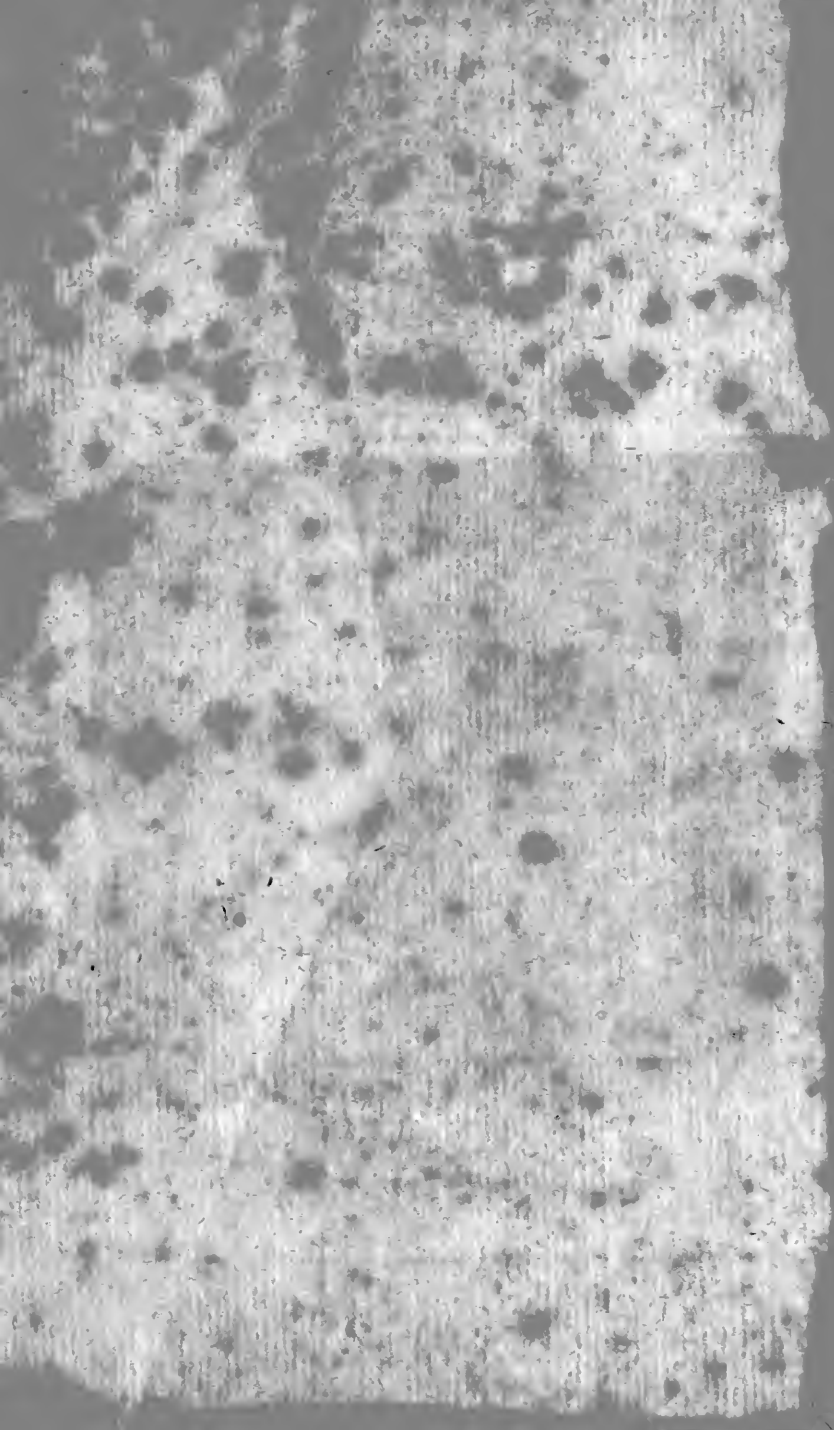


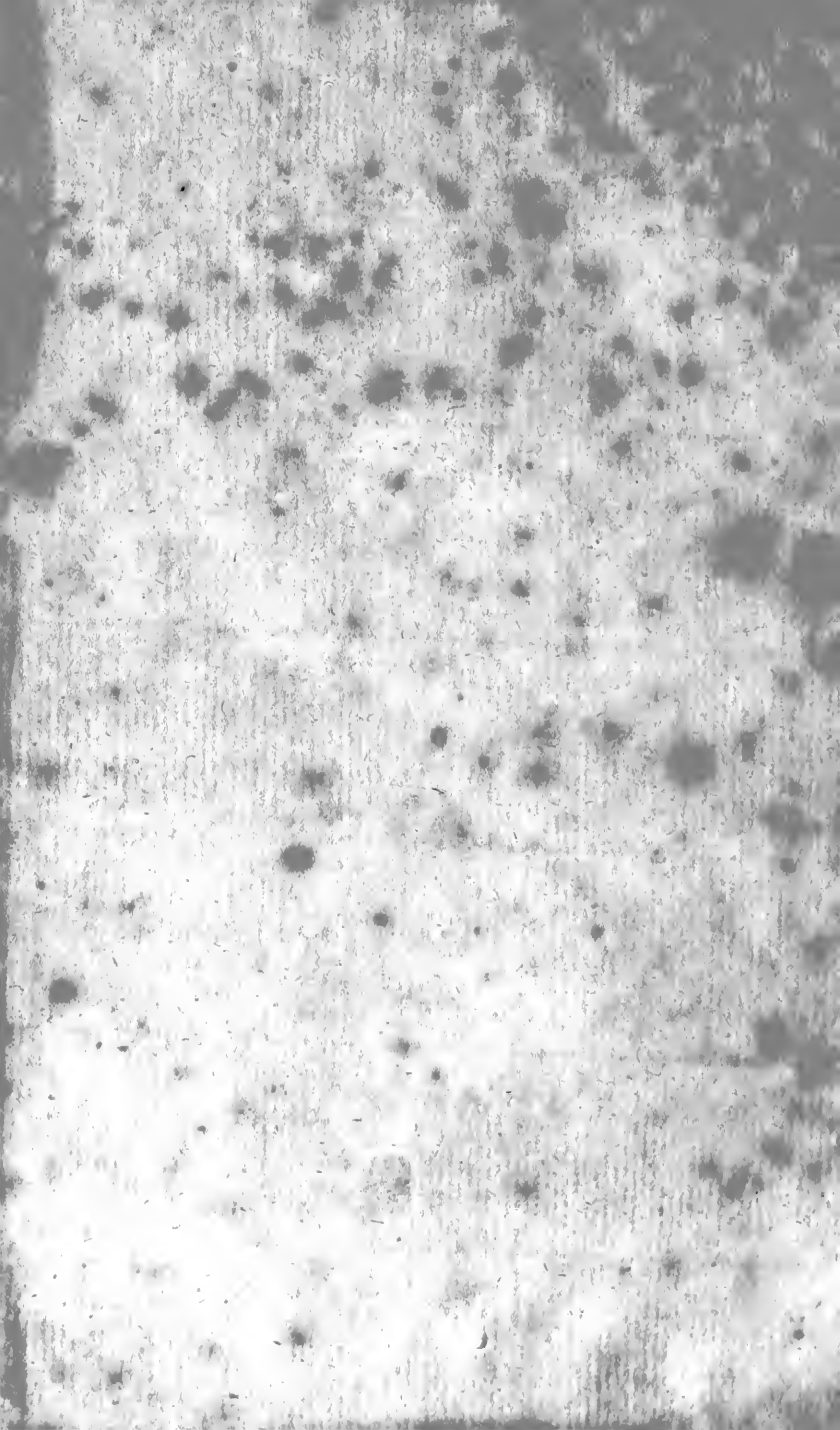



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GENERAL PRINCIPLES

THEORY OF THE

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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MDCCLXXXIX.

GRAND BATTLE

FIRST TOMBSTONE OF THE KINGS

BY ROBERT BURNES

THE HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF BUNDS

THE HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF BUNDS

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THE HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF BUNDS

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APPENDIX TO

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK
FROM 1624 TO 1812

BY
JOHN B. HOGAN
1850

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

SECTION I.

From A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1100.

WILLIAM duke of Normandy having spent A. D. 1066. about eight months in the most vigorous preparations for invading England, and dethroning king Harold, failed from the harbour of St. Vallori, at the mouth of the river Somme, with a great fleet and gallant army, on September 28, A. D. 1066, and the day after arrived at Pevensey in Suffex. At that place he landed his troops, horses, arms, and baggage of all kinds, without any opposition; and immediately erected a fort, into which he put a garrison for the protection of

A. D. 1066. his fleet (1). From Pevensey he marched to Hastings; where he remained about fifteen days, fortifying his camp, collecting provisions, refreshing his men and horses, and putting every thing in order for the prosecution of his design (2).

Harold marches from the north to Hastings.

Harold was at York with his army, celebrating the victory which he had obtained over his brother Tosti and the king of Norway, when he received the news of this formidable invasion. Roused, but not intimidated, by this intelligence, he put an end to his rejoicings, and began his march towards London (3). When he arrived in that capital, he found his forces much diminished, by the loss which he had sustained in the battle of Stamford bridge, and by a great desertion which had taken place among his troops, through discontent at being deprived of their share of the booty gained in that battle. In these circumstances, he was advised by the wisest counsellors, and particularly by his brother Gurth, to remain at London till he had refreshed and recruited his army, or at least not to venture his own person with unequal forces (4). But being flushed with his late victory, he rejected these wise and friendly admonitions with disdain, and hurried towards Hastings; where he arrived October 13, and pitched his camp near to that of the Normans (5).

Battle of Hastings.

The two armies did not continue long in that position before they came to action. For early on the morning of the 14th of October, A. D. 1066, William duke of Normandy, and Harold king of England, led their forces into the field, and drew them up in order of battle, to determine their important quarrel by the sword. The English, who were all on foot, armed with swords, spears, and battle-axes, were formed into one deep and compact body; in the centre of which, on a rising ground, the king, with his two brothers Gurth and Leofwin, placed themselves, near to the royal standard. The Norman infantry were drawn up in two lines, the first composed of archers and slingers, and the second of the heavy-armed troops;

(1) W. Pictavin. p. 198, 199. Orderic. Vital. p. 500.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 211. Hoveden. Annal. p. 257.

(4) Orderic. Vital. p. 500.

(5) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. Orderic. Vital. p. 500.

the cavalry, commanded by the duke in person, being stationed in the rear, and on the two wings (6). No sooner was the signal of battle given by the sound of all the instruments of martial music, than the Normans advanced, singing the famous song of Rolland, and began the action by discharging a prodigious flight of arrows upon the English (7). By degrees the two armies approached nearer and nearer, and the battle raged with uncommon fury on both sides, from morning till towards evening. The duke of Normandy, who had fought bravely, and had three horses killed under him, observing that his troops began to relax in their efforts, and to despair of breaking the ranks of their enemies, had recourse to a stratagem, which was crowned with success. He gave orders to his forces to retire a little, as if they had been on the point of flying; which the English mistaking for a real flight, broke their ranks, in order to pursue them, and complete their ruin. The Normans, at a certain signal, faced about, and made a furious assault on their pursuers, who were now scattered in many small parties. From this time the battle was changed into many skirmishes in different parts, with various success, till about sunset; when king Harold was killed by an arrow, which entering his eye, penetrated his brain; his two brothers were also slain, and the royal standard taken: upon which the English fled on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit (8). In this battle, the most important in its consequences of any that ever was fought in this island, no fewer than fifteen thousand Normans fell on one side: and on the other much greater numbers were slain; amongst whom were the king, his two brothers, and the flower of the English nobility (9).

As the duke of Normandy had displayed much conduct and valour in the battle of Hastings, he discovered great prudence and humanity after the victory,—by

Conduct of William after the victory.

(6) W. Pictavin. p. 201. Math. Paris, p. 3.

(7) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. Gesta Willielmi Ducis, p. 202. Hen. Hunt. p. 211.

(8) Hen. Hunt. p. 211. W. Pictavin. p. 203. R. Hoveden, p. 257. Math. Paris, p. 3. Orderic. Vital. p. 501.

(9) W. Gemiticin, c. 36.

4
 A.D. 1066. returning solemn thanks to God on the field for the success of his arms,—by permitting the English to bury their dead in perfect tranquillity,—by dismissing with ignominy one of his soldiers for mangling the body of Harold, and—by sending the corpse of that prince to his mother Githa, without accepting the offered ransom (10).

Remains of the English army retire to London. It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation of the English after the battle of Hastings. Many of the fugitives, and amongst others the two powerful earls Edwin and Morcar, with their remaining followers, made haste to London, which became a scene of inexpressible terror and confusion. Here frequent councils were held by Aldred archbishop of York, the two earls above mentioned, and the other nobility; who at length resolved to raise Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir of the Saxon royal family, to the throne; to collect an army, and make a stand in defence of their country, against the victorious invaders (11). But it required more time than they were allowed to bring these designs to maturity, and carry them into execution.

William marches to London.

The duke of Normandy having buried his dead, and refreshed his army by a few days rest, began his march towards London; and in his way chastised the inhabitants of Romney, who had killed some of his men, got possession of the town and castle of Dover by surrender, and received the submissions of the Kentish men (12). His progress was a little retarded by these operations, and by a dysentery among his troops, which obliged him to remain about a week at Dover, employing such of his forces as were in perfect health in repairing and strengthening the fortifications of that place. At length he resumed his march, and approached the capital; which at first shut its gates, and made some shew of resistance. But a large body of citizens, who made a sally, having been repulsed with slaughter by a party of Norman cavalry, the whole city was thrown into confusion; those who had lost their friends break-

(10) W. Malm. l. 3. p. 58. Hen. Knyhton, col. 2342.

(11) W. Pictavin. p. 205. Diceto, col. 480. J. Brompt. Chron. col. 961. Hen. Knyht. col. 2343. R. Hoveden, fol. 257. col. 2.

(12) W. Pictavin, p. 205.

ing out into the most clamorous lamentations (13). A. D. 1066.
 This confusion of the people shut up in London, was soon after much increased by their beholding the flames of Southwark, which was set on fire and reduced to ashes by the Normans (14). In a word, the consternation was so great and universal, that Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, perceiving that no effectual resistance could be made, retired with precipitation, and marched off with their numerous followers into the north.

Soon after this, the victorious invader having passed the Thames at Wallingford with his army, approached the city on that side which was not defended by the river. This greatly increased the terror of the citizens, and hastened their resolution to surrender. Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Aldred archbishop of York, and two other bishops, five of the principal citizens of London, several noblemen, and even Edgar Atheling himself, went out to meet the conqueror, and made their submissions to him at Berkhamstead (15). The example of so many illustrious persons was soon followed by almost all the surviving nobility of England, who joined with them in making William an offer of the vacant throne; which, after some affected excuses, at the earnest intreaty of his Norman counsellors, he accepted (16).

William did not immediately enter London, though its gates were thrown open, and all the hostages delivered which he had demanded; but sent a part of his army to take possession of it, to erect a fortification in it, and to make the necessary preparations for his coronation, which he appointed to be in Westminster abbey, on Christmas day following. In the mean time, to shew how much his mind was at ease, and his affairs in a settled state, he amused himself with the diversions of hunting and hawking in the neighbourhood (17).

Early on the morning of Christmas day, A. D. 1066, duke William, attended by the chief nobility of England and Normandy, repaired to Westminster William is crowned.

(13) Orderic. Vital. p. 503.

(15) R. Hoveden. Annal. 258.

(17) W. Pictavin. p. 205.

(14) Id. ibid.

(16) W. Pictavin, p. 205.

A. D. 1066. abbey, where he was crowned king of England with all the usual ceremonies, by Aldred archbishop of York, assisted by Goisfred bishop of Constance. The former of these prelates, who was famous for his eloquence, made an oration to the English in their own language, and concluded with asking them, if they chose William for their king, and consented to his coronation; to which they signified their assent by the loudest acclamations. The bishop of Constance asked the same question of the Normans in their language, and received the same answer in the same manner. The archbishop then administered the oath to William that had been administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, seated him in the throne, and placed the crown on his head, amidst the loud repeated acclamations of the whole assembly (18).

Tumult at the coronation.

These acclamations were productive of very fatal consequences. For the Norman guards stationed without the abbey, hearing such vehement reiterated shouts in a language which they did not understand, began to apprehend that the English were offering violence to their prince, and in a sudden transport of rage set fire to the neighbouring houses, which, being of wood, burnt with great violence. This occasioned a prodigious alarm and uproar within the abbey; men and women rushing out with impetuosity to save their lives, which they imagined to be in danger. In a word, the tumult both within and without the abbey was so great, that it struck terror into the new monarch, and was not appeased without much difficulty. This incident, however casual, increased the jealousy and animosity of the two nations, and was considered, in that superstitious age, as an omen of a turbulent unhappy reign (19).

A. D. 1067. First acts of King William's government.

William, after his coronation, applied with great activity to regulate the affairs of his kingdom, endeavouring to gain the affections of the English, as well as to gratify the expectations of the Normans. Being still a little suspicious of the people of London, he

(18) W. Pictavin. p. 206. Orderic. Vital. p. 502, 503. T. Stubbs, col. 1702. R. Hoveden, fol. 258. W. Newbregin, l. i. c. i. p. 2.

(19) Orderic. Vital. p. 503.

left that city, as the fortifications which he had directed to be raised for his security were not yet finished, and retired to Berking in Essex. At this place the two great earls Edwin and Morcar, earl Coxo, Edric, surnamed *the Forester*, and several other English noblemen, waited upon him, made their submissions, and were most graciously received, and confirmed in the possession of all their honours and estates. From Berking he made a progress into several parts of the kingdom, receiving the homage of his new subjects, and behaving to all who submitted to his authority with the most engaging affability. In this progress he was at great pains to restrain his Norman attendants from doing any injuries, or offering any insults to his English subjects (20). By these popular and prudent measures the public tranquillity was every where restored, and nothing appeared but the most perfect submission to the new government. That he might have it in his power to gratify the expectations of his Norman followers, he seized all the lands and treasures of Harold and his brothers, which were very great, and confiscated the estates of all the English nobles who had fallen fighting against him in the battle of Hastings. He received also very considerable sums of money from his wealthy English subjects, as presents, on his accession, given with a view to secure his favour. By these means he was enabled to bestow honours and estates upon his chief followers, and money upon others. Besides this, to diffuse the fame of his riches, piety, and munificence, he sent very valuable presents to the Pope, who had favoured his enterprise, and to many churches on the continent, wherein prayers had been put up for his success. Still further to secure the obedience of the English, of whose attachment he yet entertained some doubts, he commanded strong castles to be built near the chief cities, and in other convenient places, to be garrisoned by his trusty Normans, on whose fidelity he could depend (21).

By these and the like precautions, in less than three months after his coronation, William beheld such an appearance of order, tranquillity, and obedience to King William returns to Normandy.

(20) W. Pictavin. p. 202.

(21) Id. Ibid.

A. D. 1067. his authority, in all parts of England, that he imagined he might now with safety visit his native country and his family; to dazzle their eyes with his magnificence, and revive their congratulations on the success of his expedition. Having therefore appointed his uterine brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and his great favourite William Fitz-Osbern, regents of England, towards the end of March A. D. 1067, he embarked at Pevensey in Suffex (where he had landed about six months before), and soon arrived in Normandy, with a gallant fleet, and a splendid train of the nobility of England, as well as of his ancient subjects. For besides the precautions already mentioned, which he had taken for preserving the peace of his new dominions in his absence, he very prudently carried with him to the continent, Edgar Atheling, Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and all the other English noblemen, whose fidelity he suspected, or who were formidable for their wealth and power, under a pretence of doing them honour, but in reality to keep them as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of their dependents (22). As an impatient vanity, unworthy of his character, seems to have prompted William to this too hasty voyage, which proved the source of much disquiet to himself, and of many calamities to his subjects; so he made an ostentatious display of the riches and grandeur he had acquired in England, to excite the admiration of his own people, and of the nobles and princes who came from all the neighbouring countries to visit his court, and pay their compliments of congratulation. The quantity and exquisite workmanship of his gold and silver plate, the splendid dress of his guards, and the magnificence of his English nobles, exceeded every thing that had been seen in those parts, and filled all spectators with admiration (23).

Insurrections of the English.

While William was thus spending his time in a kind of triumphant progress through the towns and cities of Normandy, business of a different kind was preparing for him in England. Many of the Norman captains, unawed by the presence of their sovereign, abused their power, and loaded the unhappy English

(22) W. Picstavia. p. 209. (23) Id. p. 211.

with injuries and indignities; which that people, still mindful of their former free and happy state, bore with much impatience. This soon produced murmurs and complaints; which being disregarded by the regents, broke out into open revolts in several places. The Kentish-men, in conjunction with Eustace earl of Bologne, who was then at variance with William, made an unsuccessful attempt on the town and castle of Dover (24). Edric the Forester, with the assistance of two Welsh princes, defended himself against the insults of the Norman captains settled in Herefordshire, repelling force by force (25). Coxo, a powerful English earl was put to death by his own people, because he obstinately persisted in his submission to the new government, and refused to head them in an insurrection (26). In a word, the English in all parts of the kingdom were ripe for a revolt; and there wanted not some secret consultations about a general massacre of the Normans (27).

William, having received information of the disorders which prevailed in England, became sensible of the necessity of his immediate presence in that kingdom; and appointing his queen Matilda, and his eldest son Robert, regents of Normandy, he sailed from Dieppe on the 6th of December, and on the 7th landed at Winchelsea, from whence he proceeded to London, where he kept his Christmas (28). Here he was attended by many of the English prelates and nobles; who met with a more favourable reception than they expected, and even obtained redress of some of those injuries which had been done to them by the Normans. This produced an appearance of tranquility, which was neither very solid or very lasting (29).

The unseasonable expensive voyage to Normandy had not only given occasion to the insurrections already mentioned, but it had also exhausted the royal treasury so much, that William, soon after his return to England, found himself under a necessity of reviving the odious tax of Danegelt. This revived the discontent of the English, and occasioned fresh troubles.

(24) Orderic. Vital. p. 508.

(25) Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.

(26) Orderic. Vital. p. 509.

(27) Gemiticin, c. 29.

(28) Orderic. Vital. p. 509.

(29) Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1068. The people of Exeter, at the instigation of Githa, the mother of king Harold, who resided in that city, broke out into open rebellion, repaired their walls, increased their garrison, laid in provisions, and made every possible preparation for a vigorous resistance, soliciting all the neighbouring country to join in their revolt. The king immediately marched into those parts at the head of an army, and after a siege of eighteen days, obliged them to implore his clemency and submit to his authority, Githa having in the mean time made her escape into Flanders with all her treasures (30). After the reduction of Exeter, William marched into Cornwall; and having suppressed certain commotions which had been raised in that country, returned to Winchester, where he celebrated the feast of Easter. His royal consort Matilda arrived in England about this time, and was crowned at Westminster on Whit Sunday by Aldred archbishop of York; and before the end of the year she was delivered of her fourth son, who was named *Henry* (31).

Revolt of
earls Ed-
win and
Morcar.

At this time William seemed to be completely happy, both in his family and government. But this happiness was of short duration; and he soon found himself involved in new toils and dangers. The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, were by far the most powerful of all the English nobility who survived the battle of Hastings, having about a third part of England under their own authority and that of their friends. Besides this, they were amiable in their persons and manners, beloved by their dependents, the favourites of the clergy, and the idols of the common people (32). The late king Harold had been their brother-in-law, and the reigning prince of Wales was their nephew. The artful Norman was not ignorant of any of these circumstances, and well knew what dangerous enemies they might have been to a new-established government, and had therefore courted them with great attention; and, in particular, had promised Edwin his daughter in marriage. But when that young nobleman claimed the accomplish-

(30) Orderic. Vital. p. 510. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068.

(31) J. Brompt. col. 963.

(32) Orderic. Vital. p. 511. J. Brompt. col. 969.

ment of this promise, he met with a denial: at which A.D. 1068. he was so much enraged, that he retired with his brother to the north, where they encouraged the disaffection of their followers, entered into negotiations with the kings of Scotland and Denmark, and the princes of Wales, and formed a plan for attacking the king and his Normans, by strong armies in several places at the same time.

William, sensible that his safety depended upon his celerity, flew into the north with an army, and disconcerted the designs of his enemies before they could bring them to maturity. The two brothers, with Archil a potent nobleman in those parts, finding their schemes blasted, threw themselves on the king's mercy, and obtained a seeming but not a sincere forgiveness. The people of York, who had engaged keenly in this conspiracy, finding it discovered, endeavoured to make their peace, by giving hostages, and sending the keys of their city to William; who, distrusting their fidelity, built a castle in their city, in which he placed a Norman garrison. For the further security of his government he built castles at Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntington, and Cambridge. Malcolm, king of Scotland, seeing the confederacy dissolved, made his peace with William, who having thus dissipated this threatening storm by his activity, returned triumphant into the south (33).

By this time a great part of the property of England was, by numerous confiscations, transferred to the Normans, who also engrossed the favour of the sovereign, and all places of power and profit. The far greater part of the ancient English noble families were extinguished or reduced to poverty; and those who remained, saw themselves despised, distrusted and in daily danger of ruin from the suspicions of the Conqueror, and the rapacity of his Norman favourites. Many of them therefore retired into foreign countries to avoid the dangers with which they were surrounded, and to reserve themselves for better times. In particular, Edgar Atheling, his two sisters Margaret and Christina, with earl Cospatric, and several other no-

William suppresses that revolt.

English nobility abandon their country.

(33) Simeon Dunelm. col. 203. R. Diceto, col. 482. Orderic Vital. p. 511.

A. D. 1068. blemen, retired into Scotland; where they met with a most gracious reception from king Malcolm; who married the princess Margaret, and bestowed lands on her noble attendants; from whom several great families in that kingdom derive their descent (34).

A. D. 1069. Though the retreat of so many noble persons weakened the English interest, and enriched the Normans with their spoils, it did not secure the tranquillity of the kingdom, which, A. D. 1069, was a scene of great confusion. Two sons of the late king Harold, who had left England after the unfortunate battle of Hastings, and taken shelter in the court of Dermot king of Ireland, having, with the assistance of that prince, and other friends, collected a small army, and a fleet of sixty-six ships, resolved to make an attempt to retrieve the ruined fortunes of their family. About the beginning of this year they landed with their troops on the coast of Devonshire; but were suddenly attacked by a party of Normans under the command of Briaux, a son of the earl of Brittany, who defeated them twice in one day, killed seventeen hundred of their men, and obliged the two unhappy adventurers to fly to their ships, and return into Ireland (35).

The English, assisted by the Scots and Danes, revolt.

There were risings of the English about the same time, in the counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Salop, and the isle of Ely (36). But the most formidable commotions were in the north, where every thing seemed to conspire to the extirpation of the Normans. Robert Cummin governor of Durham was killed in an insurrection, with about seven hundred of his followers, on the 29th of January (37). A few days after, the people of York surprized and killed Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, with many of his men, and besieged the castle, which had been built to keep them in subjection. During the continuance of this siege, a Danish fleet of three hundred ships, commanded by Osberne, brother to Sweyn king of Denmark, arrived in the Humber, and landed an

(34) M. Paris, p. 4. Annal. Waverliën. An. 1068. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden. Annal. 259. col. 2.

(35) Orderic. Vital. p. 513. W. Gemitticen, c. 41.

(36) Orderic. Vital. p. 514.

(37) R. Hoveden, p. 259. Simeon Dunelm. col. 34. 198. J. Brompt. col. 965.

army, which, after plundering the country joined the English at the siege of York castle, who were also joined about the same time by Edgar Atheling, Cofpatric, Waltheof, Merleswain, and other exiles from Scotland, with a party of Northumbrians. Many of the Normans in those parts had taken shelter in the castle of York, which they defended with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by William, to whom they had sent an account of their danger. On the 19th of September they made a sally, and set fire to the houses nearest the castle; and the flames spreading, burnt the cathedral and the greatest part of the city. The besiegers, enraged at this beyond measure, amidst the confusion occasioned by the fire, took the castle by assault, and put the whole garrison, consisting of three thousand men, to the sword, except the governor, William Malet, with his wife and two children, whose lives he spared. After this exploit the Danes returned to their ships loaded with booty, and the Northumbrians retired to their own homes (38).

A.D. 1069.

When William, who had been employed in suppressing the insurrections in the south, received intelligence of these transactions in the north, he was inflamed with the most violent rage, and swore that he would lay the whole country desolate, and extirpate its inhabitants. To execute this threatened vengeance, he marched his army northward; and that he might not have two enemies to contend with at the same time, he entered into a private negotiation with Osberne, the commander of the Danish army, and prevailed upon him, by a sum of money, and permission to plunder the sea-coasts, to return with his fleet and army into Denmark in the spring. The king then invested York with his army, and having taken it, and received Waltheof its governor into favour, he spent his Christmas in that city with the usual solemnities (39).

William recovers York.

In the beginning of the year 1070, William marched northward with his army, destroying and burning the whole country as he advanced, and putting all

A.D. 1070. Desolates the north of England!

(38) Simeon Dunelm. col. 198. J. Brompt. col. 966.

(39) Orderic. Vital. p. 515. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden, fol. 258, col. 2.

A.D. 1070. the inhabitants to the sword without mercy. In this cruel and destructive manner he proceeded as far as Hexham, marking his way with blood and desolation. Many of the wretched inhabitants, who escaped the sword by flying to the woods and mountains, perished by famine; in so much that no fewer than one hundred thousand men, women, and children, are said to have been cut off by those two cruel enemies of mankind (the sword and famine), in the space of a few months. In a word, William executed his threatened vengeance with such unrelenting severity, that the whole country between York and Durham was converted into a dreary desert, without houses and without inhabitants, and remained in that condition about nine years (40). Edgar Atheling and his attendants seeing all lost, and dreading to fall into the hands of the enraged Conqueror, escaped into Scotland by sea; only Cospatric threw himself on the king's mercy, obtained his pardon, and for a sum of money was constituted earl of Northumberland (41). From this period, William seems to have been quite alienated from his English subjects, and to have resolved to depress and ruin them, that they might not be able to disturb his government.

Malcolm
king of
Scotland
invades
Northum-
berland.

Malcolm king of Scotland, so nearly connected with Edgar Atheling, intended to support his cause, and assist the insurgents; but was too dilatory in his motions. At length, however, he marched out of Cumberland, which was then under his dominion, into Northumberland, which he plundered with great severity; and then returned into his own kingdom with much booty, and so great a number of prisoners, that (if we may believe an ancient English historian) there was hardly a village, or even a house in Scotland, in which you might not meet with an English slave or slaves (41).

A. D. 1071.
Edwin and
Morcar
revolt and
are sup-
pressed.

The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, who had remained quiet during all the violent commotions of the preceding year, now discovered, very unseasonably, their fear or their disaffection by flying from the court. Morcar took shelter in the isle of Ely, where

(40) R. Hoveden, p. 238. col. 2.

(41) Id. *ibid.*

(42) Id. *ibid.* p. 259.

either by force or fraud he was taken, and thrown into ^{A.D. 1071.} prison. Edwin attempting to make his escape into Scotland, the common asylum of the afflicted English of those times, was betrayed by three brothers his most familiar friends, into the hands of the Normans, and after a brave defence, was killed with about twenty of his attendants. As this amiable, but unfortunate young nobleman, had been much beloved, he was greatly lamented, especially by his countrymen the English; and even the unrelenting William, who had been long inured to blood and slaughter, could not refrain from tears when he beheld his head presented to him by the traitors, in hopes of a reward; instead of which he condemned them to perpetual exile (43). After the death of Edwin, and imprisonment of Morcar, all their great estates were confiscated, and either vested in the crown or granted to the Normans (44). Still further to gratify his own avarice, and that of his followers, having received intelligence, that many of the wretched English had concealed their money and plate in monasteries, he commanded them to be strictly searched, and these effects to be seized and confiscated wherever they could be found (45).

As Malcolm, king of Scotland, had given a kind ^{A.D. 1072.} reception to all the English exiles, and was ever ready ^{William's} to assist them in their attempts against the Norman ^{expedition} government, William, having now suppressed all the ^{into Scot-} insurrections in England, resolved on an expedition ^{land.} into Scotland. In consequence of this resolution he conducted an army into that country, where he was met by Malcolm at the head of an army of equal strength. After the two armies had faced each other several days, a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in a peace, by which Malcolm agreed to do homage to William for his lands in England, and William agreed to receive Edgar Atheling again into favour, and grant him an honourable establishment (46). On his return from Scotland, William deprived Cospatrick of the earldom of Northumberland, and bestowed it upon Waltheof, who was now become a great favourite,

(43) Orderic. Vital. p. 521. J. Brompt. col. 969. Chron. Saxon. p. 181.

(44) Orderic. Vital. p. 522. (45) Annal. Waverlien. p. 130.

(46) Annal. Waverlein. p. 130. Chron. Saxon. p. 181.

A. D. 1072. and to whom he had given his own niece Judith in marriage (47).

A. D. 1073. William visits Normandy. By this peace with Scotland, and the reduction of England to a state of tranquillity, William was now at liberty to make a second voyage to the continent, to suppress a revolt in the county of Maine, fomented by Fulk earl of Anjou, who had some pretensions to that county. Willing to allow the Normans settled in England to enjoy some repose after so many toils and dangers, he composed the army which he carried with him chiefly of his English subjects; who fighting with great bravery, in order to retrieve their national character for valour, and to gain, if possible, the esteem and favour of their sovereign, soon reduced the disputed country to his obedience (48). William spent the whole of this, and the greatest part of the year 1074, in Normandy, enjoying the company of his family, and regulating the affairs of his dominions.

A. D. 1074. A conspiracy of the Normans discovered and defeated. While the Conqueror was thus employed in his native country, a conspiracy was forming against him in England, by some of those Norman barons on whom he had heaped wealth and honours with a liberal hand. Roger earl of Hereford, son and heir of William's great favourite Fitz-Osborne, had promised his sister in marriage to Ralph d. Guader earl of Norfolk, and applied to the king for his consent to their nuptials; which he, for reasons unknown to us, refused. The two haughty barons were much enraged at this refusal, and, without regarding it, proceeded to the celebration of the intended marriage, and invited all the chief friends of both families, to the marriage-feast, amongst others Waltheof earl of Huntingdon, Northampton and Northumberland, married to Judith the king's niece, the only Englishman who then enjoyed any considerable degree of power, wealth, or royal favour. When the guests were heated with liquor at the nuptial banquet, politics were introduced; the two earls gave free vent to their discontent and resentment against William, representing him as an infamous bastard, an insolent imperious tyrant, unworthy to reign over such brave men as they were,

(47) Orderic. Vital. p. 522.

(48) Chron. Saxon. p. 182.

and at length proposed a conspiracy to deprive him of the kingdom, which they suggested might be easily accomplished in his absence, by the assistance of the Danes and Welsh, and discontented English. Waltheof at first hesitated, and objected, but was at last prevailed upon to enter into the conspiracy; which, to their inflamed imaginations, appeared perfectly just, and easy of execution. When rest, however, had dispelled the fumes of liquor, it was seen in a very different light by the unhappy Waltheof, who became thoughtful, restless, and apprehensive. At length, to relieve his loaded heart, he communicated the whole secret of the conspiracy to his wife, of whose fidelity he entertained no doubt. But the faithless Judith, whose affections were secretly fixed on another object, glad of an opportunity of ruining her husband, sent a trusty messenger into Normandy to reveal the plot to her uncle, and to aggravate the guilt of Waltheof as much as possible. Waltheof, not yet easy in his mind, revealed the fatal secret to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, under the seal of confession, professing repentance, and asking his advice. That prelate advised him immediately to go to Normandy; and communicate the whole affair to the king, as the most effectual means of meriting and obtaining his forgiveness. He complied with this advice; and met with a reception seemingly not unfavourable, though he was detained in custody. As soon as the other conspirators heard of the flight of Waltheof into Normandy; they concluded that he had betrayed them, and rashly flew to arms before the plot was ripe for execution. The earl of Hereford was defeated, and taken prisoner, by the nobles and prelates of Worcester-shire. The other great conspirator, Ralph earl of Norfolk, being routed near Cambridge, by Odo bishop of Bayeux, and regent of the kingdom, took shelter in his castle of Norwich; where he was besieged; with his lady and family. The earl, dreading to fall into the hands of his enemies, made his escape beyond sea; after which his lady surrendered the castle, and agreed to go into perpetual exile. Soon after this a Danish fleet and army arrived on the English coast to the assistance of the conspirators; but

A.D. 1074:

A. D. 1074. hearing that they were suppressed, returned to Denmark without landing (49).

William returns to England. William, arrived in England in autumn this year, and found the public tranquillity restored, by the dispersion or imprisonment of the insurgents. According to his unjust and cruel policy, he punished the common people with great severity, hanging some and mutilating others. The earl of Hereford, though he had been the author of this conspiracy, yet, being a Norman, and the son of a favourite, was treated with great lenity, and only consigned to perpetual confinement (50).

Earl Waltheof condemned and executed.

The unhappy Waltheof did not meet with the same indulgence, though he had the strongest claims to mercy. He had been drawn into the conspiracy when he was in a state of intoxication; he repented of it as soon as he recovered the exercise of his reason; and he prevented its success by a seasonable discovery. But being an Englishman, and possessed of great wealth, he was obnoxious to the Norman courtiers, who coveted his estates, and, in conjunction with his unfaithful wife, pushed on the prosecution against him with great violence. On his trial he denied that he had ever entered into the conspiracy, but confessed that he had concealed it for a time. His judges were divided in their opinions, and held several consultations before they condemned him to death. Even after that hard sentence was pronounced, William hesitated, and kept him some months in prison at Winchester. In this interval the English were full of anxiety for his safety, and put up incessant prayers to Heaven for his deliverance, while Judith and the Norman courtiers eagerly solicited his execution. At length William yielded to their importunity, and granted a warrant for his death; which was executed with indecent haste, and other circumstances of cruelty, very early in the morning, April 29, on a rising ground without the gates of Winchester. Thus fell, by the intrigues of a wicked woman, and of covetous ambitious courtiers, one of the best and greatest, and almost the last of the ancient English nobles. His

(49) Orderic Vital. p. 434, 435. R. Hoveden, p. 262. Chron. Saxon. p. 182, 183.

(50) Orderic Vital. p. 435.

death was bitterly bewailed by his unhappy countrymen, who long revered his memory, both as a hero and a saint (51). A. D. 1075.

The other chief conspirator, Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had great possessions in Brittany, to which he retired after his escape from his castle of Norwich: As soon as William had settled his affairs in England, he pursued him to the continent, and besieged him in the city of Dol, in which he had taken refuge, solemnly swearing not to raise the siege till he had taken the city and seized his enemy. But he soon found that it was not in his power to keep his oath. For the king of France and duke of Britany espousing the cause of the besieged, marched with a powerful army to their relief, and obliged William to raise the siege with great precipitation, leaving tents and baggage behind him to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. A peace was soon after concluded between all the contending parties, which was cemented by the marriage of the princess Constance, a daughter of the king of England, to the duke of Britany (52). A. D. 1076.
William returns to Normandy.

William had now reduced all his subjects, and made peace with all his neighbours, and expected to enjoy some repose. These expectations proved delusive, and he soon found himself involved in fresh troubles of a most disagreeable kind, occasioned by the ambitious and impatient spirit of Robert his eldest son. That young prince had some years before been declared heir to all his father's dominions on the continent, and now began to insist with much earnestness on the immediate possession of some of these dominions. For some time William eluded his applications by evasive answers; but at last he was obliged to tell him plainly, that he was determined not to resign any of his territories while he lived (53). This denial increased the discontent and anger of Robert, which was blown up into an ungovernable flame by the following incident, trifling in itself, but important in its consequences. The king spending some time this year in the War between William and his eldest son Robert.

(51) Orderic. Vital. p. 536, 537.

(52) Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Orderic. Vital. p. 544.

(53) Orderic. Vital. p. 569.

A.D. 1076. } castle of L'Aigle with his court, his two younger sons, William and Henry, in a youthful frolic threw some water from an upper apartment on their elder brother Robert and his companions, who were walking in the court below. Robert, naturally passionate, and at that time in a peevish discontented state of mind, flew into a rage, drew his sword, and ran up stairs, threatening to take a bloody revenge on his brothers, of whose favour with their father he was not a little jealous. This occasioned a prodigious tumult and uproar in the castle; and nothing but the presence and authority of the king could have prevented some fatal mischief. The tumult was quelled; but the wrath of Robert was not appeased; for he privately retired from court that very evening, with a number of the young nobility attached to his fortunes, with a view to surprize the citadel of Rouen, the capital of Normandy. They were disappointed in this design by the vigilance of the governor; and as soon as William heard of this rebellious attempt, he issued orders to seize his son and all his companions. A few of them were taken; but Robert and the others made their escape, and were received by Hugh de Neuf-Chatel into his castles. An open war now broke out between the father and the son; which raged with great violence, and unspeakable mischief to the country, almost three years (54).

A.D. 1079.
William
reconciled
to his son.

At length the conduct, valour, and fortune of William prevailed; and Robert, though he had been joined by many of the young nobility of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, secretly aided by the king of France, and privately supplied with money by his mother queen Matilda, was driven out of Normandy, and took shelter with his remaining followers in the castle of Gerberoy in France. His father pursued him thither, and besieged the castle; which was defended with great valour, and many vigorous sallies. In one of these Robert encountered, wounded, and unhorsed his father; who discovered himself, by crying out as he fell to the ground. As soon as the son heard his parent's voice, he was penetrated with remorse and horror at what he had done, sprung from his horse,

fell on his knees, and most earnestly implored his pardon. William, chagrined with the indignity of his fall, the smart of his wound, and the many vexations which his son's rebellion had occasioned, did not immediately relent; but mounting his horse, and pronouncing a curse instead of a pardon, returned to his army (55). There reflecting coolly on his son's submissive behaviour, his parental affections began to operate: he raised the siege, returned into Normandy, and by the intercession of queen Matilda, and other common friends, he was reconciled to Robert and his adherents (56).

A. D. 1079.

While William resided in Normandy, some events happened in England which seemed to require his presence. Malcolm king of Scotland invaded Northumberland, A. D. 1078, and carried off much booty and many prisoners (57). Walcher bishop of Durham, and earl of Northumberland, was killed May 14, A. D. 1080, at Gateshead, with about one hundred of his attendants, by the family and friends of one Leulf, an English nobleman, who had been basely murdered by Liothwin and Gillebert, two of the bishop's favourites (58). William, on his return into England, in autumn this year, sent an army into the north, under the command of his son Robert, who had come with him out of Normandy; and of his own uterine brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, to chastise the Northumbrians, and retaliate the injuries which had been done by the king of Scotland. It was in the course of this expedition that Robert built a castle, near the place where the bishop of Durham had been slain, which he called *Newcastle*, from which the flourishing town of Newcastle upon Tyne derived its origin (59).

