native country, and led into a foreign land.⁷ Brought up in delicacy and abundance, thou enjoyedst a royal liberty, living in the midst of riches, delighting thyself with the sports of thy women, with their songs to the sound of the guitar and the tambourine; but now thou mournest, thou weepst, and consumest thyself with sorrow.⁸ Return, poor prisoner, return to thy cities!⁹—Where is thy court? where are thy young companions? where are thy councillors? Some of them, dragged far from their country, have suffered an ignominious death; others have been deprived of sight; others are banished, and wander through divers lands.¹⁰ Thou criest out, and no one hears thee; for the king of the north keeps thee shut up, as a town that is besieged. Cry aloud therefore; cease not to cry aloud; raise thy voice like a trumpet, that thy sons may hear it; for the day is approaching when they shall deliver thee, when thou shalt again behold thy native land."¹¹

These expressions of love for the daughter of the old national chiefs are followed by a cry of malediction against the cities which, whether by choice or necessity, still held for the king of foreign race, and exhortations of encouragement to those of the other party, which were at that time threatened with attack by the royal forces: "Woe to the traitors that are in Aquitaine! for the day of their chastisement is at hand.¹² La Rochelle dreads that day. She embanks her trenches; she girds herself all around with the sea; and the noise of these great works is heard beyond the mountains.¹³ Fly before Richard duke of Aquitaine, ye who inhabit that coast; for he shall overthrow the proud; he shall destroy the chariots and the charioteers. He shall annihilate, from the greatest to the least, all who may deny him entrance into Saintonge.¹⁴ Woe to those who go to ask succour from the king of the north! Woe to you, wealthy citizens of La Rochelle, who trust in your riches! The day will come when you may not fly, when flight shall not save you; when your houses shall be corniced with briars instead of gold; when nettles shall grow on your walls.¹⁵

"And thou, maritime citadel, whose bastions are lofty and solid, the sons of the foreigner shall come unto thee; yet soon they shall all fly to their country in disorder and covered with shame.¹⁶ Be not dismayed at their threats; lift thy front boldly against the north; keep on thy guard; rest thy feet on thy entrenchments; call thy neighbours

⁷ Translata es de terrâ tuâ et deducta ad terram quam ignorasti. (Ibid.)

⁸ Tu autem mollis et tenera regis libertate fruebaris. (Ibid.)

⁹ Revertere, captiva, revertere ad civitates tuas. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ubi sunt familie tue? ubi sunt adolescentulae tuæ? ubi sunt consilarii tui? Alii de terrâ suâ. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Obsidionem posuit super te rex Aquilonis. Clama, ne cesses; quasi tuba, exalta vocem tuam. (Ibid.)

¹² Væ perjura genti que terram Aquitanie inhabitat festinat namque dies. (Addenda Chron. Ricardi Pict., xii. 420.)

¹³ Timebit ergo Rupella. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ O! fugite à facie Ricardi Aquitanorum ducis... ipse enim subvertet gloriosos terre, quadrigas et ascensores eorum. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Væ vobis qui opulenti estis in Rupellâ, qui confiditis in divitiis vestris. (Ibid., xii. 421.)

¹⁶ Filii alieni venient usque ad te, sed pudoris ignominia cooperit singuli ad terram suam fugient. (Ibid.)

to come in force to thy aid.¹ Range in a circle around thee all who cultivate thy territory, from the southern frontier to the gulf where the ocean resounds."²

The fresh successes of the royal cause in England soon permitted Henry II. to re-cross the strait with his faithful Brabançons, and a body of Welsh mercenaries, in an inferior state of discipline to the Brabançons, but more impetuous, and disposed, by the very hatred which they bore the king of England, to wage furious war upon his sons.³ These mountaineers, skilled in military ambuscades and in partisan warfare in woods and marshes, were employed in Normandy to intercept the convoys and provisions of the French army, which was then besieging Rouen.⁴ In this they succeeded so well, by dint of activity and address, that this great army, fearing a famine, suddenly raised the siege and withdrew.⁵ Their retreat gave king Henry the advantage of acting on the offensive. He retook, foot by foot, all the territory which his enemies had occupied during his absence; and the French, once more weary of the enormous expenses which they had incurred to no purpose, again declared to Henry the Younger, and his brother Geoffrey, that they could no longer be assisted, and that if they despaired of sustaining alone the contest with their father, they must try to be reconciled to him.⁶ Henry the Younger, and Geoffrey, whose strength was nothing without the support of the foreign alliance, were compelled to listen to this advice. They allowed themselves to be conducted to the interview between the two kings, at which they made, as they were ordered, diplomatic protestations of their repentance and filial tenderness.

(A.D. 1175.) A truce was agreed on, which was to give the king of England time to go to Poitou, and compel his son Richard by force to submit to him, as the other princes had already done. The king of France swore to furnish Richard with no more succours of any kind, and imposed the same oath on the two brothers Henry and Geoffrey.⁷ Richard was indignant on learning that his brothers and his allies had concluded a truce without including him in it; but, being unable to resist single-handed the powerful armies of the king of England, he returned to him, implored his pardon, gave up the towns which he had fortified, and quitting Poitou followed his father to the frontier of Anjou and France, where a general congress or *parliament* was held for peace. Here was drawn up in the form of a political treaty the act of reconciliation between the king of England and his three sons. Placing their hands in those of their

father, they took the oath of liege-homage to him, which was the ordinary form of every compact of alliance between two men of unequal power; it was moreover a ceremony of so great solemnity, that it established, between those contracting, ties that were reputed in that age to be even more sacred and inviolable than were the ties of blood.⁸ The historians of the period now treated are careful to make the remark, that if the sons of Henry II. then acknowledged themselves to be his liege-men, and swore allegiance unto him, it was in order to remove from his mind all unfavourable suspicion as to the sincerity of their return to the duty they owed him.⁹ This reconciliation of the Angevin princes was a dire event for the different populations which had taken part in their disputes. The three princes, in whose name the people had risen in arms, kept their oath of liege-homage by delivering them up to the vengeance of their father; and, moreover, they took upon themselves the odious task of satisfying it.¹⁰ Richard especially, more harsh and imperious than his brothers, did all the harm in his power to his old allies of Poitou. Being reduced to despair, they maintained against him the national league, at the head of which they had formerly placed that prince himself; and pressed him so closely that king Henry was obliged to send large forces to him, and to go in person to his assistance. (A.D. 1176.) The effervescence of the inhabitants of Guienne increased with the danger: from one end to the other of that extensive country there broke out a war much more truly patriotic than the former, because it was waged against the entire family of the foreign princes; but for that very reason its success was necessarily more doubtful, and its difficulties became greater.¹¹ (A.D. 1176 to 1178.) For nearly two years the Angevin princes and the barons of Aquitania fought repeated battles, from Limoges to the foot of the Pyrenees, at Taillebourg, at Angoulême, at Agen, at Dax, and at Bayonne. All the towns, large and small, which had lately espoused the cause of the king's sons, were taken and garrisoned by the troops of Richard, and were overwhelmed with contributions and arbitrary imposts as a punishment for their revolt.¹²

Whether from policy or from conscience, Henry the Younger took no part in this disgraceful and disloyal warfare; he even preserved some friendly connexions with several of the men who had heretofore rallied round his standard and that of his brothers. Thus he did not entirely lose his popularity in the provinces of the south; and this circumstance was to the family of Henry II. a new germ of discord, which the skilful and indefatigable Bertrand de Born laboured with all his as-

¹ Erige audacter faciem tuam contra faciem Aquilonis, sta super custodiam tuam, et pone gradum tuum super munitionem tuam. (Addenda Chron. Richardi, xii. 421.)

² Pone in gyrum circa latus tuum omnes domesticos tuos qui terram tuam incolant. (Ibid.)

³ Rog. de Hoved., p. 540, ed. Savile.

⁴ Misit Wallenses suos ultra Sequanam ad nemora exploranda. (Benedict. Petroburg. apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xiii. 160.)

⁵ Ibid. et xii. 484.

⁶ Ibid., xiii. 160.—Lodowicus rex Francorum et comes Flandrensi sumptibus tedious affecti quos pro rege Anglorum juvene impenderant. (Math. Paris., i. 131.)

⁷ Et ipsi juraverunt quod nec rex Francia, nec juvenis rex, nec aliquis ex parte illorum aliquo modo succursum faceret pro Ricardo. (Benedict. Petroburg., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xiii. 161.)

⁸ Nova contra ingratos et suspectos filios cautela, prudenter exacto et solemniter prestito hominio. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 227, ed. Hearne.)

⁹ Ad omnem sinistram suspicionem penitus amovendam, homagium atque ligantiam patri suo facere modis omnibus instituerunt. (Radulf. de Diceto, Imag. histor., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 285, ed. Selden.)

¹⁰ Et multa gravamina eis intulit. (Benedict. Petroburg., apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xiii. 173.)—Castella vero multorum passim eversa sunt. (Math. Paris., i. 131.)—Ricardus castella Pictaviæ in nihilum redegit: similiter Gaufridus, comes Britannie, castella Britannie subvertit, et mala multa intulit hominibus patrie illius, qui contra patrem suum tenuerunt tempore guerra. (Benedict. Petr. xiii. 163.)

¹¹ Ibid., xiii. 164.

¹² Roger. de Hoved., p. 560—582, ed. Savile.—Benedict. Petroburg., apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xiii. 165—167.

sidiuity to bring to maturity. He attached himself more than ever to the young king, over whom he resumed all the ascendancy of a man of decision and character; and from this intimacy there soon resulted a second league formed against Richard by the viscounts of Ventadour, Limoges, and Turrenne, the count of Perigord, the lords de Montfort and Gordon, and the citizens under the auspices of Henry the Younger and the king of France.¹ The king of France, following his ordinary policy, made only vague engagements with the confederates; but Henry the Younger made them positive promises; and Bertrand de Born, the soul of this confederacy, proclaimed it by a piece of poetry, designed, says his biographer, to confirm his friends in the resolution they had taken in common.² (A.D. 1179.) Thus the war recommenced in Poitou between Henry and count Richard. But from the opening of hostilities Henry the Younger, false to his word, hearkened to proposals of accommodation with his brother; and for a large sum of money and an annual pension he consented to depart from the country and forsake the insurgents.³ Giving himself no further concern about them or their fate, he went to foreign courts, to France, to Provence, and to Lombardy, to spend the price of his treason, and to make himself, wherever he stayed, renowned for magnificence and for chivalry, shining in the warlike jousts which were then beginning to be in fashion, *tourneying, solacing himself, and sleeping*, says an old historian.⁴

(A.D. 1179 to 1182.) In this manner he spent upwards of two years, during which the barons of Poitou, Angoumois, and Perigord, who had conspired under his auspices, had to sustain the whole brunt of the war waged against them by the count of Poitiers. Their towns and castles were besieged and their estates wasted by fire.⁵ Of the towns which were attacked, Taillebourg surrendered the last; and when all the barons had submitted to Richard, Bertrand de Born still held out alone in his castle of Haute-Port. Amid the cares and fatigues which this desperate resistance caused him, he kept his mind sufficiently disengaged to compose verses on his own situation, and satires on the cowardice of the prince who spent in amusement the days which his old friends were passing in war and amidst sufferings: "Since lord Henry has now no land, since he does not wish to have any, let him henceforward be the king of cowards—for coward is he that lives at the hire and in the livery of another. A crowned king who takes pay of another, but ill resembles the brave chevaliers of the olden time: since he has deceived the Poitevins, and has told them lies, let him never more look for their love."⁶

¹ E'l vescoms de Ventedorn e'l vescoms de Cornborn se jureron ab lo comte de Peiregors et ab los borges d'aquellas encontradas. (Raynour, Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours, v. 83.)

² Per assegurar totas las gens d'aquella encontrada per lo sagramen que aquill avian feich contra 'n Richart. (Ibid.)

³ Ibid.—Math. Par., i. 136.

⁴ Si sojornava, tornava, e dormia, e solasava. (Poésies des Troubadours, v. 86.)

⁵ Ibid., v. 87.—Math. Paris., i. 136.—Radulf. de Diceto, Imag. histor. ed. Selden, i. col. 603.

⁶ Pus en Enrics terra nou te ni manda,
Sia reys dels malvatz.

Que malvatz fai quar assés viu à randa ..

Pus en Peitan lur ment et lur truanda,

No y er mais tant amatz.

(Raynour, Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours, iv. 148.)

(A.D. 1182.) Henry the Younger was sensible to these reproofs, when, satiated with the pleasure of being cited as prodigal and chivalrous, he once more turned his eyes towards the more solid advantages of power and territorial wealth. He then went back to his father, and began to plead with him the cause of the inhabitants of Poitou, whom his brother Richard, he said, was overwhelming with unjust vexations and tyrannical government.⁷ He went so far as to reproach the king with not protecting them as he ought, seeing that he was their natural protector.⁸ He accompanied these complaints with personal claims, asking again for Normandy, or some other territory in which he might reside in a manner worthy of himself and his young queen, and which might serve to pay the wages of his chevaliers and sergeants.⁹ Henry II. at first refused this demand with firmness, and even compelled the young man to swear that from that time forward he would not claim anything more than one hundred livres of Anjou per day for his own expenses, and ten livres per day of the same money for those of his queen. But things did not long remain in this posture. Henry the Younger renewed his complaints of grievance; and the king, yielding to them this time, ordered his two other sons to take the oath of liege-homage to the eldest brother for the counties of Poitou and Brittany.¹⁰ Geoffrey consented; but Richard flatly refused; and, as a sign of his firm resolution to resist such an order, he put all his towns and castles in a good state of defence. (A.D. 1183.) Henry the Younger and his vassal Geoffrey marched against him, with the consent of their father. On their entrance into Guienne, the country once more rose in insurrection against Richard; the confederations of the towns and barons were renewed; and the king of France declared himself the ally of the young king and the Aquitanians.¹¹ Henry II., alarmed at the grave turn which this family quarrel suddenly took, wished to recall his two sons; but they disobeyed him, and persisted in waging war against the third. Being then obliged to take a decisive part, on pain of beholding the triumph of the independence of Poitou and the ambitious pretensions of the king of France, he joined his forces to those of Richard, and came in person to lay siege to Limoges, which had opened its gates to young Henry and Geoffrey.¹² Thus the domestic war recommenced under a new aspect: it was no longer the league of the three sons against their father; but the eldest and the youngest were fighting against the other son, united with the father.

The historians of the south, eye-witnesses of these events, appear to have understood the active part which was taken in them by the population, whose country was the scene of action, and what national interests were at stake in these rivalries, in appearance only personal. The his-

⁷ Pictaviensibus veniens in auxilium, quos Ricardus indubitatis vexationibus et violenta dominatione premebat. (De orig. comit. Andegav. apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xii. 538.)

⁸ Ad quem noverat tuitionem Aquitanicæ regionis spectare. (Ibid.)

⁹ Et undè ipse militibus et servientibus suis servitia sua solvere posset. (Reg. de Henr., p. 616, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 618.—Math. Par., i. 141.

¹¹ Per mandatum comitum et baronum Pictaviæ, qui, adherentes ei, damna multa fecerunt comiti Ricardo. (Ibid.)

¹² Advenit et obsedit castellum de Limoges, quod paulo ante traditum erat regi filio suo. (Ibid.)

torians of the north, on the contrary, beheld in them only the unnatural war of the father against his sons, and of the brothers against a brother, under the influence of an evil destiny which lowered over the race of Plantagenet, in expiation for some great crime. Many sinister stories respecting the origin of that family were current from mouth to mouth. For instance, it was said that Eleanor of Guienne had had at the court of France an amorous intercourse with Geoffrey of Anjou, the father of her present husband; and that the same Geoffrey had married the daughter of Henry I. in the lifetime of the emperor her husband, which, according to the received ideas of that period, was a sort of sacrilege.¹ Finally it was related of a former countess of Anjou, grandmother to Henry II.'s father, that her husband, having observed with dread that she seldom went to the church, and always quitted it at the secreta of the mass, thought proper to have her forcibly kept there by four esquires; but that at the moment of the consecration the countess, throwing off the cloak by which she was held, flew out of the window, and had never re-appeared.² Richard of Poitiers, says a contemporary, used to relate this adventure, and say of it, "Is it to be wondered at that, having sprung from such a stock, we live on bad terms with one another? What comes of the devil must return to the devil."³ One month after the renewal of hostilities, Henry the Younger, either apprehensive of the consequences of the unequal struggle in which he had engaged against his father and the most powerful of his brothers, or from a fresh return of filial tenderness, once more abandoned the Poitevins. He repaired to Henry II.'s camp, disclosed to him all the secrets of the confederacy formed against Richard, and begged that he would interfere as mediator between Richard and himself.⁴ Laying his hand upon the Gospel, he solemnly swore that he would never while he lived separate from Henry king of England, but would observe loyalty to him as his father and his lord.⁵ This sudden change of conduct and of party was not imitated by Geoffrey, who, being more obstinate of temper, or keeping better faith with the insurgent Aquitanians, remained with them, and continued the war. Messengers then came to him from the old king, to solicit him to put an end to a contest which was advantageous to none but the common enemies of his family. Amongst other envoys came a Norman clerk; who, holding a cross in his hand, supplicated count Geoffrey to spare the blood of Christians, and not to imitate the crime of Absalom. "What?" answered the young man, "wouldst thou have me deprive myself of my inheritance?"⁶ "God forbid! my lord," replied the priest; "I wish nothing to your detriment." "Thou dost not

understand my words," returned the count of Brittany: "it is the fate of our family that none of us shall love any of the rest. That is our heritage, which not one of us will ever renounce."⁷

Notwithstanding his reiterated treacheries against the barons of Guienne, Henry the Younger, whose mind was fluctuating and incapable of any firm resolution, still retained a personal intercourse with several of the conspirators, and in particular with Bertrand de Born. He undertook to act the part of mediator between them and his brother Richard; flattering himself with the chimerical hope of settling the national together with the family quarrel.⁸ With this view he made several advances to the chiefs of the Poitevin league; but he received from them only haughty and by no means pacific answers.⁹ As a last attempt, he proposed to them a conference at Limoges, offering on his part to go thither with his father, and but few attendants, so as to remove all distrust.¹⁰ The town of Limoges was then besieged by the king of England; it is not known whether the confederates formally consented to let their enemy come within their walls, or if the young man, eager to give himself importance, promised in their name more than he ought. However that might be, when Henry II. appeared before the gates of the town, he found them closed, and was greeted from the ramparts above with a flight of arrows, one of which pierced his doublet, while another wounded a knight at his side.¹¹ This untoward occurrence was considered to have arisen from a mistake; and after a fresh explanation with the chiefs of the insurgents, it was agreed that the king should enter Limoges freely, to hold a parley therein with his son Geoffrey. Accordingly they met in the great market-place; but during the interview, the Aquitanians forming the garrison of the castle, unable to look on coolly while negotiations were commencing, the issue of which must inevitably be a total disappointment to themselves of realising their long-cherished projects of independence, shot from a distance their shafts at the old king, whom they recognised by his clothes and the banner which was carried near him.¹² A bolt from an arbalest or cross-bow, discharged from the keep of the citadel, passed through his horse's ear.¹³ Tears came into his eyes; he had the arrow picked up, and presenting it to Geoffrey, said to him, "Tell me, my son, what thy unhappy father has done to thee to deserve that thou shouldst make me a mark for thy archers."¹⁴ Whatever wrongs Geoffrey might have done his father, he was not guilty of this attempt on the life of Henry his father; for the archers who had made the king of England their mark were not hired soldiers, but volunteers who had for their own purposes joined the ranks of his son. The writers of the north reproach him with having

¹ *Alianoram Francorum reginam, Galfridus, dum senecallus regis Francie fuerat, eam cognovisset.* (Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., l. col. 1044, ed. Selden.)

² *Per fenestram ecclesie evolavit, nec usquam comparuit.* (Ibid., l. col. 1045.)

³ *Itud post modum Ricardus referre solebat, asserens non esse mirandum si, de tali genere procedentes, sese mutuo infestent; tanquam de diabolo venientes et ad diabolium transientes.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Rog. de Hov., p. 618, ed. Savile.*

⁵ *Henrico regi Anglie sicut patri suo et domino fidelitatem integram servaturum.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Namquid venisti exheredare me de jure meo nativo?* (Johan. Bromton, l. col. 1045, ed. Selden.)

⁷ *Nam ignoras hoc nobis naturaliter fore proprium et ab atavis insertum ut nullus nostrum alterum diligit?* (Ibid.)

⁸ *Roger. de Hoved., p. 619.*

⁹ *Script. rer. Gallie. et Francie., xlii.*

¹⁰ *Cum paucis.* (Roger. de Hoved., p. 619.)

¹¹ *In eum miserunt sagittas ita ut etiam super tunice suam crudeliter perforarent, et quemdam militem suum coram oculis ejus vulnerarent.* (Ibid.)

¹² *Castelli satellites sagittas direxerunt.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Ibid.—Script. rer. Gallie. et Fr., xviii. 704.*

¹⁴ *Ferrum sagittae ostendit, et cum singulta, plenus lacrymis ait: O fili, si infelix ego pater tanquam a te filio meum sagittari, edicto.* (Ibid.)

neither sought out nor punished them:¹ but this he had not, properly speaking, the right to do; and, since he had himself made common cause with them in their national enmities, he was constrained, whether willingly or not, to submit to all the results of such an alliance. The Younger Henry, much piqued at finding all his efforts foiled by the pertinacity of the Aquitanians, declared that they were obstinate rebels, that he would never more while he lived make a peace or a truce with them, but that he would remain faithful to his father at all times and in all places.² In token of this absolute submission, he put his horse and arms in the king's keeping, and stayed by him during many days, with every appearance of the most intimate friendship.³ But by a sort of fatality in the life of the eldest son of Henry II., it was always at the very moment when he was making the greatest protestations of devotion to one party, that he was the most likely to separate himself from it, and engage on the contrary side. To use the words of an historian of the time, after having eaten at the same table with his father, and dipped his hand in the same dish,⁴ he suddenly quitted him, again connected himself with his adversaries, and set out for Dorat, a town of the Marches of Poitou, where the insurgents had their head-quarters.⁵ There he ate at the same board with them, as he had done with the king; swore in like manner to a loyal alliance with them "towards and against all men;" and a few days afterwards he abandoned them and returned to the hostile camp. Then there might be witnessed fresh scenes of tenderness between the father and the son, and the latter thought his conscience acquitted by beseeching the old king to be merciful to the revolted.⁶ He rashly promised in their name the surrender of the castle of Limoges, and declared that it was only necessary to send envoys to the garrison to receive their oaths and their hostages.⁷ Such, however, did not prove to be a correct expectation, for those who came from the king of England were nearly all killed by the Aquitanians.⁸ Others, who were sent at the same time to Geoffrey's quarters to negotiate with him, were attacked with swords in his presence and before his eyes: two of them were slain, a third severely wounded, and the fourth was thrown from a bridge into the water.⁹ Thus did the national spirit, severely and cruelly inflexible, sport with the hopes of the princes, and frustrate all their projects of reconciliation.

A very short time after these events, Henry II. received a message announcing to him that his eldest son, having fallen dangerously ill at Château-Martel near Limoges, asked to see him.¹⁰ The king, whose mind was still strongly im-

pressed with what had happened to his men, and with what had happened to himself in the two conferences of Limoges, suspected some ambuscade on the part of the insurgents: "he feared, says an author of that time, "the wickedness of those conspirators;"¹¹ and, notwithstanding the messenger's assurances, he did not go to Château-Martel. But soon a second envoy came to apprise him that his son Henry was dead, which event took place on the 11th of June, in his twenty-seventh year.¹² In his last moments, the young man had evinced great tokens of contrition and repentance; he had desired to be drawn out of his bed with a rope, and laid upon sacks filled with ashes.¹³ This unforeseen loss struck the king with great affliction, and augmented his wrath against the Aquitanians, upon whose perfidy he charged those feelings of timidity which had kept him at a distance from his dying son.¹⁴ Geoffrey himself, touched by his father's mourning, then returned to him, and abandoned his allies, who now stood alone against the family, in whose divisions had consisted their strength. The day after the funeral of Henry the Younger (who was sometimes styled Henry III.), the king of England, made a sharp assault upon the town and fortress of Limoges: these he carried, as also the castles of several of the confederates, which he razed to the ground.¹⁵

A.D. 1183 to 1184. He pursued Bertrand de Born still more vindictively than all the rest: "For he believed," says an old recital, "that all the wars which the young king his son had made upon him, Bertrand had caused him to engage in; for which cause he sat down before Haute-Fort, to take and destroy it."¹⁶ The castle of Haute-Fort did not hold out long against all the forces of the king of England, united with those of his sons Richard and Geoffrey of Brittany. Bertrand de Born, being forced to surrender at discretion, was led to his powerful enemy's tent; who, before he pronounced judgment as a victor against the vanquished, was desirous of tasting for a little while the pleasures of revenge, by treating with derision a man who had once made himself feared by him, and had boasted that he did not fear the king. He addressed him, saying, "Bertrand, thou usdest to say that thou never hadst found occasion for the exercise of more than half thy wit: know that the time is now come when the whole of it will not be too much to stand thee in good stead."¹⁷ "My lord," replied the southern baron, with that habitual assurance which the consciousness of his mental superiority gave him, "it is true that I said so; and I said the truth." "I think, nevertheless," said the king, "that thy strong sense has failed thee."¹⁸ "Yes, sire," Bertrand retorted in a grave tone, "it failed me on the day that the valiant young king thy son expired: on that day I lost my sense, know-

¹ Quod filii ejus Henricus et Gaufridus contemnescentes, nec vindicarent. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 619, ed. Savile.)

² Eos prorsus inobedientes asseruit et rebelles, quare ad servitium et voluntatem patris sui revertebatur. (Ibid.)

³ Et patri suo arma sua et equum tradidit conservanda, et sic cum patre suo aliquot diebus. (Ibid.)

⁴ Verum cum in eodem mensâ cum patre comedisset, et in eodem catino manum intinxisset. (Ibid.)

⁵ Iterum cum inimicis patris sui se sacramento præsposito obligavit, et profectus est Doratum. (Ibid.)

⁶ Supplicavit ei ut misericorditer ageret. (Ibid., p. 620.)

⁷ Ad accipiendos obsides. (Ibid.)

⁸ Qui ferè omnes ab eis qui tradere debebant interfecti sunt. (Ibid.)

⁹ De ponte in aquam projectus est, ipso Gaufrido præsente. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Non esse sibi tutum nequissimis conspiratoribus se credere. (Guill. Neubrig., p. 278, ed. Henrins.)

¹² Roger. de Hoved., p. 620—623.

¹³ Trahit me à lecto isto per hunc funem, et imponite lecto illi cinereo. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Prævalente formidine. (Guill. Neubrig., p. 278.)

¹⁵ Non relinquens lapidem super lapidem. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 621, ed. Savile.)

¹⁶ Car el crezia que tota la guerra qu'el reis joves, ses fillz, l'avia faicha, qu'en Bertrams la il agnes facha far. (Raynour, Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours, v. 86.)

¹⁷ Mas saphatz qu'ara vos besogna ben toz. (Ibid., v. 87.)

¹⁸ Eu cre ben qu'el vos sia aras fallitz. (Ibid.)

ledge, and right reason."¹ At the mention of his son, whose name he was wholly unprepared to hear uttered, the king of England melted into tears and fainted. When he recovered, he was quite altered: his projects of vengeance had been turned; and in the man who was now in his power he beheld only the ancient friend of the son whom he so much regretted. Instead of the bitter reproaches and the sentence of death and confiscation which Bertrand had cause to expect, the king addressed him in these words: "Sir Bertrand, sir Bertrand, thou hadst good right to lose thy wits for my son's sake, for he wished thee better than he did any man in this world; and I for the love of him give thee thy life, and restore to thee thy wealth and thy castle.² I restore to thee, moreover, my friendship and good graces; and make thee a grant of five hundred marks of silver for the damage that thou hast suffered."³

(A.D. 1184.) The calamity which had just fallen upon the family of Henry II. caused the reconciliation not only of the sons and the father, but also of the father and the mother, which was a still more difficult thing, from the enmity which had existed between them.³ Vulgar tradition charges Eleanor with having put to death by poison one of her husband's mistresses, the daughter of an Anglo-Norman baron, (Clifford,) who was named Rosamond or Rosamunda. There was a return of good understanding between the royal couple, and the queen of England, after suffering ten years' imprisonment, regained her liberty. In her presence, the peace of the family was solemnly, and in some sort diplomatically sworn to, and confirmed by an attested written deed, as, says an historian of the age, between king Henry and his sons Richard, Geoffrey, and John; the latter of whom had, hitherto, been too young to act a part in the intrigues of his brothers.⁴ The continual chagrin which the revolts of the others had caused the king, had led him to repose his strongest paternal affections upon prince John; and the jealousy excited by this preference had formerly contributed in no small degree to sour the minds of the three eldest, and to render very short the intervals of concord.⁵ (A.D. 1185.) After a few months of amity, this peace was again disturbed by the ambition of Geoffrey. He asked for the county of Anjou, to join it to his duchy of Brittany; and having met with a refusal, he went over into France; where, awaiting, perhaps, for a favourable moment of recommencing the war, he addicted himself to all the amusements of that court.⁶ Being thrown from his horse in a tournament, he was trampled on by the horses of the other combatants, and died of the injuries he then received.⁷ After his death, it became count

Richard's turn to form friendship with the king of France, against the will of his father.⁸

(A.D. 1186 to 1187.) The crown of France had descended to Philip II. in 1180, on the demise of Louis-le-Jeune. The young monarch affected to entertain for Richard a still greater friendship than his father Louis VII. had testified for Henry the Younger. An historian of the time records that "They daily dined at the same table, ate from the same dish; and at night slept in the same bed."⁹ Their great friendship was displeasing to the king of England, and made him uneasy about the future. He sent frequent messages into France to call his son home. Richard constantly answered that he was coming, but he never hurried himself the more.¹⁰ At last he set out, as if to repair to his father's court; but passing through Chinon, where was kept one of king Henry's royal treasuries, he carried off by force the greater part of the contents, in spite of the resistance of the custodians.¹¹ With this money he repaired to Poitou, and began to fortify many of the castles there, and to furnish them with men and stores.¹² The late events had caused the national excitement of the Aquitanians to be succeeded by an extraordinary degree of apathy; and the hatred which Richard had excited by his breach of faith and his severity was yet too lively for those who were dissatisfied with the Angevin government to place any longer their confidence in him. He was left alone; and as he could undertake nothing without the support of the barons of the country, he resolved to return to his father, and ask pardon, from necessity rather than inclination. The old king, who had exhausted in vain all the most solemn forms of reconciliation between himself and his sons, tried this time to bind Richard by an oath upon the Gospel, which he made him take in the presence of a great assembly of clerks and laymen.¹³

This new ambitious attempt of the count of Poitiers having thus proved abortive, it did not lead to a rupture of the peace between the kings of France and of England. The two kings had long agreed upon an interview, in which they should settle definitively those points of relative interests which were calculated otherwise to renew and keep up the old misunderstandings. They repaired, in the month of January 1187, to the ordinary place of political conferences, at the great elm-tree, between Trie and Gisors. The christian conquerors of Syria and Palestine were at that time suffering great reverses. Jerusalem, together with the wood of the true cross, had again fallen into the hands of the Mahometans, under the command of Salah-ed-Deen, vulgarly called Saladin.¹⁴ The loss of this great relic gave new excitement to that old enthusiasm for the crusades, which had begun to wane during the last half century. The pope implored the princes of christendom with messages, calling

⁸ Richardus comes Pictevie remansit cum rege Francie contra voluntatem patris sui. (Rog. de How., p. 634.)

⁹ Singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabant eos lectus. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Frequenter misit nuncios suos in Franciam. (Ibid. p. 635.)

¹¹ Maximam partem thesaurorum patris sui, invito custode, secum asportavit. (Ibid.)

¹² Castella sua Pictevie inde munivit. (Ibid.)

¹³ Coram multis tam clericis quam laicis, super sancta Evangelia juravit ei fidelitatem contra omnes homines. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 635-640.

¹ Eu perdi lo sen, e'l saber et la connoissensa. (Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours*, v. 86.)

² Eu Bertranz, on Bertranz, vos avez ben drech et es ben razons, si vos avez perdit lo sen per mon fill, qu'ei vos volia molla que ad home del mon. (Ibid., v. p. 87.)

³ *Annales Waverleonienses*, apud rer. Anglie. script. ii. 161, ed. Gale.

⁴ Rex firmavit pacem et finalem concordiam scripto et sacramentali confirmatam inter Richardum et Gaufridum et Johannem filios suos coram Alienora regina, matre eorum. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 623, ed. Savile.)

⁵ *Benedict. Petroburg.* apud script. rer. Gallie. et Fr. xiii. 150.

⁶ Guill. Neubrig, de reb. Anglie., p. 279, ed. Hearne.

⁷ Ibid.—Roger. de Hoved., p. 631.

upon them to make peace among themselves and to wage war against the infidels. The cardinals made solemn promise of renouncing riches and pleasures, of no longer accepting presents, and of never setting foot in stirrup, so long as the Holy Land should not be reconquered; they declared that they would be the foremost to take up the cross, and to set forth at the head of a new pilgrimage, soliciting alms for the holy enterprise.¹ Zealous preachers and missionaries went to every court, to every assembly of the powerful and rich; and several of them resorted to the interview between the kings of France and England. Among others appeared William archbishop of Tyre, one of the most celebrated men of the age for his learning and his eloquence.² This man had the skill to persuade the two kings, who could not come to an understanding about any one of their political affairs, to agree together to make war upon the Saracens, adjourning the settlement of their own differences.³ They conspired by oath, as brethren in arms, in what was called the cause of God; and, as a token of their engagement, received from the hands of the archbishop a cross of cloth, which they attached to their vestments; that of the king of France being red, and that of the king of England white.⁴ As they received them, they signed themselves on the forehead, the mouth, and the breast, and swore never to quit the cross of the Lord, on land or sea, in town or field, until their return from the great passage, if God should grant them to return.⁵ Many of the barons of the two kingdoms, drawn thereunto by the example of the monarchs, took the same vow,⁶ from a desire of obtaining the remission of their sins; they were also prompted by the popular discourses, which all turned upon this enterprise, and even by songs in the vulgar as well as in the Latin tongue, which were then current among the people. One of these latter songs, composed by a priest of Orleans, and which was circulated in England, excited a great many men there, says a contemporary, to take up the cross.⁷ Though written in the learned tongue, this piece of poetry is so strongly marked with the ideas and the style of that period, as to be worthy of translation.⁷

¹ Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast., xv. 498.

² Et qui prius hostes erant, illo predicante facti sunt amici. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 641, ed. Savile.)

³ Rex Francie et gens sua susceperunt cruces rubeas, et rex Anglie eum gens sua suscepit cruces albas. (Ibid.)

⁴ Signantes se in fronte, in ore, in pectore et in corde . . . nec crucem Domini derelicturos neque in terra, neque in mari, neque in urbe, donec reversi fuerint in domos suas, si Deus det. (Script. rer. Gallie, et Fr., xii. p. 556, notis.)

⁵ Plures cateratim ruebant ad susceptionem crucis. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 641, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Ad crucem accipiendam multorum animos excitavit. (Ibid., p. 639.)

Lignum crucis,
Signum ducis,
Sequitur exercitus.

Qui certant quotidie
Laudibus militum
Gratis insigniri.

Non enim qui pluribus
Cute[m] curant sumptibus
Emunt Deum precibus.

Satis est Dominicum
Corpus ad vaticum
Crucem defendenti.

Christus tradens se tortori
Mutavit peccatori . . .

"The wood of the cross is the banner of our chief; it is the standard which our army follows.

"We are going to Tyre; for there the brave are to meet in arms; thither will those resort, who make such strenuous efforts to obtain, without other reward, the renown of chivalry.

"But for this war robust combatants are required, and not degenerate men: they who spend riches in the adorning of their bodies, buy not God with their prayers.

"He who has no money, if he is faithful the sincerity of faith shall suffice that man: the body of our Lord is a sufficient provision for his journey to the soldier who defends the cross.

"When Christ gave himself up to torture, he made a loan to the sinner. Sinner, if thou wilt not die for him who died for thee, thou dost not render unto God that which God lent thee.

"Hearken then to my counsel: take up the cross, and say, when making thy vow, I commend myself to him who died for me, who gave for me his body and his life.

"The wood of the cross is the banner of our chief; it is the standard which our army follows."

The king of England, bearing on his shoulder the white cross, repaired to Le Mans, where he assembled his council to deliberate on the means of providing for the expenses of the holy war in which he had just engaged.⁸ It was decided that in all the countries subject to the Angevin rule every man should be forced to give up a tenth part of his income, as also of his chattels; but that from this aid of a tenth, the arms, horses, and clothes of the knights should be excepted; and the horses, the books, the vestments, and all the ornaments of the priests; as also all jewels and precious stones, whether belonging to laymen or to clerks.⁹ On the contrary, it was moreover enacted, that such clerks, knights, and sergeants-at-arms, as took up the cross, should pay nothing; but that such burghesses and peasants as thought fit to join the army without the express consent of their lords should nevertheless pay their tenth.¹⁰

The subsidy decreed at Mans for the new crusade was levied without much violence, in Anjou, Normandy, and Aquitaine; and the only comminatory measure employed in those different countries, where the power of Henry II. was moderated by traditions of national administration, was a sentence of excommunication issued by the archbishops and bishops, against all who should not faithfully remit their exact quota to the persons appointed to gather the impost. The collection was made in each parish by a commission, consisting of the officiating curate, a royal officer, and the chaplain of the lord of the manor. The composition of this court, wherein these residents of

Crucem tollas, et vovendo
Dicas: Illi me commendo.
Qui . . .

(Roger. de Hoved., apud rer. Anglie script., ed. Savile, p. 639.)

⁸ Ibid.—(Script. rer. Gallie, et Fr., xvi. 163.)

⁹ Exceptis armis et equis et vestibus militum: et exceptis equis et libris et vestimentis et omnimoda capella clericorum: et lapidibus preciosis tam clericorum quam laicorum. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 641.)

¹⁰ Burgenses vero et rustici, qui sine licentia dominorum suorum crucem acceperint, nihilominus decimas dabunt. (Ibid.)

Commissioners appointed.
English citizens summoned.
Jews of England taxed.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

National servitude.
War between Philip and Henry. 217
Designs of Richard of Poitiers.

each township had a seat, afforded to the inhabitants some guarantee for justice and impartiality. Moreover, in all cases of dispute as to the amount charged on individuals, four or six persons of note in the parish were to be called together, to declare upon oath the value of the goods and chattels of the parties concerned; and their appraisal was sufficient to ratify the valuation, or relieve from any surcharge on the moveable effects of the contributor, whom their testimony was to condemn or absolve.¹ These precautions, used even in the middle ages, in those countries where the public administration was not, properly speaking, a government established by conquest, were probably also practised in England, as far as concerned the earls, barons, knights, bishops, and in a word, all men of the Norman race; but they were entirely disregarded in dealing with the Saxon burgesses; and in their place was adopted a manner of proceeding, more expeditious, and totally different, which is worthy of especial remark.²

King Henry crossed the Channel, and while his commissaries, whether clerks or laymen, were collecting, according to the terms of the royal ordinances, the money of the landowners, he had a list made out of the wealthy burgesses of all the towns; and had them personally summoned to present themselves before him at a time and place appointed.³ The honour of being admitted to the presence of the great-grandson of the Conqueror was thus granted by express summons to two hundred citizens of London, one hundred from York, and a proportionate number of inhabitants of the other cities and boroughs. The letters of convocation admitted neither of excuse nor of delay. The burgesses did not all arrive on the same day; for king Henry had no greater liking than had his ancestors for great assemblages of Englishmen. They were admitted in separate bands, on different days, and in different places.⁴ In the order in which they appeared, they were informed, through an interpreter, of the sum required from each. A contemporary thus relates the attendant circumstances: "In this manner, the king took from each and every citizen a tenth of their property, according to the estimate of honourable men who knew the amount of their income and personal effects.⁵ Such as he found refractory, he immediately incarcerated, and kept them in durance until they had paid the last farthing adjudged in the schedules.⁶ He dealt in like manner with the Jews of England, which produced him incalculable sums of money."⁷

This assimilation of the men of English race to the Jews may partly denote the character of their political condition at the commencement of the second century of the Conquest. It should further be observed, that the convocation of the burgesses

of the towns by the king, very far from being a mark of their civil liberty, was, in this and in many other similar instances, a proof of their actual enslavement, and was a mode of inflicting arbitrary vexations, specially directed against them as men of an inferior status and grade.

Notwithstanding the treaty, and the oath of the two kings, the *tailage* of the Saxons and Jews of England, and the contributions of the Norman nobles of that island, and of Henry's continental provinces, were devoted to quite another object than the re-conquest of Jerusalem. The old enemy (Satan) was not asleep, write the historians of that century; and his malice quickly rekindled the flame of war between those who had so recently sworn never to bear arms against any who were Christians until they should have returned from the Holy Land.⁸ The occasion of the new rupture was a quarrel as to their personal interests between Richard count of Poitiers and Raymond de St. Gilles count of Toulouse. The Aquitanians and Poitevins, who had recovered strength and energy since their last defeat, took advantage of the agitation caused by this dispute, to lay new plots, and form new leagues against the Anglo-Norman power. The king of France, on his part, following up the old policy of his ancestors, could not refrain from joining the adversaries of the Normans, and he made an attack upon the strong castles in Le Berry that were held of the king of England.⁹ The war soon extended along the entire frontier of the countries ruled by the two kings. On each side, many towns were taken and re-taken, many farms burned, and many vineyards uprooted; until at length the two rival powers, fatigued with the mutual injuries they had so uselessly been committing, resolved to treat for peace. (A.D. 1188.) Kings Henry and Philip gave each other a meeting under the Great Elm between Trie and Gisors, but separated without having been able to come to an agreement upon any one point.¹⁰ The younger of the two kings, irritated at the failure of this conference, vented his wrath upon the tree under which it had taken place, and had it cut down; swearing, by the saints of France, which was his favourite oath, that never more should a parley be held at that place.¹¹

In the course of the war, Richard, against whom, in appearance at least, king Philip had begun it, suddenly manifested some disposition to come to terms with that king, which gave his father considerable alarm. He went so far as to propose that the difference subsisting between himself and count Raymond de St. Gilles should be submitted to the decision of the French barons. To this Henry II. did not consent; and, distrusting his son, he would not treat for peace otherwise than in a personal interview with Philip.¹² In this conference, which took place near Bonmoulins, in Normandy, the king of France made proposals in which Richard's interest was so connected with

¹ Eligentur de parochiâ quatuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem illam quam ille debuisset dixisse. (Hog. de Hoved., p. 641.)

² Dominus rex misit servientes suos per singulos comitates Angliæ ad decimas colligendas. (Ibid.)

³ .. de singulis urbibus totius Angliæ fecit eligi omnes ditiores, et fecit omnes sibi presentari. (Ibid., p. 642.)

⁴ Diebus et locis statutis. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quibus cepit .. secundum estimationem virorum fidelium qui noverant. . . (Ibid.)

⁶ Si quos autem invenisset rebelles, statim fecit eos incarcerari, donec ultimum quadranten persolverent. (Ibid.)

⁷ Similiter fecit Judæis terram suæ, undè inestimabilem sibi adquisivit pecuniam. (Ibid.)

⁸ Antiqui hostis malitia non quievit. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ, p. 333, ed. Hearne.)

⁹ Roger. de Hoved., p. 644.

¹⁰ Cum inter illos de pace faciendâ non potuissent convenire. . . (Ibid., p. 645.)

¹¹ Rex Franciæ in iram commotus succidit ulmum, jurans quòd de cætero nunquàm ibi colloquia haberetur. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 645.)—Per sanctos Franciæ. (Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., de rege Philippo Augusto.)

¹² Roger. de Hoved., p. 645—649.

his own that they seemed to be the result of some secret compact previously concluded between that prince and himself. In one of the truces which Henry II. had formerly made with Philip's father, Louis VII., it had been agreed that Richard should marry king Louis's daughter Alix, or Alice, who should receive as her dowry the county of Vexin, a territory the possession of which had long been disputed by the two crowns.¹ As a guarantee for the faithful execution of this treaty, Alice, while yet a child, was placed in the king of England's hands to be in his custody until she was of a marriageable age;² but the war having broken out afresh, and the king of England's sons having leagued themselves with the king of France, the marriage was deferred, though Henry II. still retained possession of the young princess who had been entrusted to him. Apparently, he chose to keep her as a sort of hostage; but it was generally thought that this political motive was not his only one for detaining her in captivity in an English castle; and that he had conceived a violent passion for her, which he also gratified, say some historians, after the death of his mistress Rosamond.³ Several writers declare also that in the time of the war against his sons he had resolved to make Alice his wife, and repudiate Eleanor, in order to obtain for himself the support which the king of France was lending to his adversaries;⁴ but it was in vain that he solicited a divorce from the court of Rome, and, in order to procure it, loaded the pontifical court with presents.⁵

In his preceding conferences with the king of England, Philip had several times demanded the conclusion of the marriage of his sister Alice with the count of Poitiers; and this was the first condition which he proposed at the congress of Bonmoulins. He moreover asked, that his future brother-in-law, Richard, should be declared beforehand heir to the kingdom and all the states of Henry II., and receive as such the oath of liege-homage from all the barons of England and Henry's continental provinces.⁶ But the English king would by no means consent, fearing the like trouble which the premature elevation of his eldest son Henry had once already caused him.⁷ Richard, irritated by this refusal, repeated what he had so often done before. In the very presence of his father, turning to the king of France, and joining his two hands between his, he declared himself his vassal, and did homage to him for the duchies of Normandy, Brittany and Aquitaine, and the counties of Poitou, Anjou, and Maine.⁸ In exchange for this his oath of faith and liege-homage, Philip gave him as a fief the towns of Châteauroux and Issoudun.⁹

¹ See Book vii., p. 130.

² *Philippus regis Francie in custodia sua dudum receperat, ut cum Ricardo filio suo copularet.* (Chron. J. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1151, ed. Selden.)

³ *Quam post mortem Rosamunde defloravit.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ut sic majori favore Francoem fretus, filios proprios exheredaret.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Hugotonem cardinalem ad divertendum inter ipsam et reginam Elianoram super invitavit.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Ei permisisset ipsi Ricardo heredi suo fieri homagia et fidelitates.* (Roger, de Hoved., p. 649, ed. Savile.)

⁷ *Non immerito injuriam quas rex filius suus ei fecerat pro consimili exaltatione.* (Ibid.)

⁸ *Deventi homo regis Francie de omnibus tenementis patris sui transmarinis, et fidelitatem juravit ei contra omnes homines.* (Ibid.)

⁹ *Pro homagio.* (Ibid.)

This usurpation of all the paternal rights on the continent was the most sensible blow that Richard had yet aimed against his father; it was the commencement of a new domestic quarrel as violent as the first had been, which was excited, as has been seen, by Henry the Younger's attempts at usurpation. The discontented populations felt it, and were agitated by a sudden movement of revolt. The Bretons, who had remained quiet for more than two years, and the Poitevins, but lately sworn enemies to Richard, declared in his favour from the moment that they thought they beheld him in a state of mortal enmity with the king.¹⁰ Henry II. came to Saumur to make his preparations for war; while his barons and knights were quitting him in crowds to follow his son, whose party, supported by the king of France and by all the provinces of the south, seemed likely to become the strongest.¹¹ The king of England had on his side a majority of the Normans, the Angevins, and of all such as were terrified by the sentences of excommunication, the aid of which the pope's legate readily lent him. But while in the churches of Anjou the priests were pronouncing these ecclesiastical sentences, the Bretons, having entered the country in arms, were laying it waste and attacking the king's fortresses and castles.¹² Henry II., overcome by the ill fortune which had for so long a time unremittingly pursued him, fell sick through vexation: he took no military measure, but left to the legate and the archbishops the care of his defence. They redoubled their sentences of excommunication and interdict; they sent message after message to Richard and the king of France, and employed menaces and persuasions by turns. They had not much influence over the mind of Richard; but possessed more over that of Philip, who was always as much disposed for peace as for war, provided that he could hope to gain by it any political advantages.

(A.D. 1189.) Wherefore it was that the king of France consented to hold a conference with the other king; to which Richard repaired, whether willingly or not; and to which likewise came the pope's cardinal legate John d'Anagni, and the archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, Rouen, and Canterbury.¹³ Philip proposed to the king of England nearly the same conditions as at the interview of Bonmoulins, viz. the marriage of Alice with Richard, and the nomination of the latter as heir to all his father's dominions, under the guarantee of the oath of homage to be rendered him by all the barons of England and the continent. But Henry II., who had still more cause than at the preceding conference to distrust Richard, again declined to consent to this demand; and proposed to marry Alice to his other son John, who to that day had constantly shown himself obedient and well affected towards him.¹⁴ He said that, if this marriage were approved of, he should feel no reluctance in declaring John his heir for all the continental provinces. This proposal tended to the

¹⁰ *Habuit comes Richardus Britones confederatos cum Piactaviensibus.* (Math. Paris, i. 151.)

¹¹ *Licet plures de comitibus et baronibus suis, eo pellecto, adhaerent regi Francie et comiti Richardo contra eum.* (Roger, de Hoved., p. 659.)

¹² *Britones hostiliter intraverunt terram regis Anglie et circumaque devastaverunt eam.* (Ibid.)

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 652.

ruin of Richard; and, either from a scruple of honour or from want of confidence in the youngest of Henry II.'s sons, the king of France refused therefore to abandon his ally by subscribing to it. Cardinal John d'Anagni then spoke, and declared that according to his express mission he was about to put the kingdom of France under Interdict.¹ "Lord legate," replied king Philip, "pass thy sentence if it so please thee, for I fear it not."² The Roman church has no right to wreak its ire against the kingdom of France, either by Interdict or otherwise, when the king thinks proper to arm against rebellious vassals, to revenge his own wrongs, and to assert the honour of his crown.³ Besides, I see by thy discourse that thou hast already been smelling at the king of England's sterlings.⁴ Richard, whose interest was much more deeply compromised in this affair, did not confine himself to raileries against the pontifical envoy; he drew his sword, and would have proceeded to some act of violence, had not the by-standers withheld him.⁵ The old king, being forced to fight, assembled his army; but his best soldiers had abandoned him to go and join his son: he lost in a few months the towns of Le Mans and Tours, with the entire of the territories of Maine and Touraine; and while the king of France was attacking him in Anjou by the northern frontier, the Bretons were advancing from the west, and the Poitevins from the south.⁶ Without means of defence and without authority, enfeebled in body and in mind, he resolved to sue for peace, offering to resign himself to everything.⁷ The conference of the two kings, for it appears that Richard did not attend it, but awaited apart the issue of the negotiations, was held in a plain between Tours and Azay-sur-Cher. Philip's demands were that the king of England should expressly acknowledge himself his liege-man, and place himself at his discretion and mercy;⁸ that Alice should be given in the charge of five persons to be chosen by Richard, until his return from the crusade⁹ to which he was to repair with the king of France at Mid-Lent; that the king of England should relinquish all right of sovereignty over the towns of Berry, which was anciently possessed by the dukes of Aquitaine, and should pay to the king of France twenty thousand marks of silver for the restitution of the conquered provinces;¹⁰ that all who had attached themselves to the party of the son against the father should continue vassals of the son and not of the father, unless of their own free will they chose to return to the latter;¹¹ and lastly, that the king should receive his son Richard

into his grace by the kiss of peace, and sincerely abjure from the bottom of his heart all rancour and animosity against him.¹² The king of England, having neither the means nor the hope of obtaining more favourable conditions, armed himself with all the patience he could command, and conversed with king Philip, hearkening to what he had to say with a docile air, like a man receiving law from another. Both were on horseback in the open field; and while they were talking together, mouth to mouth, says a contemporary narrator, it suddenly thundered, though the sky was without a cloud, and the lightning fell between them without doing them any harm.¹³ They immediately separated, both being extremely frightened, and met after a short interval: but a second peal of thunder, louder than the first, was heard almost on the instant.¹⁴ The king of England, whom the sad necessity under which he was placed, his vexation thereat, and the weak state of his health, rendered more susceptible of a sudden emotion, was so much disturbed that he let his horse's reins fall from his hand, appeared unsteady in his saddle, and would have fallen to the ground had he not been held up by those around him.¹⁵ The conference was broken off; and as Henry II. was too ill to appoint a second interview, the articles of the peace, drawn out in writing, were sent to his quarters, that he might formally ratify them.¹⁶

The ministers of the king of France found him lying on a bed, and read to him the treaty of peace, article by article. When they came to that which regarded persons engaged secretly or ostensibly on the side of Richard, the king asked their names, that he might know how many men there were whose faith and allegiance he was obliged to relinquish.¹⁷ The first that was named to him was John, his youngest son. On hearing this name pronounced, being seized with an almost convulsive motion, he rose half up, and casting around him a piercing and haggard look,¹⁸ exclaimed, "Is it then true that John, my heart's pride, the son of my predilection, he whom I have cherished more than the rest, and for the love of whom I have brought upon myself all my misfortunes, has also separated from me?"¹⁹ He was answered that so it was, and that nothing was more true. "Well then!" said he, falling back upon the bed and turning his face to the wall, "henceforth let all things go as they may: I have no further care for myself nor for the world."²⁰ A few moments after-

¹ Totam terram suam sub interdicto poneret. (Rog. de Hov., p. 652.)

² Quod sententiam suam non timeret. (Ibid.)

³ Math. Paris, l. 149.—Ibid.

⁴ Quod cardinalis jam sterlingos regis Angliæ offererat. (Ibid.)

⁵ Math. Par., l. 149.

⁶ Ex una parte Pictavi prætedebat regi Angliæ domino suo insidias; et ex aliâ parte Britones. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 653, ed. Savile.)

⁷ Rex vero Angliæ in arcto positus. (Ibid.)

⁸ Erat primum capitulum de misericordiâ, cui se supposit. (Girald. Cambren. de instructione principis, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xviii. 154.)—Ex toto positus se in voluntate regis Franciæ. (Roger. de Hov., p. 654.)

⁹ Ibid., p. 653.

¹⁰ Quod omnes qui comiti Pictavensi contra patrem adhæserant, de tenementis suis omnibus et ligantiâ filio solium intenderent et non patri, nisi ultionei voluntate ad ipsum fortè redire voluerint. (Girald. Camb., ibid., xviii. 154.)

¹¹ Quod filium suum comitem Pictavensem in osculo recipere, eique iram omnem et indignationem ex corde remittere debuisset. (Id. ibid., xviii. 155.)

¹² Dum reges ore ad os loquerentur. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 653.)

¹³ Perterriti ob invicem separati sunt .. et iterum auditus est tonitrus major et terribilior priore. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ In terram corruisset ab equo in quo sedebat, nisi manibus circumstantium sustentatus fuisset. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Formam (paciæ) scripto comprehensam Anglorum regi legendam et audiendam obtulerunt. (Girald. Camb., de instructione principis, apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xviii. 154.)

¹⁶ Postulans ut nomina eorum omnium scripto commenderentur. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 654.)

¹⁷ Stratu quo recubabat statim in sessionem exurgens et acriter circumspiciens. (Girald. Camb., xviii. 155.)

¹⁸ Verumne est, inquit, quod Johannes cor meum ..? (Id. ibid.)

¹⁹ Iterum se lecto reddens, faciemque suam ad parietem vertens: Vadant, inquit, de cætero cuncta sicut poterunt, ego de me amplius nihil neque de mundo quietam curo. (Id. ibid.)

wards Richard approached the bedside, and asked of his father the kiss of peace in execution of the treaty. The king gave it him with a look of apparent calmness; but as Richard was going away, he heard his father murmur in a low tone, "O! that God would grant me not to die until I had revenged myself on thee!"¹ On his arrival at the French camp, the count of Poitiers repeated these words to king Philip and his courtiers, who all laughed aloud, and highly amused themselves with jesting about the good peace which had just been so happily concluded between the father and the son.²

The king of England, feeling that he grew worse, had himself conveyed to Chinon, where in a few days he fell into a state bordering on death. In his last moments he was heard to utter broken exclamations, which alluded to his misfortunes and to the conduct of his sons. He cried aloud, "Shame! shame! on a conquered king! Cursed be the day when I was born! The curse of God be on the sons I leave behind me!"³ The bishops and religious men who surrounded him used all their endeavours to make him retract this malediction against his offspring; but he persisted in it to his latest breath.⁴

When he had expired, his corpse was treated by his servants as William the Conqueror's had formerly been; they all abandoned him after stripping him of his last clothes, and carried off all that was valuable in the chamber and in the house.⁵ King Henry had desired to be buried at Fontevrault, a celebrated abbey of nuns, a few leagues to the south of Chinon; there were hardly any people to be found to wrap his body in a shroud, or horses to convey it.⁶ The corpse was already deposited in the great church of the abbey, awaiting the day of burial, when count Richard was apprised by public rumour of his father's death.⁷ He came to the church, and found the king lying in a coffin with his face uncovered, and still showing by the contraction of his features the signs of violent agony. This sight caused in the count of Poitiers an involuntary shuddering.⁸ He fell on his knees, and prayed before the altar; but he arose after the lapse of a few moments (after the space of a water-noster, say the historians of the age), and went out, not to return.⁹ The contemporaries assure us that from the moment when Richard entered the church until that of his de-

parture the blood flowed incessantly from both nostrils of the defunct king.¹⁰ The next day the ceremony of sepulture was performed; and it was wished to decorate the corpse with some of the ensigns of royalty; but the keepers of the treasury at Chinon refused them; and, after many supplications, they sent only an old sceptre and a ring of little value.¹¹ For want of a crown, the king's head was dressed in a sort of diadem formed of the gold embroidery of a woman's garment: and in this sad attire, Henry son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, king of England, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, count of Anjou and Maine, lord of Tours and Amboise, descended to his last abode.¹²

A contemporary author thinks he beholds in the misfortunes of Henry II. a mark of the Divine vengeance against the Normans, the tyrants of conquered England.¹³ He draws a parallel between this miserable death and that of William Rufus, of the sons of Henry I., of Henry II.'s own brothers, and of his two eldest sons, who all met a violent death in the flower of their age. "Behold," he exclaims, "the punishment of their illegitimate reign!"¹⁴ But, without admitting this superstitious opinion, it is at least certain with regard to Henry II., that his misfortunes were a direct consequence of those events which had brought the southern provinces of Gaul under his rule. He had rejoiced at this increase of his power, as being the gift of the highest good fortune; he had granted the countries of others to his sons for their appanages; he was proud of seeing his family reign over many nations of different race and manners, and thus unite under his imperial sceptre that which nature had kept separate. But nature lost not her just right: and at the first movement made by the French people to recover their independence, divisions and discords invaded the family of the foreign king, who beheld his children serve his own subjects as instruments against himself; and who, agitated to his latest hour by the storms of domestic war, experienced, when about to resign his breath, the bitterest feeling that man can carry with him to the tomb, that of dying by a parricide.