A. D. 1080.

William sends his son Robert with an army into the north.

Tranquility being now restored to William's family and dominions, he began about this time, or perhaps a little later, the famous survey of England, which doth more honour to his memory than any of his victories. This survey was conducted by commissioners, taking information upon oath in each county, of the

A. D. 1081.

Doomsday book.

(55) M. Paris, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 572, 573.

(56) R. Hoveden, p. 262. (57) Id. ibid. Chron. Saxon. p. 184.

(58) Simeon Dunelm. col. 48. (59) R. Hoveden, p. 263.

A. D. 1080. following particulars; the name of every town or village;—who held it in king Edward's days;—who now possessed it;—how many freemen, villains, and cottagers were in it;—how many hides of land were in each manor;—how many of these were in the demefne;—how much wood-land, meadow, and pasture;—how much it paid in taxes in king Edward's days;—and how much now;—how many mills and fish-ponds.—And in some places they were even more particular, and took an account of the horses, black cattle, swine, sheep, and hives of bees (60). All these informations were returned by the commissioners, and formed into the two valuable volumes of Domesday-book, which are still preserved in the exchequer. By this survey William acquired an exact knowledge of the possessions of the crown, the church, the nobility, and land-owners; and of the number, quality, and wealth, of all his subjects; from whence so wise a prince might derive manifold advantages.

A. D. 1082. About this time Odo, bishop of Bayeux, forfeited the favour of William his uterine brother, by whom he had been loaded with benefits. That ambitious prelate, not contented with all the honours which he enjoyed, had cast his eyes upon the papal dignity; and in order to secure his advancement to it on the first vacancy, had amassed prodigious treasures, and engaged many powerful friends, with whom he proposed to go to Rome. William, unwilling to see so great a mass of money and so many useful subjects carried out of the kingdom, put a stop to this design, by seizing Odo in the isle of Wight, as he was ready to embark, and confining him in prison in the castle of Rouen, where he remained till the king's death (61).

A. D. 1083. William made a voyage into Normandy this year to visit his queen; Matilda, who had fallen into a lingering illness, of which she died on November 2. That princess, who is said to have been amiable in her person, virtuous in her manners, and remarkable for her learning, lived in great conjugal harmony with her royal consort thirty-three years, and brought him four sons; Robert, who succeeded his father in Nor-

(60) Chron. Saxon. p. 186.

(61) Orderic. Vital. p. 646. R. Hoveden, p. 263.

mandy; Richard, who was accidentally killed as he was hunting in the New Forest; William and Henry, who were successively kings of England; and five daughters, viz. Cecilia, who became a nun; Constance, who was married to the duke of Brittany; Agatha, contracted to king Harold in her infancy, and afterwards to Alphonso king of Galicia, but died, before marriage, in her way to Spain; Alice, who died young, and Adela, married to Stephen earl of Blois (62). William is said to have been so much affected with the death of his queen, that he relinquished all his former amusements; but the truth is, that the few remaining years of his life were so full of alarms, toils, and dangers, that he could have little leisure or inclination for amusement.

A. D. 1083.

The greatest uneasiness of the Conqueror at this time proceeded from the intelligence he received, that Canute IV. king of Denmark, was making prodigious preparations for invading England, in which he was to be assisted by Robert Le Frison earl of Flanders, with six hundred ships (63). To repel this dreaded invasion, he collected a great army, not only of Normans, but of adventurers from all the neighbouring countries; brought them over to England; and quartered them upon his English subjects along the sea-coasts, where they continued several months, committing many acts of oppression on the unhappy English, who were also loaded with a grievous tax, for the pay of their oppressor (64). At length William was relieved from his apprehensions by the welcome news, that Canute, discouraged by contrary winds, and dissensions among his nobles, had relinquished his intended expedition: on which he dismissed his mercenary soldiers, to the great joy of his subjects.

A. D. 1084.
Threatened invasion from Denmark.


Though there was no open war, there was no cordial peace between the kings of France and England at this time; and the great barons on the borders of their respective territories, made destructive inroads on each other's lands. This irregular kind of war continued while William was in England, to the disadvantage of his subjects. Hubert de Beaumont, a famous

A. D. 1086.
William visits Normandy.

(62) Orderic. Vital. p. 638. W. Malmf. p. 63.

(63) W. Malmf. p. 60.

(64) Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 212.

A.D. 1087.  partizan of those times, killed several Norman barons, and enriched himself with their spoils (65). The Conqueror, resolving to visit his dominions on the continent to put a stop to these depredations, summoned all his prelates, nobles, and knights, to meet him at Salisbury on the first of August; where he obliged them to renew their oaths of fealty, and extorted from them great sums of money; with which he soon after sailed for Normandy, carrying with him Edgar Atheling, who was still an object of his jealousy, and of the affections of the English (66).

Death of
William.

The misunderstanding which had long subsisted in secret between the Conqueror and Philip king of France, now broke out into an open war, occasioned, as it is said, by a witticism of that king, who hearing that William, who was now become very corpulent, had been some weeks confined by sickness, said, "He hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his great belly, and be able to come abroad." This sarcasm being reported to William, put him into a violent passion, and made him swear, "by the brightness and resurrection of God (his usual oath), that as soon as he came abroad, he would light up a thousand fires in France for the joy of his recovery (67)." Nor did he neglect to execute this threat. For in the last week of July, when the corns and fruits were all ripe, he entered France at the head of a powerful army, destroying every thing as he advanced; and having taken the town of Mante, he commanded it to be set on fire and reduced to ashes. But here a stop was put to his destructive career. For being overheated by the warmth of the weather and flames of the town, and having received a bruise in his belly by the pommel of his saddle, he was seized with a slow fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Gervais near Rouen, September 9, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-first year of his reign over England (68). He enjoyed the full exercise of his reason during his sickness, made his will with great deliberation, bequeath-

(65) Orderic. Vital. p. 648.

(66) Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

(67) M. Paris, p. 9. M. Westminster. p. 230.

(68) Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

ing his dominions on the continent to Robert his eldest son, the kingdom of England to his second son William, and a sum of money to his youngest son Henry. To appease the reproaches of his conscience for the cruelties which he had committed, he commanded all the state-prisoners to be released, directed great sums of money to be distributed to the churches and the clergy, and practised all the other tricks of superstition that were then in vogue. He also entertained his courtiers with long discourses on the vanity of worldly greatness; of which they gave the strongest proof, by every one of them abandoning his remains as soon as he expired (69).

A.D. 1087.

William I. commonly called *the Conqueror*, was strong, healthy, and graceful in his person, though his countenance was rather stern than gracious; and he became corpulent in the latter part of his life. He excelled in riding, shooting with the bow, and in all martial and manly exercises. His passion for hunting was excessive, in gratifying which he was guilty of the most horrid cruelties. He had ambition and boldness to attempt, and courage and wisdom to execute, the most arduous enterprises, of which his conquest of England is a sufficient proof. He was religious according to the mode of the times in which he lived, and treated the clergy with great respect when they did not oppose his will. Temperance and chastity were his greatest virtues; ambition, avarice, and cruelty, his most pernicious vices. His government was harsh, arbitrary, and tyrannical, especially to his English subjects; who were reduced so low, that before the end of his reign there was not so much as one Englishman who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot. In a word, William the Conqueror was one of the greatest generals and politicians, but one of the most tyrannical and cruel kings that ever sat on the throne of England (70).

His character.

William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, second surviving son of the Conqueror, who was present with his father on his death-

Succession and coronation of William II.

(69) Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

(70) Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. W. Malmf. p. 63. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 212, 213. Ingulph. p. 70.

A.D. 1087. bed, having obtained his nomination to the crown of England, with a letter of recommendation to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, did not stay to pay the last duties to his expiring parent, but hastened over the sea to take possession of the crown. As soon as he arrived in England, he got possession of his father's treasures at Winchester, and of the most important fortresses on the coast; and his cause being warmly espoused by Lanfranc, by whom he had been educated and knighted in his youth, he was crowned at Westminster, September 27, by that prelate, assisted by the archbishop of York, eight other bishops, and many of the chief nobility (71). After his coronation he returned to Winchester, to take a more particular account of his father's treasures, which he found to amount to sixty thousand pounds in money, equal in weight of silver to one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, and in efficacy to nine hundred thousand pounds of our money; besides gold and silver plate, jewels, and other precious effects, to a much greater value. With some part of this money he paid the legacies which had been left by his father to the churches, the clergy, and the poor; by which he gained popularity to himself, as well as shewed a regard to the will of a parent, to whose affection he had been so much indebted (72).

A.D. 1088.
Conspiracy
against
William II.

Though the coronation of Rufus had not been openly opposed, it was secretly disliked by many of the chief nobility, who knew his fierce imperious character; and having great estates in Normandy, as well as in England, were sensible that it would be impossible to preserve them both, if these two countries continued under different sovereigns, who would often be at variance. These nobles therefore (of whom Odo bishop of Bayeux, Robert earl of Mortain, the two maternal brothers of the late king Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and Robert de Belesme, were the chief); being then in Normandy, formed a conspiracy for dethroning William, and raising his elder brother Robert duke of Normandy to the throne of England. They communicated their designs to Robert, who encourag-

(71) Orderic. Vital. p. 659. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 68.

(72) Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Brompt. p. 983.

ed them to proceed, and promised to support them ^{A.D. 1088.} with a powerful army. The conspirators came over to England in the end of the last and the beginning of this year, to increase their party, and prepare for the execution of their plot. In the first of these intentions they were not unsuccessful, prevailing upon many, and, amongst others, upon William bishop of Durham, the king's greatest favourite, to enter into their views. The conspirators, thinking themselves sufficiently strong, began to give intimations of their designs, by collecting their followers, and fortifying their castles, rather too soon; which was one great cause of their miscarriage (73).

William, justly alarmed at this formidable combination against him, exerted all his vigour to defeat his enemies, and preserve the crown he had obtained. Observing that the greatest part of the Normans were engaged in the conspiracy, he had recourse to the English, who still constituted the body of the people; and by fair promises, of reviving their ancient laws, and of allowing them the liberty of hunting in the royal forests, he persuaded thirty thousand of them to espouse his cause. With these, and such Norman barons as adhered to him, he took the field, and in one campaign reduced the castles of Tunbridge, Pevensey, and Rochester; in the last of which Odo bishop of Bayeux, Eustace earl of Boulogne, Robert de Belesme, and other chiefs of the conspiracy, fell into his hands. At first he resolved to make them feel the utmost rigour of the law; but was at last so much softened by the earnest entreaties of some of their friends, who had been faithful to him, that he spared their lives, allowed them to retire into Normandy, and contented himself with confiscating their estates, which were of great value. Some of these estates he bestowed upon his friends who had assisted him in his distress, and others he retained in his own possession. The duke of Normandy had made a feeble attempt to support his partisans, by sending a small fleet, with some troops, to their assistance; but

That conspiracy is frustrated.

(73) Orderic. Vital. p. 666. Chron. Saxon. p. 193. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 68.

A.D. 1088. they were intercepted and defeated by the English fleet (74).

A.D. 1089. Expedition into Normandy proposed. By the suppression of this rebellion Rufus was firmly established on the throne of England, and soon forgot all his promises to the unhappy English who had contributed so much to his establishment. The restoration of their ancient laws and liberties was no more heard of; and instead of allowing them to hunt in the royal forests, to do it was made a capital crime (75). He was not so apt to forget injuries as benefits; and retaining a lively resentment against his brother Robert, in whose behalf the late conspiracy had been formed, he determined to be revenged, by depriving him of his dominions. To facilitate the execution of this design, he corrupted the governors of several strong places in Normandy, particularly of St. Valori and Albemarle, who admitted English garrisons into these towns (76). He also held an assembly of his great barons at Winchester, to whom he proposed an expedition into Normandy, to revenge the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his crown; and the proposal was favourably entertained (77).

A.D. 1090. State of Normandy. Normandy at this time was a scene of great confusion, occasioned by the imprudence and indolence of its sovereign, and the turbulence of its nobility, who made war against each other, as if they had been independent princes. To complete the miseries of that unhappy country, the province of Maine revolted, and attempted to shake off the Norman yoke, which it had always borne with reluctance (78). Robert, conscious of his inability to reduce his own subjects to obedience, and resist the threatened invasion from England, implored the protection of Philip king of France; who espoused his cause, and marched at the head of an army to his relief. But of this protection he was soon deprived by the intrigues of his brother William, who, by a great bribe, prevailed

(74) Chron. Saxon. p. 193, 194, 195. Orderic. Vital. p. 167, 168. W. Malmf. p. 68.

(75) W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 70.

(76) R. Hoveden, p. 265.

(77) Orderic. Vital. p. 680.

(78) Id. p. 683.

upon Philip to abandon Robert, and return with his army into his own dominions (79). A.D. 1091.

Rufus, having in the preceding year paved the way for the conquest of Normandy, by gaining many of its nobility to his party, sailed into that country with an army about Candlemas this year, with a design to complete the work. At his landing he was met by many Norman barons, who having great estates in England and in Normandy, were very desirous of such an agreement between the two brothers as might secure them in the possession of their fortunes in both countries. At their earnest intercession, a negotiation was set on foot; and at last a peace concluded on the following terms:—That the king of England should keep the county of Ew, the towns of Fischamp, Albarle, and all other places of which he had got possession; in return for which the barons of Robert's party should be restored to their estates in England, and William should assist Robert to reduce the province of Maine and the rest of Normandy to his obedience. By another article it was declared, that if either of the two brothers died without issue, the other should succeed to his whole dominions (80). This peace was guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of each party, who solemnly swore to see it faithfully observed.

Peace made between William and Robert.

No person had so much reason to be dissatisfied with this peace, as prince Henry, the Conqueror's youngest son; who, by the first article, saw himself in danger of being stript of the Cotentin, a country of Normandy, which he had purchased from his brother Robert with a part of the money left him by his father; and by the second article, he beheld himself deprived of all hopes of succeeding either to Normandy or England, on the demise of one of his brothers without heirs. This young prince being brave and resolute, determined to defend his property; and collecting some troops who were willing to follow his fortunes, he seized and fortified Mount St. Michael, resolving to defend it to the last extremity. His two ungenerous and too powerful brothers having reduced all the rest of

Prince Henry besieged by his two brothers.

(79) Annal. Waverlien. p. 137. R. Hoveden, p. 265.

(80) Chron. Saxon. p. 197. R. Hoveden, p. 265.

A.D. 1091. the Cotentin, came and laid siege to the place where he had taken shelter. In the course of this siege the king of England was thrown from his horse, and on the point of being slain by a common trooper. The place was defended with great obstinacy; but the besieged, after suffering great hardships, from thirst and hunger, were obliged to surrender from a total failure of their provisions, and were allowed to go where they pleased. After this the unfortunate Henry wandered from place to place for some time, with a few faithful friends, without any settled residence or means of support (81).

A.D. 1092. and 1093. Rupture between William and Robert. After the pacification above mentioned, and the reduction of the Cotentin, Robert duke of Normandy came into England with his brother William, and assisted him in his war with Malcolm king of Scotland; which will be more particularly related in the history of that country. This harmony between the two brothers was not of long duration. For Robert, discovering that his brother still continued his intrigues on the continent, and endeavoured to increase his party among the Norman barons, left England in discontent about Christmas A. D. 1092, and returned into his own dominions. Rufus falling dangerously ill at Gloucester in the following Lent, was seized with great remorse for his vices, and particularly for his tyrannical and oppressive government; and made many solemn promises of amendment; which were all forgotten as soon as he recovered (82).

A. D. 1094. Hostilities commenced. Duke Robert, after his return into his own country, discovered so many machinations of his brother William to debauch his subjects and disturb his government, that he was greatly irritated, and sent him an angry message, demanding his immediate appearance in Normandy to fulfil the conditions of the late treaty. William complied with this requisition, and went over to the continent in the spring; but with no good intention. The two brothers had an interview in presence of the lords of both parties who had sworn to see the late agreement performed by their respective sovereigns.

(81) Chron. de Mailrois, p. 161. T. Radborn, p. 264. W. Malmf. p. 69. Orderic Vital. p. 697.

(82) Chron. Saxon. p. 198. 199.

This interview terminated in an open breach; for which William was universally condemned. That ambitious prince, thinking he had now found an opportunity of completing the ruin of this unhappy brother, by attacking him when he was at variance with many of his subjects, immediately began hostilities, by seizing some castles. But Robert was rescued from this imminent danger, by the interposition of the king of France, who marched an army to his relief; and by news from England which obliged William to abandon his enterprize, and return into that kingdom (83).

A. D. 1094.

A dangerous conspiracy had been formed in his absence by Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland, William earl of Ew, Roger de Lacey, and several other great barons, to dethrone him, and to raise his cousin Stephen earl of Aumale to the throne. William, naturally alert and keen, marched an army with great expedition into the north, by which he surprised some of the chief conspirators in Newcastle, and took the earl of Northumberland's brother at Tinmouth. The earl himself was besieged in his castle, of Bamburgh: and attempting to make his escape, he was taken and thrown into prison at Windsor; where he lived in confinement no less than thirty years. Some of the other conspirators were hanged, and others mutilated, and all their great estates confiscated (84).

A. D. 1095.
Conspiracy
discovered
and sup-
pressed.

Robert duke of Normandy was seized with the epidemic phrenzy of croisading, which about this time broke out in Europe, and, with several other princes, resolved to engage in an expedition into the East, for rescuing the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Turks. To procure money for putting this rash design in execution, he proposed to mortgage his duchy three (some say five) years, to his brother William, for ten thousand marks. William joyfully accepted the proposal, extorted the money from his subjects in England, chiefly from the clergy, carried it over, paid it to his brother, and received the valuable pledge (85).

Robert
mortgages
his domini-
ons to Wil-
liam.

(83) M. Paris, p. 12. col. 2. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 214.

(84) R. Hoveden, p. 267. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 70.

(85) Eadmir. p. 35. M. Paris, p. 20. col. 2. W. Malmf. p. 76.

Orderic. Vital. p. 724.

A.D. 1097. William, having taken possession of Normandy, came over into England about Easter, and made an unsuccessful expedition into Wales, in which he lost a great number of men, as he had done in some former expeditions. Tired with these fruitless attempts to reduce the Welsh, he commanded several castles to be built on the borders to check their incursions into England, and returned into Normandy in November, where his presence was wanted (86).

A.D. 1098. His possession of Normandy involved William in wars with the kings of France, and other neighbouring princes, who had seized certain territories which he pretended belonged to that duchy. These wars he carried on all this year with various success, but without any very decisive event, except the recovery of the province of Maine from the brave Heli de la Fleche, who had defended it with great bravery several years; but being now taken prisoner, was obliged to resign it to regain his liberty (87).

A.D. 1099. William after the reduction of Maine, returned into England, and kept the festival of Whitsontide in Westminster-hall, which he had built, and which, on account of its great dimensions and magnificence, was an object of universal admiration (88). When Heli de la Fleche was set at liberty, he made an offer of his service to the king of England; which being rejected, he was inflamed with the most violent resentment, and retired, threatening to be revenged for the indignity. William, equally fierce and haughty, instead of seizing his person before he was out of his reach, commanded him, with a disdainful air, to be gone and do his worst (89). The indignant baron, retired to his estate, spent his time in preparing for the execution of his revenge. About the beginning of June, getting together a body of troops, he surprised the city of Mans, the capital of Maine; but could not take the castle. The messenger who was sent to acquaint William with this event, found him hunting in the New Forest; and though he was prodigiously fond of that diversion, he no sooner heard what had

(86) Annal. Waverlien. p. 140. (87) Orderic. Vital. p. 767, 771.

(88) Annal. Waverlien. p. 163. (89) Orderic. Vital. p. 773.

happened, than he put spurs to his horse, and rode full speed towards the sea-coast, instantly embarked, though it blew a furious storm, and landed next morning at Barfleur. From thence he proceeded with equal impetuosity to Bonneville, joined his army, and marched towards Mans. Heli hearing of his unexpected approach, raised the siege, and retired to the strong castle of Chateau de Loir (90). The king, after he had desolated the lands of his enemy, dismissed his forces, and returned to England.

A.D. 1099.

William duke of Guyenne, neither instructed nor deterred by the calamities which had befallen other princes, and their followers, who had abandoned their own country, and gone to the Holy Land, put himself at the head of a new army of crusaders, and offered to mortgage his duchy to the king of England for a sum of money, to defray the expences of his expedition. Rufus, as ambitious as he was rich, accepted the offer, provided the money, and prepared an army to take possession of his new territories, with which he lay near the sea-coast, waiting for a fair wind to waft him to the continent. On August 2, after dinner, the king, with his brother prince Henry, and a numerous retinue, went to hunt in the New Forest, where an event happened which put an end to all the projects of this restless and ambitious monarch. Towards evening, when the company were dispersed in pursuit of their game, a buck suddenly springing between the king and one Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman who excelled in archery, he discharged an arrow at him, which glancing on a tree, struck his royal master on the breast, pierced his heart, and deprived him of life, almost without a groan (91).

A.D. 1100.

William killed.

Thus fell William Rufus, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, when he was in perfect health, in great prosperity, and full of schemes for the enlargement of his dominions, the increase of his riches, and the gratification of his passions. In his person he was strong and active, of a sanguine complexion, red hair, a stern and haughty aspect, with

His character.

(90) Orderic. Vital. p. 775.

(91) Chron. Saxon. p. 207. R. Hoveden, p. 268. Hen. Hunt. 1. 7. p. 217. M. Paris, p. 37. W. Malms. p. 71.

A. D. 1100. a stammering in his speech, especially when he was angry. In his temper he was ambitious, covetous, cruel, proud, and passionate; a profane swearer, and scoffer at all religion; addicted to wine and women; vain in his dress; delighting in the society of the loose and profligate of both sexes. His great activity, bravery, and skill in war, would have been virtues, if they had not been employed in robbing his unhappy brother of his dominions, and in disturbing all his neighbours. To his English subjects he was ungrateful and perfidious, violating all his promises, and trampling upon all their laws. To his soldiers, and to those who administered to his pleasures, he was profuse of that money which he had extorted from his people by the most oppressive arts. Ralph Flambard, a man of mean birth and most abandoned character, his greatest favourite, and the chief instrument of his tyranny, was raised by him to the highest honours, being bishop of Durham and chief justiciary of the kingdom (92). It is no wonder that a prince of this odious character died unlamented. As he was never married, he left no legitimate children.

From A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1100. It is now time to take a transient view of such of the civil and military transactions of the other British nations as have not been already mentioned.

History of Wales. The civil and military history of Wales in that period which is the subject of this section, consists entirely of the successions of the petty princes of its several districts, their mutual wars against each other, or their predatory incursions into the English territories. A minute detail of these unimportant events would be tedious; a general one would be unsatisfactory and unintelligible: it may be better therefore to refer such of our readers as desire to be more particularly informed, to the work quoted below (93).

History of Scotland. Malcolm III. surnamed *Cannmore*, or *Great-head*, had been peaceably seated on the throne of Scotland, about nine years before the landing of William duke of Normandy; and during that time had lived in peace,

(92) Chron. Saxon. p. 207, 208. W. Malmf. l. 4. passim. Eadmerus, p. 14. 47. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 217.

(93) The History of Cambria, now called *Wales*, written in the British language, translated by H. Lloyd, and continued by D. Powell, D. D. p. 104—157.

and even in friendship, with Edward the Confessor, by whom he had been assisted in recovering the kingdom of his ancestors from the usurper Macbeth. Many of the English nobility, who had been engaged in the unfortunate battle of Hasting, or had been concerned in unsuccessful insurrections against the Conqueror, fled into Scotland, and were kindly received by Malcolm; especially after his marriage with Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the favourite of the English nation, and the true heir of the English crown. At the instigation of these noble refugees, and in support of the pretensions of his brother in law, he made several inroads into England (the most considerable of which have been occasionally mentioned), which were retaliated by similar inroads of the Conqueror and his successor into Scotland. In consequence of a pacification made between William Rufus and Malcolm, in one of these incursions, A. D. 1092, the king of Scotland the year after, paid a visit to the English court at Gloucester; but met with such haughty and ungracious treatment, that he returned home in discontent, and raised an army, with which he invaded England for the fifth time (94). This was a most unfortunate expedition; for king Malcolm, with his eldest son prince Edward, falling into an ambush, were both killed, November 13, A. D. 1093, by Robert Mowbray earl of Northumberland. Queen Margaret was so much affected with the melancholy news of the slaughter of her beloved husband and favourite son, that she died a few days after of grief. Malcolm, who was a brave and good prince, had, by his pious and amiable consort, six sons, viz. Edward, who was slain with his father; Edmund, who embraced a religious life; Ethelred, who died in his infancy; Edgar, Alexander, and David, who were successively kings of Scotland; and two daughters, viz. Matilda, who was married to Henry I. king of England; and Mary, who was married to Eustace earl of Boulogne.

The surviving sons of Malcolm being young at the time of his death, and the rules of succession to the

Usurpation
of Donald
Baan, &c.
&c.

(94) Chron. Saxon. p. 198, 199. R. Hoveden, p. 266.

A. D. 1066,
to 1100.

crowns in Scotland being still unsettled, it was usurped by his brother Donald, surnamed *Baan* or *the White*; and the young princes Edgar, Alexander, and David, retired into England; where they were kindly entertained by their maternal uncle Edgar Atheling. Donald is said to have been raised to the throne by that party among the Scots, who had been dissatisfied with the late king, for his great liberality to the English exiles. In order to support himself in his usurpation; he ceded the western isles to Magnus king of Norway, who engaged to assist him against all his enemies. This measure, with some severities exercised against those who refused to swear submission to his authority, soon raised many malcontents, who invited Duncan, natural son of the late king, a brave warrior, in the service of William Rufus, to come into Scotland, and attempt to dethrone the usurper. Duncan complied with the invitation; and coming, attended by some English troops, and being joined by all the friends of Malcolm and his family, Donald found himself too weak to make a stand, and retired into the western isles about six months after his accession. The greatness of the late conqueror of England had reflected so much honour on bastardy, in which he seemed to glory, that it was little or no obstruction to successions; and Duncan was crowned king of Scotland, to the exclusion of the legitimate sons of king Malcolm. But this prince having spent his whole life in camps, and being little acquainted with the conduct of civil government, and delighting most in the company of the English and Normans, soon became unpopular, and was murdered by Malpeder earl of Mearns, a friend of the late king Donald, in the castle of Monteith, A. D. 1095. On the news of this event, Donald left his lurking place in the isles; and, by the help of his partisans, and an army of Norwegians, once more took possession of the crown of Scotland. But he did not long enjoy this second usurpation. For Edgar Atheling, being furnished with a body of troops by William Rufus, conducted his nephew prince Edgar, the eldest legitimate son of the late king Malcolm, into Scotland, about Michaelmas A. D. 1097, defeated the usurper, took him

him prisoner, and seated the young prince on the throne of his ancestors (95). A. D. 1066,
to 1100.

S E C T I O N II.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the accession of Henry I. A. D. 1100, to the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154.

HENRY, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, was in another part of the New Forest pursuing his game, when his brother William was killed; and no sooner heard of that event, than he put spurs to his horse, and galloped to Winchester to seize the royal treasure, in order to usurp the crown; a design equally daring and unnatural, as he knew that his eldest brother Robert, who had a better title, both by primogeniture, and by a solemn compact with the last possessor, ratified by the chief nobility, was alive, and on his return from the Holy Land, crowned with laurels. William de Breteuil, the keeper of the royal treasure, was also in the field, and, suspecting what might happen, rode to Winchester with equal speed. At his arrival he found prince Henry demanding the keys of the treasury, with many threats; and boldly interposed, declaring, that both the treasure and the crown belonged to Robert his elder brother, to whom both he and the prince had sworn fealty, and that for his use he was determined to keep what had been committed to his charge. The prince, sensible that if he failed in this attempt, he could not hope for success in his chief design, drew his sword, and threatened immediate death to any who should oppose him; and being supported by some nobles who espoused his cause, he got possession of all the treasure; with which he hastened to London, the capital of the kingdom (1).

A. D. 1100.
Prince
Henry
usurps the
crown.

(95) Chron. Saxon. p. 199, 206. Buchanan Hist. l. 7. p. 199. Boeth. Scot. Hist. l. 12. p. 269. Fordun. Scot. Chron. l. 5. c. 21—24.

(1) Orderic. Vital. p. 782. Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 498. J. Brompt. col. 997.

Here,

A.D. 1100. Here, by great gifts, and greater promises, he made so many friends, that he was crowned at Westminster by Maurice bishop of London, on Sunday 5th August, in less than three days after his brother's death (2). So eager was he to seize the glittering prize, and so well had he employed his time.

Popular
measures
of king
Henry I.

Though Henry had thus obtained the crown by his courage and celerity, he was sensible that he could not keep it without the affections of his people, to gain which he employed every imaginable art of popularity. He recalled Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, the idol of the clergy, from his exile: he published a royal charter, full of the most captivating promises of redressing all the wrongs of the two preceding reigns, reviving the laws of Edward the Confessor, and granting all the immunities that the greatest friends of liberty and of their country could desire: he seized Ralph Flambard bishop of Durham, the detested instrument of his brother's oppressions, and threw him into prison; effectually to engage the hearts of the native English, who were yet a distinct people from the Normans, he married the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, sister of Edgar the reigning king of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling. Besides all this, he banished from court all the profligate companions of his brother's pleasures, set many prisoners of state at liberty, and remitted many debts that were owing to the crown (3). By these means his government became very agreeable, especially to the clergy and the common people, who felt a sensible difference between his mild administration and the tyranny of the late reign.

A.D. 1101.
England
invaded by
Robert
duke of
Nor-
mandy.

Henry soon found both the necessity and advantage of his popularity. For his injured brother Robert returned from the Holy Land about a month after his accession, was joyfully received by all his Norman subjects, and encouraged to attempt the recovery of the crown of England. To this he was also invited by Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, and his two brothers Roger and Arnulf, William de

(2) Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 498.

(3) M. Paris, p. 38, 39. Chron. Saxon. p. 208, 209. W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 88. R. Hoveden, p. 269.

Warrenne earl of Surrey, Walter Giffard, Yvo de A.D. 1101.
 Grentmesnil, and several other English barons, who
 promised to join him with all their followers (4). He
 was further animated to this undertaking by the fa-
 mous Ralph Flambard, who made his escape out of
 the tower of London, got over into Normandy, and
 became as great a favourite with Robert as he had been
 with Rufus (5). Spurred on by resentment and am-
 bition, and encouraged by the probability of success,
 Robert spent the winter and spring in making prepara-
 tions for invading England. Henry was still more
 active in preparing for his defence, in which he was
 greatly assisted by the clergy, and the common people,
 especially the native English. Anselm archbishop of
 Canterbury, to whom he paid great court, espoused his
 cause with much warmth, attended him in all his mo-
 tions, and confirmed many in his interest, who were
 wavering, by threatening them with the wrath of
 heaven, and the thunders of the church, if they re-
 volted. He even became surety for Henry, to the
 barons of his party, that he would never break any of
 his promises, or revoke any of the liberties he had
 granted, and thereby kept them steady in their attach-
 ment (6). In the mean time Henry fitted out a fleet
 to cruise on the coast of Normandy; but the greatest
 part of the ships were carried over to his brother by
 their commanders (7). He also raised an army, com-
 posed chiefly of the native English, with a few Nor-
 man barons and their followers, with which he
 marched to Pevensey, about Midsummer, imagining
 the invasion would have been attempted at that place;
 but hearing that Robert had landed at Portsmouth,
 July 19th, and had been joined by his partisans, he di-
 rected his march that way (8).

The two armies, at their approach, being nearly
 equal, and struck with mutual awe, stood facing each
 other several days without coming to action. This
 gave the archbishop and some barons of both parties,
 who were anxious about the event of a battle, and de-
 siring of a peace, an opportunity of setting a treaty on

Peace be-
 tween
 Henry and
 Robert.

(4) Orderic. Vital. p. 785, 786.

(6) Eadmer. Hist. p. 59.

(7) Chron. Saxon. p. 209.

(8) Orderic. Vital. p. 787. Simeon Dunelm. col. 226.

(5) Id. ibid.

A.D. 1101. foot, which terminated in an accommodation on the following terms. Robert relinquished his pretensions to the crown of England for an annual pension of three thousand marks. All the barons of both parties were restored to all their estates and honours in Normandy and England. Henry gave up to Robert all the places which he held in Normandy; and it was stipulated, that if either of the brothers died without legitimate male issue, the other should succeed to all his dominions (9). This peace, according to the custom of those times, was guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of each party (10). After this pacification, both armies were disbanded; and Robert having spent about two months with his brother in great festivity, returned into Normandy.

A.D. 1102.
Henry ruins the barons of his brother's party.

Though the barons of Robert's party were restored to their estates in England by the late treaty, they were not restored to the favour of their sovereign, who secretly resolved to embrace the first opportunity of accomplishing their destruction. He began with Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, who was at once the most powerful and most disaffected. That nobleman, after the late pacification, retired to his estates, and applied himself with great vigour to the fortifying his old castles, and building new ones; which furnished the king with a pretence to commence hostilities against him; in which he was so successful, that in a short campaign of three weeks, he took all his castles, and obliged him to retire into Normandy (11). Soon after his two Brothers were also banished; and all the other barons who had joined Robert on his invasion, were, by various means, and under various pretences, either ruined or very much reduced (12.)

Robert visits England.

These severities exercised towards his friends excited the most violent emotions of anger in the bosom of the honest-hearted but imprudent Robert, who came into England to expostulate with his too artful brother on his breaches of their late treaty. But he

(9) Chron. Saxon. p. 209, 210.

(10) R. Hoveden. p. 269.

(11) R. Hoveden, p. 269.

Orderic. Vital. p. 788. M. Paris,

(10) J. Brompt. col. 998.

(12) Orderic. Vital. p. 804. 808.

soon found reason to repent of this inconsiderate step. A.D. 1103. For though he was decently received, he observed that he was carefully watched in all his motions, which made him dread the loss of his liberty, for which he had made no previous stipulations. To extricate himself out of this dangerous situation, he resigned his pension of three thousand marks to the queen of England; on which he was permitted to retire, and returned into Normandy covered with shame, and tormented with vexation at his own rashness (13).

Normandy, at this time, was a scene of great confusion, through the indolence, imprudence, prodigality, and ill government of its sovereign, who had lost all authority. The great barons made war against each other, and desolated the country with fire and sword. This procured an invitation from several Norman barons, to king Henry to come over, in order to put a stop to these confusions, and restore peace to that unhappy country. He joyfully accepted of this invitation, and went into Normandy about Midsummer, attended by a body of troops. At his arrival he was waited upon by some of the greatest Norman barons, who complained bitterly of the misconduct of their own prince, and implored his protection. He received them in the kindest manner, and, by his promises and liberalities, gained them to enter into his views of depriving his unhappy brother of his dominions. He had also an interview with Robert, in which he reproached him, in very strong terms, for his errors in government, and the miseries which he had thereby brought upon his country. In this interview he obtained from him the sovereignty of the county of Evreux, and the homage of its count. Having thus humbled and weakened his brother, strengthened his own party, and paved the way for the reduction of Normandy, he returned into England (14).

After spending the winter in this kingdom, Henry raised an army in the spring, with which he passed over

A.D. 1104.
Henry visits
Normandy,
and returns
to England,

A.D. 1105.
and 1106.
Expedition
into Nor-
mandy.

(13) Orderic. Vital. p. 805.

Chron. Saxon. p. 211.

(14) Orderic. Vital. p. 314.

A. D. 1105. to Normandy about the end of Lent, and being joined by the Norman barons of his party, he took the field, and proceeded to hostilities, under the hypocritical pretence of defending the churches from violence, and correcting the disorders of the government (15). In this campaign he took the city of Bayeux by storm, after a long siege; and had the city of Caen surrendered to him by the inhabitants; but meeting with a vigorous resistance from the garrison of Falaise, and winter approaching, he raised the siege, and returned into England; which was at this time grievously harassed with exactions of various kinds, to raise money for executing the king's ambitious projects. (16).

A. D. 1106. The unhappy duke of Normandy, conscious of his inability to defend himself against the king of England, assisted by so many of his own disaffected subjects, paid a visit to the English court this winter, in hopes of softening his brother's heart by his expostulations. But finding that these hopes were altogether groundless, he returned into Normandy, much dissatisfied with his reception, and determined to prepare for his defence (17). Henry spent the spring and part of the summer of this year in England, regulating the affairs of his kingdom, and making preparations for the total reduction of Normandy; into which he sailed about the end of July, and invested the castle of Tinchebray. The duke of Normandy, with the assistance of the earl of Mortaigne, Robert de Belesme, and some other barons, had raised a considerable army, with which he advanced to attempt the relief of that important place. This brought on a battle, September 28th, which was fought with great bravery and doubtful success for some time; but at last, by his superiority of numbers, and the valour of the English, Henry obtained a complete victory, and took his brother Robert, Edgar Atheling and many other noble persons, prisoners (18). This

(15) Orderic. Vital. p. 816. Simeon Dunelm. col. 229. J. Brompt. col. 1001.

(16) Chron. Saxon. p. 212.

(17) Id. p. 213.

(18) Simeon Dunelm. col. 230. J. Brompt, 1002. Chron. Saxon. p. 214. Orderic. Vital. p. 821.

victory determined the fate of Normandy, and the gates of all its castles, towns, and cities, were thrown open to the conqueror. In the castle of Falaise he found William, the infant son and heir of his brother, and committed him to the custody of Helie de St. Saen, who had married a natural daughter of duke Robert. About the middle of October, Henry held an assembly of the prelates, barons, and military tenants of the duchy, at Lisieux, in which he resumed all the lands which had been granted by his brother, and made some good regulations for preventing robberies, and restoring order and good government (19).

Henry having completed the conquest, and regulated the affairs of Normandy, conducted his captive brother, and other noble prisoners, into England in the spring of this year. Determined to keep what he had acquired, he committed duke Robert, and his cousin and most powerful friend the earl of Mortaigne, to prison: nor could any intreaty ever prevail upon him to set either of them at liberty. The former, after a tedious confinement of almost twenty-eight years, died in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire, A. D. 1134 (20). The imbecility of Edgar Atheling procured him a milder fate; being set at liberty, he retired into the country: where he sunk into so great obscurity, that the time and other circumstances of his death are not preserved in history (21).

Henry I. was now in the zenith of his prosperity, being in the prime of life, the richest, the most respected, and most powerful prince in Europe, and yet he was far from being happy. At some seasons he was tormented with remorse for the injuries he had done to his unhappy brother, though he was not disposed to remove that remorse by repairing those injuries, but by building abbeys, which some of our monkish historians insinuate was the most effectual way of making peace with conscience (22). His chief uneasiness, however, was occasioned by Wil-

(19) Orderic. Vital. p. 822.

(20) Annales. Waverliens. p. 144. 151. W. Malms. l. 5. p. 89. M. Paris, p. 43. c. 1.

(21) W. Malms. p. 59. col. 1. (22) M. Paris, p. 42. col. 2.

A. D. 1107. William, the infant son of Robert, who, he apprehended, might one day find friends to enable him to assert his rights, and take vengeance on him for his own and for his father's sufferings. To prevent this, and get the person of the prince within his power, he sent Robert de Beauchamp, with a body of horse, to surprize the castle of St. Saen, and seize the prince in the absence of his guardian. But this plot miscarried by the vigilance and fidelity of the servants, who fled with their precious charge, and delivered him in safety to his faithful guardian. Henry was so ungenerous as to confiscate all the estates of Helie de St. Saen; which obliged that nobleman to wander from one court to another with his royal pupil, who was every where admired for the beauty of his person, and pitied for the severity of his fate (23).

A. D. 1109. Henry's daughter Matilda married. The fame of Henry's prosperity, power, and riches, was so great, that Henry V. emperor of Germany, sent ambassadors to demand his only daughter Maude, or Matilda, a princess of eight years of age in marriage. The treaty was soon concluded, the princess was solemnly affianced, and her marriage portion, raised by a tax of three shillings on every hide of land in England, was paid to the ambassadors; who conducted her the year after into Germany, to be educated in the Imperial court (24).

A. D. 1111. to 1113. Henry spends two years in Normandy. The effect of the intrigues of Helie de St. Saen in favour of his pupil now began to appear; and several of the neighbouring princes discovered a disposition to divest Henry of his foreign dominions, which obliged him to make a voyage to the continent for their protection (25). He continued in Normandy about two years, constantly engaged in wars or negotiations with the king of France and Fulk earl of Anjou, who had espoused the cause of his oppressed unhappy nephew prince William. The earl of Anjou had conceived so great an affection for that unfortunate prince, that he not only entertained him in his court, but promised to give him his daughter Sibylla in marriage. Henry,

(23) Orderic. Vital. p. 837, 838. (24) Chron. Saxon. p. 215, 216.
 (25) Orderic. Vital. p. 838.

alarmed at this, employed various means to prevent the intended match; and at last, finding all others would be ineffectual, he proposed a marriage between one of the earl's daughters and his only son, prince William, the heir of all his dominions. This proved too strong a temptation to the earl of Anjou, who broke the contract between his daughter and William the son of Robert, on pretence of their consanguinity; and immediately contracted another of his daughters, named *Matilda*, to William the son of Henry, who stood exactly in the same relation. This contract produced a peace between Henry and the earl, which was soon after followed by a personal interview between the kings of France and England, in which all their disputes were compromised (26). The faithful Helie de St. Saen, seeing his pupil abandoned by his most powerful protectors, retired with him to the court of Baldwin earl of Flanders, where he was kindly received and entertained.

Henry, having dissipated the storm that threatened him in his foreign dominions, returned into England in the month of July A. D. 1113, and enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquillity for five years, residing sometimes in England and sometimes in Normandy, as his affairs required. To secure the succession of all his dominions to his only legitimate son prince William, was the great object of his attention in this peaceful period. With this view he went over into Normandy in the end of September A. D. 1114, and obliged all the prelates and barons of that country to swear fealty; and do homage to his son, as his heir and successor in that duchy (27). He returned again into England in July A. D. 1115, and in the month of March, the year after, held a great council of all the prelates, earls, and barons, of the kingdom, at Salisbury; in which he acquainted them, that he was about to make a voyage into his foreign dominions; and not knowing what might befall him there, he required them to take an oath of fealty to his son as heir to the crown; with which requisition all the

A. D. 1111.
to 1113.

A. D. 1115.
to 1118.
Five years
of tranquillity.

(26) Orderic. Vital. p. 838.

(27) Chron. Saxon. p. 218. M. Paris, p. 45 col. 2. Hen. Hunt. p. 218. col. 1. R. Hoveden, p. 271.

A.D. 1113, members of that assembly immediately complied (28).
 to 1118. After Easter A. D. 1116, he sailed into Normandy,
 where he continued no less than four years (29).