¹⁰ Regis utraque naris sanguine exiit manare, et quædam filius in ecclesiâ fuerat non cessavit. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Vix ulla prorsus insignia regalia nisi per emendicata demum suffragia, eaque minus congruentia, suppetière. (Girald. Camb. de instructione principis, apud script. rer. G. et Fr., xviii. 158.)

¹² Vix capiti corona sicut decuit, quia de aurifrigio quodam veteri inventa fuit. (Ibid.)—Facto sibi diademate de aurifrigio mulierum. (Chron. Anonymi Laudunens. ibid., p. 707.)

¹³ Normannici tyranni vindictam divinitus inflictam non evaserunt. (Girald. Camb., xviii. 157, 158.)

¹⁴ Propter quod pauci eorum sine laudabili discesserunt. Non dimidiatae dies suos miserabiliter interierunt; nec naturaliter nec legitime, sed quasi per hysterion prideron, in insulâ occupatâ regnaverunt. (Ibid.)

¹ Verbum à patre quanquam demissâ voce prolatum audivit: Nunquam me Dominus mori permittat, donec dignam mihi de te vindictam accepero. (Girald. Camb., xviii. 155.)

² Modumque concordie inter ipsum et patrem referens ac verba sequentia, grandem Francorum regi et curiæ toti risum excitavit. (Id. ibid.)

³ Proh pudor de rege victo! proh pudor! (Girald. Camb. de instructione principis, xviii. 155.)—Maledixit diei in quâ natus fuit, et maledictionem Dei et suam dedit filiis suis. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 654, ed. Savile.)

⁴ Quam nunquam relaxare voluit. (Ibid.)
⁵ Quo defuncto, reliquerunt eum, diripientes opes illius. (Ibid.)—Corpus nudum absque amictu quolibet. (Girald. Camb., apud script. rer. Gall. et Fr., xviii., 157.)

⁶ Vix qui corpus sindone consueret, vix qui ad feretrum equos vel inveniunt vel aptarent. (Ibid.)—See Book vii. 181.)

⁷ Corpore jam delato, fama comitem Pietavensem advexit. (Girald. Camb., ibid., xviii. 158.)

⁸ Patris facies sudario nudata comparuit. . . comes, eâ inspectâ, non absque fremitu. . . (Ibid.)

⁹ Modicum et tanquam orationis Dominicæ per spatium vix remansit. (Ibid.)

BOOK XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING RICHARD I. TO THE
EXECUTION OF THE SAXON WILLIAM, SURNAMED
LONG-BEARD.

A.D. 1190 to 1196.

(A.D. 1173 to 1177.) The impossibility of combining all the facts of history in a continuous recital now obliges us to revert to the period when Henry II. received from pope Alexander III. a bull investing him with the lordship over all Ireland.¹ The king thereupon immediately despatched over to Ireland the Normans William Fitzelme and Nicholas dean of Wallingford, who on their arrival convoked a synod of all the higher clergy of the newly conquered provinces.² Alexander III.'s diploma and the former bull of Adrian IV. were solemnly read in this assembly, and ratified by the Irish priests, who were committed by their first submission to do acts of like weakness. However, many of them soon repented, and took part either in the plots carried on secretly in the places occupied by the Norman garrisons or in the open resistance of the free provinces bordering on the Shannon and the Boyne.³ Laurentius archbishop of Dublin, one of the first who had sworn fidelity to the conqueror, was concerned in several patriotic insurrections; and from being a friend to the foreigners, became an object of their hatred and their persecutions.⁴ On his death they appointed a Norman of the name of John Comyn to succeed him; and this prelate, fully comprehending the purpose of his new mission, so conducted himself towards the natives, that his fellow-countrymen jestingly gave him the surname of Flay-villain.⁵

(A.D. 1175 to 1177.) The conquest was gradually extended to the eastern and southern frontiers of the kingdoms of Connaught and Ulster. A line of castles and of palisaded redoubts, carried round the entire limit of the invaded territory, caused it to receive in the Norman tongue the name of *Pale*, in English, *the Pale*. Every baron, knight, or esquire from beyond sea, cantoned within the Pale, had been careful to fortify strongly his particular domain; they all had castles, large or small, according to their rank and their riches. The lowest class of the conquering army, and especially the English, whether soldiers, mechanics, or dealers, dwelt collectively in entrenched camps around the castles of their chiefs, or in the towns which the natives had partly abandoned. The English tongue was spoken in the streets and markets of those towns, and the French in the donjon towers newly built by the barons of the Conquest. The names of these chiefs which history has preserved are all French; as Raymond de Caën, William Ferrand, William Maquerel,

¹ See Book x. pp. 195, 198, 202.

² Girald. Cambr. *Hibernia expugnata*, apud Camden, p. 787.

³ *Campion's Historie of Ireland*, p. 62 to 64.—*Hammer's Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 162. These two works, although destitute of all philological criticism on the antiquities of Ireland, are perfectly exact as to the conquest of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans; they present us with a faithful and literal extract from the original records.

⁴ Girald. Cambr., See *Camden Anglica, Hibernica, &c.*, p. 799.—*Campion*, p. 66.—*Hammer's Chronicle*, p. 165.

Robert Digarre, Henry Bluet, John de Courcy, Hugh le Petit, and the numerous family of the Fitzgeralds (or sons of *Gérald*), who were likewise called *Geraldines* (*Géraldins*).⁶ Thus the men of English race who had come to Ireland in the train of the Normans were placed in a middle grade between the latter and the natives; and their language, in their own native country the most despised, held, in the isle of Erin, an intermediate rank between that of the new government and the Celtic idiom of the vanquished people.

All that remained of the Irish population within the Pale or Anglo-Norman territory was soon confounded in a like condition of servitude: and there was no longer any distinction between the ally of the foreigners and him who had resisted them; all became equal in the eyes of the conquerors so soon as they had no further need of any one's assistance. In the kingdom of Leinster, as well as elsewhere, nothing was left to the inhabitants in land or property but what was not thought worth the trouble of seizure. They who had called over the Normans and fought for them, repented when too late and rose up against them;⁷ but wanting organisation, they did not stoutly carry on the revolt; and the foreigners accused them of perfidy and fickleness. These interested reproaches found their way into history, which lavishes them on all the men of Irish race.⁸

About the year 1177 the natives of Connaught and of Ulster, not confining themselves to the defence of the frontier of their own country, resolved to attempt the enfranchisement of all the invaded territory. They advanced as far as Dublin; but as they were unskilled in the art of besieging, they failed to make themselves masters of that city, which had been newly fortified, and were thus arrested in their progress.⁹ The Normans, in order to compel them by a powerful diversion to retreat, entered Ulster under the conduct of John de Courcy. This manœuvre obliged the king of Connaught to quit the south-east country and march to the north: many of the ancient chiefs, and even Irish bishops of the Anglo-Norman territory, joined him and followed his army.¹⁰

At that time a cardinal named Vivian, sent by the pope into Scotland to make a gathering of money there, having succeeded in his mission, landed in the north of Ireland, in that part of the country which had lately become the theatre of war. Notwithstanding all the harm which the Roman church had done to Ireland, the legate was received with great honours by the chieftains of the Irish army. They besought him with deference to counsel them, and to tell them if it was not lawful for them to oppose with all their might the king of England's usurpation. The Roman envoy, either prompted by fear of them, or through a calculating policy, gave that answer which they

⁵ *Hammer's Chron. of Ireland*, p. 136, et passim.—*Campion's Historie of Ireland*, p. 65.—*Harris's Hibernica*, part ii. p. 212.

⁶ *Interfectis quibusdam Anglicis qui inter eos habitacionem elegerant, et quorum magna pars in eorum exercitu fuerat.* (*Chron. Walt. Hemingford*, apud *rer. Anglie. scripta.*, ii. 509, ed. Gale.)

⁷ *Constantes in levitate, fideles in perfidii sui.* (Girald. Cambr.)

⁸ Girald. Cambr. *Hib. expugnata*, apud Camden, p. 792.—*Hammer's Chron.*, p. 140.

⁹ Giraldus, *ibid.*, p. 794.—*Hammer*, p. 147.

themselves desired most, and encouraged them to fight unto death in defence of their country. These words excited universal joy, and a warm friendship for the cardinal, who, without loss of time, informed them of his wishes to obtain a pecuniary collection for the church of Rome. The chiefs of the army and the people, in their satisfaction, gave all they could to the legate, who then pursued his travels into the Anglo-Norman territory.

Having arrived at Dublin, he was ill received by the lords justices and the king's barons; they loudly reproached him with having encouraged the Irish to a determined resistance; and they notified to him that he must either immediately depart or make a public retraction.¹ Whereupon the cardinal, without any hesitation, proclaimed king Henry II. sovereign and lawful master of all Ireland, and fulminated in the name of the church a sentence of excommunication against every native who should refuse to acknowledge him. The Normans hailed this Romish decree with equal joy to that which their adversaries had testified at the legate's approbation of their devotion for the cause of their country; and accordingly Vivian filled his coffers at leisure in all the conquered portion of the island. He then visited the Norman army which was attacking the province of Ulster. That army was suffering much from want; for on its approach the inhabitants had concealed or burned all provisions, or had stored them up in the churches, hoping to prevent the strangers from plunder by the fear of sacrilege.² This fear did not indeed entirely restrain the soldiers of the invasion; but it produced in them a certain moral reluctance, which, added to their physical privations, retarded the progress of the campaign. The leader of the expedition, John de Courcy, asked the legate, if they who fought for the rights of king Henry might not, without sin, break open the doors of the churches to obtain the much needed supplies. The Roman replied, "In such a case, those guilty of sacrilege will be the Irish alone, who, to maintain their rebellion, have dared to convert the house of God into a granary and storehouse.

(A.D. 1177 to 1185.) The invasion of Ulster succeeded, though incompletely: the maritime towns and the plains fell into the power of the strangers; but the mountainous country remained free, and the natives resorted to those wilds to carry on a partisan warfare.³ Whilst John de Courcy was endeavouring to strengthen himself in his recent conquest, the Norman Miles or Milo, who called himself Miles de Coghnam, because he possessed in England a domain of that name, passed the river Shannon at the head of six hundred knights, and entered the kingdom of Connaught. Hugh de Lacy soon followed him with greater forces; and on their approach the inhabitants retreated, driving their cattle before them into the forests, taking with them all they could carry, and burning the rest, together with their own habitations. This system of defence would probably have succeeded, if the king of Connaught, who hitherto had shown himself the bravest and most resolute of the Irish princes, had not asked to capitulate with the invaders, and consented to

acknowledge himself a liege-man of the king of England. This desertion chilled the spirit of resistance of the inhabitants; yet the nature of their territory, intersected by lakes and marshes, and the most mountainous in the whole island, prevented the Anglo-Normans from effecting its entire conquest. They occupied but few districts, and their colony was not numerous; so that the greatest bond of subjection by which they kept that part of Ireland in their power was the oath of vassalage taken by the king, who had constituted himself their friend. Hugh de Lacy married one of that king's daughters; and his companions in victory, thinly sown as it were amongst the native population, likewise married women of the country. Either from a disposition to imitate, natural in man, or from policy and to excite less hatred, they gradually laid aside the Norman fashions and manners for those of the Irish; giving no entertainment without a harper, and preferring music and poetry above tournaments and jousts.⁴ This change of manners greatly displeased the barons established in the south and east, where the natives, reduced to servitude and despised by their lords, could not inspire the latter with any desire of imitating them. They treated those as degenerate and as having contracted an ill-assorted alliance, who adopted the customs or married women of the island, and the sons born of such unions were considered as very inferior in nobility to men of pure Norman lineage: nay more, they were distrusted; it was apprehended that the tie of kindred would some day attach them to the cause of the conquered people: this, however, did not really happen until many centuries had elapsed.

(A.D. 1185.) On the other hand, the king of England dreaded the power of his barons who had established themselves in Ireland, and was alarmed by the thought that one of them might sooner or later undertake to found in that island an empire separate from his own. In order to avoid this danger, Henry II. resolved to send one of his sons to represent him under the title of king of Ireland. But the three eldest, who alone were capable of fulfilling that mission, had inspired him with so much distrust of them, that he chose John, the youngest of all, then scarcely fifteen years of age.⁵ On the day when that prince received his first arms of knighthood his father caused the oath of vassalage to be sworn to him by all the conquerors of the isle of Erin. Hugh de Lacy and Miles de Coghnam did homage to him for Connaught, and John de Courcy for Ulster.⁶ The south-western portion of the island was yet unconquered; and it was then offered in fee to two brothers, Herbert and Jocelin de la Pommeraye, on the sole condition of their seizing upon it: they refused this gift, which seemed to them to be too burdensome;⁷ but Philip de Brause accepted it, and did homage for the same to the new king of Ireland, declaring that he held of him in fee, in consideration of the service of sixty men-at-arms, that territory into which no Norman had yet penetrated.⁸

⁴ Haumer's Chron. of Ireland, p. 159.

⁵ Roger de Hoved., p. 567, ed. Savile.—Haumer's Chronicle, p. 159.

⁶ Roger de Hoved., p. 567.

⁷ Regnum illud habere noluerunt eo quod nondum perquisitum erat. (Ibid.)

⁸ Ibid.

¹ Haumer's Chron. of Ireland, p. 148.

² Campion's Historie, p. 66.—Haumer's Chron., p. 148.

³ Girald. Camb. Hib. expugnata, apud Camden, p. 724.

The fourth son of Henry II. embarked in the month of April 1185, and landed at Waterford, accompanied by Robert le Pauvre, or Power, his marshal, and by a great many young men who had been brought up at the English court, who had never seen Ireland, and who, being strangers as much to the conquerors of that country as to the natives, followed the new king in the hope of speedily making their fortunes at the expense of both.¹ From the place of his disembarkation John proceeded to Dublin, where he was received with great pomp by the archbishop and all the Anglo-Normans of the country. Many of the Irish chiefs who had sworn fidelity to king Henry and the foreign barons also came to salute the youthful prince, according to the long-established ceremonies of their island.²

This ceremonial was much less refined than that of the Norman court: it left each one at liberty to give, according to his own fancy, any testimony of affection to the man invested with sovereign power, such as the first impulse or his own habitual manner might suggest to him. The Irish did not imagine that they had anything more to do than to observe their ancient usages; one of them simply bowed before the son of king Henry, another took him by the hand, a third would have embraced him; but the Normans thought this familiarity unbecoming, and treated the Irish chieftains as if a set of untaught and brutal men.³ Amusing themselves with heaping insults upon them, they pulled them by their long beards or by the flowing locks which depended from their heads, they touched their clothes contemptuously, and pushed them towards the door. These outrages did not remain without due vengeance being taken by the injured, and that very day all the Irish chiefs simultaneously quitted Dublin. A great many inhabitants of the neighbouring country, taking with them their wives, their children, and their moveables, followed them; some retiring towards the south, to the king of Limerick, who was still struggling against the conquest, and others to the king of Connaught, who soon put himself at the head of a new patriotic insurrection.⁴

(A.D. 1185 to 1186.) In the almost general war which now broke out between the Irish and their conquerors, one circumstance favourable to the former was the species of jealousy entertained by the young king's courtiers against the barons and knights who had effected the conquest. Having nothing to lose by this war, they considered it as a favourable opportunity for supplanting the first colonists in their ranks and commands.⁵ They accused and calumniated them to the son of Henry II. in a thousand ways; and he, light and imprudent of disposition, and attached to the companions of his pleasures, despoiled in their favour the founders and real supporters of the Norman power in Hibernia. He spent in frivolities all the money which he received from England for the payment of his troops; his army, ill commanded and discontented, obtained no advantages over the revolted; and the cause of the conquerors was placed

in a state of danger.⁶ No sooner was this peril plainly perceived, than the young king and his courtiers fled and quitted the island, carrying off all the money they were able to levy, and leaving the contest to be decided by the two populations really interested in the war.⁷

(A.D. 1186 to 1334.) The struggle between these two races of men was long continued under every form, in the open country and in the midst of the towns, by force and by stratagem, by open attack and by assassination. The same hatred of foreign rule which in England, had strewn the forests of Yorkshire and Northumberland with Norman carcasses, also filled with them the lakes and marshes of Erin. There was one fact which stamped the conquest of the latter country with a peculiarity of character; and this was, that the conquerors of Ireland, justly classed as oppressors of the indigenous people, are to be considered as having been themselves equally oppressed by their countrymen who remained in England. The ill, which the sons of the conquerors inflicted upon the subjugated nation, was thus partly retaliated upon them by the kings to whom they owed obedience, and who, mistrusting their fidelity, looked upon them nearly in the light of strangers and of a different race. Yet, how great soever the arbitrary vexations which the English, established in Ireland, had to endure at the hands of the rulers of England, they were insignificant in comparison with the injuries which for a long succession of ages they themselves inflicted on the natives. (A.D. 1334 to 1340.) A document of the fourteenth century may here supply the place of more multifarious details on this matter, and furnish the reader with a perfect conception of the nature of conquests made in the middle ages:—

“To John pope, Donald O'Neyl king of Ulster, together with the other princes of that territory and the whole Irish people.⁸ Most holy father,—We transmit to you some exact and candid particulars concerning the state of our nation and the wrongs we suffer, and which our ancestors suffered from the kings of England and their agents, and from the English barons born in Ireland.⁹ After driving us by violence from our habitations, our fields, and our paternal inheritances, and compelling us, in order to save our lives, to make our abode in the mountains, marshes, woods, and caverns of the rocks, they incessantly harass us in these miserable retreats, to expel us from them and appropriate to themselves the whole extent of our country.¹⁰ Hence there has resulted an implacable enmity betwixt them and us; and it was a former pope who originally placed us in this miserable condition.¹¹ They had promised that pope that they would fashion the people of Hibernia to good mo-

⁶ Et quia ipse omnia proprio suo inclusit marsupio, notens solidariis stipendia sua solvere .. (Rog. de Hoved., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 630, ed. Savile.)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Johan. XXII ... Donaldus O'Neyl rex Ultonie, nec non et ejusdem terre reguli et magnates ac populus Hibernianus .. (Johan. de Fordun, Scotichron., p. 908, ed. Hearne.)

⁹ Et per barones Anglicos in Hibernia natos. (Ibid., p. 909.)

¹⁰ Ejectis nobis violententer de spaciosis habitacionibus nostris .. montana, sylvestria, ac paludosa loca, .. et omnium locum nostre habitacionis sibi usurpare. (Ibid., p. 911.)

¹¹ Unde inter nos et illos implacabiles inimicitias, .. miserabili in quo Romanus pontifex statu nos posuit. (Ibid., p. 912.)

¹ Campion's Historie of Ireland, p. 67.

² Roger. de Hoved., p. 630, ed. Savile.—Campion, p. 67.

³ Campion's Historie, p. 68.—Haumer's Chron., p. 166.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Haumer's Chronicle, p. 67.

ral, and give them good laws; so far from doing which, they have annihilated all the written laws by which we were formerly governed:¹ they have thus not only left us without those laws, but, the better to accomplish our ruin, have established among us a detestable code, of which the following are specimens:—²

"It is a rule, in the king of England's courts of justice in Ireland, that every man who is not of Irish extraction may institute a judicial process of any kind, and that a like power is denied to the Irish, whether clergy or laity.³ If, as too frequently happens, an Englishman murders an Irish clerk or layman, the assassin is neither punished corporally, nor is he even amerced in a pecuniary fine; but, on the contrary, the more considerable the murdered person was amongst us, the more his murderer is excused, honoured, and rewarded by his countrymen, and this even by their religious men and their bishops.⁴ No Irishman can dispose of his property on his deathbed; the English appropriate it to themselves.⁵ The religious orders established in Ireland which are situated within the English territory are forbidden to receive into their monasteries men of the Irish nation.⁶

"The English who have dwelt among us for many years, and are styled *men of mixed race*, are not for that less cruel to us than are the others.⁷ Sometimes they invite to their tables the first men of our nation, and treacherously kill them in the midst of the banquet, or during their sleep.⁸ Thus it was that Thomas de Clare, having allured to his house Brian the Red of Thomond, his brother-in-law, put him to death by surprise, after partaking of the holy communion with him, the same consecrated host being divided in two parts.⁹ These crimes appear to them honourable and praiseworthy; and it is the belief of all their laymen and many of their churchmen that there is no more sin in killing an Irishman than in killing a dog.¹⁰ Their monks say with assurance, that, after killing a man of our nation (which but too often happens), they should not think themselves bound to abstain from saying mass for a single day.¹¹ As a proof of this, the Cistercian monks established at Granard, in the diocese of Armagh, and those of the same order at Ynes (Innis, an island) in Ulster, are daily attacking us with arms, wounding and killing the Irish, yet say their masses as usual.¹² Brother Simon, of the order of Friars Minors, a relative of the bishop of Coventry, has publicly preached that there is not the smallest harm in killing or robbing an Irishman.¹³ In short, they all main-

tain that it is allowable for them to take from us whatsoever they can of our lands and goods; nor are their consciences at all burdened in consequence, not even in the hour of their death.¹⁴

"All these grievances, added to the difference of language and manners existing between them and us, preclude all hope of our ever preserving a peace or truce with them in this life; so great is in them the lust of dominion; so eager in us is the lawful and natural desire of escaping from an intolerable bondage, and recovering the inheritance of our forefathers.¹⁵ We cherish in our breasts an inveterate hatred, produced by lengthened recollections of injustice, by the murder of our fathers, brothers, and kindred, and which will not be extinguished in our time nor in that of our sons.¹⁶ So that as long as we have life we will fight against them, without regret or remorse, in defence of our rights. We will not cease to fight against and annoy them until the day when they themselves, for want of power, shall have ceased to do us harm, and the Supreme Judge shall have taken just vengeance on their crimes; which we firmly hope will sooner or later come to pass.¹⁷ Until then we will make war upon them unto death, to recover the independence which is our natural right; being compelled thereto by very necessity, and willing rather to face danger like brave men than to languish under insults."¹⁸

This promise of war unto death, made upwards of four hundred years ago, is not yet forgotten; and it is a melancholy fact, but worthy of remark, that in our own days blood has flowed in Ireland for the old quarrel of the conquest.¹⁹ The period when this quarrel shall be terminated it is impossible to foresee in the futurity of human affairs; for, despite the intermixture of races, and the settlements and transactions of every hue which the course of ages has produced, the old hatred of English government still subsists as a native passion inherent in the mass of the Irish nation. From the first day of the invasion the will of that race of men has been constantly opposed to the arbitrary will of its conquerors; it has detested what they have loved, and loved what they have detested. They, whose long misfortunes were in great measure caused by the ambition of the popes, wedded themselves to the dogmas of popery, with a sort of fury, so soon as England freed herself from the same. This unconquerable obstinacy, this faculty of preserving and nourishing, through ages of physical misery, the remembrance of their lost liberty, this disposition never to despair of a constantly vanquished cause, that has always been fatal to all such among them as have dared to espouse and defend it, is perhaps the most extraordinary and the greatest example that a people has ever given.

¹⁴ Nullam super hoc, eciam in mortis articulo, sibi conscientiam facientes. (Johan. de Fordun, Scotichron., p. 920.)

¹⁵ Cùmque in conditionibus et lingua sint nobis dissimiles, tantisque excecendi eorum importabile servituti jugum, recuperandi hereditatem nostram, debitum et naturalis affectus. (Ibid., p. 921.)

¹⁶ Nostro ac filiorum uestrorum uero. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ Ideoque, omni absque conscientis remorsu, quamdiu uita aderit, ipsos impugnamus, pro nostri juris defensione. (Ibid., p. 923.)

¹⁸ .. Mortalem guerram habere cogimur cum præsictis, præligentes, necessitate coacti, discrimini uiriliter nos opponere bellio, quam. .. (Ibid.)

¹⁹ See the Conclusion of this History.

¹ Legibus scriptis priuauerunt. (Johan. de Fordun, Scotichron., p. 914, ed. Hearne.)

² Pro gentis nostre exterminacione leges pessimas statuentes. (Ibid.)

³ In curia regis Angliæ in Hiberniâ. (Ibid.)

⁴ Quanto melior est occisus, et majorem inter suos obtinet locum, tanto plus occidens honoratur et præmiatur ab Anglicis. (Ibid.)

⁵ Appropriant sibi ipsi. (Ibid., p. 915.)

⁶ Quod inhabent omnibus religiosis. (Ibid.)

⁷ Angliæ nostram inhabitantes terram qui se uocant media nationis. (Ibid., p. 916.)

⁸ Inter ipsas epulas, uel dormicionis tempore. (Ibid., p. 917.)

⁹ De eadem hostiâ consecratâ et in duas diuisâ partes. (Ibid., p. 918.)

¹⁰ Non magis est peccatum interficere hominem Hibernicum quam unum canem. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Ob hoc non desisterent à celebracione eciam uno die. (Ibid.)

¹² Et nichilominus suas celebrant missas. (Ibid., p. 919.)

¹³ Quod non est peccatum. (Ibid., p. 920.)

(A.D. 1100 to 1154.) Somewhat of that tenacity of memory which characterises the Irish race was also to be found in the same epoch in the Celtic race inhabiting Wales: weak as they were in the twelfth century, they still hoped not only to recover the conquered portion of the land in which they were born, but even to witness the return of the olden time when they had possessed the whole island of Britain. Their unshaken confidence in this chimerical hope made such a lively impression upon the minds of those imbued with it, that in England, and also in France, the Welsh were considered as having the gift of prophecy.¹ The odes in which ancient Cambrian poets had expressed, with an overflowing of soul, the national vows and patriotic wishes and expectations were regarded as mysterious predictions; and their meaning was sought in the great political events of the day.² Hence the fantastic celebrity attached to Myrddin, a bard of the seventh century, five hundred years after his death, under the name of the enchanter Merlin. Hence also the extraordinary renown of king Arthur, the hero of a little people whose very existence was almost unknown on the continent. But the books of that people were so full of poetry, so strongly tinged with enthusiasm and conviction, that, when once translated into other languages, they became among foreigners the most attractive reading, and the theme on which the romancers of the middle ages took most pleasure in constructing their fictions. Thus did the pens of the French and Provençal troubadours make of the ancient warrior of the British the ideal model of an accomplished knight, and the greatest king that had ever worn a crown. Not only did public opinion adorn this personage with all the perfections of chivalry, but many believed in his return as firmly as the Welsh ever did; this belief also communicated itself to, and alarmed, the conquerors of Wales themselves, who could by no means shake it off. This persuasion was nourished by different rumours, all equally fantastical. Sometimes it was said that pilgrims who had returned from the Holy Land had found Arthur in Sicily at the foot of Mount Etna:³ sometimes that he had appeared in a wood in Lower Brittany; or that the king of England's foresters, in going their nocturnal rounds by moonlight, often heard a great noise of horns, and met with troops of horsemen in hunting trim, who said that they were part of king Arthur's train.⁴ Moreover, Arthur's tomb was nowhere to be found; it had been often sought for without ever having been discovered; and this circumstance seemed to confirm all the reports in circulation.⁵

(A.D. 1154 to 1189.) The contemporary historians of the reign of Henry II. acknowledge that all these things were to the Welsh leading motives of the national enthusiasm, and an encouragement

to their resistance of the foreign rule.⁶ Those among the Normans whose minds were the firmest, turned what they called the British hope into ridicule; but that hope, so ardent that it penetrated by sympathy among the very enemies of the ancient Britons, gave umbrage to the politicians of the king of England's court.⁷ In order to give it a mortal blow, they resolved to make the discovery of Arthur's tomb, which they did in the following manner. About the year 1189 a nephew of the king's, named Henry de Sully, at that time governed the convent of Glastonbury, situated on the very spot whither the popular tradition related that the great Cambrian chief had retired to wait until his wounds were healed.⁸ This abbot suddenly gave out that a bard of the country of Pembroke had received revelations concerning Arthur's burial; and excavations were accordingly commenced in the interior of the monastery, care being taken to enclose the ground where the research was made, in order to exclude suspicious witnesses.⁹ The search was not made in vain; and, say the contemporaries, there were found a Latin inscription, cut on a metal plate, and some exceedingly large bones. These precious relics were removed with all due reverence and pomp, and Henry II. had them placed in a magnificent coffin, the expense of which he did not regard, thinking himself amply indemnified by the mischief that must arise to the Welsh from the destruction of their fondest dream, and, at the same time, of that superstition which animated their courage and shook that of their conquerors.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the obstinacy of patriotism so remarkable in the Cambrians outlived the long cherished hope of king Arthur's return, and they were still far from resigning themselves to the foreign domination. This disposition of mind gave them so thorough a confidence in themselves, that it seemed to border on madness. In an expedition which Henry II. made in person to South Wales, a Cambrian chieftain, incited by family animosities, which were perpetually the cause of revenge, and in fact formed the capital vice of the people, repaired to his camp and joined the royal escort. The king considered this deserter as a most valuable auxiliary, and with tokens of affability questioned him on the probable chances of the war, asking him, "Do you think that the rebels can hold out against my troops?"¹¹ Upon hearing which, the national pride of the Welshman awoke in his breast, and, looking with a calm and assured countenance upon the royal interlocutor, the chief exclaimed, "O king, thy power may weaken and in part ruin this nation; but to destroy its integrity of existence the wrath of God is alone sufficient. In the day of final judgment, no other race, no other tongue, but that

¹ Radulphus de Diceto, Imag. hist. apud Seiden, i. col. 354.

² Script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., tom. xii. et seq. passim.

³ Gervasius Tiberiensis de Otis Imperialibus, ap. script. rer. Brunswic., i. 921.

⁴ Narrantibus nemorum custodibus quos forestarios vulgus nominat .. militum copiam venantium et canum et cornuum strepitum. (Ibid., i. 922.)

⁵ Arthuris sepulchrum nusquam visitur; undè antiquitas nunciatur adhuc cum venturum fabulatur. (Will. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl., lib. iii., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 115, ed. Savile.)

⁶ Plurimam quippè animositatis scintillam exprimere, plurimam rebellious audaciam imprimere potest continua pristinæ nobilitatis memoria, et regni Britannici tantæ et tam diuturnæ regis majestatis recordatio. (Girald. Camb. de illaudabilibus Walliæ; Anglia sacra, ii. 455.)

⁷ Britonum ridenda fides et credulus error. (Ducange Gloss., verbo Arturum expectare.)

⁸ See Book i. p. 5.

⁹ Cambro-Briton., ii. 366.

¹⁰ Horse Britannica, ii. 199.

¹¹ Consultus ab eo senior quidam de gente Cambrorum, qui contra alios tamen vitio gentis eidem adhaerens super exercita regio, populoque rebelli, si resistere posset, quid ei videretur. (Girald. Cambrens. de illaudabilibus Walliæ; Anglia sacra, ii. 455.)

of the Kymrys, will give answer, as to this corner of the earth, to the Sovereign Judge."¹ Historians do not tell us what answer king Henry made to these words, which bore the impress of internal conviction, not to be removed by the blasts of adverse fortune; but the idea of the prophetic knowledge of the Welsh was not without its influence over him: so at least his flatterers believed; for we find his name inserted by interpolation in many of the old poems attributed to the famous bard Myrdhin.² One day, when the same king on his return from Ireland was passing through the country of Pembroke, a man of that country accosted him, to deliver to him another religiously or superstitiously dressed prediction, which is not remarkable except as being attended by one particular circumstance. The Welshman, thinking that a king of England must understand English, addressed Henry II. in that language, by the words "God holde ye kyng!"³ This salutation was followed by a speech of which the king could comprehend but a few words; wherefore, desirous of replying, but being unable to do so, he said to his esquire in French, "Ask this peasant if he is relating his dreams to us." The esquire, who in his less elevated condition had enabled himself to hold conversation with the natives of England, acted as interpreter between the king and the Cambrian.⁴ Thus to the fifth king of England, after the Conquest, the English was nearly an unknown language. Henry's son and successor, Richard I., upon whose reign this history is now entering, was no better able than his father to hold a conversation in English; but he made amends for this deficiency by speaking and writing equally well the two languages of Gaul, that of the north and that of the south, the language *d'oui* and the language *d'oc*.

(A.D. 1189 to 1190.) Richard's first administrative act, after his father, as has already been seen, was buried in the church of Fontevrault, was to order Stephen of Tours, seneschal of Anjou and Henry II.'s treasurer, to be seized.⁵ He was shut up in a dungeon, with irons on his feet and hands, and was not released until he had given up to the new king all the deceased king's money and all his own.⁶ Richard then crossed the Channel, accompanied by his brother John, and, on his arrival in England, employed himself in the same business as on the continent: he hastened to the different cities where were deposited the royal treasures; and, having collected the whole, had them weighed and an accurate in-

ventory made.⁷ The love of gold was the first passion manifested by the new king; and he was no sooner crowned and anointed, according to the ancient custom, than he began to put up to sale all the lands that he possessed, his castles, his towns, the entire of the crown-lands, and, in certain places, if we are to believe an historian of that period, the demesnes of others.⁸ Many rich Normans, clerks and laymen, seized so favourable an opportunity to acquire at a cheap rate some portions of the great allotments of the Conquest which William the Bastard had reserved for himself and his successors.⁹ The Saxon inhabitants of certain towns or boroughs which were the property of the king then assessed themselves to redeem their houses, and once more became, under a crown and quit rent, the legal proprietors of the place of their abode.¹⁰ By the simple fact of such a bargain, the town which concluded it became a corporation, and organised itself under syndics, responsible to the king for the payment of the municipal debt, and to the burgesses for the disposal of the sums raised by the personal contribution. The reigns of Richard I.'s successors present us with a great many of these conventions, by which the cities of England successively redeemed themselves from the condition into which the Norman Conquest had sunk them.¹¹ It is probable too that Richard made use of this expedient in order to fill his coffers at a time when he seemed careful to leave no means untried for that object. "I would sell London," said he to his courtiers, "if I could find a purchaser."¹²

The money which the king of England accumulated in the first months of his reign seemed destined for the expenses of the expedition to the Holy Land, which he had sworn to make in common with Philip II. king of France.¹³ Nevertheless, Richard exhibited but little haste to set forward on his route; and his royal companion for this military pilgrimage was obliged to send ambassadors to England to summon him to keep his word, and announce to him that the final muster was definitively fixed for the next Easter.¹⁴ Richard thought fit to prolong the delay no further; and on the arrival of the messengers from France he convoked a general assembly of his earls and barons, in which all who had vowed to take up the cross with him swore to be at the appointed rendezvous without fail.¹⁵ The French envoys took this oath by the soul of the king of France, and the barons of England by the soul of their own king.¹⁶ Vessels were assembled at Dover, and Richard crossed the sea. (A.D. 1190.) When about to part company, for what was then called the Great Passage, the kings of England and France made a compact of alliance and fraternity in arms, swearing each of them to

⁷ *Fecit computari et ponderari.* (Ibid., p. 656.)

⁸ *Exposuit venditioni omnia que habuit.* (Ibid., p. 658.)

⁹ *Quicumque volebant, emerant à rege sua et aliens jura.* (Ibid., p. 660.)

¹⁰ *Firma burgi.* (See Hallam's Europe in the Middle Ages.)

¹¹ Hallam.

¹² *Landonias quoque venderem, si emptorem idoneum invenirem.* (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Angl., p. 363, ed. Hearne.)

¹³ See Book x.

¹⁴ *Immutabiliter.* (Roger de Hoved., p. 660, ed. Savile.)

¹⁵ *In generali concilio apud Londonias.* (Ibid.)

¹⁶ *Nunciis regis Francie juraverunt in animam regis Francie . . in animam regis Anglie coram nunciis.* (Ibid.)

¹ *Gravari quidem plurimâque ex parte destitui et debilitari vestris, rex, aliorumque viribus . . gens ista valebit ad plenum autem . . nisi et ira Dei concurrerit, non debilitari. Nec alia, ut arbitror, gens quam hæc Cambria, aliæ lingua, in die districti examinis, coram iudice supremo, pro hoc terrarum angulo respondebit.* (Giraldo, Cambrens. de illaudabilibus Wallias; Anglia Sacra, ii. 455.)

² Sketch of the early History of the Kymry, by Roberts, p. 147.

³ *Dum rex ad equum suum ascenderet, astitit ei vir quidam, qui regem Teutonice lingua sic affatur: Gode olde kinge: deinde sic prosequitur . .* (Heur. Knighton, lib. ii., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2395, ed. Selden.) I have copied the English form of salutation, as restored by Camden, Anglica, Hibernica, &c., p. 840.

⁴ *Rex autem dixit Gallice militi qui frænum suum tenebat: Inquire à rustico illo, an hæc somniaverit? At dum hæc Anglice exponeret . .* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Statim iniecit manus in Stephanum de Turonis seneschalum Andegavias.* (Roger de Hoved., p. 654, ed. Savile.)

⁶ *Usque ad novissimum quadrantem.* (Ibid.)

maintain the life and honour of the other; neither of them to fail the other in his hour of peril; the king of France to defend the king of England's rights as he would his own city of Paris; and the king of England those of the other king as he would his own city of Rouen.¹ Richard embarked at one of the ports in the south of Gaul, which, from the Spanish frontier to the coast of Italy, between Nice and Vintimille, were all free, acknowledging nominally the king of Arragon.² King Philip, having no maritime town on the Mediterranean, proceeded to Genoa, and embarked in vessels furnished him by that powerful *commune*.³ The king of England's fleet joined him, having passed the Straits of Gibraltar; and the two kings, after consecutively coasting the entire sea-line of Italy, disembarked in Sicily, there to take up their winter quarters.⁴

That island, of which conquest had been made in the preceding century by the Norman lords of Apulia and Calabria, then formed, together with the territory on the opposite coast of the Straits of Messina, a kingdom that recognised the Holy See for its suzerain. In the year 1139, Roger the first king of Sicily and Naples had already received from pope Innocent II. investiture by the holy standard. Subsequently to the reigns of his son and grandson, the crown devolved on one of his bastard sons named Tancred, who had governed for some short time previously to the landing of the two kings at Messina. Both monarchs were received with the utmost tokens of respect and friendship: Philip had apartments assigned to him and to his barons in the city itself; and Richard took up his quarters without the walls in a house surrounded by a vineyard. One day, when on an excursion in the environs of Messina, accompanied by a single knight, he heard the cry of a hawk issue from a countryman's house.⁵ The hawk and all other sporting birds were at that time in England, as likewise in Normandy, a property of the nobles forbidden to villains and townsmen, and exclusively reserved for the pleasure of the rich and great. Richard, forgetting that in Sicily all things were not exactly the same as in his own kingdom, entered the house, seized the bird, and would have carried it away.⁶ But the Sicilian peasant, though subject to a king of Norman race, was not accustomed to suffer what the English had to support: he resisted, and, calling his neighbours to his assistance, he drew against the king a knife which he wore in his girdle.⁷ Richard prepared to use his sword, and faced the peasants who were gathering round him; but, the sword breaking in his hands, he was compelled to fly, and was pursued with sticks and stones.⁸

(A.D. 1190 to 1191.) A short time after this adventure his old habit in England, of taking all

sorts of liberties with the villains and burgesses, brought him into a more serious one. There was near Messina on the borders of the strait a convent of Greek monks, very strongly situated. Richard, thinking this a fit place for his magazines, drove out the monks and garrisoned it. But the inhabitants of Messina chose to show the foreign prince how much they were displeased by this act of insolence and contempt for them: they shut their city gates, and refused entrance to the king of England's soldiers.⁹ Richard, hearing this, repaired in a state of violent excitement to the palace of Tancred; he required of him to chastise the citizens who had thus dared to make head against a king.¹⁰ Tancred thereupon commanded the Messinians to relinquish all demonstrations of hostility. Peace was restored in appearance; but the rancour of the Sicilians was not to be extinguished by measures of political expediency. Some days afterwards, a troop of the most incensed and the bravest of the citizens of Messina assembled on the heights in the vicinity of the king of England's quarters, to fall upon him unawares when he should be passing with but few attendants.¹¹ Tired of waiting, they made an assault upon the house of a Norman officer named Hugh Le-Brun. A conflict and great tumult ensued; and Richard, who was then holding a conference with king Philip on the affairs of the holy war, hastened to arm himself and all his people.¹² With superior forces he pursued the citizens to the gates of their town, which was entered by the latter; but the passage was closed against the Normans, upon whom a shower of arrows and stones was discharged from the walls.¹³ Five of the king of England's knights and twenty serjeants-at-arms were killed; but his whole army, arriving, broke open the gates, took possession of Messina, and planted the banner of Normandy upon all the towers.¹⁴ During this conflict the king of France had remained a quiet spectator, without offering, say the historians, any succour to his brother-pilgrim;¹⁵ but, when he beheld the king of England's flag flying on the walls of Messina, he demanded that it should be taken away and his own planted in its stead. This was the commencement of a quarrel between the two brothers in arms, of which time did but increase the virulence.¹⁶ Richard would not admit the king of France's pretensions; he only took down his own banner, and put the town into the keeping of the knights Templars until he should have obtained satisfaction of king Tancred for the conduct of the Messinians. The king of Sicily refused nothing: more timid than a handful of mere townspeople had been, he made his great officers swear by his soul and by theirs

⁹ Cùm autem cives Messinæ vidissent, habuerunt eum suspectum. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Intravit cymbam et ixit ad palatium regis Tancredi. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Magnâ multitudine congregati super montes, et expectaverunt quidam prompti et parati proditiosè in regem Angliæ irruere. (Ibid., p. 674.)

¹² Fecerunt insultum in hospitium Hagonis Le-Brun .. præcepit omnes suos armari. (Ibid.)

¹³ Multos et de ros lapidum lectus. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Et signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus per circuitum murorum posuerunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Quamvis ipsi essent confratres in eâ peregrinatione. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Postalavit ut signa regis Angliæ deponerentur, et sua imponerentur. (Ibid.)

¹ Quod neuter illorum alteri deficit in negotiis suis, sed rex Franciæ iuvabit regem Angliæ, ac si ipse vellet civitatem suam Parisiis defendere .. civitatem suam Rotomagî. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 664.)

² Inter Nices et Vintemile est divisio terrarum regis Arragoniæ. (Ibid., p. 667.)

³ Siamondi, Histoire des Français, vi. 96.

⁴ Rog. de Hoved., p. 668.

⁵ Vertit se ad domum quandam in quâ audivit accipitrem. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 673.)

⁶ Intrans domum cepit illum. (Ibid.)

⁷ Et cùm .. cultellum suum in regem extraxisset. (Ibid.)

⁸ Cùm lapidibus et fustibus, et sic vix evadens ex manibus eorum. (Ibid.)

that he and his, on land and sea, would at all times keep faithful peace with the king of England and all that belonged to him.¹

(A.D. 1191.) As the first proof of his fidelity to this oath, Tancered one day put into Richard's hand a letter which he assured him had been sent by king Philip, in which Philip said that the king of England was a false traitor, who had not observed the conditions of the last peace made with him; and that, if Tancered and his people would make open war upon him, or attack him by surprise in the night, the French army should be quite ready to assist them therein.² For some time Richard kept this confidential communication a secret; but in one of the frequent disputes occasioned between them by their lengthened stay in one place, he suddenly presented the letter to the king of France, and asked him if he recognised it. Philip, without answering this question, reproached the king of England in these words: "I see plainly enough that you seek cause of malice against me, that you may have a pretext for not marrying my sister Alice, whom you have sworn to marry: but know for certain that if you refuse her, and take another for wife, I shall all my life be an enemy to you and yours."³ "Your sister," quietly returned Richard, "I cannot marry; for it is matter of public notoriety that Henry my father knew her, and had a son by her; which, if you require it, I can prove by good and numerous witnesses."⁴ This was no new discovery made by Richard concerning his betrothed; he had known it long; nor was he ignorant of it at the time when, to vex and annoy his father, he had been so eager to conclude a marriage with the princess Alice.⁵ But all that he had promised through an ambition to reign, being now king, he no longer thought proper to perform, but obliged Philip to endure the proof by witnesses of his own sister's shame.⁶ The facts were, it appears, incontestable; and the king of France, having no longer the power to persist in his demand, released Richard from his promise of marriage, for a pension of ten thousand livres: at this price he granted him, says a contemporary, licence to marry whatsoever woman he chose.⁷

Being made friends again by this treaty, the two kings set sail for the Holy Land, after once more swearing, on the Gospel and the relics, faithfully to support one another in that voyage and in their return.⁸ When they were on the point of departure the following ordinance was published in both camps: "Know that every person in the army, excepting knights and clerks, is forbidden to play for money at any game whatsoever during

the passage; but the clerks and knights may play as high as the loss of twenty sols in a day and a night; and the kings shall play according to their own good pleasure."⁹ In company with the kings, or on board their vessel and with their permission, the royal serjeants-at-arms may play as high as twenty sols; and likewise, in company with the archbishops, bishops, counts, and barons, and with their permission, their serjeants may play to the same amount.¹⁰ But if serjeants-at-arms, workmen, or sailors be found playing of their own private authority, the first shall be flogged once a-day for three days, and the others shall be thrown into the sea three times from the mainmast head."¹¹ God, say the historians of the time, blessed the holy pilgrimage of these wise and pious kings. Philip arrived the first before the walls of St. John of Acre, at that time besieged by the christians whom Salah-ed-Deen had driven from Jerusalem and Palestine. King Richard joined the French after a considerable interval, during which he had made conquest of Cyprus from a prince of the Comnenian family. So soon as the two western kings had united their forces, the siege of Acre advanced rapidly; their petrores, their mangonels, and their trebuchets battered the walls of Acre so well that a breach was made in a few days, and the garrison, consisting of five thousand Saracens, obliged to capitulate.¹² This victory, which excited in the breasts of the Eastern christians the most lively enthusiasm, did not cement the concord of the crusading princes. Notwithstanding the oath sworn by the two monarchs on the Evangelie, they and their soldiers hated each other and dealt out mutual calumnies and reproaches.¹³ Most of the commanders, of whatever rank or nation, were divided among themselves by rivalry in ambition, avarice, or pride. On the day of the capture of Acre the king of England, finding the duke of Austria's banner planted on the walls by the side of his own, had it immediately taken down, torn, and thrown into a deep sewer.¹⁴ Some time after, the marquis of Montferrat, who disputed with Guy of Lusignan the title of king of Jerusalem, was assassinated at Tyre in open day by two fanatical Arabs, and the king of England was accused of having hired them. Some time after that, the king of France, falling sick, believed or pretended to believe that he had been poisoned by the king of England's order.¹⁵ On this pretext he relinquished the undertaking which he had vowed to complete, and left his fellow-pilgrims to fight alone against the Saracens.¹⁶ Richard, more resolute than king Philip, continued with might and main the hazardous enterprise of the re-con-

¹ Se et suos pacem servaturos regi Angliæ et suis in mari et terrâ. (Rog. de Hoved., p. 677.)

² Quod rex Angliæ proditor erat . . . et si ipse rex Tanceredus vellet cum rege Angliæ in bello congredi, vel de nocte invadere, ipse et gens sua auxiliarentur ei. (Ibid., p. 688.)

³ Nunc scio verè quod rex Angliæ querit causas malignandi adversus me . . . ut Alesiam, sororem meam, dimittat, quam ipse sibi desponsendam juravit . . . sed pro certo sciat quod si . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ Quia rex Angliæ, pater suus, eam cognoverat et filium ex eâ generat. (Ibid.)

⁵ See Book x. p. 218.

⁶ Et ad hoc probandum multos produxit testes. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 688.)

⁷ Sub hæc conventionione dedit regi Angliæ licentiam ducendi in uxorem quemcumque vellet. (Ibid.)

⁸ Juraverunt super reliquiis sanctorum quod alter alterum et exercitum ejus in peregrinatione illâ, eundo et redeundo, bonâ fide custodiret. (Ibid., p. 674.)

⁹ Exceptis militibus et clericis, qui . . . reges autem pro beneplicito suo ludent. (Ibid., p. 675.)

¹⁰ Et in hospitio duorum regum possunt usque ad xx solidos ludere; et coram archiepiscopis et episcopis et comitibus et baronibus. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Si autem servientes aut marinarii aut alii ministri per se inventi fuerint ludentes. (Ibid.)

¹² Petrarie, mangonelli. (Radulfus de Coggeshale, ap. script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xviii. 64.)

¹³ Rex Franciæ et gens sua parvipendebant regem Angliæ et gentem suam, et à converso. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 691, ed. Savile.)

¹⁴ In cloacam profundam dejecit. (Rigordus, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 36.)

¹⁵ Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud Selden., i. col. 1243.

¹⁶ Turpiter peregrinationis sue propositum et votum dereliquit. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 698.)

quest of the Holy City and of the wood of the true cross.

(A.D. 1190 to 1191.) Whilst he was pursuing, to very little advantage, exploits which rendered his name an object of terror throughout the East, England was the scene of great troubles caused by his absence. Not that the native English had attempted any national revolt against their Norman lords, but misunderstandings had fatally arisen among the latter. At his departure for the crusade king Richard had not intrusted any authority to his brother John, who hitherto bore no other title than that of earl of Mortayne or Mortain. Richard distrusted and disliked him, being forcibly impressed with the idea of that instinctive spirit of discord reigning in his family, which he himself had attributed to all its members.¹ It was a man foreign to that family, foreign even to Anjou and Normandy, William de Longchamp bishop of Ely and a native of Beauvais, to whose charge the king had confided the supreme direction of affairs, under the title of chancellor and chief justiciary of England.² Richard had, moreover, made his natural brother Geoffrey swear not to set foot in England until three years after his departure; because he hoped that he himself should return before the expiration of that term.³ The chancellor, William de Longchamp, being in possession of all the royal power, used it to enrich himself and his family; placed his kinsmen and friends of foreign extraction in every post of profit and honour; and gave them the custody of the castles and towns, which on various pretences he took from the men of purely Norman race, upon whom, as well as on the English, he laid intolerable exactions.⁴ The writers of that time say that, owing to his rapacity, not a knight could keep his silver-plated baldric, not a noble his gold ring, not a woman her necklace, not a Jew his hoarded money or merchandise.⁵ He affected the pride and the port of royalty, and sealed the public acts with his own seal instead of the great seal of England.⁶ A numerous guard was posted round his residence; wherever he went, upwards of a thousand horsemen accompanied him; and if he required a lodging in any house, three years' income was not sufficient to supply the expense of him and his train for a single day.⁷ He had troubadours and jugglers brought at great cost from France to sing verses to his praise in the public places, which were to the effect that the chancellor had not his like in the world.⁸

John earl of Mortain, brother to the king, no less ambitious and vain than the chancellor, beheld with envy this pomp and power which he himself would fain have been enabled to display. All those

in whom the exactions of William de Longchamp had raised a just indignation, or who desired to try their fortunes in a political change, formed a party round the earl; and it was not long before an open struggle commenced between the two rivals. Their enmity broke out about one Gerard de Camville, a man of Norman race, from whom the chancellor chose to take the government, or, as it was then called, the viscounty of Lincoln, which the king had sold him for money.⁹ The chancellor, wishing to give this office to one of his friends, summoned Gerard to surrender to him the keys of the royal castle of Lincoln: but the viscount resisted this order, declared that he was earl John's liege-man, and that, as such, he would not relinquish his fief until he had been judged and condemned to forfeiture in the court of his lord.¹⁰ On this refusal the chancellor came with an army, besieged the castle of Lincoln, took it, and drove away Gerard de Camville, who demanded justice for this violence from John, as his feudal lord and protector.¹¹ As a sort of reprisal for the wrong done to his vassal, John seized the royal citadels of Nottingham and Tickhill, posted his knights therein, and planted his banner, protesting, says an old historian, that if the chancellor did not speedily do justice to his liege-man Gerard he would visit him with a rod of iron.¹² The chancellor was afraid, and negotiated an agreement, by which the prince was left in possession of the two fortresses which he had seized: nor was it long before this first step of John, towards the attainment of that power with which his brother had feared to intrust him, was followed by more important attempts.

(A.D. 1191.) Henry II.'s natural son Geoffrey, elected archbishop of York in his father's lifetime, but left for a long while without the pope's confirmation, at last obtained permission from Rome to receive consecration from the prelate of Tours, who was metropolitan in Anjou. Immediately after his consecration he set out for England, notwithstanding the oath which his brother had compelled him to take.¹³ The chancellor was apprised of this; and at the moment when archbishop Geoffrey was about to embark at the port of Wisant, he was met by messengers, who in the king's name forbade him to pass the sea: but Geoffrey took no heed of the prohibition; and armed men were posted to seize him on his landing. Having by disguising himself eluded their search, he reached a monastery of the city of Canterbury, the monks of which received him and hid him in their house. But the report was soon spread that he was there: the convent was besieged by the king's soldiers; and the archbishop, being seized in church just as he had finished saying mass, was shut up in the castle of that city under custody of the constable Matthew de Clare. This violent arrest made a great noise in England; and John, seizing the opportunity, openly took his brother's part, and ordered the chancellor, with threats, to set the archbishop at liberty. The chancellor dared not resist; and the earl of Mortain, having now be-

⁹ Chron. Johan. Bromton, ed. Selden, i. 1223.

¹⁰ Se esse hominem comitis Johannis, et velle in curiâ suâ jure stare. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Roger. de Hoved., p. 700, ed. Savile.

¹² Visitaret eum in virgâ ferreâ. (Ibid.)

¹³ Immemor sacramenti quod fecerat domino regi fratri suo. (Ibid.)

¹ See Book x. p. 213.

² Guillelmus de Longo-Campo, ex pago Belvacensi oriundus. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 680.)

³ Ibid., p. 701.

⁴ Clericos verò et laicos, ecclesias, prædia, terras et possessiones suas abstulit, que aut nepotibus suis .. erogabat, aut damnabiliter sibi retinebat. (Ibid., p. 680.)

⁵ Ut nec viro baltheum argenteo redimitum, nec femine monile, nec viro nobili anulum, vel Judæo relinquereat thesaurum vel quilibet pretiosum. (Math. Paris., i. 166.)

⁶ Suo sigillo fecit universa. (Chron. Gervas. Cantuar., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. 1578, ed. Selden.)

⁷ Guill. Neubrig., p. 398.

⁸ De regno Francorum cantores et joculatores muneribus allexerat, ut de illo canerent in plateis, et jam dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 703.)

come bolder, repaired to London, convoked there the great council of the barons and bishops of England, and before them accused William de Longchamp of having enormously abused the power which the king had placed in his hands.¹ William had given cause of dissatisfaction to so many, that his accuser could not but find a favourable hearing. The assembly of the barons summoned him to appear before them: he refused; and, assembling some men-at-arms, marched from Windsor, where he then was, upon London, to prevent the barons from assembling a second time: but John's men-at-arms met him at the city gates, attacked and dispersed his escort, and forced him to throw himself in great haste into the Tower, where he kept himself shut up, while the barons and the bishops assembled in parliament were deliberating on his fate.² A majority of them intended to strike a great blow, and to strip of his authority the man to whom king Richard had intrusted the lieutenancy of his royal power, and who, according to the legal forms, could not be deposed without the express commands of the sovereign. In this daring enterprise the earl of Mortain and the Anglo-Norman barons resolved to include, and in some sort to compromise, the English inhabitants of London, that they might have the support, in case of a contest, of the whole population of that great city. On the day fixed for their assembly they caused the tocsin to be rung; and as the citizens came forth from their houses, men posted for the purpose told them to repair to St. Paul's church.³ The tradesmen and artisans flocked thither in a crowd to learn what was in agitation, and were no doubt surprised to find there assembled the grandees of the land, the sons of the men of the Conquest, with whom they had no other relations than those of the serf towards the master. Contrary to their custom, the barons and prelates looked graciously on the citizens; and a sort of fraternity, notwithstanding the wide difference of their social and civil condition, appeared, although temporarily instituted, between the Normans and the Saxons. The latter heard what they could of the discussions and harangues which were then delivered in their presence in the French tongue; and the debate being ended, a pretended letter from the king was read, dated from Messina, which purported that if the chancellor did not conduct himself well in his office he might be deposed, and the archbishop of Rouen put in his place.⁴ After the reading of this letter the votes of the whole assembly were taken, including even those of the English; and the Norman heralds proclaimed that "it is the pleasure of John count of Mortain, brother to the king, of all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, and of the citizens of London, that the chancellor, William de Longchamp, shall be deprived of his office."⁵

¹ Ut cancellarius juri stare in curia regis. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 701.)

² Contigit quod milites illius et milites comitis Johannis obvixerunt sibi et acriter congressi sunt. (Ibid.)

³ Pulsata campana que populum solet ad conveniendam urgere, tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi, tam comites quam barones, convenerunt in capitulo Sancti Pauli Londonie. (Radulf. de Diceto, Imag. histor., apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 664, et. Selden.)

⁴ Ostenderunt coram populo litteras de rege sigillatas. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 702.)

⁵ Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus, et baronibus regni, et civibus Londoniarum, quod cancellarius deponeretur. (Ibid.)

While these things were passing in St. Paul's church in London the chancellor kept himself shut up in the Tower; and his enemies knew not whether he would resolve to sustain a siege therein. In these doubtful circumstances the amity of the townspeople could not but be of great advantage to them; and, in order to gain them over completely, they dealt with the inhabitants of London as William Rufus and Henry I. had formerly done with the whole Saxon people. "The same day," says an author of that time, "the earl of Mortain, the archbishop of Rouen, and the king's justices, granted a licence to the citizens to form among themselves a *commune*." The earl, the archbishop, and nearly all the bishops and barons of the kingdom, swore to maintain this commune firmly and unchangeably, so long as it should please the king; and, on the other part, the citizens of London swore obedience and fidelity to their lord king Richard, and after him to earl John, whom they promised to acknowledge as king and lord if his brother died without issue.⁶

This promise and oath were not at all in accordance with the views of Richard; for in some of his charters he had already designated his nephew Arthur, son of Geoffrey and of the daughter of the last duke of Brittany,⁷ as heir to the kingdom in the event of his dying without issue. The clause, "so long as it shall please the king," inserted in the charter of the citizens of London, was therefore a strict assurance of the destruction of their commune so soon as Richard should return. Yet they did not hesitate to enlist under a party which promised them, at least, a few days of a more free and more tolerable existence. But what they then obtained they did not long keep; and their new liberty fell into disuse, even without need of a formal act to revoke the grant of the barons and earl John. When that earl had become king after the death of his brother, and in his turn beheld a league of powerful enemies rise up against him, he renewed the same concessions to the citizens; but they were maintained no more faithfully than on the former occasion. In the reign of his successor, Henry III., affairs had lapsed into their former condition, and the citizens of London continued, as a contemporary expresses it, to be taxed by capitation, high and low, like serfs.⁸

The chancellor, William de Longchamp, a man of no courage, gave up all intention of defending himself in the Tower, and asked to capitulate. He was allowed to depart in safety, on condition of handing over to his successor, the archbishop of Rouen, the keys of all the king's castles; he was also made to swear that he would not quit England until he had done this; and his two brothers were imprisoned as hostages for the fulfilment of his word.⁹ He retired to Canterbury; but, after remaining there a few days, he resolved to fly; choosing rather to leave his brothers in danger of death than to surrender the castles, by the posses-

⁶ Concesserunt civibus Londoniarum habere communam suam. (Ibid.)