Henry in Notwithstanding all these precautions, Henry was
 vain endeavours to get still jealous and apprehensive that his nephew William
 his brother's might one day dispute the possession of his dominions
 son into his hands. with himself, or the succession to them with his son;
 to prevent which, he endeavoured to entice him to his
 court, by promising to give him three earldoms in
 England, and to educate him with as much care and
 tendernefs as his own son. But that young prince did
 not think it safe or decent to put himself into the
 hands of an uncle who had supplanted his father in the
 throne of England, deprived him of the duchy of
 Normandy, and still detained him in prison (30).

A.D. 1118, The prosperity which Henry had for some time past
 and 1119. enjoyed now began to be interrupted, and was suc-
 Confederacy against cceeded by a train of very great calamities. On the
 Henry. first of May this year he lost his amiable and virtuous
 consort queen Matilda, and Robert earl of Mellent,
 his chief confident and most faithful friend, died on
 the 9th of June (31). About the same time several
 circumstances concurred to excite a great number,
 both of foreign and domestic enemies, to conspire
 against him, and attempt his ruin. He had secretly
 assisted his nephew Theobald earl of Blois, in a revolt
 against his sovereign, Louis the Gros king of France;
 which so much irritated that monarch, that he openly
 espoused the cause of William, the son of the captive
 duke Robert, and also prevailed upon the two potent
 princes, Baldwin earl of Flanders, and Fulk earl of
 Anjou, to declare in his favour (32). This formida-
 ble alliance against Henry was much strengthened by
 the accession of Amaure de Montfort, the earls of Ew
 and Aumale, and many other Norman barons; who
 having been disobliged by *him*, or obliged by his *brother*,
 embraced the party of his nephew William (33). In
 a word, the disaffection of the Norman nobles became
 so general, that he knew not whom to trust. Even
 Eustace, earl of Breteuil, his own son-in-law, who

(28) Eadmer. l. 5. p. 117. Chron. de Mailros, p. 164.

(29) Chron. Saxon. p. 220, &c.

(30) Orderic. Vital. p. 866.

(31) Id. p. 843.

(32) Id. l. 12. p. 842.

(33) Id. Ibid. l. 12. p. 843.

had married Juliana, one of his natural daughters, A. D. 1118, and 1119. joined the confederates (34). Besides all these open enemies, he was surrounded by secret traitors, who betrayed his secrets, and formed plots against his life, on which a desperate attempt was made by his own daughter Juliana countess of Breteuil, who discharged an arrow out of a cross-bow at her father's breast (35).

In the midst of all these dangers and difficulties Henry did not lose his courage or presence of mind. He preserved himself from his secret enemies, by sleeping in his armour with his sword and shield by his side, and a guard of his most faithful servants watching in his apartment (36). At the beginning of the war, seeing himself unequal to his enemies in the field, he wisely kept on the defensive, waiting for some favourable events, and endeavouring to divide the confederates by his intrigues. Nor was it long before some favourable events happened; and his intrigues began to operate. Baldwin earl of Flanders, who was one of the bravest, most powerful, and inveterate of his enemies, received a mortal wound in a skirmish, of which he soon after died (37). He detached the earl of Anjou from the confederacy, by solemnizing the marriage between his son prince William and the earl's daughter, in the month of June A. D. 1119; the delay of which had been the cause of his discontent (38). He gained over almost all the Norman barons who had revolted, by granting them every thing they desired; and the king of France saw himself deserted by all his allies. The contest being now more equal, Henry boldly took the field; and hearing that the French had formed the design of surprising the castle of Noyon, near Andeley, he marched towards that place, at the head of a body of five hundred horse, and met the king of France on the plain of Brenneville, near the castle which he intended to surprise, at the head of four hundred of the same kind of troops, 20th August. A fierce encounter immediately ensued, in which prince William, son of duke Robert, who led the vanguard of the French, displayed great

The confederacy defeated.

(34) Orderic. Vital. l. 12. p. 848. (35) Id. ibid. p. 846. 848.

(36) Segur. in Vit. Lud. Grossi, p. 308.

(37) Orderic. Vital. p. 843.

(38) Id. p. 851.

valour,

A.D. 1118, valour, broke the first ranks, and penetrated to his
 and 1119. uncle, who received two blows on the head from William Crispin, a valiant knight, and was only saved by the goodness of his helmet. The French did not second the first attack with equal bravery. The party who made it were almost all taken prisoners; and prince William, who commanded it, being unhorsed, made his escape with much difficulty. The king of France, observing this disaster, and dreading to fall into the hands of his enemy; fled with great precipitation to Andeley, where he arrived under the conduct of a peasant, having lost his way in a wood, and been separated from all his troops. This battle was more famous for the quality of the combatants (two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the first rank being engaged in it), than for the slaughter, as only three knights were killed. This was owing to their being clad in complete armour, and more intent on taking prisoners to enrich themselves with their ransom, than on shedding blood (39). Not long after this battle, the pope, Calixtus II. coming into France, mediated a peace between the two monarchs, which was concluded in the beginning of the next year on these conditions:—That all the castles that had been taken on both sides should be restored; and all prisoners set at liberty (40).

A.D. 1120.
 Prince
 William
 drowned in
 returning
 from Nor-
 mandy.

Henry spent the greatest part of this year in Normandy, extinguishing every spark of disaffection, and securing still further the succession of his beloved son (about which he was exceedingly anxious), by making the nobility renew their oaths of fealty to him as his successor (41). He invited such of the Norman barons as had adhered to him in his late distress to accompany him into England, to receive the rewards of their fidelity; which greatly swelled his train, as well as occasioned some delay. At length all things being in readiness for the voyage, the king embarked at Barfleur, 25th November, towards evening, and sailed for the English coast, where he arrived the next morning. One of the finest vessels in the fleet, called *the White Ship*, was allotted for prince William and his

(39) Orderic. Vital. p. 853, 854, 855.

(40) Id. ibid.

(41) W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 93.

retinue, which was very numerous, consisting of all the young nobility. The prince being detained a little after his father, ordered three casks of wine to be given to his ship's crew, with which they made too free, and were many of them intoxicated when they failed about the close of day. Thomas Fitz-Stephen, the commander, having promised to the prince to overtake the rest of the fleet, crowded all his sails, as well as plied his oars. But when the ship was passing through the water with great velocity, she suddenly struck upon a rock, called *the Catte-raze*, with such violence, that she started several planks, and almost overfet. In a moment all was terror, uproar, and confusion. The boat was immediately let down, the prince and some of the prime nobility put into it; and having got clear of the ship, might have reached the shore, which was at no great distance. But the prince was so much affected with the shrieks of his natural sister the countess of Perche, that he commanded the boat to put back to take her in, and save her life. As soon as the boat approached the ship, where despair had destroyed all distinctions of rank, such multitudes poured into it, that it instantly sunk, and all on board it perished. In a word, of three hundred persons on board this ship, of which about fifty were sailors, eighteen were ladies of the first rank, the rest, besides the prince, and his natural brother Richard, were young noblemen and gentlemen and their necessary attendants, only one man escaped with life, to describe this mournful scene. This was one Bertoud a butcher of Rouen, who being a strong man, and warmly cloathed, climbed to the top of the mast, which enabled him to keep his head above water; where he continued all night, and was taken up next morning by some fishermen. The report of this deplorable disaster reached England the day after, but was carelessly concealed from Henry for three days, who was all that time in a state of the most tormenting anxiety about the safety of his darling son. At length, when the secret could be no longer kept, and none of the courtiers would consent to be the messenger of such ill news, a boy, properly instructed, came in all in tears, and falling at the king's feet, told him in few words, that the prince, and all on board the White Ship,

A. D. 1120. were lost. The stout-hearted Henry was so thunder-struck with this dreadful news, that he staggered, sunk on the floor, and fainted away; in which state he continued a considerable time. When he recovered from his swoon, he broke out into the bitterest lamentations, describing the good qualities and great actions of his two sons, and of the young nobles who had perished with them (42).

A. D. 1121. Henry's second marriage. When Henry had given vent to the violence of his grief, he gradually resumed his usual fortitude, and applied himself to business with his wonted ardour. The death of so many great personages, who perished with his son, put it in his power to reward his surviving friends beyond their expectations, by putting some of them into vacant offices, and marrying others to rich heiresses or wealthy widows (43). But his chief concern was about an heir to his dominions; as his only legitimate daughter, Maude the empress, was in a distant country; and the want of an apparent heir might revive the hopes of his nephew William, of whom he was always jealous, and might give occasion to revolts. To prevent these inconveniencies, he resolved to enter into a second marriage, and executed that resolution with so much celerity, that he was married at Windsor, 29th January A. D. 1121, to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey earl of Lovaine, a lady of great beauty, who was solemnly crowned queen the day after in the same place (44). But this marriage proving unfruitful, did not answer his expectations, nor prevent the mischiefs which he apprehended.

A. D. 1121, to 1126. Confederacy against Henry defeated. Though Henry had reduced his foreign dominions to a state of great tranquillity and subjection in his late expedition, they did not continue long in that condition. The Norman barons, being freed from their oaths of fealty to a successor, by the death of the prince to whom they had been given, began to cast their eyes towards William the son of Robert (whom they always loved and pitied), and to form plots in his favour. Some of those in whom Henry

(42) Orderic. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870. W. Malms. l. 5. p. 94. col. 1. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 219, col. 1. R. Hoveden, p. 273.

(43) Orderic. Vital. p. 870. (44) Eadmer. l. 6. p. 136, 137.

reposed the greatest confidence, and on whom he had bestowed the greatest favours, joined in this conspiracy; particularly Gualeran earl of Mellent, and his brother Robert, the late earl of Mellent, his greatest favourite. The conspirators were much encouraged by the accession of Fulk earl of Anjou, who once more embraced the interest of the unfortunate William, and renewed the contract of marriage between him and his daughter Sybilla. This conspiracy was conducted with great secrecy for some time; but at length it was discovered by the king of England; who acted on this occasion with his usual good fortune. Having appointed Roger bishop of Salisbury regent of the kingdom, he sailed from Portsmouth on the week after Whitsuntide A. D. 1123, with a considerable fleet and army, arrived safe in Normandy; and falling upon the conspirators before their plot was ripe for execution, he took several of their castles, and gained other advantages. On the 25th March A. D. 1124, William de Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, had the good fortune to surprize the earl of Mellent, Robert his brother, the earl of Evreux, and almost all the chief conspirators, as they were riding carelessly between Beaumont and Vatteville, and took them all prisoners. This turned the scale entirely in favour of the king; and all the other barons who had been concerned in the revolt, hastened to make their peace with him on the best terms they could procure. The earl of Anjou, seeing his confederates crushed, was also reconciled to him, consenting to the dissolution of the contract between prince William and his daughter; who, though they had been twice contracted, were never married. That ever-unfortunate prince, beholding all his expectations blasted, returned again to the court of France; where he was soon after married to the queen's sister, and received with her the countries of Pontoise, Chaumont, Mante, and Vexin François, which enabled him to make some feeble attempts upon Normandy, and obliged the king to continue some time longer abroad for its defence (45).

(45) Orderic. Vital. p. 876—884. Chron. Saxoa. p. 223—230. M. Paris, p. 47, 48.

A.D. 1126. While Henry resided at Normandy, his son-in-law, the emperor Henry V. died, and his widow (having had no children) returned to her father's court, and was conducted by him into England, a little before Michaelmas A. D. 1126. As there was now little probability of his having any children by his present queen: the empress, of whom he had been always very fond, became the object of all his hopes and cares; and he was ardently desirous of securing to her the succession of his dominions. With this view, he held a great council of all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom at Christmas, and engaged them to swear fealty to his daughter, as his successor, in case he should happen to die without a legitimate son, or sons; and his nephew Stephen, who afterwards usurped the crown, was the first of the laity (except the king of Scotland) who swore on this occasion (46).

The empress Maude declared heir to Henry.

A.D. 1127. In the spring of this year the king of England received the disagreeable news of the murder of his friend Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, and of the succession of William his elder brother's son to that great earldom. Though Henry was a prince of uncommon fortitude, there were two persons whom he always dreaded; his nephew William, on account of the justice of his pretensions to his dominions, and Fulk earl of Anjou, on account of his power, and vicinity to Normandy. He had been at infinite pains to prevent an intimate connexion between these two princes; and now that he more than ever dreaded their union, in order to prevent it effectually, he proposed a marriage between his only legitimate child, the empress Maude, and Geoffrey the earl's eldest son. This advantageous proposal was joyfully embraced both by the earl and his son: the empress was sent over to Normandy, under the conduct of Robert earl of Gloucester, in the summer of this year, and the king arrived in the same country on 26th August following (47).

The empress contracted to the eldest son of the earl of Anjou.

(46) W. Malmf. *Historiæ Novellæ*, l. 1.

(47) Chron. Saxon. p. 230. W. Malmf. *Hist. Novel.* l. 1. Hen. Hunt. l. 7.

All preliminaries being settled, the nuptials of the empress with Geoffrey Martel prince of Anjou, were celebrated with great magnificence at Rouen, on the octaves of Whitsuntide, in the presence of the king of England and the earl of Anjou. Henry, among other arts which he had employed to distress his unhappy nephew, and put it out of his power to assert his right to his dominions, had stirred up Thierry landgrave of Alface to lay claim to the earldom of Flanders. This occasioned a war between these two princes, in which William was victorious; but in a trifling skirmish, he received a wound in the hand, which brought on a mortification, of which he died in the abbey of St. Bertin, July 27th. In his last moments he wrote a letter to his uncle Henry, begging his pardon for all the trouble he had given him, and earnestly intreating his favour for his faithful guardian Helie de St. Saen, and a few other friends who had adhered to him in all his fortunes (48). The death of this brave and amiable prince, who had struggled with adversity from his cradle to his grave, put an end to all the fears and dangers of his ambitious uncle, who thenceforward enjoyed a profound peace.

A.D. 1128.

Death of prince William, Henry's nephew.

Henry having spent the former part of this year in Normandy, in receiving the submissions of the barons who had revolted, and restoring them to their estates, came over to England in harvest, and resided here about a year in great tranquillity. The empress Maude being now the great object of his affection, he made a voyage to the continent about Michaelmas A. D. 1130, to pay her a visit; and that he might enjoy the pleasure of her company, in which he very much delighted, he brought her with him into England at Midsummer A. D. 1131, and held a great council of the prelates and nobility in September, at Northampton, where he engaged them all to renew their oaths of fealty to her as his successor in the throne (49). Soon after this, the empress returned to her husband, and Henry remained in England all this and the succeeding year. The unfruitfulness of his daugh-

A.D. 1129. to 1136. Henry's death.

(48) Orderic. Vital. p. 885, 886. M. Paris, p. 49, col. I. W. Gemittien, l. 7. c. 16.

(49) Chron. Saxon. p. 235, 236. Annal. Waverlien. p. 150, 151. ter's

A.D. 1129.
to 1136.

ter's marriage had for some time been his chief uneasiness, and this was at last removed by the agreeable news of her being delivered of a son, at Le Mans, in March A. D. 1133. Transported with joy at this event, he celebrated his Easter with great festivity at Oxford, where all the nobility swore fealty once more to the empress, and also to her infant son named Henry (50). Being desirous to embrace his daughter, now more endeared to him than ever, he set sail for Normandy 7th August; from whence he never returned into this kingdom, though he survived three years and some months. The empress was delivered of a second son A. D. 1134, and of a third the year after; and the aged king became so doatingly fond of his daughter and her children, that he could not leave them, though he was much displeas'd with the impatient ambition of his son-in-law. At last, having spent the day, November 25th, in hunting in the forest of Lyons, and supped plentifully that evening on lampreys, his favourite dish, he was seized with a fever in the night, of which he died on Sunday, December 1st, A. D. 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign (51).

His character.

Henry I. was in his person of middle stature, strong and well made, his hair brown and bushy, his eyes serene, and his countenance agreeable. He had excellent natural parts, improved by a learned education, which procured him the surname of *Beauclerc* or *the Fine scholar*, and made him very famous for his eloquence. In his humour he was facetious, and in his deportment affable. He was unquestionably the greatest general and wisest politician of the age in which he flourished, and to this he was much indebted for his success and prosperity. His most commendable qualities were, his tender affection for his children,—his courage,—diligence,—activity,—and strictness in the administration of justice, though this last degenerated sometimes into cruelty. His greatest vices were his lewdness, avarice, and ambition: which were all excessive; as appears from the number of his

(50) Ypodignâ Neustriae, p. 444. R. de Diceto, col. 55.

(51) Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Orderic. Vital. p. 901. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. M. Paris, p. 50.

natural children, of which he had six sons and seven daughters;—from his oppressive taxes, and great treasures;—and from his usurping the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy (52).

A. D. 1129.
to 1136.

Henry in the last years of his life, had been at great pains to secure the succession of his dominions to his only legitimate daughter Maude the empress, and her children. With this view he had engaged all the prelates, nobles, and great men, of England and of Normandy, to take solemn and repeated oaths to maintain that succession; and they had done this with the greatest appearance of cheerfulness and cordiality, especially after the death of prince William, his eldest brother's son. But all these precautions were in vain. This was the age of successful usurpations. No sooner was Henry's death made known, than a bold usurper started up, who, to the astonishment of all the world, in violation of every right,—of his own most solemn oaths,—and of the strongest ties of gratitude, mounted the empty throne, and seized the crown. This was Stephen earl of Boulogne, second surviving son of Stephen earl of Blois, and of Adela daughter of William the Conqueror. He was indeed one of the nephews of Henry I. but had no shadow of right to his succession while his daughter Maude, her three sons, and his own elder brother Theobald earl of Blois, were alive. He had professed himself so zealous an asserter of the rights of the empress Maude, that he had a violent contest with the king's natural son Robert earl of Gloucester, for the honour of being the first of the laity in taking the oath to support the succession of that princess to the throne (53). Being a younger son of no very opulent family, he had been indebted for all his wealth and power to the munificence of his uncle Henry, who had given him the earldom of Mortaigne in Normandy, the forfeited estate of Robert Mallet in this kingdom, and at last procured him the marriage of his niece, the princess Matilda, the only child of Mary of Scotland, his queen's sister, and of Eustace earl of Boulogne, in whose right he enjoyed that earldom, and all the great

Stephen
earl of
Boulogne
usurps the
crown.

(52) W. Malmf. l. 5. Orderic. Vital. l. 12, 13. W. Gemeticen, l. 7.

(53) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1.

A.D. 1129.
to 1136.

estates of the family in England (54). But ambition rendered Stephen regardless of all obligations, as well as blind to all the dangers and difficulties of gaining and keeping a crown to which he had no title. The improbability and imprudence of his attempt contributed not a little to its success (55).

Stephen's
coronation.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, and from thence he hastened into England. When he arrived at Dover, the inhabitants, suspecting his intention, shut their gates against him, and he met with a similar repulse at Canterbury. Not discouraged with these unfavourable beginnings, he proceeded to London; where he was received by the lower kind of citizens, among whom he was very popular, with the loudest acclamations (56). There were two persons in England at this time without whose consent it was hardly possible for any one to mount the throne. These were, William Corboil archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom. Though both these men had been raised by Henry to the highest honours, and had been the most forward in taking the oaths of fealty to his daughter Maude; yet Stephen gained them to embrace his interest, by the assistance of his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, and by artfully adapting his temptations to their tempers. William was a conscientious, but a weak and credulous man; and therefore he made one of his creatures, Hugh Bigod, to take a solemn oath before him, that he had heard the late king, on his death-bed disinherit his daughter Maude, absolve his subjects from their oaths and declare earl Stephen his successor (57). A most impudent and shameless perjury! For Henry, with his last breath, had appointed his daughter to succeed him in all his dominions in the hearing of five earls and many other nobles (58). To the bishop of Salisbury, whose avarice and ambition were insatiable, he promised every thing he chose to ask for himself or

(54) W. Gemeticen, l. 7. c. 34.

(55) Annal. Waverlien. p. 152.

(56) Gesta Regis Stephani, apud Duchon, p. 928.

(57) M. Paris, p. 51 Gesta R. Stephan. p. 929.

(58) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1.

his friends, without any intention to perform what he promised (59). Having by these arts gained these two great prelates, he was solemnly crowned and anointed king at Westminster, by the archbishop on December 22d. At this ceremony there were only two other bishops, those of Winchester and Salisbury, not one abbot, and but very few of the secular barons present (60). By the assistance also of his brother, Henry of Winchester, he got possession of the late king's treasures in that city, consisting of one hundred thousand pounds in money, besides plate and jewels to an immense value. With this treasure he bribed many of the clergy and nobility to violate their oaths, and come over to his party, and took into his pay an army of soldiers of fortune, with which all the countries of Europe abounded at that time (61).

A.D. 1136.

The friends of the empress Maude were so astonished at this unexpected revolution, that they remained silent and motionless, being destitute of a head or leader. For the empress, and her husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, were in Anjou; and Robert earl of Gloucester, the late king's natural son, the most virtuous, wise, and powerful nobleman of their party, was in Normandy, executing some parts of his father's last will. These circumstances gave Stephen an opportunity of increasing the number of his adherents, which he improved to the best advantage. He had sworn at his coronation whatever the prelates and nobles who were present pleased to dictate, and confirmed what he had sworn by a charter, which he ratified and enlarged in a great council held at Oxford in the beginning of this year, which gained him many friends (62). He permitted the clergy to annex this condition to their oaths of fealty, "That they would keep their oaths as long as the king supported the vigour of discipline;" or, in other words, as long as he allowed them to rule as they pleased: and he obtained a confirmation of his election from the pope; which two things brought over all the clergy to his side (63). To the secular nobility he denied nothing that they

Stephen's
arts of pop-
ularity.

(59) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1.

(60) Id. *ibid.*(61) Id. *ibid.* p. 101.

(62) W. Hemingford, c. 57.

(63) R. Hagulfstad, p. 313. 314.

pleased

A.D. 1136. pleased to ask; and, in particular, allowed them all to fortify their castles. A most pernicious grant, which was productive of infinite mischief to the country! With the common people, and with the lower citizens of London he ingratiated himself by his condescending deportment, and a certain jocular humour, very pleasing to them, and of incredible advantage to him on this occasion (64). But, notwithstanding all these arts, this daring usurpation involved the author of it, his friends, his family, and his country, in many great calamities.

Stephen makes peace with David king of Scotland.

David king of Scotland was the first who appeared to support the cause of the empress his niece, by entering England with an army, in vindication of her rights. He took Carlisle and Newcastle, and overrun the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; but being joined by few of the English barons, he entered into a negotiation with Stephen, who had arrived in the north at the head of an army in the beginning of Lent. This negotiation terminated in a peace, by which Stephen ceded the county of Cumberland and city of Carlisle to the king of Scots, granted the earldom of Huntingdon to prince Henry his eldest son, and promised not to dispose of the earldom of Northumberland till he had examined the pretensions of that prince, who claimed it as grandson and heir of Waltheof, the last Anglo-Saxon earl (65).

Earl of Gloucester submits to Stephen.

Robert earl of Gloucester spent the first part of this year in Normandy in a state of great perplexity. He was firmly attached to the interests of his sister Maude, by inclination as well as by his oaths; but he soon became sensible, that unless he submitted, in appearance at least, to Stephen, he must relinquish all his great estates in England, and with them his power of promoting the cause which he had so much at heart. After long deliberation, he complied with Stephen's invitation, came over to England at Easter, and took the oath of fealty; but with this remarkable condition annexed, "That he should be no longer bound to keep his oath than the king kept all his engagements to him, and maintained him in all his rights

(64) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. i. p. 102. col. 1.

(65) W. Hemingford, c. 58.

“ and liberties (66):” a condition (says a contemporary historian) which he well knew the king would not long observe (67). A.D. 1136.

The empress and her husband were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. This was partly owing to the hereditary hatred which had long subsisted between the Normans and Anjouines, and partly to the desire of the Norman barons to be under the same sovereign with the English, that they might enjoy their estates in England. As soon therefore as these barons heard that Stephen had taken possession of the throne of England, they invited him to come over, and assume the sovereignty of their duchy. After the pacification with the king of Scots, and the submission of the earl of Gloucester, he found himself at liberty to comply with that invitation, and made a voyage into Normandy about the middle of Lent this year (68). Soon after his arrival in that country, he had an interview with Louis le Jeune king of France; with whom he formed an alliance, by contracting his son prince Eustace to the princess Constantia the sister of that king, who granted the investiture of Normandy to his future brother-in-law. Stephen spent the rest of this summer in opposing the attempts of Geoffrey of Anjou, who had invaded Normandy, and at last concluded a truce with that prince for two years, engaging to pay him an annuity of five thousand marks. A.D. 1137.
Stephen obtains Normandy.

After this king Stephen employed his forces in reducing some castles, which were the haunts of robbers; but was much retarded in his progress by the violent animosities that arose between his Norman forces and the mercenary troops he had brought with him out of England under the command of William d'Ypres, a famous adventurer of those times; who also engaged him in another affair, in which he acquired no honour (69). Robert earl of Gloucester had remained about a year in England, endeavouring with great art, and the most impenetrable secrecy, to form a party among the nobility in favour of the empress; and then sailed into Normandy to prosecute the same design. Stephen miscarries in his design to seize the earl of Gloucester.

(66) M. Paris, p. 51.

(67) W. Malms. Hist. Novel. l. i. p. 102. col. i.

(68) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222. (69) Orderic. Vital. p. 909, 910.

A.D. 1137. William d'Ypres advised Stephen, who suspected that the earl was engaged in such intrigues, to seize his person, and formed a plot for that purpose. But Robert, having received a hint of this plot, kept at a distance from the court, though often invited, which convinced the king that his design was discovered. Dreading a rupture with the earl at this time, whose power and popularity he well knew, with much difficulty he procured an interview, in which he made many apologies for what was past, and took a solemn oath, in the presence of the archbishop of Rouen, "That he would never again form any design against the person or liberty of the earl." Robert affected to be satisfied; but knew Stephen too well to repose any confidence in his oaths (70).

A.D. 1138. King Stephen, without having been able to compose the disorders in Normandy, found it absolutely necessary to return into England, where all things were falling into confusion. David king of Scots had invaded Northumberland, to which his son prince Henry had a claim; but being a pious prince, and much under the influence of the clergy, he was prevailed upon, by Thurstin archbishop of York to delay the prosecution of his son's pretensions till the king's return (71). Stephen rejected the demands of the Scotch ambassadors; at which David was so much offended, that he entered Northumberland in the beginning of this year, with an army, which committed the most cruel ravages, burning all the towns, villages, and churches, and sparing neither men, women, nor children. These cruelties were chiefly perpetrated by the Gallowideans, who were too ferocious to submit to discipline. The king of England hearing of these devastations, marched into the north at the head of a great army, and upon the Scots retiring, pursued them as far as Roxburgh. While the two armies lay facing each other near that place, Stephen discovered such symptoms of disaffection among his own troops, that he did not think it pru-

(70) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 102.

(71) R. Hagulstad, sub ann. 1137.

dent to risk a battle, but returned into the south, where his affairs had taken an unfavourable turn (72). A. D. 1138.

Robert earl of Gloucester had never been satisfied in his own mind with the oath of fealty that he had taken to Stephen; and having consulted many clergymen, and even the pope himself; and they having all declared, that he was bound to observe the former oath that he had taken to his sister the empress; he sent a message from Normandy to king Stephen, at Whitsuntide this year, recalling his homage, and renouncing his allegiance to that king, both on account of his former oath, and on account of Stephen's having violated the condition annexed to his oath of fealty (73). This was a signal to those English barons, who, in concert with the earl of Gloucester, had resolved to raise the empress to the throne; and many of them retired to their castles, and prepared for the execution of that design. Stephen on this occasion displayed great activity and courage; and in the course of this year he was so fortunate as to take several of these castles, and either punished their owners, or obliged them to return to their obedience (74). Confederacy against Stephen.

While he was thus engaged in the south, the Scots invaded Northumberland, and penetrated as far as North Allarton, where the famous battle of the Standard was fought, August 22d, between them, and an army raised by William earl of Albemarle, Walter Espec, Roger Mowbray, Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Baliol, William de Percy, Robert de Ferrers, and other northern barons; in which the Scots were defeated with considerable loss (75). King David having collected his scattered forces at Carlisle, returned to the siege of Werk castle, which he reduced by famine. Alberic bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate in England, waited upon the king of Scotland at Carlisle about Michaelmas, and endeavoured to bring about a peace between the two British Battle of the Standard.

(72) R. Hagulstad, sub ann. 1138. Ailred. Hist. Bell. Standardi, p. 318, &c.

(73) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 102.

(74) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222.

(75) This was called *The battle of the Standard*, from a remarkable standard erected on a wheel-machine in the centre of the English army.

A.D. 1138. monarchs ; but without effect. This, however, was accomplished a few months after, by the more powerful mediation of queen Maude, wife of king Stephen, and niece of king David, who, in an interview with her uncle at Durham, concluded a peace, on these terms :—That the earldom of Northumberland should be granted to Henry prince of Scotland ; in return for which he and his father should live in peace with Stephen, and not assist his enemies (76). After this peace prince Henry accompanied his cousin queen Maude to the English court.

A. D. 1139.
Stephen's
quarrel
with the
bishops.

King Stephen had been so successful in the last campaign, that he might perhaps have triumphed over all his enemies, and prevented the future calamities of his reign, if he had not quarrelled with the clergy. Sensible of his imprudence in granting liberty to his nobles of fortifying their castles, of which grant the clergy had also availed themselves, he became earnestly desirous of getting some of the strongest of these castles into his own possession. Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had long been prime minister to Henry I. and high justiciary of the kingdom, had built several strong castles ; particularly one at the Devizes, that was esteemed the most beautiful and magnificent fortress then in Europe (77). Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Nigell bishop of Ely, his two nephews, and his natural son Roger, who was chancellor of England, had also fortified their castles. The king, resolving to begin his operations with this powerful family, which he suspected of disaffection, invited them to a great council of the nobility at Oxford, June 24th ; and they with some doubt and hesitation obeyed the summons. At their arrival in Oxford a quarrel happened, or, as some contemporary historians affirm, was designtedly raised, between the servants of Alan earl of Brittany, and those of bishop Roger, about their lodgings, in which many persons were wounded, and one knight was killed. The king affected to be highly incensed at this breach of the peace within the verge of his court, and commanded the bishop, and all his friends, to be apprehended. The bishops of Salisbury and

(76) R. Hagulfstad, p. 320, &c. Ailred. de Bell. Standard. p. 330, &c.

(77) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223.

Lincoln, with the chancellor, were seized; but the ^{A. D. 1139.} bishop of Ely, lodging without the town, made his escape, and fled to his uncle's castle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend. When the bishops and the chancellor were brought before the king, they were commanded to surrender all their castles, as an atonement for their offence. They professed themselves willing to make any reasonable compensation; but refused to deliver up their houses. Upon this the king's great confident, and executer of all his violent measures, William d'Ypres, was sent with his mercenaries to besiege the castle of the Devizes, carrying with him the bishop of Salisbury, its owner, a prisoner, and his son the chancellor, in chains. When he came before the castle, he summoned the bishop of Ely to surrender; threatening, that if he did not, he would starve his uncle to death. When this had no effect, he sent a message to Maude of Ramsay, the bishop's concubine, and the chancellor's mother, who was in the castle, "that it was not immediately delivered up, he would hang her son before her eyes." Knowing the sanguinary nature of the man, and trembling for the fate of a beloved son, she persuaded the commander to surrender this impregnable fortress; in which were found less than forty thousand marks of the bishop's treasure, which were seized by the king. The bishop of Lincoln was carried in the same manner before his castle of Newark and Sliford, and prevailed upon their commanders to surrender them, in order to preserve him from being starved to death. When the king had got all their castles and treasures into his hands, the bishops and chancellor were set at liberty; but the bishop of Sarum was so much affected with this reverse of fortune, that he died soon after of a broken heart (78).

These rash and violent proceedings, against persons of the greatest dignity in church and state, made a prodigious noise. The clergy universally took the alarm, and cried out, that the church and religion were on the brink of ruin. The king's own mother, Stephen, summoned them to appear before a council of the clergy.

(78) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103. Orderic. Vit. 919, 920. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 944, 945. Hen. Hunt. l. 1. § 223. R. Hoveden, ad ann. 1139.

A. D. 1139. Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate in England, having for some time past been discontented, embraced this opportunity of gratifying his resentment. By virtue of his legatine commission he called a council of the clergy to meet at Winchester, August 30th; and boldly summoned the king to appear before them to answer for his conduct. Stephen did not stoop so low as to appear in person; but he sent some of his chief nobility to demand the reason of his being summoned; with Aurey de Vere, an eloquent lawyer, to plead his cause. The legate opened the council with a most inflammatory speech, painting the injustice, violence, and cruelty, of the king's proceedings against the bishops in the blackest colours; and concluded with this declaration,—“That neither the fear
“ of losing his brother's favour, nor even of losing
“ his own life should deter him from putting their
“ sentence, whatever it should be, in execution.” The king's orator aggravated the insolence of the bishops, and the circumstances of the riot at Oxford, as much as possible; and pretended, that they had voluntarily surrendered their castles and treasures to the king to atone for their offences. On the second day of the council, the archbishop of Rouen, the only clergyman who opposed the king's cause, made a still better defence; affirming, that the bishops had merited all they had suffered, for transgressing the canons of the church, and fortifying their castles, and acting in a military capacity. But all this would not have prevented a sentence of excommunication against the king, and all who had been concerned in the late transactions, if some of the nobles had not laid their hands on their swords, and put the members of the council in fear; and if Aurey de Vere had not taken the dangerous and humiliating step of appealing to the pope in the king's name. This put a stop to all further proceedings, and the council broke up September 1st (79).

When the nation was in this ferment, the empress Matilda landed in England, September 30th; and was received, with her brother Robert earl of Gloucester, and a retinue consisting only of an hundred and forty

(79. Hagulfstad, p. 337. Gervas, Chron. p. 1347, 1348. W. Mal. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103, 104.

knights, into Arundel castle, by her stepmother Adelaide, the queen-dowager. The earl of Gloucester, leaving the empress in this strong castle, set out with only twelve knights in his company, and travelling through by-ways, with great caution, arrived safe at Bristol, without being discovered. As soon as king Stephen, who was besieging Marlborough, heard of the landing of his competitor for the crown, he marched with great expedition, and invested the castle where she had taken shelter. The queen-dowager, dreading his resentment, sent him an apology for having admitted the empress into her castle, which, she said, she could not deny to the only daughter of her late husband king Henry; intreated him to respect the ties of blood, and the sacred laws of hospitality, and allow the empress to retire to her brother's castle of Bristol. This strange request was seconded by the king's brother, Henry bishop of Winchester; and, to the surprise of all the world, Maude was honourably escorted by that prelate, and by Walleran earl of Melent, her greatest enemy, and Stephen's greatest confidant, and safely delivered to her brother the earl of Gloucester. This, it must be confessed, is a most astonishing event, and, like some other things in the story of this reign, hath more the appearance of romance than of real history. That Stephen should conduct his rival to the only place where she could do him hurt; that Maude should trust her person in the hands of her greatest enemies; and that they should faithfully discharge their trust, are all equally incredible; but so well attested by contemporary historians, that their truth can hardly be doubted (80). We shall endeavour to account for this in another place (81). The empress was conducted by her brother to his castle of Gloucester; where she resided a considerable time, at the expence and under the protection of Milo, governor of that castle, one of the richest and most powerful noblemen of those parts (82).

The year 1140 was one of the most calamitous that had ever been seen in England. War, in its most

A. D. 1140.
A most
calamitous
year.

(80) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103, 104. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 946.

(81) See chap. 7. (82) Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 948.

A. D. 1140. horrid forms, raged from one end of the kingdom to the other; and the whole nation was inflamed with more than civil fury. Not only the great barons, but all the petty lords, of castles, of which there were several hundreds in the kingdom, declared for the king or for the empress, and made cruel war on those of the opposite party with whom they were intermixed. Many of these castles were no better than dens of robbers, or, as the author of the Saxon Chronicle calls them, devils, who sallied forth, and plundered and murdered all parties without distinction. The smoke of burning towns, villages, monasteries, and churches, was every where to be seen. Commerce ceased; and even agriculture was in many places discontinued; which brought on a dreadful famine, by which many thousands perished. Though there were an incredible number of surprises, skirmishes, and sieges, in the course of this year, which it would be tedious to relate, there was no general action that contributed to bring this destructive quarrel to a period. All was an irregular kind of war, in which torrents of the noblest blood of England flowed in vain (83).

A. D. 1141.

Stephen
taken prisoner at
Lincoln.

Stephen displayed the greatest courage and activity in defending his cause, but injured it by his imprudence. He withheld the castle of Lincoln from William de Roumora, earl of Lincoln, half-brother to Ralph earl of Chester, though they were both his friends; and the two earls, having got possession of it by surprise, lived in it with their families, without discovering the least disposition to desert their party. The citizens of Lincoln being zealous royalists, acquainted the king that their castle was carelessly guarded, and might be easily taken, promising him their assistance in the attempt. Stephen, too often rash in his resolves, flew to Lincoln with his army, and invested the castle on Christmas day A. D. 1139. The earl of Chester made his escape, hastened into Cheshire, and raised all his followers in those parts; but thinking himself strong enough to raise the siege, he applied to the earl of Gloucester, who was his father-in-law,

(83) Chron. Saxon. p. 238, 239. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 848. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 224, where see a Latin poem on the miseries of this year.

for assistance; promising, that both he and the earl of Lincoln would declare for the empress. Gloucester, though he had been much offended with his son-in-law, for adhering so long to the adverse party, being ardently desirous of relieving his daughter in her distress, and gaining two such powerful barons to his side, complied with this request, and instantly began his march; on which he was joined by the earl of Chester and his forces. The united armies having passed the Trent, with much difficulty, early in the morning, February 2d, found their enemies drawn up without the walls of Lincoln in order of battle; the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the centre, with the king on foot at their head. The earl of Gloucester drew up his army in the same manner: one of his wings of horse was commanded by the earl of Chester, and the other wing was composed entirely of noblemen and gentlemen who had lost their estates in this quarrel. These began the battle; and being animated with the two most powerful passions, revenge and hope, they threw away their spears, drew their swords, and advanced with such impetuosity, that their antagonists, who expected to have tilted with their spears as usual, were seized with a panic, and fled almost without fighting. The mercenaries on the other wing, commanded by William d'Ypres, were also put to flight by the earl of Chester and his followers. The main body of the king's army were now assaulted on all sides, and, after a long and valiant struggle, was entirely broken. Stephen having performed prodigies of valour, was taken prisoner, with some of his bravest followers, who scorned to desert their master in distress. The earl of Gloucester, to whom the king surrendered, treated his royal captive with great humanity, presented him to his rival the empress in the castle of Gloucester, and then conducted him to the castle of Bristol, where he was confined (84).

By this great defeat, and the captivity of the king, the royalists were quite dispirited; and many of them made their submissions to the empress; who had an interview with the pope's legate, Henry bishop of

The empress acknowledged queen.

(84) *Gesta Regis Stephani*, p. 952. W. Malmf. *Hist. Novel.* l. 2. p. 106. *Chron. Saxon.* p. 241. *Hen. Hunt.* l. 8. p. 224, 225. R. *Hoveden.* p. 278, 279, 280.

A. D. 1141. Wincheſter, in a field near that city, March 2d, in which ſhe perſuaded that prelate to abandon his brother in his diſtreſs, and acknowledge her title to the crown of England, and all the dominions of her father, by promiſing to allow him the chief direction of affairs. The empreſs made her triumphant entry into Wincheſter the day after, and was conducted to the cathedral by the legate, who publicly recognised her queen of England, and denounced a curſe on all who reſuſed to ſubmit to her authority. A few days after, Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other great men, both of the clergy and laity, having obtained the permiſſion of the imprifoned king, made their ſubmiſſions to her at Wilton: from whence ſhe proceeded to Oxford, where ſhe kept the feſtival of Eaſter with great pomp. The legate, in conſequence of his convention with her, convened a great council of the prelates, abbots, and principal clergy, with deputies from the city of London, at Wincheſter, April 7th. Having firſt conſulted privately with the prelates, next with the abbots, and, laſtly, with the archdeacons, and obtained their conſent to the acknowledgment of the empreſs, he opened the council with a very artful ſpeech, which is preſerved by a contemporary hiſtorian, who was preſent, and heard it with great attention (85). He began with high encomiums on the felicities of his uncle Henry's reign; mentioned their having ſworn to ſupport the ſucceſſion of his daughter Maude; but that ſhe delaying to come and take poſſeſſion of the throne, his brother Stephen had been permitted to reign. He then aggravated the errors of his brother's government, particularly in imprifoning biſhops, and oppreſſing the church and clergy. " For
 " which crimes (ſaid he) God hath rejected him, and
 " given him into the hands of his enemies. And
 " now, that the kingdom may not be without a ruler,
 " we the clergy of England, to whom it chiefly be-
 " longs to elect and ordain a king, having yeſterday
 " deliberated on this great cauſe in private, and invoked
 " the direction of the Holy Spirit, did and do elect
 " the daughter of the pacific, rich, glorious, good,
 " and incomparable king Henry, to be our queen, and

(85) W. Malms. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 106.

" promiſe

“ promise her our loyalty and support.” To this all the members of the council gave their consent, by their acclamations or their silence. On the second day of the council the London deputies were introduced, and told the council, “ That they did not come to debate, but to petition for the liberty of their king ; and that the whole community of London, with all the barons, lately admitted into it, earnestly desired this of the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy.” The legate told the deputies what had been done in the council the day before ; which they promised to report to their constituents. The council concluded on the third day, with pronouncing a sentence of excommunication on several persons who still adhered to the king, and particularly on one William Martel, who had plundered the legate’s baggage (86). The earl of Gloucester was at great pains in soothing the citizens of London, and at length prevailed upon them to admit the empress ; who entered the city a few days before Midsummer, and began to make preparations for her coronation. But when her affairs were in this most prosperous train, her own misconduct threw all things into confusion, and occasioned another sudden and surprising revolution.

Moderation in prosperity was a virtue unknown to the empress. Naturally proud and haughty, and elated beyond measure by her late successes, she behaved in an ungracious disobliging manner to her friends, and with great disdain and insolence to those who had been her enemies, even when they came to make their most humble submissions. Conceited of her wisdom, she slighted the advices of her uncle David king of Scotland, who had come to pay her a visit, and of her brother the earl of Gloucester, to whom she was so much indebted. She confiscated the estates of all who did not immediately submit to her authority, and thereby fixed them in their opposition ; recalled all the grants that had been made by Stephen, those to the church not excepted, by which many were ruined in their fortunes, and the clergy were disobliged. Queen Matilda, who was her cousin, and a prince’s

Haughty
behaviour
of the em-
press, and
its conse-
quences.

(86) W. Malms. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 953.