⁷ Firmiter et inconcussè quamdiu regi placuerit. (Ibid.)

⁸ Juraverunt fidele servitium domino regi Richardo . . recipere in regem et dominum. (Ibid.)

⁹ Arthurum, egregium ducem Britannie, carissimum nepotem nostrum, et heredem si fortè sine prelo nos obire contingerit. (Rymer's Fœdera, i. 66, Londini, 1704.)

¹⁰ Quasi servi ultimæ conditionis. (Math. Par.)

¹¹ Fratres suos obsides dedit. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 704.)

sion of which he still hoped to recover what he had lost. He quitted the town on foot and in disguise, wearing over his male attire a woman's petticoat, with a mantle having wide sleeves, and over his head a veil of thick stuff; carrying a bale of linen under his arm and an ell measure in his hand.¹ In these accoutrements, which were those of the English hawking women of that period, the chancellor went to the seaside, where he was obliged to wait some time for the vessel in which he purposed to embark. He sat down quietly upon a stone, with his bale upon his knees. Here some fishermen's wives, who were passing that way, accosted him, and asked him the price of his cloth; but the chancellor, not knowing a single word of English, made no answer; at which his customers were much astonished.² However, they passed by; but some other women came up, saw the linen, and, after feeling the quality of it, put the same question as the former. The pretended dealer still kept silence, and the women repeated their inquiry. At last the chancellor, unable any longer to contain himself, burst into a loud laugh, thinking to escape from his embarrassment by this kind of answer.³ At this ill-timed laugh the women thought they saw before them some idiot or person of deranged intellect; and, lifting the veil to gratify their curiosity, they discovered the dark and newly-shaven face of a man.⁴ Their shouts of surprise brought together the labourers of the port, who, glad to find an object for laughter, fell upon the disguised personage, pulling him by his clothes, throwing him on the ground, and amusing themselves with his fruitless efforts to rise and to make them understand who he was.⁵ After dragging him about for some time over the mud and shingles, the Saxon fishermen and sailors at last shut him up in a cellar, from which he escaped only by making his misadventure known to the Norman authorities.⁶ Being forced to perform his engagements to the earl of Mortain and his partisans, the ex-chancellor surrendered to them the keys of the castles, and so obtained permission to leave England without molestation. On his arrival in France he wrote without delay to king Richard that his brother John had seized all his fortresses, and was preparing to usurp his kingdom if he did not speedily return.⁷

(A.D. 1192.) It was not long before yet more alarming news reached the king of England in Palestine. He learned that Philip of France, passing through Rome, had prayed the pope to release him from the oath of peace which he had sworn to Richard; and that, as soon as he arrived at his castle of Fontainebleau, he had boasted that he would soon ravage the king of England's coun-

try.⁸ Notwithstanding his remoteness from the place where Richard then was, king Philip affected to be in constant dread of some treason or ambushade intended by Richard against his life.⁹ One day, having arrived at the castle of Pontoise for the purpose of recreation and diversion, he was observed suddenly to assume a thoughtful air, and returned with a show of great haste to Paris. He immediately summoned an assembly of all his barons, and exhibited to them letters that were despatched to him, as he said, from beyond sea, and by which he had been cautioned to take care of himself; for that the king of England had sent from the east certain Assassins, Hassassis, or Arsacidæ, to kill him.¹⁰ This was the name, then quite new to the European tongues, which was given to those fanatical Mahometans, whether prompted by religion or a spirit of patriotism, who believed they should gain paradise by devoting themselves and assassinating by surprise the enemies of their faith. It was generally credited that there existed in the mountain defiles of the Libanus an entire tribe of those enthusiasts, subject to a chief called the Old Man of the Mountain, a sort of mysterious personage, at whose first signal his vassals were said to rush joyfully upon death.¹¹ The name Haschischi, by which they were designated in Arabic, was derived from an intoxicating plant, of which they made frequent use for the objects of stupefaction and excitement of the intellect.¹² It will easily be conceived that the mention of these men, who poniarded by surprise, stabbed the leaders of armies in the midst of their soldiery, and themselves died with a smile, provided they had not missed their blow, must have struck terror into the western crusaders and pilgrims. These carried home with them so lively an impression of the dread which they had felt at the mere word of *assassin*, that it soon found its way into every mouth, and the most absurd stories of assassination easily obtained credit all over Europe. This disposition of the public mind seems to have existed in France when king Philip assembled his barons in parliament at Paris. Not one of them expressed a doubt concerning the king's danger; and Philip, either the better to nourish the hatred which he wished to excite in his vassals against the king of England, or to gain fresh sureties against all his enemies and against his subjects themselves, surrounded his person with extraordinary precautions.¹³ "Contrary to the custom of his ancestors," say the contemporary writers, "he no longer went abroad without being escorted by armed men; and, for his greater security, he instituted body-

⁸ Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 426, ed. Hearne.

⁹ Vel frustrâ timebat, vel potius se ad augendam invidiam timere angebat. (Id. *ibid.*, p. 437.)

¹⁰ Quod ad suggestionem et mandatum regis Angliæ Richardi mittebantur Arsacidæ. (Rigordus, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 37.)—Roger. de Hoved., p. 716, ed. Savile.)

¹¹ Fertur esse in Oriente, agens sub ditone ejusdam potentis Sarraceni, quem Senem agnominant, quoddam hominum genus. (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 435, ed. Hearne.)—The name Old Man, given by the crusaders to the chief of the tribe of the Assassins, is the translation of the word Scheik, which in Arabic means alike an old man and a chief of a tribe.

¹² This plant is a species of hemp named in Arabic haschishe. (Chrestomathie arabe, de M. Sylvestre de Sacy.)

¹³ Ad majorem cautelam corporis sui. (Rigordus, apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 37.)

¹ Tunica fœmineâ viridi, cappam habens ejusdem coloris, mantelatam, peplum in capite, pannum lineum in manu sinistra, virgam venditoris in dextrâ. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 704.)

² Ille verò non respondebat quia linguam Anglicanam proteris ignorabat. (*Ibid.*)

³ Cùmque ille nihil responderet, sed magis subrideret .. (*Ibid.*)

⁴ Viderunt faciem hominis nigram et noviter rasam. (*Ibid.*)

⁵ Et facta est statim multitudo virorum ac mulierum extrahentium de capite peplum et trahentium eum prostratum in terram per manicas et capucium. (*Ibid.*)

⁶ Pueribusque modis turpiter tractavit per totam villam, et in quodam cellario tenebrosus inclusit. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Nisi ipse celeritè venire festinasset. (*Ibid.*, p. 708.)

guards, chosen from among those who were the most devoted to him, and armed with maces of iron or brass.¹ It is said that some persons who, using their accustomed familiarity, approached him inadvertently, ran the risk of their lives.² "This regal novelty astonished many, and was remarkably displeasing to them."³

The ill impression produced by the institution of these body-guards, then called serjeants-at-mace, obliged king Philip again to convoke the assembly of the barons and bishops of France.⁴ Before this assembly he renewed his former imputations against the king of England; repeating that it was he who had caused the marquis de Montferrat to be slain in broad day at Tyre by the assassins whom he had in his pay.⁵ "After all this," said the king of France, "is it to be wondered at that I take more care of myself than usual? Nevertheless, if my precautions appear to you unbefitting or superfluous, decide it so, and I will relinquish them."⁶ The assembly did not fail to answer, that whatever the king thought proper to do for his personal safety was good and fitting. The life-guards were kept up, and their institution survived by many centuries the belief of the French in the mysterious power of the Old Man of the Mountain.⁷ A second question which king Philip then addressed to his barons was this: "Tell me if it is not lawful that I take good and quick revenge for the manifest wrongs done unto me by the perfidious Richard!"⁸ The answer on this point was still more unanimous than on the other; for the French barons were all animated by an old spirit of national rancour against the power of the Normans.

Notwithstanding the distance at which he then was, king Richard was speedily informed of these agitations; for, in the fervour of the zeal which had just been rekindled in Europe against the followers of Mahomet, fresh pilgrims were incessantly departing for the Holy Land. The deposition of the chancellor, and the occupation of the fortresses by earl John, had much disturbed the king of England; and he foresaw that his brother, following the example which he himself had recently given, would sooner or later unite his ambitious projects with the hostile designs of the king of France.⁹ These fears soon agitated him to such a degree, that, notwithstanding the oath he had taken that he would not quit the Holy Land so long as he should have a war-horse to eat, he concluded a truce of three years, three months, and three days with the Saracens, and set sail for the

west.¹⁰ Having arrived off the coast of Sicily, he suddenly bethought himself that it would be dangerous for him to land at any of the ports of southern Gaul, because most of the lords of Provence were kindred of the marquis of Montferrat, and because Raymond de St. Gilles, count of Toulouse, suzerain of the cities situated west of the river Rhone, was his personal enemy.¹¹ Apprehensive of some ambuscade being devised by them, instead of crossing the Mediterranean he entered the Adriatic, after dismissing the greater part of his train, that he might not be recognised.¹² His vessel was attacked by pirates, with whom, after sustaining a smart action, he found means to form a friendship, so that, trusting them, he quitted his own ship for one of theirs, which took him to Zara, on the coast of Sclavonia.¹³ He went ashore with a Norman baron, named Baldwin de Béthune, his chaplains master Philip and master Anselm, a few Templars, and some servants. The next thing to be done was to obtain safe-conduct from the lord of the province, who, by an untoward coincidence, was a near relative of the marquis of Montferrat. The king sent one of his men to make this request, and commissioned him to present to that seigneur a ring adorned with a large ruby, which he had bought in Palestine of some Pisan merchants.¹⁴ The ruby, which was at that time famous, was recognised by the ruler of Zara. "Who are they who have sent thee to require free passage from me?" he asked the messenger. "Pilgrims returning from Jerusalem." "Tell me then their names." "One of them is called Baldwin de Béthune, and the other Hugh the Merchant, who offers you this ring."¹⁵ The seigneur, examining the ring attentively was silent for some time; then suddenly exclaimed, "Thou declarest not the truth; his name is not Hugh; he is king Richard.¹⁶ But since he has chosen to honour me with his gifts without knowing me, I will not detain him, but I send him back his present, and leave him free to depart."¹⁷ Surprised at this incident, which he was far from expecting, Richard immediately departed, and no one sought to prevent him. But the despot of Zara sent to acquaint his brother, the seigneur of a neighbouring town, that the king of England was in the country and about to pass through his territory. The brother had in his service a Norman named Roger, originally of Argenton, whom he immediately commissioned to go each day and visit all the inns at which pilgrims were lodging, to see if he could recognise the king of England by his language or some other token, promising him, if he succeeded in having him seized, the government of one half of his town.¹⁸

¹ *Preter morem majorum suorum non nisi armata vallatus custodia procedebat.* (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 437, ed. Hearne.) *Institutis custodes corporis sui, clavus aereus semper in manibus portantes.* (Rigordus, xvii. 37.)

² *Quidam familiari ausu propius accedentes, non sine periculo.* (Guil. Neubrig., p. 437.)

³ *Mirantibus hanc novitatem regum plurimis.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ut pro eis satisfaceret . . . suorum concilium Parisius convocavit.* (Guil. Neubrig., p. 437.)

⁵ *Dim per plateam civitatis Tyri equitaret.* (Radulph. Coggeshalm abbat. chron., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xviii., 65.)

⁶ *Quam tamen curam si reputatis vel indecentem vel superfluam, decernite amovendam.* (G. Neubr., p. 438.)

⁷ *Guilielm. Armoric. de gest. Phil. Ang., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. p. 71.—Chroniques de Saint-Denis, Ibid., p. 377.*

⁸ *De manifesto proditore proprias ulcisci injurias.* (Guilielm. Neubrig., p. 438.)

⁹ *Propter sinistros rumores quos audierat.* (Roger. de Hoved., p. 717.)

¹⁰ *Quamdiu haberet unum runcinum ad manducandum.* (Roger. de Hoved., p. 716.)

¹¹ See Book x.

¹² *Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 437.—Radulph. Coggeshalm abbat. Chron., apud script. G. et Fr., xviii., 71.*

¹³ *Qui piratas cum rege confederati, ascendit rex cum eis.* (Ibid.)

¹⁴ *A quodam Pisano comparaverat.* (Ibid.)

¹⁵ *Unus, inquit, eorum appellatur Baldewinus de Betun, alter vero dicitur Hugo mercator.* (Ibid.)

¹⁶ *Non, inquit, Hugo, sed rex Richardus appellatur.* (Ibid.)

¹⁷ *Qui me ignotum ita honoravit, liberam abeundi licentiam concedo.* (Ibid.)

¹⁸ *Roger nomine, Normannus genere, de Argenton . . . si forte regem per loquelam vel per aliquod signum explorare posset.* (Ibid., p. 72.)

The Norman began the search, and continued it for several days, going from house to house, until at last he discovered the king. Richard at first endeavoured to conceal who he was; but, urged by the questions of the Norman, he was at length obliged to make the avowal.¹ Roger now began to weep, and, offering him his best horse, conjured him to fly immediately;² then, returning to his lord, he told him that the news of the king's arrival was nothing more than a false report; that he had not found him, but only Baldwin de Béthune, one of his fellow-countrymen, who was returning from a pilgrimage. The seigneur of that district, furious at having missed his object, had Baldwin arrested and kept him in prison.³

Meanwhile king Richard was pursuing his secret journey, or rather flight, through the German territory, with no other company than William de l'Étang, his intimate friend, and a servant-boy who could speak the Teutonic tongue, either because he was of English birth, or because his inferior condition had given him a taste for acquiring the English language, then very nearly similar to the Saxon dialect of Germany, and having neither the words, phraseology, nor the syntax of the French language.⁴ They travelled three days and three nights without taking food, hardly knowing whither they went, and entered the province called in the Tudesque language Ostriek or Oest-reich, that is to say, the *East country*. This name was a last reminiscence of the old empire of the Franks, of which that country had once formed the eastern extremity.⁵ Oest-reich, l'Autriche, or Austria, was dependent on the Germanic empire, and governed by a prince bearing the title of *here-zog*, or duke; and, unluckily, this duke, named Leopold,⁶ was he whom Richard had mortally offended in Palestine by the tearing of his banner. His residence was at Vienna, on the Danube, where the king and his two companions arrived, exhausted by hunger and fatigue.

The servant who spoke English went to the city exchange to change gold byzantines for the money of the country.⁷ Before the traders he made a great display of his gold and of his person, behaving too ostentatiously and courtierlike, says a contemporary writer.⁸ The suspicious citizens took him before their magistrate to know who he was: he gave himself out as the servant of a rich trader who was to arrive within three days; and on this answer was set at liberty.⁹ When he returned to the king's lodging he related to him his adventure, and advised him to depart as quickly as possible; but Richard, desirous of taking rest, remained some days longer.¹⁰ During this interval

the rumour of his landing at Zara was spread in Austria; and duke Leopold, wishing at once to take revenge on the king and to enrich himself by the ransom of such a prisoner, sent spies and armed men in every direction in search of him.¹¹ They scoured the country without making any discovery; but one day the same servant who had already been once arrested, being in the city market, where he was buying provisions, there were observed in his girdle gloves richly embroidered, such as were worn with their court costume by the great lords of the day.¹² He was seized again; and to force him to make disclosures he was put to the torture.¹³ He revealed all, and pointed out the inn where king Richard was. It was invested by the duke of Austria's men-at-arms, who, surprising the king, obliged him to surrender. The duke treated him with respect, but had him shut up in a prison, where chosen soldiers guarded him night and day with drawn swords.¹⁴ Upon the first rumour of the arrest of the king of England the emperor or Cæsar of all Germany¹⁵ summoned the duke of Austria, his feudatory, to deliver up his prisoner, under the pretext that it was the right of none but an emperor to detain a king in prison.¹⁶ Duke Leopold assented to this singular logical proposition with apparent willingness, yet not without plainly stipulating that he should at least receive a certain portion of the ransom.¹⁷

(A.D. 1193.) The king of England was then transferred from Vienna to Worms, into one of the imperial fortresses; and the emperor, quite joyful, sent to the king of France a message which, says an historian of the time, was more agreeable to that king than would have been a present of gold or topaz.¹⁸

Philip immediately wrote to the emperor to congratulate him cordially on his prize, and engaged him to keep it with care, because, said he, the world would never be at peace if such a disturber succeeded in making his escape.¹⁹ He therefore proposed to pay a sum equal, or even superior, to the king of England's ransom, if the emperor would give him into his custody.²⁰ The emperor, according to custom, submitted this proposal to the diet of the nobles and bishops of Germany. He laid before that assembly the motives of the king of France's request, and justified the imprisonment of Richard by the pretended crime of murder committed upon the marquis of Montferrat, the insult offered to the duke of Austria's flag, and

¹¹ In ultionem ejusdam læsionis, magis autem opum Anglicanarum homo avarus sitiens. (Guallicm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 45, ed. Hearne.)

¹² Chirothecas domini regis sub zonâ secum incautiùs gestasse. (Radulph. Coggeshale abbat. chron., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xviii. 72.)

¹³ Dirisimè torquent, variis pœnis et cruciatibus afficiunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Strennis militibus custodiendum tradidit, qui diù noctè-que, strictis ensibus artissimè eum ubique custodierunt. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Occasione captivi insignis diripiendis opibus. (Gual. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 459, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁶ Allegans regem non decere teneri à dace, nec esse indecens si ab imperatoriâ celsitudine docus regium teneretur. (Ibid., p. 462.)

¹⁷ Pactus competentem provenientis commodi portionem. (Ibid.)

¹⁸ Gratissimum illi, super aurum et topazion. (Ibid., p. 459.)

¹⁹ Mundum componi non posse si tantus turbator emergeret. (Ibid., p. 466.)

²⁰ Sibi custodiendum traderet. (Ibid.)

¹ Singulorum hospitia inquiring et discentis, regem reperit ... confliter quod erat. (Radulph. Coggeshale abbat. chron., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xviii. 72.)

² Qui statim eum lacrymis, equum peroptimum regi tradens. (Ibid.)

³ Dicit frivolum esse quod audierat de regis adventu .. Baldwinem de Betun jussit comprehendere. (Ibid.)

⁴ Rex cum Willelmo de Stagno et quodam puero qui linguam Teutonicam intelligebat, per tres dies et noctes. .. (Ibid.)

⁵ See Book ii.

⁶ The ancient name Leot-polde signified "bold among the people."

⁷ Ad escambium veniens, cum plures bizantios proferret. (Rad. Coggesh., ibid. xviii. 72.)

⁸ Nimsique curialiter et pompaticè se haberet. (Ibid.)

⁹ Servientem cujusdam ditissimi mercatoris. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Per aliquot dies requiescere cupiens. (Ibid.)

the truce of three years concluded with the Saracens. For these misdeeds the king of England ought, he said, to be declared a capital enemy of the empire.¹ The assembly decided that Richard should be judged by it concerning the grievances laid to his charge, but refused to deliver him over to the king of France. The latter, however, did not wait until the judgment of the prisoner, before he sent him word by an express message that he renounced him as his vassal, defied him, and declared against him war to the uttermost.² At the same time he made to the earl of Mortain the same offers which he had formerly made to Richard to intrigue him against his father. He promised to guarantee to John the possession of Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and to aid him in possessing himself of the kingdom of England: all he asked him in return was, that he would be his faithful ally, and marry the unfortunate princess Alice, of whom mention has been made.³ John, without at that time concluding any positive alliance with king Philip, began to intrigue in all the countries subject to his brother; and, on pretence that Richard was either dead or ought to be considered so, exacted the oath of fidelity from the public officers and governors of the fortresses and towns.⁴

The king of England was informed of these manœuvres by several Norman abbots, who obtained permission to visit him in prison, and especially by his old chancellor William de Longchamp, the earl of Mortain's personal enemy. Richard received him as a friend suffering persecution in his service, and employed him in the negotiations which he set on foot for his liberation. The day appointed for his judgment arrived; and he appeared as an accused man before the Germanic diet assembled at Worms: all that was necessary for his acquittal on every count was that he should pay one hundred thousand pounds of silver for his ransom, and acknowledge himself the emperor's vassal.⁵ This acknowledgment of vassalage, which was but a mere formality, was of some value in the eyes of the German emperor, on account of his pretensions to the universal dominion of the Roman Cæsars, of whom he styled himself the heir. The feudal subjection of the kingdom of England to the Germanic empire was of such a nature that it could not last long: nevertheless, the acknowledgment and declaration of it were made with all the pomp and ceremony required by the usages of the age. "King Richard," says a contemporary, "dispossessed himself of the kingdom, and put it in the hands of the emperor, as lord of all the earth, investing him with it by his cap;⁶ and the emperor forthwith restored it to him, to hold it of him in fee, on condition of an annual tribute of five thousand pounds sterling, and invested him with it by a double cross

of gold."⁷ After this ceremony the German emperor, bishops, and barons, swore by their souls that the king of England should be set free so soon as he had paid one hundred thousand pounds; and from that day Richard's captivity became less strict.⁸

Meanwhile, the earl of Mortain, pursuing his intrigues and manœuvres, solicited the justices of England, the archbishop of Rouen, and the barons of Normandy, to swear fidelity to him and acknowledge him as king. Most of them refused; and the earl, feeling himself too weak to compel them to do what he wished, went over to France and concluded a formal treaty with king Philip.⁹ He acknowledged himself that king's vassal and liege-man for England and all the rest of his brother's states; swore to marry his sister, and to give up to him a considerable part of Normandy, Tours, Loches, Amboise, and Montrichard, so soon as, by his assistance, he should have become king of England.¹⁰ He moreover signed the following clause: "And if my brother Richard were to offer me peace, I would not accept it without the consent of my ally of France, not even in case my ally should make peace for himself with my said brother Richard."¹¹ After the conclusion of this treaty king Philip crossed the Norman frontier with a numerous army; and earl John scattered gold among such of the Breton tribes as were still free, in order to engage them to second by an invasion the manœuvres of his partisans in England.¹² That people, oppressed by the Normans, joyfully enlisted its national hatred in the service of one of the two factions into which its enemies were divided; but, being incapable of great efforts out of the small country where it so obstinately defended its independence, it was of little service to king Richard's adversaries. The latter, too, had but little success in England; which circumstance determined earl John to remain with the king of France and turn all his attention to the Norman expedition.¹³ Though thus exempted from the scourge of war, England was not the happier; for she had to bear enormous tributes levied for the king's ransom. The royal collectors went through the country in every direction; they constrained every class of men to contribute, clergy as well as laity, Saxons as well as Normans.¹⁴ All the sums raised by assessments throughout the provinces were brought to London: it had been calculated that the sum total would equal the amount of the ransom; but it was found that there was an enor-

⁷ Sed imperator statim reddidit ei regnum Angliæ tenendum de ipso, pro quinque millibus libr. sterlingorum de tributo solvendis, et investivit eum inde per duplicem crucem de auro. (Ibid.)

⁸ Episcopi et duces cum universâ nobilitate que aderat juraverunt in animam imperatoris. (Guilielm. Neubrig., p. 477, ed. Hearne.)

⁹ Rigordus de gest. Phil. Aug., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 40.—Roger. de Hoved., p. 724.

¹⁰ Homo suus devenit de Normanniâ et cæteris terris fratris sui. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Si autem Richardus frater meus rex Angliæ cum rege Franciæ faceret pacem, et per ipsum offerret mihi pacem, ego, sine voluntate regis Franciæ, cum rege Angliæ pacem facere non possem. (Rigordus de gest. Phil. Aug., xvii. 40.)

¹² Annales Waverleionses, apud rer. Angliæ script., ii. 164, ed. Gale.

¹³ Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ, p. 467.

¹⁴ Nulli parentes, nec ulla erat distinctio. (Ibid., p. 478.)

¹ Chron. Johan. Bromton, apud hist. Angl. script., i. col. 1252, ed. Selden.

² Missis à latere suo viris honoratis, hominum quo sibi astrictus videbatur solemniter refutavit, bellumque victo indicens. (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ, p. 465.)

³ Roger. de Hoved., p. 724, ed. Savile.

⁴ Petit sibi fidelitates hominum regni, affirmans quod rex Angliæ frater suus mortuus erat. (Ibid.)

⁵ Roger. de Hoved., p. 722—4.

⁶ Deposuit se de regno Angliæ, et tradidit illud imperatori sicut universorum domino, et investivit eum inde per pileum suum. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 724.)

mous deficit, caused by the fraud of the agents.¹ This first levy being insufficient, the royal officers commenced another, using, say the historians, the plausible name of the king's ransom to cover their shameful rapine.²

The king had now been upwards of two years in prison: he was weary of his captivity, and sent message after message to his officers and friends in England and on the continent, urging them to liberate him by paying his ransom.³ He complained bitterly of being neglected by his people, and of their not doing for him what he himself would have done for any other. He expressed these complaints in a song composed in the Roman dialect of the south, an idiom which he probably preferred to the less polished language of Normandy, Anjou, and France: "I have many friends, but they give poorly: theirs is the shame if, for want of ransom, I have been two winters a prisoner.—Be it known to my men and my barons, English, Norman, Poitevin, and Gascon, that I have not so despised a companion whom I would leave in prison for the sake of money: I say it not reproachfully; but I am still a prisoner!"⁴ While the second collection for king Richard's ransom was making throughout England, messengers from the emperor came to London to receive, as on account of the total sum, the money already gathered.⁵ They ascertained the quantity by weight and by measure, and put their seal on the bags, which were conveyed as far as the territory of the empire by English sailors, at the king of England's risk and peril.⁶ The money came safe to the hands of the German Cæsar, who sent a third of it to the duke of Austria, as his share of prize-money.⁷ Another diet was then assembled to decide the prisoner's fate; and his liberation was fixed for the third week after Christmas, on condition of his leaving a certain number of hostages to guarantee the payment which still remained in arrear.⁸ King Richard refused nothing; and the emperor, delighted with his easy compliance, was pleased to make him a gift in return. He granted to him by authentic charter, to be held of him in fee, several provinces, over which he himself had no other right than some disputed pretensions, such as the Viennois, and part of Burgundy, with the cities and territories of Lyons, Arles, Marseilles, and Narbonne.⁹ "Now the reader must know," says a contemporary, "that these lands given by the emperor to the king comprise five archbishoprics and thirty-three bishoprics: he must likewise know that the said emperor never exercised over them any kind of authority, and that the inhabit-

ants would never recognise any lord appointed or presented by him."¹⁰

When the king of France and his ally earl John were apprised of the determination of the imperial diet, they feared lest they should not have time to execute their designs before the king's liberation; and sent messengers in great haste to the emperor, to offer him seventy thousand marks of silver if he would prolong Richard's imprisonment but for one year; or, if he liked it better, a thousand pounds of silver for each succeeding month of captivity; or a hundred and fifty thousand marks, that the prisoner might be placed in the custody of the king of France and the earl.¹¹ The emperor, tempted by these brilliant proposals, would fain have broken his word; but this was opposed by the members of the diet, who, having sworn faithfully to observe the stipulated agreement, made use of their power, and released the captive about the end of January 1194.¹² Richard could not therefore direct his steps towards France, nor towards Normandy, which was then invaded by the French: it was safest for him to embark at a German port, and sail direct for England: but it was then the stormy season, and he was obliged to wait more than a month at Antwerp; during which interval the motive of avarice again incited the emperor, and the hope of doubling his profits prevailed over the fear of displeasing chiefs less powerful than himself, and whom, in his quality of lord paramount, he had a thousand means of reducing to silence.¹³ He resolved therefore to seize a second time the prisoner whom he had allowed to depart. But the secret of this treachery was not sufficiently kept; and one of the hostages left in the emperor's hands found means to warn the king of it.¹⁴ Richard immediately embarked in the galliot of a Norman trader named Alain Tranchemer; and, having thus escaped the men-at-arms sent to take him, he landed in safety at the port of Sandwich.¹⁵

He found a majority of the Anglo-Norman earls and barons faithful and well disposed to his cause. A short time before, their great council or parliament of the kingdom had declared the earl of Mortain a public enemy, and had ordered that all his lands should be seized, and his castles besieged.¹⁶ At the moment of the king's arrival this order was being executed; and in all the churches sentences of excommunication pronounced in the name of the archbishops and bishops, with bells ringing and tapers lit, against the earl and his adherents. The report of the deliverance of *Cœur-de-Lion*, the surname given by the Normans to king Richard, put an end to the resistance of the garrisons which still held out for earl John. They all surrendered, except that of Nottingham, which would not believe the news; and the king, irritated,

¹ Quod acidisse creditur per fraudem exactorum. (Guill. Elm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 479.)

² Manifestum rapiarum dedecus honesto redemptionis regie nomine palliant. (Ibid.)

³ Frequentibus commonebat mandatis ut redemptionis sue pretiis modis omnibus preparantes, liberationem suam maturarent. (Ibid., p. 478.)

⁴ Pro n'ay d'ansis, mas paure son li don,
Aneta lur es si per ma rezenson
Soi sai dos yvers pres.

(Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, iv. 183.)

⁵ Roger, de Hoved., p. 732.

⁶ In pondere et mensurâ... periculo regis Angliæ. (Ibid.)

⁷ Cuius summe pars tertia duci Austriæ qui eundem regem captivaverat, competere dicebatur. (Guill. Elm. Neubrig., p. 478.)

⁸ Roger, de Hoved., p. 733.

⁹ Provinciam et Viannam et *Fiannais* et Marsillam et Narbonam et Arle-Bianc. (Ibid., p. 732, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ Et est sciendum quod supradictus imperator nunquam predictis terris et hominibus dominari potuit, neque ipsi aliquid dominum ad presentationem imperatoris recipere voluerunt. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Ibid., p. 733.

¹² Propter cupiditatem pecunie quam rex Franciæ et comes Johannes ei obtulerant. (Ibid., p. 734.)—Guill. Neubrig., p. 482.

¹³ Indulte ei gratiæ, ut dicitur, imperatorem poenituit. (Ibid., p. 484.)

¹⁴ Relaxatum ad perpetuum revocare custodiam cogitabat. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 485.—Roger, de Hoved., p. 733.

¹⁶ Rog. de Hov., p. 736.

and prompt in his anger, marched upon that town, to lay siege to it in person, even before he entered London. His presence in the camp before Nottingham was announced to the forces shut up in the place, by an extraordinary alarm of trumpets, horns, clarions, and other instruments of military music; but, thinking that it was only a stratagem of the besiegers to deceive them, they continued the defence.¹ The king swore a terrible oath against those who dared thus to resist him, and stormed the town, which was taken; but the garrison retired into the castle, which was one of the strongest built by the Normans in England. Before he commenced to batter the walls of the castle of Nottingham with his petereoes and other machines, Richard had a gibbet erected as high as a tall tree; upon which were hanged, by his order, in sight of the garrison, some of the men taken in the first assault.² This spectacle appeared to the besieged to be a more certain sign of the king's presence than anything they had hitherto beheld; and they surrendered at discretion.³

After his victory, king Richard, wishing for recreation, made a journey of pleasure into the largest forest in England, extending from Nottingham to the centre of the county of York, over a space of several hundred miles, and called by the Saxons *Sire-woode*, which in course of time was changed into that of *Sherwood*. "He had never in his life seen these forests," says a contemporary narrator, "and they pleased him extremely."⁴ The charm of picturesque scenery and of the open country, especially to those who have been long deprived of their liberty, has been felt in all ages; and to this natural attraction might be added another, which was quite peculiar, and perhaps yet more congenial, to the adventurous spirit of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The forest of Sherwood was at that time a terror to the Normans: it was the habitation of the last remnant of the bands of armed Saxons, who, still denying the Conquest, voluntarily persisted in living out of the law of the descendants of foreigners.⁵ Everywhere hunted, pursued, tracked like wild beasts, it was here alone that, owing to the nature of the country, they had been able to maintain themselves in numbers, and under a sort of military organisation, which gave them a character more respectable than that of vulgar highwaymen.

(A.D. 1189 to 1194.) About the time that this heroic prince, the pride of the Norman barons, visited the forest of Sherwood, there dwelt under the shade of that celebrated wood a man who was the hero of the serfs, the poor and the obscure, or, in one word, of the Anglo-Saxon race. "Then," says an old historian, "arose among the disinherited the famous brigand Robert Hode, whom the common people are so fond of celebrating in their games and stage-plays; and whose exploits, chanted by strolling ballad-singers, delight them above all things."⁶ This short passage is all that

¹ Cum sonitu tubarum et buccinarum. (Rog. de Hov., p. 736.)

² Furcas levare fecit. (Ibid.)

³ Et posuerunt se in misericordiâ regis de vitâ et membris et de terreno honore. (Ibid.)

⁴ Profectus est videre forestas de Sire-woode, quas ipse nunquam viderat antea, et placuerunt ei multum. (Ibid.)

⁵ See Books v. and vii.

⁶ Hoc in tempore de exhereditatis surrexit ille famosissimus sicarius Robertus Hode, cum ejus complicitibus, de qui-

the chronicles positively say of the most celebrated Saxon that had chosen Hereward for his model.⁷ And in order to find some particulars of the life of this extraordinary man, we must necessarily have recourse to the old romances and popular ballads. Little faith can perhaps be attached to the whimsical and often contradictory facts related in those national poems; yet they furnish incontestable evidence of the ardent friendship of the English people for the bandit chief whom they celebrate, and for his companions, who, instead of ploughing the glebe for imperious masters, ranged through Sherwood, gay, blithe, and free, according to the old and admired ballads.⁸

It can hardly be doubted that Robert, or, more vulgarly, Robin Hood, was of Saxon birth: his French prænomen proves nothing against this opinion; for already, in the second generation since the Conquest, the influence of the Norman priests had caused the ancient baptismal names to fall into disuse, and the names of saints and other Norman christian names to be generally adopted. Hood is a Saxon name; and the most ancient ballads rank the ancestors of him who bore it in the class of the English peasantry.⁹ Afterwards, when the remembrance of the great revolution effected by the Conquest was weakened, the village poets thought fit to deck out their favourite hero in the pomp of riches and greatness: they made him an earl, or the supposed grandson of an earl, whose daughter, having been seduced, fled from home, and was delivered in a wood. The latter supposition gave rise to a popular romance, full of interest and of graceful ideas, but unauthorised by any probability.¹⁰ Whether it be true or false that Robin Hood was born, as this romance tells us, "in the green wood, among flowering lilies," he passed his life in the woods, at the head of several hundred archers, who became the dread of the earls, viscounts, bishops, and rich abbots of England, but were cherished by the farmers, the labourers, the widows, and the poor. They granted peace and protection to all who were weak and oppressed; shared with them who had nothing the spoils of those who fattened on the crops which others had sown; and, according to the old tradition, did good to every honest and laborious person.¹¹ Robin Hood was the stoutest heart and the best man to draw a bow of all his band; and after him was quoted Little John, his lieutenant and brother-in-arms, from whom, in danger as well as

bus stolidum vulgus hianter in comœdiis festum faciunt, et super ceteras romancias mimos et bardanos cantitare delectantur. (Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron., p. 774.)

⁷ See Book v.

⁸ We range the forest mery and free.
(Ancient Songs of Robin Hood.)

⁹ I shall you tell of a good yeman,
His name was Robyn Hode. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ O Willie's large o' limb and lith,
And come o' high degree;
And he is gane to earl Richard,
To serve for meat and fee.
Earl Richard had but ae daughter,
Fair as a lily flower . . .
(Jamieson's Popular Songs, ii. 44.)

¹¹ From wealthy abbots' chests, and churches' abundant store,
What oftentimes he took, he shar'd amongst the poore.
(Robert Branne's Chronicle, ii. 667, ed. Hearne.)

in rejoicing, he never parted, and from whom, in like manner, he is never separated by the English ballads and proverbs.¹ Tradition still mentions some other of his companions, as Mutch the miller's son, old Scathlocke, and a monk, called Friar Tuck, who fought in his gown, and used no other weapon than a good cudgel.² They were all of right merry humour, having no view to riches, plundering but to live, and distributing their superfluities among the poor families dispossessed of their tenures during the great pillage of the Conquest. Though hostile to the rich and powerful, they did not slay those who fell into their hands, nor ever shed blood but in their own defence.³ They rarely assailed any others than the agents of the royal police, and the governors of the cities or of the provinces, whom the Normans called viscounts, and the English termed sheriffs:—

“ But bend your boes and strok your strings,
Set the gallows tree aboute,
And Christe's curse on his head, said Robin,
That spares the sheriff and the sergeante.”⁴

The sheriff of Nottingham was he against whom Robin Hood had the oftenest to fight, and who pressed him the most vigorously, with foot and horse, setting a price on his head, and inciting his friends and companions to betray him. No man ever betrayed him; but many assisted him in retreating from the dangers into which his boldness frequently led him. A poor woman once said to him, “ I would rather die than not do my utmost to save thee: for who has fed and clothed me and my children but thou and Little John?”⁵

The surprising adventures of this chief of bandits of the twelfth century, his victories over the men of foreign race, his stratagems and escapes, were long the only stock of national history that a plain Englishman of those ages transmitted to his sons, after receiving it from his forefathers. The popular imagination attached to Robin Hood, as if an ideal personage, every qualification and every virtue of the middle ages. He was reputed to have been as devout at church as he was brave in combat; and it was said of him, that, when he had once entered to hear the service, whatsoever danger might occur, he never went away until it was finished.⁶ This devotional scruple once exposed him to be taken by the sheriff and his men-at-arms; but still he found means to make a resistance: and the old history even tells us, though a little suspected of exaggeration, that on this very occasion Robin Hood took the sheriff.⁷ On this theme the English ballad-singers of the fourteenth century composed a long ballad; a few stanzas of which are worthy to be quoted, if only as an instance of the lively and animated colouring which the people give to their poetry in ages when literature is highly popular:—

¹ Robin Hood and Little John. (Camden's Remains.)

² With cow! and quarter-staff.

³ Annales, or a General Chronicle of England, by J. Stow, p. 159, London, 1631.

⁴ Jamieson's Popular Songs, ii. 52.

⁵ The Life of Robin Hood.

⁶ De quo quedam commendabilia recitantur: missam devotissime audiret, nec aliqua necessitate volebat interrumpere officium. (Johan. de Fordun. Scotchrou., p. 774.)

⁷ Ibid.

In somer, when the shawes be sheyn,
And leves be large and long,
Hit is full mery in fayre forest,
To hear the fouly's song;

To se the dere draw to the le,
And leve ther hillis hee,
And shadow hem in the leves greene,
Under the greenwood-tree.

Hit befel on Whitsontyde,
Erly in a May morning;
The sun up feyre can spring that day,
And the birddes mery can sing.

This is a mery morning, said Littill John,
By him that dyed on tree;
And more mery man than I am one,
Was not in Christanté.

Pluk up thy hert, my dere mayster,
Littill John can say,
And think it is a full fayre time,
In a morning of May.

The on thyng greves me, sayd Robyn,
And does my hert mych woe,
That I may not, no solemn day,
To mas ne matyns go.

Hit is a fourtnet and more, sayd Robyn,
Syn I my Savor see

With the myght of mylde Mary.

Then Robyn goes to Nottingham;
He goes into St. Mary's chyrche,
And knelyd before the rode

Not only was Robin Hood renowned for his devotion to the saints and to holidays: he himself had his annual festival, similar to a saint's day; and on that day, kept religiously by the inhabitants of the hamlets and small towns of England, none were permitted to employ themselves in anything but play and pleasure. In the fifteenth century this custom was still observed: and the descendants of the Saxons and of the Normans shared these popular diversions in common, without reflecting that they were a monument of the ancient hostility of their forefathers. On that day the churches were deserted as well as the workshops: no saint, no preacher, had greater prescription than Robin Hood on his feast, and its observance lasted even after the Reformation had lent a new stimulus to religious zeal in England. This fact is attested by a church-of-England bishop of the sixteenth century, the celebrated and venerable Latimer.⁸ In one of his pastoral visitations, he arrived in the evening at a small town near London, and gave notice that he should preach the next day, because it was a holy day. “ When I came there,” says he, “ the churche's door was fast locked: I tarried there half an hour and more, and at last the key was found, and one of the parishioners comes to me, and sayes, ‘ Syr, this is a busye day with us; we cannot heare you; it is Robin Hoode's day: the parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hoode.’ ”⁹ Latimer had already put on

⁸ Jamieson's Popular Songs, ii. 54.

⁹ Robin Hood, Collection of all the ancient Songs, &c., by Joseph Ritson, London, 1832. See the Notes appended to the Life of Robin Hood, i. p. cvl., cvii.

¹⁰ Sermon vi. before King Edward VI.—Hawkins's History of Music, iii. 411.)

his episcopal gown, but was obliged to take it off, and go forward on his way, leaving the place to the archers, dressed in green, who were enacting in a shady spot the parts of Robin Hood, Little John, and all the band.¹

Traces of this long-cherished recollection, which superseded in the breasts of the English people even the memory of the Norman invasion, are at this day still existing: there is in the province of York, at the mouth of a small river, a bay, which in all the modern maps bears the name of Robin Hood;² and in the same province, near Pontefract, there was shown to travellers a short time since a spring of clear water, which was called Robin Hood's Well,³ and of which they were invited to drink, in honour of the famous archer. During the whole of the seventeenth century, the old ballads of Robin Hood, printed in black letter, a type then greatly admired by the people, circulated in the villages of England, where they were hawked about by men who sang them in a kind of recitative.⁴ Several complete collections were made for the use of readers in towns; and one of these compilations bore the elegant title of Robin Hood's Garland. These collections, now become scarce, are chiefly consulted by men of erudition, whilst the history of the heroes of Sherwood, despoiled of all poetical ornament, has lapsed into a tale for the nursery.

None of the ballads that have been handed down to our time relate the death of Robin Hood. The vulgar tradition is, that he perished in the following manner. Upon his resorting to a convent to ask for medical aid in sickness, it was proposed to bleed him; and the nun who was able by practice to perform that operation, having accidentally recognised him, did it in such a manner that it caused his death.⁵ This account, the truth of which can neither be affirmed nor contested, is quite conformable to the manners of the twelfth century. In the wealthy convents in that age many women employed themselves in studying medicine and compounding remedies, which they dispensed gratuitously to the poor. Besides, in England, since the Conquest, the abbesses and the greater part of the nuns were of Norman extraction, as is proved by their statutes, drawn up in old French;⁶ which circumstance perhaps explains how it was that the chief of Saxon banditti, whom the royal ordinances had placed *out of the law*, found enemies in the nunnery whither he had gone to seek assistance. After his death, the troop, of which he was the leader and the soul, dispersed: and his faithful companion Little John, despairing of making a stand in England, and impelled by the desire of continuing the war against the Normans, went to Ireland, and engaged in the revolts of the natives of that country.⁷ Thus was dissolved the last band of English robbers that has had, in any way, a political object and character, and has thereby deserved a mention in history.

(A.D. 1100 to 1200.) Between the refugees of

the camp of Ely and the men of Sherwood, between Hereward and Robin Hood, there had been, especially in the north of England, a succession of partisan chiefs and outlaws, who, like them, were not without celebrity, but of whom too little is known for them to be considered as historical personages. The names of some of them, as Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough (or Clement of the valley), and William of Cloudesly, were long retained in the popular memory. The adventures of these three men, who can no more be separated from one another than Robin Hood and Little John, are the subject of a long romance, composed in the fifteenth century, and divided into three parts or cantos.⁸ There is not much faith to be attached to the particulars it contains; but we find in it many original traits, capable of communicating more forcibly to the reader the idea which the population of English race had formed of the moral character of those men who, in the ages of the national enslavement, chose rather to be bandits than slaves.

Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly were, it appears, natives of the province of Cumberland. Having all three offended against the laws of the chase, they were put out of the Norman law, and obliged to fly for their lives.⁹ United by the same fate, they swore fraternity, according to the formula of the age, and went away together, to inhabit the forest of Inglewood, called in the old romance Englyshe-wood, between Carlisle and Penrith.¹⁰ Adam and Clement were not married; but William had a wife and children, from whom he was soon weary of being absent; and he one day said to his two companions that he would go to Carlisle and visit his wife and children. "Brother," said they, "we advise you not to go; for if the justice take you, you are a dead man."¹¹ In spite of this counsel, William departed, and arrived at night in the town; but, being recognised by an old woman to whom he had done good, he was denounced to the judge and the sheriff, who beset his house, took him, and, rejoiced at the capture, had a new gallows erected in the market-place, on which to hang him.¹² Luckily, a little boy, the swineherd of the town, who, while tending his hogs in the wood, had often seen William, and received from him alms and food, ran to apprise Adam and Clym of the fate of their adopted brother. The hazardous enterprise in which they both engaged, in order to save him, is described with great feeling and animation by the old popular poet, who paints with frank simplicity the devotion of these three men to one another:—

Wyllyam sayde to his brethren two,
Thys daye let us lyve and dye;
If ever you have nede as I have now,
The same shall you fynde by me.¹³

⁸ Percy's Relics, i. 270.—Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, p. 3, London, 1791.

⁹ They were outlawed for venyson,
These yemen everehoune.

(Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, p. 6.)

¹⁰ They swore them brethren upon a day,
To Englyshe wod for to gone. (Ibid.)

¹¹ If the justice mai you take,
Your lyfe were at an ende. (Ibid.)

¹² One vow that I make, sayde the sherie,
A payre of new gallowes shall I for the make.

(Ibid., p. 11.)

¹³ Ancient Popular Songs, p. 17.

¹ To give place to Robin Hood's men. (Ritson's Collection, i. cvii.)

² Robin Hood's Bay. (Hawkins's Hist. of Music, iii. 411.)

³ Evelyn's Diary. It still bears the same title.

⁴ Hawkins's History of Music, iii. 410.

⁵ Percy's Relics of Ancient Poetry, i. 198, 6th edition.

⁶ Regule monialium B. Marie de Sothwelle; Math. Paris., i. 261.

⁷ Hammer's Chron. of Ireland, p. 179.

In the conflict which terminates in this unhopèd-for deliverance, the three brethren-in-arms make by themselves a great slaughter of the royal officers of justice at Carlisle. They kill the sheriff, the judge, and the porter of the town gate:—

Many a man to the ground they thrue,

Many a woman sayd, Alas!

These numerous murders are detailed in the romance in a tone of joy and bitter pleasantry; the author testifying very little friendship for the agents of royal authority. However, he makes his three heroes finish, as the nation itself had, by growing tired of resistance, and compromising with the enemy. They go to the king's residence in London, and ask him for a charter of peace. But even while performing this act of submission they still retain their old character of fierce independence and liberty. They enter the palace without speaking to any one, cross the court, and advance into the hall, giving heed to no one, nor saying who they are or what they want.¹

If Robin Hood was the last chief of Anglo-Saxon banditti, or outlaws, that enjoyed a real popular celebrity, this is no reason for believing that, after him, no man of the same race ever more embraced the same kind of life, in the same spirit of political hostility to the government exercised by men of foreign race and language. The national struggle must still have been protracted under the form of plunder and robbery; and the two ideas of a free man, and an enemy to the law, long remained associated. But this had its termination; and in proportion as the period of the Conquest became more remote, in proportion as the English race, growing accustomed to the yoke, became attached by habit to that which it had tolerated from despair, plunder gradually lost its patriotic sanction, and re-descended to its natural level, that of an infamous profession. Thenceforward, the condition of bandit in the forests of England, though no less perilous, and still requiring no less of individual courage and address, created no longer any acknowledged heroes. Only there remained in the avowed sentiments of the inferior classes a great indulgence for infractions of the laws of the chase and a marked sympathy for all those who, either from necessity or from pride, set those laws of the Conquest at defiance. The life of the adventurous poacher, and the forest-life in general, are celebrated with fervour in a multitude of songs and poetical pieces, of which some are recent. In these, independence is constantly named among the pleasures enjoyed in the green wood,² where there is no enemy but winter and the storm,³ where the heart is gay the whole day long, and the spirit light as the leaf on the tree.⁴

¹ Of no man wold they aske no leve,
But boldly went in therat;
They preceid prestly into the hall,
Of no man had they drede.
(Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, p. 22.)

² Under the grenewood tree,
In the good grenewood. (Ibid. passim.)

³ ... The season's difference,
And charlish chiding of the winter's wind.
(Shakespeare, As you Like it; Act ii. Scene i.)

⁴ Mery and free, ...
As happy as the day is long, as leaf on lynde.
(Ancient Popular Songs.)

(A.D. 1194 to 1195.) King Richard, having returned to London, caused himself to be crowned a second time, with ceremonies which have been exactly reproduced in our own day.⁵ After the festival of this second coronation, Richard annulled at one blow all the sales of royal domains which he had so freely made before his departure for the crusade, pretending that they were merely mortgages, and that the holders of the lands were bound to restore them to him.⁶ In vain did the occupiers, who had in good faith made the acquisition thereof, produce the title-deeds signed with the great seal: all, says a contemporary, was unavailing; and the king, clothing this manifest arbitrary expropriation with the form of mildness, said to them,⁷ "What pretence have you for keeping in your hands that which is ours? Have you not completely reimbursed yourselves for your advances by the revenues of our possessions?"⁸ If so, you know that it is a sin to practise usury towards the king, and that we have a bull from the pope forbidding you so to do, on pain of excommunication.⁹ If, after reckoning what you have paid and what you have received, there justly remains any balance in your favour, we will supply the deficit from our treasury, and so leave you no cause of complaint."¹⁰

No one had courage to present an account, and all those domains were restored to the king without indemnification.¹¹ Thus he resumed possession of the castles, towns, governments, and domains, which he had alienated. And such was the first benefit experienced by the Norman race in England from the return of its chief, without whom his flatterers asserted that it could no more live than the body without the head. As for the English race, after being weighed down by taxes for the deliverance of the king, they were additionally burdened for that of the hostages whom the king had left in Germany, and for the cost of the war which it was necessary to sustain against the king of France.¹²

It was not in Normandy alone that Philip Augustus threatened to annihilate his rival's power; he had once more formed a league with the barons of the north of Aquitaine. He had promised them succour and maintenance;¹³ and they, encouraged by his promises, rather than by any effective assistance from him, had again attempted to establish their independence, in opposition to the Anglo-Norman power. It was the passion of nationality and the desire of being subject to no one of the neighbouring kings, to no man who was not of their own race and language, which had prompted them to conclude this alliance with king Philip. But he, wholly unconcerned about their patriotic

⁵ Roger, de Hoved., p. 738.

⁶ Sub nomine repetit commodati. (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 493, ed. Hearne.)

⁷ Asta tamen mollis loquebatur. (Ibid.)

⁸ Si ergo sortem vestram de fructibus rerum nostrarum jam percipistis, ea contenti esse debetis. (Ibid.)

⁹ Rescriptum sedis apostolice quo prohibeamini legis proprio funerari. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Supplebo de proprio, omnem amputans occasionem retentionis. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Illi regis imminenti metu attoniti universa resignarunt. (Guilielm. Neubrig., pp. 493, 494.)

¹² Pro liberandis obsidibus, sive etiam in sumptus belli. (Ibid.)

¹³ per lo mantenemen qu'el reis de Fransa lor avia fait e fazia. (Raynourard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, v. 96.)

affections, was in truth simply occupied with his own designs respecting them; he aspired to extend his authority over the Gallic provinces of the south, that he might in time become king of all Gaul, instead of being merely king of France. Following the example of the Germanic chancery, which attributed to every living emperor the real possession of all the territories which his predecessors had ever ruled, and had perhaps afterwards lost, the king of France and his council already extended in idea the bounds of Philip's legitimate dominion as far as the Pyrenees, where it was believed that Charlemagne had set up a cross, to be the perpetual limit betwixt France and Spain.¹ "Unto that spot," said a poet of the time who wished to flatter king Philip, "shalt thou fix thy tents and enlarge thy states, that thou mayst possess in full the dominions of thy ancestors,² that the stranger may no longer occupy aught within our frontiers, but the white dragon and his venomous brood be extirpated from our gardens, as the British prophet has promised us."³

Thus the patriotic predictions made by the old Cambrian bards, to raise the courage of their poor invaded nation, passed, after more than five hundred years, for prophecies in favour of the French against the Normans.⁴ Doubtless this is a sufficiently striking instance of the contradictions of human affairs; but another and no less striking is, that the same provinces which the king of France asserted to belong to him as the inheritance of Charlemagne, were also considered by the emperor of the Germans to be his own lawful right, as inheriting more immediately from that great prince who had enjoyed the singular privilege of being regarded at once as a Frenchman and as a German. The cession of lands recently made by the German Cæsar to king Richard was also founded upon the like pretensions. Besides all Provence and a part of Burgundy, the imperial liberality had moreover, according to ancient historians, granted to Richard the right of perpetual sovereignty over the county of Toulouse, and that little territory was equally claimed by the king of France: whilst, in point of fact, the counts of Toulouse enjoyed political independence, and, according to the formula of those ages, were free of their homage.⁵

(A.D. 1195.) When about to take the field against the king of France, Richard thought it necessary to reingratiate himself in public opinion, by exculpating himself in a signal manner from the reproach of murder committed on the marquis of Montferrat; for which purpose he produced a pretended autograph letter from the Old Man of the Mountain, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin characters, and containing the

following passages; "⁶ To Leopold duke of Austria, and every prince and people of the christian faith, greeting. Seeing that several kings in the country beyond sea impute the death of the marquis to Richard king and lord of England, I swear by the God who reigns eternally, and by the law which we observe, that king Richard had no part in that murder.⁷ Be it known to you that we have given these presents at our house and castle of Messiac, in the middle of September, and have sealed them with our seal, in the year after Alexander 1505."⁸

This curious despatch was officially published by William de Longchamp, again become chancellor of England, and sent to foreign princes and to the monks who were known to be employed in compiling the chronicles of the time. Its manifest falsehood was not remarked in an age when historical criticism, and the knowledge of oriental manners, were but very little diffused in Europe. It even appears to have weakened the moral effect of the king of France's imputations among his own vassals, and encouraged the vassals of the king of England to fight better in a cause which they believed to be the good one; for there existed a strong religious feeling in such matters. So soon as the two kings were in presence of each other on the territory of Normandy, the French king's army, which until then had uniformly been advancing, began to retreat.⁹ (A.D. 1195 to 1196.) Earl John lost all courage when he discovered that victory was uncertain, and resolved to betray his allies that he might regain thereby the favour of his brother. This treachery he accompanied by the commission of an atrocious action, namely, the massacre of a great number of French knights who had been previously invited by prince John himself to a feast.¹⁰ Notwithstanding his great demonstrations of repentance and amity, Richard, remembering that he himself had repeatedly made the like to their father Henry II., granted him no share of his confidence; and, to use the words of the historians of the time, he gave him neither lands, nor towns, nor castles.

King Philip, repulsed successively from all the towns of Normandy which he had occupied, was soon forced to conclude a truce, which permitted Richard to transport his forces to the south against the insurgents of Aquitaine.¹¹ At their head were the viscount of Limoges and the count of Perigord, whom Richard summoned to surrender their castles. "We hold thy threats as nothing," answered they; "thou art come back much too proud; but we will make thee humble, frank, and courteous, in spite of thyself; and chastise thee by waging war against thee."¹² For this disdainful reply to prove anything more than a mere boast, it was

¹ ——— Cùm juris apostata nostri
Succumbet victus, tibi cum Xantone Niortus.
In Pyreneo fides tentoria monte.
(Gull. Britonia Philippid., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr.,
xvii. 285.)

² Dilatate tuos fines huc usque teneris,
Jus patrùm ut teneas, nullo mediante, tuorum.
(Ibid.)

³ Eradicato de nostris funditis hortis,
Serpentis nivei toto cum stirpe veneno,
Ut Britonis tibi promittunt præcægia vatis.
(Ibid., p. 286.)

⁴ See Book I.

⁵ Præterea imperator dedit regi Angliæ, et chartâ suâ confirmavit, homagium comitis de Sancto Egidio. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 732.)

⁶ Scripte litteris Hebraicis, Græcis, et Latinis. (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Angliæ, p. 548, ed. Hearne.)

⁷ Juro per Deum qui in æternum regnat, et per legem quam tenemus. (Radulf. de Diceto Imag. histor., apud Seiden, i. col. 680.)

⁸ Et sciatis quod litteras istas fecimus in domo nostrâ ad castellum nostrum Messiac in dimidio Septembris, et sigillo nostro eas sigillavimus, anno ab Alexandro MDV. (Ibid. 681.)

⁹ Roger. de Hoved., p. 740.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 750.

¹¹ Raynour, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, v. 96.
¹² Qu'el erat vengutz trop braus e trop orguilles, e que ill, mal son grat, lo fariun franc e cortes e humil, e que ill lo castiaran guerreian. (Ibid.)

necessary that the peace between the two kings should again be broken; for the insurgents were quite incapable of resisting Richard's forces, if Philip did not occupy, by a diversion, at least some portion of them. It was the famous Bertrand de Born who, still pursuing his old line of political conduct, employed himself in rekindling the war between the two enemies of his country. By his secret intrigues and satirical verses he determined the king of France to violate the truce which he had just sworn; and now Saintonge instead of Normandy became the field of battle. The first meeting of the two kings at the head of their armies took place near Mirambeau. They were separated only by a small river, on each bank of which they had pitched their camp.¹ The king of France had with him Frenchmen, Burgundians, Champenois, Flemings, and Berrichons; and the king of England, Normans, English, and Angevins, with men of Touraine, Maine, and Saintonge. While the hostile forces were thus in presence of each other, both sides armed several times preparatory to action; still there were to be seen passing from one camp to the other archbishops, bishops, abbots, and monks, who united in zealous endeavours for the restoration of peace, entreating the kings to defer the combat, and proposing to them such arrangements as should terminate the war.² King Philip was the most difficult to persuade, and the most exorbitant in his demands: he was resolved to fight unless Richard took the oath of vassalage to him for Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou. These were his final words: and he had no sooner uttered them than Richard mounted his horse, put on his helmet, ordered his men to advance, the trumpets to sound, and his banner to be unfurled, to *pass le veater*.³ "Now," says an old account in the Provençal tongue, "he derived all this confidence from the Champenois having secretly promised him that they would not close with his forces because of the great quantity of *esterlings* which he had scattered among them."⁴ On the other side, king Philip and all his men put on all their armour and mounted on horseback ready for the battle, excepting only the Champenois, who did not put on their helmets.⁵ This was the signal of their defection; and the king of France, not expecting it, was seriously alarmed thereat. This alarm changed his prior and more resolute intentions; wherefore, immediately sending for the bishops and men of religion who had before solicited him in vain, he prayed them to go to Richard and tell him that he would hold him exempt from all vassalage if he would make peace.⁶ The king of England was already in full march when the prelates and monks hastened to meet him, carrying crosses in their arms, weeping, and con-

jurging him to take pity on so many brave men who must perish on both sides if the battle took place.⁷ They promised that they would make the king of France grant him everything and prevail upon him to retire immediately into his own territories. Peace was made; the two kings swore a truce of ten years, and dismissed their troops; choosing, says the old narrative, to occupy themselves no longer in warfare, but only in hunting, in games, and in inflicting punishment on their own barons and subjects.⁸

The injuries which king Philip could do to his Frenchmen were very slight in comparison with those which Richard then inflicted on the Aquitainians, and especially on those who had lately risen against him. "This peace afflicted them greatly," says the same narrator, "and particularly Bertrand de Born, who was more chagrined at it than any one else; for nothing pleased him so much as war, especially a war between the two kings."⁹ He again had recourse to his wonted expedients, of biting satires against the more irritable of the two rivals. He put in circulation pieces of verse, in which he said that the French and the Burgundians had bartered honour for sloth; and that king Philip had been eager for war until he armed himself, but that he had no sooner harnessed himself in armour than he lost all his courage.¹⁰ And the other barons of Poitou and Limousin, being the same who had made war upon king Richard with so little success, now excited him to take the field once more against the king of France, promising that they would all assist him. Richard believed them, and, abruptly recommencing hostilities, began to ravage the French provinces adjacent to his own.¹¹

Philip, who would perhaps have been the first to begin the war had he been first ready, complained of this violation of the truce which had been sworn, and applied to the bishops under whose auspices and guarantee it had been concluded. They mediated again, and obtained from the king of England that a diplomatic conference should be held on the frontiers of Berri and Touraine. But the two kings, unable to come to any agreement, made use of injurious language, and he of England gave the other the lie to his face, and called him a vile recreant.¹² "At which Bertrand de Born was much rejoiced," says his ancient biographer; "and he wrote a *serventes*, in which he spurs on the king of France to renew the war with fire and sword, and reproaches him with being fonder of peace than a monk."¹³ But for nothing that Bertrand de Born could say to

⁷ El li saint home venon ab las croz en brats encontra lo rei Richard, plorant qu'el agues pretat de tanta bona gen que tuit erou à morir. (Ibid., v. 93.)

⁸ E en far tort à lor baros. (Ibid., v. 93.)

⁹ En Bertrands de Born si fo plus irat que negus dels autres baros, per so car no se delectava mais en guerra, e mais en la guerra dels dos reis. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Ben an camjat honor per avoleza.

Segon qu'aug dir, Berquonhon e Francey.

(Ibid., iv. 170.)

¹¹ Tuit li baron de Peitiens e de Lemousin en foron molt alegre. Lo reis Richarditz commenset far tortz en las terras del rei de Fransa. (Ibid., v. 94.)

¹² Si qu'eu Richardz lo desmenti e'l clamet vil recrezen. (Ibid., v. 95.)

¹³ Guerra ses faoc e ses sane
De rei o de gran podesta,
Qu'us coms laidis ni desmenta.

(Ibid., iv. 175.)

¹ Et era sobre la riba d'un flum que a nom Gaura loquels passa al pe de Niort. (Raynourard, Choix des Poesies des Troubadours, v. 92.) This does not mean Niort in Poitou, but Petit-Niort, a village of Saintonge.

² Mas arcivesque et évesque et abat et home d'orde, que cercavan patz, eran en miech, que defendian que la batalla non era. (Ibid.)

³ Si montet et destrer, et mes l'elm en la testa, e fai sonar las trombas, et fai deserrar los sieus confanos encontra l'aiga, per passar outra. (Ibid.)

⁴ Per la gran cantitat dels esterlins que avia semenatz entre lor. (Raynourard, Choix des Poesies des Troubadours, v. 92.)

⁵ Que no meteron elmes en testa. (Ibid., p. 93.)

⁶ El fou avillitz et espaventatz. (Ibid.)

king Philip, in sirventes or in couplets, reminding him of the wrong and the disgrace which were said and done to him, would he war against king Richard.¹ But Richard went forth to war against him, took, plundered, and burned his boroughs and cities, which greatly rejoiced all the barons who were displeased at the peace: and Bertrand de Born wrote another sirventes, to confirm king Richard in his purpose.²

The destiny of Aquitaine, to be incessantly agitated by the dissensions of two foreign powers, alike enemies to its independence, yet by turns its allies, according to the hostility which divided them, this destiny, which at a later period was that of Italy, then lay weightily upon the whole of southern Gaul, including the mountainous country called in the Romance tongue of the south *Alverne*, and in the language of the north *Auvergne*. This country, after having energetically resisted the invasion of the Franks,³ was conquered by them like the rest of the Gaulish territories, and was for the moment swallowed up in their conquest; it had afterwards recovered its national freedom under the kings termed *fainçants* or slug-gard, who were the posterity of Clovis or Chlodowig; it was subsequently devastated and reconquered by the sons of Pepin, and became a province of the extensive empire which they founded. Finally, the dismemberment and total destruction of that empire had freed it a second time: so that in the twelfth century the people of Auvergne were governed, with as much of liberty as the existing state of social science would allow, by chiefs of their own race and language, who took the title of count, and were also called *dauphins*,⁴ because they bore on their shield for their proper arms the device of a dolphin.

The dauphin of Auvergne acknowledged his suzerain, or paramount lord, the duke of Aquitaine, and this perhaps from some cherished recollection of the government of the Romans and of the subordination of the local magistrates to the governors of the ancient *Provincia* of the Roman empire. As duke of Aquitaine the king of England had received the dauphin's oath of vassalage according to ancient custom; nor did that native prince evince any repugnance to render this duty of submission, which was purely nominal. But it happened that, after ravaging to but little purpose the king of France's dominions, Richard, weary of the war, and wishing to make a truce more lasting than the former, proposed to his rival to exchange with him his right as sovereign lord of Auvergne for some equivalent political advantages.⁵ This proposal was eagerly accepted: and the king of England engaged to guarantee to the other king the cession which he thus made to him, or, in other words, to assist him by his arms in overpowering the discontents of the natives of that country. Their dissatisfaction speedily manifested itself: for

the Auvergnats wished not the king of France to become their feudal suzerain; first, because they had never stood in a similar relation to him; and next, says an old account, because he was avaricious, a bad or pernicious lord, and too proximate a neighbour.⁶ So soon as Philip Augustus sent his officers to receive the homage of the count of Auvergne, who at first dared not refuse it, his chief care was, to purchase one of the strongest castles in the country, in order to garrison it; and shortly after, on slight pretences, he took from the count the town of Issoire; thus preparing the way for the conquest of the whole country, which he hoped to achieve without a war.⁷

Richard perceived the king of France's designs, but did nothing to arrest their progress; foreseeing that Auvergne would one day become refractory against the French king, and speculating on the national hatred which was accumulating against its new seigneur, not only to find occasion of resuming his original seigniorship over Auvergne, but also to draw succours from it in the first war that he should undertake against his rival in ambition. When he thought proper to break the truce, he sent a message to the dauphin to the following effect: "I know what great wrongs the king of France does to you and to your country; and if you will lend me your aid by revolting I will support you, and send you all the knights, bowmen, and money, you shall desire."⁸ The count of Auvergne, believing these promises, proclaimed the ban of national insurrection in his province, and began the war against king Philip.⁹ But Richard no sooner saw the struggle commenced, than he acted towards the Auvergnats as Philip's father Louis had done towards the Poitevins: he made another truce with the king of France, and went over to England, without at all concerning himself about what might happen to the dauphin and the land of Auvergne. The French army entered that country; and, as the ancient chronicle declares, put all to fire and sword, seizing all the fortified towns and the best of the castles.¹⁰ The dauphin, feeling that it was impossible for him to resist so powerful an enemy, concluded a suspension of hostilities; during which he sent his cousin count Gui and ten of his knights to England, to remind king Richard of his promises. Richard gave count Gui and his companions a bad reception, and let them depart without furnishing them either with men, arms, or money.¹¹

Sad and ashamed at finding themselves deceived, and compelled to yield to their ill fate, the Auvergnats made peace with the king of France by acknowledging his feudal sovereignty over them, and taking fresh oaths of homage to him. Shortly after, the truce between the two kings expired; and Philip immediately recommenced the war with fire and sword against the inhabitants of his rival's territories.¹² At this news Richard crossed the

⁶ Per so qu'el reis de Fransa lor era trop vezis, e de mala seignioria. (Ibid.)

⁷ e tolc Usoire al Dalin. (Ibid.)

⁸ Se il li volion valer e revelar se contra'l rei de Fransa, e'l lor daria cavaliers e balestiers e deniers a lor comanda-men. (Raynouard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, v. 431.)

⁹ E sailliron a la guerra contra lo rei de Fransa. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ E mes a fuoc et a flama tota la terra. (Ibid.)

¹¹ E'l recep mal e mal l'onret, et no ill donnet ni cavallier, ni sirven, ni balestier, ni aver. (Ibid.)

¹² La treva del rei de Fransa e d'Eu Richard si fo fenida. (Ibid.)

¹ Ancmais per re qu'En Bertrands de Born disses en coblas ni en sirventes al rei Felip, ni per recordamen de tort ni d'aubimen que ill fos dit ni faitz, no vole guerrier lo rei Richard. (Raynouard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, v. 95.)

² Don taich li baron a cui desplasia la patz, foron molt alegre. En Bertrands de Born, sitost com el auxi qu'En Richardz era saillis à la guerra, et el fetz aquel sirvente que comensa. (Ibid., v. 96.)

³ See Book i. p. 9.

⁴ Lo dalin d'Alverne. (Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, v. 124.)

⁵ Ibid., v. 431.

Channel; and he had no sooner set his foot in Normandy than he sent a message to the dauphin of Auvergne and count Gui to tell them that, since the truce was now ended between himself and the king of France, it behoved them as loyal friends to come to his aid and make war for him.¹ But they did not allow themselves to be deceived a second time: they remained at peace with king Philip; and Richard, in revenge, composed some satirical couplets, in which he said, that after swearing alliance with him, the dauphin forsook him when in peril.² The dauphin did not shrink from this verbal contest, but answered the king's verses by others, in which there was more truth as well as dignity. "King," he exclaims, "since you choose to sing of me, you shall also find me to be a bard. If ever I swore alliance to you it was a great folly on my part;³ I am not a crowned king nor a man of so much wealth as you; yet I can keep my ground with my people between Puy and Aubusson; and I thank God I am neither serf nor Jew."⁴

This latter epigrammatic trait seems to allude to the general massacre and spoliation of the Jews which took place in England in the beginning of the reign of Richard I.;⁵ as also, perhaps, to the miserable situation of the inhabitants of that country. Imperfect as the state of society in the twelfth century might be in the southern provinces of Gaul, there was nevertheless a characteristic difference between the régime established in those states and the then existing rule in England; where the discordance of languages being superadded to that of social conditions, prevented that sort of patriotic sympathy which might elsewhere have better united the oppressor with the oppressed, and have disguised, at least in part, the servitude of the greater number. The insolence of the rich man was so much the greater as he possessed fewer means of communication with his inferiors; it was that species of Norman insolence which, according to some old verses, increased with accruing years,⁶ and the character of national hostility, which the resistance of the oppressed at once assumed, contributed to give to the country an aspect nearly resembling that of Greece under the dominion of the Turks. There were still Saxon families who, by a perpetual vow, had obliged themselves, from father to son, to wear their beards long, as a token of their remembrance of the ancient condition of their country; this was a sort of protest against the usages and innovations of the Conquest.⁷ But these families were few in number; so that the conquerors, having no fear of them, permitted them

to exhibit unmolested this mark of their English descent and the unavailing pride of ages that were never to return.

In the year 1196, when king Richard was engaged in waging war against the king of France, and his officers were raising money for the expenses of his campaigns and the payment of the remainder of his ransom, the city of London was oppressed by an extraordinary capitation.⁸ This demand was made by the king's chancellor upon the chief municipal officers of London, who, by a singular association of terms, were then, as now, styled mayor and aldermen.⁹ These magistrates assembled in their council-hall or *hus-ting* (so called in the Saxon language) all the principal citizens, not for any purpose of taking the contribution into consideration, but simply to make the proper charge against those liable to pay the same.¹⁰ In this assembly, of whom the majority were native English, there were to be found some men of Norman, Angevin, or French extraction, who, having arrived at the time of the Conquest, had dedicated themselves to commerce or occupied themselves in manufactures. Whether on account of their foreign origin, or by reason of their wealth, the citizens of that class formed in London a dominant party; they in a measure arbitrarily influenced the deliberations of the guild or council, and mostly reduced the English citizens to silence; the habit of being oppressed having rendered the latter timid and circumspect. Nevertheless there existed at this time in the class of native English a man of another temperament of character, a genuine Saxon patriot, who, that he might not bear any resemblance to the sons of foreigners, never shaved his beard.¹¹ His name was William, and he enjoyed considerable reputation in the city, from his zeal in defending against oppression, by every legal means, all those of his countrymen who were in any way oppressed by injustice.¹² His parents having by their industry and economy realised a competence, he was himself enabled early to retire from business, and devoted his days to the study of jurisprudence.¹³ No Norman clerk excelled him in the power of pleading in the French language in courts of justice; and when he spoke in English his eloquence was impressive and popular. He employed his knowledge of the laws and his talent for public speaking in defending the poorer citizens against the embarrassments to which legal chicanery often reduced them, and against all the vexations which they often suffered from the rich; the most frequent of which was the unequal division of the assessments of taxes.¹⁴ For sometimes the mayor and aldermen

¹ Que ill li deguesson ajudar e valer. (Raynouard, *Choix des Poesies des Troubadours*, v. 432.)

² Si fez un sirventes del dalain, el qual remembre lo sagrament qu'el dalains e'l coms Gis avian fait ad el; e com l'avian abandonnat. (Ibid.)

³ Reïs pus vos de mi chantatz
Trobat avetz chantador
Ane no fuy vostre juratz
E connoissi ma foler. (Ibid., iv, pp. 256, 7.)

⁴ Qu'ieu no soy reis coronatz
Ni hom de tan gran ricor.
Pero Dieus m'a fag tan bon
Qu'entr'el Puey et Albusson
Puesc remaner entr'els mieus;
Qu'ieu no soi sers ni Juziens. (Ibid.)

⁵ Roger. de Hoved., p. 657, ed. Savile.

⁶ Pastas Normannis crescit crescentibus annis. (Ibid.)

⁷ Cujus genus avitum, ob indignationem Normannorum ridere barbam contempsit. (Math. Paris., i. 181.)

⁸ Propter regis captionem et alia accidentia. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 763.)

⁹ Quos majores et Aldermannos dicimus. (Math. Par., i. 181.)

¹⁰ Excellentiores civium in suo hustingo. (Ibid.) *Hus*, house; *ting*, thing, council, judgment.—Distributionem numerum subeundorum. (Radulf. de Diceto, *Imag. histor.*, apud Selden, i. col. 691.)

¹¹ Math. Paris., i. 181.—Math. Westmonast. Flor. histor., p. 260.

¹² Zelo justitiæ et aequitatis accensus. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765, ed. Savile.)

¹³ Legis peritus. (Ibid.)—Erat enim eloquentissimus. (Gervas. Cantuar., apud Selden., i. col. 1591.)—Cum datum illi esset os loquens ingentia. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 530, ed. Hearne.)

¹⁴ Factus est pauperum advocatus, volens quòd unusquisque tam dives quam pauper secundum facultates suas daret, ad universa civitatis negotia. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765.)

exempted from all contributions those who were most able to pay; and sometimes they decided that each citizen should pay one and the same sum, without regard to the difference of fortunes;¹ so that the greatest burden was always laid upon those who had the least wealth. They had often complained of this, and William had pleaded their cause with more ardour than success.² His efforts had gained the love of all the citizens of small and of moderate fortune, who surnamed him the defender or advocate of the poor;³ while the Normans and those of their party named him ironically *the man with the beard*, and accused him of misleading the multitude by inspiring them with an inordinate desire of liberty and happiness.⁴

This remarkable personage, who thus became the last representative of the hostile feelings of the two races which the Conquest had left and had established in the land, appeared in the municipal council A.D. 1196 such as he had always heretofore proved himself. According to their old practice, the chief burgesses of London had given their votes for such a distribution of the common assessment as that the smaller portion of the contribution should alone be levied on themselves. William Longbeard stood up against them alone, or nearly so,⁵ but the dispute growing hot, they loaded him with aggravated calumnies and accused him of rebellion and of treason to the king. "The traitors to the king," replied the Englishman, "are they who defraud his exchequer by exempting themselves from paying what they owe him, and I myself will denounce them to him."⁶ He actually passed the sea, went to king Richard's camp, and, kneeling before him and lifting his right hand, asked of him peace and protection for the poor people of London.⁷ Richard received the complaint, said that right should be done them, but when the petitioner had departed thought no more of the matter; being too much busied in his political affairs to go into the details of a quarrel among simple burgesses.

But the barons and Norman prelates who filled the high stations in the courts of chancery and exchequer did intervene with their authority; and they, by a national and aristocratic instinct, strenuously took part against the poor and their advocate. Hubert Gaultier, archbishop of Canterbury and grand justiciary of England, was irritated at a Saxon's having dared to go to the king and complain of men of Norman race; wherefore, to prevent the recurrence of such a scandal, he forbade by an ordinance that any commoner of London

should quit the town on pain of imprisonment as a traitor to the king and the kingdom.⁸ Some tradesmen who, notwithstanding the grand justiciary's prohibition, went to the fair of Stamford, were arrested and dragged to prison.⁹ These arbitrary acts caused a great ferment in the city; and the poorest of the citizens, from an instinct natural to men in all times, formed an association for their mutual defence. William Longbeard became the soul and leader of this secret society, into which, say several historians of the time, upwards of fifty thousand persons entered.¹⁰ Such arms were collected as the burgesses, who indeed partook in some measure of the condition of serfs, could in the middle ages procure; such as staves shod with iron, hatchets, and iron crowbars, to attack, in case of a conflict, the fortified houses of the Normans.¹¹

Incited thereto by the natural desire of communicating their mutual sentiments and of encouraging each other, the poorer population of London assembled several times and held their meetings or clubs in the open air in the markets and public places.¹² In these tumultuous assemblies William made speeches and received applauses, by which perhaps he was too much intoxicated; and which made him neglect the moment for acting, and of striking a blow to the advantage of those whom he was desirous of rendering formidable to their oppressors.¹³ A fragment of one of his harangues is given by a contemporary chronicler, who assures us that he had it from the mouth of a person who was present.¹⁴ This speech, although its object was quite political, was delivered, like the sermons of the present day, from a text of Scripture; which was, "You shall draw water with joy from the fountain of the Saviour."¹⁵ William, applying these words to himself, said, "I am the saviour of the poor: do you, ye poor, who have felt how heavy is the hand of the rich, now draw from my fountain the water of knowledge and salvation; and draw it with joy, for the time of your visitation is at hand.¹⁶ I will divide the waters from the waters; that is, the men from the men. I will separate the people who are humble and faithful from the people who are proud and perfidious: I will divide the elect from the reprobate, as the light from the darkness."¹⁷ Under these vague and mystical expres-

⁸ Undè Hubertus Walter Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justitarius, plurimùm in iram commotus, præcepit ut ubicumque aliquis de plebe inveniretur extra civitatem, caperetur tanquàm hostis regis et regni. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765, ed. Savile.)

⁹ Apud nundinas de Stamford capti sunt quidam mercatores de plebe Londoniensi. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Facta igitur Londoniis tanquàm zelo pauperum contrà insolentias potentum conjuratio valida; fuisse anti-m festus conjuratorum civium numerus, ascriptis, ut postea claruit, penes ipsum Willelmum nominibus singulorum, lxxi millia. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 561, ed. Hearne.)

¹¹ Ferramentorum quoque ingens copia, ad effringendas domos munitiores preparata. (Ibid.)

¹² Conventus publicos auctoritate propria. (Ibid., p. 562.)

¹³ Vallatus turbis pompaticè procedebat. . . fastus sermonum ejus. (Ibid.)

¹⁴ Ex eo quod viri veteris narratione didici. (Ibid.)

¹⁵ Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Salvator inquit per perum ego sum: vos pauperes, duri divitum manus experti, haurite de fontibus meis aquas doctrine salutaris, et hoc cum gaudio, quia jam venit tempus visitationis vestre. (Ibid., p. 563.)

¹⁷ Ego enim dividam aquas ab aquis. Aquæ nempe populi sunt: dividam populum humilem et fidelem à populo superbo et perfido. (Ibid.)

¹ Voluerunt se ipsos servare indemnes, aut saltem sine gravamine, et pauperiores vehementer exagitare. (Math. Par., i. 181.)

² Contradictionem vidi sæpius habitam inter divites et pauperes. (Radulf. de Dieto, Imag. histor., apud Selden., i. col. 691.)

³ Plurimos quasi prestigis fascinatos sibi devinxit. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 561.)—Ut eum in omnibus haberent advocatum. (Gervas. Cantuar., apud Selden., i. col. 1591.)

⁴ Guillelmus cognomento *à-la-barbe*. (Math. Westm. Flor. histor., p. 260.)—Inopes et mediocres ad immoderatam libertatis et felicitatis amorem inflammans. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglie., p. 560.)

⁵ Wilhelmo, cognomento cum barbâ, recalcitrante. (Math. Paris., i. 181.)

⁶ Et majores civitatis proditores domini regis appellante. (Ibid.) Pretendens quod eorum fraude fisco plurimùm depriveret. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 561.)

⁷ Impetravit ab eo pacem sibi et populo. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765.)

William cited by parliament.
Hostages required.
William watched by spies.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Arrest of William Longbeard.
Fear of the citizens.
Longbeard and companions taken.

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sions the imaginations of his auditors doubtless supposed feelings and wishes more precise in their nature: but the popular enthusiasm should have been promptly taken advantage of; whereas the advocate of the poor allowed his movements to be anticipated by the high Norman functionaries, who, assembling in parliament at London the bishops, earls, and barons of the neighbouring provinces, cited the popular orator to appear before that assembly.¹ William attended the summons, escorted by a great multitude, who followed him shouting his praises, and calling him saviour and king of the poor.² This unequivocal sign of his immense popularity intimidated the barons of the parliament. They made use of some finesse and adjourned the accusation to their next sitting, which however was not held; and from that time they endeavoured on their side to work upon the minds of the people by artful emissaries.³ False promises and false alarms, advisedly made and excited by turns, allayed the excitement of the populace and discouraged the partisans of an insurrection. The archbishop of Canterbury and the other justices themselves convoked several meetings of the lower tradesmen of London; and, speaking to them now of the necessity of the preservation of order and peace, and next of the king's power to crush the seditious, they succeeded in sowing doubts and hesitation among the associated citizens.⁴ Seizing this moment of weakness and uncertainty, which has ever been fatal to popular parties, they required as hostages for the public tranquillity the children of a great many families of the middling and lower classes.⁵ The citizens had not sufficient resolution to resist this demand; and the cause of power was gained from the instant that the hostages were led out of London and imprisoned in different fortresses.⁶

Notwithstanding the power they derived from the public uneasiness concerning the fate of the hostages, the justices did not yet venture openly to arrest the man for whose ruin all these precautions had been taken. They resolved to watch for the moment when William should be out of his house, and alone, or accompanied only by a few; two rich citizens, probably of Norman birth, of whom one was named Geoffrey, undertook through zeal the office of spies.⁷ Followed by armed men, they watched for many days all the measures taken by Longbeard; and at last, while he was quietly walking with nine of his friends, the two citizens accosted him in an unconcerned manner; then he who was named Geoffrey suddenly laid hold on him, and gave the signal to the men-at-arms whom he

had posted hard by.⁸ William had no weapon of defence but the long knife which, according to the fashion of the time, he wore in his girdle: this he drew, and with one blow laid Geoffrey dead at his feet. At that moment the soldiers came up, clad from head to foot in mail that was dagger-proof; but William and his companions, by dint of skill and courage, succeeded in making their escape; and, flying, entered the nearest church, which was dedicated to the Virgin, and called by the Normans St. Mary de l'Arche.⁹ They shut the doors and barricaded themselves within. The armed men who pursued them endeavoured to force an entrance, but did not succeed; and the grand justiciary on hearing this news sent couriers to the castles in the vicinity of London to bring fresh troops with all speed; not relying at that critical juncture on the garrison of the Tower of London alone.¹⁰ The rumour of these events caused a great excitement in the city: the people were fully sensible of the peril of the man who had so often generously undertaken their defence;¹¹ yet now their behaviour testified more of sorrow than of anger. The sight of the soldiers, who entered in military order, lining the streets and public places, and above all a conviction that on the first rising the hostages would be put to death, caused the citizens to stay within their workshops and warehouses.¹² It was in vain that those who had fled to the sanctuary hoped for relief; in vain did some brave men urge their compatriots to march in arms to the church of St. Mary. The mass of the people remained inactive, as if struck by stupor.¹³ Meanwhile William and his friends prepared in the best way they could to stand a siege in the church-steeple to which they had retired: they were summoned several times to come forth, but they constantly refused; and the archbishop of Canterbury, the more speedily to force them from their post, caused a great quantity of wood to be collected and the church to be set on fire.¹⁴ The heat and smoke which soon filled the tower obliged the besieged to come down, half suffocated.¹⁵ They were all taken; and while they were led along, bound, the son of that Geoffrey whom William had killed, at the time of his flight, came up to him and stabbed him with a knife in the belly.¹⁶ In this

⁸ Cum eisdem civibus ad capiendum eum armatam manum emisit; quorum unus ... (Guil. Neubrig., p. 563.)—Ad quem capiendum eum Gaudfridus veniet. ... (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765.)

⁹ Loricatæ multitudinis. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 563.)—Solâ sicâ se defendens. (Math. Par., i. 181.)—Incluserunt se in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de l'Arche. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 765, ed. Savile.)

¹⁰ Convocatâ non modicâ armatâ militiâ, vices civitatis et plateas observare præcepit, ne fœdus inquit civis rumpere. (Chron. Gervas. Cantuar., apud Selden, ii. col. 1591.)—Militares copias ex vicinis provinciis accersitas. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 563.)

¹¹ Zelans pro pauperculo populo. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl., apud hist. Angl. script., ed. Selden, col. 2410.)

¹² Sperans populum maturè affuturam qui nimirum etsi de ipsius periculo doluit, tamen vel respectu obsidum vel metu, ad ereptionem ejus non accurrit. (Guilielm. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 563, ed. Hearne.)

¹³ Sed per pusillanimes et degeneres dissimulatum est consilium civium Willielmo confederatorum ad resistendum ipsorum injuriæ. (Math. Par., i. 181.)

¹⁴ Et cum necesse reddere se vellent, ex præcepto archiepiscopi Cantuaris appositus est ignis. (Roger. de Hoved., p. 675.) Supposito igne, magnam ecclesie partem combusserunt. (Math. Par., i. 181.)

¹⁵ Coctus est Willielmus à turri descendere, calore et fumo parè suffocatus. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Cultro illi ventrem dissecuit. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 564.)

¹ De consilio procerum evocavit eum (justiciarium) satisfactorum de objectis. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 563, ed. Hearne.)

² Qui opportunè affuit turbis ita vallatus .. regem vel salvatorem pauperum. (Ibid.)

³ Ut evocator ejus territus molliùs ageret, et pro declinando periculo cautè judicium protuleret. (Ibid.)

⁴ Publicè et privatim Londonienses cives alloquens, pro fidelitate regis, pro pace conservandâ. (Chron. Gervas. Cantuar., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 1591, ed. Selden.)

⁵ Multorum mediæ manûs hominum illi dati sunt in obsidum. (Radulf. de Diceto, Imag. histor., apud Selden, i. col. 691.)

⁶ In diversis per patriam munitionibus careerali custodiâ mancipandi. (Ibid.)

⁷ Explorato igitur per duos cives nobiles tempore quo inveniri posset sine turbis. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 573.)

wounded state he was tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged in that manner through the streets of London to the Tower, where he was presented before the archbishop of Canterbury, and, without any informations taken, or any consultation, received sentence of death.¹ The same horse dragged him in the same manner to the place of execution. He was hanged, together with his nine companions, all being of Saxon birth. "And thus," says an old historian, "perished William Longbeard for having embraced the cause of the poor, and in the defence of truth."² If the cause makes the martyr, no one can more justly be called a martyr than he.³

This was not the opinion of one man only, but of the whole population of London, who, though they had wanted the energy requisite to save their defender, did at least mourn for him after his death, and called the Normans who had put him to death murderers.⁴ The writers on the side of power, and they form the greater number, tell us that William passed for a saint with the seditious and such as were fond of political commotions.⁵ The gallows on which he had been hanged was carried away in the night as a relic; and such as could not procure a piece of the wood scraped together the earth which had touched its foot.⁶ So many came to fetch this earth, that in a little time a deep hollow was formed at the place of execution.⁷ It was visited not only from the neighbourhood, but from every corner of England; and no Englishman by birth failed to perform this kind of patriotic pilgrimage when business or traffic brought him to London.⁸ The popular imagination soon attributed the working of miracles to this new martyr who had resisted the foreign dominion; and his miracles were preached, as formerly those of Waltheof had been, by a priest of English race.⁹ But the new preacher met the same fate as the ancient one; nor was it then less dangerous to believe in the sanctity of the man with the long beard than it had been a hundred and twenty years before to believe in that of the last Saxon chief.¹⁰ Chief justice Hubert sent soldiers, who dispersed at the point of the lance the crowd assembled (as he said) to insult him by honouring an executed malefactor.¹¹ But the English were not disheart-

ened; being driven off by day, they came by night, either to see or to pray. Armed men were then placed in ambuscade, who seized a great number of men and women; they were publicly whipped and shut up in fortresses.¹² At last a permanent guard was established on the very spot which the people persisted in regarding as sacred; and all access thereto was forbidden to passengers and to the curious.¹³ This measure, and this only, had power to discourage the popular enthusiasm, which now gradually abated.¹⁴

Here must our recital of the national struggle which followed upon the conquest of England by the Normans terminate; for the execution of William Longbeard is the last fact which the original writers attach positively to the Conquest. That there afterwards occurred many other events bearing the same character, and that William was not the last of the Saxons, is beyond all doubt: but the negligence or inaccuracy of the ancient chroniclers, or the loss of ancient documents, leave us without proofs and suddenly reduce us to conjectures and inferences. The task of the conscientious narrator therefore finishes at this point: and all that he has now to do is to draw a rapid sketch of the ulterior destiny of personages of whom he takes leave, in order that the reader may not remain in suspense.

By the word personages must here be understood, neither Richard king of England, nor Philip king of France, nor John earl of Mortain, but the great masses of men and the different populations which have simultaneously or successively figured in the preceding pages. For the essential object of this history has been to review the collective destiny of nations, not that of certain celebrated men, and to recount the chances and alterations of social, not of individual, life. The sympathies of our nature may attach themselves to entire nations as to beings endowed with human feelings, and whose existence, far exceeding the space of a man's life, is yet filled up with the same quick successions of sorrow and joy, of hope and dejection. Considered in this point of view, the history of the past time is gifted with much of that interest which attaches to the present; for the aggregate collections of beings of which history treats have never ceased to be sentient or to live down the stream of ages; they are verily the same that now breathe, that suffer, and hope, before our eyes. Herein is its greatest attraction; this it is which softens the dryness of severe historical studies; which, in short, would have given some value to this work, had its author succeeded in fully imparting those various emotions which he himself experienced in his breast, while collecting from ancient volumes names which have become obscure, and misfortunes which are no longer remembered.

tam honoris defuncto impendens, tantum etiam criminis illi per quem absumptus videbatur, impingens. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., pp. 565, 567.)

¹² Excubabat ibidem nocturno tempore jugiter insulsa multitudo. (Ibid.)—Verum positus insidiis, et flagellatis qui noctu venerant ad orandum. (Chron. Gervas. Cant., apud Selden, ii. col. 1591.)

¹³ Armatum in ipso loco custodiam jugiter observare precepit, quæ non solum ad supplicationes adveniens vulgus arceret, sed etiam curiosè divertentium inhiheret accessum. (Guil. Neubrig., p. 567.)

¹⁴ Popularis opinio conquievit. (Ibid.)

¹ Ad caudam equi trahitur ad turrim Londoniensem. (Math. Par., i. 181.)—Archiepiscopo presentatus. (Chron. Gervas. Cantuar., apud Selden, ii. 1591.)

² Suspensi autem sunt cum eo novem ejus vicini vel de ejus familiâ, et sic Willielmus dictus barbatus pro assertione veritatis et pro causâ pauperum tuendâ. (Math. Paris., i. 181.)

³ Cum constet causam martyrem facere, inter martyres videtur merito computandus. (Ibid.)

⁴ Extinctum planxere vehementer, regni provisorem tantquam homicidam lacerantes. (Guil. Neubrig. de reb. Anglic., p. 564.)

⁵ Conjurati et novarum aucupes rerum. (Ibid.)

⁶ Patibulum quo suspensus fuerat, de loco supplicii furto nocturno sublatum est, terra quoque supposita velut aliquod sacrum. (Ibid., p. 565.)

⁷ Usque ad fossam non modicam per minutias est abrasa. (Ibid.)

⁸ Qui fortè ex diversis Angliæ provinciis, pro negotiis propriis Londoniæ adventassent. (Ibid.)

⁹ Subitò divulgatum est Willielmum novum martyrem novis clarescere miraculis. (Chron. Gerv. Cant., apud Selden, ii. col. 1591.)

¹⁰ See Book v. p. 114.

¹¹ In sacerdotem præfatum ecclesiasticâ præseunte vindictâ, (Henr. Knyghton., apud Selden, ii. 2412.)—Armatorum globum emisit qui rusticam multitudinem fugarent. Quan-

CONCLUSION.

SECTION I.

THE NORMANS AND BRITONS (OR BRETONS) OF THE CONTINENT; THE ANGEVINS, AND THE POPULATIONS OF SOUTHERN GAUL.

(A.D. 1187 to 1195.) About the end of the reign of Henry II. and a few months after the death of his second son, Geoffrey count or duke of Brittany, there occurred an event very trivial in itself, but which became the cause, or at least the occasion, of great political revolutions. Count Geoffrey's widow Constance, a woman of Breton race,¹ was brought to bed of a son, whom his paternal grandfather, the king of England, would have had baptized by the name of Henry; but the Bretons who surrounded the mother did not choose that the infant which was one day to be their chief should be named after a foreigner.² They called him, by acclamation, Arthur; and baptized him by that name, almost as popular among them as among the ancient Britons of Cambria. The king of England took umbrage at this act of national will; and, not daring to take from the Bretons their Arthur, he constrained his mother Constance to marry one of his officers, Renouf earl of Chester, whom he made duke of Brittany, to the prejudice of his own grandson; the young prince already exciting his jealousy because the Breton nation loved him. But shortly after, that nation expelled Renouf of Chester, and proclaimed as chief of their country the son of Constance, while yet of tender age.

(A.D. 1195.) This second act of national will, more serious than the former, drew upon the Bretons a war with king Henry II.'s successor, Richard. But while they were fighting for their own cause and that of Arthur, this child, led by his mother, separated himself from them; at first going over to his relative the king of England, and then putting himself in the power of the king of France, who, under an outward appearance of amity, entertained the same designs towards Brittany as the other king. (A.D. 1195 to 1200.) The ambitious views of the king of France were at that time seconded in Brittany, as in almost all the western provinces of Gaul, by a general weariness of the Anglo-Norman dominion. Not only the Poitevins, who had been for fifty years in continual revolt, but the people of Maine, of Touraine, and the Angevins themselves, to whom their own counts, since they had been kings of England, were become almost foreign, aspired to a great change; and, without desiring any other than an administration more devoted to their national interests, they anticipated the king of France's policy, and imprudently lent themselves to his service, that they might themselves receive support from that monarch against the king of England. Of all the continental provinces subject to the Normans, Guienne alone had no decided aversion for them; because the daughter of its ancient national chiefs, Henry II.'s widow Eleanor, was still living, and

by the exercise of her influence tempered, either in reality or in its forms, the harshness of the foreign government.

When king Richard was killed in Limousin by an arrow from a cross-bow (A.D. 1199), the revolution which had so long been preparing, and which the fear of his military activity had retarded, broke out almost immediately. His brother John was recognised without any debate or contest as king of England and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine; but Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, separating all at once from the Norman cause, took for their lord the young duke of Brittany. The Poitevins shared in this defection, and formed with their neighbours of the north and west a league offensive and defensive. At the head of this league appeared the Breton people, which had the misfortune to be represented by a child and a woman; who, apprehensive of falling into the hands of the king of England, gave up to the king of France, Philip II., all that the popular courage had reconquered from the Anglo-Normans in the different confederated countries, and recognised him as the suzerain lord of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany. Philip, whom the French surnamed Augustus, dismantled the towns, and razed the fortresses whose gates his new vassals had opened to him. When young Arthur, his liege-man and voluntary prisoner, addressed to him, on behalf of the populations which had intrusted themselves to him, some remonstrances on this conduct—"Am I not at liberty," replied the king, "to do what I please in my territories?"³ Arthur soon perceived how great an error he had committed in placing himself at the mercy of one of the two kings to escape from the other. He fled from Paris; but not knowing whither to go, he gave himself up to his uncle, king John, who bestowed on him numerous caresses, and was preparing to imprison him, when the young duke, being apprised of his intention, again repaired to the court of France. King Philip already despaired of keeping his new provinces against the will of the inhabitants and in despite of the king of England. (A.D. 1200.) With that king he was desirous of making an advantageous peace; and to obtain it, he sacrificed his guest the young duke of Brittany; compelling him to take the oath of liege-homage to king John, for Anjou, Maine, and Brittany. For this good office Philip Augustus secured a peace, and received thirty thousand marks of silver, several towns, and a promise that if John died without issue he should inherit all his continental possessions. By virtue of this treaty the French garrisons of the towns in Anjou and Maine were relieved by Norman troops and by the Brabançons in the pay of the king of England.

(A.D. 1200 to 1202.) While Philip was thus despoiling young Arthur of his inheritance, he educated him at his court with his own sons, and reserved him with a view to the possible case of a fresh rupture with king John. This rupture soon took place, on the occasion of a general rising of the Poitevins headed by Hugh Le-Brun, count de

¹ See Book viii. pp. 165, 215.

² *Contradictum est à Britonibus.* (Chron. Walth. Hemingford, apud rer. Anglie script., ii. 507, ed. Gale.)

³ *Histoire de Bretagne, par Dom Lobineau, tom. i. liv. vi. p. 181.*

La Marche, from whom the king of England had taken his betrothed. All the barons of Poitou, and those of part of Limousin, conspired; and the king of France no sooner saw them compromised, than, hoping to profit by whatever proceedings they should venture on, he suddenly broke the peace, and declared for them, on condition of their taking the oath of faith and homage to him. He immediately brought Arthur again on the political stage, married him to his daughter Mary, then five years old, proclaimed him count of the Bretons, Angevins, and Poitevins, and sent him at the head of an army to conquer the towns of Poitou which still held out for the king of England.

(A.D. 1202.) The Bretons made alliance with the insurgent Poitevins, and promised to send them five hundred horse and four thousand foot. Awaiting this reinforcement, the new count of Poitou laid siege to the town of Mirebeau, a few leagues from Poitiers, in which, by a chance which proved fatal to the besiegers, Henry II.'s widow was then shut up. The town was taken without much resistance; but Eleanor of Aquitaine retreated into the castle, which was very strong; while Arthur and the Poitevins occupied the town. They were there, apparently in the greatest security, when king John, stimulated by the desire of liberating his mother, suddenly appeared, after a rapid march, at the gates of Mirebeau, and made Arthur and most of the leaders of the insurrection prisoners. (A.D. 1202 to 1204.) He carried them all into Normandy; and Arthur soon disappeared; but no one could learn precisely in what manner, or in what place, he had perished. Of the Normans, who had no national hatred nor repugnance for the king of England, some said that he had died of sickness in the castle of Rouen, and others that he had killed himself in attempting to escape over the city wall. The French, animated by the spirit of political rivalry, affirmed that king John had stabbed his nephew with his own hand one day when he was crossing the Seine with him in a boat. And the Bretons, who had concentrated all their hopes of liberty in prince Arthur, adopted a version nearly similar, only changing the scene of action, which they fixed on the sea-shore near Cherbourg.¹

Whatever might be the foundation of these different accounts, Arthur's death was much talked of, especially in Brittany, where it was considered as a national calamity. The same ardent imagination which had induced the Bretons to believe their future destiny connected with that of this boy, threw them into an ill-assorted and exaggerated affection for the king of France, because he was the enemy of Arthur's murderer. To him they appealed for vengeance, promising to aid him with all their means in whatever he should undertake against the king of England. Never had a king of France so fine an opportunity of rendering himself the master of those Bretons, so obstinately attached to their independence.² Philip eagerly listened, as their feudal suzerain, to the complaint of the seigneurs and bishops of Brittany respecting the murder of their youthful duke; and cited the king of England, his vassal for the duchy of Normandy, to appear before the court of the barons of

France, who were then beginning to be called peers, a name borrowed from the Provençal romances on Charlemagne and his great actions. King John, as was expected, did not appear before the peers, and was condemned by them. All the lands which he held of the kingdom of France were declared forfeited, and the Bretons were called upon to take up arms, in order to ensure the execution of this sentence, which could virtually have no effect unless followed by a conquest.

The conquest was made, not by the French king's forces only, and also not by the authority of the decrees of his court of peers, but by the co-operation (the more energetic, as it was voluntary) of the neighbouring populations hostile to the Normans. Philip Augustus had but to appear on the frontier of Poitou, and a universal rising of the inhabitants of that country opened to him nearly all the fortresses, and when he returned to attack Normandy the Bretons had already invaded and occupied a great portion of it bordering on their territory. They took Mont St. Michel by assault, seized upon Avranches, and burned all the villages between that town and Caen. The rumour of their ravages and the terror they inspired contributed powerfully to accelerate the progress of the French king, who, with the Manseaux and the Angevins advancing on the eastern side, took Andelys, Evreux, Domfront, Lisieux, and made his junction with the Breton army at Caen. (A.D. 1204.) This was the first time that Normandy had been attacked with so much concert by all the populations that surrounded it on the east, south, and north; it was also the first time that it had a leader so indolent and incompetent as king John. He passed his time in hunting and other diversions, while Philip and his allies were taking, one after another, all the strong towns and castles in the country. In less than a year there were none left him but Rouen, Verneuil, and Château-Gaillard. The people of Normandy made great but unavailing efforts to repel the invaders; and yielded only for want of assistance and because their brethren by origin, the Normans of England, being safe behind the ocean, did not care to relieve them from a danger which did not threaten themselves. Besides, being all elevated by the consequences of their conquest above the popular condition, they had but little sympathy with townspeople and peasantry of the other side of the Channel, though sprung from the same common ancestors.

(A.D. 1204 to 1214.) The townspeople of Rouen suffered all the extremities of famine before they thought of capitulating; and when their provisions entirely failed them, they concluded with the king of France a thirty days' truce, at the expiration of which they were to surrender if they were not succoured. In the interval they sent some of their number to king John, to apprise him of the deplorable necessity to which they were reduced. The envoys found the king playing at chess; he did not rise from the board nor give them a word in answer until the game was finished. He then said to them, "I have no means of succouring you within the time appointed: so, do the best you can."³ The city of Rouen surrendered; the two fortresses which hitherto held out followed its example; and the conquest of the whole country

¹ Dumoulin, *Histoire générale de Normandie*, p. 514.

² See Books i., ii., iii., and viii.

³ Dumoulin, *Hist. de Normandie*, p. 525.

was accomplished. This conquest, though less harsh to the Normans than that of England had been to the Saxons, had still its humiliations and its miseries. The French razed the walls of many towns: they compelled the citizens of Rouen to demolish at their own expense their ancient fortifications and to build a new tower in a place more commodious for the victors.¹

The national vanity of the Bretons was doubtless flattered when they beheld their old enemies, those who had struck the first blow at their national independence, subjugated in their turn by a foreign power. But this miserable satisfaction was all the fruit they reaped from the victories they had gained for the king of France: and, which was a much more serious consideration, they had, by contributing to fix the yoke upon their neighbours, fixed it likewise upon themselves; and it was thenceforward impossible for them to reject the dominion of a king who now enclosed them on all sides, and united with his former forces all those of Normandy. The French supremacy was constantly becoming more and more irksome to them; wherefore they made several attempts, but in vain, to renew their alliance with the king of England. To stifle, in some sort, their sense of the loss of their own national freedom, they aided the kings of France with a sort of fury in utterly destroying that of the populations bordering on the great river Loire: they laboured for the aggrandisement of the French monarchy; maintaining at the same time, with no small success, the slender remnant of their ancient rights and privileges against the administrative encroachments of that powerful monarchy. Of all the populations of Gaul, the Bretons formed perhaps that which in all periods evinced the greatest aptitude for, and want of, political agitations. This native disposition is far from being extinct among them; witness the very active share which, being actuated by one public sentiment or another, they have taken in all the recent revolutions.

The Angevins, after having concurred with the Bretons in the overthrow of Normandy, lost in consequence of that event all traces of their national existence; nor did the Manseaux ever recover that independence which the Normans had formerly deprived them of. The counts of Anjou were supplanted by the king of France's seneschals, and the rule of that monarch from that time extended itself beyond the Loire into Poitou. The rich Poitevins were no longer at liberty to marry their daughters to any but Frenchmen.² Under this yoke, which to them was new, they repented of having repudiated the protection of the king of England; and they entered into negotiations with him, in which the malcontents of Anjou and Maine took part. (A.D. 1214.) A national insurrection was preparing in those three provinces, when the gain of the famous battle of Bouvines, by ensuring the fortunes of the kingdom of France, intimidated the confederates.³ The Poitevins alone dared to abide by their first resolution, and rise against king Philip, under the same chiefs who had made

war with him and for him against king John. But Philip soon crushed them, aided by those who had been afraid to make head against him, namely by the Angevins, the Manseaux, the Tourangeaux, and the Bretons; and he pushed his conquests southward as far as La Rochelle. (A.D. 1224.) Thus these unfortunate populations, for want of mutual good understanding and amity, became the instruments of each other's ruin: and the fall of the Norman power, breaking the sort of political equilibrium by means of which the southern countries of Gaul had hitherto remained independent, the impulse was given by which, sooner or later, but infallibly, the whole of Gaul became French.

(A.D. 1224 to 1240.) The return of Normandy under the power of the kings of England could alone stop this current of events; but the unskilfulness of king John, and Philip's ability, prevented any such occurrence, notwithstanding the discontents of the country. "Though the king's yoke was light," says a poet of the thirteenth century, "Neustria was long indignant at being subject to it; yet, willing to do good to them who wished him evil, he did not abolish their ancient laws, nor give them cause to complain of being galled by foreign customs."⁴ No great revolt took place in Normandy against the French; and all the popular discontent evaporated in individual expressions of regret for the days gone by, and especially for king Richard *au cœur de lion*, whom, said the Norman soldiers in the very camp of the French king, no Frenchman had ever equalled.⁵ The political nullity into which that nation, so famed for its courage and its pride, had so suddenly fallen, may be attributed to that very pride; which prevented it from soliciting the assistance of its ancient subjects of Brittany, or treating with them to form an offensive league against the common oppressor. The people of Normandy, however, still cherished a hope of deriving assistance from the dominant people of England; but this proved fallacious; and the sympathy founded on their kindred with the Normans of that island, who were an aristocracy composed of men of rank and fortune, could not in the nature of things endure for any lengthened period of time. When the two countries had ceased to be under the same government, the only inhabitants of England with whom the people of Normandy had frequent communications were traders, men of English race, speaking a language foreign to the Normans, who besides entertained against them that degree of hostile feeling which is founded on commercial rivalry. The old ties between Great Britain and Neustria, therefore, could not fail to be broken; while fresh ones were every day forming between the latter country and France, where the mass of the people spoke the same language as the Normans, and bore every mark of a common origin; for in Normandy every distinguishing characteristic of the Danish race had long ceased to be remarked.

Owing to all these causes, in less than a century after the conquest by Philip Augustus, the Normans were seen to espouse ardently and without

¹ *Muros ipsa suos truncare coacta.* (Guillelm. Brito, Philippid., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 213.)

² *Filiis suas nuptias tradere, nisi de licentia Francorum, nec permittebantur.* (Math. Paris., ii. 688.)

³ *Chroniques de Saint-Denis; recueil des Hist. de France, xvii. 43.*

⁴ *Indignante diu portavit vertice regis
Mte jugum. . . .*

(Guillelm. Brito, Philippid., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 214.)

⁵ . . . Normannia rege Richardo

Intumet, alterius quid vix ait sub pede regis.
(Nicolai de Brala, Gesta Ludovici VIII., ibid., xvii. 322.)

scruple the enmity of the kings of France against England. In the year 1240 some of them joined the Bretons in cruising against English vessels; and, in every war which afterwards arose between the two countries, a multitude of corsairs sailing from Normandy attempted descents upon the southern coast of England, to commit ravages and make booty: the town of Dieppe in particular was famous for this kind of armaments. At length, when the great political contest of the succession to the throne of France, which lasted during all the fourteenth century, had broken out between the king Philip VI. and Edward III., the Normans conceived a project which had for its object nothing less than a new conquest of England, designed to be as absolute, and perhaps more methodical than that by William the Bastard. The royal dignity and all public property were adjudged beforehand to the leader of the expedition: all the domains of the barons and nobles of England were to belong to the titled persons of Normandy, the goods of all commoners to Norman towns, and those of the churches to the Norman clergy.¹

(A.D. 1338.) This project, which, if executed, was to lower the former conquerors of England, after a possession of three centuries, to the condition in which they themselves had placed the people of English race, was drawn up in minute detail and presented to Philip of Valois, at his castle of Vincennes, by deputies from the Norman nation. They asked him to put his son, who was their duke, at the head of the enterprise; and offered to make the invasion at their own expense, requiring from the king nothing more than the simple assistance of an ally in case of ill fortune. This agreement was concluded, and the record of it was kept at Caen; but its execution was deferred, through circumstances which the history of the time does not particularise. No measures had as yet been entered upon, when in the year 1346 the king of England landed at Cape La Hogue, to possess himself of the country which he called his hereditary dominions.² The Normans, attacked by surprise, made no more resistance to the English army than perhaps the Anglo-Normans would have made if the projected invasion had taken place. They shut the towns, cut away the bridges, and destroyed the roads; but nothing could stop the march of that army of which the chief captains and the king himself spoke no language but French, and with the Norman accent.

Notwithstanding this conformity of language, no national sympathy was awakened in their favour; and the towns into which they were admitted were opened to them from necessity alone. In a little time they took Barfleur, Carentan, and Saint-Lô, which places, in the official reports drawn up in the French tongue and sent to England, they compared for their size and wealth to those of Sandwich, Leicester, and Lincoln; which latter name they still travestied into *Nicole*.³ At Caen, where they visited with great ceremony the tomb of William the Conqueror, the author of their ancestors' fortune, they found among the charters of the town the original of the treaty concluded between the

Normans and the king of France for the new conquest; by which they were so incensed, that they gave orders for the pillage and massacre of the inhabitants. Then, still plundering on their way, they directed their march to the ancient territory of France on the side of Poissy, which they entered; and from thence they went into Picardy, where was fought, between them and the French, the celebrated battle of Crecy.

The plan of conquest found at Caen was immediately sent to England, and read publicly in all the towns, to exasperate the popular spirit against the king of France, and the French, from whom the Normans were now no longer distinguished. At London, the archbishop of Canterbury, when high-mass was over, read this document aloud at Paul's Cross in the churchyard. As it was drawn up in French, all the nobles present could understand it; but it was afterwards interpreted into English to the auditors of low condition.⁴ This lecture, and other means employed to incite the English to support the quarrel of their king, were not wholly ineffectual. The passions of ambition and vanity in the master were changed in the minds of his subjects into indiscriminate aversion for the whole French people, who returned them hatred for hatred. There was but one class of men in both countries whom this frenzy did not reach, that of poor fishermen following their peaceable avocation in the smooth waters within either shore of the channel. English or French, in times of the most violent wars, they never did each other harm: "never going to war," says an historian of the fourteenth century, "but rather assisting one another, buying and selling at sea, when the one had had better success in fishing than the other."⁵

(A.D. 1200 to 1216.) By a singularity of destiny, while Normandy, the ancient country of the kings and grandees of England, became to them an enemy's country, Aquitaine, from the sea of La Rochelle to the Pyrenees, continued, without apparent repugnance, under their authority. It has already been seen how that country was preserved to the Anglo-Norman rule by the influence of the duchess Eleanor, Henry II.'s widow. Upon the decease of that princess, the Aquitanians still kept their faith to her grandson, through fear of falling under the seigniorship of the king of France, who, being master of Poitou, had become their immediate neighbour. Following a principle of policy accredited in the middle ages they preferred, independently of all other considerations, to have for their lord a king who dwelt far from them; for a distant lord commonly left the country to govern itself, according to its local customs, and by men born in its bosom; which was hardly permitted by the sovereign whose domains were adjacent. The focus of royal power preserved in the south-west of Gaul would perhaps long have served as a bulwark against the king of France to the southern populations that still maintained their independence, if an unforeseen event had not suddenly destroyed all the national forces of the country situated between the Mediterranean, the Rhone, and the Garonne. The county of Toulouse and the great lordships which in the thirteenth century

¹ Robert. de Avesbury, Hist. de mirab. gestis Edwardi III., p. 130 et seq., ed. Hearne.

² Terram hereditatis sue in Normannâ. (Ibid., p. 123.)

³ Et est la ville plus grosse que n'est Nichole. (Ibid., p. 125.)—See Book iv, p. 84.

⁴ In cæmeterio ecclesie Sancti Pauli, ad cruce[m] . . . vulgariter exponenda. (Rob. de Avesbury, p. 130.)

⁵ Froissart, iii. 133.

were its dependencies, through alliances or vassalage, were infinitely more civilised than any other portions of the ancient Gallic land. They carried on a great commerce with the seaports of the east. Their towns enjoyed a municipal constitution, and bore even some resemblance to the Italian republics. Each wealthy citizen possessed his mansion flanked with towers; and every citizen's son became, if he chose it, a knight, and jousted at tournaments as a noble.¹ This inclination to political equality, which was an occasion of scandal to the knights of France, Burgundy, and Germany, opening a free communication between all classes of the population, gave to the spirit of the Gauls inhabiting the Mediterranean shores an activity which displayed itself in every kind of moral cultivation. Their literature was the most refined in all Europe, and their literary idiom was classical in Italy and Spain. Their christianity was ardent and exalted, for they were by nature impassioned, and it did not consist in an implicit belief of the dogmas, and a mechanical observance of the practices, of the Roman church. Without openly revolting against that church, they had, at that remote period, anticipated, and in some sort had even exceeded, the religious reformation which the sixteenth century saw burst into light in other countries. All this was effected among them insensibly without a religious war, without any burst of fanaticism, without their having themselves exactly measured the degree of their dissent from the catholic church. That church, alarmed at the still increasing heresy of the southern Gauls, at first employed the resources of its immense diplomatic organization to arrest its progress. But it was in vain that pontifical couriers carried to Alby, Toulouse, and Narbonne, bulls of excommunication and anathema against the enemies of the Romish faith: the heresy had extended itself even to the priests serving the churches in which those bulls were to be fulminated; and the bishops themselves, though bound more intimately to the catholic system, found it difficult to avoid being gained over by the example of an entire people. To stop this intellectual contagion, nothing less was necessary than to strike the people in a mass, and annihilate the social order from which its independent spirit and its civilization proceeded. This was undertaken by pope Innocent III. in the earlier years of the thirteenth century. Turning the example of the crusades against the Saracens into an abuse, he preached a similar enterprise against the inhabitants of the county of Toulouse, and the diocese of Alby; and published throughout Europe, that whosoever would arm and make war upon them should obtain the remission of his sins and a part of the property of the heretics.²

Unfortunately, the period was favourable for this crusade of christians against christians. The king of France's conquests in Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, had dispossessed or banished many men of those different countries, and prodigiously augmented the number of knights without an inheritance, and of military adventurers. Besides, the pilgrimage against the Albigenses (for such was the name given to this war) promised much fewer

risks and much more certain profit than the crusade against the Arabs. So that the number of armed pilgrims soon amounted to fifty thousand men, of all conditions and of all nations, but especially of French and Flemings. The king of France sent fifteen thousand soldiers; and the king of England permitted a body of troops to be enrolled in Guienne under the command of the archbishop of Bordeaux.

It would occupy us too long to narrate in detail all the atrocities committed by these crusaders at the sacking of Beziers, of Carcassonne, of Narbonne, and of the other towns laid under the ban of the church, or to tell how the inhabitants were massacred, without distinction of age or sex, of catholics or heretics. "Alas, poor cities! in what a state have I seen you formerly, and now what is your fallen condition!"³ exclaims a poet of the south, a witness of these calamities. All the country between the Garonne and the Mediterranean was ravaged and subjected by the conquering army; and its general, Simon de Montfort, not venturing to keep for himself alone such vast possessions, did homage for them to the king of France.