A.D. 1141. of uncommon merit, made earnest supplications for the liberty of her husband, engaging that he should solemnly resign the crown, and retire into a monastery. But they were all rejected. The citizens of London petitioned for some abatement in their taxes, and the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor: in answer to which she upbraided them with their liberalities to king Stephen, and frowned them from her presence. Irritated at this affront, and dreading the severity of her government, they formed a plot to seize her person; which being discovered by one of the accomplices, she made her escape, and retired to Oxford (87).

Empress besieged in the castle of Winchester.

The behaviour of the legate had for some time been equivocal, and on his declining to appear at court, the earl of Gloucester made him a visit at Winchester, with a design to penetrate his intentions, which he plainly discovered were not friendly. Upon this the empress marched suddenly to Winchester, attended by the king of Scots, the earl of Gloucester, and several other barons, with their followers; and being received into the royal castle, sent a messenger to the legate, who was at his house in the city, to come to court to give his advice on business of importance. The crafty prelate told the messenger, that he would make ready as fast as possible: but he meant for resistance, and not obedience. Accordingly he dispatched couriers to queen Matilda, who was at the head of a body of troops in Kent, to the Londoners, and to all the friends of king Stephen, to come to him immediately, with all their followers; and he was so well obeyed, that in a few days he found himself at the head of a very powerful army, with which he invested the castle of Winchester on August 1st. The face of affairs was now greatly changed; the empress herself, the king of Scotland, the earl of Gloucester, and all the chief supporters of her cause, being shut up in one castle, in great danger of perishing by famine, or of falling into the hands of their enemies (88).

The empress escapes, but the earl of Gloucester is taken.

In this extremity the earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for their deliverance. In those superstitious times, the most hostile armies, by tacit consent, sus-

(87) *Gesta Stephani Regis*, p. 955.

(88) *Id. ibid.*

pended their operations, and relaxed their vigilance, on the festivals of the church. The festival of the Holy Cross was on the 14th of September; and very early on the morning of that day, the empress, mounted on a swift horse, attended by a choice body of troops, marched silently out of Winchester, and made her escape to the Devizes, where she arrived, almost dead with terror and fatigue, and from thence was conveyed in a horse-litter to Gloucester. The king of Scotland also eluded his pursuers, and reached his own kingdom. But the earl of Gloucester, who placed himself in the rear, was pursued by a superior force, and taken prisoner at Stokebridge, from whence he was conducted to the castle of Rochester (89).

A. D. 1141.

This was as fatal a blow to the party of the empress; as the captivity of king Stephen had been to *his* adherents; and therefore, after that agitation of spirits occasioned by these rapid revolutions had a little subsided, a negotiation was set on foot for an exchange of these two illustrious prisoners, which was accomplished on November 1st. The legate, who had been the chief instrument of the deliverance of his brother from prison, convened a council of the clergy at Westminster, December 7th, in which he acted a part directly opposite to that which he had acted in the council of Winchester eight months before, and concluded with excommunicating all who adhered to the countess of Anjou, which was the highest title he deigned to give the empress, who had so lately been acknowledged by him queen of England (90).

King Stephen and the earl of Gloucester exchanged.

Though the civil war still continued, no action of importance happened in the former part of this year, owing to a fit of sickness with which king Stephen was seized in the spring, and to the absence of the earl of Gloucester, who, at the earnest request of all his party, had made a voyage into Normandy, to bring over the husband of the empress, or her son prince Henry. The empress, in the absence of the earl, took up her residence in Oxford, where she was guarded by the noblemen of her party, who pledged

A. D. 1142. The escape of the empress from Oxford.

(89) J. Brompt. col. 1032.

(90) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106.—108. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 954—959. Contin. Flor. Worcest. p. 677. Hen. Hunt. l. 3. p. 225.

A.D. 1142. their honour to him that they would protect her till he returned. King Stephen, after his recovery, besieged and took the town and castle of Wareham. From thence he marched with such secrecy and expedition, that he surprised the city of Oxford three days before Michaelmas, the empress with her retinue taking shelter in the castle; which was immediately invested by the king, who swore a solemn oath, that he would not raise the siege till he had taken his rival prisoner. When the siege had continued three months, and the garrison of the castle was reduced to the last extremity by famine, and the incessant assaults of the enemy, the empress made her escape from impending ruin, in a manner more surprising than any of her former escapes from Arundel, London, or Winchester. The river being frozen over, and the ground covered with snow, she dressed herself and three trusty knights in white, and issuing silently about midnight, at a postern of the castle, passed all the enemies centinels unobserved, travelled on foot to Abingdon, and from thence on horseback to Wallingford. Here she was soon after joined by an army that was marching to her relief, under the conduct of her brother the earl of Gloucester, with her son prince Henry in his company, which made her forget all her fatigues and terrors. But the castle of Oxford having surrendered the morning after her escape, and the season being unfit for action, the barons with their followers were permitted to return to their own homes (91).

A.D. 1143.
The civil
war con-
tinued.

This destructive civil war had now raged so long, and with so much violence, that the strength of both parties was almost quite exhausted, and their attempts to annoy each other became so languid, that they hardly merit the attention of posterity. The earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for surprising the king, and his brother the bishop of Winchester, at Wilton, July 1st, this year; and they made their escape with great difficulty, leaving their plate and baggage to their enemy (92). During the three succeeding years

(91) Chron. Gervas, p. 1358. *Gesta Regis Stephani*, p. 959. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 110.

(92) Gervas Chron. p. 1358.

there was no action of importance; but the war was carried on between the barons of the opposite parties, by attacking each others castles, and plundering each others lands; which served to ruin and depopulate the country, but contributed nothing to the decision of this fatal quarrel (93). A. D. 1143.

Prince Henry had now resided in the castle of Bristol above four years, prosecuting his studies under the care of his uncle earl Robert, the most learned as well as the most virtuous nobleman of his age, when his father Geoffrey of Anjou sent a deputation to conduct him into Normandy, which was entirely reduced to his obedience. The earl of Gloucester attended his royal pupil to Wareham, where he embarked for the continent about ten days before Whitsuntide. This proved a final parting between the prince and his excellent preceptor, who died at the castle of Bristol, October 31st, this year. The empress, after the departure of her son, and the death of her brother, had so little comfort or authority in England, that she sailed for Normandy before Lent A. D. 1148, leaving the barons of her party for a time to govern and defend themselves (94). King Stephen, during these two years, was so much embroiled with the clergy, and with the barons of his own party, by treacherously seizing their persons, and obliging them to deliver up their castles, that he could make no advantage of these events. “All England, in the mean time (to use the words of a contemporary historian), wore a face of misery and desolation: Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile; others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in the church-yards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger; and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex (95).” A. D. 1147.
Misery of
England.

(93) Gervas Chron. p. 1358. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 225.

(94) Annal. Waverliën. p. 156. Gervas Chron. 1363.

(95) Gestæ Regis Stephani, p. 961.

A. D. 1149. Prince Henry knighted by the king of Scotland. Prince Henry being now arrived at the military age of sixteen years, his father Geoffrey sent him through England with a numerous and splendid retinue, into Scotland, to receive the honour of knighthood from his mother's uncle king David. That ceremony was accordingly performed at Carlisle on Whitsunday, May 22d, with great pomp, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy (95). The prince having spent about eight months in the court of Scotland, perfecting himself in his military exercises, sailed from thence in January A. D. 1150, into Normandy, which was soon after resigned to him by his father.

A. D. 1151. Prince Henry obtains Normandy, Anjou, &c. Prince Henry, after he had taken possession of Normandy, designed to have made his first essay in arms at the head of his party in England, for the recovery of that crown; but he was prevented from executing that design by a succession of important affairs, which detained him three years on the continent. The first of these affairs was a war with the king of France about the investiture of Normandy, which he at last obtained. The second was the death of his father Geoffrey earl of Anjou, which happened September 7th, on which he took possession of the territories of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. The third was his marriage with Eleanor heiress of Guienne and Poitou, on Whitsunday A. D. 1152, who, about six weeks before, had been divorced from Louis VII. king of France, to whom she had been sixteen years married. There was a great disproportion between the age of Henry, who was only in his twentieth year, and the age of this princess, whose character had also been a little sullied by the breath of fame. But she brought him a great accession of power and wealth by the territories of her family (96). This excited the jealousy of her former husband; who now seeing his folly in parting with so rich an heiress, formed an alliance against Henry, with king Stephen, his son prince Eustace, Theobald earl of Blois, and Geoffrey of

Marries Eleanor heiress of Guienne.

(95) J. Hagulfstad, p. 227. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 226.

(96) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

Anjou, Henry's younger brother, who was dissatisfied with his appanage. The allies invaded Normandy; which was so well defended, that they were obliged to retire, and abandon their enterprize. While Henry was thus employed on the continent, king Stephen alarmed at his increasing power, endeavoured to get his eldest son prince Eustace crowned; but could not prevail upon Theobald archbishop of Canterbury to perform that ceremony (97).

Prince Henry, having made a truce with the king of France, set sail with a fleet of thirty-six ships, and landed in England, January 6th, attended by a small army, consisting of one hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot. Though it was now the middle of winter, the flames of civil war broke out with greater violence than ever, and the Prince, being joined by the barons of his party, besieged the town and castle of Marlborough. King Stephen, having collected all his forces, attempted to raise the siege; but being prevented from executing that design by excessive rains, he returned with his army to London. After the surrender of Marlborough, the prince marched to Wallingford, where he was met by Stephen at the head of his troops, which were now become more numerous than those of his competitor. The two armies lay facing each other three days, without coming to an engagement, which gave an opportunity to some of the barons, who deplored the miseries of their country, to propose an accommodation. A treaty was set on foot; the success of which was very much facilitated by the death of prince Eustace, king Stephen's eldest son, August 17th. After various negotiations, a peace was at last concluded on the following terms: That Stephen should continue to reign during life, and prince Henry should succeed to the throne at his death, without any opposition. To secure this succession, all the barons of Stephen's party should swear to it, and the most important castles should be put into the hands of Henry's friends. This agreement, which

(97) Annal. Waverlien. p. 157. Gervaa Chron. p. 1371, 1372. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

A.D. 1153. diffused incredible joy over the whole kingdom, was solemnly ratified in a great council held at Winchester in November this year, and all the prelates and barons of both parties took an oath of fealty, and did homage to Henry as successor in another council, held at Oxford, January 13th, A. D. 1154. The prince having regulated his affairs in England, returned into Normandy in the spring of this year (98).

King Stephen dies.

Though king Stephen had enjoyed more authority, and the country more tranquillity, since the late pacification, than in any period of his reign, he was far from being pleased with that transaction, and soon began to shew that he did not intend to be very punctual in performing his part of the treaty. By one article it was agreed, that all the castles which had been built on both sides since the death of Henry I. amounting (if we may believe a contemporary historian) to the number of 1115, should be demolished, as many of them had been nests of thieves, and the occasion of infinite mischiefs to the kingdom (99). Henry had given strict orders to the barons of his party to execute this article; but Stephen made various excuses and delays. This, and some other things, it is probable, would have rekindled the flames of civil war, if these two princes had continued long on their present footing. But king Stephen was taken ill of the iliac passion, which put an end to his life and reign, at Dover, October 25th, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign. (100).

His character.

The following character of king Stephen may be collected from his actions, and from the writings of contemporary authors. In his person he was graceful, strong, and active; in his conversation, pleasant and facetious; in his deportment popular and condescending, to a degree that many esteemed unsuitable to his dignity. He was a kind husband, a tender but too indulgent parent, and to his favourites not only liberal but profuse. His courage was of the boldest and most intrepid kind; and, if he had never aspired to royalty,

(98) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 228. M. Paris, p. 61. Annal. Waverlien. p. 158. J. Brompt. p. 1037. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 14.

(99) M. Paris, p. 61.

(100) Chron. Gervas, col. 1376. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 228.

he would have lived and died beloved. Ambition was A.D. 1154. the rock on which he split. His usurpation of the throne of England involved him in the guilt of the most impious perjuries and most vile ingratitude; and to preserve what he had usurped, he was led to commit many acts of injustice, treachery, and oppression. In a word, his reign was uncomfortable to himself, unhappy to his family and his country, being one continued scene of confusion, misery, and civil war, from the beginning to the end.

The event which happened in Wales in this period, History of Wales. were not of such importance as to merit a minute detail in this work. That country still continued to be harassed by wars between its several princes, whose mutual jealousies were the occasion of frequent quarrels and of many miseries. In the intervals of these quarrels, they sometimes made incursions into the territories of the English, which drew upon them the resentment of that more powerful nation (101).

King Edgar, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm History of Scotland. Canmore, was seated on the throne of Scotland at the beginning of this period, when Henry, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, mounted the throne of England; who soon after married the princess Matilda, king Edgar's sister. This near relation between the two royal families produced a long and cordial peace between the two nations. Nor was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom interrupted by any civil commotions during the reign of this prince; who dying at Dundee, January 8th, A. D. 1107, was succeeded by his younger brother Alexander (102). This prince was as happy as his predecessor in cultivating the friendship of his brother-in-law the king of England; but discovered more activity in suppressing certain bands of robbers, by whom the northern parts of the kingdom were much infested, and in reducing the licentious nobility to a due obedience to the laws, by an impartial administration of justice; which procured him the surname of *the Fierce*. Alexander was

(101) See Dr. Powel's History of Wales, p. 157—204.

(102) Chron. Mailros, p. 163. Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 28. Buchan. Hist. l. 7.

A. D. 1154. married to Sibylla, natural daughter of Henry I. (103); but died without issue, A. D. 1124; and was succeeded by his youngest brother David, commonly called *St. David*, on account of his great piety (according to the mode of those times), and of his excessive liberality to the church and clergy. David was educated in England, under the care of his uncle Edgar Atheling; and after the marriage of his sister to king Henry, he resided chiefly in the English court; where he married Matilda, the only child of Waltheof earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, by which he obtained a title to these two earldoms. By his long residence in England he acquired a taste for the English manners and way of living, which he laboured to introduce among his own subjects after his accession to the throne of Scotland (104). As earl of Huntingdon he was the first of the laity who swore, A. D. 1126, to support the succession of the empress Maude to the crown of England; and when that oath had been shamefully violated by almost all who had taken it, this pious prince invaded England several times (as hath been already mentioned), to pull down the usurper Stephen, and raise the empress to the throne. In the last years of Stephen's reign he remained in the quiet possession of the four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham; and these counties were ceded to him and his heirs by prince Henry Plantagenet, afterwards Henry II. when he received the honour of knighthood from him at Carlisle, May 22d, A. D. 1149; and that cession was confirmed by an oath, that it should never be resumed (105). In his old age this excellent king lost his only son Henry, who is represented by all the historians of those times, as one of the most virtuous and accomplished princes of the age in which he flourished. When Henry was at the English court, A. D. 1139, he fell in love with, and married, Ada, sister of William earl of Warren and Surrey; by whom he left, at his death, A. D. 1152, three sons, Malcolm, William, and David, and three daughters,

(103) Dalrymple's Collections, p. 371.

(104) W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 90.

(105) W. Neubrigenf. l. 1. c. 24. l. 2. c. 4.

Margaret, afterwards married to Conan duke of Bri-
 tanny, Adama, married to Florence earl of Holland,
 and Matilda (106). King David did not long survive
 his amiable and much-beloved son, but falling sick at
 Carlisle, where he frequently resided, he died there, in
 a very pious manner, May 24th, A. D. 1153; and
 was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV. sur-
 named *the Maiden*.

S E C T I O N III.

*The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the
 accession of Henry II. to the throne of England, A. D.
 1154, to his death, A. D. 1189.*

HENRY PLANTAGENET, eldest son of the
 empress Maude, and of Geoffrey Plantagenet
 earl of Anjou, was besieging the castle of a rebellious
 baron in Normandy, when he received the important
 and unexpected news of the death of king Stephen.
 Having finished the siege in which he was engaged,
 by taking the castle, he began to make preparations
 for his voyage to England, where he landed, near Hurst
 castle, December 8th, and was crowned at West-
 minster on the 19th of the same month, with his con-
 sort Eleanor, by Theobald archbishop of Canter-
 bury, in a great assembly of prelates and nobles (1).
 This event gave inexpressible satisfaction to the
 people of England, as it put an end to the irregular
 succession of their kings, and to those destructive civil
 wars which had brought their country to the very
 brink of ruin.

(106) Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 33.

(1) Chron. Norman. p. 989. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 1. M. Paris,
 p. 65. Annal. Waverlien. p. 158.

A.D. 1155.

First mea-
sures of his
government
wise and
vigorous.

The first acts of Henry's government were equally wise and vigorous, and confirmed the high opinion which his subjects entertained of his spirit and abilities. He immediately issued a proclamation, commanding all the foreign mercenaries, who in the preceding reign had committed the most horrible depredations, to depart the kingdom by a certain day, under the pain of death; and they all vanished before the appointed time. He gave orders to level with the ground the numerous castles which had been erected, in all parts of England, in the late civil wars, and from which the neighbouring countries had been desolated; and these orders were obeyed, though, in some places, with no small reluctance. Finding the crown greatly impoverished by the many grants of the royal demesnes, which had been made by king Stephen, and even by the empress, to their respective partisans, he obtained a decree of his parliament or great council, to resume all these grants; which he executed with the most perfect impartiality, and with much greater ease than could have been expected (2).

Parlia-
ments.

In a parliament held at London, he voluntarily granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I (3). In another parliament, held at Winchester, about Michaelmas, he found the affairs of his kingdom in such a settled state, that he consulted with his barons, about attempting the conquest of Ireland, to be given to his youngest brother prince William: but this project not being agreeable to his mother the empress, the execution of it was postponed (4). The coin, which had been shamefully adulterated in the preceding reign, he restored to its standard purity; and the laws, which had been as shamefully relaxed, he raised to their proper dignity and vigour (5). To secure all these blessings to his subjects, and prevent all disputes about the succession, he made all his prelates and barons take an oath of fealty to his eldest son prince William; and, failing him, to his second son prince Henry, who was born in

(2) Gervas Chron. ann. 1155. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 2, 3.

(3) See Judge Blackstone's Law-Tracts, vol. 2. p. 11.

(4) Annal. Waverlien. p. 158.

(5) R. Hoveden, p. 282.

March this year (6). In a word, it may be truly ^{A. D. 1155.} said, that no king of England had ever done so much good, or gained so much love, in so short a time, since Alfred the Great, as Henry II. in the first year of his reign, though it was only the twenty-first year of his age.

England being now in perfect tranquillity, Henry ^{A. D. 1156.} embarked at Dover, in January this year; arrived at Rouen, the capital of Normandy, where his mother the empress resided, on Candlemas day; and, about a week after, had an interview with Louis VII. king of France, to whom he did homage for all his territories on the continent (7). After this interview he returned to Rouen; where he was visited by the earl and countess of Flanders, and by his brother Geoffrey, who, discontented with the smallness of his appanage, claimed the earldom of Anjou, and being refused, retired to his castles, and endeavoured to excite an insurrection. Henry pursued him with an army, and took all his castles, which he demolished; but upon his submission, he restored his lands, and granted him an annual pension of one thousand pounds sterling, and two thousand pounds of Anjouvine money (8). After this transaction, which was finished in July, he made a progress into Guienne, and the other provinces which he had got by his queen, and received the homage of the prelates and nobles of those provinces (9).

Henry's reputation was already become so great, ^{A. D. 1157.} that the earl and countess of Flanders having resolved upon a pilgrimage into the Holy Land, appointed him guardian to their infant son, and regent of their dominions in their absence. He spent the beginning of this year in regulating the affairs of that earldom (10). On his return into England, in the week after Easter, he recovered the four northern counties by negotiation from Malcolm IV. king of Scotland, who was in no

(6) Gervas Chron. ann. 1155. (7) Chron. Norman. p. 991.

(8) Id. Ibid. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 7. M. Paris, p. 67.

(9) Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 446.

(10) Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. Chron. Norman. p. 993.

A. D. 1157. condition to contend with a prince who was so much his superior in power as well as in abilities (11).

Expedition
into Wales.

The Welsh had made frequent incursions into England in the last reign, in which they had not only done much mischief to the country, but had recovered the possession of several extensive districts, of which they had been formerly deprived; and had shaken off their dependence upon the English crown. Henry being now at leisure, raised a great army, with which he entered Wales about the beginning of August, and advanced to Basingwerk in Flintshire, without meeting with any opposition. But as he was marching with the van of his army through a narrow defile near that place, he was suddenly assaulted by the Welsh, who pouring showers of arrows, darts, and stones, from the surrounding precipices, put his troops into such confusion, that Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, threw down the royal standard, and, flying, cried out, that the king was slain, and all was lost. This spread such a panick through the army, that it was on the point of disbanding, when the king, by shewing himself, prevented a total defeat (12). After this disaster, Henry, changing his route, marched his army along the sea coast, attended by his fleet, and proceeded with great caution, cutting down the woods, making roads, and building castles to secure his conquests, as he advanced. Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, convinced of his inability to defend his country against an enemy so powerful and so prudent, made his peace, by resigning all his late acquisitions, and doing homage for what he retained (13).

A. D. 1158.
Voyage to
the conti-
nent.

Henry, having spent the first months of this year in a royal progress for the administration of justice, had an interview with Malcolm king of Scotland, at Carlisle, who came thither in hopes of receiving the honour of knighthood; but some misunderstanding arising between the two monarchs, Malcolm did not

(11) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 4.

(12) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5. Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. M. Paris, p. 68. Chron. Mailros, ann. 1158.

(13) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5.

receive that honour at this time (14). In his return A. D. 1158.
 into the south, Henry celebrated the feast of Easter in the suburbs of Lincoln, in compliance with the superstitious terrors of his subjects, who had been taught by a pretended prophecy, that some great calamity would befall the first king of England who presumed to wear his crown within the walls of that city (15). Soon after this he made another voyage to the continent on the following occasion. The people of Nantz in Brittany, having revolted from their rightful sovereign, invited Geoffrey Plantagenet, king Henry's brother, to become their earl; and that prince being now dead, Henry laid claim to the earldom of Nantz, as heir to his brother. This claim, which doth not seem to have been very well founded, was disputed by Conan duke of Brittany, who, on Geoffrey's death, had taken possession of Nantz, as belonging to his dukedom. At Henry's arrival in Normandy, he had an interview with the king of France; and in order to gain his friendship, and prevent his espousing the cause of the duke of Brittany, he proposed a marriage between his eldest surviving son, prince Henry, and Margaret, the eldest daughter of that king by his second queen, Constantia of Castile. This proposal was so agreeable to the French monarch, that it was not only accepted, but Henry was invited to Paris, where he was most magnificently entertained several days, and obtained a commission, as earl of Anjou, and seneschal of France, to determine the important controversy that had subsisted for some time between Eudo earl of Penthièvre, and Conan duke of Brittany, about the right to that dukedom. As soon as Conan was informed of this commission, he waited upon Henry, and voluntarily yielded to him the earldom of Nantz, to procure a sentence in his favour; which was accordingly pronounced (16). Thus the king of England, by his policy and power, was making continual additions to his dominions.

Henry had no sooner made good his claim, such as it was, to the earldom of Nantz, than he advanced A. D. 1159.
Return into
England,
&c.

(14) Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1158.

(15) R. Hoveden, p. 282. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 9.

(16) Gervas Chron. ann. 1158. Chron. Norman. p. 994.

A. D. 1159 another, in right of his queen, to the earldom of Thouloufe: which seems to have been better founded. For queen Eleanor was the grand-daughter of Philippa, the only child of William IV. earl of Thouloufe; but that earl, before his death, conveyed all his dominions to his brother Raimond earl of St. Giles, whose grandfon, of the fame name, was now earl of Thouloufe. When Eleanor was queen of France, her husband, Louis VII. esteemed her pretensions to the earldom of Thouloufe fo good, that he befieged that city; but was prevented from profecuting the fiege, by his expedition into the Holy Land. Henry being now the husband of Eleanor, determined to assert her right to that great earldom, which then comprehended Quercy and the greateft part of Languedoc (17). In order to this, he came over into England in the beginning of this year, and held a great council of his prelates, barons, and military tenants, who willingly agreed to pay a fum of money, rather than ferve in person in this diftant expedition. The fum demanded, and paid, for each knight's fee, was three pounds; by which he raifed one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, in England, equal in weight of filver to five hundred and forty thousand pounds, and in efficacy at leaft to two million feven hundred thousand pounds of our prefent money (18).

Expedition
againft
Thouloufe.

After Eaſter he returned into Normandy, where he levied a fimilar tax from his military tenants, and with this money he took into his ſervice great multitudes of adventurers or ſoldiers of fortune, with whom all the countries of Europe abounded in thoſe times. About Midſummer Henry aſſembled his own troops, and thoſe of his allies (among whom were Malcolm king of Scotland, who was knighted in this expedition, and Raimond earl of Barcelona, and king of Aragon), in Guienne, and from thence invaded Quercy, where he took the city of Cahors. He then directed his march towards Thouloufe, with a view to inveſt that city; but received intelligence by the way, that the king of France had thrown himſelf into it, with a body of troops, and declared his reſolution to defend it to the

(17) Chron. Norman. p. 995.

(18) Gervas Chron. c. 1381.

lak extremity. The famous Thomas Becket, who was then chancellor of England, and Henry's greatest favourite, vehemently urged him to proceed, and seize, without ceremony, the person of his sovereign lord, of whom he held all his extensive territories on the continent, and to whom he had sworn fealty. But this advice was prudently rejected, as too bold and dangerous, inconsistent with his oath of fealty, and with that respect which he owed to the person of his sovereign, which it was the interest of a prince who had so many powerful vassals of his own, to hold sacred and inviolable. Henry therefore declared, that out of respect to the king of France, he would not besiege Thoulouse; but he prosecuted the war in other places with equal vigour and success (19). This war continued both in Languedoc, on the frontiers of Normandy, and in other places, from August to December; when a truce was concluded for six months, and negotiations for a peace were set on foot.

A.D. 1159.

Before the expiration of this truce, the terms of peace were settled, by which Henry was permitted to retain all those places in the earldom of Thoulouse that he had conquered. But before the final conclusion of the treaty, some misunderstanding arose between the two kings, which put off the ratification of it to the month of October, when the prince of England did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy (20).

A.D. 1160.

Treaty of peace.

This peace was of very short duration. By an article in the treaty, the towns of Gisors, Neufle, and Newchatel, the marriage portion of the princess Margaret (the elder daughter of the king of France by his second queen), who had been promised in marriage to prince Henry about two years before, were to be delivered up, by the knights-templars, to whom they were then committed, into the hands of the king of England, as soon as the espousals between the royal infants were celebrated, with the consent of the church. The king of England dreading a change in the dispositions of the French monarch, who had married a princess of the house of Blois, after a widowhood of

War with France.

(19) Fitz-Stephen, Vita S. T. Cantuar. p. 22. Joann. in Quadri-
logo, c. 9, 10. W. Newbrigen. l. 2. c. 10.

(20) Chron. Norman. p. 997.

A.D. 1159. only twelve days, and being very desirous to secure his son's marriage with the French princess, and to get possession of her fortune, prevailed upon the pope's legate to celebrate the espousals between Henry and Margaret (who had been sent into Normandy to be educated), though the prince was only six, and the princess only five years of age. As soon as this ceremony was performed, he demanded and obtained the three towns from the knights-templars, according to the stipulations of the treaty. The king of France was so much irritated at this transaction, that he banished the three knights who had delivered up the three towns, and commenced hostilities against the king of England (21).

A.D. 1161.
Treaty of
peace.

The operations of this new war were of small importance. For when the two armies lay near each other in the month of June, and neither of the kings discovered any inclination to attack the other, their common friends interposed their good offices, and a peace was concluded about Midsummer, on the same terms with the former (22). This peace gave both kings an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church, and particularly to the great dispute between the two popes, Alexander III. and Victor IV.; on which subject each king having held a council of his clergy in July, they both met in a general council at Thoulouse in August, and agreed to acknowledge pope Alexander (23).

Interview
with the
king of
France.

Henry spent this year in great tranquillity on the continent, regulating the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his sovereign dominions; and for that purpose he held several assemblies of his prelates and nobility (24). In autumn the kings of France and England had an interview with their pope, Alexander III. at Torcy on the Loire, at which these two great monarchs condescended to hold that pontiff's stirrups as he mounted his horse, and to guide the reins of his bridle as they conducted him into the town (25). Such was the real or political humanity of princes, and the pride of priests, in those superstitious times.

(21) W. Newbrigen. l. 2. c. 24. R. Hoveden, p. 282. M. Paris, p. 68. Ypodigma Neustriae, ann. 1160.

(22) Chron. Norman. p. 998. (23) W. Newbrigen. l. 2. c. 9.

(24) Chron. Norman. p. 998. (25) *Id. ibid.*

After an absence of more than three years, king Henry landed at Southampton, January 26th, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by his English subjects of all ranks (26). Malcolm king of Scotland paid him a visit this summer, and renewed the peace between the two kingdoms, giving his youngest brother David, and the sons of some of his earls, as hostages for the performance of the conditions of the treaty, particularly for the surrender of some castles (27). At the same time, viz. July 1st, Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, and Rheeſe, prince of South Wales, did homage to king Henry, and to prince Henry his eldest son, at Woodſtoke, for their respective principalities. In the course of this year, commissioners appointed by the king took an inquisition of all the knights fees that were in England at the death of Henry I. and at this time, together with the various services and prestations due by each to the crown, to serve as a rule for exacting those services and prestations (28): a work still preserved in the exchequer, and, next to Doomsday-book, of the greatest utility (29).

A.D. 1163.

Henry returns into England.

The most important transactions of this and of several succeeding years, consisted of the violent disputes between the king and the famous Thomas Becket, now become archbishop of Canterbury; and belong more properly to the ecclesiastical than to the civil history of England (30).

A.D. 1164.

Disputes with Thomas Becket.

In Lent A. D. 1165, Henry went over into Normandy, and had an interview with the king of France at Gisors, about 8. after; after which he was visited at Rouen by his cousin Philip earl of Flanders, to whom he had been a very faithful guardian (31). On his return into England, in summer, he received the ambassadors of the emperor Frederic, at Westminster, who came to demand his eldest daughter Maude in marriage for Henry duke of Saxony and Bavaria, son of the late emperor Conrade; and they succeeded in their negotiation (32). In the autumn he marched with a body of troops into Wales, and defeated a con-

A.D. 1165.

Voyage to Normandy, and return into England.

(26) Chron. Norman. p. 999.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) M. Paris, p. 70. col. 2. Dicet. col. 536.

(29) Vide Lib. Rub. Scaccarii.

(30) See chap. 2.

(31) Chron. Norman. p. 1000.

(32) Powel, p. 222.

A. D. 1166. fiderable army of the enemy, commanded by three of their princes.

Henry re-
turns into
Normandy.
Confedera-
cy defeated.

Henry having spent the winter in England, he returned, in Lent A. D. 1166, to the continent, where his presence was become necessary. Some of the powerful and factious barons of La Maine had formed a confederacy, and disregarded the authority of queen Eleanor, who acted as regent of the dominions on the continent, where she now resided; and several barons of Brittany had also entered into this confederacy. Henry, conducting an army into La Maine, soon reduced the refractory nobility of that country to due submission, by taking and demolishing their castles.

Duke of
Brittany
resigns his
dominions
to Henry,
&c.

Conan duke of Brittany had some time ago betrothed his only child, Constantia, to Geoffrey, the king of England's third son; and now finding himself unable to keep his turbulent barons in subjection, he resigned his duchy into the hands of that king, to be governed by him, for the benefit of Geoffrey and Constantia during their minority. Henry accepted of this resignation, made a progress through Brittany, and received the homage of the barons and military tenants of that country, which was a considerable accession to his power (33). On December 5th, he was visited, at Mount St. Michael in Normandy, by William, surnamed the *Lion*, king of Scotland, who had lately mounted that throne on the death of his brother Malcolm IV (34). The affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land being at this time in great distress, Henry, with the consent of his prelates and barons, imposed a tax of two-pence in the pound for one year, and one penny in the pound for four years after, on the goods of all his subjects on the continent, and a similar tax, in the same manner, on his English subjects, for their relief (35).

A. D. 1167.
War with
France, and
truce.

A misunderstanding arose in the beginning of this year between the kings of France and England, occasioned by several matters of no great importance, in which their views and interests were incompatible. Both these monarchs raised armies, and took and destroyed towns and castles; but a stop was put to their

(33) Chron. Norman. p. 1000. Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.

(34) Chron. Mailros, ann. 1166.

(35) Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.

destructive ravages, by a truce, which was concluded A.D. 1167. in the month of August, to continue till the succeeding Easter (36). The empress Maude, who had formerly acted a distinguished part in the affairs of Europe, but since the accession of her illustrious son to the throne of England had lived in an honourable retirement at Rouen, died there on September 10th this year, and was buried in the abbey of Bec; to which she had been a benefactress (37).

The barons of Poitou and Guienne, discontented with some measures of Henry's government, which are not mentioned, having secretly put themselves under the protection of the king of France, and given him hostages for their fidelity, broke out into open rebellion in the first months of this year. But they soon had reason to repent of their rashness. For Henry, marching with great expedition into their country, took and demolished their strongest castles, and reduced them to the necessity of professing their willingness to submit to his authority, if he could recover their hostages from the king of France. To accomplish this, he had an interview with that prince between Mante and Pacey, about the end of the Easter holidays. But Louis absolutely refused to give up the hostages, and only agreed to prolong the truce till Midsummer. In the mean time the barons of Britanny, who had secretly promised subjection and given hostages to the French monarch, threw off the mask, and refused to obey Henry's commands to join his army. They had no better success than their neighbours of Poitou and Guienne; their castles were seized, and they were constrained to offer submission on the same terms. This produced a second interview between the two monarchs about Midsummer, in which the king of France refusing to give up the hostages which he had received from Henry's rebellious barons, the truce was not prolonged, and an open war broke out, which continued several months without any memorable action (38).

Both kings being at length weary of a war, which was very pernicious to their subjects, without being either honourable or advantageous to themselves, a A.D. 1169. Peace with France.

(36) Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.

(37) Chron. Norman. 1101.

(38) Chron. Norman. p. 1002.

A.D. 1169. peace was concluded between them, January 6th, A. D. 1169. On this occasion, prince Henry of England did homage to his father-in-law the king of France, for Anjou and Maine, as he had formerly done for Normandy; prince Richard, the king of England's second son, did homage for Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, his third son, for Brittany (39). The rest of this year was spent in improving the fortifications of the frontier towns of Normandy, and in various negotiations with Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury, which will be related in the second chapter of this book.

A.D. 1170. The ceremonies of coronation and the royal unction were esteemed more important and essential in the times we are now delineating than they are at present. Hence proceeded that extreme haste that princes with disputed titles discovered to have those ceremonies performed upon them; and the desire of many of the kings of France, to see their sons crowned and anointed in their own lifetime, as the most effectual security of their succession. Henry, prompted by parental affection, and influenced by several political reasons, had resolved to have his eldest son prince Henry crowned and anointed king of England as soon as possible. But as he was now at variance with the archbishop of Canterbury, who claimed an exclusive right to perform these ceremonies, the execution of this design was attended with no small difficulty. Being sensible of this, he conducted it with great dexterity and art. Having brought all his dominions on the continent to a state of perfect tranquillity, he came over into England, from whence he had been absent about four years, and, landing at Portsmouth, March 3d, soon after held a parliament or assembly of his great men. In this assembly commissioners were appointed to visit each county in the kingdom, and to make strict inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs and other magistrates during the king's absence, and to bring the result of their inquiries to another great council to be held at London, June 4th. At this last assembly, William king of Scotland, David his brother, the prelates, earls, barons, sheriffs, bailiffs, and aldermen of all England, were present, anxious and uncertain

about the king's designs, when, to their great surprize, A. D. 1170.
 prince Henry, who had arrived from Normandy only the week before, was solemnly crowned and anointed king, by Roger archbishop of York; and, the day after, all the members of this assembly swore fealty to the young king, with a saving of the fealty they owed his father (40). About Midsummer king Henry the father returned into Normandy, leaving the young king regent of England. He had an interview with the king of France, July 22d, in which that prince complained, that his daughter Margaret had not been crowned with her husband. But on Henry's assuring him that this was owing only to the dispatch and secrecy that were necessary on that occasion, and promising that this defect should be supplied as soon as possible, he seemed to be contented. Soon after this interview, the king of England being seized with a severe fit of sickness, made his will, and bequeathed to his eldest son the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, with the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, requiring him to make some provision for his youngest son John; to his second son, Richard, he left the duchy of Aquitaine; and to his third son, Geoffrey, the duchy of Brittany (41). After his recovery from this sickness, he had a dispute with the king of France, about the archbishopric of Bourges, which produced one of those short and unimportant wars that were so frequent in the times we are now considering (42).

Henry II. had entertained thoughts of invading Ireland, and attempting the conquest of that island, very soon after his accession to the throne of England. In the second year of his reign, having obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. who was an Englishman, authorising and exhorting him to that undertaking, he proceeded so far as to communicate his design to a great council of his nobility; but was dissuaded by his mother the empress from proceeding any further at that time (43). An event happened A. D. 1168, which called his attention towards that island, and afforded him a specious pretence for intermeddling

A. D. 1171.
 Henry takes Dermot king of Leinster under his protection.

(40) Brompton, col. 1060. Gervas Cant. col. 1410. Benedict. Abbas, p. 4, 5.

(41) Benedict. Abbas, p. 56. (42) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 298.

(43) Chron. Norman. p. 991. Rymer Fœdera, l. i. p. 15.

A.D. 1171. in its affairs. Dermot Macmorroh king of Leinster (one of the five kingdoms into which Ireland was then divided) having been expelled from his dominions by his own subjects, with the assistance of the kings of Meath and Connaught, for his tyranny and other vices, implored the protection of the king of England, promising to hold his kingdom of him as his sovereign lord, if he was restored to it by his aid. Though Henry, who was then in Guienne, was much pleased with this application, he was too much engaged in his disputes with the church and the king of France, to think of an immediate expedition into Ireland in person. But that Dermot might not be quite discouraged, he gave him letters-patent directed to all his subjects in England, and other countries, declaring that he had taken him under his protection, and giving them licence to aid and assist him in the recovering of his kingdom (44). With these letters, and a decent appointment out of the royal treasury for his support, the exiled prince returned into England, and took up his residence at Bristol, on account of its vicinity to his own dominions.

Expedition
of some
English ba-
rons into
Ireland.

Here he entered into a negotiation with Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, to whom he promised his daughter Eva in marriage, with the succession of his kingdom at his death, on condition that the earl came over into Ireland, next spring A. D. 1169, with sufficient forces to restore him to his throne (45). After the conclusion of this treaty, Dermot removed to St. David's, to be still nearer Ireland, and engaged two noblemen of these parts, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, to assist in his restoration, by the promise of large estates. Relying on the effect of these treaties, he ventured over into Leinster in the winter; and being joined by Fitzstephen in the spring, and afterwards by Fitzgerald, he recovered all his former dominions in the course of the campaign A. D. 1169 (46). Elated, but not contented, with this success, he began to aspire to the sovereignty of all Ireland, and by frequent messages earnestly solicited earl Strongbow

(44) G. Cambrenf. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 1. p. 760.

(45) Id. l. 1. c. 2. p. 761.

(46) Id. l. 1. c. 3—12.

to fulfil his engagements, by coming to his assistance with a powerful army. A. D. 1171.

Though that earl had made great preparations for his Irish expedition, he durst not venture to engage in it without the permission of his sovereign, when the object was not the restoration of Dermot, but the conquest of Ireland; and in order to obtain that permission, he went over to the king in Normandy. Henry hesitated much about granting his request; but having at length let fall some words which seemed to imply a grant of his desire, the earl laid hold upon them, and hastening into England, pushed his preparations with the greatest vigour. When he had collected an army of twelve hundred men, in which were two hundred knights, with a fleet sufficient to transport them into Ireland, he received positive orders from the king to desist from his enterprise. This threw him into great perplexity, and occasioned some delay. But at length, reflecting that he was ruined if he desisted, and had the prospect of a splendid fortune if he proceeded, he ventured to sail from Milford-haven, and landed near Waterford, August 23^d, A. D. 1170, and a few days after took that town by storm. Here he was joined by Dermot, and his marriage with Eva the eldest daughter of that prince was celebrated; after which, the forces of all the English adventurers being united to those of the king of Leinster, they took the city of Dublin, and reduced the whole kingdom of Meath before the end of that campaign (47). On the 1st day of May A. D. 1171, Dermot king of Leinster died at Fernes; and was succeeded in that kingdom by earl Strongbow, his son-in-law, without any opposition (48).

Earl Strongbow's expedition into Ireland.

The news of the successes of these adventurers in Ireland being carried to Henry, who was still in Normandy, he was much offended with their presumption, in slighting his orders, and attempting the conquest of kingdoms, which he had meditated. To put a stop to their further progress, he issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects from sailing into Ireland, and commanding all those who were in that

Henry's proclamation against these expeditions.

(47) G. Cambrenf. Expug. Hibern. l. i. c. 13—18. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

(48) Expugnatio. Hibern. l. i. c. 20. p. 771.

A.D. 1171. island to return into England before the feast of Easter, on pain of perpetual banishment, and the confiscation of their estates (49). Strongbow was greatly alarmed at this proclamation, as it tended to deprive him of his followers, and indicated the high displeasure of his sovereign; to mitigate which he sent Raymond, one of his greatest confidants, to the king, to make him an offer of all his acquisitions in Ireland, in the most humble and submissive terms (50). Though this offer could not fail to be agreeable to Henry, he received it with a sullen silence, and Raymond was obliged to return to his master without any positive assurance of pardon.

Henry's
expedition
into Ire-
land.

Henry having settled his affairs on the continent, and left his dominions there under the government of the young king his son, sailed for England, and landed at Portsmouth August 3d. As soon as Strongbow heard of the king's arrival in England, he came over, and threw himself at his feet, imploring his pardon, and resigning all his conquests to his disposal. Henry's resentment being overcome by this submissive deportment, he received him into favour; restored him his estate in England, which had been confiscated; and even permitted him to retain a great part of the kingdom of Leinster, to be held of the crown of England; but took the city of Dublin and all the towns on the coast into his own hands (51). All things being now in readiness for his Irish expedition, the king embarked his army on board a fleet of two hundred and forty transports, at Milford-haven, and sailing from thence, with a fair wind, landed, October 26th, near Waterford, one of the towns resigned to him by Strongbow, where he was received with joy. The fame of his arrival soon spread over all the country, and disposed the petty princes of those parts to make their submissions, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. He entertained them with great civility; and having received their homage, and oaths of fealty, and imposed a moderate annual tribute upon each, as an acknowledgment of his sovereignty, he dismissed them

(49) G. Cambrenf. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 19.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

with valuable presents (52). From Waterford he A. D. 1171. marched at the head of his army to Dublin, which he entered, November 21st, without having seen or heard of any enemy. In this city he celebrated the festival of Christmas, in a wooden palace erected for that purpose, in which he not only entertained the great men of his own court and army, but many of the Irish princes and chieftains, who were much surprised at the great plenty and variety of provisions (53). While he resided in this city, Roderic king of Connaught, the supreme monarch of Ireland, had an interview, on the banks of the river Shannon, with Roger de Lacy and William Fitzaldelm, commissioners appointed to receive his homage, and settle his tribute, which they did; and by that transaction the conquest of the island was in a manner completed (54).