(A.D. 1216 to 1257.) In proportion as the army of the crusaders, whose number was constantly increasing, made fresh conquests, so the king of France's feudal sovereignty was further extended over the south of Gaul. The county of Toulouse and the territories of Agen, Carcassonne, and Beziers, after enjoying independence during three centuries, became thus reunited to that kingdom which had anciently possessed them. A treaty concluded in a moment of misfortune betwixt the heir of Simon de Montfort and the successor of Philip Augustus soon changed this feudal supremacy into direct sovereignty. To ensure his plenary sway over these immense acquisitions, Louis VIII. raised an army, took the cross, and marched into the south. He passed the river Rhone, not without some resistance to his arms; took Beaucaire and Nimes, which he united under the authority of a seneschal; placed a seneschal in like manner at Carcassonne, and marched upon Toulouse, the inhabitants of which city were in open revolt alike against him and the crusaders.

Hatred of the French name was the national passion of the new subjects of the king of France; and they never uttered the name of Frenchman without attaching to it some epithet of reproach.⁴ The poets wished, in their *sirventès*, that the son of the count of Toulouse, aided by the king of Arragon, might come and reconquer his native country, and make himself a bridge of the carcasses of Frenchmen.⁵ During the minority which followed upon the decease of Louis VIII., a great confederacy was entered into from the course of the river Vienne to the foot of the Pyrenees, to repulse the French northward into their ancient limits. The chiefs of the valleys through which the Arriège

³ All Tolosa e Proensa,
E la terra d'Agensa,
Beziers e Carcassey,
Quo vos vi, e quo us vey!

(Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 192.)

⁴ Frances bevedor, fals Frances,
(*Ibid.*, tom. iv. passim.)

⁵ Que ton
Los Frances e'ls escorsa
E'ls pen, e' n' fal pon.

(*Ibid.*, iv. 333.)

¹ *Domos civitatis turrigeras.* (Script. rer. Gallie. et Fr. xviii. 580.)—Dom Vaissette, *Histoire générale du Languedoc.*

² D. Vaissette, *Hist. générale du Languedoc*, lii. 130.—Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vi. 270 et suiv.

flows, and in which the Adour takes its rise, the counts of Foix and Cominges, made alliance with the count de la Marche and the castellans of Poitou. On this occasion the king of England ventured to take a decided part; because the question was no longer to oppose a pilgrimage against heresies, but the political power of the kings of France. Nevertheless, the attempt met with very slight success; for the catholic clergy, zealous for the dominion of the French, terrified the confederates by threatening them with a new crusade, and repressed the movements of the Toulousans by means of that dreaded police which had then been instituted under the name of Inquisition. The heir of the ancient counts of Toulouse, wearied out by a hopeless and desperate struggle, made a definitive peace with Louis IX., and ceded to him all his rights, by a treaty which was far from being voluntary on his part. That king gave the county of Toulouse to his brother Alphonse, who was already count of Poitou by a similar right, and without the assent of the country. Notwithstanding these fresh augmentations, the kingdom of France did not yet reach, in the south, the limits to which the ambition of its kings aspired, nourished by the popular romances on the reign of Charlemagne. The banner of the gold fleurs-de-lys was not planted on the Pyrennees, and the chiefs of the populations, inhabiting at the foot or on the declivities of those mountains, remained at liberty to present their homage to whomsoever they chose. Some of them, indeed, offered it to the king of France; but others, and they were the greater number, kept their allegiance to the kings of Arragon, or of Castile, or even to the king of England; while others remained still without a feudal sovereign, choosing to hold of God alone.

While one of Louis IX.'s brothers governed the counties of Toulouse and Poitou, the other, named Charles, was count of Anjou and Maine. Never before had any family of French kings united so extensive a power; for the kings of the Franks must not be taken for kings of France. The limits of that kingdom, formerly bounded by the Loire, already extended in the middle of the thirteenth century as far as the Mediterranean, touching on the south-west the king of England's possessions in Guienne, and on the south-east the independent territory which bore the old name of Provence,¹ and extending from the Rhone, below Lyon, to the Var. About that period Raymond Béranger, count of Provence, died, leaving an only daughter, called Beatrice, under the tutelage of some of her relatives. The guardians, finding the young woman and the country thus placed in their hands, offered to the king of France to cede them both to him for his brother Charles of Anjou; and the king, having accepted the proposed conditions, first marched some troops to Provence, which entered it as friends. Charles of Anjou went thither shortly after, and was married to Beatrice, without much trouble being taken to consult her about this choice. As for the inhabitants of the country, their aversion for a foreign count, and especially for one of French race, was well known.² They had before them the example of what their neighbours of the other side the Rhone were suffering under the

government of the French. "Instead of a brave lord, then," says a contemporary poet, "the Provençaux are about to have a *Sire!* They will no longer be allowed to build towers nor castles; they will no longer dare to carry lance nor shield in presence of the French. May they all die rather than fall into such a condition!"³

Nor was it long before these apprehensions were realised: all Provence was filled with foreign officers, who, treating the natives like subjects by conquest, levied enormous imposts, confiscated, imprisoned, and put to death, without trial and without a judicial sentence. There was not for some time any great national resistance to these abuses of power; for the clergy, making themselves, as a contemporary poet expresses it, the whetstone for the French sword,⁴ upheld their dominion by the fearful menace of a crusade. The troubadours, who throughout the south habitually served as an organ of the patriotic interests, undertook the dangerous task of arousing the people and making them ashamed of their patience. One of them, playing upon the name of his country, said that it ought no longer to be called *Proensa* (the land of the *preux* or brave), but *Faillensa* (the land of cowards that fail); because it suffered a foreign dominion to supplant its national government. Other poets addressed themselves in verse to the king of Arragon, the ancient lord suzerain of Provence, calling upon him to come and chase away the usurpers from off his lands. Others invited the king of England to put himself at the head of an offensive league against the French. They provoked a war, by means of which they hoped to effect their emancipation. "Why," said they, "do they not quickly begin the game in which many a helm shall be cloven and many a hauberk unmailed!"⁵

At this conjuncture the king of France, departing for the crusade in Egypt, took with him his brother Charles of Anjou. The news was soon spread that the two brothers had been made prisoners by the Saracens; which occasioned universal rejoicing in Provence. It was said that God had worked this miracle to save the liberty of the people. The cities of Aix, Arles, Avignon, and Marseilles, which enjoyed a municipal organization almost republican, openly made preparations for war, repairing their fortifications and gathering together arms and provisions. But the imprisonment of Charles of Anjou was not of long continuance. On his return, he began by wasting all the suburbs and territory of Arles, in order to terrify the citizens; he then blockaded them with a numerous army for so long a time that, after great suffering, they were obliged to surrender. Thus ended this great commune, which was as free as those which at the same time existed in Italy. Avignon, which also resembled them in its municipal constitution, opened its gates at the first rumour of the arrival of Alphonse count of Toulouse and Poitiers, who came to aid his brother in reducing the Provençaux.⁶

(A. D. 1257.) At Marseilles the inhabitants of

³ Millot, Hist. des Troubadours, ii. 239.

⁴ ... Et illi clerici sunt li
Cotz e foizil.

(Raynouard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, v. 275.)

⁵ Poésies des Troub., v. 277.—Millot, Hist. des Troubadours, iii. 145.

⁶ Gaufridi, Hist. de Provence, i. 140—142.

¹ Provincia.

² Provinciales Francos habent odio inexorabili. (Math. Paris., ii. 654.)

all conditions took up arms, and, putting to sea, attacked the count's vessels. But the want of amity between the chief burghers of the cities and the seigneurs of lands and castles caused many fatal dissensions in their plans. The Marseillais were ill supported by that class of men, a part of whom thought it more *chivalric* to serve under the banners of foreigners than to make common cause with the friends of the national independence. Being reduced to depend on their own strength, they nevertheless obtained a favourable capitulation; but the Frenchmen who were agents for the count violated it afterwards without scruple. Their tyrannies and exactions again became so insupportable that, in spite of the danger, a commotion took place against them, in which the people arrested them all by main force, but contented themselves with imprisoning them. The revolvers seized Château Saint-Marcel, shut the gates of the town, and suffered a second siege; in which the inhabitants of Montpellier, but lately enemies to the Marseillais from commercial rivalry, took advantage of the *las* moments of their own independence to succour Marseilles against the conquerors of southern Gaul. Notwithstanding this assistance, the city, being attacked by superior forces, was obliged to surrender. All the stores in the public arsenals were carried off and the citizens disarmed. A knight named Boniface de Castellane, who was both a warrior and a poet, who had by his *serventès* excited the rising of the Marseillais¹ and had afterwards fought among them, was, as we are told by some historians, made prisoner and beheaded. The castellans and seigneurs, who had abandoned the cause of the cities, were treated by the count almost as harshly as they who had espoused it. He took the utmost care to degrade and impoverish them; and his authority was consolidated by the public misery and terror.²

(A.D. 1257 to 1323.) The Provençaux never recovered their ancient municipal liberty nor the high degree of civilization and wealth which had resulted from it. But it is remarkable that, after the lapse of two centuries, the extinction of the house of Anjou, under which they had preserved at least a shadow of nationality, from their administration being distinct from that of France, caused almost as much displeasure in Provence as the accession of that house to dominion over them had antecedently done. To fall under the immediate authority of the kings of France, after being governed by counts, appeared to the inhabitants of Provence about the end of the fifteenth century to be a fresh national calamity. This popular opinion, rather than the personal qualities of René, surnamed le Bon, occasioned the long remembrance preserved of him by the Provençaux and the exaggerated idea of public prosperity which tradition still attaches to his reign.

Thus were aggregated to the kingdom of France all the provinces of ancient Gaul situated on the right and left banks of the Rhone, excepting Guienne and the valleys at the foot of the Pyrenees. The old civilization of those provinces received a mortal blow from their forced union with countries less advanced in intellectual cultivation, in manufactures, in politeness, and in

taste. The most disastrous period in the history of the inhabitants of southern France was that in which they became French, that in which the king whom their forefathers were accustomed to call the king of Paris³ began to call them his subjects of the *langue d'Oc*, in opposition to the ancient inhabitants of France north of the Loire, who spoke the *langue d'Oïl*. From that time, the classical poetry of the south, as also the language which was devoted to it, perished in Languedoc, Poitou, Limousin, Auvergne, and Provence. In the place of this language of the ancient Troubadours, which, without any political control, by the mere charm of its cultivation and of the works to which it was consecrated, had risen in all those countries above the local idioms, there now remained only such popular dialects as were constantly inelegant, especially devoid of etymological accuracy, and having the defect of being understood only within a circle of small diameter. (A.D. 1323.) In the fourteenth century the Toulousans, by the institution of their floral games, made a faint attempt to raise again the ancient poetry of the south when it was perishing on every side: but this competition was limited to the dialect of Toulouse only; and, moreover, the name of gay science, *lo gay saber*, shows us how much the idea conceived of poetry was then lowered in a country where it was once connected with all that was most serious and important in social life.⁴

(A.D. 1200 to 1286.) The jurisdiction of the king of France's seneschals in the country of Languedoc, bounded on the west by that of the king of England's officers in Aquitaine, extended southward only to the valleys which announce the vicinity of the great chain of the Pyrenees. There the conquest by the crusaders against the Albigeois had stopped; because the profits of a war in a mountainous country, studded with castles built upon rocks like eagles' nests, did not seem proportioned to the dangers of the enterprise. Thus, on the southern frontier of the dominions of the two kings, there remained a free territory, extending in length from one sea to the other; and which, whilst strictly limited at its eastern and western extremities, reached, near the centre, almost to the confluence of the Aveyron and the Garonne. The inhabitants of this territory were divided into lordships under various titles, as all the south had been before its conquest by the French: and these various populations all exhibited, by their language and moral physiognomy, the marks of a common origin, with the exception of one only of their number.

(A.D. 1200 to 1286.) This race of men, more ancient than the Celtic races of Gaul, had probably been driven towards the mountains by a foreign invasion; and, together with the westernmost slopes of the Gaulish Pyrenees, they inhabited also the reverse falls of that mountain-chain on the Spanish side. The name which this people bore in its national tongue, that differed from all other known languages, was *Escualdun*; in the plural, *Escualdunac*. Instead of this name, the Romans used that of *Vagui*, *Vasqui*, or *Vascones*; which denominations were preserved, with certain orthographical variations, in the neo-latin tongues of Spain

¹ Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 214.
² Gaufridi, *Hist. de Provence*, i. 142—145.—Millot, *Hist. des Troubadours*, ii. 40.

³ *Regis Parisiani*. (Guilielm. Britonis Philippid., lib. viii., apud script. rer. Gallic. et Fr., xvii. 246.)

⁴ See Books x. and xi.

of Gaul. The Vasques, or Basques, were never completely reduced under the yoke of the Roman administration, which ruled over all their neighbours; nor did they, like the latter, lay aside their language for the Latin tongue, variously altered. They likewise resisted the invasions by the Germanic nations; and neither the Goths nor the Franks succeeded in annexing them by a permanent authority to their empire. When the Franks had occupied all the great cities of the two Aquitaines, the mountaineers of the west became the centre or rallying point of the numerous rebellions of the inhabitants of the plain. In like manner the Basques made frequent alliance, against the Frank kings of the first and second dynasty, with the Gallo-Romans, whom nevertheless they disliked, and whom they were accustomed to plunder in the intervals between those alliances. This often-renewed confederation caused the name of Vasconia or Gascony to be given to the part of Aquitaine situated between the mountains and the Garonne; and the difference of termination in the nominative and oblique cases of the same Latin word produced the distinction of the *Basques* and the *Vascons* or *Gascons*.¹

In placing themselves at the head of the great league of the natives of southern Gaul against the northern conquerors, the Basques appear to have had no object but their own national independence and the actual profits and booty of warfare, and not to have by any means wished to establish their political dominion in the champaign country or to found a new state. Either from exclusive love for their native country and contempt for foreign lands, or from their peculiar constitution of mind, ambition and the thirst for glory were never their ruling passions. While, by the aid of those revolts in which they had so powerfully co-operated, the counties of Foix, Comminges, Béarn, Guienne, and Toulouse, were formed in favour of certain noble houses of Aquitaine, the Basques no more choosing to be masters than to be slaves, still remained the same unambitious people, enjoying popular freedom amid their mountains and valleys. They carried their political indifference so far as to allow themselves to be nominally incorporated with the territory of the count of Béarn and with that of the king of Navarre, men of a race foreign to them, whom they permitted to entitle themselves lords of the Basques, provided however that such *seigneurie* should possess nothing real or substantial.²

In this condition they appear in the thirteenth century, not mixing as a nation in the affairs of the neighbouring countries, divided under two different sovereignties by long habit or apathetic carelessness, but by no means by any constraint, and not seeking to unite themselves into one national body. If they manifested obstinacy, it was for the maintenance of their hereditary customs, and the laws decreed in their cantonal assemblages, which they called *Bilsár*. No passions, neither friendship nor hatred, made them take part in foreign wars: but when good pay was offered them, they enlisted individually under any banner, having in view the pay and not the cause, which to them was quite indifferent. The Basques, the Navarrese, and the inhabitants of the eastern

Pyrenees,³ were then as highly celebrated for their gallantry in the character of light troops as the Brabançons were for their discipline as a heavy-armed soldiery. Their agility of body, their acquaintance with difficult ground, and a certain instinct of cunning and contrivance, derived from their mode of life as hunters and mountain shepherds, qualified them for sudden attacks, stratagems of war, night surprises, and forced marches in bad weather or by bad roads.

(A.D. 1200 to 1300.) Three cantons only of the Basque country, Labourd, the valley of Soule, and Lower Navarre, were in the ancient territory of the Gauls; the rest formed a part of Spain. The town of Bayonne, which was a dependency of the duchy of Guienne, marked on the sea-coast the extreme limit of the Romance language, which in former ages had perhaps advanced farther to the north. At the gates of Bayonne was the commencement of the lands of the count or viscount of Béarn, the most powerful seigneur of the foot of the Pyreneans, and he whose policy commonly determined that of all the others. He was accustomed to acknowledge no sovereign permanently, except, perhaps, the king of Arragon, whose family was allied to his own. As for the king of England, of whom he held some fiefs in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, he put himself under his orders, and swore to him fealty and liege-homage, only for a considerable salary. It was at a cheaper rate, yet still for a pecuniary consideration, that the same king obtained the homage of the less powerful lords of Bigorre, Comminges, the Three Valleys, and in general of those of Gascony Proper. In the thirteenth century they repeatedly made war for his pay against the king of France: but ever on his first display of haughtiness, or on the first act of tyranny of this adopted lord, the Gascon chiefs immediately abandoned him, and made alliance with his rival, or confederated against him. This often-renewed confederation maintained a correspondence with Guienne, to excite insurrections there; and the successes which it obtained at different periods would seem to prove that there were often men who meditated the union of all south-western Gaul in one independent state. This design was especially pleasing to the upper classes and the rich burgesses of the cities of Guienne: but the common people clung to the English domination, in consequence of the generally diffused opinion that there would be nobody to buy the wines of the country, if the English merchants were no longer there to carry them on board their vessels.

(A.D. 1286 to 1451.) About the commencement of the fourteenth century the two lordships of Foix and Béarn were united, in perpetuity, in the hands of one person, by a treaty of alliance and marriage; and thus a considerable power was founded on the common frontier of the kings of France and England. In the long war which soon after broke out between the two kings, the former made great efforts to draw into his party the count of Foix, and make him play, in the conquest which he meditated in Guienne, the part which the Bretons, Angevins, and Manseaux had formerly played in that of Normandy. The count was gained over by a preliminary promise of the two towns of Dax

¹ Script. rer. Gallic. et Franc., iii., v., vi., et vii., passim.

² Marca, Hist. de Béarn, passim.

³ Bascli seu Basculi, Navarri, Arragonenses.

and Bayonne; but as the projected expedition did not then succeed, the alliance between the kingdom of France and the county of Foix was completely annulled. Returning to their old state of political independence, the chiefs of that small territory kept themselves as in a position of observation between the two rival powers, each of which used its utmost endeavours to compel them to declare themselves. Once, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the king of France sent Louis de Sancerre, one of his marshals, to inform the count Gaston de Foix in his name that he should have great affection in going to see him. "He may come, and welcome," replied the count; "and I shall see him with great pleasure." "But, sire," replied the marshal, "the king intends, when he does come, to be informed fully and openly for which side you mean to be, the French or the English; for you have constantly avoided the war by dissimulation, and have not taken up arms, for any prayer or command you may have received." "Messire Louis," said the count, "if I have excused myself and refrained from arming, I had good reason and right so to do; for the war between the king of France and the king of England concerns me not at all. I hold my country of Béarn from God, by my sword and birthright; so that it is not for me to take upon myself servitude or enmity with regard to either one king or the other."¹

"Such is the nature of the Gascons," adds the old historian who relates this anecdote. "They are unstable, and never for thirty years together kept firm to any lord." So long as the war lasted between the kings of England and France, the reproach of levity, ingratitude, and perfidy was addressed by the two kings alternately to the seigneurs who chose to remain at liberty, and both monarchs, nevertheless, made earnest endeavours to attach them to their cause. There was not a petty castellan in Gascony but was courted by messages and by letters sealed with the great seal of France or England;² and hence the great importance acquired all at once by personages of little note before that period; the lords of Albret, Armagnac, and also others much less powerful than they, such as the seigneurs of Durfort, Duras, and Fezensac. To secure the alliance of the seigneur d'Albret, the chief of a small territory consisting of heaths and *landes*, Charles V. gave to him in marriage his sister Isabelle de Bourbon. The sire d'Albret came to Paris, where he was received and entertained at the hôtel of his brother-in-law. But, notwithstanding this gracious reception, he could not help saying to his friends, "I will keep myself a Frenchman, since I have promised so to do; but, by the Lord! I and my men had a better time of it when we were making war for the king of England."³ About the same time the *sires* de Durfort and Rosan, taken prisoners by the French in a battle, were both released without ransom, on condition (says a contemporary) "that they should become Frenchmen, and promise upon their honour and faith to remain loyal Frenchmen for ever, they and their lands."⁴ They swore this: but on their return home they said, in answer to the first who asked them the news, "Ha, sir! by

compulsion and the threat of death we have been made to turn Frenchmen; but be assured that, in taking this oath, we still in our hearts reserved our faith to our natural lord, the king of England; nor, for anything that we have said or done, will we continue Frenchmen."

The importance which such powerful kings attached to the friendship of a few barons was owing in particular to the influence which those barons, according to the party which they followed, might exercise, and did actually exercise, over the castellans and knights of the duchy of Guienne; of whom a great many were attached to them by ties of kindred. Besides, the Aquitanians in general had more intimate relations with them than with the king of England's officers, who did not speak the language of the country, or spoke it ill, and whose Anglo-Norman dignified reserve ill accorded with the vivacity and facility of intercourse of the people of the south. Thus, every time that a lord of Gascony embraced the French party, a number of Aquitanian knights or esquires went over with him and joined the army of the king of France. This influence, exercised in various directions, occasioned, during the whole of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, considerable movement among the noble possessors of the castles of Guienne; but much less among the citizens of the towns. That class of men held for the sovereignty of the king of England, from the idea, then generally spread, that that of the king of France would infallibly bring with it the destruction of all municipal liberty. The rapid decline of the communes of Languedoc, since they had become French, contributed to foster this opinion so strongly infixed in the minds of the Aquitanians, that it rendered them as it were superstitious with regard to the result of such a change. When the king of England, Edward III., took the title of king of France, they were alarmed; as if the mere title, added to his name, was to change his whole conduct with regard to them. So great was the alarm, that, in order to dissipate it, king Edward thought it necessary to address to all the towns of Aquitaine a letter, in which was the following passage: "We promise, in good faith, that, notwithstanding our taking possession of the kingdom of France, to us belonging, we will not in any way deprive you of your liberties, privileges, customs, jurisdictions, or other rights whatsoever;⁵ but will allow you to enjoy them as heretofore without any infringement of the same by us or our officers."

In the early part of the fifteenth century the count of Armagnac, who had for some time placed himself at the head of a league formed by all the nobles of Gascony, with a view to maintain their common independence by leaning, as occasion required, upon the support of France or of England, made alliance with one of the two aristocratical factions of Orleans and Burgundy, which were then contesting the government of France. He thus engaged in a foreign quarrel, and drew into it his confederates; not so much, perhaps, from political motives as from private interests; for one of his daughters had married the duke of Orleans, who headed the party of that name. Once launched in the disputes which divided the French nation,

¹ Froissart, iii. ch. cxxxix., p. 359, ed. of Denis Sauvage, 1559.

² Rymer's Fœdera, ii. iii., and iv., *passim*.

³ Froissart, iii. ch. xxii. p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. ch. iii. p. 6.

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, ii. part iv. p. 77, *Hague*.

the Gascons, according to the impetuosity of their southern character, displayed in them such great activity, that the name of the Orleans party was soon changed into that of Armagnac; and nothing was then talked of in France but the *Burgundians* and the *Armagnacs*. Notwithstanding the generality of this distinction, there were no true Armagnacs but those of the south; and they, identifying themselves with a faction more numerous than themselves, forgot, while sharing its impulses, the cause for which they had originally leagued together, which was the independence of their native land. They no longer pursued the only policy which was expedient for them, namely, the interest of their country; they could not then freely change their patron or their allies, but blindly adopted all the influences and motives of a foreign faction.¹

In the reign of Charles VII. that faction compromised them more than they had ever heretofore been by their alliance with the king of France against England. After the surprising victories which had signalled the deliverance of the kingdom from the English invasion of it, and when, for the completion of that mighty reaction, it was in agitation to drive them from the continent and to deprive them of Guienne, the friends of the count of Armagnac all employed themselves in pushing to this final result what was called the *fortune of France*. Their example determined such of the Gascon lords as until then held for the king of England to abandon him for the cause of king Charles. (A.D. 1451.) Of this number was the count de Foix; and that petty prince, who a few years before had promised the king of England that he would conquer Languedoc for him, now undertook to superintend for the other king the conquest of the entire duchy of Aquitaine.²

(A.D. 1451 to 1452.) A sort of superstitious terror, arising from the rapid succession of the French triumphs, and from the part played in them by the famous Maid of Orleans, was then prevalent in that country. It was believed that the cause of the king of France was favoured by Heaven; and when the count of Penthièvre, commanding the French army, and the counts de Foix and d'Armagnac, entered Gascony on three sides, they did not meet with so much resistance as formerly, either from the inhabitants or from the English themselves. The latter, despairing of their own cause, gradually retreated towards the sea; but the citizens of Bordeaux, who struggled more manfully for their municipal liberty than did the English army for their king's domination on the continent, endured a siege of many months. They capitulated only on the express condition of being for ever exempt from taxes, subsidies, and compulsory loans. The town of Bayonne surrendered last of all, to the count de Foix, who besieged it with an army of Béarnais and Basques; of whom the former followed him to this war because he was their lord, and the latter because they hoped to enrich themselves by it. Neither of these two populations had at that time any consideration for the French cause, and at the very moment when the warriors of Béarn were fighting for king Charles, the inhabitants still regarded the French with an eye of suspicion, and were keeping guard against them on their

frontier. Once, during the siege of Saint-Sever, a French column, either inadvertently or to shorten its route, entered the territory of Béarn. On the first intelligence of its march the tocsin was sounded in the villages, the peasants assembled in arms, and there ensued between them and the king of France's soldiers an engagement, celebrated in the annals of the country under the name of the battle of Mespède.³

(A.D. 1452 to 1455.) The French seneschal of Guienne, who took the place at Bordeaux of the king of England's officer bearing the same title, did not take before the assembled people the ancient oath which it was customary for his predecessors to take on their installation, when they swore in the Bordelais tongue to preserve to all people of the city and country their franchises, privileges, liberties, establishments, jurisdictions, customs, usages, and observances.⁴ Notwithstanding the articles of capitulation of most of the towns, the duchy of Guienne was treated as a conquered territory; and this state of things, to which the Bordelais were not accustomed, discontented them so greatly, that in less than a year after the conquest they conspired with many of the castellans of the country, to drive out the French, with the aid of the king of England. Deputies from that city repaired to London and treated with Henry VI., who accepted their offers, and sent off four or five thousand men under the conduct of John Talbot, a celebrated captain of his time. Talbot, having landed in the peninsula of Medoc, advanced into the country without any resistance; for the main body of the French army had retired, leaving only garrisons in the towns. On the news of this landing there was much debating at Bordeaux, not about whether it should become English again, but about the mode of treating the king of France's officers and soldiers.⁵ Some were for letting them depart unhurt, others for taking full revenge upon them. While these discussions were pending, the English arrived before Bordeaux; some of the townsmen opened one of the gates to them, and most of the French remaining in the city were made prisoners of war. The king of France sent in great haste six hundred lances and some archers to reinforce the garrisons of the other towns; but before these succours could reach their destination Talbot's army, to which were joined all the barons of the Bordelais and four thousand men from England, reconquered nearly all the fortresses.

Meanwhile, king Charles VII. came in person with a numerous army to the frontiers of Guienne. He first endeavoured to establish a renewed intelligence with the inhabitants of the country; but he was unsuccessful: no one offered to conspire for the restoration of his government.⁶ Finding himself reduced to trust to nothing but positive force, he carried several towns by assault and caused all men of the country taken in arms to be beheaded as traitors. The counts de Foix and d'Albret and the other lords of Gascony lent him in this campaign the same assistance as in the former, and they

¹ Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, i. 154.

² Dom Vaissette, Hist. générale de Languedoc, v. 15.

³ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn, et Navarre, p. 352.

⁴ Lors franquessas, privilèges et libertats, establiments, fors, costumaz, usages, et observances. (Chronique Bourdeloise, fol. 24.)

⁵ Monstrelet, iii. 41.

⁶ Ibid., iii. 55.

a second time conquered the south of Guienne; while the French army fought a decisive battle against the English, near Castillon, in which Talbot and his son were killed. This defeat opened to the king's army and that of the confederate nobles the road to Bordeaux. They effected their junction at a short distance from that city, which they endeavoured to starve by ravaging its territory; and at the same time a fleet of Poitevin, Breton, and Flemish vessels entered the Gironde. The English forming the greater part of the garrison of Bordeaux, seeing the town invested on all sides, demanded to capitulate, and compelled the inhabitants to do so too. They obtained leave to embark and take with them all such of the citizens as chose to follow them: so many expatriated themselves, that for many years after Bordeaux was almost depopulated and without commerce.¹ By the terms of the treaty, twenty persons only were to be banished for having conspired against the French; of which number were the *sires* de L'Esparre and de Duras: their estates and the property of all suspected persons were confiscated, and served as a recompence to the victors. The king retired to Tours; but he left strong garrisons in all the towns, wishing, says a contemporary, to keep the iron at the backs of the inhabitants.² In order also, adds the same historian, to place the town of Bordeaux in greater subjection than it had ever been in before, the French built there two citadels, the Château Trompette and the Fort of Hâ. While the workmen were employed in erecting these two fortresses, the *sire* de L'Esparre, having broken his ban or exile, was seized and conducted to Poitiers, where he was condemned to death, beheaded, and cut in six pieces, which were hung up in different places.

(A.D. 1455 to 1464.) Long after this last conquest of Guienne there were many men who still regretted the loss of the English rule, and attentively watched for an opportunity of renewing a good intelligence with England. These political manœuvres were not successful: but their effect was feared; and the king of France's ordinances forbade any man of English birth to reside at Bordeaux. English ships were to leave at Blaye their artillery, their powder, and their arms; and merchants of that nation could not enter any house in the city, nor go into the country to taste or buy wines, unless accompanied by armed men and by officers instituted for the express purpose of watching their words and actions. This new office, having in course of time become useless, was at length converted into that of sworn interpreters.³

Notwithstanding its regret, the province of Guienne remained French; and the kingdom of France, extending to Bayonne, bore, with all its weight and without any counterpoise, upon the free territory of Gascony: the seigneurs of the foot of the Pyrenees soon felt that they had suffered themselves to be carried too far in their friendship for the French monarchy. This they regretted, but too late; for it was thenceforward impossible for them to contend against that monarchy, which embraced the whole extent of Gaul, excepting only their little country. However, most of them cou-

rageously hazarded themselves in this unequal struggle: they sought a support for their cause in the revolt of the high nobility of France against the successor of Charles VII.; and engaged in the league which was then called *le bien public*.⁴ (A.D. 1464.) The peace which the French leaguers soon after made with Louis XI. for money and places could not satisfy the people of the south, who had had quite another object in this, to them, patriotic war. Their hopes being disappointed, the counts d'Armagnac, de Foix, d'Albret, d'Asstarac, and de Castres, then applied to the king of England, inviting him to make a descent upon Guienne, promising to march to his aid with fifteen thousand fighting men, to deliver up to him all the towns of Gascony, and to enable him to take Toulouse.⁵ (A.D. 1469.) But the opinion of the politicians of England was no longer favourable to fresh wars on the continent, and the offer of the Gascons was rejected. In their conviction that their ancient national independence was gone for ever, unless the province of Aquitaine should become a separate state, many of them then intrigued with the French king's brother, Charles duke of Guienne, to induce him to declare himself independent. (A.D. 1472.) But that duke died by poison as soon as Louis XI. perceived that he was listening to these suggestions; and a French army besieged count John d'Armagnac in Lectoure, who had evinced greater activity than any other noble for the ancient interests of Gascony. (A.D. 1473.) The town was taken by assault, and given up to fire and sword; the count perished in the massacre; and his wife, in the seventh month of her pregnancy, was compelled by the king of France's officers to take a beverage which was to cause abortion, and which caused her death in two days.⁶ A member of the house of Albret, made prisoner in this war, was beheaded at Tours; and shortly after, a bastard of that of Armagnac, who undertook to revive his country's cause, and succeeded in retaking some fortresses, being in like manner vanquished, was condemned and put to death. (A.D. 1477.) And lastly, Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, who had formed, or was supposed to cherish, similar designs, was beheaded at Paris, at the Piliers des Halles, and his children were placed beneath the scaffold during the execution of their father.

This terrible lesson was not lost upon the barons of Gascony; and though many men of that province still turned their eyes to the other side of the Channel, though they still for a long time hoped for the return, with English succours, of Gaillard de Durfort, *sire* de Duras, and the rest of the Gascon and Aquitanian refugees in England,⁷ no one dared to attempt afresh what had been undertaken by the d'Armagnacs. The count de Foix, the most powerful lord of the Pyrenees, no longer thought of pursuing any other conduct toward the kings of France than that of a loyal subject, gallant at court, brave in camps, devoted to the sovereign in life and death. Most of the barons at the foot of the Pyrenees, as well as the nobles and those of the province of Guienne, followed this new career; and since they could no longer secure their national

¹ Chronique Bourdoise, fol. 38.

² Monstrelet, iii. 63.

³ Such were called *corretiers* at Bordeaux. (Chronique Bourdoise, fol. 36.)

⁴ Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, 1649, p. 9.

⁵ Dom Vaissette, Hist. générale de Languedoc, v. 40.

⁶ Ibid., v. 47.

⁷ Rymer's Fœdera, &c., v. pars iii. p. 64, Hague.

cause, they courted the titles and high employments which the king of France gave to his favourites. Many of their number obtained these, and even supplanted the French by origin in the good graces of their own kings. They were indebted for this degree of court favour, which was more brilliant than of any durable advantage, to their natural talent, and to an aptitude for political affairs, resulting from their long and painful efforts to maintain their national independence against the ambition of neighbouring kings.

SECTION II.

THE WELSH.

(A.D. 1200 to 1282.) THE reproach of fickleness and perfidy which was so long made against the free populations of southern Gaul by their national enemies the French and the Anglo-Normans, was by the latter constantly made likewise against the natives of Cambria.¹ If it were indeed perfidious not to acknowledge the right of conquest, and to make continual efforts to emancipate themselves from a foreign yoke, the Welsh would certainly have been the most disloyal of all nations; for their resistance to the Normans, by force and by cunning, was as obstinate as had been that of their forefathers to the Anglo-Saxons. They waged against them a perpetual war of skirmishes and stratagems, entrenching themselves in the forests and marshes, and scarcely ever hazarding themselves in the plains against horsemen armed at all points. It was in the damp and rainy season that the Welsh were invincible. They then sent away their women and drove their flocks into the mountains, broke down the bridges, dug trenches in the pools, and exultingly beheld the brilliant cavalry of their enemies sink in the water and mire of their morasses.² In general, the first conflicts terminated in their favour; but in the end superior strength prevailed, and some fresh portion of the country of Wales was conquered. The leaders of the victorious army took hostages, disarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to swear obedience to the king and justiciaries of England. This oath, compulsorily taken, was soon violated;³ and the Welsh people besieged the castles of the foreign barons and judges. On the news of this resumption of hostilities, the hostages imprisoned in England in the royal fortresses were ordinarily put to death; and sometimes the king had them executed before his eyes: John, son of Henry II., on one occasion had twenty-eight of them, all of tender age, hanged before he sat down to dinner.⁴

(A.D. 1282.) Such were the constant scenes witnessed during the struggle of the Welsh against the Anglo-Normans, until the epoch when Edward, the first of that name after the Conquest, crossed the high mountains of northern Cambria, which, before him, no king of England had passed. The highest summit of these mountains, called in Welsh

Craig-eiri, or "the snowy peak," and in English Snowdon, was considered sacred in poetry; and it was believed that whosoever fell asleep on it would awake inspired.⁵ This last bulwark of Cambrian independence was not forced by English troops, but by an army brought from Guienne, and consisting in great part of Basque mercenaries.⁷ These mountaineers, whose mode of life and military tactics resembled those of the Welsh in almost every point, were more fitted to conquer them in the interior of their country than the heavy cavalry and regular infantry which had hitherto been opposed to them. In this great defeat there perished a man whom his countrymen, according to their old spirit of patriotic superstition, looked upon as predestined to restore the ancient British liberty—Lewellyn ap Griffith, prince of North Wales, who had gained more victories over the English than any of his predecessors. There was an old prophecy, according to which a prince of Wales was to be crowned at London; for the fulfilment of which prediction Edward I., by way of derision, caused his head, crowned with a wreath of ivy, to be fixed on a pike on the Tower of London.⁸

(A.D. 1283.) David, brother of Lewellyn, strove to renew the war; but, being taken alive by the king of England's soldiers, he was hanged and quartered, and his head placed beside that of his brother on the battlements of the Tower, where in the winds and rains they were left to whiten. It is said that after his complete victory Edward I. assembled the principal of the vanquished, and announced to them that from regard for their spirit of nationality he would give them a chief born in their country, who had never uttered a single word of French nor of English. They were greatly rejoiced, and made great acclamations.⁹ "Well, then," resumed the king, "you shall have for your chief and prince my son Edward, who is just born at Caernarvon, and whom I name Edward of Caernarvon;" hence the custom of giving the title of prince of Wales to the eldest sons of the kings of England.

(A.D. 1283 to 1356.) Edward I. built many strong castles on the coasts of Wales, in order to have it in his power at all times to send troops thither by sea.¹⁰ He also cut down the forests of the interior, which had served as a refuge for the bands of partisans.¹¹ If it be not true that he ordered a general massacre of the Welsh bards, it was he at least who began the system of political persecution which that venerated class had constantly to endure from the kings of England.¹² A great number of the bards of high celebrity had perished in battles and insurrections: the survivors, deprived of their patrons by the ruin of the rich men of the country, and obliged to go and sing their odes from town to town, were placed in the category of men without a lawful profession, *gens sans aveu*, by the Anglo-Norman justiciaries.

⁵ Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii. 179.

⁷ De Vasconensibus atque Basclis. (Math. Westm. Flor. histor., p. 411.)

⁸ Secundum prophetiam Merlini ... hederâ coronatum. (Ibid.)

⁹ Quod Wallensibus multum placuit. (Ibid., p. 433.)

¹⁰ Cum sint circa maritima firmata castra plurima.

(Ranulph. Hygden. Polychron., lib. i., apud rer. Anglie script., iii. 188, ed. Gale.)

¹¹ Succellis jam nemoribus. (Id. ibid.)

¹² Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 463.

¹ Wallensium fides est fidei carentia. (Math. Par., ii. 437.)

² Videntes tempus hemale madidum sibi fuisse opportunum. (Ibid., ii. 938.)

³ Ibid.

⁴ Chartarum juramentorumque suorum oblii. (Ibid., p. 638.)

⁵ Antequam cibum sumeret, fecit viginti octo pueros . . . patibulo suspendi. Deinde cum sedisset ad mensam cibus intendens et potibus. (Ibid., p. 231.)

"Let not the minstrels, bards, and rhymers, nor other Welsh vagabonds," say their ordinances in the French tongue, "henceforth be suffered to burden the country as they have hitherto done."¹ According to the same ordinances, no Welshman by birth could hold the smallest public office in his country; and, in order to be a viscount, seneschal, chancellor, judge, constable of a castle, keeper of the rolls, forester, &c., it was necessary to have been born in England, or in any other foreign country. The towns and castles were occupied by foreign garrisons, and the natives were taxed arbitrarily, or, as the royal decrees expressed, "at the discretion of their lords, for the maintenance of the garrisons of the said castles."²

Many, forced by the conquest to expatriate themselves from Wales, went over to France, and were there well received: this emigration continued throughout the fourteenth century. It was from these refugees that have descended those French families who bear the names of Gallois and Le Gallois, which are very common to this day. Among the most considerable of those who repaired to the court of king Philip VI. was a young man named Owen, whom the king retained in his palace and educated among the pages of his chamber. This Owen was probably of the family or kindred of Lewellyn, perhaps his great-nephew, or his grandson; and the French, considering him as legitimate heir to the principality of Wales, called him by the name of Evain or Yvain de Galles (Evan of Wales).³ (A.D. 1356.) After the decease of Philip of Valois, the young emigrant continued to reside at the French court, and was greatly beloved by king John of France, by whose side he fought in the fatal field of Poitiers. Later, when in the reign of Charles V. the war with England was renewed, Owen was intrusted with several military commands; one of which was a descent upon the island of Guernsey, which had been English from the time of the Conquest of England by the Normans. Although but a simple esquire, there were on several occasions chevaliers of renown placed under his command; his company, such was the phrase of those days, was composed of one hundred *hommes d'armes*, all Welshmen, at the head of which he fought in many campaigns against the captains of the king of England, in Limousin, Périgord, and Saintonge. One of his relatives, John Win (Wynne), famous for his courtesy, and who was surnamed *le poursuivant d'amours*, served with him in that war, and had in like manner under his banner a small troop of Welsh emigrants.⁴ The great-nephew of Lewellyn entertained during his exile a hope of liberating his country from English domination, and of himself recovering, as he says in a charter by him, the inheritance of the kings of Wales, his predecessors. He received from king Charles V. succours in

¹ Que nuls ménestrels, bardes, et rymours, ni autres vagabonds Galeys, ne soient désormais soeffres de surcharger le pays, come ad este devant. (Rymer's Fœdera, iii. pars. iv. p. 200, Hague edit.)

² Selon la discrétion de leurs seigneurs, pour la subtinances des garnitures des ditz chastels. (Ibid., p. 199.)

³ Froissart, i. ccliii. p. 331: cccv. p. 420.

⁴ The names of three other Welsh captains of great distinction, Edward ap Owen, Owen ap Griffith, and Robiu ap Llwydin, are recorded in the array and reviews of the *hommes d'armes* towards the close of the fourteenth century. I am indebted for some of these facts to the documents collected by M. Lacabane for his edition of Froissart.

money, munitions, and ships; but, notwithstanding this support, his ambition and personal courage, he was never again enabled to visit the land of Cambria, and only opposed the English in fields fought on foreign ground. He followed Duguesclin into Spain, where the kings of France and England were, for two years, making war upon each other in the name of two rival pretenders to the throne of Castile, Peter the Cruel and Henry of Transtamare.

In one of the battles fought in this war the earl of Pembroke, with other English knights of Norman origin, were made prisoners by the French, and conducted to Sant-Ander in Galicia. (A.D. 1356 to 1400.) Owen, being then at that place, went to see them; and, addressing the earl of Pembroke in French, said to him, "Earl, are you come into this country to do homage to me for the lands which you hold in the principality of Wales, of which I am heir, and which your king takes and withholds from me against my just right?"⁵ The earl of Pembroke was astonished to hear a man of whom he had no knowledge accost him in this manner. "Who are you," replied he, "who address to me words such as these?" "I am Owen, son of the prince of Wales whom your king of England put to death, disinheriting me; but when, by the aid of God and of my very dear lord the king of France, I am enabled so to do, I will set this right; and know, that, were I in any place or field where I might fight you, I would prove to you all that you and your forefathers and those of the earl of Hereford have done to mine by treason and injustice." Then one of the earl of Pembroke's knights, named Thomas St. Aubin, went up to the Welshman and said to him, "Yvain, if you mean to maintain that in my lord, or in his father, there is or has been any treason, or that he owes you homage, or anything else, throw down your glove, and you shall find one who will take it up." "You are a prisoner," replied the Welshman; "I cannot with honour call you out now, for you belong not to yourselves, but to those who have taken you; when you shall be at liberty I will say more, for the matter shall not rest here." Notwithstanding this pledge, the dispute went no further; for before the earl of Pembroke and Thomas St. Aubin were liberated, Owen of Wales died by assassination; being stabbed with a stiletto by a man of his own nation, in whom he confided, and who was secretly sold to the king of England. This murder was committed in 1388, near the town of Mortagne in Saintonge, at that time besieged by the French. The assassin, although pursued, succeeded in escaping to Guienne, where he was well received by the seneschal of the Landes and the other English commanders.⁶

Very few Cambrians were inclined to serve, even for honourable inducements, the cause of the governors of their country, and such of them as went to the wars in France under the standard of Edward III. did so by constraint and in spite of their own wish. The Welsh, who were raised *en masse* to form bodies of light infantry, carried with them into the king of England's camp their national enmity against the English. They would often quarrel with them, and come to blows; often too

⁵ Froissart, i. ch. cccvi., p. 421.

⁶ Ibid., ii. xvii. pp. 28, 29.

they deserted to the French with their arms and baggage; or scattered themselves over the country, to live as *free companies*, by plundering the French and the English. That mode of life was much in fashion in the time of those wars; and it was one in which the Cambrians were fitted to excel, by their long practice in partisan warfare in their forests and mountains. Thus it happened that one of these great companies, which then made themselves so famous and so terrible, was commanded by a Welshman called in France the chevalier Rufin, and whose real name was probably Riewan.¹ This captain, under whom were assembled adventurers from every nation, had taken, as his department for plunder, all the country betwixt the Loire and the Seine, from the frontiers of Burgundy to those of Normandy. His head-quarters were sometimes near Orleans, sometimes near Chartres. He set at ransom or took the small towns and castled mansions, and was so much dreaded that his men distributed themselves in troops of twenty, thirty, or forty, without any one daring to lay hands upon them.

(A.D. 1378 to 1400.) In the latter half of the fourteenth century, when on either hand the kings of France and of England were exhausting every means of reciprocal annoyance, the former, having recently learned to know the temper of the Cambrians, thought of turning to advantage the patriotism of that little people, of which their predecessors of the twelfth century hardly suspected the existence.² More than once French emissaries were sent into North and South Wales to promise the natives the king of France's succour and protection, if they would rise against the English power. These emissaries went through the country, most of them in the habit of mendicant friars, which was then held in a great reverence, and the least suspected of all, for it was worn by men of every nation, who made it a means of existence. But the Anglo-Norman authority perceived these manoeuvres; and several times it drove from Wales every foreigner, clerk or layman, and especially the wandering monks.³ It also disqualified the native Welsh from acquiring lands, whether in fee, or on lease for life, or to farm, on the English territory.⁴ The insurrection was to break out on the arrival of a French fleet on the coast of Wales: for many years the Cambrians and the English expected this fleet with very different feelings. Many of the proclamations of king Edward III. and king Richard II. have this preamble: "Seeing that our enemies of France propose to land in our principality of Wales."⁵ Then follows an order addressed to all the Anglo-Norman lords of Wales and the Welsh marches to furnish their castles and fortified towns in as short a time as possible with men and provisions, and to the justices to seize and imprison under safe custody all men suspected of corresponding with the enemy.⁶

The king of France's preparations for a descent upon Wales were neither so prompt nor so considerable as the king of England feared and as the

Cambrians hoped. It had been talked of ever since the year 1369; and it was then connected with the project of the restoration of the family of Lewellyn, in the person of prince Owen of Wales; but that pretender to the crown of Cambria having perished, no serious attempt at a disembarkation was made before the close of the century. In making great promises to the Welsh, the French had scarcely any other design than to incite them to a rising which might be profitable to themselves by diverting a part of the king of England's forces; and on the other hand, the Welsh, unwilling to expose themselves rashly, waited, before they should begin the insurrection, for the arrival of the promised succours. However, as they had more impatience and enthusiasm than the king their ally, they began first, at the risk of not being supported. A fortuitous event, of little importance in itself, caused the rebellion to break out. About the end of the year 1400, a Welsh noble, who, from ambition and a desire of shining, had repaired to the English court, where he had been well received, committed an offence against king Henry IV., which obliged him to fly from London. Half through personal resentment and the awkwardness of his situation, and half through an impulse of patriotism, he resolved to put himself at the head of a movement, which all his fellow-countrymen desired, but which no one dared to undertake. He was descended from ancient chiefs of the country, and was called Owen Glendower, which name at the English court, to give it a Norman turn, had been altered into Owen de Glendordy.⁷ (A.D. 1401.) So soon as Owen had set up the ancient standard of the Kymrys in the part of Wales most recently conquered, the most considerable persons in those districts ranged themselves round him; and amongst others, there came several members of a powerful family whose name was ap Tudowr, or son of Tudowr, and which reckoned among its ancestors one Ednyfed Vychan, who, choosing to have armorial bearings after the fashion of the barons of England, had emblazoned his escutcheon with three Norman heads *coupees*.⁸ On the first rumour of this national revolt, the remnant of the Welsh bards were animated with a new enthusiasm or inspiration, and announced Owen Glendower as the man who was to accomplish the ancient predictions, and to restore to the sons of the Kymrys the crown of Britain. (A.D. 1401 to 1404.) Many pieces of verse composed on this occasion are still extant;⁹ and such was the effect which they at that time produced, that, in a great assembly of the insurgents, Owen Glendower was proclaimed and solemnly inaugurated as chief and prince of all Wales. He sent messengers into the southern country, to propagate the insurrection there; while the king of England, Henry IV., ordered all his loyal subjects of Wales, whether French, Flemish, English, or Welsh,¹⁰ to arm against Owen de Glendordy, calling him the prince of Wales, guilty of high treason against the king's majesty. The first battles were in favour of the insurgents: they defeated the English militia of

¹ Froissart, i. ch. clxxviii. p. 206.

² See Book viii. p. 167.

³ Rymer's Fœdera, ii. pars iii. p. 72. Hague edit.

⁴ In feodo, ad terminum vite vel annorum, ultra aquam de Severnia. (Ibid., p. 97.)

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, iii. pars ii. pp. 165, 173.

⁶ Omnes homines suspectos arrestari. (Ibid., p. 173.)

⁷ Rymer, iii. pars iv. pp. 191, 198.

⁸ Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii. 260.

⁹ Cambrian Biography, p. 273.

¹⁰ Omnes justiciabiles homines Francigenas, Flandrenses, Anglicos, et Vallenses. (Rymer's Fœdera, iii. pars iv. p. 191; iv. pars i. p. 15, Hague edit.)

Herefordshire and the Flemings of Ross and Pembroke, and were about to pass the English frontier, when king Henry marched against them in person with considerable forces. He compelled them to retrograde: but scarcely had he set foot on the Welsh territory, when continual rains, flooding the roads and swelling the rivers, prevented him from advancing, and obliged him for several months to keep his army encamped on insalubrious ground, where it suffered both from disease and want. The soldiers, whose imaginations were heated by fatigue and inaction, remembered with dread the old popular tales of the sorceries of the Welsh,¹ and believed that the bad weather they experienced was the work of supernatural agents obedient to the commands of Owen Glendowr.² Seized with a panic terror, they refused to march on against a man who had the storms and the rain at his disposal. This opinion had then great credit with the people of England; but all Owen's magic was his activity and skill in public affairs. There was then among the Anglo-Norman aristocracy a party of malcontents, who wished to dethrone king Henry IV., and at whose head were Henry de Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland, of a family which had ruled in that country since the Conquest, and that nobleman's brother, Thomas de Percy, earl of Worcester.³ The new prince of Wales entered into correspondence with them: and the alliance which they concluded brought over for a moment to the side of Welsh independence all the northern marches of Wales between the Dee and the Severn, and especially the province of Chester, the inhabitants of which, being of purely English race, were naturally less hostile to the Cambrians than were the Normans and Flemings of the south. But the total defeat of the two Percys in a battle fought near Shrewsbury broke off the amicable relations of the Welsh insurgents with their neighbours of English race, and left them without other resources than in their own strength and their hope of support from the king of France.

That king, Charles VI., whose intellects were not yet entirely deranged, seeing the Cambrians in open hostility against the king of England, resolved on fulfilling the promises formerly made to them by himself and his predecessors. He concluded a treaty with Owen Glendowr, the first article of which purported that "Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, and Owen, by the same grace, prince of Wales, should be united, confederated, and bound together, by the ties of true alliance, true amity, and good and solid union, specially against Henry of Lancaster, an enemy of the said king and prince, and against his abettors or adherents."⁴ (A.D. 1405.) Many Welshmen went to France, to accompany the troops which king Charles was to send: and many of them were taken in different attempts which the French at first made to land on the English coast; being more willing to enrich themselves by plundering some large town or seaport than to go and make war in the poor country of Wales, among the

mountains and marshes.⁵ (A.D. 1405 to 1407.) At last, however, a large fleet set sail from Brest, to go to the assistance of the Cambrians: it carried six hundred men-at-arms and eighteen hundred foot, commanded by Jean de Rieux, marshal of France, and Jean de Hangest, grand-master of the bowmen. They landed at Milford, in the county of Pembroke, and took possession of that town, and of Haverford, both founded, as their names indicate, by the Flemings, who possessed themselves of that country in the reign of Henry I. The French then marched eastward; and at the first purely Welsh town at which they arrived they found ten thousand insurgents, led by a chief whom the historians of that time do not name. Having effected this junction, they marched upon Caermarthen; from thence to Llandovery; and took the road to Worcester, attacking and destroying on their way the castles of the Anglo-Norman barons and knights.⁶

A few leagues from Worcester a strong English army presented itself before them; but, instead of offering them battle, took up a position and entrenched itself on some hills. The French and the Welsh did the same; and the two hostile armies thus remained for eight days in presence, and separated only by a wide valley. Each day they both formed in order of battle; but only skirmishes ensued, in which a few hundreds were killed. The army of the French and Welsh soon suffered from want of provisions; for the English occupied the plain adjoining their cantonments. The Welsh, following their accustomed tactics, fell upon the enemy's baggage by night; and, carrying off the greater part of the provisions, determined the English army to beat a retreat; for it appeared unwilling to be the first to engage.⁷ The French soldiers, who were unaccustomed to famine, and to whom their numerous appendages in arms, horses, and valets, made warfare in a poor and mountainous country neither easy nor agreeable, grew weary of this enterprise, in which there were many obscure dangers to be encountered, and no renown to be acquired by brilliant feats of arms in the field or in the lists. Therefore, leaving the Cambrian people to strive alone against its national enemies, they traversed Wales again, took their departure, and landed at St. Pol de Léon; relating that they had made a campaign which never, in the memory of man, any king of France had ever ventured to undertake; and that they had ravaged more than sixty leagues of the king of England's dominions.⁸ In their accounts they thus talked of nothing but injury done to the English; and of no benefit conferred upon the Welsh, about whom nobody in France cared in the least.

The insurgents of South Wales were defeated for the first time in 1407, on the banks of the river Usk, by an English army under the command of Henry son of Henry IV., who, bearing in England the title of prince of Wales, was commissioned to conduct the war against the chief elected by the Welsh. The original letter which he wrote to his father, announcing to him this victory, has been

¹ See Book xi. p. 225.

² The kyng had never but tempest, foule and rayne, As long as he was ay in Wales ground.

(Hardyng's Chronicle, ch. 202; at the name of Hen. IV.)

³ Quod Henricus Percy chivaler associans se rebellibus nostris Wallie. (Rymer's Fœdera, iv. pars i. p. 49.)

⁴ Rymer's Fœdera, iv. pars i. p. 69.

⁵ Monstrelet, i. 14.

⁶ Et ibi cepit fortalitia, et occupavit munitiones et castra omnium adversariorum dicti principis Gallie. (Ex Chron. Britannie.—Dom Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, ii. 366.)

⁷ Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, i. 17.

⁸ Quod non attentarunt facere reges Francie de memoria hominum. (Hist. de Bret., ii. 366.)

preserved among the ancient public records of England; it is in French, the language of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, but in French somewhat differing in orthography, in grammar, and, as far as can be judged, in pronunciation, from that of the court of France about the same time. It appears that to the accent of Normandy, retained in England by men of Norman descent, there had gradually been joined another accent, foreign to all the dialects of the French tongue, and which the sons of the Normans had contracted by dint of hearing English spoken around them, or by themselves speaking the Anglo-French jargon which served them to communicate with those of the lower class. So at least one is inclined to believe, on reading the following passages, taken at random from the letter of the son of Henry IV.:—
" Mon très-redouté et très-soverein seigneur et peire . . . Le xi jour de cest présent moys de Mars, vos rebelz des parties de Glamorgan, Uske, Netherwent, et Overwent, feurent assembléz à la nombre de oyt mille gentz . . . À eux assemblèrent vos foialx et vaillans chivalers . . . Vos gentz avoient le champ nientmeins."¹

(A.D. 1407 to 1416.) The fortunes of the Welsh insurgents constantly declined from the time of their first defeat, though ten years elapsed between that defeat and the complete reduction of the country. Having already been once conquered, they could not completely resume that energy and self-confidence which had in past ages defended their independence. Perhaps too their hope in the assistance of the French, a hope constantly disappointed, yet as constantly cherished, occasioned in them a sort of discouragement, never felt by their ancestors, who had always relied on themselves alone. Owen Glendowr, the last man who legitimately bore the title of prince of Wales, by the election and will of the Welsh people, survived the overthrow of his party and died in obscurity. (A.D. 1416.) His son Meredith ap Owen capitulated, went to England, and there received the king's pardon;² the other leaders of the insurrection obtained it likewise; and offices and titles at the court of London were given to many of them and their families on condition that they should no longer inhabit Wales, which, indeed, was no longer habitable for Welshmen, on account of the redoubled vexations of the agents of the foreign authority. (A.D. 1416 to 1485.) Among these Cambrian emigrants through necessity or through ambition was a member of the family of the sons of Tudowr, named Owen ap Meredith ap Tudowr; who, during the whole reign of Henry V., lived with him as an equerry of his palace; giving great satisfaction to the king, who granted him great favour, and vouchsafed to call him *Nostré chier et foyal*. His manners and fine countenance made a deep impression upon the queen, Catherine of France; who, having been left a widow by Henry V., privately married Owen ap Tudowr, or Owen Tudor, as he was called in England. By her he had two sons, Jasper and Edmund; the

second of whom, having arrived at man's estate, married Margaret daughter of John de Beaufort, earl of Somerset, sprung from the royal line of Plantagenet.

This took place when the branches or scions of that house were slaughtering each other for the possession of the kingdom conquered by William the Bastard. The right of hereditary succession had by degrees prevailed against election, which had been preserved, though imperfectly, in the times immediately following the Conquest. Instead of employing the prescriptive right of intervention, in awarding the diadem to the prince most capable of wearing it with dignity, the Anglo-Norman aristocracy confined themselves to the correctly ascertaining which of all the pretenders was nearest, by lineage, to the original stock of the Conqueror. A decision was regularly come to in all doubtful questions of the succession, by a strict investigation of those heraldic trees of genealogy of which families of pure Norman race were so proud, and which from their form of construction were known by the name of *pé-de-gru*³ or *pie-de-gruc*.

The order of hereditary succession was peaceable during the continuance of the direct line of Henry II.; but when the inheritance descended to the collateral branches, there arose a greater number of claimants in virtue of hereditary right; there were more factions, troubles, and discords than had ever anywhere been occasioned by the practice of election. There now broke out the most dreadful and disgraceful of civil wars—that of kindred against kindred, and of men against infants in the cradle. For several generations, two numerous families slaughtered each other, either in the field of battle or in cold blood, to maintain their legitimacy, without either of them being able effectually to destroy the other; for some member was continually springing up to fight against and dethrone his rival, and to reign until he himself was dethroned. There perished in these quarrels, according to the historians of the time, sixty or eighty princes of the royal house,⁴ almost all in the flower of their youth; for, in the princely families of York and Lancaster, few of the males attained to length of years. The women indeed lived longer, and lived to see their sons butchered by nephews, and these by other nephews or by uncles, who themselves were soon murdered by near relatives.