The king spent the first months of this year at Dublin, in regulating the affairs of his new dominions, and in improving their police (which was very imperfect), by introducing the English laws and customs (55). The Irish clergy, in the acts of a council held at Cashel, 25th March this year, confess their obligations to their new sovereign on this account, in very strong terms, acknowledging, "That before his coming into Ireland, many evil customs had prevailed there, which by his power and wisdom were now abolished (56)." Soon after Candlemas, Henry left Dublin, and took up his residence at Wexford, where he impatiently expected news from England. But a succession of violent storms interrupted all navigation between the two islands for several weeks. At length about the middle of Lent, he received intelligence, that two legates from the pope, about the affair of Becket's murder, had waited for him some months in Normandy, and threatened to lay all his dominions under an interdict, if he did not soon appear. Though he ardently desired to spend the summer in Ireland, he immediately prepared for his departure; and having put garrisons into all the

A. D. 1172.
Henry's
return into
England,
and voyage
to Norman-
dy, &c.

(52) Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1171. p. 27. Expugnat. Hibern. l. 1. c. 30, 31.

(53) Expugnat. Hibern. l. 1. c. 32.

(54) Id. ibid.

(55) M. Paris, p. 88.

(56) Expugnat. Hibern. c. 34. p. 777.

places

A.D. 1172. places of strength in his possession, and appointed Hugh de Lacy (a nobleman in whose courage, wisdom, and fidelity he reposed the greatest confidence) governor of Dublin, and chief justiciary of the kingdom, he sailed from Wexford on Easter Monday, and in the evening landed at Portfinnan in South Wales (57). Passing with as much expedition as possible through Wales and England, he embarked, together with his son the young king, at Portsmouth, and landed at Barfleur in Normandy, on the 9th of May (58). The king of France was so much surprised at the news of his arrival, that he cried out, "This Henry of England rather flies than either rides or sails (59)." At an interview between these two monarchs soon after, all their differences were, in appearance at least, compromised, and young king Henry, with his queen, Margaret of France, were sent over into England, and were both solemnly crowned at Winchester, August 27th, and immediately returned to the continent. On the arrival of these personages, a great council was held at Avranches, September 27th, in which the troublesome affair relating to the murder of Thomas Becket was terminated, and king Henry the father received absolution from the pope's legates; to procure which he promised, amongst other things, to take the cross next Christmas, for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in the mean time to give as much money to the knights templars as would maintain two hundred knights a whole year for the defence of Jerusalem (60). The king of France, pretending to have a strong desire to see his daughter the young queen of England, and his son-in-law, they were sent to his court in November, where they continued till they were remanded by Henry, who began to be suspicious that Louis, who never was his real friend, might give his son some improper advice (61).

(57) Expugnat. Hibern. l. i. c. 35, 36, 37. Benedi&t. Abbas, p. 31, 32. R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 303.

(58) Benedi&t. Abbas, p. 33. (59) Ypodigma Neustri&e, p. 448.

(60) See Brady's Hist. vol. I. Append. p. 61, 62.

(61) Benedi&t. Abbas, p. 37.

Henry was in great prosperity in the beginning of this year, and his prosperity seemed to be built on the most solid foundations. He was in the prime of life—had a numerous family of sons and daughters, of whom he was remarkably fond, and for whom he had made the most munificent provisions—his extensive dominions were in a state of the most profound tranquillity, and perfect submission to his authority—and his friendship was courted by all the princes of Europe. But, notwithstanding all these fair appearances, he was really on the very brink of ruin. A mine was ready to be sprung under him, which threatened his destruction. This mine was formed by his own family, who were the objects of his strongest affection, and of whom he had merited the warmest returns of gratitude and duty. His eldest son Henry had some good, but many bad qualities. In particular, he was fond of flattery, extravagantly expensive; and his vanity and ambition were both unbounded (62). Being crowned at the age of fifteen, he became impatient to reign independent of his father. This impatience was inflamed by his mother queen Eleanor (who was enraged at her husband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, by his father-in-law the king of France, and, in a word, by all who were about his person, or had any share in his favour (63). By these an unnatural conspiracy was formed for dethroning Henry the father, and investing young Henry with all his authority. This plot was conducted with great secrecy; and besides the king of France, several foreign princes were engaged in it, by extravagant grants made to them by the young king;—as William the Lion, king of Scotland, to whom were granted the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland;—Philip earl of Flanders, to whom was granted the earldom of Kent;—his brother Matthew earl of Boulogne, to whom were granted the county of Mortain in Normandy, and some lands in England;—and Theobald earl of Blois, to whom were granted an annuity, and all Henry's estates in Touraine (64). Many of

A. D. 1173,
 Conspiracy
 formed
 against
 Henry by
 his sons,
 &c.

(62) Topographia Hiberniæ Distinct. 3. l. 49, 50. p. 752.

(63) W. Neubrigen l. 2. c. 27.

(64) Benedict Abbas, p. 50, 51.

A.D. 1173. the most powerful barons, both in England and in all the provinces on the continent, were brought to join in this conspiracy, together with the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey (65).

Undutiful
behaviour
of young
Henry to
his father.

The last hand was put to this plot when young Henry resided in the court of France, in the end of the preceding year; and on his return from thence, he demanded of his father the immediate and entire possession either of the kingdom of England, or of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. On receiving a refusal to this demand, he was at no pains to conceal his discontent; and thenceforward behaved in the most offensive manner to his too indulgent father. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. Humbert earl of Maurienne and Savoy, being in the English court at Limoges in the beginning of this year, contracted his eldest daughter Adelais to prince John, king Henry's youngest son, February 2d, and in that contract granted all his dominions to the prince, if he died without male issue, and a very considerable part of them, even though he should leave a son. King Henry being asked by the earl, what establishment he designed to make for his son, proposed the three castles of Loudon, Chinon, and Merebeau. But to this he could not by the most earnest entreaties procure the consent of the young king, who totally disregarded all his father's solicitations, though in favour of his brother, and for so small a share of so great an inheritance (66).

Young
Henry flies
from his
father.

On this king Henry removed several persons from about his son, who he imagined gave him bad advice, and placed others, of whom he had a better opinion, in their room. But this had no other effect, than to hasten his flight into France, which he accomplished about the middle of Lent. His afflicted father pursued him as far as Alençon; but finding he could not overtake him, and beginning to apprehend what soon after happened, he applied himself with great diligence to put his frontier towns and castles in the best posture of defence (67).

(65) Benedict Abbas, p. 51, 52, 53.

(66) Id. p. 46.

(67) Id. p. 47. Trivet Chron. ann. 1173.

The flight of the young king was the signal of rebellion to all who were engaged in this conspiracy. He was soon after followed by his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a prodigious number of the barons of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and other countries (68). Even queen Eleanor meditated a flight to the court of her former husband, from whom she had been divorced; but being apprehended in disguise, she was kept in strict confinement (69). The defection from king Henry the father on this occasion became so great that he knew not whom to trust; and the world in general gave him up for lost.

A.D. 1173.
The conspiracy breaks out.

Though the spirit of this brave prince was wounded in the most tender part by the revolt of his own children, and on many of whom he had bestowed the greatest benefits, it was so far from being broken, that he never displayed greater activity, wisdom, and valour, than at this trying juncture. He sent ambassadors to the court of France, to expostulate with Louis for encouraging and supporting his sons in their rebellion;—he wrote accounts of this event to all the princes in Europe;—he solicited the Pope to launch the thunders of the church against his undutiful children, and their accomplices;—he dispatched letters to all the governors of his towns and castles to be upon their guard, and prepare for their defence;—and to all his barons in whom he had any confidence, to be in readiness with their followers; and he took no fewer than twenty thousand Brabançons (a kind of soldiers of fortune) into his pay (70).

Wife conduct of king Henry.

It soon appeared that none of these precautions were unnecessary. For immediately after Easter the flames of war broke out at once in many different places. The king of France, with young Henry, at the head of a prodigious army, entered Normandy on one side, and invested Verneuil. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne entered it on the other, and laid siege to Aumale; while the rebellious barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Brittany, took the field, and

Open war in many places.

(68) W. Neubrigen l. 2. c. 27.

(69) Gervas Chron. p. 1424.

(70) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306, 307. P. Blefins Epist. 153. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

A.D. 1173,

desolated the royal demesnes in these provinces (71). Nor did England enjoy greater tranquillity. For the king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, besieged Carlisle, and destroyed the adjacent country with fire and sword; while the vassals of the rebellious earl of Leicester, and others, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom (72).

Remarkable events of this war on the continent.

In the midst of all these dangers Henry continued serene and cheerful, waiting at Rouen with his Brabançons, and a few of his faithful barons, for an opportunity to act with efficacy; trusting much to the strength of his fortified places, and to the fidelity and valour of his garrisons. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne appeared at first the most formidable of his enemies, having taken in a short time the towns of Aumale, Neuchatel, and Driencourt. But at the last of these places the earl of Boulogne received a wound in his knee, of which he died in a few days; and his brother the earl of Flanders was so much affected with grief at this disaster, and with remorse for the unnatural war in which he was engaged, that he retired out of Normandy with his own troops, and those of Boulogne (73). Delivered from those dangerous enemies on that side, Henry began to think of acting offensively against his other foes. With this view he marched from Rouen to attempt the relief of Verneuil, which had been bravely defended, but was now reduced to great distress for want of provisions. The king of France treated the first reports of his approach with scorn, as thinking them incredible. But when he found them real, he raised the siege, and retired into his own territories, August 9th, with such precipitation, that he left his camp a prey to his enemies. The French barons were so much discouraged with this ill success, that, the legal time of their service being ended, they disbanded (74). The defection of the barons of Brittany had been the most general, and they had done the greatest mischief; and therefore Henry, immediately after the dissolution of the French

(71) W. Neubrigen l. 2. c. 27.

(72) Benedict. Abbas, p. 54.

(73) R. Hoveden. *Annal.* p. 306. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 28.(74) *Id.* *ibid.*

army,

army, detached a great body of his brave and trusty Brabançons into that province, who defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, August 20th, and shut up all the chiefs of them in the castle of Doll, to which they had fled for refuge. As soon as Henry received this agreeable news, he set out from Rouen, and, travelling all night, arrived at Doll next morning, and pressed the siege with so much vigour, that the earl of Chester, the baron de Fougères, and about a hundred other nobles, were obliged to surrender at discretion, August 26th, and were sent to different prisons (75). The news of these events struck such terror into the rebellious barons in the other provinces, that they dismissed their followers and retired to their castles. Thus were all the numerous enemies of Henry on the continent dissipated in a few months, with little loss or labour.

Nor were his adversaries in Britain more successful. For Richard de Lucy, chief justiciary, took the town of Leicester, July 28th, which belonged to Robert de Bellomont, earl of Leicester, the king's most inveterate enemy, who was then with the young king in France. After this, marching northward, with Humphry de Bohun high constable of England, and other loyal barons, they compelled the king of Scotland, who had committed the most horrid ravages in the Northern counties, to retire into his own dominions; into which they followed him, and would probably have committed equal ravages, if they had not received intelligence that the earl of Leicester had landed near Walton castle in Suffolk, October 17th, with an army of Flemings. Carefully concealing this intelligence from the king of Scots, they concluded a truce with that prince to the feast of St. Hilary; and marched into the south with great expedition, encountered and defeated the earl of Leicester's army near St. Edmondsbury, November 1st, taking that earl, with his countess, and several noblemen, prisoners (76). Thus ended this active campaign, in a manner equally glorious and happy to the el-

A.D. 1173.
Events of
this war in
Britain.

(75) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 29.

(76) Benedict. Abbas, p. 69, 70. M. Paris, p. 89.

A.D. 1173. der Henry; who, in December, concluded a truce with the kings of France and Scotland, from the feast of St. Hilary to the end of the Easter holidays next year (77).

A.D. 1174. Though the operations of war were suspended for some months, by the truce and the season of the year, preparations for it were going forward. The confederates resolving to make the most vigorous efforts, especially against England, formed the following plan for the operations of the next campaign. While the king of Scotland invaded the northern countries, the young king Henry, with the earl of Flanders, whose ambition had conquered his remorse, were to land in the south, at the head of a powerful army of Flemings; and several English earls, who had been perverted from their duty, were to rise with their followers in different counties, to increase the public confusion. To detain the elder Henry on the continent, the king of France (accompanied by the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey) was to invade Normandy with all his forces (78).

Operations of the war. In consequence of this well-concerted plan, the king of Scotland, at the expiration of the truce, entered England with a great army, and spread terror and desolation over all the northern counties; while David earl of Huntingdon, brother to the king of Scots, Robert earl of Ferrers, Hugh Bigot earl of Norfolk, Roger de Mowbray, and the numerous vassals of the two powerful earls of Leicester and Chester, took the field at the head of their followers in their respective counties. If the young king, with the earl of Flanders, had landed at this time, England must have submitted to their authority. But by their delays the whole scheme was disconcerted. Richard de Lucy, with some loyal barons, made head against the rebels in the centre of the kingdom; while the well-affected nobility of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, commanded and animated by Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln, king Henry's natural son by the fair Rosamond, defeated Roger de Mowbray, and put a stop to

(77) Benedict. Abbas, p. 72. (78) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 31, 32.

the progress of the king of Scotland, obliging him to retire nearer to his own dominions (79). A.D. 1174.

When things were in this posture, king Henry, having put his territories on the continent in the best state of defence, embarked at Barfleur, July 8th, and landed that evening at Southampton, bringing with him the two queens, Eleanor and Margaret, with the captive earls of Chester and Leicester. Influenced by motives, about which we can only form uncertain guesses, he hastened to Canterbury, to perform his devotions at the shrine of Thomas Becket, who was now esteemed the guardian of the English nation, and was become the favourite object of their adoration. Having spent a whole day and night in prostration, fasting, and prayer, before the tomb of Becket, and exposed his naked shoulders to the flagellations of the monks, he received absolution, and set out for London; where he arrived, July 13th,—a day distinguished by one of the most memorable and happy events of his reign—the captivity of the king of Scotland (80). Arrival of Henry in England, and visit to the tomb of T. Becket.

That prince had invested Alnwick castle; and fancying himself secure from the approach of any enemy, had sent out the bulk of his forces in three different bodies, to plunder the adjacent countries, retaining only his household troops about his person, to restrain the excursions of the garrison. The famous Ranulph de Glanville, then sheriff of Yorkshire, afterwards chief justiciary of England, receiving intelligence of this state of things, collected a choice body of about four hundred knights, with which he arrived at Newcastle in the evening of July 12th. Here he halted a few hours to refresh his men and horses, and marching about day-break, approached very near the enemy's camp next morning, quite undiscovered, under the cover of a thick fog. When the fog cleared up, Alnwick castle was seen at a small distance, and the king of Scots, with about seventy knights, engaged in the fashionable exercise of tilting in a neighbouring field. The king was not in the least alarmed at the sight of these armed troops, believing them to belong to his own subject Duncan earl of Fife. Even King of Scotland taken prisoner.

(79) R. Hoveden, p. 307, 308. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 32. Benedict. Abbas, p. 73, 74. Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 378, 379.

(80) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 35.

A. D. 1174. when he discovered that they were enemies, he was so far from attempting to save himself by flight, that shaking his spear, and crying to his attendants, "it will now be seen who is a good knight," he boldly advanced to the attack. But his horse being killed in the first encounter, he was thrown to the ground and taken prisoner; at which his followers were so much confounded that they either fled or yielded.

Consequences of that event.

Henry being awakened from his sleep at midnight, by the messenger who brought the news of this event, leapt from his bed, and wept for joy, commanding all his friends to be called to him immediately, and all the bells of London to be rung to proclaim the happy tidings (81). Nor was this excessive joy without foundation. For the captivity of the king of Scots blasted all the schemes of the confederates, and put an end to the troubles of England almost in a moment. The Scotch army immediately retired, and the several corps of which it was composed quarrelling amongst themselves, gave their enemies ample revenge for the injuries they had done them. The rebellious barons laboured to anticipate one another in making their submissions, and giving up their castles; and young Henry, with the earl of Flanders, who were ready to sail with a great fleet and army, no sooner heard of these events, than they laid aside all thoughts of an invasion.

The king of France besieges Rouen.

The king of France having summoned all his nobility to attend him, with their followers, marched at their head and sat down before Rouen, the capital of Normandy, July 21st, where he was soon after joined by young Henry and the earl of Flanders, with all their forces which enabled him to push the siege with great vigour, and without intermission. But the city was defended with equal vigour, by the inhabitants, and several loyal barons, who had thrown themselves into it with their vassals, and repelled all the open assaults of the besiegers, and also defeated an attempt that they had made to take it by surprise, on St. Laurence's day, August 10th, when a truce had been proclaimed (82).

(81) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 23. 25. Benedict. Abbas, p. 77; 78. R. Hoveden, p. 308, 309.

(82) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 36.

Henry, hearing of the danger of his Norman capital, and having settled his affairs in England, embarked at Portsmouth, August 7th, with his Brabantons, and a thousand Welsh, whom he had taken into his pay; carrying with him the king of Scots, and the two potent earls of Chester and Leicester; but leaving the two queens behind him. He met with a favourable passage, and landed next day at Barfleur, having spent no more than one month on this most fortunate expedition, by which he saved his kingdom from the most imminent danger. Committed his royal and noble captives to prison at Falaise, he marched towards Rouen, which he entered by the bridge over the Seine, on Sunday, August 11th, and was received with every possible demonstration of joy. Next morning he commanded the gate towards the enemy's camp, which had been walled up, to be opened, and the ditch to be filled; and sent his Welsh troops into the neighbouring woods, who were so fortunate as to take a large convoy of provisions. The besiegers now despairing to take the city, became anxious about their retreat, in order to which the king of France sent ambassadors to propose a conference to be held at Malauny, and a truce for two days; to both which Henry consented. Under the protection of this truce, Louis marched his army through the Green Forest; but instead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, he pursued his march with great precipitation into his own territories (83).

A. D. 1174.
Henry returns to Normandy, and raises the siege of Rouen.

Through the king of France had escaped from a dangerous situation by this dishonourable stratagem, he was now convinced that all his efforts to ruin Henry would be in vain, and might end greatly to his own disgrace. He therefore seriously proposed a conference to be held at a place between Tours and Amboise; where an end was put to this unnatural war, September 29th, by a peace, of which Henry prescribed the terms. By this peace the formidable confederacy against him was dissolved, and all who had been engaged in it released from their oaths. His three rebellious sons threw themselves at his feet, implored his pardon, and acknowledged his authority as a father

Henry concludes an honourable peace.

(83) R. de Diceto, col. 579. J. Brompt. col. 1098.

A.D. 1174.

and a king; and he assigned them appointments for their support, more suitable to his own generosity than to their merits. All prisoners were set at liberty on both sides, and restored to their estates, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leicester and Chester, with whom a separate peace was to be made. A total oblivion of all injuries on both parts was declared, and young Henry agreed to confirm all the grants that had been made by his father during the war (84).

Great lenity of king Henry.

Thus did this great prince, by his wisdom, valour, activity, and good fortune, baffle all the attempts of a powerful combination, which seemed to threaten him with inevitable ruin. Nor was his lenity on this occasion less conspicuous than his other virtues. He set at liberty, without any ransom, no fewer than nine hundred and sixty-nine noblemen and gentlemen, and even those few who were excepted out of this pacification were not treated with severity. The kingdom of Scotland, after the captivity of its king, became a scene of the most deplorable anarchy and confusion, which made that prince and his nobility willing to submit almost to any terms to procure his liberty; and Henry very prudently embraced this opportunity of reducing both to a feudal subjection to the crown of England. On this single condition a peace was concluded at Falaise, December 8th, and the king of Scots engaged that he and his successors, kings of Scotland, together with all their prelates and barons, should do homage and swear fealty to Henry and his successors, kings of England; for the due performance of which, in the first instance, certain hostages were given, and the king was set at liberty (85).

A.D. 1175.
Henry's kind treatment of his sons.

Henry, who was a very fond indulgent parent, was so much delighted with the recovery of his sons out of the hands of his enemies, that he treated them, not only with the greatest kindness, but with the greatest confidence; giving to the young king a commission in Normandy; to prince Richard in Poitou; and to prince Geoffrey in Brittany, to command the forces of these provinces, for executing the late

(84) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 87—92. *W. Neubrigen*, l. 2. c. 38. *R. Hoveden*, p. 309, 310. *Rymer Fœdera*, p. 37, 38.

(85) *Rymer Fœdera*, l. 1. p. 39, 40.

treaty, by dismantling certain castles belonging to their own adherents (86). A.D. 1175.

When the time approached for their returning into England, young Henry began to betray some fears (which are said to have been suggested by messages from the king of France) that his father might treat him with greater severity, and even put him in prison in that kingdom. But these fears being at length dispelled, he threw himself once more at his father's feet, in the Castle of Bure, near Caen, April 1st, professing his sorrow for his former undutifulness, with many tears, and earnestly intreating him to allow him to do homage, and swear fealty, like his other subjects, as a token of his forgiveness. This was accordingly done; and Henry was so fully convinced of his son's sincerity and steadiness, that he sent him to the court of France (where he had been formerly seduced) to take his leave of his father-in-law; from whence he returned to his father at Cherburg; where they celebrated the festival of Easter; after which they embarked together at Barfleur, and landed, May 9th, at Portsmouth (87). For some time after their landing, the two kings constantly eat together at the same table, and even slept together in the same bed (88), to convince the world of the cordiality of their reconciliation. In order to make the terms of the late pacification more firm and better known, they were read and ratified in a great council or parliament held at Westminster, May 20th, in which young Henry renewed his homage, and repeated his oath of fealty to his father (89). After this king Henry the father (accompanied by the young king) made a progress into those parts of the kingdom, where the defection of the nobility had been most general, to see their castles demolished, and to punish them by heavy fines for their transgressions of the forest-laws; in which he seems to have had two ends in view,—the replenishing his own treasury, which was much exhausted,—and impoverishing his disloyal subjects (90).

Seemingly perfect reconciliation between Henry and his eldest son, and their return into England.

(86) Benedict. Abbas, p. 95—97.

(87) Diceto, col. 585, 586. Benedict. Abbas, p. 96, 97.

(88) M. Paris, p. 91.

(89) Diceto, col. 588.

(90) Benedict. Abbas, p. 112.

A. D. 1175.

King and nobility of Scotland do homage to Henry and his son.

In this progress the two kings were met at York, August 10th, by William king of Scotland, with all the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders of his kingdom, who according to the convention at Falaise, did homage to both kings, and swore fealty, first to king Henry the father, and then to king Henry the son, saving their fealty to the father; on which their hostages were set at liberty (91). Thus was this important transaction of the feudal subjection of the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the crown and kingdom of England completed.

King of Connaught submits to Henry.

At the return of the two kings from their northern progress, they held a great council at Windsor, about Michaelmas, where a treaty was concluded with the ambassadors of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, by which that prince agreed to hold his kingdom of the king of England, and to pay by way of tribute the tenth hide of all the cattle killed in his dominions (92).

A. D. 1176.

Henry sends his three sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, into Poitou.

Since their return from Normandy, Henry had kept his son almost continually in his company, with a view to gain his affections by the kindest and most respectful treatment, as well as to instruct him in the arts of government. But this soon became irksome to the young king, who ardently desired to be at a distance from so grave a monitor, that he might enjoy greater liberty. With this view he frequently solicited his father to give him leave to pay a devotional visit to St. James of Compostella. The king for some time resisted these solicitations; but at length was obliged to yield to the teasing importunity of his son, who was waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind, when his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, landed at Southampton, on Good Friday. This brought Henry back to court to visit his brothers; and his father prevailed upon him to accompany his brother Richard into Poitou, to assist him in reducing the refractory barons of that province: and on that expedition he sailed from Portsmouth, April 19th (93). But as soon as he reached

(91) Benedict. Abbas, p. 113—120. R. Hoveden, p. 312. M. Paris, p. 91.

(92) Rymer Fœdera, p. 41, 42. Benedict. Abbas, p. 112—126.

(93) Benedict. Abbas, p. 140, 141.

the continent, he paid little regard to his father's injunctions, or his own engagements, spending his time in the company of those who had been his greatest confidants in his former revolt. Henry, informed of his son's suspicious conduct, endeavoured to guard against its consequences, by demolishing some of the castles of those barons who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and taking others of them into his possession (94). A. D. 1176.

Though Henry was under a necessity of diminishing the power of some of his barons who were of doubtful loyalty, he took much greater pleasure in pardoning, when he imagined it would be productive of a good effect. Of this he gave the clearest proof, in pardoning the two potent earls of Leicester and Chester, who had been excepted out of the late pacification, and restoring to them their great estates, in a parliament held at Northampton in January this year (95). A. D. 1177.
Henry pardons the earls of Chester and Leicester.

In another great council held at Marlborough, about Candlemas, orders were given to all the sheriffs to make a strict inquiry into the number of knights fees in their respective counties; and a proclamation was issued to all who held of the king by knights service, to attend him at London, May 1st, with their horses and arms, in order to an expedition into Normandy (96). But the report of these preparations seems to have rendered the use of them unnecessary. Great council at Marlborough.

Henry was no less famous over all Europe for his wisdom and justice as a judge, than for his power and greatness as a king; which engaged Sanchez king of Navarre, and Alphonso king of Castile, to make a reference to him of all their differences, which had been the occasion of long wars and much bloodshed. In consequence of this, both these princes sent the most learned and eloquent advocates to plead their cause, which was solemnly heard in a great council held at London, March 13th, and determined in a manner Disputes between the kings of Castile and Navarre, determined by Henry in a parliament at London.

(94) R. Hoveden, p. 317.

(95) R. Hoveden, p. 320. Benedict. Abbas, p. 166.

(96) Id. Benedict. Abbas, 170, 171.

A.D. 1177. perfectly agreeable to both parties (97) : a transaction more honourable to Henry than many victories.

Transacti- Much important business was transacted in another
ons of a par- great council held at Oxford, in May, at which the
liament at princes and chief lords of Wales attended, and did
Oxford. homage to Henry for their territories and estates. In
this council he declared his youngest son prince John
lord of Ireland, to be held by him and his heirs, as a
fief under the crown of England; and distributed
the conquered countries in that island, to such of his
barons as he thought most deserving, and most able to
defend and enlarge these conquests (98). About this
time queen Margaret (consort of young Henry), who
had secretly withdrawn from England, was deli-
vered of a son at Paris, who died soon after his
birth (99).

Henry's A new subject of dispute, which continued long,
voyage to and was attended with the most important conse-
Normandy. quences, now broke out between the king of France
Interview and the king of England. By one of the articles of
with the the peace concluded between these two monarchs at
king of Montmirael, January 6th, A. D. 1169, it was
France, &c. agreed, that prince Richard, Henry's second son,
should marry the princess Adelais, Louisa's youngest
daughter; and that princess was soon after delivered
to Henry, to be educated in the court of England
(100). As both the parties were now become mar-
riageable, Louis insisted that their marriage should be
consummated without delay; to which Henry (who
is said to have contracted a criminal affection for the
princess) discovered a reluctance, which could never
be overcome. Louis, finding all his own applications
ineffectual, prevailed upon the Pope to interpose his
authority, who threatened to lay all Henry's domini-
ons under an interdict, if he did not immediately
allow the marriage to be completed. To ward off
this blow, he embarked at Portsmouth, August 17th,
and had an interview with the king of France, at

(97) Benedict. Abbas, l. 1. p. 172—195. Hoveden, Annal. p. 321—323. Rymier Fœdera, l. 1. p. 43, 44.

(98) Benedict. Abbas, p. 206—209.

(99) Hoveden, p. 324.

(100) Epist. J. Sarisburin. apud Epist. S. T. Cantuarien. l. 2. p. 66. Epist. 268.

which a legate from the pope was present, September A.D. 1177. 21st; in which he managed matters with so much art, as to prevent the interdict, and elude the immediate completion of his son's marriage, by consenting to take upon him the cross, and engaging to go (in company with Louis, who took upon him the cross at the same time) on an expedition into the Holy Land (101).

Though Henry had taken the cross, it is not very certain that he ever seriously intended to conduct an army into the Holy Land, as he always had recourse to excuses when he was urged to perform that engagement. Having spent the first six months of this year in regulating the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his continental dominions, he landed, July 15th, in England, and there employed his time on the same beneficent purposes. On August 6th, he knighted his third son Geoffrey, with great solemnity, at Woodstock; who soon after went abroad to display his valour and dexterity in tournaments, emulous of the same which his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, had acquired in those fashionable exercises (102).

The frequent absences of Henry from his kingdom, were attended with many ill effects, and, in particular, encouraged some of his sheriffs, foresters, and other officers, to venture upon acts of tyranny and oppression, which they durst not have attempted under the eye of their sovereign. Being now at leisure, he called many of these delinquents to a severe account, and made several new arrangements for the better administration of justice, which will be more properly delineated in the third chapter of this book (103).

Henry's attention was again called to the continent by some important changes that had lately happened in the royal family of France. Louis VII. having been seized with a palsy, his only son Philip, a youth of about fifteen years of age, was crowned, with his consent, and took upon him the administration of affairs; in which he was wholly directed by Philip earl

A.D. 1178.
Henry returns to England. Knights his son Geoffrey &c.

A.D. 1179.
Henry punishes several sheriffs.

A.D. 1180.
Henry returns to Normandy. Composes the disputes in the royal family of France.

(101) Hoveden, Annal. p. 326. Benedict. Abbas, l. 1. p. 230—242.

(102) Id. ibid. p. 266.

(103) Diceto, col. 605. Petri. Blesens. Epist. 95.

A.D. 1180, of Flanders. At the instigation of this prince, the young king treated his own mother queen Adelais, and her three brothers, the earls of Blois and Sancerre, and the archbishop of Rheims, with so much severity, that they retired into Normandy, and implored the protection of the king of England. (104). On this occasion Henry acted a very noble part. Instead of fomenting the discord in the royal family of France, as Louis had done in his, he laboured to restore its peace. In order to this, he made a voyage into Normandy, and had an interview with king Philip at Gisors, in which he reconciled that prince to his mother and uncles, on reasonable terms, in spite of all the opposition made to it by the earl of Flanders. In this interview also he renewed the peace with Philip that he had made with Louis about three years before, and concluded with that prince an alliance for their mutual defence (105).

A.D. 1181.
Henry returns to England.

When Henry had settled all his affairs in Normandy, and was ready to embark for England, he received an embassy from the young king of France, earnestly intreating his assistance to compose the differences which had again broke out in his court and family. In consequence of this intreaty he returned to Gisors, and once more allayed the storm that raged with great violence in the court of France, between the parties of the queen-mother and the earl of Flanders; after which he embarked at Cherburg, and landed at Portsmouth, July 26th (106).

Henry's
affize of
arms.

As all Henry's extensive dominions now enjoyed a profound peace, he thought it the best time to provide for their future security and defence. With this view he published his famous affize of arms, as it is called, a regulation so wise and useful, that it was immediately adopted by several other nations. By this law every earl, baron, and knight, was to have constantly in his possession as many complete suits of armour (each suit consisting of a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance) as he had knights fees. Every freeman who had rents or goods to the value of sixteen

(104) Hoveden, p. 339. Benedict. Abbas, p. 325, 326.

(105) Rymer Fœdera, l. I. p. 53, 54. Id. ibid. p. 325—329.

(106) Id. ibid. p. 263, 264.

marks, was to have one suit of the same armour; every freeman who had only ten marks, was to have a habergeon, a cap of iron, and a lance; and every free burgess was to have a wambois, a cap of iron, and a lance. These arms were neither to be lent, sold, pawned, nor given for payment of debt, but kept in constant readiness for use (107). A.D. 1181.

Henry was again called to the continent by the disputes in the court of France, which had now broken out into a civil war. But he was for some time prevented from making that voyage by contrary winds, and did not land in Normandy till about Midlent. Having procured an interview after Easter with the king of France, and the heads of the two contending parties, he once more restored tranquillity to that distracted court and kingdom (108). A.D. 1182.


While he was engaged in this beneficent transaction, so worthy of a great and good king, he received the melancholy news of the expulsion of his son-in-law, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, from all his territories, by the united forces of the empire. About the end of July, that unhappy prince, his afflicted consort, his infant family, and a few faithful friends, who had not abandoned them in their distress, arrived in Normandy; and were received by Henry with the most soothing tenderness. On the duke and his family he settled a maintenance suitable to their rank and his affection; and on their faithful attendants he bestowed valuable presents, and procured them permission to return to their native country (109). Henry's kindness to the duke of Saxony his son-in-law.

Nor was this his only domestic uneasiness at this time. For his eldest son Henry, who spent much of his time, for several years, in frequent tilts and tournaments, attended by an expensive retinue of knights, importunately demanded the cession of Normandy to enable him to reward his followers; and meeting with a refusal, retired into France in violent discontent. But by frequent messages, and generous offers of an establishment of one hundred pounds of Anjouvine money a day for himself, ten pounds of the same money for his consort, and suitable rewards for one hun- Henry prevents a rupture with his eldest son.

(107) Benedict. Abbas, p. 365—368. Hoveden, p. 351.

(108) Benedict. Abbas, p. 373, 374.

(109) Id. p. 377.

A.D. 1182.  dred knights, he prevailed upon him to return, and profess his satisfaction with this appointment (110).

A.D. 1183. Rupture in the royal family of England. Henry was earnestly desirous of increasing and perpetuating the harmony which now subsisted in his family, and amongst his sons, by adding the feudal ties, which were then esteemed inviolable, to those of blood. At Angers, in the beginning of this year, he held an assembly of his nobles; in which he proposed, that his sons, Richard and Geoffrey, should do homage to their eldest brother Henry, for their respective territories of Aquitaine and Brittany, that they might be engaged to support one another by the mutual obligations established by that ceremony. Geoffrey complied with his father's will, and did homage to his brother of Brittany; but Richard rejected the proposal with so much haughtiness, that it occasioned an immediate and most violent animosity between him and his eldest brother. These fiery spirits immediately flew to arms, and the war was carried on between them with so much rancour, that no quarter was given on either side. Their afflicted father for some time did not interpose. But at last, observing that his second son Richard was in danger of being overpowered by the united forces of his two brothers, and of some powerful barons of Aquitaine, who had revolted, he raised an army, and marched to his relief. This brought on a treaty between the contending parties near Limoges, which was managed with great duplicity on the part of the two associated brothers; and the elder Henry, suspecting no harm when engaged in a negotiation with his own children, was twice in danger of being killed (111).

Death of young king Henry.

During this negotiation, the mind of young Henry was agitated—by the most violent rage against his brother Richard—by the strongest resentment against his father for interposing in his behalf—and by the most tormenting uncertainty, whether to venture a battle or submit to peace. At length he was persuaded by his brother Geoffrey, and the revolted barons of Aquitaine, to hazard a battle. But the horror attending this unnatural resolution, added to his other passions, threw him into a fever. When his physici-

(110) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 378, 380.

(111) *Id.* p. 385, &c.

ans acquainted him, that they had no hopes of recovery, his soul was seized with bitter remorse and anguish for his repeated rebellions against his indulgent parent, to whom he sent a message, expressing his repentance, and earnestly intreating a visit. Henry, prevented from complying with this request by the representations of his friends, took a ring from his finger, and sent it to his son as a mark of his forgiveness. The dying prince received it with much emotion, and pressing it to his lips, soon after expired (June 11th) on a heap of ashes, where he had commanded himself to be laid, with a halter about his neck, and in fearful agonies of mind (112). When Henry was assured of his son's death, all his fortitude of mind and strength of body failed him. He fainted away thrice; after which a flood of tears coming to his relief, he broke out into loud lamentations, extolling the beauty, bravery, and other good qualities of the departed prince, and forgetting all his faults (113). On the death of young Henry, his army disbanded, his confederates hastened to make their submissions, and the public tranquillity was restored.

Henry, after the death of his eldest son, became desirous of making some new arrangements in the disposal of his territories amongst his surviving sons, which unhappily gave rise to new disputes in his family. As Richard was now become heir-apparent to the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy, his father proposed that he should resign Aquitaine in favour of his youngest brother John. Richard required a few days to consider of this proposal; at the end of which he returned a refusal in the strongest terms, declaring, that no man should ever possess Aquitaine while he lived (114). Henry, much offended at this refusal, placed his favourite son John, now seventeen years of age, at the head of an army, in hopes of terrifying Richard into a compliance, and in the mean time went himself into England, where he landed June 13th (115). The Welsh had committed some ravages on the English borders during the king's

A. D. 1183.

A. D. 1184.

Fresh disputes between Henry and his sons. He returns to England. Expedition into Wales, &c.

(112) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 392, 393. *W. Neubrigen*. l. 3. c. 7. *R. Hoveden. Annal.* p. 354.

(113) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 394.

(114) *Id.* p. 404.

(115) *Id.* p. 406.

A.D. 1184. absence; but as soon as he approached their territories with an army, their prince, Rees ap Griffin, waited upon him, and made the most humble submissions. While he was engaged in this expedition, he received the unwelcome news, that an actual war had broken out between his sons abroad: on which he sent messengers, commanding them to dismiss their forces, and come to him immediately; which none of them dared to disobey. At their arrival, Henry held a great council of his prelates and nobility at London, November 30th, in which his three sons were publicly reconciled. After which Geoffrey was sent back to the continent, and the other two remained in England (1116).

A.D. 1185. Queen Eleanor, who had been several years in a state of confinement, was set at liberty on the arrival of the duke and duchess of Saxony, with their family, in England, in the summer of the preceding year, and now lived on decent terms with her royal consort, when the king's ambassador's brought the emperor's permission to the duke of Saxony to return into Germany, with hopes of being restored to some part of his dominions; which diffused the greatest joy over the English court. When Henry was in good humour on account of this agreeable news, he yielded to the solicitations of his son Richard, and permitted him to return into Aquitaine, and then set out on a progress to the north of England (1117).

The patriarch of Jerusalem arrives in England, and endeavours to excite Henry to an expedition into the Holy Land.

When Henry had reached Nottingham, in his way to York, he was overtaken by a messenger, with the news, that Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was arrived in England. On which he returned, and received him at Reading. The patriarch, falling at the king's feet, accosted him in this pathetic strain: "The Lord Jesus Christ, O king! calls thee, and the people of God intreat thee, to come to the defence of the Holy Land; and in their name I present thee with the royal standard; with the keys of the city of Jerusalem, and of the sepulchre of our Lord. Come, O great prince! and rescue us out of the hands of our enemies; for in thee, under God, we place all our hope and confidence." The

(116) Benediſt. Abbas, p. 415.

(117) Id. p. 432.

king raised the patriarch from the ground, and promised to consult with his prelates and nobles on the subject of the petition (118). A great council was accordingly held at London, on the first Sunday of Lent; in which, after long deliberation, it was agreed, that it was more proper for Henry to stay at home, and govern his own dominions, than to go on so distant an expedition; and that he should consult with the king of France before he gave a final answer to the patriarch; but that such prelates, nobles, and others, as pleased, might take the cross (119): a liberty which too many embraced.

Another council was held at Windsor, April 1st, in which Henry made a grant of the county of Huntington to William king of Scotland, who was present; and having solemnly knighted his own youngest son prince John, he sent him into Ireland, with a considerable army (120).

The king of England's presence was now become very necessary on the continent, to extinguish a fresh war that had broken out between his two restless and ambitious sons, Richard and Geoffrey; and therefore, embarking at Dover, April 16th, he landed at Whitland, and from thence went by land into Normandy, where he immediately raised an army. But, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with his own children, he sent a message to prince Richard, commanding him to lay down his arms, and resign the duchy of Aquitaine to his mother queen Eleanor, to whom it belonged; threatening, that if he did not obey, that princess should appear at the head of an army, and take possession of it by force. Richard, by the advice of his wisest friends, complied with this command; and coming to his father, was again received into favour (121).

After this, Henry had a consultation with the king of France, on the affairs of the Holy Land, at which Heraclius was present. But neither of these princes could be prevailed upon to undertake a crusade in

(118) Benedict. Abbas, p. 434. R. Hoveden, p. 359.

(119) Diceto, col. 626. Benedict. Abbas, p. 435.

(120) Id. ibid. Hoveden, p. 359. Expugnat. Hibern. l. 2. c.

31.

(121) Benedict. Abbas, p. 436,

person,

A.D. 1185.

Henry grants Huntington to the king of Scotland, and sends his son prince John into Ireland.

Henry goes into Normandy, and reduces his son Richard to obedience.

Henry hath a conference with the king of France about the Holy Land.

A. D. 1185. person, though they both promised very considerable aids in men and money, with which the patriarch was far from being contented (122).

All success
of prince
John's ex-
pedition
into Ire-
land.

Prince John's expedition into Ireland this year was unsuccessful, owing to the imprudent and insolent behaviour of the prince himself, and of the young nobility in his retinue, to the Irish chieftains, by which the well-affected were disgusted, and the disaffected were confirmed in their opposition (123). Having therefore squandered away a great sum of money, and lost the best part of his army, he returned into England, December 17th, leaving the chief direction of affairs in Ireland to the brave John de Curcy.

A. D. 1186.
Henry,
after hold-
ing a con-
ference
with the
king of
France, re-
turns into
England.

A few days before the beginning of Lent this year, Henry had an interview with Philip king of France at Gisors; in which some disputes that had arisen about the dowry of queen Margaret, widow of young king Henry, were amicably adjusted; and Henry also solemnly engaged no longer to delay the marriage of his son Richard with the princess Adelais (124). But he found means to elude the fulfilling of this engagement, by sending his son to prosecute a war, the causes of which are not mentioned, against the earl of Thoulouse, while he himself came over into England, where he landed April 27th.

Death of
prince
Geoffrey.

Henry's second surviving son Geoffrey, not contented with the duchy of Brittany, petitioned his father for the earldom of Anjou; which was refused. Irritated at this repulse, and being naturally of a restless intriguing disposition, he retired to the court of France, and engaged in very criminal machinations against his royal father, and the peace of his dominions. But, while he was thus employed, he was seized with a fever, occasioned by the bruises he had received in a tournament, and died at Paris, August 19th (125). Though an excessive fondness for his children was one of Henry's greatest failings, he was not much affected with the news of his death, as he was no stranger to his restless deceitful character, and the pernicious schemes in which he was engaged.

(122) Benedict. Abbas, p. 437.

(123) Expugnat. Hibern. l. 2. c. 35.

(124) Benedict. Abbas, p. 444.

(125) Diceto, col. 630.

Geoffrey left only one daughter, an infant, who was the innocent occasion of a breach between the kings of France and England. For Philip sent ambassadors to Henry, claiming the guardianship of the heirs of Brittany, and the government of her dominions during her infancy; and threatening to declare war against him, if these things were not granted. Though this claim was ill founded, Henry, being averse to an immediate rupture, sent ambassadors to the court of France, who procured a truce to the beginning of the next year, which was afterwards prolonged to Easter (126).

A.D. 1186.
Dispute between Henry and the king of France, about the guardianship of the heirs of Brittany.

Henry, desirous of avoiding a war with the king of France, embarked for Normandy, February 20th, and held two conferences with that prince, in the months of March and April; but without effect: Philip being much irritated, and with good reason, that the marriage of his sister with prince Richard had not been completed; and that Henry kept that princess in a kind of captivity in England (127). War being now unavoidable, both kings took the field at the head of very great armies; and, after various operations of less importance, they were on the point of engaging in a general action, June 21st, when the pope's legates, who were in the king of England's army, interposed their good offices, and brought about a truce for two years (128).

A.D. 1187.
War between Henry and Philip concluded by a truce.

After the conclusion of this truce, prince Richard visited the king of France, in his camp, and from thence accompanied him to Paris, and contracted so intimate a friendship with him, that it surpris'd the whole world, and greatly alarmed his father, who sent frequent messages, intreating him to return, and promising to deny him nothing that he could reasonably desire. The prince, after various delays, at length promised to comply; but when he was on his way, he seized a considerable treasure of his father's at Chinon, with which he went into Poitou, and began to fortify his towns and castles. Though Henry could not but be much offended at this undutiful behaviour, he still

Undutiful behaviour of prince Richard.

(126) Hoveden, p. 361. Benedict. Abbas, p. 455.

(127) Gervas Chron. col 1486.

(128) Id. col. 1500. Benedict. Abbas, p. 467, 468.

A. D. 1187. pursued the method of negotiation; and at last prevailed upon Richard to come to him at Angers; where he repeated his oaths of fealty and allegiance before a great assembly (129).

Birth of
Arthur,
duke of
Britanny.

In the mean time Constantia duchess-dowager of Britanny was delivered of a posthumous son, March 29th; who, at the request of the nobles of that duchy, was named Arthur; and his mother was appointed guardian of his person and dominions, under the protection and superintendency of his grandfather Henry (130).

Prince
Richard
takes the
cross.

Towards the end of this year the melancholy news arrived from the Holy Land, that the Christian army had been entirely defeated, and the city of Jerusalem taken, by the famous Saladin sultan of Egypt; which filled all Europe with consternation, and excited many princes, and, amongst others, Richard Plantagenet prince of England, to take the cross (131).

A. D. 1188.
The kings
of Eng-
land and
France, &c.
take the
cross.

Though Henry had often promised to conclude the marriage of his son Richard with the princess Adalais, he still delayed, on various pretences, the consummation of that marriage. At this her brother Philip king of France was greatly irritated, and raised an army with a design to compel him to fulfil his promise, or to deliver up the lady, together with Gisors and its territories. To avert this storm, he had an interview with Philip, near Gisors, January 21st; at which William archbishop of Tyre, ambassador from the Christians in the Holy Land, was present, and represented their deplorable situation in such affecting strains, that the two kings, forgetting the original intention of their meeting, took the cross from the hands of the archbishop; in which they were imitated by the earl of Flanders, the earl of Champagne, and many other nobles (132).

Henry re-
turns to
England,
and makes
prepara-
tion for a
croisade.

Henry hastened into England, where he landed January 31st, to make preparations for his expedition

(129) Benedict. Abbas, p. 471.

(130) W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 7.

(131) R. Hoveden, p. 362—365. Benedict. Abbas, p. 471—493. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 17, 18.

(132) Itinerarium Gaufr. Vinifauf. l. 1. c. 17. Benedict. Abbas, p. 495, 496. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 23.

into the East, and held a great council of his prelates and barons at Gritington in Northamptonshire, February 11th; in which a tenth of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all moveable goods, except the books of the clergy and arms of the laity, were granted to defray the expences of the intended croifade. But all who took the crofs were exempted from the payment of thefe taxes. Even with this exemption, one hundred and thirty thoufand pounds were raifed; a fum equal in efficacy to two millions of our prefent money (133). Baldwin archbifhop of Canterbury preached, before this afsembly, a very pathetic fermon, on the myftery of the holy crofs, and perfuaded prodigious numbers of prelates, nobles, knights, and others, to inlift in this holy war. With the fame intention, and no lefs fuccefs, he afterwards made a progrefs through Wales (134).

While great preparations were making in England, for the projected expedition into the East, a war broke out on the continent, between the earl of Tholoufe and prince Richard duke of Aquitaine, which was attended with the moft fatal confequences, though it proceeded only from a trifling difpute about fome merchants. The earl of Tholoufe, feeing many of his towns taken, and his capital threatened with a fiege, implored the protection of his fovereign the king of France; who warmly efpoufed his caufe, and marched, at the head of a great army, into the king of England's territories in Berry, where he took feveral towns. Henry, aftonifhed at the news of this unexpected invafion, fent ambaffadors to expoftulate with that prince, and, if poffible, to prevent a war. But thefe ambaffadors were ill received, and returned without any fatisfactory anfwer; which obliged Henry to haften to the continent, where he landed July 11th, and immediately retaliated the hoftilities of the king of France (135).

This war was very difagreeable to the earl of Flanders, and to feveral other princes, who were impatient

(133) Hoveden, p. 366. Benediú. Abbas, p. 496, 497. Gervas Chron. col. 1529.

(134) Vide Itinerarium Cambrié, apud Camden, Anglica Normannica, &c. p. 820, &c.

(135) Benediú. Abbas, p. 503—516.

A. D. 1188. to proceed on their expedition into the Holy Land ; and, at their request, the two kings held one conference in October, and another in November. In the last of these conferences, a scene opened that involved the king of England in great perplexity and distress, from which he never recovered. At this conference, the king of France (who had made a private agreement with prince Richard) proposed to put an end to the war, and restore all his conquests in Berry, on these two conditions,—that the marriage of his sister Adalais and Richard should be immediately consummated—and that all Henry's subjects in England and on the continent, should do homage to Richard as the heir of all his dominions. The prince declared his entire satisfaction with these proposals, earnestly pressing their acceptance ; and when they were rejected by Henry, Richard, in the presence of the whole assembly, went over to Philip, and did homage to him for Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Berry, and Aquitaine (136). After this transaction the conference broke up in great confusion.

A. D. 1189.
Death of
Henry II.

As soon as the season of the year permitted, king Philip, accompanied by prince Richard, and many barons of Normandy and Aquitaine, who had revolted with that prince, invaded Henry's territories with fire and sword (137). About Easter hostilities were suspended, and a conference appointed by the influence of the pope's legate, who had been sent into France to attempt the reconciliation of the two kings. In this conference, which was held, at la Ferté Bernard, June 5th, Philip made the same proposals as formerly ; but prince Richard added another, That his brother John should accompany him to the Holy Land, that he might not have an opportunity of supplanting him in his absence. All these conditions being equally disagreeable to Henry, they were rejected by him, and the war was renewed with great fury : but that prosperity and good fortune which had long attended this great prince, now forsook him, and he was obliged to fly before his enemies (138). In this reverse of fortune, when he was pursued from place to place by

(136) Benedict. Abbas, p. 521.

(137) Id. p. 534.

(138) W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 25. Hoveden, p. 372.

his eldest son Richard, he was basely abandoned by his youngest and favourite son John, who deserted to his enemies. This last event, added to all his other causes of chagrin, gave a mortal wound to his affectionate heart, and threw him into a fever, of which he died, at Chinon, on Thursday July 6th, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his age (139). A. D. 1171.

Thus died Henry II. who was certainly the greatest and most accomplished prince that had filled the throne of England since the Norman conquest, and inferior to very few of our princes in any period. In his person (which is very minutely described by several contemporary writers) he was of middle stature, remarkably strong and active, but inclining to corpulency, which he guarded against by abstemiousness and continual exercise. His countenance was comely, and his eyes had a mild lustre, except when he was angry; and then they were uncommonly fierce and sparkling. In the very last years of his life he mounted a horse with greater agility, and rode with greater spirit, than any of his courtiers, either in hunting or on a journey. In his deportment he was exceedingly polite and affable, except to persons of a baughty spirit and carriage, whom he delighted to humble. His conversation was pleasant and facetious; his elocution easy, eloquent, and graceful. His heart was warm, and his passions strong, which rendered him an ardent lover, but not a faithful husband,—a zealous friend, but formidable enemy,—a kind master, and too indulgent parent. His understanding, which was naturally good, was improved by an excellent education, under his uncle the earl of Gloucester, by assiduous reading of the best books, particularly history, and by frequent conversation with the wisest men; by which means he became the most learned prince and the greatest politician of the age in which he flourished. His memory was so tenacious, that he remembered almost all he read or heard, and never forgot a face he had once seen. He avoided war from principles of prudence and humanity; but when it became necessary, he car-

His character.

A.D. 1189. } ried it on with so much courage, conduct, and activity, that he constantly baffled all the schemes of all his enemies. In the arts of peace he greatly delighted and excelled; being a strict and vigorous, but not unmerciful justiciary, a munificent patron of learning and learned men, and a great encourager of the arts, expending immense sums in fortifying towns and castles, repairing old and building new palaces, and adorning them with gardens, parks, and fish-ponds. In a word, one of his greatest enemies acknowledges, "That he was endowed with so many excellent qualities, both natural and acquired, that there was no prince in the world comparable to him (140)."

History of
Wales.

THE internal History of Wales, in this period, consists of a prodigious number of battles, skirmishes, mutual invasions, depredations, and murders, between the petty princes of its several principalities; a minute relation of which would swell this work, without affording either entertainment or instruction to its readers. (141.)

History of
Scotland.

Malcolm IV. surnamed *the Maiden*, mounted the throne of Scotland about a year before the accession of Henry II. to that of England; and being a prince of a feeble constitution and pacific temper, was ill qualified for contending with that powerful and enterprising neighbour. Accordingly he relinquished the northern counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, without a struggle, to Henry; and in an interview with that prince at Chester, A. D. 1157, he did homage to him for the county of Huntington, with a saving of his royal dignity (142). Malcolm accompanied Henry in his expedition against Tholouse A. D. 1159, and was knighted by him in the city of Tours. But this complaisance of his to the English monarch was very disagreeable to many of the Scotch nobility, who gave him a very indifferent re-

(140) Epist. S. Thom. l. 1. ep. 103. Epist. Petri Blefens. ep. 66. Hibern. Expugnat. Girald Cambren. l. 1. c. 45. J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium, l. 6. c. 18.

(141) See Powel's Hist. Wales, p. 205—240.

(142) Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157.

ception on his return to Scotland; and the few remaining years of his reign were disturbed by frequent insurrections (143). Malcolm died of a lingering disease, at Jedburgh, December 9th, A. D. 1165; and was succeeded by his brother William, surnamed *the Lion*, whose wars with England, captivity, and submission to pay homage, and hold his kingdom of Henry, have been already mentioned. After William recovered his liberty, A. D. 1174, he reduced the people of Galloway, who had revolted in the time of his captivity, and obliged Gilbert, the lord of that country, to do homage to the king of England, and to himself (144). Though the yoke to which this king of Scotland had submitted to regain his freedom, was, no doubt, very galling both to himself and to his subjects, he made no attempt to throw it off; but lived in constant peace and amity with the king of England; and was married to Ermingard, a near relation of that monarch, at Woodstoke, September 5th, A. D. 1186 (145). As William survived Henry II. more than twenty-five years, the most important and fortunate events of his reign will be related in the next section of this chapter.

S E C T I O N IV.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the accession of Richard I. A. D. 1189, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

RICHARD, the eldest surviving son of Henry II. having paid the last honours to the remains of his illustrious father, with marks of contrition for his

Accession
and coronation
of
Richard I.

(143) Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157. Buchan. Hist. p. 124.

(144) Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1176.

(145) Id. *ibid.*

former

A.D. 1189. former undutiful behaviour, and having also settled the affairs of his foreign dominions, landed at Portsmouth, August 13th, and was crowned at Westminster, September 3d (1).

Slaughter of the Jews. This solemnity occasioned a prodigious concourse of people from all parts of England. Amongst others, many wealthy Jews came to London, to consult with their brethren in that city about making a free gift of great value to the king on his accession. Richard had issued a proclamation, that none of that people should presume to enter either the church or Westminster-hall on the day of his coronation. Some of them being detected pressing into the hall, were assaulted at first with opprobrious language, and afterwards with sticks and stones. The Jews, perceiving their danger, fled towards the city, pursued by an enraged mob; amongst whom a cry arose, that the king had given orders to put all the Jews to death. This cry proved fatal to many of that hated nation; who were massacred in the streets. Others, who retired to their houses, were either burnt in them, or slain in attempting to escape. The tumult gradually increased, and spread into all parts of the city. Hatred, inflamed by avarice and religious zeal, rendered the mob ungovernable; and all attempts to quell them were in vain, till, wearied with slaughter, and overloaded with booty, they retired to secure their prey. The king, justly offended at this outrageous violation of the laws, and contempt of his authority, in the very beginning of his reign, commanded a few of the ringleaders of the mob to be hanged (2).

First acts of Richard's administration very gracious.

Some of the first acts of Richard's government were gracious and beneficent. He was so far from discovering any resentment against those who had adhered to his father, and opposed himself, that he continued them in their places, and honoured them with peculiar marks of his royal favour. He immediately released his mother queen Eleanor from her long confinement, allowed her a considerable share of power, and, in particular, gave her authority to set all pri-

(1) Hoveden, p. 373, 374. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1.

(2) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1. Benedic. Abbas, p. 560. M. Paris, p. 108.

soners at liberty, who were confined for transgressions of the forest-laws, and several other crimes. His brother prince John he loaded with riches and honours, bestowing upon him at once no fewer than eight castles, with the estates annexed to them, and the government or earldoms of seven counties (3): favours that made him a formidable enemy, instead of an affectionate brother and obedient subject. A. D. 1189.


As Richard was the first prince in Europe who assumed the cross, on the news of the victories of Saladin over the Christians in the Holy Land; so his thoughts were chiefly employed at this time about collecting money, and making preparations of all kinds for his expedition into the East, in conjunction with the king of France. In his father's coffers at Winchester, he found a prodigious mass of treasure, amounting, according to some writers, to nine hundred thousand pounds, but, according to others, only to ninety thousand pounds, in gold and silver, besides plate, jewels, and precious stones (4). To this he added immense sums by the sale of the royal castles, manors, parks, woods, and forests. Nay, so great was his rage for money, that the highest honours, and most important offices, became venal. He even sold the superiority of the crown of England over the kingdom of Scotland, the most glorious acquisition of his father's reign, for the paltry sum of ten thousand marks, equivalent to about one hundred thousand pounds of our present money (5). By these and various other methods, some of them very dishonourable and unjust, Richard amassed a much greater treasure than had ever been in the possession of any king of England; which was all dissipated in this romantic expedition. While he was thus employed, Rotrow, Earl of Perche, arrived in England in November, and acquainted him, that the king of France with all his barons, had solemnly sworn, in a council held at Paris, that they would appear with their followers at


Richard collects money, troops, &c. and embarks on his expedition into the Holy Land.

(3) Benedict. Abbas, p. 555. R. Hoveden, p. 374. col. 1. W. Neubrigen, l. 4. c. 3.

(4) Benedict. Abbas, p. 553. M. Paris, p. 107. col. 2. R. Hoveden, p. 374.

(5) Benedict. Abbas, p. 568. M. Paris, p. 109. Hoveden, p. 376. 378.

A. D. 1189  Vezilay before the close of next Easter; requiring the like security from Richard and his barons, that they would appear at the same time and place; which was granted (6). Having constituted William Longchamp bishop of Ely, and Hugh bishop of Durham, regents of the kingdom in his absence, he embarked at Dover, December 11th; and landed in the evening near Gravelines; from whence he marched through Flanders into Normandy (7).

A. D. 1190.  The monarchs of England and France, attended by their principal prelates and nobility, had an interview about the middle of January, at Gué St. Reme, to settle all the preliminaries of their intended expedition. At this interview the two kings took a solemn oath of mutual friendship and defence, and agreed that if either of them died on the voyage, the other should have his money and the command of his forces: and finding that it would not be possible to have all things in readiness against Easter, the general rendezvous at Vezilay was put off to Midsummer (8). Richard held a great council on English affairs, February 2d, in which he obliged prince John, and his natural brother Geoffrey, now archbishop of York, to swear, that they would not return into England for three years: but he afterwards imprudently released them from the obligation of that oath. After this council he dismissed William bishop of Ely (who had lately been appointed the pope's legate for England, Scotland, and Ireland), and sent him over to take upon him the government of his kingdom, and hasten the preparation of ships, men, and horses, for his expedition (9).

**Massacres
of the Jews.**

Many of the English who had assumed the cross, and were preparing for their voyage into the Holy Land, imagined it would be a good beginning of their pious enterprise, to murder as many Jews as possible, and seize their riches. In consequence of this imagination, many thousands of that devoted nation were

(6) Benedict. Abbas, p. 570.

(7) Id. p. 579.

(8) Id. p. 583. R. Hoveden, p. 379.

(9) Id. ibid.

butchered in cold blood, at Norwich, Stamford, York, and other places, in the months of March and April this year (10). The croisaders who were concerned in these cruel massacres, made haste to embark in their holy warfare, and thereby escaped the punishment that they justly deserved for their injustice and barbarity.

When the time appointed for the general rendezvous approached, the two kings put themselves at the head of their respective armies, and marched towards the plains of Vezilay, where they arrived in the last week of June. When their forces were united, they amounted to one hundred thousand of the bravest troops of France and England (11): an army that would have been invincible if the scene of action had not been so distant. Instructed by the misfortunes of the leaders of former croisades, who had marched by land into the East, they had wisely resolved to go by sea, and for that purpose had provided fleets. From Vezilay the whole army decamped, July 1st, and marched in one body to Lyons; where the two kings separating, Philip with his army, marched towards Genoa, where they were to embark, and Richard towards Marseilles, where he expected his fleet; having, before they separated, appointed their next rendezvous to be at Messina in Sicily, Richard reached Marseilles before the arrival of his fleet from England, which had been dispersed by a storm; and becoming impatient of delay, he embarked with his household on board three large buffes and twenty galleys, August 7th, leaving directions to his army and fleet to follow him to the place of rendezvous as soon as possible (12). The English fleet arrived at Marseilles August 22d; and sailing from thence with the army on board, about the end of that month, reached Messina September 14th; and, two days after, the French fleet, with Philip and his army, entered the same harbour; as king Richard also did, September 23d, in great pomp, with ensigns flying and trumpets sounding (13). At this place the two kings wintered; Philip with his

A. D. 1190.
The kings of England and France arrive at Messina with their armies, where they winter.

(10) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 7, 8, 9.

(11) Gaufred. Vinifauf. Iter Hierosol. l. 2. c. 9.

(12) Benedict. Abbas, p. 590. 594. G. Vinifauf. l. 2. c. 10.

(13) M. Paris, p. 112, 113. Benedict. Abbas, p. 604, 605.

A.D. 1190. army in the city of Messina, and Richard with his army in the suburbs.

Transac-
tions at
Messina.

It was hardly to be expected, that two such numerous armies, composed of nations who had long been rivals, and often enemies, should remain six months in one place, without any disputes with one another, or with the people of the country. There were several such disputes happened at Messina in the course of this winter, which destroyed that sincere and cordial friendship between the two kings, so necessary to the success of their enterprise, and to which they were engaged by the most solemn oaths. Of this these two princes at length became sensible; and in order to extinguish the present, and prevent all future animosities, a treaty was concluded, in which, amongst many other articles, Richard was released from his obligations to marry the princess Adalais, king Philip's sister, to whom he had been long contracted (14).

Treaties
between
Richard
and Tan-
cred king
of Sicily.

The king of England had also several causes of complaint against Tancred king of Sicily, who had lately usurped that throne, and detained queen Jane, king Richard's sister, and widow of William II. in prison, because she had opposed his usurpation; declining to pay her dower, and a valuable legacy left by William to his father-in-law, Henry II. But Tancred, finding himself in no condition to dispute any of these points with Richard at the head of so great an army, immediately released the queen-dowager, and sent her to her brother, with an offer of twenty thousand ounces of gold, as a full compensation for her dower, and an equal sum for the late king's legacy. These offers were accepted by Richard; who became so fond of Tancred, or of his treasures, that he contracted his nephew and heir, Arthur duke of Brittany, to one of that king's daughters, and received another twenty thousand ounces of gold as her marriage-portion (15).

A.D. 1191.
Queen
Eleanor
and the
princess
Berengaria

King Richard had been long in love with Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, but did not think it prudent to marry her during his father's life, and while he was under engagements to the princess Adalais (16). At his setting out on his expedi-

(14) Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 69. (15) Benedict. Abbas, p. 612, 613.
(16) G. Vinifauf, l. 2. c. 26.

tion into the East, he prevailed upon his mother queen Eleanor to accompany the princesses of Navarre to Naples, where they arrived over land in February this year, escorted by the earl of Flanders; and it being improper on several accounts to bring them to Messina, they took up their residence at Brindisi, till after the departure of the king of France, who sailed towards the Holy Land, March 30th. On the day after, queen Eleanor, with the princess Berengaria, landed at Messina; where the former staid only four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the queen-dowager of Sicily, who had resolved to accompany her brother into the Holy Land (17).

A.D. 1191.
arrive at
Messina,
from
whence the
king of
France had
failed.

Richard, impatient to reach the seat of war, where he expected to gather many laurels, would not stay at Messina to celebrate his marriage, but sailed from thence, April 10th, with a gallant army, on board a fleet of about two hundred ships and galleys; which was unfortunately overtaken, two days after, by a violent storm. The king, with the greatest part of the fleet, put into a harbour in Crete; but missing three of his largest ships, in one of which his royal bride and his sister queen Jane had embarked, he sent in quest of them; and was soon informed, that two of these ships had been stranded on the coast of Cyprus, and all their crew either drowned, or imprisoned by the sovereign of the country; and that the other, with the princesses on board, was riding before Limisso, the capital of the island, having been refused admittance into the harbour (18).

Richard
sails from
Messina.

Richard immediately sailed to Cyprus; and having received a haughty refusal to a respectful request for leave to enter the harbour of Limisso, from Isaac, a vain-glorious tyrant, who then reigned in Cyprus, and had assumed the pompous title of emperor, he landed his army, defeated the tyrant in two battles, and at length obliged him to surrender his person, his country, and a beautiful princess, his only child, to the conqueror. This important conquest detained

Richard
conquers
Cyprus,
and solemnizes
his
marriage
with Berengaria.

(17) R. Hoveden, p. 392.

(18) R. Hoveden, p. 393. R. de Diceto, col. 657. J. Brompt. col. 1197.

A.D. 1191. him some time in Cyprus; where he solemnized his marriage with the princess Berengaria, May 12th, who was the same day crowned queen of England (19).

Richard sails from Cyprus, and arrives at Acon.

While he was engaged in receiving the homage of the nobility of Cyprus, who made him a free gift of great value, he sent away the two queens, and the Cyprian princess (who is said to have made a conquest of her conqueror), with a part of his fleet and army, to join the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais or Acon; where they landed, June 1st. Having settled all the affairs of Cyprus, and appointed Richard de Camville, and Roger de Turnham, governors of that island, he sailed with the rest of his fleet and army, taking a great Saracen ship in his passage, and arrived at Acon June 8th, to the great joy of the besiegers and dismay of the besieged (20).

Siege and surrender of Acon.

The city of Acon had been invested about two years by the Christian army, composed of warriors from every nation in Europe, who had performed many glorious actions, and suffered many grievous calamities under its walls, which had been bravely defended by a very numerous garrison; while Saladin, with a powerful army, besieged the besiegers, and harassed them with continual combats (21). On the arrival of the English army with their gallant leader, the siege, that had languished for some time, was pushed with the greatest ardour; the walls were battered night and day with various machines, the artillery of those times; frequent furious assaults were given; and the besieged, despairing of relief, agreed to surrender the city, July 12th, on the following conditions:—"That the garrison should be allowed to march out only in their shirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them:—That Saladin should restore the true cross, with two thousand five hundred of his Christian prisoners of the greatest note:—That he should pay to the two kings two hundred thousand pieces of gold, called *byzantines*, for his men which they had prisoners:—and, That the whole garrison should be detained as hostages till these conditions were per-

(19) R. Floveden, p. 193, 194. Benedict. Abbas, p. 645—653. G. Vinifauf. l. 2. c. 35.

(20) G. Vinifauf. l. 3. c. 2.

(21) Id. l. 2. c. 25—42.

“formed (22).” Thus ended this famous siege, after it had engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia for two years, and had cost the lives of six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, five hundred barons, and three hundred thousand other men (23). A.D. 1191.

While Richard was making unprofitable conquests in the East, at a great expence of blood and treasure, his subjects in England were suffering great inconveniencies from his absence, and the intolerable insolence of William Longchamp bishop of Ely, to whom chiefly he had delegated his authority.—That haughty prelate, who had arisen from the very dregs of the people; was so much transported with his unmerited elevation, that he could endure no rival. He imprisoned Hugh de Pusey bishop of Durham, who had been appointed chief justiciary beyond the Humber, and obliged him to resign his castles and his commission to obtain his liberty (24). Possessed of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, as chancellor, chief justiciary, and papal legate, he acted in the most arbitrary manner, bestowing all preferments in church and state on his relations and creatures, and using the revenues of the crown as if they had been his own (25). In his manner of living he exceeded the pomp of kings, never appearing in public without a retinue of fifteen hundred horsemen. Richard, informed of these enormities, while he resided at Messina, gave a commission to Walter archbishop of Rouen, William earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, to be privy counsellors to the high justiciary, without whose advice he was to transact nothing of importance. But so terrible was Longchamp now become, that these noblemen had not the courage to shew him their commission (26).

The imperious regent had also a quarrel with prince John, the king's brother, which was terminated by his agreeing to take an oath, which was also taken by all the other prelates and nobles of the kingdom, that if the king should die beyond seas without issue, all the

Tyranny of Longchamp, chief justiciary of England.

Longchamp quarrels with prince John, and Geoffrey archbishop of York.

(22) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 653—663. *Vinifauf.* l. 3. c. 17.

(23) *Vinifauf.* l. 4. c. 6.

(24) *R. Hoveden*, p. 379.

(25) *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 701.

(26) *R. Hoveden*, p. 392. col. 1. *Diceto*, col. 659.

A. D. 1191. royal castles should be delivered to the prince (27.) But his animosity against Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, and archbishop of York, prompted him to such acts of violence against the immunities of the church and clergy, as proved fatal to his power and greatness. Geoffrey had been at Rome to procure the pope's confirmation of his election to the see of York; and on his landing at Dover, September 14th, was seized by the governor of the castle; but making his escape, took refuge in St. Martin's church; from whence he was violent dragged by Longchamp's orders, and imprisoned in Dover castle (28).

Confederacy against Longchamp, by which he is expelled.

This outrageous insult on an archbishop, the son and brother of a king, together with the violation of the rights of sanctuary, excited universal indignation against the high justiciary, and gave his enemies a greater advantage than all his former acts of tyranny. Several bishops excommunicated all who had been concerned in the horrid deed. Prince John and the chief nobility had a meeting at Reading, October 5th, in which the king's commission to the archbishop of Rouen, and others, to be coadjutors to Longchamp, was produced; and he was summoned to attend another meeting at Lodbridge, three days after; but, instead of complying with that summons, he shut himself up in the tower of London. As this storm was unexpected, he had not laid in a sufficient stock of provisions to stand a siege; which obliged him to submit, and appear before the prelates and nobility; by whom he was deprived of his two great offices of chancellor and justiciary: and not being able to bear his fall with fortitude, he made his escape out of the kingdom, October 29th, in disguise (29). Walter archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of great wisdom and virtue, acted as chief justiciary, with the advice of his colleagues, by virtue of the former commission; and the custody of the great seal was given to Benedict abbot of Peterborough, the historian (30).

(27) Benedict. Abbas, p. 694.

(28) Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 390, 391.

(29) Benedict. Abbas, p. 707. Hoveden, p. 400.

(30) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 18. Benedict. Abbas, p. 714. Hemmingford, l. 2. c. 58.

Soon after the two kings of France and England had taken possession of Acon, the former began to intimate his intention of returning into Europe, pretending that the climate of Palestine did not agree with his constitution, and that his life would be endangered by a longer stay. This however was not the real, or at least not the chief, reason of his forming this resolution—Many disputes had arisen between the two monarchs at Messina and in the Holy Land, which made their union neither cordial nor agreeable—He beheld his own glory eclipsed by the superior splendour of Richard's achievements, which gave him great disgust—The earl of Flanders had died before Acon without issue, and he expected, by his presence in France, to secure a part, if not the whole, of his succession,—to say nothing of his intention to seize some of Richard's dominions in his absence. Great efforts were made to persuade him to stay longer; but they were ineffectual. Having renewed his engagements not to invade any of the territories of the king of England, while that prince continued in the Holy Land, or within forty days after his return home; and having left a considerable body of his troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy, he sailed from the port of Acon, with the rest of his fleet and army, August 1st, and landed in France a few days before the festival of Christmas, which he solemnized at his palace of Fountainbleau (31).

A.D. 1191.

The king of France returns from the Holy Land.

Richard, after the departure of the king of France, having repaired the walls of Acon, marched from thence, August 25th, with the Christian army, to reduce the other cities on the sea-coast. The famous Saladin, at the head of a very numerous army, attended all their motions, and harassed them with perpetual combats, in which astonishing acts of valour were performed on both sides (32). At length these two great armies, animated by the most implacable hatred, inflamed by religious zeal, and conducted by the two bravest leaders in the world, came to a general action, September 6th, which continued from morn-

Operations of the war in the Holy Land.

(31) Benedict. Abbas, p. 667—670. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 22. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 57.

(32) G. Vinifauf. l. 4. c. 19—16.

A.D. 1191. ing to night; when the Turkish army was put to flight with great slaughter (33). Saladin, after this defeat, despairing to be able to keep the field, and to defend so great a number of towns, dismantled Cæsarea, Ascalon, Joppa, and several others, and with their garrisons reinforced his army, and strengthened the garrisons of Jerusalem, and of the other towns he resolved to defend (34). After this victory, the Christian army proceeded on their march with little molestation; and reaching Joppa, found it deserted, and almost quite demolished; and received intelligence that the enemy were acting the same part at Ascalon. A council of war was held, in which king Richard proposed to march to Ascalon with all possible expedition, and rescue it out of the hands of the Turks before it was demolished; but the duke of Burgundy, and the other French generals (who had been secretly instructed by their sovereign to thwart the king of England in all his designs), obstinately insisted on rebuilding Joppa; to which Richard reluctantly consented, and seven weeks were spent in that work (35). In the beginning of November the Christian army marched from Joppa towards Jerusalem, rebuilding the ruined castles, as they advanced, and being also much retarded in their progress by heavy rains and frequent assaults of the enemy. But when they had overcome all these difficulties, and had reached the neighbourhood of the holy city, in the last week of this year, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, joining with the French, opposed the besieging of it, at that time, with many specious arguments; and obliged Richard to return with his army towards Ascalon, to his own unspeakable mortification, and the great grief of many of the crusaders (36).

A. D. 1192. The king of France, in his passage from the Holy Land, had visited Rome, and made bitter complaints to the pope of many affronts and injuries which he pretended to have received from the king of England; earnestly intreating his holiness to release him from his oaths, that he might take vengeance on his enemy, by invading his dominions. But with this most shame-

(33) G. Vinifauf. l. 4. c. 18. 22.

(34) Id. *ibid.* c. 23.(35) Id. *ibid.* l. 4. c. 27—30.

(36) Id. l. 5. c. 1, 2.

ful request the pope would not comply (37). Not discouraged with this repulse, on his arrival in France, he made no secret of his resolution to violate all his oaths, in order to gratify his revenge, or rather his ambition. In a conference with the seneschal of Normandy, January 20th, he made a demand of Gisors, and its territories, threatening immediate war on receiving a refusal (38). He engaged in dark intrigues with prince John, to whose profligate character he was no stranger, tempting him with an offer of all Richard's dominions on the continent, to join with him in the war against his absent brother; to which he would have consented, if he had not been dissuaded by his mother queen Eleanor, and deterred by the threats of the justiciaries of England to confiscate his estates. Though disappointed in these intrigues, Philip would have invaded Normandy, if he had not been prevented by his barons, who absolutely refused to follow him in so unjust an enterprise (39).

A.D. 1192.

trigues
with prince
John.

The government of England was also much disquieted at this time, by the violent efforts of William Longchamp, the expelled justiciary; who having gained the pope to espouse his cause, and renew his legantine commission, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if he was not restored to all his former power. But by the prudence and firmness of the archbishop of Rouen, assisted by queen Eleanor, all his efforts were baffled (40).

Attempts
of Long-
champ to
recover his
power de-
feated.

While Richard's dominions in Europe were torn by factions and threatened with invasions, that prince was involved in the greatest difficulties and dangers in the Holy Land. No march was ever attended with more afflictive circumstances than that of the christian army, in the beginning of this year, from Jerusalem to Ascalon, where they arrived, January 20th, much diminished and dispirited by storms, fatigue, and famine (41). To complete their misfortunes, they found that place so completely ruined and deserted, that it afforded them neither food, lodging, nor protection. The reparation of it cost them three months

Proceed-
ings of
the Chris-
tian army
in the Holy
Land.

(37) Benedic. Abbas, p. 720.

(38) Id. 27, 28.

(39) Id. p. 728.

(40) Id. p. 731.

(41) G. Vinifauf. l. 5. c. 3.

A.D. 1192, incessant toil; from which the king himself was not exempted, who wrought with greater ardour than any common labourer (42). Before this work was completed, the duke of Burgundy, with the French, Genoese, and all whom he could entice to follow him, separated from the army, and marched, first to Acon, and afterwards to Tyre (43).

King Richard prepares for his return to England. His generous behaviour.

About the middle of April, the prior of Hereford arrived at Ascalon, with letters to the king from William Longchamp, acquainting him with the troubles in England, with his own expulsion, and with the machinations of prince John, and earnestly intreating him to return immediately, if he desired to preserve his crown (44). Astonished at this intelligence, Richard called a council of all the princes and nobles in the Christian army, and communicated to them the news he had received, and the necessity of his return to England; to which they consented, on condition that he terminated the dispute between the two pretenders to the crown of Jerusalem, Guy de Louzignan and Conrade marquis of Montferrat, that they might know whom to follow, after his departure. On this occasion, Richard acted a very noble part, leaving the decision of that question to the members of the council; and when they declared in favour of Conrade, who had long been his open enemy, he confirmed their choice, and sacrificed his private resentment to the public peace (45). Still further to secure the tranquillity of the army and the country in his absence, he generously bestowed the kingdom of Cyprus on Guy de Louzignan, the other competitor for the crown of Jerusalem: a valuable gift, which he and his posterity enjoyed almost three centuries.

Conrade king of Jerusalem killed, of which Richard is unjustly accused.

Conrade was transported with joy when he received the news of his election, and hastened to Ascalon to be crowned. But he was unhappily murdered, April 28th, in the streets of Tyre, by two desperadoes, who had been sent for that purpose, by the prince of the Assassines; or, as he was commonly called, *The*

(42) G. Vinifauf. l. 5. c. 6.

(44) Id. ibid. l. 5. c. 22.

(43) Id. ibid. c. 10.

(45) Id. ibid. c. 23, 24.

Old Man of the Mountain (46). The murderers were A. D. 1192. both apprehended; and were so far from denying, that they gloried in what they had done, declaring, that it was in obedience to the commands of their lord, the Old Man of the Mountain, to revenge an injury he had received from Conrade. Yet so malevolent and shameless was the king of France, that he calumniated Richard as the author of that assassination, and pretended to dread a like attempt upon his own person (47).

On the death of Conrade, Henry earl of Champagne married his widow and was declared king of Jerusalem; who, being nephew to Richard, brought back the French and their confederates to join the Christian army at Ascalon, under that prince; who had lately taken the strong fortress of Darum from the Turks (48). The Christian army being assembled, a resolution was taken to make another attempt on the city of Jerusalem; and they began their march from Ascalon, June 6th, and in five days reached Belinople (within about four miles of that city), where they encamped a month, waiting for the troops they expected to join them from Acon. In this interval king Richard surprised and took a Turkish caravan, with immense wealth in gold, silver, silk, spices, sugars, and other precious commodities (49). When all the forces were collected, a council of war was held, in which, after long deliberation, and many angry disputes, it was concluded not to attempt the siege of Jerusalem at that time; and the French with their confederates again separating from the army, Richard conducted his own troops, and all who chose to follow him, to Acon, where they arrived July 26th (50). From thence he proposed to embark for England; but before all things were ready, he received the melancholy news that Saladin had invested Joppa with a prodigious army, and that the garrison must fall a sacrifice if he did not come to their relief. Deeply affected with their distress, he gave orders to the army to march to Joppa by land, while he with a chosen body of

Further proceedings of the Christian army in the Holy Land.

(46) G. Vinisfauf. c. 26.

(47) Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 71. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 24, 25.

(48) G. Vinisfauf. l. 5. c. 39.

(49) Id. l. 6. c. 4.

(50) Id. ibid. c. 8, 9, 10, 11.

knights,

A. D. 1192. knights, went by sea; and by performing prodigies of valour, raised the siege of Joppa, and defeated the enemy in two actions (51). But Richard soon after falling sick, and finding it impossible to persuade the French to return to the army, concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; consenting to the demolition of Ascalon; but stipulating, that the Christians should retain all the other towns they possessed in Palestine, and be permitted to visit the holy places at Jerusalem (52).

King Richard embarks for England; is shipwrecked, and taken prisoner.

Richard recovered slowly from his indisposition; and having sent away the queens of England and Sicily, with their attendants, he went, with a small number of select friends, on board a swift-sailing ship in the port of Acon, October 9th, followed by the tears, prayers, and benedictions of an infinite multitude of people, who had tasted his bounty and beheld his valour (53). His voyage was most unfortunate; for after tossing several weeks at sea, he was shipwrecked near Aquileia; and attempting to pass through Germany in disguise, he was discovered in a village near Vienna, December 20th, and thrown into prison by Leopold duke of Austria; who, prompted by avarice or malice, respected neither his rank, nor the cause in which he had been engaged (54).

A. D. 1193. Richard delivered to the emperor.

As soon as the emperor Henry VI. heard of the detention of the king of England, to whom he was an enemy, he claimed and obtained the royal captive, promising to pay Leopold sixty thousand pounds out of the expected ransom (55). In this ignominious manner was this illustrious prince, and great champion of Christianity, bought and sold, by those who could hardly invent a pretence for offering him any violence.

Conspiracy of the king of France and prince John defeated.

The king of France, transported with joy at the news of Richard's captivity, and forgetting all his

(51) G. Vinisau. l. 6. c. 22, 23.

(52) Id. *ibid.* c. 27. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 61.

(53) Vinisau. l. 6. c. 37.

(54) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 31. Hoveden, p. 409. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 62. M. Paris, p. 121.

(55) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 33. M. Paris, p. 121.

oaths, hastened to make the utmost advantage of it, ^{A. D. 1193} by invading his dominions,—by inviting prince John to join with him in sharing the plunder of his unhappy brother,—and by negotiating with the emperor to deliver up his royal prisoner to him, or to detain him in perpetual durance (56). His negotiations with the emperor were unsuccessful. But prince John, regardless of all the ties of nature, of gratitude, and of the most solemn oaths, entered with eagerness into all the schemes of Philip, for the destruction of his brother and the division of his spoils. On his return from Normandy, where he had an interview with the king of France to settle their plan of operations, he besieged and took the castles of Wallingford and Windsor (57). Coming to London, he gave out that his brother was dead, and required Walter archbishop of Rouen, chief justiciary, and his colleagues, to swear fealty to him, and perform the ceremony of his coronation. But his assertions being discredited, and his requisitions despised, the justiciaries raised an army, and prosecuted the war against him with so much vigour, that they compelled him to beg a truce; which was granted, and he returned to his ally the king of France (58). That prince had been more successful in his invasion of Normandy, where he met with little opposition till he invested Rouen; which was so bravely defended by the valiant earl of Leicester, who had lately returned from the Holy Land, that Philip was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with precipitation. This repulse, together with the threats of the pope to lay his dominions under an interdict, engaged him to listen to proposals for a suspension of hostilities; and a truce was concluded July 9th (59).

King Richard lost none of his usual courage, or even cheerfulness, by his captivity. Though he was at first treated with great indignity, thrown into a dungeon from whence no man had ever escaped with life, loaded with irons, and surrounded day and night with

Richard's
undaunted
deportment
in his cap-
tivity.

(56) W. Neubrigen, l. 4. c. 34. Hoveden, p. 412.

(57) Hoveden, p. 412. Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 85.

(58) Chron. Gervas, col. 1581. R. Hoveden, p. 413. col. 1. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 64.

(59) Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 81.

A.D. 1193. armed men, his countenance was serene, and his conversation pleasant and facetious (60).

Negotiations for his deliverance.

As soon as queen Eleanor and the justiciaries of England heard of his misfortune, they sent the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert to attend him; who, meeting him with his guards on the road to Worms, where a diet of the empire was soon to be held, were received by him in a manner equally cheerful and affectionate. He asked them the state of his friends, his subjects, and his dominions; and particularly inquired after the health of the king of Scotland, on whose honour he said he entirely relied. On hearing of the base behaviour of his brother John, he was shocked, and looked grave; but presently recovering his good humour, he said with a smile, *My brother John is not made for conquering kingdoms* (61). Many of the king's personal friends, as William bishop of Ely, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, &c. on hearing of his disaster, flew to his relief, and assisted in negotiating his deliverance. Queen Eleanor addressed several most mournful and pathetic letters to the pope, intreating and conjuring him to launch the thunders of the church against those impious princes who detained her heroic son, and who ravaged his dominions (62).

Richard's noble behaviour before the diet of the empire.

The emperor, to wipe off some part of the odium he had brought upon himself by his conduct towards Richard, presented him before all the prelates and princes of the empire, in a diet held at Worms July 13th; and accused him,—of having protected Tancred, who had usurped the crown of Sicily,—of having made war on the emperor of Cyprus, a Christian prince, when he should have been fighting against the infidels,—of having driven the king of France out of the Holy Land by many injuries,—of having affronted the duke of Austria,—of having hired assassins to murder the marquis of Montserrat,—and having concluded a truce with Saladin on too easy terms. But Richard being permitted to speak for himself, an-

(60) M. Paris, p. 121.

(61) R. Hoveden, p. 411. col. 2.

(62) Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 72—78.

swered all those accusations in so clear and full, and at the same time in so elegant and affecting a manner, that he not only convinced the whole assembly of his innocence, but drew tears from many of his noble hearers (63). A. D. 1193.