(A.D. 1485.) In the reign of Richard III., of the house of York, who was indebted for his crown to the perpetration of many murders, there was in France, whither he had been obliged to fly as an antagonist of the Yorkist party, a son of Edmund Tudor and of Margaret de Beaufort, named Henry. Weary of living in exile, and trusting to the universal hatred excited by king Richard, he resolved to try his fortune in England as a claimant of the crown, by right of his mother, sprung from Edward III. Possessing, says an ancient historian,⁵ *ni crois ni pile*, i. e. being penniless, he applied to the king of France, Louis XI., to grant him a sum of money; by means of this aid he raised three thousand soldiers in Normandy and Brittany.

¹ Rymer, iv. pars i. p. 79. In English, thus:—"My most redoubted and sovereign lord and father. . . . The xi of this present month of March, your rebels of Glamorgan, Uske, Netherwent, and Overwent, were assembled, to the number of eight thousand. . . . Against them assembled your loyal and valiant knights. . . . Your men had the field nevertheless."—TRANSLATOR.

² Rymer, iv. pars. ii. p. 153, Hague edit.

³ In modern English, by corruption, *pedigree*.

⁴ Philippe de Comines, p. 97, ed. of Denis Godefroy, 1645.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

He took his departure from the port of Harfleur; and after a six days' passage landed in Wales, the country of his paternal ancestors. On his landing he displayed a red flag, the old banner of the Cambrians, as if his design had been to excite that nation to take up arms and to render it independent of the English.¹ That enthusiastic nation, over which the power of signs was always very great, without examining whether the dispute between Henry Tudor and Richard III. was not foreign to itself, rallied, by a sort of instinct, around its old standard. *The Red Dragon*² was planted on the mountain of Snowdon, which the pretender appointed as the rendezvous for such of the Welsh as had promised him to arm in his cause. Not one of them failed to keep the appointed day;³ the bards themselves, feeling their ancient spirit rekindled, sang and prophesied, in the style of the olden time, the victory of the Kymrys over the Saxon and Norman enemy. But it was never contemplated to free the Cambrians from the yoke of the foreigner: the single fruit of the victory was to place a man with a little Welsh blood in his veins upon the throne of the Norman conquerors of Wales. When Henry Tudor arrived on the English frontier, he found a reinforcement of some thousand men, brought to him by Sir Thomas Bourchier, a Norman by name and origin. Other gentlemen of the western provinces came with their vassals and farmers, and joined the pretender's army. He marched across the English territory without encountering any obstacle as far as Bosworth in Leicestershire, where he gave battle to Richard III., defeated and slew him, and was crowned in his stead under the name of Henry VII.

(A.D. 1485 to 1531.) Henry VII. placed the Cambrian dragon in his arms by the side of the three lions of Normandy. He created a new office of *poursuivant-at-arms*, with the title of *Rouge-Drac*; and by means of the archives of Wales, authentic or fabulous, traced his genealogy to Cadwallader, the last chief who bore the title of king of Britain; and from thence to Brutus son of Eneas, the pretended progenitor of the Britons.⁴ But these frivolous acts of vanity, rather than of gratitude, were all that the new king did for the people whose devotion had given him victory and a kingdom. His son and successor, Henry VIII., while he continued to such of the Welsh as Henry VII. had ennobled, for personal services, their Norman titles of earl, baron, and baronet, treated the mass of the people, like all his predecessors, as a conquered nation, to be feared and disliked. He studied to destroy the ancient customs of the inhabitants of Cambria, the remains of their social state, and even their language.⁵

(A.D. 1531.) When the religious supremacy of the popes had been abolished in England, the Welsh, to whom the Roman church had never chosen to lend any aid for the maintenance of their national independence, adopted without reluctance the changes in religion decreed by the government of England. But that government, while it gave every encouragement to the transla-

tion of the Bible into English, did not cause it to be translated into Welsh. On the contrary, some persons of that country, zealous for the new reforms, having undertaken, at their own cost, a version of the Scriptures, so far from being praised for it, as would have been the case in England, orders were given for the seizure and destruction of all the copies, which were carried off from the churches and publicly burned.⁷ The English authorities attacked about the same time the manuscripts and historical records, more numerous at that time in Wales than in any other country of Europe. Many noble families which had preserved their archives were obliged strictly to conceal them, whether to secure court favour, or to preserve them from the perquisitions of the royal agents. (A.D. 1531 to 1643.) Several of these families even incurred disfavour by communicating some curious particulars to the learned men who at the close of the sixteenth century investigated the antiquities and curiosities of Wales.⁸ An estimable writer, whose name is worthy of mention, Edward Llwyd, or Lloyd, author of the *British Archæology*, experienced much molestation on account of the publication of his book. Antiquarian knowledge and labours were considered as suspicious; and, furthermore, suspicion was incurred by merely going to settle in Wales. This was the subject of an accusation brought in the reign of Elizabeth, the last of Henry Tudor's descendants.

(A.D. 1643.) The Scotch family of the Stuarts testified no greater good-will towards the Welsh nation. Yet, when the inhabitants of England had risen against that family, a majority of the Welsh embraced its party, through the spirit of national opposition to whatever was desired by the English people. Perhaps, too, they hoped to emancipate themselves, in some degree, by favour of the troubles in England, or by means of a national compact with the royal family which they would have supported against the English. But this hope was delusive; the throne was overturned, and Wales was subjected to an additional weight of oppressions on account of its loyalty. Since that time the Cambrians have witnessed without agitation all the revolutions of the English government; never again rebelling, yet never losing the remembrance of those motives which might furnish a plea for rebellion. "It is well known," says one of their writers, "that many lordships and good estates in Wales are at this time in the possession of foreign families, which were in former times wrested from our ancestors, the lawful owners, by base treachery and violence, whose right heirs we are able by our records to trace even to this very day."⁹

(A.D. 1643 to 1795.) In general, the possessors of large estates and lordships in Wales were not long since, and perhaps still are, more harsh than in England to the farmers and peasants on their domains. This no doubt arises from the circumstance that, the conquest of the Welsh provinces not having been completed until about the fourteenth century, the nobles there are of more recent date, and also that the language of the conquered people has ever remained distinct from that of the

¹ Pennant's Tour in Wales, i. 31.

² See Book i. p. 19, note 5.

³ Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii. 375.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 31. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv.

⁵ *Cambro-Briton*, i. 546.

⁶ *Archæology of Wales*, preface, i. p. x.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Cambrian Register* for 1796, p. 240.

conquerors. This national hostility between the lords and the peasants of Cambria has often compelled the latter to emigrate in large numbers: such have gone to seek an asylum in the United States of North America, where, in the bosom of the most complete liberty that civilised men can enjoy, these descendants of the ancient Kymrys, or Cambrians, have perhaps resigned their former manners and lost their native language; and where the dream of a recovered British independence has lapsed into a participation of Transatlantic institutions. Those who have remained in the country of their ancestors retain there, amidst the poverty, or mediocrity of fortune, which has ever been their portion, a character of pride, resulting from great recollections and lengthened hopes, constantly deceived, but never abandoned. Their brow is unbleached, and still haughty, even in the presence of the powerful and rich of their own country or of England; and they consider themselves more ancient and more noble, as was said by a Welshman of the last century, than "that mushroom nobility," sprung "from bastards, arant thieves, and murderers."¹

(A.D. 1795.) Such is the national spirit of the most energetic of the Cambrians of the present day; and to such a pitch do they sometimes carry it, that they have acquired in English the epithet of *redhot Welshman*, which is equivalent to the French phrase of *cerveau brûlé*. Since the revolutions of America and France, that spirit has been in them allied with all the great ideas of natural and social liberty which those revolutions have everywhere awakened: but in their ardour for the progress of modern advanced civilisation, the enlightened inhabitants of Wales have not lost their ancient passion for their genuine history, their language, and national literature. Many of the wealthy among them have formed free associations, with a view to favour the publication of their numerous collections of historical documents, and to revive, if possible, the cultivation of the old talent of the bards. These societies have established annual prizes for poetry and music; for in Wales these two arts are never separated. From a reverence, perhaps rather superstitious, for their ancient customs, the literary and philosophical meetings of the *new bards*² are held upon the hills in the open air. At the time when the French revolution was still a cause of dread to the English government, these assemblies, always exceedingly numerous, were forbidden by the local authorities, on account of the democratical principles which prevailed in them.³ Now they are in full liberty; and in each year is awarded the prize for poetic inspiration, a faculty expressed in the Cambrian tongue by the single word *awen*.

The *awen* is now to be found principally among the Welsh of the north, who maintained the latest their ancient social condition against invasion by the Anglo-Normans.⁴ By them, too, the native language is spoken with the greatest purity, and over the greatest extent of country. In South Wales, which was earlier conquered, the Welsh dialect is mixed with French and English words and idioms. Indeed, there are entire districts in which

it has totally disappeared: and often a brook or a cross-road marks the separation of the two languages; and we may hear on one side of such a boundary a corrupted Welsh, and on the other a barbarous English, spoken by the mixed posterity of the Flemish, Norman, and Saxon soldiers, who conquered the country in the twelfth century. These men, though now for the most part equal in condition with the conquered population, have retained for it a sort of hereditary contempt. For instance, they affect not to know the name of a single individual inhabiting that part of a canton or of a parish in which Welsh is spoken. To the inquiries of strangers they will answer, "I donna know; a lives somewhere i' the Welsbery."⁵

Such is the present state of this population and this language, which the bards of the sixth century daringly predicted should be eternal. If their prediction is to be falsified, it will at least not be in our day. The Cambrian dialect is still spoken by a sufficiently large number to render the period of its total extinction impossible to foresee. It has survived all the other dialects of the old British tongue; for that of the natives of the province of Cornwall fell into the condition of a dead language about the end of the last century. It is true that, since the tenth century, when it was repulsed by the Anglo-Saxons beyond the river Tamer,⁶ the population of Cornwall has never played any political part. At the moment of the Norman Conquest it supported the English of the neighbouring provinces in their resistance to the foreigners: but, being conquered with them, it shared in all the changes of their ulterior destiny. In proportion as it became amalgamated with the populations of English race, its original language lost ground, in the direction of north to south: so that a hundred years ago there were only a few villages at the extremity of the promontory in which the ancient idiom of the country was spoken. In 1776 some travellers questioned an old fisherman on this subject, who lived in one of these villages, and received for answer, "There is no more than four or five in our town can talk Cornish now; old people, like myself, fourscore years old: Cornish is all forgot with young people."⁷ Thus, in the eighteenth century, has expired the language of Cornwall, which now exists only in a small number of books. It differed in many things from that of Wales, and had probably been spoken in old time by all the British tribes of the south and east; that is, by all those whom the old annals call Loëgrys, and who, before they went to join the Kymrys in the island of Britain, had made a stay, longer or shorter, in south-western Gaul.⁸

⁵ Cambrian Register, p. 438.

⁶ See Book II. p. 28.

⁷ Transactions of the London Antiquarian Society, v. 83.

⁸ See Book I. pp. 1, 2.

¹ Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 241.

² New Bardism. See the periodical work entitled "The Cambro Briton."

³ Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 465, note.

⁴ Ibid., p. 438.

SECTION III.

THE SCOTCH.

IN the year 1174 William king of Scotland invaded the north of England; but he was vanquished and taken by the Anglo-Norman chiefs; and his defeat was considered as a miraculous effect of king Henry II.'s pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket.¹ They who captured him shut him up in the castle of Riche-mont, now Richmond, in Yorkshire, built at the time of the Conquest by the Breton Alain Fergant. This circumstance was considered as the fulfilment of one of Merlin's prophecies, expressed in these terms: "In his mouth shall be placed a bit forged on the shore of the Armorican gulf;"² and it is a strange contradiction that, a few months before, the same prophecy had been applied to Henry II., when hard pressed by the Breton auxiliaries of his own sons. The king of Scotland was conveyed from Richmond to Falaise, and obtained his liberation only by renewing the oath of liege-homage which his predecessors had sworn to the Norman kings, and afterwards broken.³ This act of forced submission gave the kings of England no influence over the affairs of Scotland so long as there were in that country no intestine divisions, that is to say, during the hundred and twenty years which elapsed until the death of Alexander III.

(A.D. 1291.) The kingly title among the Scotch had never been purely elective; for their whole social order was founded upon patriarchal institutions: but neither had the royal heritage ever had any fixed and certain rules; the brother was often preferred to the grandson, and even to the son, of the defunct king. Alexander III. left neither son nor brother, but a great many cousins, most of whom were by the father's side of French or Norman blood, and had French names, as John Bailleul, Robert de Brus or Bruce, John Comine, John d'Eaucy, and Nicholas de Solles.⁴ There were nine pretenders, who all laid claim to the crown under title of heirship. Unable to agree among themselves, and desirous of terminating the dispute peaceably, they submitted it to the decision of Edward I. king of England, as to their sovereign lord.⁵ (1291 to 1296.) King Edward declared for him who had the best title according to hereditary right by primogeniture: this was John Bailleul, or Balliol according to the Scotch orthography. He was crowned king: but the king of England availed himself of the deference which the Scotch had testified to him on this occasion, to give effect to his own feudal superiority, until then merely honorary.

The new king of Scotland, in order to make to himself a support against the intrigues of his competitors, at first lent himself compliantly to the king of England's views: he gave most of the offices and dignities of the kingdom to English-

men, and repaired to the court of his suzerain lord to do him honour and receive his commands. Edward, encouraged by this condescension on the part of the king of whom he was the constituted patron, went so far as to ask of him, as a pledge of his fealty and allegiance, the three fortresses of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, the best in all Scotland.⁶ Against this pretension there arose a national opposition so strong, that John Balliol was constrained to yield to it, and refuse to admit the king of England's men into his fortresses. (1296.) King Edward then summoned him to appear at Westminster, there to answer for his refusal: but, instead of obeying the summons, Balliol solemnly renounced homage and faith as his vassal. On receiving this intelligence, the king of England exclaimed, in his Norman French, "Ah! le fol félon, tel folie fait: s'il ne veint à nous, nous veindrons à ly."⁷

(A.D. 1306.) Edward I. accordingly departed for Scotland, with all his chivalry of England and Aquitaine, with archers of English race, so skilful that they seldom lost one of their twelve arrows, but used jestingly to say that they had a dozen Scots in their quiver; and with light-armed Welshmen, who were oftener quarrelling with the English than with the enemy, were the first to plunder when there was anything to take, but most frequently remained neuter in time of action. Notwithstanding the courage and patriotic energy of the Scotch, the war was disastrous to them. Their king did not carry it on with sincerity, but was ever ready to make the *amende honorable* to king Edward, for the resistance which he had undertaken, he said, through bad and false counsel.⁸ Besides, there were not then in Scotland any well-fortified towns or strong castles, like those which the Normans had built in England. The seigneurial habitations were not donjons surrounded by a triple range of walls, but small square towers, with only a ditch, or standing on the edge of a ravine. (1306 to 1308.) King Edward therefore easily penetrated into the plains of Scotland, seized and garrisoned all the towns, and removed to London the famous stone upon which the kings of Scotland were customarily crowned.⁹ Such of the Scotch as would not submit to the foreign rule, fled into the mountains of the north and west, and to the forests in their vicinity.

From thence issued the famous patriot William Wallies or Wallace, who, for seven years, made war upon the English, at first as a partisan chieftain, and afterwards as the general of a numerous army. The English conquerors called him a highway robber, a murderer, and an incendiary;¹⁰ and when they had taken him they hanged him in London, and fixed his head upon a pike on the battlements of the Tower. The inhabitants of the subdued part of Scotland experienced in their full

⁶ Henr. Knyghton de event. Angl., lib. iii. c. 2, apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2478, ed. Selden.

⁷ Fordun, Scotichronicon, p. 269, ed. Hearne; "Ah, a mad traitor, he is guilty of great folly! if he will not come to us we shall pay him a visit."

⁸ Cum nous par nostre malvís counsaile et faus. (Henr. Knyghton de event. Angl., lib. iii., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2481, ed. Selden.)

⁹ See Book viii. p. 159.

¹⁰ William Wallace, that maister was of theives. (Robert Brune's Chron., ii. 329, ed. Hearne.)

—Latro publicus. (Thomas de Walsingham, Ypodigma Neustrie, apud Camden, Angles, &c., p. 486.)

¹ In Book x. p. 208; erratum. *David for William.*

² Videtur completa Merlini propheta dicentis: Dabitur masillie ejus frustum quod in Armorico sinu fabricabitur. (Math. Paris. l. 130.)

³ Math. Par., l. 151.

⁴ Annales Waverleiensis, apud rer. Anglie. script., ii. 243, ed. Gale.

⁵ Sententia domini Edwardi consensu unanimiti et concorditer so submisit. (Annales Waverleiensis, ibid.)

extent the evils that follow a conquest; they had foreign governors, foreign sheriffs and bailiffs. "These English," says a contemporary poet, "were all greedy and debauched, haughty and disdainful. They insulted our wives and daughters. Good knights, worthy and honoured, were put to death by the rope. Ah! what a noble thing is liberty!"¹

(A.D. 1308.) This energetic feeling in the breasts of the Scotch soon rallied them round a new chieftain, Robert de Brus, or Bruce, formerly one of John Baliol's competitors. Bruce was anointed king in the abbey of Scone, when there was hardly a town from the Tweed to the Orkneys that was not in the power of the English. Having neither army nor treasure, he took up his quarters, like Wallace, in the forests and mountains; where he was pursued by his enemies, with horse and foot, and even with bloodhounds, trained to follow the traces of man.² No one in his kingdom, says Froissart, dared to harbour him, in castle or in fortress; tracked like a wild beast, he went from hill to hill, and from lake to lake, living by hunting and fishing, as far as the point of the promontory of Cantyre; and from thence into the small island of Raehlin, Raghery, or Rath-Erin, off the north coast of Ireland. (A.D. 1308 to 1315.) There he planted his royal standard, as proudly as if he had been at Edinburgh; sent messengers to Ireland; and obtained some succours from the native Irish, on account of the ancient fraternity between the two nations, and their common hatred of the Anglo-Normans. He then sent into the Hebrides, and throughout all the western coast of Scotland, to solicit the support of the Gaelic or Celtic chiefs of those regions, who, in their fierce independence, cared little as to what became of the population of the Scottish plains and towns, whom they called Saxons, as they did those of England; and for which they had scarcely any greater liking. All the clans, with but one exception, promised him their faith and succour. The chiefs and barons of the lowlands, of English, Norman, or Scottish race, made amongst themselves compacts of alliance and fraternity in arms, for life and death, in the good cause of king Robert and their country, against every man, whether French, English, or Scotch.³ It is probable that by the first of these words they understood the king and all the lords of England, who spoke no language but the French;⁴ for the French, properly so called, were at that time the best friends of the Scottish patriots. (A.D. 1315.) Bruce appointed the rendezvous for his partisans on the side of Stirling, about the place where the chain of the western mountains begins to rise; and near there was fought the decisive battle of Bannockburn. On this occasion the Scotch were victors: their enemies, weakened by this great defeat, were successively driven from all the fortified towns, and obliged to repress the Tweed in disorder, pursued in their turn by the whole popu-

lation of the southern plains, and in particular by that of the frontiers or Border; a population at that time very formidable to a routed army.

The frontiers of England and Scotland were never well defined on the western side, where the country is mountainous, and intersected in every direction by numerous valleys and small rivers. The inhabitants of a considerable part of this region were not, properly speaking, either Scotch or English; and they acknowledged no national appellation but that of Borderers, or men of the border. They were an aggregation of all the races of men that had come together in Great Britain, and consisted of British expelled by the Anglo-Saxons, of Saxons expelled or disinherited by the Normans, of Anglo-Normans and of Scotch banished for felonies or other offences. This population was divided into great families, after the manner of the Celtic clans; but the names of their clans or families were for the most part English or French. The language of all the inhabitants was the Anglo-Danish dialect of the south of Scotland and north of England. The chiefs and their vassals lived very fraternally together; the former in his strong house, surrounded by rude palisades, with the bed of some stream for a moat; the latter in huts erected about it. They were all marauders by profession, feeding only on the oxen and sheep carried off from the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains. They made their excursions on horseback, armed with a long lance, and wearing for defensive armour a great-coat pinked and quilted; upon which were sewn with as much regularity as possible thin plates of iron or copper.⁵

(A.D. 1315 to 1548.) Though divided administratively into two nations, and obliged to swear obedience to the government of England or of Scotland, according to the territory which they occupied, they nevertheless considered the kings of both countries as alike foreign to them, and were, alternately, Scotch when a foray was to be made in England, and English when they were to make an incursion into Scotland. They seldom fought against each other, except for the settlement of some domestic feud. They pursued their career of *brigandage* and plunder without compunction, but also without cruelty, like a profession having its rules and its point of honour. The wealthiest of them assumed armorial bearings; which mode had been introduced into England and Scotland by the Normans. These arms, which many families of the country still retain, nearly all allude to the way of life of the old Borderers. In general, the field of the escutcheon is azure, bearing a moon and stars, to denote that the best time for the Borderers was the night. The devices, in English or Latin, are equally significant, as, "Watch weel;" "Sleep not, for I watch;" "Ye shall want ere I want."⁶

Liberated Scotland gave the epithet of its saviour to Robert Bruce, who was of Norman origin, and whose ancestors at the time of the Conquest of England had invaded the town and dale of Annan on the Scottish territory. The ancient kings of Scotland confirmed to them, by charters, the possession of that place; where the ruins of their

¹ Ah! freedom is a noble thing! ('The Bruce,' by David Harbour, p. 12.)

² The king Edward with hornes and hounes him sought.

(Hardyng's Chron., ch. 168, at the name of Edward I.)

³ Contra omnes mortales, Francos, Anglos, Scotos, defendere usque ad ultimum terminum vite. (Sir Walter Scott's Lord of the Isles, Notes to Canto II.)

⁴ .. The king him answered soon,

All en till Frankish as used he ...

(Wyntown; see Ellis's Metrical Romances.)

⁵ Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, i. 42, 43.

⁶ Ibid., i. 43.—Gardez-vous bien; Ne dormez pas, car je veille; Avant que je manque, vous manquerez.

castle are still to be seen. In Scotland, of all parts of Europe, the intermixture of the races which have come together in it has been effected with the greatest ease, and has left the fewest traces in particular districts of the separate classes of inhabitants. In that country there never were villains or serfs, as in England and France; and it has been remarked by antiquaries that the old records of Scotland afford no instance of a sale of the man with the soil, that not one of them bears this formula so common elsewhere: "With the buildings, and all the chattels, clowns, cattle, ploughs, &c."¹ From time immemorial the burghers of the principal towns sat in the great council of the kings of Scotland beside the warriors of every rank, who, after the Norman fashion, entitled themselves knights, barons, earls, and marquises, or else kept the old Anglo-Danish titles of thanes and lairds. When the country was to be defended, the different corporations of tradesmen marched under their own banners, and were led by their *burgh-master*. On the field of battle they had their honour to maintain, and their share of the glory to secure. The old popular romances, which were sung not long ago in the Scottish provinces of the south, celebrate the valour of the shoemakers of Selkirk at the famous battle of Flodden Field, fought and lost in 1513 by James IV. king of Scotland.²

National opposition, or the natural reaction of the spirit of liberty against power, took in Scotland the course which it must take in every country where the nation is not divided into two races of men, or castes, separated from each other by an hereditary hostility: it was, on the contrary, almost solely directed against their kings, whenever discontent was excited into any rebellion. In the civil wars there were only two parties; that of the government, and that of the generality of the governed: and not, as elsewhere, three parties; those of the crown, the aristocracy, and the people. The military and opulent class never united with the kings against the people; nor had the people ever occasion to favour the kingly power through hatred for the authority of the great. In times of trouble the struggle was between the king and his courtiers on one side, and all the orders of the nation leagued together on the other. It is true that some of the barons or nobles of Scotland, active and turbulent, generally headed the movement in all political commotions, and that, as was said by one of them, they *tyed the bell round the cat's neck*.³ But the acts of violence which they ventured to commit against the favourites of their kings, or against the kings themselves, were never unpopular.

(A.D. 1548.) About the middle of the sixteenth century a fresh tie drew closer this kind of political alliance between the feudal aristocracy and the burghers of Scotland. They embraced simultaneously and almost at one impulse the extreme opinions of religious reformation; those of Calvin. The whole population of the south and east, speak-

ing the same tongue and having the same class of ideas and of civilisation, concurred in this revolution. Only the mountain clans and some lairds of plains in the north still adhered to the catholic religion: some from the spirit of natural hostility to the people of the lowlands, others from individual persuasion rather than from any *esprit de corps* applied to the maintenance of the ancient creed. Even the bishops did not offer much resistance to the partisans of the Reformation; the only formidable opposition they had to encounter was from the court, early alarmed by the apprehension that religious changes would lead to political innovations. But the party of the kirk prevailed in this struggle; they got possession of king James VI. while yet a child, and had him educated in the new doctrines.

(A. D. 1548 to 1603.) His mother, the unfortunate Mary Stuart, owed her ruin to her ignorance of the national character of the Scotch; and it was after the issue of a battle fought against the reformers that she passed into England, where she found a prison and the scaffold. After her death, and while her son was reigning in Scotland, and professing, according to the new turn of mind of the nation, the presbyterian belief in all its rigour, the royal line of Tudor, in England, became extinct in the person of Elizabeth, the grand-daughter of Henry VII. James was descended from Henry VII. by the female side, and was thus the nearest heir to the house of Tudor. (A.D. 1603.) He came to London, where he was recognised without difficulty, and took the title of king of Great Britain, uniting under their ancient name his two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In his new arms he placed the Scottish thistle by the side of the leopards of Normandy; and on his military banners and naval flags quartered the white cross of St. Andrew with the red cross of St. George.

James, the first king of England of that name, found the state of the public mind, with regard to the religious reforms, very different in his new kingdom from what it was in Scotland. (A.D. 1603 to 1625.) There was not among the English any generally established opinion in religious matters. They differed on this subject, according as they belonged to the upper or the lower classes of the nation, and the ancient hostility of the two races reappeared under a new aspect. Although time and the mixture of blood had much weakened this primitive hostility, there was still perceivable a confused feeling of mutual hatred and distrust. The aristocracy strongly adhered to the modified reform introduced fifty years before by Henry VIII., a reform which, merely substituting the king for the pope, as head of the Anglican church, preserved to the episcopacy its former importance. The commonalty, on the contrary, was inclined to the complete reformation established by the Scotch, whose worship, being without the control of bishops, was independent of all civil authority. The partisans of these opinions formed a sect which was persecuted by the government, but whose enthusiasm was increased by that persecution. They were excessively rigid, even in the smallest things; whence they were called puritans. The appellation of roundheads, which was given them in derision, arose from their hair being close cropped; a custom essentially differing from that of noble-

¹ Cum terris, domibus, edificis, accolabus, mancipiis, vineis, sylvis, &c. (Spelman Gloss., verbo *accola*.)—Pinker-ton's Hist. of Scotland, i. 292.

² "Up wif the souters of Selkirk."

(Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ii. 150.)

³ " ['I] bell the cat"—an expression used by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, in the reign of James III.

men and men of fashion, who wore their hair flowing down their shoulders. The presbyterians of England had flattered themselves that they should witness the triumph of their opinions under a presbyterian king: but, the triumph of the presbyterian opinions being, by the very nature of things, connected with that of the popular over the aristocratic interest, the king, be he who he might, could not in any way contribute to it. The episcopal church therefore was upheld under James I., as under Elizabeth, by rigorous measures against the adversaries of the church. Moreover, so deeply was the king impressed with the political dangers of puritanism in England, that he formed the project of destroying it in Scotland, where it was the religion of the state; and in consequence commenced an overt struggle, not now with the middle and lower classes only, but with the whole nation collectively. This was a difficult undertaking, in which he was not successful, and which he left with his crown to his son Charles I.

(A.D. 1625.) Charles, amplifying, and in some sort reducing to a system, the views of his father, undertook to approximate the Anglican worship to the forms of catholicism, and to impose that worship, so reformed, upon the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. He thereby gave dissatisfaction to the episcopalians and the aristocratical classes of England; while he raised up against him the whole mass of the Scottish nation. Nobles, priests, and citizens, entering into open rebellion, assembled spontaneously at Edinburgh; and there signed, under the name of the *Covenant*, an act of national union for the defence of the presbyterian religion. (A.D. 1625 to 1640.) The king raised an army, and prepared for war against Scotland: and the Scotch, on their side, formed a national militia, to which hats were given bearing the words "For Christ's crown and covenant."¹ Men of all conditions came and enlisted in this militia; and the ministers of the kirk pronounced maledictions from the pulpit against *every man, horse, and lance*, that should side with the king against the defenders of the national faith. The resistance of the Scotch was approved in England; where the discontent against king Charles was becoming general, on account of his religious innovations, combined with his attempts to govern in an absolute manner without the concurrence of the assembly which, under the name of *parliament*, had, since the Conquest, never ceased to exist.

The townspeople of England, who had at first appeared in the Anglo-Norman parliament as if they were only called before the king and the barons to make grants of money, had become, by the effect of a gradual revolution, an integral part of the parliament. United with a certain number of petty feudatories, called knights of the shire, in Anglo-Norman *Chivaler de Comtees*, they formed under the name of the *House of Commons* one section of the great national council. In the other house, that of Lords, sat the men of title, the earls, marquises, and barons, with the bishops of the church of England. This house, like the other, opposed itself to the projects of Charles I. But there was this difference: that the only object of the Lords was, to maintain the established religion,

and the ancient privileges of parliament; while a majority of the Commons aspired to the establishment of presbyterianism, and a reduction of the regal authority. This moderate desire of political reformation was supported out of the assembly by a more violent action, that of the old instinct of popular hatred against the noble families, who were the proprietors of nearly the whole country. The lower classes of the people felt a vague longing for a great change: their present situation was burdensome to them; but, not clearly perceiving what was to render it better, they embraced indiscriminately all extreme opinions, and in religion all that was most rigid and gloomy in puritanism. Thus did the habitual language of that sect, which quoted texts of the Bible on all occasions, become that of the most exaggerated party politics. The puritanical party, placing itself, in idea, in the situation of the Jewish people in the midst of its enemies, gave to those whom it hated the names of Philistines and sons of Belial. They borrowed from the psalms and the prophecies such threats as they thought proper to utter against the lords and the bishops, and avowed their intention (according to the words of Scripture) to seize the two-edged sword, and to bind the nobles of the age with shackles of iron.²

(A.D. 1640 to 1642.) Charles I. found great difficulty in collecting men and money to carry on the war against the Scotch. The city of London refused him a loan of three hundred thousand pounds; and the soldiers declared aloud that they would not risk their lives to support the pride of the bishops. During the delay occasioned by these difficulties, the Scotch, making the first attack, invaded England, and advanced to the river Tyne, preceded by a manifesto, in which they called themselves friends and brethren of the English people, and called down upon themselves curses from on high if they did the smallest harm to the country or to individuals. No resistance was offered to them but by the royal army, which they completely defeated near Newcastle. After this victory, the generals of the Scottish army excused themselves, in proclamations addressed to the English nation, for the violence of the means they had been obliged to use for the defence of their rights; wishing, they said, that their success might aid the English in establishing their own. The opposition party in England, especially the majority of the Commons, answered by voting thanks and supplies in money to the Scotch; and several deputies were sent from London, to conclude a compact of amity and alliance at Edinburgh between the two nations.

(A.D. 1642 to 1645.) This political treaty was signed in the year 1642; and in the same year the Parliament of England, and in particular the House of Commons, commenced an open struggle with the royal power. By degrees, the opposition had almost concentrated itself in that house alone; for a great majority of the lords, seeing to what extent the quarrel was likely to reach, had gone over to the king. The lower house declared that *they* alone represented the nation, with all the rights of parliament. While the deputies from the townspeople and small landholders were thus taking

¹ Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 220.

² Et gladii ancipites in manibus eorum . . . ad ligandum nobiles in compedibus ferreis. (Psalm cxlix.)

into their own hands the exclusive power of legislation, the middle classes spontaneously took up arms and seized the ammunition and powder in the arsenals. The king, too, preparing for war, planted his standard, displaying the three lions of Normandy, on the castle of Nottingham. All the old castles built by the Normans or by their posterity were now shut, provisioned, furnished with modern arms and artillery; and the war unto death began between the descendants of the barons and those of the villains of the middle ages.

In this struggle the Scotch powerfully seconded the Parliament of England, which, at the very first, abolished episcopacy and established the presbyterian religion. This community of worship was the basis of another treaty or *Covenant* between the two nations: they bound themselves to each other for the defence of christianity without bishops; but although this alliance was concluded with sincerity, it had with the two nations neither the same meaning nor the same object. The civil war was to the Scotch only a religious quarrel with Charles Stuart, their fellow-countryman and national king; so that it would be terminated, with respect to them, from the moment that the king should acknowledge the lawful existence of the presbyterian worship in England as in Scotland. In England, on the contrary, there existed a revolutionary mania, which went very far beyond the mere object of reforming the episcopal church. This difference in the motives of the two nations, the necessary result of their different situation, and of which neither of them was very clearly conscious, could not fail to produce discord between them, so soon as their diversity of sentiments should be made manifest, and a rupture shortly ensued.

(A.D. 1645.) At the battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, the royal army was completely routed; and the king himself, his retreat being cut off, surrendered voluntarily to his countrymen the Scotch, choosing rather to be a prisoner with them than with the parliamentarians. The Scotch delivered him into the hands of their allies; not with any view to his ruin, but that the latter might oblige him to conclude a treaty to the advantage of both nations. Debates of quite another nature then arose in the English army: not that the historical question was agitated of the origin of the kingly and lordly power, for time had swept away all the necessary data; but republican spirits had enthusiastically embraced the idea of substituting for the old form of government an order of things founded on absolute justice and right. They thought they found a prediction of this order of things in the millennium announced by the Apocalypse; and, according to their favourite formulas of speech, they called it the reign of Christ. These enthusiasts cited the authority of the sacred writings for their demand likewise of the condemnation of Charles I., saying that the blood shed in the civil war must fall upon his head, in order that the people might be absolved from it.¹

(A.D. 1645 to 1647.) During these discussions, the object of which was serious, though the form was fantastical, the parties who had last engaged in the struggle against royalty, that is the lower classes of the people and the ultra-reformers in

religion, gained ground, taking the station in the revolution of those who had begun it, namely of the country gentlemen and the rich burghesses, whether episcopalians or presbyterians. Under the name of independents, there gradually arose a new sect, which, denying even the authority of simple ministers of the church, invested each of the faithful with all the sacerdotal functions. (1647.) The progress of this sect greatly alarmed the Scotch: they complained that, in going beyond the religious reform, such as they had settled it by common accord, the English were violating the solemn act of union concluded between the two nations. This was the beginning of a misunderstanding, which was carried to the utmost, when the independent party, having seized the king's person, imprisoned him, and cited him before a high court of justice.

(A.D. 1649 to 1650.) Seventy judges, chosen from the House of Commons, the parliamentary army, and the citizens of London, pronounced sentence of death upon Charles Stuart, and abolished the royalty. Some were actuated by an intimate conviction of the king's guilt; others wished sincerely for the establishment of a social order entirely new; whilst others, prompted by ambition alone, aspired to usurp the sovereign authority. The death of Charles I. put an end to the reign of the presbyterians in England, and to the alliance of the English with the Scotch. The latter, judging of the social condition of the English people by their own, could not comprehend what had just been passing. They thought themselves unworthily deceived by their old friends; and, uniting with this chagrin a latent affection for their countrymen the Stuarts, they were reconciled to that family from the moment that the English had violently broken with it: while in London the people were throwing down all the royal effigies, and inscribing on their pedestals "The last of kings is past," the son of Charles I. was proclaimed king in the capital of Scotland.

This proclamation was not the sign of a renunciation by the Scotch of the reforms for which they had fought. When the commissioners sent from Scotland came to Breda, to Charles II., who had already styled himself king of Great Britain, they communicated to him the rigorous conditions upon which the parliament of Edinburgh would consent to ratify that title. These were, the king's adhesion to the first Covenant signed against his father, and the perpetual abolition of episcopacy. At first Charles II. gave only evasive answers, in order to gain time and endeavour to strike a blow which should make him king unconditionally. This enterprise was intrusted to James Graham, marquis of Montrose, at first a zealous covenanter, and afterwards a partisan of Charles I. He landed in the north of Scotland, with a handful of adventurers assembled on the continent; and, addressing the chiefs of the mountain and island clans, proposed to them a war, at once national and religious, against the presbyterians of the lowlands. The clans, which had once before, in the year 1645, united under the command of Montrose against the covenanters, and were then completely defeated, evinced no ardour for a fresh attack: only a few ill-organised bands came down into the plains,

¹ Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs, ii. 192. Collection of M. Guizot.

² *Exiit tyrannus, regum ultimus.*

with a flag, on which was painted the headless body of Charles I.* (1650.) They were routed: Montrose himself was taken, tried as a traitor, condemned to death, and executed at Edinburgh. Charles II., then despairing of the acquisition of absolute royalty by conquest, conformed himself to that which was offered him by the Scottish commissioners: he signed the Covenant; swore to observe it inviolably; and made his entry into Edinburgh as king, while the quartered limbs of the unfortunate Montrose were still hanging at the city gates.

In taking Charles II. for their king, the Scotch did not purpose to aid him in regaining the crown of England. They entirely separated their national affairs from those of their neighbours; and had no thought of guaranteeing to Charles II. any other title than that of king of Scotland. But the party which in England had taken the revolution into its own hands was alarmed at seeing the heir to him whom they called the last king of the English established in Scotland. Apprehending some hostile attempt from him, the independents resolved to anticipate it. General Fairfax, a rigid presbyterian, was intrusted with the command of the army raised for the invasion of Scotland: but, refusing to serve against a nation which, he said, had co-operated in the good work for which he had first drawn his sword, he sent in his resignation to the Parliament. And the soldiers themselves testified their reluctance to fight against men whom they had been so long accustomed to call "Our brethren of Scotland." (A.D. 1651.) Fairfax's successor, Oliver Cromwell, a man of great political and military activity, overcame this hesitation by persuasion or violence, marched to the north, defeated the Scotch and their king at Dunbar, and seized upon Edinburgh. Cromwell summoned the people of Scotland to renounce Charles II.: but the Scotch refused to abandon, when in peril, the man whom they had brought into it; and suffered with patience all the vexations which were everywhere exercised by the English army. Charles II. was far from proving himself as truly devoted to their cause as they were to his. In the time of Scotland's greatest calamity, detaching himself from the presbyterians, he surrounded himself with the old partisans of episcopacy, with the Highland chiefs who called their neighbours of a different religion by the name of Sassenachs, or Saxons, and with a few libertines and young nobles, whom he told in his convivial feasts that the religion of the Roundheads was not worthy of a gentleman. (A.D. 1651 to 1653.) With the assistance of the adventurers whom he gathered round him, he attempted to invade England on the western side, while the English army occupied the east of Scotland. There were still in the provinces of Cumberland and Lancaster a considerable number of catholic families, which, as he passed, took up arms for him. He hoped to stir up an insurrection in Wales, and turn to the advantage of his cause the national enmity of the Cambrians against the English: but his troops were completely beaten near Worcester, and he himself, amid numerous perils, fled in disguise to the western coast, where he embarked for France, leaving the Scotch under the pressure of the calamities which his coronation, and, above

* Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 230, 234, note J.

all, his invasion of England, had brought upon them.

These calamities were immense: regarded with distrust, as a place of landing and encampment for the enemies of the revolution, Scotland was treated as a conquered province. On the smallest appearance of revolt or opposition, the principal inhabitants were imprisoned or condemned to death; and the thirty Scotch members summoned to sit in the great council of the Commonwealth, so far from affording support and assistance to their fellow-citizens, were hardly any other than instruments of the foreign tyranny. (A.D. 1653 to 1660.) Oliver Cromwell governed the Scotch despotically until the moment when, under the title of the Protector, he obtained an unlimited authority over all Great Britain. General George Monk, who took his place in Scotland, pursued there a conduct no less harsh and cruel. Such was the situation of things when, in the year 1660, after the death of the Protector and the resignation of Richard Cromwell, Monk, suddenly changing sides, successfully conspired against the Commonwealth for the re-establishment of the royalty.

In Scotland the joy occasioned by the restoration of the Stuarts was universal: it was not, as in England, caused merely by the sort of discouragement and political scepticism into which the bad success of the revolution had thrown the public mind; but by a feeling of real affection for a man whom the Scotch considered almost as the king of their choice. Besides, the return of Charles II. was not, in their country, connected with the re-establishment of a former oppressive and unpopular social system. That great event was looked upon by them as in some sort personal, and for their own interest: thus the Scottish nation expected that the state of things was about to return to what it had been before the invasion of Cromwell's army; and that the Covenant sworn to by Charles II. would be the rule of his administration. They ascribed the former aversion of the king from the rigidity of the presbyterian discipline to youthful errors, which age and misfortune would have corrected. (A.D. 1660 to 1679.) But the son of Charles I. bore within him all his father's and his grandfather's hatred of puritanism; and moreover felt no gratitude for the gift, made to him by the Scotch, of a crown which in his opinion was due to him by inheritance. Therefore, thinking himself released from all obligation towards them, he had the deed of the Covenant torn to pieces in the market-place at Edinburgh; and bishops sent from England were paraded in triumph through the streets by the royal officers. They required all ministers of religion to swear obedience to their commands, to abjure the Covenant, and to believe in the absolute authority of the king in ecclesiastical matters. They who refused to swear were declared seditious and rebellious; they were violently expelled from the presbyteries and churches; and their curacies and benefices were given to new comers, mostly of English birth, and, moreover, ignorant and immoral. These began to perform the service and to preach according to custom; but none went to hear them, and the churches were left empty.²

² Burnet's *History of his own Time*, i. 230. London, 1725.

Those of the faithful who were zealous for the national creed resorted of a Sunday to the hills and secret places in which the persecuted ministers had taken refuge. A severe law was passed against these peaceable meetings, to which the agents of authority gave the name of *conventicles*. Soldiers were quartered, with discretionary power, in the villages where the people had ceased to frequent the church; and many persons suspected or convicted of attending the conventicles were imprisoned or publicly flogged. These measures of severity were enforced principally in the south-western provinces; the inhabitants of which were more disposed to resistance, either on account of the nature of the country, partly consisting of mountains and ravines, or from some remaining traces of the enthusiastic and pertinacious character of the British race, from which they were in great part descended. In these provinces it was that the presbyterians began to go armed to their secret assemblies, and that whole families, quitting their houses, went away to inhabit among rocks and morasses, that they might be at liberty to hear the proscribed ministers, and satisfy the calls of their consciences.

The constantly increasing severity of the measures taken against the conventicles soon occasioned an open insurrection, at the head of which appeared many men of wealth and consideration in the country. The movement, however, did not extend over the eastern provinces; for the strength of the government, and the terror it inspired, increased with the approximation to Edinburgh. The presbyterian army was beaten at the Pentland Hills by regular troops, which had orders to kill the prisoners and to pursue the fugitives with hounds of large size.¹ After the victory, every family in the shires of Ayr and Galloway was required to swear not to go to the conventicles, and not to give lodging, food, or shelter, to any itinerant minister or refractory presbyterian.² A great many refusing to take this oath, it was decreed that all the inhabitants, collectively, were rebels and enemies to the king; and blank pardons were distributed for all murders committed upon them.

(A.D. 1679.) These atrocities were at last crowned by an arbitrary measure, which greatly surpassed them all. The Highland clans of the north were authorised to descend into the plains, and commit there, for several months, every ravage to which their old instinct of national hatred against the inhabitants might prompt them. To the number of eight thousand, they overran Ayrshire and the neighbouring provinces in every direction, plundering and killing at pleasure. At first, a body of dragoons was sent from Edinburgh to assist them in their expedition. When it was judged to have had its effect, an order sealed with the great seal sent them back to their mountains; and only the dragoons were left, to ensure the entire submission of the country.³ But the mischief done to the presbyterians had increased their fanaticism, by reducing them to despair. Some of the most exasperated among them, having surprised archbishop Sharp, whom Charles II. had appointed primate of Scotland, while he was on a journey,

dragged him from his carriage, and killed him in his daughter's arms.

(A.D. 1679 to 1686.) This crime of a small number of men was revenged upon the whole country, by redoubled vexations and numerous executions. The consequence of these severities was a second rising, more general and more formidable in its character than the first. The presbyterian army, commanded now by old soldiers, of whom several were of noble birth, mustered some bodies of cavalry, formed of the landowners and rich farmers; but it was without artillery and ammunition. Each corps had a blue flag, the favourite colour of the Covenanters. Numerous troops of women and children, following the army to the field of battle, excited the men by their shouts to fight bravely. Sometimes, after marching and fighting for a whole day without eating or drinking, they would range themselves in a circle round their ministers, and listen with the closest attention to a sermon of several hours, before they thought of procuring refreshment or taking repose.

Such was the army which, a few miles from Glasgow, put to flight the regiment of guards, the best cavalry in all Scotland, seized on that town, and forced a body of ten thousand men to fall back upon Edinburgh. The alarm which this action inspired in the government was such, that considerable forces were sent with all speed from London, commanded by the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II., a man of mild temper, and inclined to moderation, but with whom were joined two lieutenants of very different character. These were General Thomas Dalzell and Graham of Claverhouse; who, rendering fruitless all the duke of Monmouth's conciliatory dispositions, obliged him to give battle to the insurgents near the small town of Hamilton, south of Glasgow. The Clyde, the stream of which is very rapid at that place, is crossed there by a long and narrow stone bridge, called Bothwell-bridge, which the presbyterians had occupied beforehand. They were driven from this position by the artillery discharged from the bank of the river, and by a charge of cavalry made upon the bridge. They were completely routed; and the English army entered Edinburgh, carrying severed heads and hands upon their spears, and bringing in carts, bound together two and two, the leaders of the presbyterian army and the ministers who were made prisoners. They suffered with great firmness torture, and afterwards death by hanging, *bearing witness* unto death, as they themselves expressed it, for their national creed.⁴

The presbyterian party could not again raise its head after their defeat at Bothwell-bridge; and the great mass of the Scotch, renouncing the Covenant, in defence of which so much blood had been shed, submitted to a sort of modified episcopacy, and acknowledged the king's authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the regret for having lost a cause which, for a century and a half, had been the national one, and the memory of the battle which had destroyed all hope of ever beholding its triumph, were long preserved in Scotland. Some old romances, which, at the close of the last century, were still sung in the villages, mention Bothwell-bridge, and the brave who died there,

¹ The chased and tossed western men,
(Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Burnet's History of his own Time, ii. 738.

⁴ Burnet's History of his own Time, ii. 830.

with affecting expressions of sympathy and enthusiasm.¹ Even now, the peasants uncover their heads when passing the blackened stones which mark here and there, on the hills and in the mosses, the burial-place of some one of the puritans of the seventeenth century.

In proportion as the energy and enthusiasm of the Scottish presbyterians declined, the government became less distrustful and cruel towards them. James duke of York, who in the lifetime of his brother Charles II. had attended for pastime at the torturing of the presbyterian ministers, exercised no severity against them after he became king. His endeavours to substitute catholicism for the protestantism of the church of England excited far less hatred in Scotland than in England: the presbyterians pardoned him his friendship for the papists, in consideration of the enmity which he showed towards the episcopalians, their immediate persecutors. (A.D. 1688 to 1745.) When a conspiracy, conducted in great part by the bishops and nobles of England, had called over William prince of Orange and expelled James II., the Scottish nation testified little enthusiasm for the English Revolution, which on the other side of the Tweed was called glorious. It even hesitated to join in it; and its adhesion was rather the work of the members of the government assembled at Edinburgh than a real act of national assent. However, the authors of the revolution of 1688 made concessions to Scotland in religious matters which they did not make to England, where they maintained in all their rigour the intolerant laws of the Stuarts. But on the other hand, the small number of obstinate enthusiasts who, under the name of Cameronians, attempted at the beginning of the eighteenth century to revive the half-extinguished flame of puritanism, were violently persecuted, and *bore witness*, by the lash and the pillory, in the market-place at Edinburgh. After them, that austere and ardent belief, which had united in one sect the whole population of the lowlands of Scotland, gradually concentrated itself in a few isolated families, who were distinguished from the rest by a more exact observance of the practices of their worship, a more rigid probity or a greater display of probity, and the habit of employing texts of Scripture on all occasions.

Notwithstanding the mischief which the Stuarts had done to Scotland since they had occupied the throne of England, the Scotch retained for that family a sort of sympathy, independent, in many minds, of every political or religious opinion. A somewhat instinctive aversion for the new dynasty was felt at the same time, though in a different degree, by the inhabitants of the highlands and by those of the lowlands. In the former it was allied to all the ardour of their ancient hatred for the inhabitants of England; and among the latter, the difference of social situation, of relation to the existing government, of religious belief, or of personal character, produced various shades in this zeal for the cause of the descendants of James II. The Jacobite insurrection of 1715, and that of 1745 on the landing of the son of the pretender, both began

in the Highlands. The second of these found so many partisans in the towns of the south and east, that it might for a moment be thought that the Celtic and the Teutonic races of Scotland, hitherto hostile to each other, were about to become one nation. After the victory of the English government, its first care was to destroy the immemorial organization of the Gaëlic clans. It sent many chiefs of those clans to the scaffold; removed the rest from the country, the better to suspend the exercise of their patriarchal authority; constructed military roads over the rocks and moors; and enlisted a great number of the Highlanders among the regular troops then serving on the continent. From a sort of condescension for the pertinacity with which the Gaëls adhered to their ancient customs, and in order to turn their patriotic vanity to account, they were permitted to combine after a whimsical fashion the uniform of the English soldiery with a part of their national costume, and to march to the sound of their favourite instrument the bagpipe.

Since the Scotch lost their religious and political enthusiasm, they have turned to the cultivation of letters those imaginative faculties which seem to be a trace of their Celtic origin, whether as Gaëls or as Britons. Scotland is perhaps the only country in Europe where knowledge is truly popular; and where men of all classes like to learn for learning's sake, without any interested motive, or desire of altering their condition. Since the definitive union of that country with England, the old Anglo-Danish dialect has ceased to be cultivated as a written language, and has been succeeded by English, as the language of the learned. But notwithstanding the disadvantage which every writer labours under, who must employ in his works a language different from that of his habitual conversation, the number of distinguished authors in every kind, since the middle of the last century, has been much more considerable in Scotland than in England, as regards the comparative population of the two countries. It is particularly in historical labours, and in the manner of relating facts, whether true or imaginary, that the Scotch excel: and one would be tempted to consider this peculiar talent as a characteristic mark of their original descent; for the Irish and the Welsh (who bear some affinity to the Gaëls) are the two nations that have arranged their ancient annals at greatest length, and in the most agreeable manner.

That spirit of civilisation, which has made so rapid a progress among all branches composing the Scottish population, is now gradually spreading beyond the towns of the lowlands in which it first arose, and is penetrating into the highlands. Yet in latter years, measures have been taken to propagate it, which are perhaps too violent, and calculated rather to lead to the destruction than to the amelioration of the Gaëlic race. Converting their patriarchal authority into a right of proprietorship over all the lands occupied by their clans, the heirs of the ancient lairds, with the English laws in their hands, have expelled from their habitations hundreds of families to whom that law was absolutely foreign. In place of the dispossessed clans, they have established immense flocks, and a few men brought from other places, enlightened, industrious, and capable of bringing into practice the most approved systems of modern husbandry.

¹ Along the brae beyond the brig
Mony a brave man lies cauld and still;
But long we'll mind and sair we'll rue
The bloody battle of Bothwell Hill.
(Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 256.)

Much commendation has been bestowed upon the great agricultural labours undertaken in this manner in the provinces of Ross and Sutherland; but if such an example is to be unremittingly followed, the most ancient race of the inhabitants of Britain, after a continuance of so many ages and amid so many enemies, will disappear, without leaving any trace but a vicious pronunciation of English in those places where the ancient dialects were formerly spoken.

SECTION IV.

THE NATIVE IRISH, AND THE ANGLO-NORMANS IN IRELAND.

(A.D. 1173 to 1316.) THE conquest of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans is perhaps the only one that, after the first disasters which all conquests necessarily entail, has not, in the slow and imperceptible progress of events, been succeeded by a gradual amelioration in the social condition of the conquered people. Though they have never been able to emancipate themselves from the foreign dominion, the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons have nevertheless made great progress in their domestic comforts and in civilisation. But the native Irish, though apparently placed in a like situation, have, during five centuries, been constantly declining. Yet that population is endowed by nature with great mental vivacity, and a remarkable aptitude for every sort of intellectual labour. Although the soil of Ireland is fruitful and well adapted to cultivation, its fecundity has been alike unprofitable to the conquerors as to their subjects; and, notwithstanding the extent of their domains, the posterity of the Anglo-Normans has gradually become impoverished like that of the Irish. This sad and singular fate, which weighs alike upon the old and the new inhabitants of the isle of Erin, has for its cause the vicinity of England, and the influence which its government has constantly exercised, since the Conquest, over the internal affairs of that country.

This influence was ever ready to disturb the course of the amicable relations which time, and the habit of living together, tended to establish between the Anglo-Irish and the Irish by descent. The effect of the interference of the kings of England, in whatever manner exercised, has always been to maintain the separation of the populations and the primitive animus of hostility. In time of war they lent assistance to the men of Anglo-Norman race: then, when the latter had compelled the natives to remain quiet, the kings, growing jealous of their power, and fearing lest the conquerors of Ireland should render themselves independent in that island, ever studied to torment and to weaken them. Thus it became impossible that the struggle between the two nations should ever terminate, either by the complete victory of the one over the other, or by their perfect amalgamation. This interfusion would have been rapid, and have presented a phenomenon which has not elsewhere been met with; for, owing to the mildness of character and the social affability of the natives, the conquerors felt a sort of irresistible inclination to assimilate themselves to the con-

quered, by assuming their manners, their language and even their dress. The Anglo-Normans made themselves Irish: they liked to exchange their feudal titles of earl and baron for patronymic surnames; the Dubourgs called themselves Mac-William-Bourg; the De Veres, Mac-Swyne; the Delangles, Mac-Costilagh; the Fitz-Urses, Mac-Mahon; and the Geraldines, Mac-Gheroit.¹ They grew fond of the Irish singing and poetry, invited the bards to their tables, and took nurses and teachers for their children from among the women of the country. The Normans of England, who were so haughty in their behaviour to the Saxons, called this *degenerating*.

To stop the progress of this degeneracy, and preserve, in all their integrity, the old manners of the Anglo-Irish, the kings and the parliament of England made many laws, which are nearly all most severe.² Every man of Norman or English race who married an Irishwoman, or took the Irish dress, was to be treated as an Irishman, that is, as a serf in body and goods. There were royal ordinances for the cropping of the hair and shaving the beard in Ireland, and for the quantity and colour of the stuff to be used in a garment. Every tradesman of English race, who trafficked with the Irish, was punished with the confiscation of his merchandise; and every Irishman taken travelling in the part of the island inhabited by the Anglo-Normans, especially if he was a bard, was considered as a spy.³ Every lord suspected of partiality for the Irish was on that ground alone a mark for political persecution; and if he was wealthy and powerful, he was accused of seeking to make himself king of Ireland, or at least to separate that kingdom from the crown of England. The great council of the barons and knights of Ireland, who, after the manner of those of England, assembled each year *in parliament*, was regarded with almost as much hatred and contempt as the national assemblies held by the native Irish on the raths formed on the summit of the hills.⁴ All liberty and power was refused to the parliament of Ireland: it could not assemble unless the king had approved the reasons for its convocation; and even then it only voted upon questions previously settled in England. On the other hand, the English government employed all its means of influencing the native Irish to renounce their national customs and their ancient social system. It declared by the mouths of the archbishops, who were almost constantly sent from England, that the old laws of the country, those which had ruled Ireland in the times when it was called the Island of Saints, were *abominable unto God*.⁵ Every Irishman convicted of having submitted any cause to be tried by judges of his own nation was excommunicated, and placed in the number of those whom the English ordinances called "Our lord the king's Irish enemies."⁶

In order to counteract the efforts made by the English government to destroy their ancient manners, the Irish exerted all their obstinacy to pre-

¹ Spenser's State of Ireland, p. 13.

² Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, ii. 267—371.

³ Harris's Hibernica, part i. p. 83. Dublin, 1770.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 79—102.

⁵ Pro eo quod leges quibus utuntur Hibernici Deo abominabiles existant. (Statutes of Edward I.)

⁶ Ireysa enemies to nostre seigneur le rey. (Rolls of the English Parliament, Henry VI., ann. xx.)

serve them.¹ They showed violent aversion to the politeness and refined manners of the Anglo-Normans: "Making no account," says the historian Froissart, "of any amusements and polite behaviour, nor wishing to acquire any knowledge of good-breeding, but to remain in their pristine rudeness."² This rudeness was but seeming: for the Irish knew how to live with foreigners, and to make themselves agreeable to them, especially if they were enemies to the English. They concluded political alliances against the latter with several of the continental kings; and when, in the fourteenth century, the Scotchman Robert Bruce had been elected king by his fellow-countrymen, bodies of Irish volunteers passed the sea to support him. (A.D. 1316.) After the entire emancipation of Scotland, Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, made a descent upon the north of Ireland, to assist the natives in reconquering their country, and the degenerated Anglo-Normans in taking revenge for the vexations of their king.³ Many of the latter, and amongst others the Lacys, joined the Scottish army; which, in its march southward, sacked several towns, and dismantled many of the castles built by the descendants of the companions of John de Courcy, the first conqueror of Ulster. Many families possessing large domains in that part of the country, such as the Andelys, the Talbots, the Touchets, the Chamberlains, the Mandevilles, and the Savages, all Normans by birth and origin, were compelled to abandon the country.⁴ (A.D. 1317.) Having arrived at Dundalk, Edward Bruce was elected and crowned king of Ireland, in spite of the excommunication pronounced by the pope against him, his favourers, and adherents.⁵ His reign lasted only a year: he was killed in a battle fought and lost against considerable forces sent from England. The Scottish troops were recalled into their own country; and the Anglo-Normans gradually reconquered their dominion in Ireland, though they did not reach their former limits on the northern side. The province of Ulster continued in great part Irish; and the few Norman families to be found in it after these events were poor, or had made friends of the natives. Even the descendants of the conqueror, John de Courcy, degenerated by degrees.⁶ Notwithstanding the short duration and ineffectiveness of the conquest by Edward Bruce, the memory of it remained profoundly impressed on the minds of the Irish people. His name was attached to many places through which he had not passed; and castles which he had not built received the name of Bruce's castle, as in Wales and the south of Scotland many ruins bear the name of Arthur.