After this the emperor treated him with greater decency; and by the mediation of several princes, the negotiation for his freedom was concluded, July 31st, on the following terms:—that as soon as the king of England had delivered to the emperor one hundred thousand marks, Cologne weight, of pure silver, and had given hostages for other fifty thousand marks of the same weight and fineness, he should be set at liberty, and have a safe conduct to the port where he was to embark (64). As soon as the king of France heard of the conclusion of this agreement, he sent a message to his confederate prince John, to take care of himself, for *the devil was unchained* (65). The justiciaries of England raised the money for the king's ransom in a short time, by a scutage of twenty shillings on every knight's fee, a tallage on the boroughs and the royal demesnes, and by several other methods (66). The money being collected, queen Eleanor, and the archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany, a little before Christmas, leaving the chief direction of affairs in England in the hands of Hubert formerly bishop of Salisbury, lately constituted archbishop of Canterbury and chief justiciary. Treaty for his deliverance concluded, and money for his ransom collected.

The terrors of the king of France and of his friend prince John, redoubled as the time of Richard's release drew near, which engaged them to make a great effort to prevent what they so much dreaded. With this view they sent letters to the emperor, engaging to pay him one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, if he would detain Richard only one year longer (67). With this magnificent offer the emperor, the most sordid and most mercenary of men, was not a little staggered, and began to make excuses and delays; but many of the princes of the empire, A. D. 1194. Efforts of the king of France and prince John to prevent his deliverance.

(63) M. Paris, p. 121, 122.

(64) Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 84.

(65) R. Hoveden, p. 415. col. 1.

(66) Id. p. 417. col. 1.

(67) Id. p. 418.

A.D. 1194. who had been guarantees of the agreement between him and Richard, insisting that it should be fulfilled, he found himself under a necessity of giving that prince his liberty, on February 4th, at Mentz, to the great joy of his mother queen Eleanor, and several of his nobles who were present to receive him (68).

King Richard arrives in England, and takes the castle of Nottingham.

Having spent some days with his great friend the bishop of Cologne, he proceeded on his journey towards the port of Swine, at the mouth of the Scheld, where he embarked on board an English fleet, and landed at Sandwich, March 20th, after an absence of four years, three months, and nine days, in which he had experienced great variety of fortunes (69). He was received at London with great demonstrations of joy, and such an ostentatious display of wealth, as astonished the German nobility in his train, and made one of them say,—“ If our emperor had known “ the riches of England, your ransom, O king, “ would have been much greater (70)”. Having spent only three days at London, he hastened to put himself at the head of his army, besieging the castle of Nottingham, belonging to prince John; which surrendered at discretion, March 28th (71).

Great council at Nottingham.

Here the king held a great council of his prelates and nobility, which began March 30th, and ended April 2d. On the second day of the council it was decreed, that if prince John did not appear before the king and his court within forty days, to answer for his conduct, all his estates in England should be forfeited (72). On the third day a tax of two shillings on every hide of land was granted; and on the last several criminal processes were determined (73).

Richard crowned at Winchester, and refuses to admit the claim of the king of Scotland to the

At this council it was resolved, that the ceremony of the king's coronation should be repeated, to wipe off the stain of his captivity; and the 17th of April was appointed for the day of the solemnity, at Winchester; where it was accordingly performed with great pomp (74). William the Lion, king of Scotland, was present at the council of Nottingham, attended

(68) R. Hoveden, p. 418.

(69) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 41.

(70) Hemingford, l. 2. c. 69.

(71) R. Hoveden, p. 419.

(72) Id. *ibid.*

(73) Id. *ibid.*

(74) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 42.

the king from thence to Winchester, and assisted at A. D. 1194. his coronation, earnestly soliciting a grant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; which was refused, but in the softest terms (75).

After his second coronation, Richard resumed many of the honours and estates which he had alienated before his departure for the Holy Land, alleging that they were absolutely necessary for the support of the crown, and that the purchasers of them had already indemnified themselves (76). He prevailed upon the monks of the Cistercian order, by flattery and fair promises, to make him a present of a year's wool, and by various other arts replenished his empty coffers (77). Receiving intelligence of the hostile intentions and preparations of the king of France, he collected his forces with all possible expedition, and embarked them at Portsmouth, on board a fleet of one hundred sail; he landed with them at Barfleur May 12th (78).

Next morning his brother prince John suddenly entered his apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears confessed his crimes, and implored forgiveness; with which Richard was so much affected, that he raised him from the ground, embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and granted him a pardon; but did not immediately restore him to his possessions (79).

Taking the field with his army, he raised the siege of Verneuil May 29th, took the castle of Lochis June 13th, and gained a still greater advantage over his enemies July 5th; at Fretteval, where all the baggage and treasure of the king of France, together with his chancery, containing many valuable papers, fell into his hands (80). From thence Richard marched his army into Guienne, which had revolted, and in the space of sixteen days reduced it to its former state of obedience and subjection (81). But a stop was put to these military operations by a truce, which was concluded for one year by the plenipotentiaries of the kings of France and England, July 23d (82).

(75) R. Hoveden, p. 420.

(76) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 1.

(77) Id. *ibid.*

(78) R. Hoveden, p. 421.

(79) M. Paris, p. 123. col. 2. Diceto, col. 673.

(80) R. Hoveden. p. 421. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 2. (81) Id. *ibid.*(82) Id. *ibid.* c. 3. R. Hoveden, p. 422.

A.D. 1194. Richard employed this interval of tranquillity in making a very strict enquiry into the state of all the branches of the royal revenues. For this purpose he sent commissioners into every county of the kingdom, to make the necessary enquiries, and to levy the sums that should be found due to the crown on any account (83). One object of this enquiry was, to raise the money that was still due to the duke of Austria for the king's ransom, that his hostages might be redeemed; but he was unexpectedly relieved from the necessity of paying that money by the following event.

Duke of Austria sets Richard's hostages at liberty. As the duke of Austria was tilting with his courtiers on St. Stephen's day, December 26th, his horse fell upon him, and crushed his foot in such a manner, that it threw him into a fever, and brought on a gangrene. When his physicians acquainted him that there were no hopes of his recovery, he was seized with remorse for the cruelty and injustice of which he had been guilty towards the king of England; and gave orders to set his hostages at liberty (84).

A.D. 1195. The late truce between the kings of France and England was not very well observed; and as soon as it expired, the war was renewed by Philip, who made an incursion into Normandy, plundering the country, and demolishing such castles as fell into his hands. Richard, having collected his forces, marched to meet his enemies, and came up with them near Vaudreuil, where a negotiation was proposed by Philip, who during the continuance of it, secretly employed his troops in undermining the walls of that fortress. One day as the two kings were engaged in a conference, they were interrupted by a dreadful noise, occasioned by the fall of the greatest part of the castle of Vaudreuil, which at once discovered to Richard the artifice of his adversary, and inflamed him with the most violent resentment. He hastened to put himself at the head of his army, and to prepare for taking his revenge in a general engagement; but the French, who had all things in readiness for their march, retired with so much precipitation, that he could not overtake them (85). The war was prosecuted for some months after

(83) R. Hoveden, p. 423, 424.

(85) Id. *Ibid.* c. 15.(84) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 8.
Chron. J. Brompt. col. 1267.

this with various success, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace concluded by the two monarchs in a personal interview on December 5th (86). A.D. 1195.

While Richard was detained in his foreign dominions, the capital of England became a scene of the most violent factions, and of great confusion. This was owing to the unlimited influence which one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called *Longbeard*, had obtained among the common people and inferior citizens of that metropolis; by declaiming, with great vehemence, on all occasions, against the tyranny of the king's ministers, and their oppressions of the poor. Though William was known to be a man of an abandoned character and ruined fortunes, yet by his learning, eloquence, and fair pretences, he gained such an ascendant over the minds of his followers, that they called him *the saviour of the people*, attended him with loud acclamations whenever he appeared in public, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to execute all his orders. The streets were infested day and night by numerous mobs, who committed many disorders, insulted the richer citizens, and threatened them with destruction. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and chief justiciary, summoned Longbeard to appear before the council; but he came, attended by such a prodigious multitude, that they were afraid to ask him any questions, and he returned in triumph into the city. After this the archbishop very prudently remained quiet, until the political enthusiasm of Longbeard's followers began to languish for want of opposition, when he sent a party of men into the city to seize his person. William made a brave defence, killed one of the party sent to apprehend him, and escaped, with his concubine and a few of his accomplices, into the neighbouring church of St. Mary le Bow. But no regard was paid to the rights of sanctuary on this occasion. William was dragged out of the church, tried, condemned, and executed, before his partisans recovered from their surprise, or had time to form any scheme for his deliverance. After A.D. 1196.
Tumults
in London
suppressed,
and the
author
Longbeard
executed.

(86) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 17. Rymer Fœd. t. I. p. 91.

A.D. 1196. his death, however, they flocked in great crowds to the place of execution, took down the gallows on which he had been hanged, divided it into a thousand pieces, preserved and adored these pieces as the most precious relics, pretended that they wrought many miracles. But as these pretended miracles were not countenanced by the clergy, to whom William had been no friend, they were soon forgotten (87).

A.D. 1197. The animosity between the kings of France and England was so violent, that it could not be restrained within the bounds of peace by the most solemn treaties. Some disputes having arisen in Brittany about the guardianship of the young duke of that country, who was now about nine years of age; Richard sent an army to support his title to that office; which was disputed by many of the nobility, who put themselves, their sovereign, and their country, under the protection of the king of France. Philip warmly espoused their cause, and another war broke out between him and Richard, which continued from Midsummer A. D. 1196, to September 17th, this year, when it was terminated by a truce, without having produced any events worthy of a place in history (88).

A. D. 1198. While Richard found it necessary to continue on the continent to defend his dominions against his most inveterate enemy the king of France, England was governed with great wisdom, and preserved in perfect tranquillity, by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, who being both papal legate and chief justiciary, had great influence in all affairs civil and ecclesiastical (89). But though this kingdom enjoyed the blessing of peace, it was grievously afflicted with famine, occasioned by a succession of cold and rainy seasons; and this famine at length brought on a plague, that raged with so much violence for six months, that there were hardly so many persons in perfect health as were sufficient to attend the sick and bury the dead, who were thrown into great pits as soon as they expired (90). A contemporary writer, who gives a very affecting account

(87) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 20, 21. Chron. Gervasii, col. 1591.

(88) Chron. Brompt. col. 1272, &c. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 32.

(89) Gervas Acta Pontific. Cantuariens. col. 1679, &c.

(90) Chron. Brompt. col. 1271.

of this pestilence, observes, that the monasteries were the only places exempted from its ravages (91): a sufficient proof that the monks of those times enjoyed much better accommodations, and greater abundance of all things, than the rest of their countrymen. A.D. 1198.

A truce for five years had lately been concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the pope; and a negotiation was set on foot in the beginning of this year, under the same mediation, for establishing a lasting peace between these monarchs, that they might be at liberty to undertake a second expedition into the Holy Land, when an event happened that put an end to all these projects. A considerable treasure, consisting of ancient coins and medals, had been accidentally found in the lands of Vidomar viscount of Limoges, and was demanded from that nobleman by king Richard, who claimed a right to it as sovereign of the country. Vidomar consented to give up a part of the treasure; which Richard rejecting, marched at the head of a body of Brabançons, and invested the castle of Chalus near Limoges, where the treasure was supposed to be concealed, with a design to seize the whole, and to punish his refractory vassal. The garrison offered to surrender the castle, and all things in it, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with their arms. But Richard wantonly rejected this offer, declaring that he was determined to take the castle by force, and put them all to death. On the fourth day of the siege (March 28th), as the king, and Marcadee, commander of the Brabançons, were viewing the castle, in order to discover the most proper place for making an assault, Richard was wounded in the left shoulder with an arrow, discharged from a cross-bow by Bertrame de Gourdon, one of the garrison. After remaining some time in the same place, he mounted his horse, returned to his head-quarters, and gave directions for the assault. The castle was taken, and all its defenders, according to orders, were hanged, except Bertrame de Gourdon, who was probably reserved for some more cruel death. In pulling the arrow from the king's shoulder the iron A.D. 1199.
King Richard receives a wound of which he dies.

(91) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 26.

A.D. 1199. remained behind, which obliged the surgeon who seems not to have been expert in his profession, to make several deep incisions, in order to extract it. After some days the symptoms of a gangrene appeared; and a wound which at first was not thought dangerous, was now esteemed mortal. As soon as he became apprehensive of his death, he commanded Gourdon to be brought into his presence, and asked him, "What harm have I done to you that hath provoked you to attempt my death?"—"You have killed," replied Gourdon, "both my father and brother with your own hand, and designed to put me to an ignominious death. I am therefore ready to suffer the greatest torments you can invent, with joy, since I have been so happy as to kill one who hath been the author of so many miseries to mankind (92)." The king, conscious of the truth of this bold reply, bore it with patience; and commanded Gourdon to be set at liberty. But this command was not obeyed. For Marcadee kept him in prison, and as soon as the king expired, put him to a painful death (93). Though Richard, at his departure for the Holy Land, had declared his nephew Arthur duke of Brittany his heir, he made a different disposition on his death-bed, by bequeathing all his dominions and three-fourths of his treasure, to his brother prince John (94). No reasons are given for this important change by contemporary historians; and our conjectures concerning the motives to it can be but uncertain. Having expressed great penitence for his vices, and undergone a very severe discipline from the hands of the clergy who attended him in his last moments, he died on the tenth day after he was wounded, April 6th, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth of his reign (95).

Thus fell Richard I. in the prime of life, when engaged in an enterprise unworthy of his power, and not very honourable to his character. In his person he is

(92) Hoveden, p. 450. col. 1.

(93) Id. *ibid.*

(94) Rymer Fœder. l. 1. p. 66. 68. Hoveden, p. 450.

(95) Chron. Britant, col. 1279.

described by one who was intimately acquainted with him, to have been tall, strong, and handsome; his countenance fair and comely; his eyes blue and sparkling; his hair yellow; and his air stately and majestic (96). The natural endowments of his mind were not inferior to the perfection of his body. His understanding was excellent, his memory retentive, his imagination lively, and his courage so undaunted, that it procured him the surname of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted* (97). In consequence of these endowments, he is celebrated by contemporary writers, as a wise politician, an eloquent orator, an admired poet, and the most illustrious warrior of the age in which he flourished. One of these writers, who attended him in his expedition into the Holy Land, compares him to Ulysses for policy; to Nestor for eloquence; to Hector, Achilles, Alexander, and Rolland, for military talents (98). In his conversation he was pleasant and facetious; and his pleasantry did not forsake him even at the approach of death. When the archbishop of Rouen told him, in his last illness, that it was now high time to part with his three favourite daughters, his pride, avarice, and luxury; I am resolved, replied he, to dispose of them in marriage without delay; the first to the templars, the second to the monks, and the third to the prelates, because I know they love them dearly, and will treat them kindly (99). This prince was not so eminent for his virtues as for his accomplishments. On the contrary, though on some occasions he acted in a noble manner, especially to his prostrate enemies, he was in general haughty, cruel, covetous, passionate, and sensual, an undutiful son, an unfaithful husband, and a most pernicious king, having by his long absence and continued wars, drained his English dominions both of men and money.

John earl of Mortain, youngest son of Henry II. succeeded his brother Richard in the throne of Eng-

King John's
accession
and corona-
tion.

(96) Gaufréd. Vinisau. l. 2. c. 5.

(97) Chron. Brompt. col. 1278. Girald Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. 3. c. 50.

(98) Gaufréd. Vinisau. l. 2. c. 5.

(99) Chron. Brompt. col. 1279.

A.D. 1199. land, as well as in his foreign dominions, to the exclusion of Arthur duke of Brittany, the only son of Geoffrey his elder brother (100). The regular course of succession to the crown of this kingdom, in the representative of the eldest branch of the royal family, was, in this period, so imperfectly established, and had been so often violated, that this deviation from it occasioned little or no disturbance. John being in Normandy at the time of his brother's death, immediately flew to Chinon, where his treasures were deposited, and had them delivered to him, by Robert de Turnham, to whose custody they had been committed; after which he dispatched Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marechal earl of Strigul, into England, to secure the succession and preserve the peace of that kingdom (101). The influence of these commissioners was so great, that, with the assistance of Jeffrey Fitz-peers, the chief justiciary, they prevailed upon the body of the clergy, nobility, and people of all ranks to swear fealty to John; and having had a meeting at Northampton, with a few of the barons, who discovered some reluctance, they persuaded them also by many fair promises, to take the same oath (102). John's succession met with greater opposition on the continent, many of the barons of Anjou and Maine having declared in favour of Arthur duke of Brittany. This young prince, who was now about twelve years of age, was, by his mother Constantia, put into the hands of the king of France, to whom he did homage for all the dominions of his family on the continent, which engaged Philip to espouse his cause (103). This did not prevent John's being acknowledged and solemnly inaugurated duke of Normandy at Rouen, April 25th, by the archbishop of that city; after which he prepared for his passage into England; where he arrived, May 25th, and was crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the 27th of that month (104). On the

(100) Hoveden, p. 451. col. 1.

(101) Id. *ibid.*

(102) Id. *ibid.*

(103) M. Paris, col. 138.

(104) Id. *ibid.*

Hoveden, p. 451.

very day of this solemnity, John shewed his gratitude A.D. 1199.
to the three persons who had contributed most to his peaceable accession, by appointing the archbishop chancellor of England, and creating William Marechal earl of Pembroke, and Jeffrey Fitz-Pears earl of Essex (105).

John perceiving that a profound tranquillity prevailed in England embarked for Normandy, and landed at Dieppe, June 18th, and soon after concluded a truce with the king of France, till August 16th, when the two monarchs were to have a personal interview, in order to adjust all their differences. At this interview, which was held near Gaillon, Philip behaved with so much haughtiness, and his demands both for himself and for prince Arthur appeared to John so exorbitant, that he rejected them (106). On this the war was renewed; and Philip having made himself master of several places in Le Maine, in the months of September and October, demolished some, and retained others of them in his own possession. War with France.

This circumstance raised strong suspicions of his selfish views in the mind of William de Roches, the general of prince Arthur's forces; who, by a stratagem, conveyed that young prince from Paris to Le Mans, of which he was governor. Here he concluded a treaty with king John, into whose hands he put prince Arthur, and his mother Constantia, expecting greater favour to them from so near a relation, than from the king of France. But he soon had reason to repent of this transaction. For on the very next day he received intelligence, that the cruel uncle had formed designs against the life of his unhappy nephew; from which danger he was rescued by that faithful servant, who escaped with the prince and his mother from Le Mans to Angers (107). Prince Arthur delivered to John, and afterwards rescued from him.

In the beginning of this year a peace was concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the cardinal of Capua, the pope's legate, and cemented by a contract of marriage between prince Louis, Philip's eldest son, and Blanche of A.D. 1200.
Peace with France, and return to England.

(105) M. Paris, p. 138. Hoveden, p. 451.

(106) M. Paris, p. 138. Hoveden, p. 452.

(107) Hoveden, p. 452.

A.D. 1200. Castile, king's John's niece (108). Being now at liberty, John passed over into England, to collect the sum of twenty thousand marks, which by an article of the peace he was to pay to the king of France, and to have an interview with the king of Scotland, who was become very importunate in his demands of the northern counties. He succeeded in the first of these designs; but failed in the second, the king of Scotland declining the interview in discontent; on which John returned into Normandy (109).

John's marriage.

In a progress which he made into Guienne, in the summer of this year, to receive the homage of the barons of that province, he was captivated with the charms of Isabel, the young and fair daughter of Aymar, earl of Engoulesme, and the betrothed wife of Hugh le Brun, earl of La Marche, to whom she had been delivered. Aymar, dazzled with the lustre of a crown, decoyed his daughter from her betrothed husband; and John having obtained a divorce from his wife, to whom he had been married ten years, and with whom he had received the earldom of Gloucester, and many great estates, was married to Isabel by the archbishop of Bourdeaux (110). This marriage, equally criminal and imprudent, created him many enemies; amongst whom the injured husband was the most violent and implacable. The king conducted his young queen into England, and they were both solemnly crowned at Westminster, October 8th, by the archbishop of Canterbury (111).

King of Scotland does homage to John.

William king of Scotland, conducted by the bishop of Durham and three English earls, arrived at Lincoln November 21st, and the day after did homage to king John, for the territories that he held of the crown of England, on a hill without that city, in presence of a great concourse of the nobility of both kingdoms; insisting, at the same time, with much earnestness, on the immediate restitution of the northern counties. But the final decision of that claim was put off to the next Whitfuntide (112).

(108) Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 117, 118. Annal. Burton. p. 260.

(109) M. Paris, p. 139.

(110) Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris, p. 140.

(111) R. Hoveden, p. 461.

(112) R. Hoveden, p. 462.

King John, with his young queen, and a very splendid court, spent the first months of this year in a continued course of feasting, in which he much delighted; and celebrating the festival of Easter at Canterbury, he and his queen wore their crowns and royal robes, in imitation of the ancient kings and queens of England (113). But he was soon awakened from this dream of pleasure, by receiving intelligence from the continent that the enraged earl of La Marche, his brother the earl of Eu, and several other barons, had raised a rebellion in Guienne: on which he summoned all his English vassals and military tenants, to meet him with their horses and arms at Portsmouth, on Whitsunday, in order to attend him to the continent. Many of the English barons began on this occasion to discover their discontent; and, thinking the war too trifling for such an expensive expedition, declined to obey the summons; which obliged him to embark with a smaller army than he intended (114). Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had an interview with the king of France, who invited him to Paris, where he was lodged with his queen and court in the royal palace, and nobly entertained (115). Departing from Paris, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the borders of Guienne. But instead of prosecuting the war with vigour, he entered into a negotiation with the rebellious barons; and having pacified them a little, by promising to remove all the causes of their complaints, he returned to Rouen, to enjoy the society of his queen and the pleasures of his court (116).

A.D. 1201.
John's expedition into Guienne, &c.

In the mean time, Constantia duchess of Brittany dying at Nantes, August 31st, her only son Arthur took possession of that duchy, and soon after began to enter into engagements with the discontented barons of Guienne, and to lay claim to all the dominions of his family on the continent, to which he had an undoubted right (117).

Prince Arthur becomes duke of Brittany.

Philip, king of France, had for some time past been greatly embroiled with the pope, who had laid his kingdom under an interdict; and, on that ac-

A.D. 1202.
King of France espouses the

(113) Diceto, col. 709.

(114) R. Hoveden, p. 466. col. 1.

(115) Id. ibid.

(116) Gul. Breto. Philip, l. 6.

(117) Annal. Burton. p. 262.

A.D. 1202. count, he had thought it prudent to cultivate peace with all his neighbours, and particularly with king John (118). But being in the beginning of this year reconciled to the court of Rome, he found himself at liberty to pursue different measures. He openly declared himself the protector of the discontented barons of Guienne, and of the young duke of Brittany, and threatened John with an immediate war, if he did not do them justice. John, to divert this storm, if possible, proposed a personal interview. But at this interview, which was held, March 25th, near Andely, Philip's demands were so high, that they were rejected, and a war immediately commenced (119).

Prince Arthur taken prisoner by king John. In the beginning of this war the king of France made himself master of several towns in Normandy. But a very unfortunate event soon after happened that put a stop to his further progress. The youthful Arthur duke of Brittany, being now about sixteen years of age, full of spirit, and animated with the most violent resentment against a cruel ambitious uncle, who had robbed him of so fair a succession, took the field at the head of two hundred knights, and was soon after joined by many of the disaffected barons of Poitou and Guienne. As he was marching with his little army near the castle of Mirabel in Poitou, he received intelligence that his grandmother queen Eleanor, who had warmly espoused the cause of her son against her grandson, resided in that castle. At the earnest intreaty of his barons, to whom the queen was very obnoxious, he invested it. The back-court of the castle was taken; and the queen with the garrison driven into the tower or keep, when John, informed of his mother's danger, flew to her relief with an army of English and Brabançons. At the approach of this army the besiegers marched out to meet them, August 1st; but being overpowered by superior numbers, they fled back into the castle, where they were all either killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was the unfortunate duke of Brittany and the earl of La Marche (John's two greatest enemies), with many barons, and above two hundred knights, who were all loaded with irons, and sent to different

(118) Hoveden, p. 456.

(119) M. Paris, p. 144. col. 2.

prisons in Normandy and England (120). The king of France was so much affected with the news of this disaster that had befallen his friends, that he raised the siege of Arques, in which he was engaged, and retired to Paris (121). A.D. 1202.

If king John had known how to use the advantage he had gained with moderation and prudence, it might have contributed not a little to the peace and prosperity of his future reign. But by pursuing a contrary conduct, it involved him in guilt, disgrace and misery. Prince Arthur was at first confined in the castle of Falaise; where several persons were solicited to dispatch him, but rejected the base proposal. On this he was conducted to the castle of Rouen, where king John resided. Here the unhappy prince was murdered, April 3^d, in a manner not certainly known, and differently reported by historians, though they all agree, that the horrid deed was perpetrated at the instigation, if not by the hand, of his most cruel uncle (122). A.D. 1203.
Prince Ar-
thur mur-
dered

Immediately after this execrable act, John hastened into England, carrying with him the princess Eleanora, commonly called *The Maid of Brittany*, the sister of the late prince Arthur; and having committed her to prison, under keepers, on whom he could depend, he returned to Normandy (123). Many of the other prisoners were so cruelly treated, that they perished in their confinement, and no fewer than twenty-two of the noblest and bravest of them were starved to death in Corf castle (124). King John
having
brought
over the
maid of
Brittany,
returns to
Normandy.

No sooner were these cruel transactions published to the world, than John became the object of general execration (125). The barons of Brittany accused him of the murder of their prince before the king of France, of whom he held all his continental territories; and on his not appearing to answer to that charge, he was found guilty of treason John's fo-
reign do-
minions
invaded by
the king of
France.

(120) M. Paris, p. 144, 145. Annal. Waverlicn. p. 167. Ypodigma Neuftrize, p. 458.

(121) M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1.

(122) Annal. Margan, p. 13. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36. Chron. W. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 94. M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1. Hen. Knighton, col. 2414.

(123) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36.

(124) Id. ibid.

(125) M. Paris, p. 145. col. 2.

A. D. 1203. and felony, and all his dominions were forfeited (126):
 To execute this sentence Philip put himself at the head of his army; and being joined by several barons of Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, he made great progress in the conquest of Normandy in the course of this campaign, while his infatuated rival spent his time at Rouen in a succession of sleeping and rioting; and at length, December 6th, he abandoned the continent, and embarked for England (127).

A. D. 1204. After this shameful retreat of king John, Philip redoubled his efforts to complete the reduction of Normandy, which he accomplished before the end of this summer (128). At the same time, and with equal facility, he got possession of the provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, except a few places (129).

To alleviate in some measure the intolerable ignominy of losing so many fair provinces, the inheritance of his ancestors, without so much as attempting to preserve them, John endeavoured to throw some part of the blame upon his English barons, who, he pretended, had forsaken him, and thereby put it out of his power to defend his territories; for which he fined some, and confiscated the estates of others (130). In these oppressive measures he was supported by the great influence and authority of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury in the church, and of Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, the chief justiciary, in the state (131). He also prevailed upon a parliament, held at Oxford, to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half upon every knight's fee, for raising an army to be sent to Normandy (132). But no army was either raised or sent.

A. D. 1205. In the spring of this year, king John, feigning to have formed a resolution to attempt the recovery of his foreign territories, summoned all his barons, and other military tenants, to meet him at Portsmouth on

(126) *Annal. de Margan*, p. 13.

(127) *Id. ibid.* M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1. *Chron. Trevite*, ann.

1203.

(128) *Annal. Waverlien.* p. 168. *Chron. Hemingford*, l. 2. c.

100.

(129) *Ypodigma Neustrix*, p. 459.

(130) M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1. (131) *Id. ibid.*

(132) *Mat. Westmonasterienf. ann.* 1204.

Whitfunday, in order to attend him in an expedition A.D. 1205.
 to the continent. But when the army was assembled, and all things in readiness, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the archbishop of Canterbury to change his mind, and dismiss his troops. In a few weeks, however, changing, or pretending to change, his mind a second time, he embarked at Portsmouth with a small retinue, and put to sea, July 15th; but two days after returned to Stodland near Wareham, where he landed, making this ridiculous excursion a pretence for exacting money from his military tenants for their non-attendance (133). By this conduct, equally capricious and tyrannical, he incurred still more and more the contempt of his enemies and the hatred of his subjects.

John, being importuned by some of the nobles of Poitou, who still adhered to the English interest, to come to their assistance; and being also encouraged to that undertaking by Guy de Thouars, who governed Brittany, and became jealous of the increasing power of France, seemed at last to be roused from his ignominious indolence, and raised an army, with which he embarked at Portsmouth, June 25th, and landed at Rochelle, July 9th (134). But he did not conduct this enterprise in such a manner as to retrieve his honour, or recover any part of his dominions. For though he was joined by many barons of Poitou and Brittany, he did little more than plunder the open country; and as soon as the king of France approached with an army, he began to think of making his retreat. In order to accomplish this, he proposed a personal interview with Philip to treat of an accommodation; to which that prince agreed. But John, instead of appearing at the time and place appointed for the interview, made use of that opportunity of retiring with his army to Rochelle. By the mediation of the pope, and at the earnest intreaty of certain ecclesiastical negotiators, a truce for two years was concluded at 1 houars, October 27th; not long after which John embarked with his army for England, and landed at Portsmouth, December 12th (135).

(133) M. Paris, p. 148.

(134) Id. p. 149.

(135) Id. ibid. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 141.

A. D. 1207.
and 1208.

John's
quarrel
with the
popc.

The famous quarrel between king John and the pope about the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury was now commenced, and had come to so great a height, that the kingdom of England was laid under an interdict, March 24th, and the king was threatened with excommunication (136). To guard against the effects of these papal thunders, which in those days of darkness and superstition made the greatest monarchs tremble, John demanded and obtained hostages from his chief nobility, as a further security for his obedience and fidelity (137).

A. D. 1209.

John's ex-
pedition
against
Scotland,
and peace
made.

William king of Scotland had long been discontented, because the consideration of his claim to the northern counties had been put off from time to time. John, on the other hand, was no less dissatisfied with that prince—for having demolished a fort near Berwick—for having entertained fugitives from England—and for other causes (138). To put an end to these disputes, John marched into the north in the spring of this year, at the head of a very powerful army, and was met by William at the head of his forces, on the borders of Scotland. When the two armies lay facing each other near the castle of Norham, a treaty was proposed and concluded. By this treaty, which was ratified at Northampton, August 7th, William agreed to pay to John fifteen thousand marks at four different times, in consideration of certain concessions made to him in another charter, which is not preserved; and also to send his two daughters to be educated in the court of England, but not to be considered as hostages (139).

John's un-
popular
govern-
ment.

After his return from this northern expedition, John issued a proclamation, commanding all freeholders and tenants of the crown to repeat their homage, and renew their oaths of fealty; which prevented any commotions arising when the long-dreaded sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him in the month of November (140). But though the affection of his subjects was at this time so necessary to the support of his government, this imprudent prince could

(136) See chap. II. cent. 13.

(137) M. Paris, p. 158.

(138) Chron. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 101. M. Paris, p. 151. col. 2.

(139) Rymer Fæd. t. I. p. 155.

(140) M. Paris, p. 159.

not refrain from an unpopular and tyrannical exercise A.D. 1209. of his authority. He forbid the two admired diversions of hunting and hawking, under the severest penalties, and commanded all the fences about the royal forests to be thrown down, that his deer might have free access to the corn-fields (141).

In the first four months of this year, king John was A.D. 1210. keenly engaged in extorting money from his subjects, both clergy and laity, and particularly from the Jews, John's expedition into Ireland. in order, as he pretended, to raise an army for an expedition into Normandy (142). But when the army was raised, instead of directing his march towards Normandy, he passed through Wales, and landed in Ireland, June 6th. At his arrival in Dublin, more than twenty of the chieftains and petty princes of that country waited upon him, did homage, and swore fealty to him as their sovereign (143). During his stay in Ireland, which was about three months, he reduced the province of Connaught; drove Hugh de Lacy earl of Ulster, and his brother Walter de Lacy earl of Meath, against whom he had a quarrel, out of the country; and having thus overcome all opposition to his authority, he established the English laws in that island, and coined money of the same denominations, weight, and fineness, with that of England (144).

After his return from his Irish expedition, which John extorts money from the monks and nuns. was the most successful transaction of his unhappy reign, he held an assembly of all the abbots, abbeesses, priors, and superiors of religious houses, at London; and forced them to pay him no less than one hundred thousand pounds before he would allow them to depart (145); a sufficient proof of *their* wealth, as well as of *his* tyranny.

The honour that John had acquired by his expedition into Ireland, encouraged him to undertake one A.D. 1211. this year, against Llewellyn prince of North Wales, John's expedition into Wales. though he was his own son-in-law, by having married his natural daughter, named Jane. In his first attempt his army was reduced to great distress for want of provisions, which obliged him to return to England. Ir-

(141) M. Paris, p. 159.

(142) Annal. Waverlien. p. 172. M. Paris, p. 160.

(143) Id. *ibid.*(144) Id. *ibid.*(145) Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1211. irritated at this disappointment, he collected sufficient quantities of victuals of all kinds, and marched back into Wales, with so great an army, that Llewellyn, despairing of being able to defend his country, sent his consort to her father to implore a peace; which she obtained, on these conditions, that Llewellyn should do homage to John for his principality,—pay twenty thousand head of cattle, and forty horses, for the expences of the war,—and give twenty-eight hostages for his future fidelity (146). Returning triumphant from this expedition, John obliged all his military tenants who had not attended him in it, to pay a scutage of two marks for every knight's fee (147).

A.D. 1212. The success of his three expeditions into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, contributed not a little to support John's authority, and prevent any commotions in England, though that kingdom had now been about four years under an interdict. He was on the best terms with his nearest and most powerful neighbour the king of Scotland, with whom he had an interview at Durham, February 2d, and whose eldest son prince Alexander he knighted at London, March 4th (148). But notwithstanding this external tranquillity, and all these fair appearances, many of the English barons were secretly disaffected, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to revenge the injuries they had suffered from the avarice, lust, and cruelty of their sovereign. Such an opportunity was soon presented.

John deposed by the pope, and deserted by many of his barons.

The pope finding that the interdict and excommunication had not produced the desired effect, proceeding to greater extremities, pronounced a formal sentence of deposition against John, absolved all his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and invited the king of France, and all other Christian princes and people, to join in a croisade for putting that sentence in execution (149). Llewellyn prince of Wales was the first who took the field to execute this papal decree; and falling with an army into the English marches, destroyed the country with fire and sword. Enraged at these

(146) Powel Hist. Wales, p. 264. M. Paris, p. 160.

(147) M. Paris, p. 160.

(148) Id. p. 161.

(149) Annal. Waverlicn. p. 174. M. Paris, p. 162. Mat. West-monasterienf. ann. 1212.

cruelties,

cruelties, John raised a great army; and threatening the total extirpation of the Welsh, marched to Nottingham, where he commanded the twenty-eight young gentlemen who had been given as hostages for the late peace, to be hanged (150). At this place he received the first hints of the designs that were secretly forming against him by his barons, in letters from the king of Scotland, which were confirmed by similar intimations sent him by his daughter the princess of Wales. Alarmed at this intelligence, and not knowing whom to suspect or whom to trust, he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, for fifteen days; when recovering a little from his first surprise, he marched forward to Chester. But here, receiving accounts from several quarters, that the plots against him were ripe for execution, and that if he proceeded any further he would either be assassinated or delivered to the enemy, he dismissed his army, and hastened back to London, to take measures for his preservation. Some of the conspirators, as Eustace de Vesci, and Robert Fitz-Walter, fled out of the kingdom; others were imprisoned on suspicion; and the rest gave their sons and nearest relations as hostages for their fidelity (151). Still further to guard against the dreaded danger, he seldom appeared in public, and kept certain companies of foreign mercenaries constantly about his person (152). Conferences were held towards the end of this year with Pandulph and Durand, the pope's agents, in order to an accommodation with the court of Rome; but John being not yet sufficiently humbled to submit to the ignominious yoke they intended to wreathe about his neck, these conferences broke off without effect (153).

The effects of the sentence of deposition that had been pronounced by the pope against the king of England, now began to appear in a very formidable light. The king of France had spent the greatest part of last year in preparing a fleet and army for executing that sentence, by invading England, dethroning John, and seating himself in his room. All things being in readiness, the French army was appointed to

A.D. 1212.

A.D. 1213.
Preparations in
France for
invading
England.

(150) M. Paris, p. 161.

(151) M. Paris, p. 161. Chron. Trivetii, ann. 1212.

(152) Annal. Waverlieni. p. 173. (153) Id. p. 174, 175.

A.D. 1213. rendezvous at Rouen, April 21st, and from thence to march to Boulogne, where a fleet of seventeen hundred ships was prepared for their reception (154).

John's preparations for opposing the invaders.

John was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but made every possible preparation for a brave defence. On March 3d, he sent precepts to the bailiffs of all the sea-ports of England, commanding them to take an exact list of all the ships in those ports capable of carrying six horses or upwards, and to order the masters of these ships to have them at Portsmouth on or before the 24th of that month (155). About the same time he sent similar precepts to the sheriffs, commanding them to summon all the earls, barons, knights, military tenants, or others who had or ought to have arms, in their respective counties, to appear at Dover, April 21st, for the defence of the kingdom, of the king's life, and of their own lives (156). In obedience to this summons, such prodigious multitudes crowded to the rendezvous, that a scarcity of provisions followed, and obliged the king to dismiss all who were imperfectly armed; after which no fewer than sixty thousand brave and well-appointed troops remained (157).

John reciled to the pope, and becomes his vassal.

When the kings of France and England were thus stationed on the opposite shores, at the head of all their forces, ready to determine the fate of this mighty kingdom, Pandulph, the pope's legate, sent two knights templars to John to propose a private conference. The proposal was accepted; and the legate, in an interview with John at Dover, painted the power of Philip in such strong colours, and gave him such convincing evidence of the general disaffection of his own nobility, that he was overwhelmed with dismay, and declared himself ready to submit to any terms for his preservation from impending ruin. The artful agent of Rome having brought the wretched prince to this point, produced the conditions on which the pope was willing to relax him from the censures, and receive him into the protection, of the church; which were immediately subscribed, May 13th, by him and his greatest barons. By this agreement John engaged to

(154) M. Paris, p. 161.

(156) Id. p. 163.

(155) Id. *ibid.*

(157) Id. *ibid.*

receive Stephen Langton, the archbishop appointed by the pope, with all the bishops and clergy who had adhered to him, into favour, and to repair all the damages they had sustained, in the course of this long and violent quarrel, on the performance of which the interdict was to be taken off (158). To give a more effectual check to the king of France (of whose power the pope began to be afraid), and to bring the thunders of the church to point directly upon him if he presumed to proceed in his enterprise against England, it was contrived, most probably by Pandulph, that John should resign his kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of his holiness, and agree to hold them of him; paying a tribute of seven hundred marks a-year for the former, and three hundred marks for the latter: and this ignominious ceremony was actually performed at Dover, May 15th (159).

Pandulph having thus effectually accomplished his designs in England, and acquired the sovereignty of two kingdoms to the church of Rome, returned to France, and commanded Philip, in the pope's name, to desist from attempting any thing against the king of England, who was become the vassal of the holy see. To this insolent command that monarch, after some angry but vain expostulations, thought it prudent to yield obedience (160). In this manner, in those days of darkness and superstition, did an old infirm priest, sitting in his chamber at Rome, regulate all the motions of the most powerful princes as he pleased!

The king of France being thus obliged to abandon his intended invasion of England, turned his arms against Ferrand earl of Flanders, who, with some other princes on the continent, had entered into an alliance with king John, to form a balance against the increasing power of Philip (161). The French army being very great, took several of the strongest towns of Flanders in a little time, and threatened the conquest of the whole country. In this extremity, Ferrand implored the assistance of all his allies, and particular-

A.D. 1213.

The papal legate commands the king of France to desist from his intended invasion of England.

Engagement between the English and French fleets.

(158) Chron. N. Triveti, ann. 1213. Annal. Waverlien. p. 177. M. Paris, p. 164.

(159) M. Paris, p. 165. Knighton, l. 11. c. 15. col. 2419.

(160) M. Paris, p. 165.

(161) Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 157. 160, 161.

A. D. 1213.

ly of the king of England who commanded his fleet consisting of five hundred ships, which had been collected for the defence of the kingdom against the expected invasion, to sail from Portsmouth, and attack the French fleet on the coast of Flanders. These two great fleets (that of France being still more numerous than the other) met off the port of Dam, where they immediately engaged, and the English obtained a complete victory, taking three hundred vessels loaded with provisions, &c. destroying one hundred, and dispersing all the rest (162). Philip was so much confounded at the news of this great disaster by which he and his nobility had lost their most valuable effects, that he retired with his army into his own dominions, and gave orders to burn such of his ships as were in danger of falling into the hands of the English.

John's intended expedition into Normandy prevented this year.

John, as much elated as his rival was dejected by this event, formed the scheme of an expedition to the continent for the recovery of his foreign territories; which, if it had been executed with spirit, could hardly have failed of success. But when this design was communicated to the nobility, who were in general disaffected, they refused to engage in it, alleging that the time of their service was expired, and that their provisions were exhausted (163). Though John was much enraged at this refusal, not having it in his power to compel them by force, he retired to bring them by a stratagem to engage in this expedition. With this view he embarked with his household troops, and sailed from Portsmouth to Jersey, hoping that his barons would follow him with their forces. But, instead of this, they separated, and retired to their respective countries: of which John being informed, he returned to England more enraged than ever. Having collected a considerable army, chiefly of mercenaries, he directed his march towards the north, with a resolution to chastise some of the barons in those parts, who were the chief objects of his resentment. But when he had proceeded as far as Nottingham, he was overtaken by archbishop Langton, who threatened him and all his followers with the terrible sentence of excom-

(162) M. Paris, p. 166. Mezeray, vol. 2. p. 622.

(163) M. Paris, p. 166.

munication,

munication, if he prosecuted his revenge any further ; A.D. 1213.
 which obliged him to desist (164).