(A.D. 1317 to 1531.) Things having fallen in Ireland into the same state as before, the natives made no more conquests in arms over the Anglo-Normans; but they did in manners, and the degeneration (as it was called) proceeded regularly. The measures taken to counteract this evil, consisting mostly of laws relating to sports and to dress, and of prohibitions of the stuffs most common in the country, and conse-

quently least costly, were the cause of daily constraint to the English population established in Ireland. A natural resentment for such a system of constraint made the Anglo-Irish still more attached to those customs which they were commanded to lay aside or to refrain from, whatever might be their own inclinations, and whatever the mode of life which their peculiar position in the country had forced them to embrace. As regarded the Irish, the chief policy of the English government, in times of peace, was to tempt the numerous native princes and chiefs to a residence in England; and to have the sons of those princes constituted wards of the king, and educated at the English court. To succeed in giving them a taste for the lordly pomp and the aristocratic manners of the age was considered of itself as a great conquest. This was at first called the reformation, and afterwards the civilisation of Ireland. But the habits of familiarity between men of different conditions were so firmly rooted in that country, that the Anglo-Norman knights intrusted with the education of the heirs of the ancient kings of Erin could never prevail on them to desist from eating at the same table with their bards and servants, and from shaking hands with all who saluted them.⁷ Such of the Irish chiefs as, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, obtained letters-patent of Anglo-Norman nobility, conferring on them the title of earl or baron, generally did not long keep those titles, being foreign to their language, and having no relation to the history, the manners, and the social system of their country. They grew weary of hearing them; choosing rather to become as formerly O'Neils or O'Briens, instead of earls of Tyrone or Thomond; or, if they did not renounce them of their own accord, public opinion soon obliged them to reject those marks of alliance with their country's enemies; for that opinion had its organs, which were respected and feared by every Irishman.

These organs of popular praise or blame were the professed bards, poets, and musicians, whose authority had, from time immemorial, rested on the passion of the Irish for verse and song. They formed in Ireland a sort of constituted body, whose opinion it was customary to take in important conjunctures: and according to ancient political maxims, the duties of a good king were, to honour the bards and conform to the laws. Since the invasion by the Anglo-Normans, the order of the bards had taken part against them; and not one of them had ever swerved from his attachment to the ancient liberty of the country. In their verses they praised scarcely any but the enemies of the English government; persecuting with their caustic satires whosoever had been reconciled to, and accepted any favour from it. Finally, they boldly ranked above the princes and chiefs friendly to the kings of England, those who, from hatred of the foreigner, took up arms to rob their oppressors, or plundered the houses of the Saxons by night.⁸ Under that name the native Irish comprehended the whole population, whether English or Norman, that did not speak the Erse tongue; and which probably spoke in their island, earlier than in England, a mixed language, compounded of French

¹ Harris's *Hibernica*, part i. p. 101.

² Froissart, iv. ch. lxiij. p. 201.

³ In *auxilium nostrum et juvamen*. (Fordun, *Scotichron.*, iii. 923, ed. Hearne.)

⁴ *Campion's Historie of Ireland*, p. 82.

⁵ *Rymer's Fœdera*, ii. pars i. p. 118.

⁶ *Campion's Historie of Ireland*, p. 84.

⁷ Froissart, iv. ch. lxiij. p. 202.

⁸ Spenser's *State of Ireland*.

and old English. They did not allow the name of Irish to any but themselves, or those who had adopted their idiom; while in England the name of English was refused, in like manner, to such of that nation as had settled in Ireland: the colonists were called in Norman *Irois*, and in English *Iree* or *Irisch*; and the only way in which they were distinguished from the real Irish was by giving to the latter the name of *the wild Irish*.

The situation of the Anglo-Irish, hated by their neighbours the natives, and despised by their fellow-countrymen of the other side of St. George's Channel, was singularly difficult and precarious. Obligated to contend against the influence of the English government, and at the same time to have recourse to the support of that government, the better to make head against the attacks of the ancient population, they were, alternately, Irish when at variance with England, and English when fighting against the inhabitants of Gaëlic race. This embarrassment (or Gordian knot) could only be solved by a virtual rupture of the tie of dependence which bound them to England, and by completely establishing their own dominion also over the natives. Their efforts were therefore simultaneously directed to the attainment of this double object: the natives, too, had resolved on a separation from England; but this was to be effected by the re-conquest of their country, and their complete emancipation from all authority that was not purely Irish. Thus, although the policy of those who had become Irish by the conquest, and the purposes of the genuine Irish, were necessarily based upon direct views of mutual hostility, there was still one common point in which the dispositions of these two classes of the inhabitants accorded, namely, the desire of restoring to Ireland its independence as a state. These complicated interests, which the natural course of things would in time have probably reduced to a simpler order of relations, although not without some attendant difficulties, became additionally complicated, in the sixteenth century, by a revolution which superadded the germs of religious dissension to the former elements of political hostility.

(A.D. 1531 to 1580.) When king Henry VIII. had abolished, for his own advantage, the papal supremacy in England, the new religious reformation, though established without difficulty on the eastern coast of Ireland, and in the towns where English was spoken, made little progress in the interior of the country. The native Irish, even when they understood English, were little inclined to hear sermons in that language: besides that the missionaries from England, following the instructions they had received, proposed to them, as an article of faith, to renounce their old customs and assume the manners of the English.¹ Their aversion for those manners, and for the government which sought to impose them, was thus extended to the Reformation, and to the reformers, whom it was their custom to designate simply by the name of Saxons. On the other hand, the Norman or English families established in the parts remote from the sea, and in some sort beyond the reach of the authorities, resisted the attempts made to persuade or force them to a change of worship. They adhered to catholicism; and this established

new ties of sympathy between them and the Irish. Another effect of this change was to connect with the general affairs of Europe the quarrel between the natives of Ireland and the descendants of their invaders, which had hitherto been isolated, like that corner of earth which was the scene of it. It thenceforward became a part of the great dispute between catholicism and protestantism; and the applications made by the population of Ireland for foreign aid were now addressed, not merely to the tribes of Celtic affinity that dwelt in Scotland, but to the great catholic powers, such as the pope, and the kings of Spain and France.² (A.D. 1580.) The popes in particular, the former enemies of Ireland, who had excommunicated the natives when armed for the independence of their country, had now become their perpetual allies, whom they loved from their heart as they loved everything that gave them hopes of one day recovering that independence. But the court of Rome, which had no more love for Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than in the age when it had authorised Henry II., by papal bulls, to make conquest of the country, converted it into an arena or a focus of political intrigues, that were entirely foreign to the objects of its national liberty. By means of the apostolical nuncios, and especially of the jesuits, who displayed on this occasion all their accustomed ability, the popes succeeded in forming in Ireland a party of pure catholics, as hostile to every native Irishman who had become protestant as to the English themselves, and detesting the latter, not as usurpers, but as anti-papists. In the rebellions which after that period broke out against the English government, this party played a part distinct from that embraced by those among the catholic Irish who took up arms rather from a patriotic motive; and this difference is observable even in those enterprises in which these two classes of men acted together and in concert.³

By favour of the fresh troubles excited by religious quarrels, and by the encouragement held out to the insurgents of all parties by the catholic powers, the old cause of the native Irish seemed to revive: their energy was rekindled; and the bards sung that a new soul had descended into Erin.⁴ But the enthusiasm arising from religious discussions had likewise communicated itself to the Anglo-Irish reformers; as it also did to the inhabitants of England, who, about the close of the sixteenth century, went to serve in the Irish wars with more ardour than ever, as to a sort of protestant crusade. Their zeal supplied queen Elizabeth with more money and men for these wars than any king had obtained before her time. Undertaking with greater resources, and with a renewed activity, the still incomplete work of the conquest of Ireland, Elizabeth re-conquered the northern

¹ Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland*, i. 25-28. The work of this historian, which comprises numerous authentic documents, furnishes a complete picture of all the revolts of the Irish. The author, who held official employment during the rebellion of 1798, and was sheriff of his county, appears, it is true, not to have been as impartial as was desirable; but his partiality to the government affords *à fortiori* an undeniable confirmation of all those facts which he narrates that were favourable to the cause or conduct of the malcontents.

² Sir Richard Musgrave, i. 74, &c.

³ See *Transactions of the Hibernian Society of Dublin*.

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, pp. 52, 53.

provinces, and invaded such of the western as had hitherto held out. This territory was divided into counties like England, and was governed by Englishmen; who, wishing, as they said, to civilise the *Wild Irish*, made them die by thousands of hunger and wretchedness.

(A.D. 1603.) James I. followed up this work of civilisation by seizing a great many chiefs and having them tried at London for rebellion, present or past. According to the old Anglo-Norman law, they were condemned to lose their domains, as felons towards their liege lord; and care was taken to include under this term of *domains* the whole extent of country occupied by the clans which they ruled, because of the dissimilar fact that in England the tenants of each manorial possession were merely farmers holding of the lord for a longer or shorter term of years. By means of this forced assimilation of two orders of things entirely different, king James confiscated whole districts in Ireland, which he sold in lots to undertakers of colonies called in English *adventurers*. The dispossessed clans took refuge in the forests and mountains, from which they soon issued with arms to attack the new English colonies; but they were repulsed by superior forces. In consequence of this national re-action and its defeat, the province of Ulster, which had been the principal theatre of war, was declared forfeit, and every title to property, as regarded its ancient inhabitants, was annulled. They were not even permitted to take with them their moveables; and a company of capitalists was established at London to execute, on a uniform plan, the colonization of that part of the country. They hired a great many Scottish labourers and artisans, who embarked from the Mull of Cantyre in Galloway, and went to settle in Ireland, in the vicinity of Derry, which thenceforward became a manufacturing town, under the name of Londonderry. Other emigrants from the same nation passed over, in rapid succession, to the north of Ireland, where they formed a new population and a new religious party; for they were zealous presbyterians, and, on the score of their creed, were hostile alike to the established church of England and to the catholics.

(A.D. 1625 to 1640.) The troubles which occurred in England at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. gave fresh encouragement to the party of the old Irish and that of the papists of Ireland; at first because the contest in which the government engaged against the English people diminished its means of action abroad; and afterwards because the king's marked inclination for catholicism seemed to promise to the catholics his support, or at least a degree of royal collusion. The purely religious faction, headed by an Anglo-Irishman named George Moore, was the first to rebel against what it called the tyranny of the heretics. It had but little success so long as the part of the population which had a political hatred for the English kept quiet, or lent it no assistance; but so soon as the native Irish, led by Phelim O'Connor, had taken part in the civil war, it was carried on with greater vigour, and had for its object, not the triumph of the catholics, but the extirpation of all the foreign colonies, whether of ancient or of recent date. (A.D. 1640.) The presbyterian colonists of Ulster, and the protestant inhabitants of the western provinces, were attacked

in their houses, to the cry of *Erin-go-bragh!* and the number of persons who perished on that occasion by different kinds of death is estimated at nearly forty thousand. (A.D. 1640 to 1644.) The rumour of this massacre caused a great sensation in England; and, although the victory obtained by the men of Irish race was a very serious blow struck at the power of the king, the parliament accused him of having contributed to the massacre of the protestants. Against this charge he warmly defended himself; and in order to remove all suspicion, he sent into Ireland forces which he would fain have kept in England to support his authority at home. The parliament gave away, beforehand, the estates of the rebels to those who furnished the expenses of the war. The English army gave no quarter to any Irishman: even the submission of those who offered to lay down their arms was refused; and the despair excited by these reprisals gave new strength to the fanatics in religion and patriotism. Though with much inferior military resources, they resisted the English, and even reconquered from them the province of Ulster, from which they expelled many families of the Scottish race. Having thus once more become masters of the greater part of Ireland, they formed a council of national administration, composed of bishops, ancient chiefs of tribes, feudal lords of Anglo-Norman descent, and of deputies chosen in each province by the native population.

When the civil war had broken out between the king and parliament of England, the national assembly of the Irish kept up a communication with both of those parties, offering to attach itself to that which should to the greater extent recognise the national independence of Ireland. Whatever diplomatic skill the Irish might naturally possess, it was not easy to effect a formal coalition between themselves and the Parliament; for the latter had, or affected to have, great hatred for the papists. (A.D. 1644.) The king made terms with the confederates, with less difficulty and delay, by a treaty signed at Glamorgan: they engaged to furnish him with ten thousand men; and he in return made them concessions which were almost equivalent to the abdication of his royal station as regarded Ireland. But this agreement was not observed; the king was the first to violate it, by substituting for it a private convention with such of the Anglo-Irish as had embraced the party of the royalists of England, and at the head of whom was the duke of Ormond. The mass of the confederates, who, having for their object a total separation, were no more royalists than parliamentarians, were left out of this compact of alliance; from which even the papistical party was excluded, for political interests alone had been the subject of its stipulations. (A.D. 1646.) Under the guidance of the pope's nuncio, they united more closely than ever with the party of the natives which acknowledged O'Neil for its leader. But the intrigues of the nuncio, and the intolerance of the priests, who had acquired great sway over the unenlightened multitude, once more embroiled the affairs of the Irish people, by confounding the religious with the patriotic cause. (A.D. 1649.) Only a few firmer minds continued to look upon these two interests as distinct; and after the condemnation of Charles I. they entered into negotiations with the founders of the Com-

monwealth; while the Anglican protestants and the presbyterians of Ireland, having joined the duke of Ormond, were proclaiming Charles II. as king.

The republicans were alarmed, and sent into Ireland their greatest general, Oliver Cromwell; who, in the ardour of his zeal and the inflexibility of his policy, made a war of extermination upon all parties, and even undertook to complete wholly and for ever the conquest of the island. (A.D. 1650.) After distributing among his troops, who were without pay, all the lands taken from the rebels, he renewed on a more extensive plan the great expropriation executed by James I. Instead of expelling the Irish house by house and village by village, which allowed them to assemble in the neighbouring forests, the western province of Connaught was assigned to all the natives and the catholic Anglo-Irish, as their only place of habitation: thither they were all ordered to repair within a time appointed, with their families and moveables; and when they were there assembled, a cordon of troops was formed, and the penalty of death was decreed against all who should re-pass the prescribed limit. The immense extent of ground which remained vacant was sold by the government to a company of wealthy capitalists; who resold it in lots to new colonists or to the undertakers of such plantations. (A.D. 1650 to 1660.) Thus there arose in Ireland, by the side of the native Irish, the old Anglo-Irish, and the presbyterian Scotch, a fourth population, regarded with ill-will by the former, both on account of its English origin and of its recent establishment in the country. There arose no serious discords between them so long as the Commonwealth of England remained powerful under the protectorate of Cromwell; but after his death, when the English government fell into anarchy, there immediately arose in Ireland a party for the restoration of the Stuarts, consisting chiefly of protestant or catholic Anglo-Irish, and of but a small number of natives. The latter, instinctively hostile to every enterprise tending to place their country permanently under the sway of any Englishman, far from attaching themselves in a body to the party of Charles II., placed themselves in direct opposition to it when he was about to be proclaimed king of Great Britain and Ireland. Their dispute with the royalists became so warm, that arms were taken up on both sides, and several encounters ensued: but the partisans of the Stuarts, uniting on their side all the old and the new colonies, prevailed against a population which the republican government had disorganised and impoverished.

(A.D. 1660.) Charles II., feeling that his restoration was owing to the general lassitude of all parties, carefully avoided all that might reanimate them, and made but few changes in Ireland. He resisted, in general, the petitions of the natives and of the papists that they might be permitted to re-enter upon their estates, then in the occupation of the soldiery and new colonists. (A.D. 1685.) But in the reign of James II., who was a catholic, the catholic party, by the aid of the royal authority, acquired a great ascendancy in Ireland. All the civil and military offices were given to papists; and the king, doubtful of the issue of the contest in which he was then engaged in England against public opinion, was studious to organize in Ireland

a force capable of supporting him. In that island he sought a refuge after his deposition, and assembled at Dublin a parliament composed of papists and native Irish. The latter requested of James II., as a preliminary, that he should acknowledge the entire independence of Ireland: but the king refused, being unwilling to abandon any of his ancient prerogatives; and offered, as the means of accommodation, to tolerate in future no worship but catholicism. But the Irish, immovable in their views of political emancipation, answered by a message, that, since he separated himself from their national cause, they would manage their affairs without him.¹ (A.D. 1690.) In the midst of these dissensions, the new king of England, William III., landed in Ireland with considerable forces, and gained against the two confederate parties of the old Irishmen and the papists the decisive battle of the Boyne.

(A.D. 1690 to 1725.) The conquest of Ireland by William III. was followed by confiscations and expropriations, which implanted in the island another English colony; around which rallied the zealous protestants and all the friends of the revolution, who took the title of *Orangemen*: the whole direction of affairs passed into their hands, and the catholics no longer exercised any office whatsoever. The protestants who oppressed them were themselves oppressed at the same time by the government of England, as the English settled in Ireland had constantly been for five centuries. Their commerce and manufactures were shackled by prohibitions, and the Irish parliament was very rarely permitted to assemble. In the reign of Anne that parliament was deprived of its few remaining privileges; and, as if to extenuate this wrong in the eyes of the Anglican protestants, and make them blind to their own interest by flattering their religious animosity, the papists were persecuted individually. They were prohibited from acquiring lands or farms on long lease, and even from bringing up their children in their own houses. (A.D. 1725.) But the community of suffering, though in very unequal degrees, united in one and the same opposition the protestants, the Anglo-Irish catholics, and the native Irish, who formed a new party, entirely political, called that of the patriots. These all agreed on one chief point, the necessity of rendering Ireland independent of England. The former entertained these views from their hatred of the government; the latter through an uncompromising hatred of the English people and all men of English descent: this is proved by the satires composed at that time against such of the sons of Erin as learned and spoke English.²

(A.D. 1750 to 1762.) The patriotic party gradually gained strength, and repeatedly came to open violence with the English party, on the rumour, well or ill founded, that it was in agitation to suppress definitively the parliament of Ireland. About the same time, the great proprietors of the southern and eastern provinces began to turn their arable lands into pastures and to enclose the commons, in order to increase their incomes by the breeding of cattle. This agricultural change occasioned the expulsion of a great many small farmers, the total ruin of many poor families, and

¹ Sir Richard Musgrave, i. 31.

² Transactions of the Hibernian Society of Dublin.

threw a great number of day-labourers, mostly native Irish and catholics, out of employ. The labourers who were dismissed or left without work, and they who thought they had as much right as the lord himself to the unreclaimed lands upon which from time immemorial they had been accustomed to graze their flocks, assembled in troops, and organised themselves. Then, armed with muskets, sabres, and pistols, and preceded by bagpipes, they scoured the country; breaking down the enclosures, laying the protestants under contribution, and enlisting the catholics into their association, which took the name of White Boys, from their all wearing a white frock as a rallying-sign.¹ Many persons of Irish origin, of some fortune, had entered this association, which appears to have negotiated with the king of France and the son of the pretender, Charles-Edward, when the latter was defeated at Culloden. It is not precisely known what were their political projects: probably they were to act in concert with a French expeditionary force that was to be commanded by M. de Conflans.² But when France relinquished the idea of an invasion, the efforts of the White Boys were limited to a petty warfare against the agents of the royal authority. In the northern counties another association was formed, under the name of Hearts of Oak; its members wearing a sprig of oak in their hats, as a badge of recognition. Some farmers, ejected on the expiration of their leases, also united and armed themselves, under the name of Hearts of Steel. (A.D. 1762.) And in the southern provinces there appeared an association more closely bound together, under the name of Right Boys: all those who were affiliated to it swore to pay no tithes to any priest, even though catholic, and to obey no orders except those of a mysterious chief called Captain Right:³ which oath was so well observed, that in many places the sheriffs and agents of government could not find men, at any price, to execute decrees or sentences passed upon the Right Boys.

(A.D. 1775.) While the struggle of these different associations against the civil and military authorities occasioned in the country a multitude of disorders and robberies, some landowners and young men of wealthy protestant families thought fit to form, under the name of Volunteers, a counter-association, with no object but to preserve the public peace; they equipped themselves at their own expense with arms and horses, and patrolled the disturbed districts by night and by day. (A.D. 1775 to 1780.) The rupture between England and her North American colonies had brought upon her a declaration of war by France, Spain, and Holland. All the troops employed in Ireland were recalled; and that country was left exposed to the aggressions of the three hostile powers, and of the privateers which they had at sea. The great landowners made strong representations on this subject to the ministry, which answered them, "If you would be safe, arm and defend yourselves." The wealthy classes very zealously took advantage of this authorisation. The companies of Volunteers which had been formed previously served as a model and a nucleus for the organisation of a body of national militia, which, under the same

name, soon rose to the number of forty thousand men. As it was composed almost wholly of Anglo-Irish protestants, the government had full confidence in it, and presented it with a great quantity of arms and ammunition. The first projectors of this great military association had, indeed, no object but the defence of the Irish soil against the enemies of England: but Ireland was so unhappy, all classes of men there experienced so much constraint and vexation, that, from the moment the Volunteers felt their strength, they thought of employing it to ameliorate, if possible, the condition of their country. A new spirit of patriotism developed itself among them, which embraced in one and the same affection all the inhabitants of the island, without distinction of race or worship. Such catholics as chose to enter the association of the Volunteers were received with eager goodwill; and arms were distributed among them, in opposition to the old law, which reserved the privilege of possessing them for protestants only. The protestant soldiers gave the military salute and presented arms to the chaplains of the catholic regiments:⁴ monks, and ministers of the reformed church shook hands with and entertained each other.

In each province the Volunteers held political meetings, all of which agreed in sending deputies to form a central assembly, with full power to act as representatives of the Irish nation.⁵ (A.D. 1780.) This assembly, sitting at Dublin, passed different resolutions, all founded on the principle that the English parliament had no right to make laws for Ireland, and that this right resided entirely in the Irish parliament. The government, wholly occupied in the war against the new United States of America, and having no force capable of counterbalancing in Ireland the organisation of the Volunteers, acknowledged, by a bill passed in 1783, the integrity of the legislative privileges of the two Irish chambers. The *habeas corpus*, or guarantee for every English subject against an illegal detention, was now for the first time introduced into Ireland. But these forced concessions were made with no sincerity; and so soon as the general peace was concluded, the ministerial agents in 1784 sent an intimation to the Volunteers that they must dissolve themselves as no longer requisite, and commanded the catholics to disarm in obedience to the laws. Several regiments declared that they would not lay down their arms but with their lives; and the protestants, subscribing to this declaration, gave out that their subaltern officers, and their own arms, should be at the service of every Irishman who chose to be exercised in military manœuvres.⁶

(A.D. 1784 to 1789.) This spirit of mutual toleration was considered by the English government as extremely formidable; and it employed all its policy to destroy it, and to revive the old religious and national animosities. In this it succeeded to a certain degree, by creating obstacles to the meeting of the political assemblies and Volunteer clubs, and by bribing or terrifying many members of that association. The wealthiest deserted first, because they are, in general, more circumspect and less ardent than men of a lower social grade. The association, deprived of its old leaders,

¹ Muirgrave's History of the Rebellion, i. 36.² *Ibid.*, 38.³ *Ibid.*, 53.⁴ *Ibid.*, 55, 56.⁵ *Ibid.*⁶ *Ibid.*, 58, 59.

fell into a sort of anarchy; and the influence of unenlightened men was made manifest in it, by the gradual oblivion of the grand principle of nationality, which, at one moment, had effaced all party distinctions. After some individual affrays, the more fanatical of the protestants began, in certain districts, to disarm the papists by force. For this purpose they formed a society under the name of Peep-of-day Boys; because it was generally at that hour that they made their domiciliary visits to the catholics in search of concealed arms. The latter, to secure themselves against their violence, formed, under the name of Defenders, a counter-association, which did not always confine itself to the defensive, but made reprisals by attacking the protestants. It was gradually reinforced by the addition of all the catholics that withdrew from the Volunteers, whose dissolution became complete in all the provinces except at Dublin, where they were continued as an institution of municipal police. The Peep-of-day Boys, having, it seems, no great political object, confined themselves to partially annoying their antagonists; but the Defenders, the greater part of whom were of Irish race, had for their bond of union the instinctive aversion of the natives of Ireland for the foreign colonists. Whether from the memory of an ancient political alliance, or from a conformity of character and manners, the native Irish had a greater partiality for the French than for any other nation; and the chiefs of the Defenders, who were mostly priests or monks, had established a correspondence with the cabinet of Versailles, during the years immediately preceding the French revolution.

(A.D. 1789.) That revolution made a powerful impression upon the more patriotic of the Irish of every sect. There was then at Dublin a catholic committee, composed of wealthy individuals and of priests of that communion, who were employed in transmitting to the government the complaints and representations of their catholic brethren. Hitherto they had confined themselves to humble supplications, accompanied by servile protestations of devotion and loyalty; but, suddenly changing their tone, a majority of the members of the catholic committee decided that it was incumbent upon them to claim, as a natural right, the abolition of the laws against catholicism, and call upon all catholics to take up arms to obtain it. (A.D. 1789 to 1790.) At the same time there was formed at Belfast in the county of Antrim, a province inhabited by the Scottish colonists introduced into Ireland in the reign of James I., a presbyterian club, the special object of which was to consider the political state of Ireland, and the means of reforming it. The Dublin committee soon proposed to this club an alliance founded on community of interests and opinions; and the presidents of these two assemblies, of whom the one was a catholic priest, and the other a calvinist minister, carried on a political correspondence. These amicable relations became the basis of a new association, that of the United Irishmen, the object of which was, to unite a second time, in one body determined on carrying into effect the national demands, all classes of the inhabitants. In many towns, especially those of the east and south, clubs of United Irishmen were established on the same model, and regulated by similar statutes. All the parties entered into this

federation, and made mutual concessions to each other. The catholics published an explanation of their doctrine, and a disavowal of all hostility to other christian sects; most of them went so far in a conciliatory spirit as even to formally abandon their old pretensions to estates of which their ancestors had at different times been deprived.

Thus the grand spring of the English dominion in Ireland was broken, by the reconciliation of all classes of its inhabitants. The government took vigorous measures against what it called, by a new term, the spirit of revolution. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended; but the association of United Irishmen continued, nevertheless, to be recruited in all the provinces, and to maintain friendly relations with that nation which had recently invited all others to make themselves free, as it had done. The anniversary of the French Federation was celebrated in Dublin on the 14th of July, 1790; and in the course of 1791 many addresses were sent from all parts of Ireland to the constituent assembly.¹ When the kings who had coalesced at Pilnitz declared war against France, the United Irishmen of Belfast voted aid in money to the French armies; and the same society held public rejoicings in many towns the moment that news arrived of the duke of Brunswick's retreat.² In general, the Irish patriots studied to follow and to imitate the march of the French revolution. They established a national guard after the manner of that of France; and the officers and soldiers of this corps, clothed and armed by subscription, adopted the custom of saluting one another by the title of citizen. In 1793 they all became republicans in language and in principle; protestants, calvinists, and papists, were united in this opinion; and the titular catholic archbishop of Dublin, in one of his pastoral letters, endeavoured to prove, by instancing the Italian republics of the middle ages, that the catholics were the founders of modern democracy.

The bad success of the French revolution was a great blow to the power of the United Irishmen; as it lessened their own confidence in the infallibility of their principles, and gave a sort of authority to the accusations of their enemies. The English ministry seized the moment when this hesitation and partial reaction of public opinion manifested itself, to make to the catholics a concession which, until then, it had refused. It restored to them the privilege of themselves educating their children, and also the exercise of some portion of civil and political rights; which concessions enabled it to represent to the papists that the general union of the people was thenceforward to be esteemed by themselves as useless; and if the catholics still continued the agitation, the government was likewise enabled to render them odious to the other religious sects, by imputing to them a secret purpose of exterminating the protestants. The bands of Defenders continuing to traverse several of the provinces afforded a plausible colour to these imputations; and the protestants of Connaught, whom the smallness of their number, amidst a population of native Irish, made it the easier to terrify, armed of their own accord about the year

¹ Musgrave's Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland, i. 133.

² *Ibid.*, 134.

³ *Ibid.*, 146.

1795, and organised themselves as an association, under the name of Orangemen. Their political tenet was, the rigorous maintenance of the order of things established by William III., and of all the oppressive laws afterwards passed against the catholics and the native Irish. They displayed, from the beginning of their organisation, a fanaticism which caused them to be dreaded by their neighbours of a different creed and origin, and nearly fourteen hundred catholic families emigrated to the south and east, to escape this new persecution.

Some cruelties which the Orangemen committed on the catholics excited a marked hatred against themselves; they were considered as the authors of all the violences exercised by the civil and military agents of the government, such as torture inflicted on suspected persons, and the destruction of printing-offices. Every man accused of Orangeism became an object of popular vengeance; and as this charge was necessarily a vague one, it was easy for the ill-intentioned of the other party to make use of it to sacrifice whomsoever they chose; wherefore every protestant felt a degree of apprehension individually. This mutual distrust, fomented by the policy of the authorities, had considerably weakened the bond of union of the Irish people; and in order to remedy this by a more compact organisation, there was then substituted for the ostensible association of United Irishmen a secret affiliation, founded upon a solemn oath, and on the principle of passive obedience to chiefs whose names were known only to a small number of the associated. The society was divided into branch reunions, who were to hold all communications with each other by means of superior committees, consisting of deputies chosen from each. (A.D. 1794 to 1796.) Of these, some constituted the district, and some the provincial committees; and above these was a *directory* of five members, which ruled the whole union, which comprised nearly one hundred thousand men. The inferior and superior leaders received the titles or grades of lieutenant, captain, colonel, general, and generalissimo. Each affiliated person having any property was to provide himself, at his own expense, with fire-arms, powder, and ball. To the poorer sort pikes were distributed by subscription; and such of the members of the union as were blacksmiths and carpenters shortly manufactured a great number of them. This new plan of organisation was effected in 1796, in the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster; but in Connaught it was delayed, owing to the vigilance of the Orangemen, and the support which they lent to the agents of authority.¹

Among those whom the United Irishmen acknowledged as its chiefs were some of different origin and different religions: Arthur O'Connor, who, according to the popular opinion, was descended from the last king of all Ireland; lord Edward Fitzgerald, of the old Norman family of the Fitzgeralds; father Quigley, a native Irishman and zealous papist; and Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister, professing the philosophical opinions of the eighteenth century. Ministers of all religious communions were members of the society, and held generally a high rank in it; but they showed no jealousy of each other, nor even

any distrust of the irreligious doctrines of some of the affiliated. They invited their parishioners to read much, and every kind of books, and to assemble for the purpose of reading, at the houses of the schoolmasters, or in the barns. Sometimes the ministers of one worship would go and preach in the churches of the other; an auditory, composed one half of catholics and the other of calvinists, would listen with earnest attention to the same sermon, and then receive at the church-door a gratuitous distribution of philosophical pamphlets, including Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, of which a large edition had been printed at Belfast.² This inclination to make their particular habits or creed subordinate to the object or the commands of the union was manifested in the lower orders by a total abstinence from spirits, which, in their moist climate, it was very difficult to adhere to. The directory recommended this in 1796 to all under its orders, that each one might cease to pay to the English government the taxes laid upon liquors;³ and about the end of the same year it announced by printed circulars the approaching arrival of a French fleet. Fifteen thousand men sent from France, under the command of general Hoche, arrived in Bantry Bay; but a storm dispersed the vessels, and prevented their landing.

(A.D. 1796 to 1798.) This untoward accident, and the slowness of the French executive directory in preparing a second expedition, gave the English government time to labour actively for the destruction of the national union. More frequent visits were made by day and by night to the houses of the suspected. In those places where arms were supposed to be concealed, the inhabitants were forced to discover them, by being subjected to various kinds of torture; the most frequent were to half hang a man, to flog until the skin fell in strips, or to cover the hair with pitch, and tear it off the head. These cruelties and vexations oppressed the Irish beyond endurance, and they resolved to commence the insurrection without waiting for the arrival of the French. They now made pikes and cast balls with fresh activity. The government perceived these dispositions; for large trees near the towns were cut down and carried away in the night, the leaden gutters disappeared from the houses, and the catholics repaired more frequently than common to the churches and to the confessional.⁴ Yet, notwithstanding this increase of religious zeal, their good understanding with the protestants continued; and a man who, in the beginning of the year 1798, was executed at Carrickfergus as an agent of the United Irishmen, went to execution attended by a monk and two presbyterian ministers. In this state of affairs and of minds, one of the delegates from the province of Leinster to the Irish union, being neither urged by any imminent danger nor gained over by considerable offers, but suddenly seized with a sort of panic, went and gave information to a magistrate of Dublin, a partisan of the government, of the place where the committee of which he was a member was to hold one of its sittings. Upon this information thirteen persons were seized, with many papers which compromised others. Numerous arrests were made; and four days after, several thousand men, armed with muskets and pikes,

¹ Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, i. 158.

² *Ibid.*, 189.

³ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 247—249.

assembled a few miles from Dublin, and marched against that city.¹

Thus began the insurrection of the United Irishmen, which extended itself in a moment over all the country between Dublin and the Wicklow mountains, intercepting all communication between the capital and the southern provinces. The defensive precautions taken at Dublin, where there was a large quantity of artillery, sheltered the metropolis from the attack of the insurgents; but some less considerable towns fell into their hands. The first action which they sustained in the field against the king's troops was fought on the hill of Tara, where had been held in former times the general assembly of the Irish people. The battalions of the United Irishmen had green flags, upon which was painted a harp, surmounted, instead of a crown, by a cap of liberty, with the words, "Liberty or Death!" and also the Irish device, "Erin go bragh!" Those who were catholics carried about them, when going to battle, absolutions signed by a priest, upon which was drawn a tree of liberty; and in the pockets of the slain there were frequently found books of litanies, with translations of the French republican songs.² The catholic priests, who nearly all held commissions in the insurgent army, used their influence to prevent the maltreatment of those protestants who were not members of the union, but against whom it could allege no political grievance; they saved many of them when on the point of becoming victims to the fanaticism which animated the lower ranks of the army; and their constant exclamation was, *This is not a war of religion*. Whatever other excesses they committed, the insurgents always respected the women;³ which was not done by the Orangemen, nor even by the officers of the English army, notwithstanding their pretensions to honour and to polished manners. These officers, while they bitterly reproached the rebels for the murder of a single prisoner, placed theirs in the hands of the executioner without any scruple, because, said they, it was the law. There were whole counties in a state of organised revolt, in which not a protestant was killed; but not one of the revolted, taken with arms in his hands, obtained pardon; so that the chiefs of the United Irishmen used to say to one another emphatically, "We fight with the rope about our necks."

According to the instructions of the Irish directory, the insurrection should have begun on the same day and at the same hour in all the towns; but the arrest of the leaders, forcing the persons compromised into immediate revolt, in order that they might not be anticipated, destroyed the concert which alone could have insured the success of this great enterprise. The movement was only communicated from district to district; and such of the affiliated as were distant from Dublin, having time to reflect, suspended their active co-operation, waiting, before they declared themselves, until the insurrection should have reached certain territorial limits. In a very short time it extended to Wexford, where a provisional government was installed, with the title of Executive Directory of the Irish Republic. The green flag was hoisted on the arsenals and public buildings, and some small ves-

sels were armed as cruisers under the insurgent colours.⁴ On a height called Vinegar Hill, near Wexford, they formed an intrenched camp, which they made their head-quarters: there they had some artillery, but, being entirely without field-pieces, they were obliged, when they had to penetrate into a town, to rush up to the enemy's guns, and often exhibited the utmost gallantry and gaiety in this the most murderous species of conflict. At the attack of Ross, in the county of Cork, a cannon of large calibre, placed at one of the gates, was pouring forth its grape-shot, and arresting the progress of the assailants, when a man, running forward in advance of the rest, went up to the mouth of the gun, and, thrusting his arm into it, cried out, "Come on, boys; I've stopped her mouth!"⁵

The leaders of the insurgents, thinking that the taking of the capital would determine all the towns which still hesitated, made so venturesome an attack upon Dublin, that it might appear as an act of desperation. It completely failed, and this first ill success was fatal to the Irish cause. A battle which was lost near Wicklow caused that town to fall again into the hands of the king's troops, and from that time discouragement and dissension were visible in the Irish ranks; they brought accusations against their leaders, and refused to obey them, at the same time that an English army was advancing by forced marches against the camp of Vinegar Hill. By means of its artillery it dislodged the insurgents, most of whom were armed with pikes only, and, pursuing them in the direction of Wexford, obliged them to evacuate that town, where the new republic perished, after an existence of one month. The United Irishmen made a sort of regular retreat from hill to hill; but as they had no cannon, they could not establish themselves anywhere; and the want of provisions soon forced them to disband. The prisoners were put to the torture, in order to make them declare the names of their leaders; but they could not be made to inform of any but such as were already dead or taken prisoners.⁶ Thus ended the insurrection of the east and south; and about the time of its termination another broke out in the north among the presbyterians of Scottish race.

That population, being in general more enlightened than the catholics, was calmer and more settled in its ideas; and before it began to act, it waited until the news of the revolt in the south was completely confirmed. But the delay occasioned by this circumspection gave the government time to take its measures; and when the northern insurrection broke out by an attack upon Antrim, that small town had already received, for its defence, detachments of infantry and cavalry, with some cannon and howitzers. The presbyterians, who had been joined by a number of catholics of English and Irish origin, made the attack on three sides, with no artillery but one six-pounder, in so bad a condition that they could only fire it twice, and another, without a carriage, which they had mounted in haste upon the trunk of a tree and two small cart-wheels. They were for a moment masters of the town, and of a part of the English artillery; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Belfast forced them to retire, while

¹ Masgrave's History of the Rebellion, l. 247, &c.

² *Ibid.*, 243.

³ *Ibid.*, 555.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 506.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 507.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 524.

fifteen hundred men, posted on the Derry road, intercepted the succours which they expected from that quarter. The insurrection broke out with more success in the county of Down; where the Irish, having beaten the king's troops, established a camp near Ballynahinch, after the manner of that of Vinegar Hill. Here was fought a decisive battle, in which the insurgents were defeated, although they had approached the English batteries so near as to lay their hands upon the guns. The king's soldiers retook Ballynahinch, and punished that town by burning it. Belfast, which had been as it were the moral focus of the insurrection, remained in the hands of the government; which circumstance made the same impression upon the insurgents of the north as the fruitless attack upon Dublin had produced on the others; their discouragement was attended with the same symptoms of division. False or highly exaggerated rumours of the cruelties committed by the catholics upon the protestants of the southern provinces alarmed the presbyterians, who, believing themselves to be betrayed, and thinking that the war was degenerating into a war of religion, accepted an amnesty; after which their principal leaders were brought to trial and put to death.¹

The victory of the English government over the insurgents of Leinster and Ulster destroyed the Irish union and great part of its spirit. The men of different sects and origins had now scarcely anything in common, but their disgust at the actual state of things, and their hope of a landing of the French. On the news of the late risings, the executive directory of France had at length yielded to the solicitations of the Irish agents, and had promised them some troops; which landed in the west a month after all was over in the north, east, and south. They consisted of about fifteen hundred men from the armies of Italy and the Rhine, and were commanded by general Humbert. They entered Killala, a small town in the county of Mayo; and, after making all the English of the garrison prisoners, they hoisted there the green flag of the United Irish. The general promised in his proclamations a republican constitution under the protection of France; and invited the inhabitants, without distinction of worship, to join him. But, that being the part of the country in which the first societies of Orangemen had been formed, the protestants there were in general fanatically hostile to the papists, and were devoted to the government; few of them answered the call of the French, the greater part concealing themselves or taking to flight. The catholics, on the contrary, came in great numbers; and the priests, notwithstanding all that had been said of the irreligion of the French, did not hesitate to declare for them, and used all their power to incite their parishioners to take up arms. Many of these priests had been driven from France by a series of revolutionary persecutions; yet they fraternised with the soldiers as unhesitatingly as the others,² one of them going so far as to offer his chapel to be turned into a guard-house. Fresh patriotic songs were composed, in which the French words *Ça ira, en avant!* were mixed in the English verses,³ with some old Irish burdens. The French and their allies marched

southward; and on entering Ballina, finding in the market-place the body of a man on the gallows, who had been hanged for distributing proclamations, all the soldiers, one after another, gave him the French *accolade* (republican embrace). The first encounter took place near Castlebar, where the English troops were completely defeated; and in the night following this battle, fires lighted upon all the heights gave the signal for insurrection to the inhabitants of the country between Castlebar and the sea. The plan of the French was to march upon Dublin as rapidly as possible, gathering together, on their way, the Irish volunteers; but the bad understanding which existed between the protestants and the catholics of the west made the number of the insurgents much less than it had been in the eastern provinces.

While the fifteen hundred French were advancing into the country without a proportionate extension of the insurrection, and their situation was thus daily becoming more and more critical, thirty thousand English troops were marching against them from different quarters.⁴ General Humbert manoeuvred for a long time, to prevent them from effecting a junction; but, being forced to fight a decisive battle at Ballynamuck, he capitulated for himself and his small army; but without obtaining any conditions for the insurgents, who retreated by themselves to Killala, where they endeavoured to make a defence. This position they were unable to keep; the town was taken and plundered by the king's troops, who, after slaughtering a great number of the Irish, drove the remainder into the neighbouring mountains and woods. There some of them kept together in bands, and continued the war as banditti; and others, to escape judicial pursuit, lived in caverns, which they did not venture to quit, and where their relatives supplied them with food.⁵ Most of those who had not an opportunity of concealing themselves in this manner were shot or hanged.

(A.D. 1798 to 1830.) In the disunion of the different Irish sects and parties, the old hatred which they all felt for the English government continued to manifest itself by the assassination of the agents of authority in those places where the insurrection had broken out, and in other places by some partial revolts which took place a year later.⁶ In general all classes of the population had their eyes fixed upon France. The victories of the French gave them joy, and those of the English sorrow. Their hope was that France would make no peace with England without expressly stipulating for the freedom of Ireland; and when the articles of the treaty of Amiens were made known, a universal gloom and depression prevailed. Two months after the conclusion of that peace there were many who still refused to believe it, saying, with impatience, it was impossible for the French to have become Orangemen.⁷ The English ministry took advantage of the general discouragement to draw closer the political tie between Ireland and England, by abolishing the old parliament of Ireland. Although that parliament had never done much good for the country, yet men of all parties clung to it as to the last remaining token

¹ Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, ii. 80—100.

² *Ibid.*, i. 418; ii. 142.

³ Musgrave's Memoirs of Rebellions in Ireland, ii. 173.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 526.

of a national existence; and the project of the union of England and Ireland under one and the same legislature was displeasing even to those who had aided the government against the insurgents of 1798. They added their discontent to that of the people, and met together to remonstrate; but their opposition went no further.

There is now but one parliament for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and it is from this assembly, an immense majority of which consists of Englishmen, that Ireland expects the enactment of such measures and laws as may tend to bring about a real pacification. After many years of fruitless solicitations, after repeated menaces of renewed insurrections, one of the numerous grievances of the country has been removed by the passing of the Bill for Roman Catholic Emancipation. The Catholics are now eligible to many public offices, and may sit in both houses of parliament. This great question having been thus set at rest, how many others of equal moment remain to be debated! The exorbitant privileges of the Anglican church; the changes that were violently effected in landed properties by spoliation and confiscations in a mass; finally, coming in the sequel of the long quarrels between the races, sects, and parties of this island, there remains the great question of the national independence, and of the dissolution of the compact of the union between Ireland and England: such may be the causes which, at some future time more or less remote, may have for their effect a renewal of the sad events of 1798. Such convulsions may possibly be inevitable; and even recently, the abject destitution of the lower class of the people, the hereditary feuds, and a species of permanent hostility against the agents of the administration, multiply crimes and outrages, and render a pleasant and fruitful country, the population of which is naturally sociable and lively, the most uninhabitable region of Europe.

SECTION V.

THE ANGLO-NORMANS AND THE NATIVE ENGLISH.

(A.D. 1205 to 1215.) AFTER the conquest of Anjou and Poitou by king Philip Augustus, many men of those two countries, and even they who had conspired against the Anglo-Norman dominion, conspired against the French, and made an alliance with king John. The latter king furnished them with no important succours; and all that he could do for those who had exposed themselves to persecution from the king of France, by intriguing or revolting against him, was to give them a welcome and an asylum in England. A great many of these emigrants, from necessity or from choice, repaired thither. They were by nature lively, adroit, and insinuating, according to the character of the inhabitants of southern Gaul, and better adapted to please a king than were the Normans, who were generally of a duller wit, and less pliant in disposition.¹ Thus the Poitevins were soon in the greatest favour at the court of England; and

supplanted in king John's good graces all the old aristocracy. He distributed among them the principal offices and all the fiefs that were held of him; and, on various pretences, took from the rich Normans their places and their tenures of land, and gave them to those new-comers. He married them to those heiresses of whom he was the guardian, according to the feudal law; and adjudged to them, under the like title of guardianship, as his deputies, the management and receivership of the estates of minors and orphans.²

This preference of the king for foreigners, the constantly increasing avidity of whom soon constrained him to make greater exactions than any of his predecessors, and to arrogate an unwonted power over persons and property, rendered the Anglo-Norman barons extremely disaffected to his government. The new courtiers, feeling that their situations and their fortunes were precarious, were in haste to amass wealth, and unremittingly followed up their demands to the king. In the exercise of their public functions, they showed greater eagerness for gain than the old functionaries; and by their daily vexations they made themselves as hateful to the Saxon serfs as to the nobles of Norman birth. They levied greater rents and fines on their domains than any former lords had exacted, and enforced with greater rigour the paying of tolls on the bridges and highways; seizing the tradespeople's horses and goods, and paying them, says an old historian, with nothing but tallages and derision.³ Thus they agitated at the same time, and almost in an equal degree, the two races of men inhabiting England, and which, since their violent union, had not hitherto experienced any suffering, sympathy, or aversion, in common.

The aversion for the Poitevins and the other foreign favourites of the king established, therefore, the first point of contact between these two classes of subjects, until then estranged from each other, at least in general, and with the exception of some individual approximations. From hence may be dated the birth of a new national spirit, common to all men born on the English soil. They are all, without distinction of origin, called natives by the historians of that period; who, repeating the popular rumours, impute to king John a formal design of dispossessing the inhabitants of England, in order to give their inheritances to men of every other country.⁴ These exaggerated alarms were perhaps felt more strongly by the English townspeople and farmers than by the Norman lords of manors and the barons, who were the only persons really interested in destroying the foreign influence, and in forcing king John to return to his old friends and the men of his own nation.

Thus, at the very beginning of his reign, John found himself in a situation nearly resembling that of king Edward when the Saxon monarch returned from Normandy.⁵ He was threatening the great and the wealthy of England, or at least giving them

¹ Fideles suos quos natus sanguis flecti non permittet, pro aliis ventilatis postponit. (Ibid., ii. 389.)

² Hinc mercatorum equi, hinc bige, hinc eorum substantiæ violenter rapiabantur, nec aliud pretium quam tallie vel subsannationes. . . (Ibid., ii. 616.)

³ Venit ergo ad hoc omne hominum in Angliam cum mulieribus et parvulis, ut, expulsis indigenis à regno et penitus exterminatis, ipsi jure perpetuo terram possiderent. (Ibid., i. 269.)

⁴ See Book ii. 48; iii. 50.

¹ Pictaviensium innatas versutias. (Math. Paris., ii. 386.)

cause to believe themselves threatened, with a sort of conquest of their privileges, to be effected without any apparent violence, and for the profit only of foreigners, whose presence in England wounded their national pride as well as their interests.¹ Under these circumstances the barons of England took against the courtiers imported from Poitou and Guienne, and against the king who preferred them to his old liege-men, the same step which the Anglo-Saxons had taken against Edward and his Norman favourites, that of open revolt and overt war. After reciting or notifying to king John, as a sort of ultimatum, a charter of Henry I., which determined in a positive manner the bounds of the royal prerogative, upon his refusal to confine himself within the legal limits recognised by his predecessors, the barons solemnly renounced their oath of fealty and allegiance, and defied the king; which was then the mode of declaring war unto death. They elected for their leader Robert Fitz-Walter or Robert Fils de Gauthier, who took the title of marshal of the army of God and the Holy Church, or, in the Norman tongue, of *maréchal de l'armée de Dieu et de la Sainte Eglise*, and played in this insurrection the same high part which the Saxon Godwin had performed with so much distinction and patriotism in that of 1052.²

(A.D. 1215.) The apprehension of seeing the ecclesiastical spoliation, or deprivation, with which the Norman Conquest had at one blow overwhelmed all the clergy of English race, gradually effected in favour of the Poitevin clerks, and at the same time a sort of patriotic enthusiasm, rallied the Anglo-Norman bishops and priests around the standard raised by the barons against king John; although the English king held at this time the most amicable relations with the pope. He had renewed the public profession of vassalage to the holy see, which Henry II. had formerly made after the murder of Thomas Becket; but this act of humiliation, far from being of that utility to John which it was of to his father, only served to bring him into public contempt, and entail on him the reproaches of the clergy, who felt that they were themselves attacked in the dearest of their interests; that is, the stability of their benefices and possessions. The king, thus abandoned by all men of Norman origin, had not, like Henry I., the art of interesting in his cause and arming in his favour those of English race; who, moreover, no longer formed a national body that was capable of becoming, in the mass, a powerful auxiliary to either of the antagonist parties. The townsmen and the serfs holding immediately of the barons were much more numerous than those holding of the king; and as for the citizens of the great towns which had become free by virtue of royal charters, a natural sympathy attracted them to the side on which they found the majority of their fellow-countrymen. The city of London declared for the barons who had unfurled their ensigns against the foreign favourites; and the king saw himself, almost in a moment, so reduced in authority as to have none to support his cause, or fight for him, but those who were not born in England, namely, the Poitevins commanded

by Savary de Mauléon, and the Flemings under the conduct of Gérard de Solinghen and of Gauthier de Burk.³

John, intimidated by the imposing appearance thus happily assumed by the party of his adversaries, consisting of all the men who possessed any stake in the country, or had an interest in its defence, whether as descendants of the conquerors or of the indigenous population, now resigned himself to consent to subscribe the conditions required by the revolted barons. The conference was held on Runnymede, by the Thames' side between Staines and Windsor, where the two armies encamped. The demands of the confederate barons were there debated, and king John acceded to them by a charter sealed with his royal seal. The special object of Magna Charta was to deprive the king of that part of his power by means of which he had elevated and enriched men of foreign birth at the expense of the Anglo-Normans. The English people were not forgotten in the treaty of peace which its allies of the other race made with the king; but they were not now the old Saxon laws that were guaranteed, as in other times, by the charter of the Norman king to the descendants of the Saxons. For there was not now, precisely speaking, a Saxon nation; the dispersion and breaking-up of the conquered people had reached its final term; and the people, having ceased to form a society distinct from that of its masters, no longer desired to be ruled by a separate law, but only to be treated with less harshness and contempt. King John's charter moderated the royal and seigneurial power as to forced (or statute) labour in the repairing of roads and bridges; it forbade certain vexations which had hitherto been exercised upon the tradesmen and villains; and extending to the latter class an old provision of the Norman law which forbade the seizure for debt of those articles without which a man could not fill his station or exercise his profession, as the horses of an earl or baron, and the arms of a knight, it enacted, therefore, that in the same circumstances the serf should keep his draught-oxen and his implements and tools, which were his means of livelihood, or his *wainage*, as Magna Charta itself expresses.⁴

The article of principal importance, if not in its ulterior results, at least in its temporary interest, was that by which the king engaged to send out of the kingdom immediately all the foreign soldiers that had come over with arms and horses. This article appears to have been received with enthusiasm by all the inhabitants of England, without distinction of origin; and perhaps the native English themselves attached to it a greater value than to all the rest. The old passion of national hatred for the dominion of foreigners, which had so unavailingly hitherto fermented in the breasts of the people, since it had now become impossible to destroy the consequences of the Conquest, collected all its strength of animosity and directed itself

¹ *Savaricus de Mallo-leone cum suis Pictaviensibus ... Walterus Burk sicarius et vir sanguinum cum Flandrensibus et Brabantibus suis.* (Math. Paris., i. 274.)

² *Salvo wainagio suo.* (Magna Charta.)—*Venditis ceteris, equis tamen ei reservabitur.* (Ibid.)—*Quod si miles fuerit quem juvat armorum decor, tota sui corporis armatura cum equis sibi necessariis a venditoribus erit liberissima.* (Dialogus de Scaccario.)

¹ *Quod sæpius gravati videbant alienigenas suis bonis agnari.* (Math. Paris., ii. 445.)

² *Constituerunt Robertum filium Walteri principem militie sue appellantes eum mareschallum exercitus dei et ecclesie sancte.* (Math. Paris., i. 234.)—See Book iii.

against the small body of new-comers whom the king had enriched and loaded with honours. From the moment that their expulsion was pronounced by this law, every Saxon employed himself in assisting by force of arms in the execution of the decree: such of them as were best known were besieged in their houses, and, when they were compelled to fly, their domains were plundered.¹ The country people arrested upon the roads all whom public report, whether right or wrong, designated as foreigners. They made them pronounce English words, or else those phrases of the mixed language employed generally by the Norman barons in their daily intercourse of speech with their serfs and domestics; and when the suspected person was convicted of speaking neither Saxon nor Anglo-Norman, or of pronouncing the words of both those languages with the accent of southern Gaul, they were ill-treated, stripped, and imprisoned, without any scruple whether they were knights, monks, or priests.² An author of that day says, "It was melancholy for the friends of the foreigners to behold their confusion and the ignominy with which they were overwhelmed."³

After unwillingly granting and insincerely signing Magna Charta, king John retired into the Isle of Wight, there to await, as in a place of greater security, the moment for recommencing the war. He asked and obtained of the pope a dispensation from the oath which he had sworn to the barons, and the excommunication of such as should remain in arms to compel him to keep that oath; but no bishop in England consented to promulgate this sentence, which therefore remained ineffective. The king, with what money he had remaining, procured himself a fresh reinforcement of Brabançons, who found means to land on the southern coast; and, owing to their tactics and military discipline, obtained at first some advantages over the irregular army of the confederated barons and burgesses. The former of these began to fear that they should lose all the fruits of their recent triumph, and resolved to strengthen themselves, like the king, by drawing succours from abroad. They applied to Philip Augustus king of France, and promised to give the crown of England to his son Louis, provided that he came and joined them at the head of a good army. (A.D. 1216.) This treaty was concluded, and young Louis arrived in England with forces sufficient to counterbalance those of king John. The entire resemblance of language between the French and the Anglo-Norman barons must have diminished in the latter the coldness and distrust naturally inspired by the presence of a foreign chief; but it was otherwise with the mass of the people, whose language bore as little affinity to that of the French as to that of the Poitevins; and this dissonance, joined to the spirit of jealousy which ere long broke out between the Normans and their auxiliaries, rendered the support of the king of France prejudicial rather than useful to the

party of the barons. That party was beginning to fall into disorganisation, when king John died, loaded with universal hatred and contempt such as no king of England had ever before incurred; for it was entertained by all men born in the country, without distinction of race or condition. Thus, the historians of that period, who were all priests, make no allowance to John for his abject submission to the see of Rome. In the account of his life, they spare no injurious epithet; and after relating his death, they compose or transcribe epitaphs such as the following:—"Who mourns, or shall ever mourn, for the death of king John? Hell, with all its pollution, is polluted by the soul of John."⁴

Louis, son of Philip Augustus, had by the expressed desire of the barons assumed the title of king of England; but the French who had accompanied him soon began to conduct themselves as if they were in a conquered country. The greater the resistance made by the English to their arbitrary exactions, the more did those foreign invaders show themselves cruel and grasping; and the accusation which had been so fatal to king John was renewed against the dauphin Louis. It was said that he had formed a project, in concert with his father, of exterminating or banishing all the rich men of England, and of putting Frenchmen in their places. Wherefore, being excited for the general welfare to take up arms, all parties in the nation united in favour of prince Henry, the son of king John; and the French, being left almost alone, acceded to the terms of a capitulation, by which their lives were granted them on the condition of their forthwith embarking.

(A.D. 1217 to 1258.) The crown of England having been thus restored to the Anglo-Norman prince, Magna Charta was confirmed by Henry III., and a charter renewing the right of chase in forests and woodlands to the possessors of fiefs or manors was also granted by him in favour especially of men of Norman race. But the new king, being the son of a Poitevin woman who had remarried in her own country, received in England after the lapse of a few years his half-brothers by the mother's side, and many other foreigners, who successively came, as in the time of king John, to seek fortunes in England. The affections of family and kindred, together with the agreeable and easy humour of the new intruders from Poitou, had the same influence with Henry III. as they had had with his predecessor; and the great offices at his court, together with the civil, military, and ecclesiastical dignities of the realm, were once more lavished upon men born on the continent.⁵ After king Henry's marriage with the daughter of the count of Provence, the Provençals flocked in as numerous as the Poitevins; and many Savoyards, Piedmontese, and Italians, distant relatives or protégés of the queen, came over also to England, being attracted by the hope of attaining riches and advancement. Most of them succeeded; and the

¹ Depredationibus ac rapinis super alienigenas miserè debacchati sunt. Unde contigit ut multi tam religiosi quàm alii nationis extraneæ, exeuntes per clandestinam fugam presidium, mortis supplicium seu dispendiosum captivacionis periculum metuentes, fugerunt à regno. (Math. Paris., i. 382.)

² Nam quicumque Anglicum idioma loqui nesciret vilipenderetur à vulgo et despectui haberetur. (Ibid.)

³ Tunc erat triste æmulis alienigenarum videre confusionem eorum. (Ibid.)

⁴ Quis dolet aut doluit de regis morte Johannis? (Script. rer. Angliæ.)—Sordida fœdator, fœdante Johanne, gehenna. (Math. Paris., i. 288.)

⁵ Initium habuit dissensio, propter quam orta est contentio inter regem et barones suos à retentione alienigenarum quos ipse rex longo tempore manu tenuerat et foverat contra commodum regni sui et voluntatem indigenarum. (Math. Paris., i. 427.)

alarm of this new invasion of foreigners became as widely spread, and excited as angry passions, as in the preceding reign. Complaints were made almost in the same terms that had been used by the Saxon writers after the Conquest, to the effect that, to obtain favour and fortune in England, it was sufficient not to be an Englishman.¹ A Poitevin, named Pierre Desroches, was the king's favourite minister and confidant; and when a demand was addressed to him for the observance of the charter of John and the laws of England, he answered, "I am no *Englishman*, that I should know these charters and these laws."² The confederation of the barons and the burgesses was renewed in an assembly holden at London. The principal inhabitants of the city swore to concur in whatever should be resolved by the barons, and to adhere firmly to their statutes. Shortly after, most of the bishops, earls, barons, and knights of England, having held a council at Oxford, leagued together for the ample recognition and execution of the charters and the expulsion of the foreigners, by a solemn treaty, which was drawn up in French, and contained the following passage: "We make known to all men, that we have sworn on the Holy Gospel, and are bound to each other by this oath, and promise faithfully that we will, each and all, aid one another against all men, *droit faisant et rien prenant*; and that if any one act contrariwise, we shall hold him to be a mortal enemy."³

(A.D. 1258 to 1272.) It is rather singular that on this occasion the army of the Anglo-Normans, raised to oppose foreign influence, was itself commanded by a foreigner, Simon de Montfort, a Frenchman by birth, and son-in-law to the king.⁴ His father had acquired great military reputation and immense wealth in the crusade against the Albigenses; and he himself was not deficient either in talent or in political skill. As it almost always happens to men who take a contrary side to that which their interests and situation should naturally have caused them to espouse, this powerful baron displayed greater energy and constancy in the struggle which ensued against the authority of Henry III. than had been shown by the Norman Robert Fitz-Walter in the preceding civil war. A stranger to the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, he seems to have had much less repugnance than they had to fraternise with men of English race; and it was he who, for the first time since the Conquest, called on the burgesses to deliberate regularly on the public affairs in conjunction with the bishops and barons of England.

The war then began once more between those men who were born on the English soil and the foreigners who held places and lordships: the Poitevins and Provençals were they whose banishment was sought with the greatest acerbity. The hatred of all classes of the population was directed in par-

ticular against the relatives of the king and queen, such as were William de Valence and Peter of Savoy;⁵ for the native English embraced with fresh ardour the cause of the barons; of which alliance a singular monument is extant, in a song that was current among the people, on the capture of the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, emperor elect of Germany. This is the first historical document that presents a mixture of the two languages, Anglo-Saxon and Norman; but they form a sort of motley, and not a real amalgamation like that which was effected at a later period, and gave rise to modern English.⁶

After gaining several victories over the king's party, Simon de Montfort was killed in battle in 1265; and the old patriotic superstition of the English people was awakened in his favour. Being an enemy to foreigners, and, as a contemporary writer expresses it, a defender of the rights of lawful property, he was honoured with the same title which the popular gratitude had conferred upon those who, in the time of the Norman invasion, had devoted themselves for the defence of the country. Simon, like them, received the appellation of defender of the people. To call him traitor and rebel was declared to be an arrant falsehood;⁷ and he was esteemed a saint and martyr as much as Thomas à Becket.⁸ The leader of the army of the barons against Henry III. was the last man in whose favour this disposition was manifested, of confounding the two enthusiasms, religious and political, peculiar to the English race, and of which the Normans did not partake; for although Simon de Montfort had done much more for them than for the English burgesses and serfs, they did not uphold the reputation of sanctity which the latter endeavoured to attach to him, but left the poor people and village housewives to visit alone the tomb of the new martyr, and obtain miracles from him.⁹ There was no want of miracles; and we have several legends of them; but owing to the little encouragement given by the aristocracy to this popular superstition, it soon sunk into oblivion.¹⁰

(A.D. 1272 to 1381.) Notwithstanding the affection and good will which, during his life, Simon de Montfort had testified for all those of Saxon origin, there still existed an immense distance between the people and the sons of the Normans. Robert Grosse-Tête, bishop of Lincoln, principal chaplain to the army of the barons, who was one of the most ardent promoters of the war against the king, reckoned only two languages in England, Latin for men of letters, and French for the uneducated; in which language he himself, in his old age, wrote

⁵ In multis opprimebatur Anglia dominatione Pictavensium et Romanorum et precipue Elmeri Wintoniensis electi, Willielmi de Valentia, fratris regis uterini, et Petri de Sabaudia avunculi regine. (Math. Paris., continuatio, ii. 989.)

⁶ Warton's History of English Poetry, i. p. 47.

⁷ Et sciendum quod nemo sani capitis debet censere neque appellare Simonem nomine proditoris; non enim fuit proditor, sed reguli Anglorum defensor et alienigenarum inimicus et expulsor, quamvis unus esset ex illis. (Math. Paris.)

⁸ Quod non minus occubuit Simon pro justis ratione legitimarum possessionum Anglie quam Thomas pro legitima ratione ecclesiarum Anglie olim occubuerat. (Chron. de Mailros, apud rer. Anglie. script., i. 238, ed. Gale.)

⁹ Propter justissimam causam indigenarum Anglie quam manu susceperat defendendam, adire tumulum ejus. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Sed numquid Deus dereliquit Simonem sine miraculis? Non; et tuncro deducamus miracula divinitus pro ipsius facta. (Ibid., i. 232.)

¹ Pictavenses, provinciales et jam Hispani et Romani quotidie succrescentibus ditantur redditibus et repulsis Anglicis honoribus sublimantur. (Ibid., ii. 911.)

² M. Guizot, Essais sur l'histoire de France, p. 422.

³ Faisons savoir à toutes gens que nous avons juré sur saints évangiles, et sommes tous ensemble par ce serment, et prometions en bonne foi que chacun de nous et tous ensemble nous entr'aiderons contre toutes gens, droit faisant et rien prenant. Et, si aucun va encontre ce, nous le tiendrons à ennemi mortel. (Annales Monasterii Burtoniensis, apud rer. Anglie. script., p. 413, ed. Gale.)

⁴ Math. Paris., continuatio, ii. 992.

pious books for the use of the laity, making no account of the English language or of those who spoke it.¹ The poets of the same period, even those of English birth, composed all their verses in French, whenever they wished to derive from them either profit or honour. There was then only the class of ballad-singers and writers of romances, for the artisans and peasantry to admire, that employed either pure English, or that language, mixed up of French and English, which served for the habitual communication between the higher and the lower classes. This intermediate idiom, the gradual formation of which was a necessary result of the Conquest, first became current in the cities where the population of the two races had become more intermingled, and where the inequality of conditions was less marked than in the rural districts. There it insensibly took the place of the Saxon tongue; which, being no longer spoken by any but the rudest and poorest part of the nation, fell as much below the new Anglo-Norman idiom as the latter was below the French, which was the language of the court, the aristocracy, and of all who had any pretensions to gentility and politeness.² The rich citizens of the great towns, and those of London in particular, strove, by gallicising their speech with a greater or less degree of judgment, to imitate the nobles, and draw nearer to them in the relations of society, either through motives of interest or vanity: thus they early adopted the custom of saluting each other by the title of sir or *sire*, and also of entitling themselves *barons*, like the owners of castles in the open country. The burghers of the principal trading towns, especially those of Dover, Romney, Sandwich, Hithe, and Hastings, which the Normans called, by distinction, the *cinque ports* of England, assumed, after the example of those of London, the title of Norman nobility; taking that title collectively in their municipal acts, and causing it to be given to them individually in the private affairs of life. But the real Norman barons thought this pretension *outré-cuidente*; and said "that it was quite nauseous to them to hear a villain of London call himself a baron."³ When the sons of the citizens thought proper to hold among themselves a horse-race or a tourney, in some field near the suburbs, the lords sent their lacqueys and esquires to annoy them, and shout in their ears that exercises in arms were unbecomingly soap-boilers and flour-factors like them.⁴

Notwithstanding this indignation of the descendants of the conquerors at the irresistible movement which tended to approximate to themselves the wealthier part of the conquered population, that movement sensibly manifested itself, through the whole of the fourteenth century, in those towns to which the royal charters had granted the right of electing their own magistrates in place of the Norman viscounts and seignorial bailiffs or seneschals. In these towns, which received the name of corporations or bodies corporate, the members of the burgh, rendered powerful by their municipal organization, now succeeded in obtain-

ing for themselves much more respect than was as yet shown towards the inhabitants of small towns and hamlets that remained under the immediate control of the royal authority: but a long time yet elapsed before that authority had, for the citizens taken individually, the same consideration, or evinced towards them those outward tokens of respect which it was willing to testify for the collective bodies of which they were members. The magistrates of London in the reign of Edward III., being admitted to take their places at the royal feasts, already were treated with that proper respect for constituted authorities which was a characteristic feature of the Anglo-Norman race. But the same king, who had allowed the mayor and aldermen to sit at the third table from his own, treated nearly as Saxon serfs every individual of London who, being neither a knight nor an esquire, practised any kind of trade or art. If, for instance, that king had a mind to embellish his palace, or to signalise himself by decorating a church, instead of engaging the best painters in the city to come and work for a stipulated salary, he addressed to his first architect a royal commission in the following terms: "Be it known to you that we have commissioned our well-beloved William de Walsingham to take in our city of London as many painters as shall be necessary, to set them to work at our wages, and make them stay as long as shall be needful. If he find any one of them rebellious, he shall arrest him, and confine him in our prisons, there to remain until further orders."⁵ When the same king wished to procure himself the pleasure of hearing music and ballad-singing after his repasts, he, in like manner, charged the doorkeepers of his palace to take, both within and without the walls of London, a certain number of young people of agreeable countenance, who were good singers and good minstrels.⁶ And when he was about to depart for the wars in France, and the warlike machines were to be repaired, or new ones constructed, king Edward taxed his chief engineer for twelve hundred stone balls for his engines, authorising him to take stone-cutters and other workmen wherever they were to be found, and set them to work in the quarries on pain of imprisonment.⁷

Such, at the close of the fourteenth century, was the condition of those whom the French writers of the time call the villains of London:⁸ and as for the villains of the country, whom the Normans, gallicising old Saxon words, called bonds, cottiers, or cottagers, their individual oppressions were much greater than those of townspeople, and without any compensation, for they had no magistrates of their own choice, nor was there among them any one bearing the title of sir or lord.⁹ They differed from the inhabitants of the towns in this; that their servitude had rather become aggravated by the settlement and conformity of their relations

¹ *Scitis quod assignavimus ... ad tot pictores in civitate nostrâ Londoniæ ... capendum ... et ad omnes quos invenit rebelles arestandum.* (Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c., iii. pars ii. p. 79.)

² *Ad quosdam sacros benè cantantes et membris elegantibus et in arte ministrâ instructos ubicunque invenire poterit capendum.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Ad quarrencarios et omnes alios operarios capendum et in quarrencis ponendum.* (*Ibid.*, iii. pars ii. p. 156. Haguen edit.)

⁴ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxiv. p. 133.

⁵ At sessions there was he lord and sîre.

(Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.)

¹ Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of London, xiii. 248.

² The Lord's Prayer did not in the time of Henry III. contain a single Norman word.

³ Rustici Londonienses qui se barones vocant ad nauseam. (*Script. rer. Angliæ*.)

⁴ Rustici, furfurarii, et saponarii. (*Math. Paris.*)

with the lords of the manors to which they were attached; for the ancient right of conquest had subdivided itself into a multitude of rights less violent in appearance, but, as it were, surrounding the man who was subject to them with innumerable shackles. Foreign travellers, visiting England about the end of the fifteenth century, were astonished at the great number of serfs they beheld, and the excessive harshness of the servitude,¹ when compared with what it was on the continent, and even with what it was in France. The word *bondage*, in the Norman tongue, expressed at that time all that was most wretched in the condition of humanity. Yet this word, to which the Conquest had given an unfavourable signification, was nothing more than a derivative from the Anglo-Danish word *bond*, which, before the invasion by the Normans, meant a free cultivator, and the father of a family, living in the country; and in this sense, joined to the Saxon word *hus*, it denoted the master of a house, the *husbond*, or, according to modern English orthography, *husband*.²

About the year 1351, all those who were called *bonds* in England, that is, all the cultivators, were serfs in body and goods; obliged to pay heavy aids for the small portion of land which served them to feed their families; and were not at liberty to give up that portion of land without the consent of the lords, for whom they were obliged to do gratuitously their tillage, their gardening, and the carriage of all commodities: the lord could sell them, together with their houses, their oxen, and their implements of husbandry, their children, and their posterity, which, in the English deeds, was expressed in the following manner: "Know that I have sold —, my knave, and all his offspring, born or to be born."³ Profound resentment for the evils caused by the oppressions they suffered at the hands of the barons, joined with a total oblivion of the events which occasioned the elevation of those lordly families, the members of which no longer called themselves Normans, but gentlemen, or *gentilshommes*, had led the serfs of England to reflect on the injustice of this personal *servitude*, independently of its historical origin. In the southern provinces, where the population was more numerous (and especially in the county of Kent, the inhabitants of which had preserved the vague tradition of a treaty formerly concluded between them and William the Conqueror, for the maintenance of their ancient franchises), there appeared, at the beginning of the reign of Richard II., great symptoms of popular agitation. It was a time of excessive expense for the court, and for all *gentlemen*, on account of the wars in France, whither each baron repaired at his own proper cost, and strove to distinguish himself by the magnificence of his retinue and of his armour. The proprietors of lordships and manors loaded their farmers and serfs with capitations and exactions, setting forth as their pretext for every new demand the necessity they were under of going to fight the French in their own country, in order to prevent them from landing in England. But the peasantry exclaimed, "We are taxed to aid the knights and esquires of the country to defend their inheri-

tances: we are their valets, and the beasts from which they shear the wool: at all events, if England were ruined, we should lose much less than they would."⁴

This kind of conversation, held on returning from the fields when the serfs of the same domain or of neighbouring domains met and walked along together, was succeeded by speeches of a graver character, delivered in a sort of clubs, in which they assembled in the evening when the labour of the day was over.⁵ Some of the orators at these meetings were priests, who took from Scripture their arguments against the social order of the time. Their discourse was to the following purport: "Good people, things cannot go on in England, and will not go on well, until there are neither villains nor gentlemen—until we are all equal, and the lords are no more masters than ourselves. How have they deserved to be so! and why do they hold us in bondage (*servage*)! Are we not all sprung from the same parents, Adam and Eve! They are clad in velvet and crimson, and in furs and ermine; they have the viands, the spices, and the good wines; and we have the refuse of the straw, and water to drink. They enjoy repose, and beautiful manors; we suffer pain and toil, and wind and rain, in the fields." Upon which the whole meeting would tumultuously exclaim, "There must no longer be serfs; we will no longer be treated as beasts; and if we labour for the lords, the labourers must receive their hire."⁶ These assemblies, formed spontaneously in several places in Kent and Essex, secretly assumed an organization, and sent deputies into the adjacent counties to communicate there with the people of the same class and opinions.⁷ Thus a great association was formed, the object of which was to force the nobles or *gentilshommes* to relinquish their privileges. And a circumstance yet more worthy of remark is, that small writings were circulated in the villages, in the form of letters, recommending to the associated perseverance and discretion, in mysterious and proverbial terms. These writings, some of which have been handed down to us by an author of that period, are composed in a purer English, that is to say, less mixed with French, than other pieces of the same date that were designed for the amusement of the rich citizens of the large towns. Otherwise, there is nothing curious in these pamphlets of the fourteenth century except their existence; the most significant of them all is a letter addressed to the country people by a priest named John Ball, in which are the following sentences: "John Ball greets you all, and gives you to understand that he has rung your bell. Now, right and might—will and skill—God speed the idle. Stand manfully together, and help one another. All's well that ends well."⁸

¹ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxiv. to lxxix., at p. 133, &c.

² Congregaciones et conventiula illicita. (Rymer's Fœdera, iii. pars iii. p. 123. Hague edit.)

³ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxiv. to lxxix.

⁴ Et sic miserunt nunsquisque ad amicos et cognatos suos et sic ulterius de villâ in villam et de patriâ in patriam, rogantes et petentes consilium eorum et auxilium. (Henr. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. v., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2633, ed. Selden.)

⁵ John Ball gretyth yow wele alle, and doth yow to understande, he hath rungen youre belle. Nowe right and myght, wyllle and skylle. God spede every v dele. Stonde manlyche togedyr, in trewthe and helpege. If the ende be wele, than is alle wele. (Id. ibid., ii. col. 2637, 2638.)

¹ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxiv. p. 133.

² Quidam liber homo bondo. (Domesday Book, passim.)

³ Nativum meum cum totâ sequellâ suâ procreatâ et procreandâ. (Madox, Formulæ Anglicanæ.)

Notwithstanding the immense difference which then existed between the condition of peasants and that of townspeople, especially the burghesses of London, the latter appear to have entered into very close relations with the serfs of the county of Essex, and even to have promised to open the city gates to them, and allow them to enter without any resistance, if they chose to come in a body to London and make their demands to king Richard. That king had just entered on his sixteenth year: and the peasants, in their good faith and the honest conviction of the justice of their cause, hoped that he would emancipate them all in a legal manner, and without their being compelled to resort to violence. So that the serfs, in their conversations and political meetings, had this expression constantly in their mouths: "Let us go to the king, who is young, and show him our servitude: let us go to him together: and when he sees us, he will grant us something of his own accord; or if not, we shall use other means of redress."¹

Such was the state of the popular mind, and the association formed around London was rapidly extending, when an unforeseen accident, forcing the association to act before they had acquired sufficient strength and a sufficiently complete organization, destroyed the hopes which they had formed, leaving the condition of serfdom in England to be gradually abolished by the general progress of European civilisation. In the year 1381 the occasions of the government, for the war abroad and for the expenses of its luxury at home, caused it to decree a capitation fixed at twelve sols for each individual of whatever condition who had passed the age of fifteen years. The levy of this tax not having produced so much as had been expected from it, commissioners were sent about to inquire concerning the regularity of the payment.² In their inquisition among the noble and the rich they were courteous and delicate; but to the common people they were excessively harsh and insolent. In several villages in the county of Essex they proceeded so far as to use an indecent mode of ascertaining the age of young girls. The indignation caused by these insults occasioned an insurrection, at the head of which a tiler named Walter, and familiarly Wat, placed himself, who, having, according to the custom of the time, no other proper name but that of his craft, was called Wat Tyler. This movement led to similar risings in the counties of Sussex and Bedford, and in that of Kent, of which John Ball the priest and one Jack Straw were appointed leaders or captains.³ The three leaders and their band, which increased on the road by the addition of all the serfs, whether labourers or artisans, whom they met with, directed their march towards London to go and see the king, as was said by the more simple of the insurgent peasantry, who expected everything from such an interview alone. They marched in great disorder, but without violence, armed with staves shod with iron, with hatchets and rusty swords: during their progress onward they amused them-

selves with chanting some political songs, of which two lines are recorded:

"When Adam delved and Eva span,
Where was then the gentleman!"⁴

They did not plunder on their way, but, on the contrary, paid scrupulously for whatever refreshments they stood in need of.⁵

Those of the county of Kent went first to Canterbury to seize the archbishop, who was at the same time chancellor of England; but not finding him there they went forward, destroying the houses of men who belonged to the courts, and of such lawyers as had carried on proceedings instituted against serfs by certain of the nobles. They also took several persons away with them as hostages; amongst whom were a knight and his two children. They halted about four miles from London on the extensive flat above the hill of Blackheath, and there entrenched themselves in a sort of camp. They then proposed to the knight whom they had forced to accompany them, that he should consent to go on a parley to the king, who, on the news of the insurrection, had retired to the Tower of London. The knight dared not refuse: taking therefore a boat, he came to the Tower, and, throwing himself on his knees before the king, addressed him thus: "Dread lord, be pleased not to take offence at the message I am obliged to deliver; for, dear sire, it is force that has constrained me to come thus far." "Say what is thy errand," answered the king, "and I hold thee excused." "Sire, the commons of your kingdom have sent me to beg that you will go and speak to them; they desire to see none but you: you need not fear for your safety, for they will do you no harm, but will always hold you to be king. They will show you, they say, many things which it will be very necessary for you to hear, and which they have not charged me to tell you. But, dear sire, be pleased to give me answer, that they may know that I have really been to you; for they keep my children as hostages." The king took counsel, and answered that the next morning, if the peasants would advance as far as the Thames, he himself would go and speak to them. This answer gave them great joy; and they passed the night on the open heath as well as they could (for their number was sixty thousand), and a great part of them fasted for want of victuals.⁶

The next morning, it being Corpus Christi day, the king heard mass in the Tower; and, notwithstanding the dissuasions of the archbishop of Canterbury, who advised him not to venture himself with *unshod ribalds*,⁷ he stepped with some knights into a boat, and ordered it to be rowed towards the other side of the Thames, where there were already ten thousand men come from the camp at Blackheath. When they saw the boat approaching they all began to shout and to make motions, which so greatly alarmed the knights who formed the escort of the king, that they conjured him not to go ashore, and had the boat rowed backwards and forwards on the river. The

¹ Froissart, li. chap. lxxiv. p. 133.

² Unde quidam Johannes Leg. cum tribus aliis sibi associatis, impetravit à rege commissionem ad inquirendum de collectoribus hujus taxæ in Canciâ. (Hear. Knighton, lib. v., apud Selden, ii. col. 2633.)

³ Id. *Ibid.*

⁴ See Book vii. p. 148.

⁵ Froissart, li. chap. lxxiv. p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. lxxvi. p. 137.

⁷ Dicentes nequaquam debere regem adire tales discaligatos ribaldos. (Thom. Walsingham hist. Angl., apud Camden, Anglica, &c., p. 248.)

king then called out to the insurgents, "What is your will? I am come here to speak with you." To which the Kentish men made the reply, "Come ashore, and we will show thee and tell thee more easily what we want." Then the earl of Salisbury, answering for the king, called out to them, "Sirs, you are neither ordered nor accoutred fit for the king to come to you." The boat thereupon returned to the Tower. Those of the insurgents who had come to the Thames then went back to Blackheath, and told the rest what had taken place; upon which there arose in their ranks a great shout of "Let us go to London! let us march to London! to London! to London!"¹

They marched therefore towards the metropolis, and destroyed several mansion-houses on their way; but did not plunder or carry off anything. Having reached London bridge, which was closed by a gate, they asked that it should be opened to them, that they might not be compelled to use violence. The mayor, William Walworth, a man of English origin, as his name seems to indicate, wishing to ingratiate himself with the king and the gentry, thought at first of keeping the gate shut, and of posting armed men upon the bridge to stop the peasantry; but there arose among the citizens, especially those of the middling and lower classes, a sufficient opposition to this project of resistance to make the mayor relinquish it. They said, "Why should not these good people be permitted to enter? they are our people, and all that they do is for us."² The gate was then opened, and the insurgents, traversing the city, distributed themselves in all the houses to take refreshment; and every one was eager to give them to eat and drink; some through friendship, and the rest through fear.

Those whose appetites were first satisfied went in a crowd to a palace of the duke of Lancaster, called the Savoy, and set fire to it, from hatred to that duke, who had of late possessed a great share in the administration of affairs. They burned the most valuable portion of the furniture, without removing an article of it; and even threw into the flames one of their own number who was carrying off some article.³ Prompted by the same feeling of political vengeance, but unmixed with any other passion, they put to death, after an odd ceremony of judicial forms, several of the king's officers; and taking out of the state prisons several men of distinction who were lying therein, they beheaded them with an exhibition of the usual formalities observed on such executions. They did no injury to the citizens, traders, and shopkeepers, of whatever opinion, excepting the Lombards and the Flemings, who were bankers in London under the protection of the court, and many of whom, by farming the taxes, had become accessories to the vexations practised upon poor people. In the evening they assembled in great numbers in St. Catherine's place, near the Tower; saying that they would not quit that place until the king should have granted them what they wanted: there they passed the whole night, raising great shouts from time to time, which terrified the king

and the lords within the Tower. The latter held a council with the mayor of London about what was best to be done in so pressing a danger. The mayor, having made himself obnoxious to the popular resentment as an enemy to the insurrection, proposed violent measures, and wished them to attack that very night, with regular forces, the insurgents, who were running in disorder through the streets and public places, and of whom not one in ten was well armed. His advice did not prevail, and the king gave ear to those who said to him, "If you can appease these people by fair words, it will be the better, and the more profitable: for if we begin a thing which we have not the power to finish, we shall have no means left of recovering ourselves."⁴

At daybreak, the people, who had passed the night in front of the Tower, evinced a determined spirit of agitation, and began to exclaim, that if the king did not come to them, they would take the Tower by assault, and put to death all that were in it. The king then sent them word that they should go out of the city to a place called Mile-end, and that he himself would also repair thither without fail. He went accordingly, attended by his two brothers, by the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Oxford, and by several other barons. They had no sooner quitted the Tower than such of the insurgents as had remained in the town entered it by force, and, running from one apartment to another, seized the archbishop of Canterbury; Robert de Halle, treasurer to the king; and two other persons, whom they slew, and carried their heads about upon pikes. The rest, to the number of fifty thousand, were assembled at Mile-end when the king arrived there. At the sight of the armed peasantry, his two brothers and several of the barons took alarm and abandoned him: but he, young as he was, went boldly up, and, addressing the peasants in the English language, said to them, "Good people, I am your king and sire; what do you want? and what would you wish me?" They who were near enough to hear him answered, "We would that thou shouldst free us for ever, ourselves, our children, and our goods; and that we no longer be called serfs, nor held in bondage." "I grant it you," said the king: "go to your homes in your villages, in parties as you have come from them, only leave behind you two or three men from each place. By-and-by, I will have letters written and sealed with my seal, which they shall carry with them unto you, and which shall freely secure to you all that you ask; I pardon what you have hitherto done; but go back each of you to his house, as I have said."⁵

These simple people heard with the utmost joy the words of the young king, not at all suspecting that he might intend to deceive them. They promised to depart separately; and they separated accordingly, quitting London by different roads. Throughout the day more than thirty clerks of the royal chancery were occupied in writing and sealing letters of enfranchisement and pardon, which they put in the hands of the commissioners from the insurgents, who departed immediately on receiving them. These letters were in Latin, and contained the following passages: "Know that

¹ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxvi. p. 137.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.—Proclamari fecerunt, sub poena decollationis, ne quis presumeret aliquid vel aliqua ibidem reperta ad proprios usus servanda contingere. (Thom. Walsingham, apud Camden, p. 249.)

⁴ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxvi., p. 138.

⁵ Ibid., chap. lxxvii., p. 139.

Meeting in Smithfield.
Boldness of Wat Tyler.
He is slain.

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of our special grace we have freed all our liegemen and subjects of the county of Kent, and the other counties of the kingdom, and discharged and acquitted all and each of them from all bondage and servage; and that, moreover, we have pardoned the said liege-men and subjects all the offences they have committed against us, by riding about and going through divers places with men-at-arms, archers, and others, with armed force, flags and pennons flying."¹

The leaders, and especially Wat Tyler and John Ball, who were men of keen penetration, had not the same confidence as the rest in the words and charters of the king. They used their utmost endeavours to stop the departure and dispersion of the people who had followed them, and succeeded in rallying a few thousands of the most determined of them; and with these they remained at London, declaring that they would not depart until they had obtained more express concessions, and also guarantees for those concessions. The firmness of their resolution awed the court lords; who, not yet venturing to employ force, advised the king to have an interview with the leaders of the revolt in Smithfield, the place where the cattle-market was then held. The peasants, having received an answer to this effect, went thither to wait for the king; who came escorted by the mayor and aldermen of London, and by many courtiers and knights. He stopped at some distance, and sent an officer to tell the insurgents that he was there, and that he among their leaders who was to speak on their behalf had only to advance and present his petition. "I am he," answered Wat Tyler; and without thinking of the danger to which he was exposing himself, he made signs to the men of his troop not to follow him, and spurred on with all his might towards the king. He accosted him with freedom, riding close up to him; and made to him, without using any obsequious mode of expression, a precise demand of certain rights which were to be the consequence of the general emancipation of the people: viz. the right of buying and selling openly and freely, in the towns and out of the towns, and the right of hunting in field and in forest,² which the men of English race had lost at the Conquest. The king hesitated to give a precise answer; and in the mean time, Wat Tyler, either from impatience, or to show by his gestures that he was not intimidated, played with a short sword which he held in his hand, and flourished it over his head.³ The mayor of London, William Walworth, was then at the king's side; and, whether it was that he took the gesture of Wat Tyler for a menace, or that he could not resist a violent impulse of anger against him, he struck him on the head with his mace, and knocked him off his horse. The people of the king's train surrounded him, in order to conceal for a moment what was passing from the view of the insurgents; and an esquire of Norman birth, named Philipot, dismounted from his horse,

and killed the tiler at one stroke, by plunging his sword into his breast. The insurgents, perceiving that their captain was no longer on horseback, began to put themselves in motion, and to exclaim, "They have killed our captain: come on, come on! let us kill all!" and such of them as had bows bent them to shoot at the king and his company.⁴

Then young king Richard performed of himself an act of extraordinary courage. He separated from those who accompanied him, saying to them, "Stay where you are; let no one follow me;" and went up by himself to the insurgents, who were putting themselves in battle array. "Sirs," said he, "what do you want? You have no other captain but me; I am your king: keep at peace: follow me into the fields, and I will give you what you ask."⁵ The astonishment occasioned by this courageous proceeding, and the impression always produced on the great majority of men by the presence of him who possesses the sovereign power, caused the mass of the crowd to put themselves in motion and follow the king by a mechanical instinct. While the king was going along talking to them, the mayor hastened to London, and had the alarm sounded, and cried in the streets, "They are killing the king, they are killing the king!" As there were no longer any insurgents in the town, the English and foreign nobles, and the rich citizens who were on the side of the gentlemen, and who had stayed at home armed with their people for fear of being plundered, all came forth, and marched, to the number of ten thousand, most of them on horseback and completely armed, towards the field whither the insurgents were flocking without order, and not expecting to be attacked. The king no sooner saw the armed men approaching than he galloped to them, and placed himself in their ranks, and they immediately began the battle in good order against the peasants; who, surprised at this unforeseen attack, and seized with a panic terror, fled on all sides, most of them throwing down their arms. A great slaughter was made of them, and many of the fugitives, returning to London, hid themselves at the houses of their friends.⁶

The armed men, who had put them to the rout without any great danger to themselves, returned in triumph; and the young king went to receive the congratulations of his mother, who said to him in French, "Ah! my fair son, to-day I have felt great pain and anguish on your account." "Certes, madam, I know it well," answered the king; "but now be joyful and praise God; for it is a time to praise him, since I have this day recovered my inheritance, and the kingdom of England, which I had lost." There were some knighted on that day, as in the great battles of those times; and the first whom king Richard honoured with that distinction was, the mayor William Walworth, and the esquire Philipot, who had assassinated Wat Tyler. The same day, proclamation was made, from street to street, in the king's name, commanding all men who were not natives of London, or had not lived therein for a

¹ Quod nos universos liegeos et subditos nostros...et ipsos et eorum quemlibet ab omni bondage et servitio exuimus...Ac etiam quod perdonavimus eisdem liegis. (Rymer's Fœdera, iii. p. 124. Hague edit.)

² In aquis et stagnis piscariis et boscis et forestis feras capere, in campis lepores fugare. (H. Knyghton, de event. Angl. lib. v. apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2636 et 2637.)

³ Et culltellum evaginatum...de manu in manum jecit quasi paeriliter ludens. (Ibid., ii. col. 2633.)

⁴ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxvii. p. 142.

⁵ Rex vester, ego capitaneus et ductor vester; sequimini me in campum habituri omnia quascumque vos petere delectabit. (Thom. Walsingham, hist. Angl., apud Camden, p. 253.)

⁶ Froissart, ii. chap. lxxvii. pp. 142, 143.

twelvemonth, to depart thence without delay; and that if any of them was seen or found the next morning, he should be considered as a traitor to the king and kingdom, and should be beheaded.¹ The remainder of the people who had flocked in as insurgents, or as spectators, instantly departed by all the roads, and disbanded themselves. John Ball and Jack Straw, foreseeing that they should be laid wait for, kept concealed; but they were soon discovered, and carried before the royal justices, who condemned them to be beheaded and quartered. This intelligence, being spread round London, stopped in its march a second band of insurgent serfs, which was coming from the distant provinces, and had not arrived so speedily as the others. These did not venture to march onwards, but retraced their steps, and dispersed in all directions.

While these things were passing, all the provinces of England were in commotion. In the vicinity of Norwich, all the great landholders, the nobility, and the knights, hid themselves through fear. Many earls and barons, who were assembled at the port of Plymouth, ready to embark on an expedition to Portugal, fearing that the peasantry of the neighbourhood would come and fall upon them, went on board their vessels, although the weather was tempestuous, and remained at anchor in the roads. In the northern counties, ten thousand insurgents appeared in arms, and the duke of Lancaster, who was then on the Scottish border, engaged in a war against the Scots, made a truce with them, and sought refuge in their country. But the rumour of the occurrences at London restored the courage of the *gentilshommes* or nobles, who now took the field against the people of the villages, ill armed, and without means of retreat, while themselves had their castles, of which they had only to lift the drawbridges to put themselves in safety. The royal chancery wrote in great haste to the castellans of the cities, towns, and hamlets, to guard their fortresses, and to let no one enter, as their heads should answer for it. At the same time, the news was everywhere spread that the king was giving letters of enfranchisement to every serf who kept quiet, which diminished the effervescence and energy of the people, and likewise their confidence in their leaders. The latter were seized in different places, without much resistance or disturbance being made to save them; they were all artisans or working men; and most of them were without any family name, but were known by the name of their profession; as Thomas Baker, Jack Milner or the Miller, Jack Carter, &c.²

When the organization of the peasantry had thus been completely destroyed, by their partial defeats and the imprisonment of their leaders, combined with the relaxation of the moral tie which had united them, a proclamation was published by sound of horn, in the towns and villages, by virtue of a letter addressed by the king to all the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs in the kingdom, and conceived in these terms: "Let it be proclaimed without delay, in every city, borough, and market-town,

that all and each of the freemen and knaves shall, without any resistance, difficulty, or delay, perform the works, services, aids, and *corvées*, which they owe to their lords, according to ancient custom, and which they were accustomed to perform before the late disturbances in different counties of the kingdom. And let them be rigorously forbidden to delay longer than formerly the said services and works, or to demand, claim, or pretend to any liberty or privilege which they did not enjoy before the said disturbances. And although, at the pressing instance of the insurgents, certain letters patent from us have been granted to them, purporting enfranchisement from all bondage and servage for all our liege-men and subjects, as also pardon for the offences committed against us by the said liegemen and subjects: forasmuch as the said letters, issued from our court without mature and due deliberation, and seeing that the granting of the said letters tended manifestly to the great prejudice of us and our crown, as also to the dispossession of ourself, of the prelates, lords, and barons of our kingdom, and of the most holy church: by the advice of our council, and by these presents, we have revoked, cancelled, and annulled the said letters; and we moreover order that those who have in their possession our letters of enfranchisement and pardon shall give up and restore them to us and our council, by the faith and allegiance which they owe to us, and on pain of forfeiting all they have to forfeit unto us."³

As soon as this proclamation had been made, a body of cavalry was assembled at London, and was despatched as a moveable column to scour in all directions the neighbouring counties from which the insurgents had come who had obtained the charters. Robert Tresilian, justice of the king's bench, accompanied the soldiers, and went a circuit with them through all the villages, publishing on his way that all those who had brought letters of enfranchisement and pardon were to give them up to him without delay, on pain of military execution of the inhabitants collectively: all the charters that were consequently brought to him were torn and committed to the flames in presence of the people. But he was not satisfied with this measure. He sought out all those who had been the first promoters of the insurrection, and put them to death by atrocious modes of execution, hanging some of them four times at the four corners of the towns, sentencing others to be drawn and their bowels instantly cast into a fire before their eyes, whilst the sufferers yet breathed.⁴ Then the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, as also two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each market-town, were called together in parliament by letters of king Richard. The king laid before that assembly the reasons for the provisional revocation of the charters of enfranchisement; adding that it was for it to decide whether the peasants should receive such enfranchisement or not. "God preserve us," answered the barons and knights of the shires, "from subscribing to such charters, though we

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. pars. iii. p. 124. Hague edit.

⁴ Et alios quidem decapitari præcepit, alios autem suspendi, alios verò trahi per civitates et suspendi per quatuor partes civitatum, alios autem eviscerari. (H. Knyghton, lib. v., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2643, 2644, ed. Selden.)

¹ T. Walsingham, hist. Angl.; Camden, Anglica, &c., p. 254.

² H. Knyghton, de event. Angl., lib. v., apud hist. Angl. script., ii. col. 2637.

were all to perish in one day:¹ for we would rather lose our lives than our inheritances."

The act of parliament which ratified the measures already taken was drawn up in the French language, after having probably been discussed in that language.² It is not known what share the deputies from the towns had in this debate, nor even whether they were present at it; for, although they were convoked with the same forms as the knights of the shires, they often assembled apart, or remained in the common hall of assembly only during the discussion of the taxes on merchandise and commerce. But whatever part was played in the parliament of 1381 by the representatives of the boroughs, the affection of the inhabitants of the towns for the cause of the insurgents is beyond a doubt. In many places they repeated the words of the inhabitants of London: "They are our people, and all that they do is for us." All who, not being noble and titled, yet blamed the insurrection, were stigmatised in the public opinion; and that opinion was pronounced so strongly that Gower, a poet of that time, who had enriched himself by writing French verses for the court, thought he performed an act of courage by publishing a satire in which the insurgents were loaded with odium and ridicule.³ He declares that this cause has numerous and considerable partisans, whose hatred may be dangerous; but that he would rather expose himself to it than not speak the truth. Thus it is probable that, if the insurrection begun by peasants and *unshod ribalds* had not so soon been put down, persons of a more elevated class would have placed themselves at the head of it, and, with greater resources whereby to command success, would have carried it on to its ulterior purposes; so that possibly in a little time, as an historian of that period expresses himself, all nobility and gentility might have disappeared from England.⁴

(A. D. 1381 to 1450.) But, instead of this, things remained in the order formerly established by the Conquest; and the serfs, after their defeat, continued to be treated according to the terms of the proclamation, which said, when addressing them, "Villains you were and still are; and in bondage you shall remain."⁵ Notwithstanding the failure of the great effort which they had made to escape all at once from servitude, and to destroy the distinction of conditions which had succeeded the distinction of races, the natural movement which tended gradually to render such a distinction less visible and obnoxious went on without interruption; and individual enfranchisement, which had begun to be granted long before that period, thenceforward became more frequent. The idea of the specific injustice of serfdom and agrarian slavery (whatever its origin, whether it had been an ancient or a recent institution), this great idea, which had been the uniting bond of the conspiracy of 1381, and which the instinct of liberty had implanted in the minds of the peasantry, before it was

entertained by men of high and gentle station, was at length acknowledged as a principle of truth by the gentlemen themselves. In those moments of human life when reflection becomes calmer and more profound, when reason speaks more powerfully than interest and avarice, in the hour of domestic grief, of sickness, and of the danger of death, the then existing nobles, in like moments of doubt, repented of their possession of serfs, as a thing that was displeasing to God, who had created all men according to his own image. Many deeds of personal enfranchisement, drawn up and granted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bear the following preamble: "Seeing that in the beginning God made all men by nature free, and that afterwards the law of nations placed certain of them under the yoke of servitude, we think it would be pious and meritorious in the sight of God to liberate such persons to us subjected in villanage, and to free them entirely from such services. Know, therefore, that we have freed and liberated from all yoke of servitude, —, our knaves, of the manor of —, them and all their children, born or to be born."⁶

This species of deeds, which, during the fifteenth century, were very frequent, and of which we find no instance in anterior times, indicate the birth of a sort of public spirit contrary to the violent results of the Conquest, and which seems to have developed itself at one and the same time in the descendants of the Normans and in those of the English, at the period when, in the minds of both, all clear tradition of the historical origin of their respective situations had been obliterated. Thus the great insurrection of the villains in 1381 seems to have been the final term of the series of Saxon revolts, and the first of a new order of political movements. The subsequent insurrections of the peasantry, however formidable they might be, had not the same character of simplicity in their motives and precision in their object. Conviction of the absolute injustice of servitude and the unlawfulness of the lordly power was no longer their only incentive; they were now, more or less, prompted by transitory interests and the opinions of the moment. Jack Cade, who in 1448 played the same part as Wat Tyler in 1381, did not like the latter make himself the representative of the rights of the common people in opposition to the gentlemen; but, connecting his own and the popular cause with the aristocratical factions which then divided England, he went so far as to announce himself as a member of the royal family, unjustly excluded from the succession to the throne. The influence which this imposture had on the minds of the people in the northern provinces, and in that very county of Kent which, seventy years before, had chosen tilers, bakers, and carters for its leaders, proves that a rapid amalgamation was in progress between the political interests and passions of the different classes of men in England, and that a certain order of ideas and sympathies was no longer attached, in a fixed and invariable manner, to a certain descent or social condition.

About the same period, and swayed by the same circumstances, the parliament of England took the

¹ *Duos milites de unoquoque comitatu, et duos burgenses de unaqueque villa mercatoriam.* (Id. *ibid.*)

² Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages.*

³ This satire was written in Latin, and was entitled "*Vox clamantis.*"

⁴ Froissart.—See Turner's *History of the Anglo-Normans*, vol. II.

⁵ *Rustici quidem fuistis et estis, et in bondage permanentis.* (Thomas Walsingham.)

⁶ *Cum ab initio omnes homines natura liberaverit Deus, et postea jus gentium quosdam sub jugo servitutis constituit, nos pium, etc.*

form under which it has become celebrated in modern times; and separated permanently into two assemblies; one composed of the superior clergy, the earls, and the barons, convoked by special letters from the king; the other of small feudatories, or the knights elected by the counties, united with the burgesses of the towns: these latter were elected by their peers, or those possessed of equal franchise with themselves, and sometimes were convoked arbitrarily by the sheriffs. This new political combination, by uniting the merchants, who were mostly of English race, in one house of assembly with the *feudal* tenants of Norman birth (or those who were presumed to be such by their being the actual possessors of manors and of knights' fees, or of that military title) was a great step towards the destruction of the former distinction of races, and the establishment of a new order of things, under which all families were in future to take rank or to be classed, solely according to their station and personal influence or the value of their landed possessions. However, notwithstanding the sort of equality which the union of the burgesses and knights of the shires in a separate assembly seemed, at the outset, to establish between these two classes of men, that portion of the nation which was formerly held to be inferior retained for some time longer the mark of its inferiority. It attended at the deliberations on war or peace, and all political matters, without taking any part in the debate, or withdrew during the discussion of such state affairs; and its aid was called for only in voting the tallages and subsidies required by the king to be levied upon goods and chattels.

The assessment of these taxes was, in earlier times, the only reason for which the Anglo-Norman kings had occasionally convoked the burgesses of English race. Such of them as were known to be rich were, like the Jews, rather summoned than invited to appear before their lord. They received an official injunction to repair to the king at London; and they met him to make their obeisance to him and proffer him their duty wherever they could, whether at his palace or in the street, or sometimes out of town, on occasion perhaps of a royal hunting-party. On the contrary, the barons and knights who repaired to the king to counsel him, and to treat with him about the affairs of the commonwealth, or as it was called the *communalte* (commonalty) of the kingdom, were received in quite another manner, and with a ceremony that indicated the difference of motive for their convocation. They found at the court every preparation made to receive them; they found courtesy, festivities, chivalric circumstance, and the pomps of royalty. After the royal feasts and display, they next held with the king, as the old historians express, grave discourses concerning the affairs of the land;¹ while the commons, or the representatives of the boroughs, gave assent, in as brief a form as possible, to the bills of taxation presented to them by one of the barons of the exchequer.

The custom which the kings gradually adopted of convoking the villains of their cities and boroughs no longer in an irregular manner, whenever a momentary want of pecuniary aid prompted the

call, but at fixed and periodical seasons, that is, when they held their court, which was three times a year, made but a slight change in that ancient practice, of which the reader has seen in the preceding pages, in the reign of Henry II., a very remarkable instance. The forms used towards the burgesses became, it is true, less harsh, when they were no longer called upon to attend on the king only, but to sit in full parliament among the prelates, barons, and knights. Yet the reason of their admission into that assembly, in which they occupied the benches at the lower end of the hall, was always simply for a vote of money: and invariably the imposts required to be raised by the commons upon their own class far exceeded (even when a general contribution was demanded) those of the clergy and feudatory landholders. For instance, when the knights granted a twentieth or a fifteenth of their moveable effects, the grant of the burgesses was to be a tenth or a seventh. This difference was observed, whether the deputies from the boroughs were assembled apart in the town where the parliament was held, or were convoked in some other town; or whether, according to the custom which then prevailed, the burgesses were joined with the knights of the shires elected like themselves; while the earls and great barons received their letters of convocation personally from the king.² So that in the fifteenth century the burgesses were not at all eager to be sent up to parliament; and so far from considering their electoral franchise as a valuable right, the towns often solicited an exemption from this duty of sending representatives. The collection of the public acts and records of England contains various remonstrances of this kind, as also various royal charters in favour of certain boroughs, *maliciously compelled*, say the charters, *to send men to parliament*.³

The part to be performed by the knights and that by the burgesses, sitting within the same walls, differed therefore according to the difference of their origin and their social condition. For the former, the field of political discussion was unbounded; for the latter, it was limited to the imposts upon articles of commerce, and merchandise imported or exported. But the extension of commercial affairs, and consequently of financial measures in the fifteenth century, naturally increased the parliamentary importance of the burgesses: they gradually acquired, in financial matters, a greater participation in public affairs than the titled portion of the lower house, or even than the upper house of parliament. This revolution, which was owing to the general progress of manufactures and commerce, speedily led to another; it banished from the lower house, called that of the commonalty or commons, the French language, which the burgesses did not understand, and which they spoke very imperfectly.

At the end of the fourteenth century French was still the official language, in England, of all the political bodies and high personages whose existence was connected with the Norman Conquest. It was spoken by the king, the bishops, the judges, and by the earls and barons; and it was the language which their children learned as soon as they

¹ Graves sermones habuerunt de hac terrâ. (Chron. Saxon. ed. Gibson.)

² Hallam, Europe in the Middle Ages.

³ Malitiosè constrictos ad mittendum homines ad parliamenta. (Rymer, Charta Edwardi III.)

could speak.¹ The position of the aristocracy, which had preserved it for three centuries and a half, amidst a people speaking a language quite different, had not been favourable to its progress; and, when compared with the French of the court of France at the same period, it was rather antiquated, and incorrect in grammar and pronunciation. Some expressions were used in it which were peculiar to the provincial dialect of Normandy; and the manner of pronouncing, as far as can be judged from the orthography of the records, much resembled the low Norman accent and pronunciation of the present day. This accent, carried into England, contracted there a tincture of the Saxon pronunciation. The Norman and Anglo-Norman modes of articulating differed, in particular, in the more marked sound which the latter gave to the final consonants; as in the word *attention*, which the former pronounced *attinchein*, and the latter *attincheinn*, although the orthography remained unchanged.

One cause of the rapid decline of the French language, and especially of French poetry, in England, was the total separation of that country from Normandy by the conquests of Philip Augustus. The emigrations of literary men, and poets of the language of *oui*, to the court of the Anglo-Norman kings, became, from the time of that event, less easy and less frequent. Being no longer supported by the example and imitation of those who came from the continent to show them the new modes of fine speaking, the Norman poets remaining in England lost, in the course of the thirteenth century, part of their former grace and facility of composition. The nobles and the courtiers being very fond of poetry, but disinclined to write verses or compose books, the troubadours, who sang for the court and the castles, could find pupils only among the trading classes or the inferior clergy, who, being of English origin, spoke English in their habitual conversation. The effort which these men had to make, in order to express their ideas and feelings in a language which was not that of their infancy, detracted from the perfection of their works, and at the same time rendered them less numerous. At the end of the thirteenth century, most of those who, in the towns or in the cloisters, felt a taste and talent for literature, endeavoured to treat in English most of the historical or imaginative subjects which had hitherto been treated of only in pure Norman.

A great many attempts of this kind made their appearance all at once before the year 1350. A part of the poets of that period, and such as were most in favour with the higher classes of society, still wrote verses in French; others, contenting themselves with the approbation of the middle classes, composed for them in their own language; and others, combining the two languages in the same poem, changed them in every alternate couplet, and sometimes at every second line.² At

¹ Filii nobilium à primis cunabulorum crepundis ad Gallicum idioma informantur. (Banulph. Hygden. Polychron., apud rer. Anglic. script., p. 210, ed. Gale.)

² An example of this may be seen in the prologue to a political poem written in the reign of Edward II., in which the French and English lines follow each other, and rhyme together as well as two languages can, by possibility, furnish an accordance of sounds:

"On peut faire et défaire come fait il trop souvent;
'T is rather well no faire therefore England is kent."

this period, the scarcity of good French books written in England became such, that the higher ranks of society were obliged to procure from France the romances and tales with which they diverted themselves in the long evenings, and the ballads which enlivened their banquets and their festive parties. But the war of rivalry which at that time broke out between England and France, inspiring the nobility of both nations with reciprocal aversion, lessened in the eyes of the Anglo-Normans, the attractions of the literature imported from France; and obliged all gentlemen that were nice on the point of national honour to content themselves with the reading of works produced at home. Such of them as inhabited London and frequented the court still had opportunities of gratifying their taste for the poetry and the language of their ancestors: but the lords and knights who lived in retirement in their castles were obliged to escape *ennui* by admitting to their presence English story-tellers and ballad-singers, whom they had hitherto disdained, as being fit to amuse none but citizens and villains.³

These authors for the commonalty were distinguished from those who at the same period wrote for the court and the superior nobility, by a great esteem for the labouring classes, peasants, millers, or inn-keepers. The writers in French commonly treated men of that class with the utmost contempt. They gave them no place in their poetical narratives; in which all that passed was between *puissant barons* and *noble dames*, *gentle knights* and *damsels*. The English authors, on the contrary, took for the subjects of their *merry tales* plebeian adventures, like those of Peter Ploughman, and the stories of the same kind so abundant in the works of Chaucer. Another characteristic common to nearly all these poets is, a kind of national hatred for the language of the Conquest. "It is but right," says one of them, "to understand English, when one has been born in England; and these gentlemen, who use French, might as well talk English."⁴ Chaucer, one of the greatest wits of his time, gives to this criticism on the idiom used exclusively by men of high birth a turn quite peculiar. He contrasts their Anglo-Norman dialect, antiquated and incorrect, with the polite and graceful French of the court of France, and, in his portraiture of a prioress of high blood, he says,

And French she spake ful fayre and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford-aite-Bowe;
For French of Paris was to hir unknow.⁵

Bad as it was, the French of the nobles of England had at least the advantage of being spoken and pronounced in a uniform manner; while the new English tongue, composed of Norman and Saxon words and idioms joined by fortuitous combinations, varied in every province and in every town.⁶ This tongue, which had begun to be

³ Many noble I have y-seighe,
That no Freynshe couth seye.

(Romance of Arthur and Merlin, Introduction; Scott's Sir Tristrem, p. xxx.)

⁴ Right is that Inglish, Inglish understonde,
That was born in Englonde;
Freynshe use this gentelman,
Ac everich Inglish can.

(Ibid.)

⁵ Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

⁶ Ubi nempe mirandum videtur quomodo nativa propria Anglorum lingua pronuntiatione ipsa sit tam diversa, cum

formed in England in the early years of the Conquest, had become enriched by the successive addition of all the French barbarisms uttered by the English, and all the Saxon barbarisms uttered by the Normans, in their endeavours to understand one another. Every individual, according to his fancy, or the degree of knowledge which he possessed of each of the two languages, borrowed phrases, and combined in an arbitrary manner whatever words first presented themselves to his memory. In general, each man sedulously introduced into his conversation the little French that he was master of, in order thereby to imitate the great, and have the appearance of a person of distinction.¹ This mania, which, according to a writer of the fourteenth century, had extended itself even to the peasantry, made it difficult to write the English of that period in a manner generally intelligible. Chaucer, notwithstanding the merit of his poems, seems to have been apprehensive, owing to the multiplicity of the provincial dialects, that they would not be relished out of London; and he prays God to grant his book the grace of being understood by all who shall choose to read it.²

Several years had already elapsed since a statute of Edward III. had, not *ordered*, as several historians have written, but merely *permitted* English to be used in pleadings before the civil tribunals. The constantly increasing multiplicity of commercial affairs, and the legal proceedings resulting from them, had rendered this change more necessary than in the preceding reigns; when the parties, if they did not understand French, had been obliged to remain unacquainted with the discussions. But in the proceedings instituted against gentlemen before the high court of parliament, which tried charges of treason, or before the courts of chivalry, which decided in affairs of honour, the old official language was still employed, and the sentences of all the tribunals were pronounced, and the registers and rolls known by the name of *records* were drawn up, in Norman. In general, it was the custom of the lawyers of all classes, even when they spoke English, to use, on almost every occasion, certain French phrases; as *Ah! sire, je vous jure; Ah! de par Dieu; Ah! ce j'assente*, and other exclamations; with these and the like Chaucer never fails to interlard their discourses whenever he introduces the lawyers in character in his verse.

It was in the first half of the fifteenth century that English, gradually acquiring greater estimation as a literary language, at length entirely superseded French, except among the highest of the nobles, who, before they wholly abandoned the old idiom of their ancestors, read with equal pleasure works written in either language. We find the mark of this equality, to which the language of the commonalty had risen, in the public acts, which from the year 1400 or thereabouts are alternately and indifferently drawn up in French and in English. The first bill of the lower house of parliament that was written in the English language bears the date

tamen Normannica lingua, quæ adventitia est, univoca maneat penes cunctos. (R. Hygden, Polychron., apud rer. Anglicæ script., p. 210, ed. Gale.)

¹ Quibus (nobilibus) profecto rurales homines assimilari volentes ut per hoc spectabiliores videantur francigenari sagantur omni nisu. (Ibid.)

² Read where so thou be or elles sung.

That thou beest understood God I beseech.

of 1425: it is not known whether the upper house longer retained the language of the aristocracy and of the Conquest; but from the year 1450 no more French pieces are to be found in the printed collection of the public documents of England. (A.D. 1450 to 1485.) There are, however, some letters written in French by nobles, and some French epitaphs, of later date. Various passages of the historians also prove that about the end of the fifteenth century the kings of England and the great lords at their court knew and spoke French well; but since that epoch a good knowledge thereof has been only the accomplishment of individuals, and not a thing necessarily attached to high birth. French was no longer the first language lisped by the children of the nobles, but became to them, like the ancient and continental languages, an object of chosen study, and one of the criteria of a distinguished education.

Thus, four centuries after the Conquest of England by the Normans, the difference of language disappeared, which, together with the inequality of civil condition, had marked the separation of the families sprung from the two races. This complete amalgamation of the two primitive idioms, a certain sign of the mixture of the two races, was perhaps accelerated in the fifteenth century by the long and sanguinary civil war of the houses of York and Lancaster. By the consequent extinction of a great many of the noble families, by the creation of multifarious jealousies, hatreds, and family rivalries, and by forcing the barons severally to make alliances of political party with persons of inferior condition, that war contributed powerfully to dissolve the aristocratical order of society which the Conquest had founded. For nearly a century the mortality among those who bore Norman names was immense; and the void occasioned by their ruin, their attainders, or their fall in battle, was eagerly filled up by their vassals, their servants, and the sons of burgesses of the other race. The numerous pretenders to the royalty, and the kings set up by one party and treated as usurpers by the other, in their eagerness to find friends, were not at leisure to choose such supporters fastidiously, nor could they longer uphold with strictness the old distinctions of birth and condition. The large domains founded by the Conquest and perpetuated in the Norman families thus passed into other hands by confiscation or by purchase, while many of the former owners, being dispossessed and banished, went to take refuge and to beg their bread at the foreign courts in France, in Burgundy, in Flanders, and in every country from which their ancestors had formerly departed to make the conquest of England.

(A.D. 1485.) The reign of Henry VII. may be considered as the period when the distinction of ranks ceased to correspond in a general manner with that of races, and as the commencement of the state of society at present existing in England. This society, though composed of new elements, has nevertheless preserved in great part the features of the former: the Norman titles have continued; and, which is more singular, the names of several extinct Norman families have been added to titles conferred by the king's letters patent on the creation of new earls and barons. The successor of Henry VII. was the last king who placed at the head of his ordinances the old formula, "Henry,

the eighth of that name since the Conquest."¹ But after him the kings of England have retained the custom of using the old Norman language, when they give the royal assent to acts of parliament, or when (formerly) they used the *veto*, as *Le roy le veult*, *Le roy s'avisera*, *Le roy mercie ses loyaux subjets*. These formulas, which seem, after the lapse of seven hundred years, to refer the royalty of England to its foreign origin, have, nevertheless, not appeared odious to any one since the sixteenth century. The same may be said of the genealogies and titles by which the existence of certain noble families may be traced back to the invasion by William the Norman, and their great landed property to the partition made at that period.

As there no longer exists any popular tradition relative to the division of the inhabitants of England into two hostile populations, and to the distinction of the two elements from which the present language is formed, no political passion is now connected with these forgotten circumstances. There are now neither Normans nor Saxons, but in history; and as the latter do not make the more brilliant figure in its pages, the mass of English

¹ Anno regnorum Henrici regis Angliæ et Franciæ octavi à conquestu octavo. (Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 233.)—In the ancient French acts the date was given both from the Christian era and the year of the Conquest: *L'an d'el incarnation 1233, del conquest de Engleterre centisme sexante setime.*

readers, not being conversant in national antiquities, love to deceive themselves respecting their origin, and to consider the sixty thousand companions of William the Conqueror as the common ancestors of all who now bear the name of Englishmen. Thus a London shopkeeper or a Yorkshire farmer will talk of "our Norman ancestors" just as a Percy, a D'Arcy, a Bagot, or a Byron would do. Norman, Poitevin, or Gascon names are no longer, as in the fourteenth century, exclusive marks of rank, power, and large property; and it would be unreasonable to apply to the time present the old verses given as the motto to this work. One fact, however, is certain and easy to prove; that, in an equal number of family names, taken on the one hand from the class of the nobles and those called in English *country squires* and *gentlemen born*, and on the other, from that of the tradespeople, artisans, and peasantry, the names of French mould are to be found among the former in much the greater proportion. This is all that is now observable of the ancient separation of the two races; and with this modification we may repeat the words of the old chronicler of Gloucester:—

The folc of Normandie
Among us woneth yet, and schulleth ever mo . . .
Of the Normannes beth thys hey men, that beth of
thys lond,
And the lowe men of Saxons.

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THE END.