Though John had been thus constrained to delay A.D. 1214.
 his expedition to the continent, he had by no means John's un-
 abandoned the design ; in which he was encouraged by successful
 his allies, the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Tholouse, expedition
 and Auvergne. All these princes came over to Eng- to the con-
 land in January this year, and formed a plan for invad- tinent.
 ing France on both sides at the same time ; on the side
 of Flanders, by Otho emperor of Germany, the earls
 of Flanders and Boulogne, assisted by some English
 troops ; and on the other side by king John, in con-
 junction with the earls of Tholouse, Auvergne, and
 his other confederates in those parts (165). To exe-
 cute his part of this plan, king John embarked with
 an army at Portsmouth February 2d, landed at Ro-
 chelle February 15th ; and being joined by his allies,
 took several towns in Poitou and Anjou (166). His
 other allies invaded France on the other side, at the
 same time, with an army of one hundred and fifty
 thousand men. But this great army was defeated at
 Bovines, July 27th : the earls of Flanders, Holland,
 Boulogne, and Salisbury, with about one hundred and
 forty other earls and barons, were taken prisoners ; and
 the emperor Otho made his escape with much difficulty
 (167). On receiving the news of this disaster, and
 of the approach of Louis prince of France with an
 army, John retired with great precipitation, abandon-
 ed all his conquests, and returned to England, Octo-
 ber 19th, having concluded a five years truce with king
 Philip (168).

The schemes that had been forming for some time A.D. 1215.
 past among the English barons, for recovering and se- Civil war
 curing their liberties, being now become ripe for execu- between
 tion, a great number of these barons, attended by king John
 their followers in arms, waited upon the king, at Lon- and his
 don, January 6th, and demanded a confirmation of barons.
 the liberties that had been granted to their ancestors
 by Henry I. in his charter, a copy of which they pro-

(164) M. Paris, p. 167.

(165) Id. p. 172.

(166) Id. p. 172, 173. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 189.

(167) Chron. Mailros, p. 187. M. Paris, p. 174, 175.

(168) Rymer Fœd. p. 192.

A.D. 1215, duced (169). After some altercation, the king promised to return an answer to this demand at the end of Easter next; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishop of Ely and the earl of Pembroke, becoming sureties for his performing this promise, the barons were satisfied, and retired. John resolving in his own mind not to grant the demands of his barons, employed various arts to secure himself from the effects of their resentment. With this view he commanded all his subjects to renew their oaths of fealty;—granted to all cathedrals, monasteries, and conventual societies, the right of electing their superiors;—took the cross for the recovery of the Holy Land;—and sent ambassadors to his sovereign lord the pope, to accuse his barons of rebellion, and solicit the thunders of the church against them (170). By these steps, the barons being convinced that nothing could be obtained without a sufficient power to enforce their demands, assembled at Stamford in Easter week, with all their followers, who constituted a formidable army, and marched, April 27th, to Brackley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, where the king then resided (171). On the approach of the barons, John sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, to ask what were the liberties and privileges that they desired. To these ambassadors the barons delivered a schedule, containing the heads of their demands; which being presented to the king, he rejected them with indignation, declaring, that he never would grant such liberties to his subjects as would make himself a slave (172). On receiving this answer, the barons, without paying any regard to the pope's letters, threatening them with excommunication, broke out into open war, and invested the castle of Northampton, which they could not take, for want of battering engines (173). But they were more successful in their next attempts. For after they had taken the castle of Bedford, having received an invitation from the chief citizens of London, they marched thither, and took possession of that capital, May 24th (174).

(169) M. Paris, p. 176.

(170) Id. *ibid.* Rymer Fœd. p. 197.

(171) M. Paris.

(172) Id. *ibid.*

(173) Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 169, 179. M. Paris, p. 177.

(174) Id. *ibid.*

The king, who had retired from Oxford to Odeham, finding himself abandoned almost by all the world, sent the earl of Pembroke to the insurgents at London, to propose a conference, in order to an accommodation. This conference was accordingly held in a large meadow between Windfor and Stanes, where, on Friday, June 19th, the famous charter, called *Magna Charta*, or, *The Great Charter*, was granted by king John (175). To secure the possession of those inestimable privileges granted by this charter, the palladium of English liberty, many precautions were taken by the barons, and, in particular, twenty-five of their own number were appointed to be conservators of the charter, and invested with the most extensive powers for that purpose (176).

A.D. 1215.

King John grants the great charter.

After king John had granted this charter, he became fullen, melancholy, and dejected; and retiring with a few confidants to the Isle of Wight, he began to form schemes for recovering the prerogatives which he had relinquished. With this view he dispatched orders to all the commanders of his castles, to repair their fortifications, and furnish them with provisions. He sent agents to the continent, to collect an army of Brabantines and other mercenaries, and bring them into England;—and, by ambassadors, he again applied to the pope for his protection and assistance (177). While these emissaries were executing their commissions, John lived for three months in the greatest obscurity in the Isle of Wight, conversing only with the sailors of the Cinque ports, whose affections he thereby gained.

John's discontent at his granting the great charter, and his preparations for recalling it.

The king's ambassadors met with a most favourable reception at the court of Rome; and having read some of the most offensive articles of the great charter to the pope, his holiness knit his brows, and swore by St. Peter, "that he would not suffer a king who bore the sign of the cross, and was a vassal of the Holy See, to be treated in that manner with impunity (178)." To execute these threats, he issued one

The pope condemns the great charter, and excommunicates the barons.

(175) See Judge Blackstone's Law-tracts, vol. 2. introduc. See chap. 3.

(176) M. Paris, p. 181.

(177) Id. p. 183, 184.

(178) M. Paris, p. 148.

A.D. 1215. bull, August 24th, annulling the great charter, as extorted by force; and another, not long after, denouncing excommunication against the barons and all their favourers (179).

John takes
Rocheiter
castle.

About the time that these bulls were brought to England, John received a more effectual succour, by the landing of a great army of Brabantines, and other mercenaries, at Dover; which encouraged him to emerge from his obscurity, and invest the castle of Rocheiter. This was a dreadful blow upon the barons, who had been lulled asleep by the king's retirement, and the contempt in which they held him. The castle, however, was bravely defended by a garrison of one hundred and forty knights, with their followers, under the command of William de Albeney. But at the end of two months, their provisions being exhausted, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, November 30th (180).

A.D. 1216. In the beginning of this year, king John's affairs were in a very flourishing situation. Having divided his forces, which were very numerous, into two armies, he left one of them under the command of the earl of Salisbury near London, and marched with the other into the north. The first of these armies greatly straitened the metropolis, and took several towns and castles in its neighbourhood; and the second struck such terror as it advanced northward, that the confederated barons of Yorkshire and Northumberland abandoned their country and fled into Scotland (181). John, as usual, made a cruel use of his superiority, desolating the open country with fire and sword, and burning all the towns that fell into his hands, particularly Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Roxburgh Dunbar, and Haddington, which were all reduced to ashes, in the month of January this year (182). About the same time, the pope's bull excommunicating all the confederated barons by name, and laying their lands under an interdict, was published in all parts of England, except London (183).

(179) Rymer. Fœd. t. 1. p. 204, 205. 208.

(180) M. Paris, p. 137.

(181) Chron. Mailtos, p. 190. M. Paris, p. 190.

(182) Id. p. 191. Chron. Mailtos, p. 190.

(183) M. Paris, p. 192.

The barons being thus reduced to the very brink of ruin, and knowing too well the cruel unrelenting disposition of their prince to think of making their submission, sent their general, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Saker earl of Winton, to Philip king of France, to make an offer of the throne of England to prince Louis, his eldest son. A dangerous step! to which nothing could have driven them but despair; which, a contemporary historian tells us, was so great, that they cursed both the king and the pope, in the bitterness of their souls (184). Their splendid offer was joyfully accepted by Philip and his son, who sent them an immediate reinforcement of seven thousand men, and prepared to bring them in person a more effectual relief (185).

A.D. 1216.
The barons offer the crown of England to Louis prince of France.

These preparations were carried on with so much vigour, that prince Louis arrived with a fleet of six hundred ships, at the isle of Thanet, and landed his army at Sandwich, May 23d, without opposition (186). Having taken the castle of Rochester in his march, May 30th, he entered London, June 2d, in a kind of triumph, amidst the loudest acclamations of the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who did homage to him as their sovereign, and received his promise, upon oath, that he would restore them to all their possessions, and protect them in all their privileges (187).

Prince Louis lands with his army, takes Rochester, and enters London.

The state of things was now entirely changed, and king John, who a few months before was on the point of overwhelming all his enemies, was obliged to retire from place to place, being abandoned by several of his barons, and many of his mercenaries. The pope was still his steady friend, and by the hands of Gualo, his legate in England, discharged all the artillery of the church against his adversaries. But these, being unsupported by a military force, did little execution.

King John in great distress.

After prince Louis had received the homage of the Londoners and the barons of his party, he took the field, and in a few months reduced all the south of

Prince Louis besieges Dover castle in vain.

(184) M. Paris, p. 193.

(185) Radulf. Niger, p. 144.

(186) M. Paris, p. 195.

(187) Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1216. England to his obedience, except the castle of Dover. It was before this castle, which he invested July 22d, that the prince met with an obstacle, that put a stop to the current of his prosperity. The brave Hubert de Burgh, at the head of one hundred and forty knights, besides a great number of gentlemen and common soldiers, defended it with so much skill and valour, that many of the besiegers were slain, and all their attacks repulsed, though they employed against it the most famous battering engine then in the world, called *Evil-neighbour* (188). This obstinate resistance so irritated prince Louis, that he swore a solemn oath, That he would not raise the siege till he had taken the castle, and hanged all the garrison (189). An oath which he was never able to perform, and which probably lost him the crown of England.

Operations
of the war,
and death of
king John.

While prince Louis was wasting his time and strength to no purpose before the castle of Dover, king John, having recruited his army, broke into the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, and committed dreadful devastations on the estates of the revolted barons. Some of those barons also began to discover their error in inviting one to be their protector, who might become their conqueror; and Louis had given such plain indications of his partiality to his own countrymen, and aversion to the English, that the earl of Salisbury, William Mareschal, Walter Beauchamp, and several others, abandoned his party. But king John did not live to enjoy this returning dawn of good fortune. For having marched from Lyne-Regis in Norfolk, over the sands into Lincolnshire, at an improper time, the rear of his army was overtaken by the flowing tide, and fell into certain quicksands in which he lost all his carriages, containing his regalia, money, provisions and baggage of all kinds. This disaster added to many other causes of chagrin, threw him into a fever, which increased so fast, that it was with great difficulty he reached Newark upon Trent; where he died, October 19th, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. In his last moments he is said to have received letters from

(188) M. Paris, p. 198.

(189) Id. *ibid.*

forty of his revolted barons, declaring their resolution to return to his obedience, which (though they came too late to afford him any comfort) produced a revolution favourable to his family, which will be related in the beginning of the fourth book of this work (190). A. D. 1216.

The odious character that hath been given of king John by all our ancient historians, is but too well supported by the particulars of his history. From thence it appears,—that he was an unnatural son, having conspired against a most indulgent father;—an unkind brother, having attempted the ruin of king Richard, who had loaded him with favours;—a cruel uncle, having murdered his nephew prince Arthur, and kept his niece the princess Eleanora in perpetual imprisonment;—a jealous and unfaithful husband, having repudiated one wife, and imprisoned another, and violated his faith to both by innumerable adulteries. He discovered his contempt of religion,—by his wanton violation of the most solemn oaths,—his horrid habitual swearing,—and his insipid sarcasms on sacred things. The public character of this prince was, if possible, more detestable than his private; and if he was a bad man, he was a worse king; having suffered himself to be stript of his foreign dominions without a struggle, and subjected his kingdom to the ignominious yoke of Rome. In his administration he paid no regard to justice, law, or mercy; ; but acted the part of a lustful, rapacious, and bloody tyrant, sporting with the honours, the fortunes, and lives of his unhappy subjects. His tyranny was productive of many miseries, to himself, his family, and his people; and yet, such is the wisdom and goodness of divine providence! it became the occasion of many blessings to posterity. For his intolerable oppressions drove his barons into the field, and procured them the Great Charter, which perhaps they would not have asked from a better, nor obtained from a braver prince.

King John, besides many natural children, left two legitimate sons, and three daughters; viz. Henry, His issue.

(190) M. Paris, p. 198, 199. Chron. Trivetii, ann. 1216. Hen. Nuyghton, col. 2425. Annal. Waverliën. p. 182.

A.D. 1216. born October 1st, A. D. 1207; Richard, born January 6th, A. D. 1209; Jane married to Alexander king of Scotland; Eleanor, married first to the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to the famous earl of Leicester: and Isabella married to the emperor Frederic II.

History of
Wales.

DAVID AP OWEN succeeded his father Owen Gwyneth in the government of North Wales, A. D. 1169, to the exclusion of Lhwelyn, his eldest brother's son, and kept possession of it to A. D. 1194. He was then dispossessed by prince Lhwelyn, and being defeated in several attempts he made to recover what he had lost, he died, it is said, of a broken heart A. D. 1204. From that time Lhwelyn defended his dominions with so much valour, and governed them with so much wisdom, to his death, A. D. 1240, that he was much honoured and loved by the Welsh, who gave him the pompous title of *The Great* (191). To relate the almost innumerable quarrels of the Welsh among themselves, and with the English upon their borders, in this period, would take up much room, and could afford little instruction or entertainment. It is sufficient to say, that they were the same brave and warlike people they had ever been; and, as they were under the direction of many petty chieftains, and had a most invincible antipathy to their nearest neighbours, they were almost constantly engaged in war against one another, or against the English.

History of
Scotland in
the reign of
William
the Lion.

William the Lion, king of Scotland, reigned almost half a century, and was the contemporary of three kings of England. In the former part of his reign he was so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner (as hath been already related), and obliged to sacrifice the independency of his kingdom to recover the freedom of his person. In the present period he was more prosperous. For Richard I. before his departure for the Holy Land, in order to gain the friendship of the king and people of Scotland, that they might not disturb the peace of his dominions in his absence, and in order to procure a sum of money, of which he stood

in need, agreed to restore William and his kingdom A. D. 1186. to their former independency. This was accordingly done at Canterbury, 5th December, A. D. 1189, by a charter, in which he restores the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, relinquishes all obligations that his father Henry had extorted from William in his captivity; releases the people of Scotland from the oaths of homage they had taken to Henry, and gives up all charters containing these obligations and oaths (192). For this valuable charter William paid to Richard ten thousand marks, equal in quantity of silver to about twenty thousand pounds of our money at present, and in efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds at least (193). This generous concession of Richard seems to have gained the hearts of the king and people of Scotland, who could not be prevailed upon to join with the king of France and prince John in their schemes against that unfortunate prince in his distress, but, on the contrary, contributed a considerable sum of money towards his ransom (194). William visited Richard on his return to England after his captivity, assisted at his second coronation, obtained a charter, regulating the entertainment of the kings of Scotland in their journies to and from the court of England; but could not obtain the restitution of the northern counties (195).

The internal tranquillity of Scotland was disturbed in the year 1196 and 1197, by some insurrections in Caithness and Sutherland; but they were soon suppressed, and their authors punished (196). Several schemes had been proposed for settling the succession of the crown in case the king, who was now old, should happen to die without male issue; but queen Ermengard was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, A. D. 1198, which put an end to all these schemes, to the great joy both of the king and his subjects (197).

(192) Rymer Fœdera, vol. I. p. 64.

(193) Benedict. Abbas, p. 576.

(194) Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1193.

(195) Hoveden. Annal. p. 420, &c. Rymer Fœdera, tom. I. p. 87.

(196) Chron. Mailros, p. 180, 181.

(197) Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1216.

After the accession of king John to the crown of England, William did homage to him at Lincoln, 22d November, A. D. 1200, for his lands in England, with a saving of the rights of his crown (198). He then demanded, as he had often done before, the restitution of the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland; but, at John's earnest request, allowed him till Whitfunday after to give his answer to this demand; which he delayed still longer to give, on various pretences (199). John's repeated delays to return a direct answer to the demand of the northern counties, and his erecting a castle opposite to Berwick, in which he was interrupted by William, increased the misunderstanding between the two monarchs, and threatened a war. To prevent this, John and William held a conference at Norham, A. D. 1204; but separated without any positive agreement (200). When things had continued some years in this unsettled state, an open rupture took place, and both kings appeared at the head of their armies on the borders, A. D. 1209, seemingly resolved to determine all their disputes by the sword, which they had long laboured in vain to settle by negotiation. But a battle was prevented by the interposition of the nobles of both nations, the armies were disbanded, and a conference appointed to be held between the two kings at Newcastle. The king of Scotland being suddenly taken ill at the beginning of the conference, nothing was concluded but a short truce; at the expiration of which both kings collected their forces, and marched again to the borders (201). The nobles interposed a second time, and procured a meeting between their sovereigns at Norham; in which a treaty of peace was concluded on conditions that are not very well known, because the charter in which they were contained hath never been published, and is probably destroyed. All we know with certainty is,—that the king of Scotland bound himself to pay to John 15,000 marks in two years, by four equal payments, to gain his good will, and to fulfil the conventions contained in a charter confirmed by both

(198) R. Hoveden, ad ann. 1200, p. 461. col. 2.

(199) *Id. ibid.*

(200) Fordun, l. 8. c. 66.

(201) *Id. ibid.* c. 69.

kings;

kings;—that he gave hostages to secure the payment of that money;—and that he put his two daughters into the hands of the king of England (202). The only question is, What were the conditions contained in that charter, for which so great a sum of money was paid, and the princesses were delivered? An English parliament, about thirty years after this, declared, that the conditions were,—That the two princesses should be married to king John's two sons; and that the money, together with a renunciation of his claim to the northern counties, was given by William as their marriage-portion (203). This is further confirmed by the claim to the northern counties being renewed by king Alexander, the son and successor of William, and the repayment of the 15,000 marks demanded, because the stipulations contained in that charter had not been performed (204). William the Lion, after a lingering illness, died at Stirling, 6th December, A. D. 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign (205).

Alexander II. the only legitimate son of William, succeeded his father in the throne of Scotland, and was crowned at Scone, 20th December, A. D. 1214, being then in the seventeenth year of his age (206). This young prince espoused the cause of the English barons against king John, because these barons engaged to surrender to him the northern counties, which had long been the great object of the ambition of the kings of Scotland. To fulfil his engagements with his allies, he raised an army, marched into Northumberland, and received the homage of the barons of that county, at Felton, 18th October A. D. 1215 (207). King John, being now at the head of a powerful army of mercenaries, directed his march northward, destroying the estates of the confederated barons of Yorkshire; who retired into Scotland, and did homage to Alexander at the abbey of Melros, 15th January A. D. 1216 (208). But nothing could stop the pro-

(202) Rymer Fœdera, t. I. c. 155.

(203) Additamenta M. Parisiensis, p. 99. col. I.

(204) Rymer Fœd. t. I. p. 375. col. I.

(205) Chron. Mailros, p. 186.

(206) Id. ibid.

(207) Id. p. 189.

(208) Id. p. 190.

A. D. 1216. gress of John and his mercenaries, who, in their march, burnt the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, Wark, and Bokesborough, and having taken Berwick, perpetrated the most horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. Advancing into Scotland, they burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington, and in their return the abbey of Coldingham and the town of Berwick; John declaring, that he was determined to smoke the little Red Fox (so he called Alexander) out of his hole (209). King John being obliged to return into the south, to oppose an expected invasion from France, under prince Louis, Alexander invaded Cumberland in the month of February; and some of the Scots in his army, by whom the historians of those times mean the people of the highlands, robbed the abbey of Holmcultram; but in their way home with their booty, about two thousand of them were drowned in the river Eden (210). Alexander invaded Cumberland a second time, in the month of July, with all his army, except the Scots, i. e. the highlanders, and, in August, he took the city, but not the castle of Carlisle (211). From thence he marched with his army quite through England, plundering the estates of those barons who adhered to John; and arriving at Dover, where Louis was besieging the castle, he did homage to that prince for all his lands in England, and particularly for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, which were granted to him by charter (212). On his return home he met with some obstruction in passing the Trent, from the army of king John; from which he was relieved by the death of that prince at Newark, 19th October 1216.

(209) Chron. Mailros. M. Paris ad ann. 1215, 1216. p. 191.

(210) Chron. Mailros, p. 190.

(211) Id. p. 191.

(212) Rymer Fœd. tom. 2. p. 217.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

C H A P. II.

History of Religion in Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

S E C T I O N I.


History of Religion, from A. D. 1066; to A. D. 1100.

TH E religious opinions and practices of the ancient Britons, in the first period of this work, and those of the Anglo-Saxons in the beginning of the second, were so little known, that it was thought proper to begin the history of religion in each of these periods, with a delineation of—its objects—its principles—its rites—its ministers—its temples, and other circumstances (1). But as the Normans, English, and all the other nations of Britain, had embraced the Christian religion long before the beginning of this

Cent. XI.

All the people of Britain in this period were Christians.

(1) See b. I. ch. 2. sect. 1. b. 2. ch. 2. sect. 1.

Cent. XI.  period, nothing of that kind is necessary in the present chapter; in which it will be sufficient to give a very brief detail of the most important ecclesiastical transactions, in the order of time in which they happened.

Anglo-Saxon prelates deprived, and Normans put in their sees. Soon after William the Conqueror was seated in the throne of England, he seems to have formed the design of depriving the most eminent of the English clergy of their dignities in the church, in order to bestow them on his countrymen, or on others on whose attachment he could depend. To accomplish this design with the greater ease, he engaged the pope to send legates into England, for regulating the affairs of that church, which he pretended were in great disorder (2). The papal legates, John and Peter, two cardinal priests, and Hermanfrede bishop of Sion, held a great council of the English clergy, in the presence of the king, at Winchester, on the octaves of Easter, A. D. 1070; in which Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Agilmare bishop of Norwich, and several English abbots, were deposed, on various pretences (3). In another council, convened at Windsor on Whitsunday that same year, Agilric bishop of Chichester, and some more English abbots, were deposed: with which severities the bishops of Lincoln and Durham were so much alarmed, that they left their sees, and retired into Scotland (4). By these depositions and resignations, as well as by the death of several English prelates, many of the chief dignities of the church were now vacant, which were all filled with the king's foreign favourites and countrymen. Lanfranc abbot of Caen, and Thomas canon of Bayeux, were made archbishops of Canterbury and York, while Walkelin, Walkerine, Herefact, Stigand, Peter, Hernian, and Remigius, all Normans, were placed in the sees of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Chichester, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln (5).

(2) Lanfranci Opera, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 516.

(3) Wilkins Concilia, tom. 1. p. 322. W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific. p. 117.

(4) Simeon Dunelm. col. 202. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 323.

(5) Inett's Church History, vol. 2. p. 14, 15.

These fortunate foreigners, exalted by the fall, and enriched by the spoils of the unhappy English, did not long continue in a state of harmony amongst themselves, but a most violent quarrel broke out between the two archbishops about the primacy. When Thomas, elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated, Lanfranc, on the day appointed for that ceremony, demanded of him an oath and written profession of canonical obedience to himself and successors, as primates of all England; which the other absolutely refusing, departed in great anger, without being consecrated. But Lanfranc having convinced the king and his council of the justice of his claim, Thomas was commanded to return, and take the oath, and make a profession of obedience to Lanfranc, without mentioning his successors; and with this command he thought proper to comply (6).

Cent. XI.

Dispute about the primacy.

This year the two new archbishops of England made a journey to Rome to receive their palls; and when they were there, Thomas complained to the pope of the submission he had been constrained by royal authority to make at his consecration; affirming, that the sees of York and Canterbury were of equal dignity. On the other hand, Lanfranc produced various evidences of the superiority of his see. But the holy father, unwilling to offend either of the prelates, or disoblige the king of England, declined to judge in that matter, and declared, that it ought to be determined by an English synod (7). Accordingly two great councils were held, one at Easter, and the other at Whitsuntide, A. D. 1072, in which this important question of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the presence of the king, queen, and all the court; and at length determined in favour of Canterbury, to the great mortification of the clerical pride of the one prelate, and exultation of the other (8).

A. D. 1071, &c.

That dispute determined in favour of Canterbury.

After this dispute was determined, Lanfranc presided in several councils of the clergy of both provinces, in which many ecclesiastical canons were made, though few of them are intitled to the atten-

1075, &c. Several councils held.

(6) W. Malmf. p. 117.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Id. ibid. Lanfran. Opera, p. 201. Wilkin. Concil. 4. p. 327.

Cent. XI. tion of posterity. By one of these councils very severe penances were prescribed to those who had killed or wounded any person in the battle of Hastings, commonly called *the great battle*, where they had fought for or against the duke of Normandy. The archers who could not know how many men they had killed or wounded, were to do penance for three lents. All these penances might be redeemed by money, or by building and endowing churches; to promote which was probably the intention of the council in these tyrannical impositions (9). By the eighth canon of a council held at London, A. D. 1075, it is decreed, "That the bones of dead animals shall not be hung up, to drive away the pestilence from cattle; and that sorcery, sooth-sayings, divinations, and such works of the devil shall not be practised (10)." The celibacy of the clergy had been enjoined by a thousand canons, but as yet without a full effect. So difficult is it for the laws of men to overcome the laws of nature! By one of the canons of an English council, held at Winchester A. D. 1076, the secular clergy who had wives, are allowed to keep them; which is a sufficient proof that they formed a very powerful party: but those who had not wives, are forbidden to marry; and bishops are prohibited for the future to ordain any man who had a wife (11).

Extrava-
gant claims
of pope
Gregory
VII. reject-
ed.

Pope Alexander II. having died, April 20th, A. D. 1073, he was immediately succeeded by the famous Hildebrand, archdeacon of Rome, who assumed the name of Gregory VII. and became the most turbulent and aspiring pontiff that had ever filled St. Peter's chair. So boundless was the ambition of this haughty priest, that he claimed the supreme dominion of the whole world, and attempted to bring all emperors, kings, and princes, under subjection to his authority (12). In prosecution of those insolent pretensions, he dispatched his legate Hubert into England, to assert his title to that kingdom, and demand an oath of fealty from king William, together with the immedi-

(9) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Canons, vol. 2. A. D. 1072.

(10) Id. ibid. A. D. 1076. Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 7.

(11) Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 13.

(12) Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. 11. c. 5. p. 33, &c.

ate payment of all the arrears of Peter-pence, which he affected to call a tribute. But William (though he had always professed great veneration for the bishops of Rome, by whom he had been countenanced in his attempt on England) rejected the demand of homage with becoming indignation, and only promised to send Peter-pence as a free gift, in imitation of his predecessors (13). Still further to mortify the pride and resist the pretensions of the pope, he would not permit Lanfranc to leave the kingdom, though that pontiff had sent him several letters commanding him to come to Rome (14). These affronts wrought up the rage of Gregory to so high a pitch, that, in a letter to his legate Hubert, A. D. 1078, he gave William the most opprobrious names, and threatened to make him feel the resentment of St. Peter (15). But St. Peter was either not so vindictive as his successor Gregory, or king William was without the reach of his resentment.

Cent. XI.

A considerable change was introduced into the creed of the church of England under the primacy, and chiefly by the means, of archbishop Lanfranc. The present doctrine of the church of Rome concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, called *transubstantiation*, was little known, and less regarded, in this island before the Norman conquest. But Lanfranc was one of the most zealous champions for that doctrine, of the age in which he flourished, and disputed, wrote and preached in its defence, both before and after his elevation to the see of Canterbury (17). This elevation, however, it is highly probable, gave additional weight to his arguments, and enabled him to make many profelytes.

Change in the Creed of the church of England.

William the Conqueror exercised his supremacy over the church of England with a high hand, and made some important changes both in the state of its revenues and of its polity. Finding the English clergy and monasteries possessed of far too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom, he stripped them of many of their estates by various means, and subjected those they still retained to military services and

Changes in the polity of the church of England.

(13) Epist. Wilhelm. Opera Lanfran. p. 304.

(14) Greg. Epist. l. 9. Ep. 20, Concil. l. 10. col. 291.

(15) Id. ibid.

(17) Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. II. c. 3. p. 3.

Cent. XI. other feudal prestations (18): a reasonable regulation that those who enjoyed so large a share of the wealth, should contribute in the same proportion with others to the defence and support, of the state. So strict an eye did he keep over the clergy in the exercise of discipline, and government of the church, that he did not allow any of them—to go out of the kingdom without his leave,—to acknowledge any pope without his direction,—to publish any letters from Rome, till he had seen and approved them,—to hold any councils, or to pronounce a sentence of excommunication on any of his nobles, without his permission (19). But the most considerable change that this prince made in the constitution of the church of England, was towards the conclusion of his reign, when he separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, which in the Anglo-Saxon times had been united (20): a change that was attended with very important consequences both to church and state.

1089.
Death and
character of
archbishop
Lanfranc.

Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury died May 28th, A. D. 1089, having survived his royal friend and patron, William the Conqueror, about one year and eight months (21). This prelate is celebrated by our ancient historians for his wisdom; learning, munificence, and other virtues. His charity in particular is said to have been so great, that he bestowed in that way no less than five hundred pounds a year (22): a prodigious sum in those times! equal in weight to one thousand five hundred pounds of our money, and in value to at least seven thousand five hundred pounds. This is a sufficient proof of the great revenues of the see of Canterbury in that period, as well as of the great generosity of that prelate.

1093.
After a long
vacancy
Anselm is
made arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

After the death of Lanfranc, William Rufus, then king of England, was in no haste to give him a successor, but kept all the possessions of the archbishopric in his own hands, almost five years (23). In this interval the bishops and clergy tried various methods to

(18) M. Paris, p. 4. Historia Ingulphi, p. 70, 71.

(19) Eadmer. Hist. p. 6. Seldeni Specilegium, p. 164.

(20) Seldeni Specilegium, p. 167.

(21) J. Brompt. col. 956.

(22) Gervas, Act. Pontific. col. 1655. W. Malmf. p. 118.

(23) Eadmer. Hist. p. 14.

prevail upon the king to appoint a primate; but in vain. At one time when they presented a petition, that he would give them leave to send a form of prayer to be used in all the churches of England,—“ That God would move the heart of the king to chuse an archbishop;” he returned this careless answer,—“ You may pray as you please; I will do as I please (24).” At length, however, being seized with a severe sickness, which threatened his life, he was prevailed upon to fill up the vacant sees of Lincoln and Canterbury, by nominating Robert Bloet, his chancellor to the first, and Anselm, abbot of Beck in Normandy (who was then at court), to the last. Anselm at first discovered great reluctance to accept of this high dignity, dreading the fierce rapacious temper of the king, to which he was no stranger. “ The plough (said he) of the church of England should be drawn by two oxen, of equal strength, the king, and the archbishop of Canterbury; but if you yoke me, who am a weak old sheep, with this king, who is a mad young bull, the plough will not go straight (25).” But as men’s refusals of places of power and wealth are seldom very obstinate, those of Anselm were overcome at last, and he condescended to mount the archiepiscopal throne, December 4th, A. D. 1093, having done homage to the king for the temporalities, and received investiture by the pastoral staff and ring, September 25th (26).

Cent. XI.

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Anselm’s apprehensions of having quarrels with the king were not ill founded; but these quarrels were owing to his own obstinate and presumptuous bigotry. In a few weeks after his consecration he waited on the king at Hastings; but paid his court so ill, by declining to make him such a present as was expected,—by pressing him too earnestly to call a council of the clergy, and to fill up the vacant abbeys—and by reproving him and his courtiers too freely for their long hair, their gaudy dress, and effeminate manners, that William could not refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction in very strong terms (27). At their next meeting,

1095.

Breach between the king and the primate.

(24) W. Malmf. p. 124. col. 1.

(25) Id. Ibid.

(26) Id. p. 125. col. 1. Eadmer, p. 16, 17, 18.

(27) Eadmer, p. 23, 24. Anglia Sacra. l. 1. p. 164.

after

Cent. XI. after the king's return from Normandy, A. D. 1094, the breach between them became still wider. The Christian world had long been divided between the two contending popes, Urban and Clement; but the kingdom of England had not as yet acknowledged either the one or the other. Anselm had submitted to Urban before his promotion to the primacy, and now petitioned the king for leave to go to Rome and receive his pall from that pontiff. William was enraged beyond measure at this petition, which he declared was directly contrary to that obedience which the archbishop had sworn in his oath of fealty, as well as to the laws of England. At length, after much angry altercation, this dispute was referred to a great council of the nobility and prelates, which met at Rockingham, March 11th, A. D. 1095 (28). To this council, on the first day of their meeting, Anselm made a long harangue, in which, amongst other things, the good prelate told them, "That he would much rather have been burnt alive than have been made an archbishop;" and concluded with proposing this question as the subject of their deliberation,—“Whether his going to Rome to receive his pall from pope Urban, was contrary to his oath of fealty, and the laws of England?” The council then adjourned, because it was Sunday; and having met again on Monday, after long deliberation, sent this answer to the archbishop by the bishops, “that unless he yielded obedience to the king, and retracted his submission to pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or obey him as their primate.” On hearing this sentence the archbishop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with great solemnity appealed to St. Peter, whose vicar he declared he was determined to obey, rather than the king; and, upon the bishops declining to report his words, he went boldly into the council, and pronounced them before the king and his nobility. The debates were then renewed with greater warmth than ever, and lasted all day; but towards evening the former sentence was confirmed, and intimated to the primate; who begged to be allowed till next morning to deliberate upon his answer. The

king and council were now in hopes that the archbishop would resign his see, which was what they most ardently desired, as the only means of restoring the peace of the kingdom, which had been much disturbed by this dispute. But if Anselm had an aversion to accept of the archbishopric, he discovered a much greater aversion to resign it. For next morning he both adhered to his former answer, and declared his resolution never to resign his see. When things were brought to this extremity, some of the nobility, who respected the sacerdotal character, and dreaded that the passionate spirit of William would prompt him to some act of violence, proposed a truce till the octaves of Easter; which was accepted by both parties (29).

Cent. XI.

In this interval, William, despairing to overcome the obstinacy of the archbishop by violence, had recourse to artifice, and privately sent two of his chaplains to Rome, to make an offer to Urban, to acknowledge him as pope, if he would consent to the deposition of Anselm, and send a pall to the king, to be bestowed on whom he pleased. Urban, transported with joy at the accession of so powerful a prince and so great a kingdom to his party, promised every thing, and sent Walter bishop of Alba his legate into England with a pall. The legate passed through Canterbury, without seeing the archbishop; and arriving at court, prevailed upon the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful pope (30). But when the king having performed all his promises, began to speak of proceeding to the deposition of the archbishop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the prelate who should be chosen in his room, the legate changed his tone; and plainly declared, that the pope would not consent to the deposition of so great a saint, and so dutiful a son of the church of Rome; and that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anselm; which he accordingly performed with great pomp in the cathedral of Canterbury (31). It is easy to imagine how much a prince of William's haughty and passionate temper was enraged at this perfidious conduct of the court of

The king
deceived
by the pope.

(29) Eadmer, p. 31. (30) W. Malms. de Gest. Pontific. p. 125.

(31) W. Malms. de Gest. Pontific. p. 126. col. 1.

Cent. XI. Rome; but as he was engaged in an expedition into Normandy, he had not leisure to give vent to his resentment.

1097.
Anselm
leaves
England.

Soon after the king's return from Normandy, the quarrel between him and the archbishop was revived, by that prelate's frequent and importunate applications for the royal permission to visit Rome, for the good of his soul, and the benefit of the church. At length the king (wearied out with these incessant solicitations, and having in vain tried every method to dissuade the primate from persisting in his design), at the meeting of the great council in October A. D. 1097, commanded him to leave the kingdom in eleven days, without carrying any of his effects with him; and declared, at the same time, that he should never be permitted to return (32). Anselm had no sooner extorted this passionate permission to depart the kingdom, than he hastened to Canterbury; where having divested himself of his archiepiscopal robes, and assumed the garb of a pilgrim, he set out on his journey. After he had waited for a favourable wind about fifteen days at Dover, where his baggage was strictly searched by the king's officers), he sailed for Whitfande, and proceeded from thence to Lyons before he made any considerable stop (33). Here he wrote a letter to the pope, giving an account of his grievances in England, and of his departure from it, and desiring the assistance and direction of his holiness; hinting, that since he had little prospect of doing any good in a country where justice and religion were so much despised by persons of all ranks, it would be right to allow him to resign his see (34). The king of England had, in the mean time, seized all the estates and revenues of Canterbury into his own hands, and declared all the acts of Anselm to be null and void (35).

1098.
Anselm's
reception
at Rome,
and his
transac-
tions there.

As soon as the archbishop received an answer to his letter, with an invitation from the pope to come to Rome, he set forward on his journey, on the Tuesday before Palm-Sunday, A. D. 1098, attended only by two faithful friends, Baldwin his steward, and Eadmer the historian, his secretary. They were obliged to

(32) Eadmer, p. 37, 38, 39, 40. Diceto apud X. Script. col. 495.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Id. p. 43.

(35) Id. p. 41.

travel in disguise, and under borrowed names, to avoid the ambuscades that were laid for them by Clement the antipope, and by several companies of banditti, who, having heard that the archbishop of Canterbury was on his way to Rome with great treasures, were on the watch to intercept him (36). At length, after going through much fatigue, and no little danger, they arrived at Rome; and met with the kindest reception from the pope, who lodged them in his own palace. Our monkish historians give the most pompous accounts of the extraordinary honours that were paid to Anselm by the pope, the duke of Apulia, the nobility, clergy, and people of Rome, on this occasion. His holiness made a long speech to him before his whole court, in which he loaded him with praises, called him the pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome to kiss his toe (37). He further promised to support him with all his power in his disputes with the king of England; and wrote a letter to that prince, commanding him to restore all that he had taken from the archbishop (38). Such was the high tone assumed by the popes of those times in their letters to the greatest kings. Anselm assisted at the council held by the pope at Bari, in the third week after Easter, and acquired great honour by a speech he made in it, against the heresy of the Greek church about the procession of the Holy Ghost. The holy father, in particular (who had been much puzzled in the course of the debate), was so much charmed with this speech, that at the conclusion of it he cried out, "Blessed be thy heart and thy senses, O Anselm! blessed be thy mouth, and the speeches of thy mouth" (39). The archbishop was present in another papal council held at Rome towards the end of this year, in which it was declared, that the king of England deserved excommunication for his treatment of Anselm; but at the request of that prelate, the execution of that sentence was postponed (40). At this council the famous canon against lay-investitures was con-

(36) Eadmer, p. 44.

(37) J. Sarisburiens. Vita Anselmi, in Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 166. W. Malmf. p. 127.

(38) Eadmer, p. 45.

(39) Eadmer, p. 49.

(40) Id. p. 50.

Cent. XI. firmed, denouncing excommunication against all laymen who presumed to grant investitures of any ecclesiastical benefices, and against all clergymen who accepted of such investitures or did homage to temporal princes (41): a canon that Anselm remembered too well for his own peace, and for the peace of England. The reason assigned for this canon by the pope, as related by one who was present in the council, and heard his speech, is horrid and impious in the highest degree. "It is execrable," said his holiness, "to see those hands which create God, the creator of all things (a power never granted to angels), and offer him in sacrifice to the Father for the redemption of the whole world, put between the hands of a prince, stained with blood, and polluted day and night with obscene contacts. To which all the fathers of the council cried, Amen! Amen! At these transactions (says Eadmerus) I was present, and all these things I saw and heard (42).

King's answer to a letter from the pope.

The messenger who had been sent into England with a letter from the pope to the king, in favour of Anselm, returned about the end of this year, with very unwelcome news. He told his holiness, that it was with much difficulty the king was persuaded to receive and read his letter; and that when he was informed that the bearer of it was a servant of Anselm, he swore by the image of Christ at Lucca (his usual oath), that if he did not leave England immediately, he would pull out his eyes; which made him retire, without waiting for an answer. Soon after, one William arrived, with the following short and peremptory answer to the pope's letter: "I am much surprised how it came into your head to intercede for the restoration of Anselm. Before he left my kingdom, I warned him that I would seize all the revenues of his see as soon as he departed. I have done what I threatened and what I had a right to do; and you are in the wrong to blame me (43)." Anselm, on seeing this laconic epistle, immediately despaired of his restoration during the reign of William, and retired to Lyons; where he lived in exile, till after the death of that

(41) *Anglia Sacra*, p. 167. Eadmer, p. 53.

(42) Eadmer, p. 53.

(43) *Id.* p. 51.

prince, which happened August 2d, A. D. 1100 (44). Cent. XI.

THE ecclesiastical history of Scotland is very im-
 perfect in this period. Malcolm Canmore, who was king of Scotland at the conquest, and for twenty-seven years after, was a great benefactor to the church. By the advice and at the instigation of his most excellent queen, St. Margaret, he built the abbey-churches of Durham and Dunfermline, and erected the bishopricks of Murray and Caithness (45). Malcolm, it is also said, divided his dominions into six dioceses, and assigned one of these to each of his six bishops; which were those of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, Murthlack, Murray, and Caithness (46). Our Scotch historians are probably mistaken when they affirm, that Turgot prior of Durham was advanced to the see of St. Andrews, in the reign of king Malcolm; and that he was even succeeded by Godericus before the end of that reign. For the testimony of Simeon of Durham, who was his countryman and his contemporary, is more worthy of credit, when he relates, that Turgot was recommended to Alexander king of Scotland by Henry I. and elected bishop of St. Andrews in the eighth year of Ralph bishop of Durham, viz. A. D. 1107 (47). It appears also from the testimony of an ancient English historian, that Feredock was bishop of St. Andrew's towards the end of king Malcolm's reign, and probably continued in that station to the reign of king Alexander (48). Though it is highly probable that several national councils were held in Scotland in this period, no vestiges of any of them are now remaining.

(44) Eadmer, p. 54.

(45) Buchan. Hist. l. 7. p. 117.

(46) Spotfwood's Hist. p. 29.

(47) Simeon Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 207. Anglia Sacra, l. 1.

P. 707.

(48) Th. Stubbs, apud X Script. col. 1709.

S E C T I O N II.

History of Religion in Britain, from the accession of Henry I. A. D. 1100, to the accession of Henry II, A. D. 1154.

Cent. XII.

A. D. 1100.
Anselm recalled by Henry I.

HENRY I. the youngest son of William the Conqueror, having supplanted his elder brother Robert in the throne of England, laboured with great earnestness, to gain the favour of all who could either support or disturb him in the possession of the prize he had obtained, and amongst others of the pope and court of Rome. With this view he immediately recalled the great favourite and champion of that court, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, from his exile; who landed at Dover, September 23^d, A. D. 1100 (1). A few days after, he was received at Salisbury by the king; with every possible mark of affection and respect; and that prince even condescended to make an apology to him for being crowned by another prelate before his arrival (2).

Breach between the king and Anselm.

But this cordiality between the king and the primate was not of long continuance. For as soon as Anselm was desired to do homage to the king for the temporalities of his see, he returned a flat refusal, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct; declaring, that if the king insisted on his pretensions to the homage of the clergy, he could keep no communion with him, and

(1) Eadmer, p. 56.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

would

would immediately leave the kingdom (3). This Cent. XII. threw Henry into great perplexity. On the one hand he was very unwilling to resign so bright a jewel of his crown, as the right of bestowing ecclesiastical benefices, and of receiving the homage of his prelates; and, on the other hand, he dreaded the departure of the primate, who would join the party of his brother Robert, now returned to Normandy, and preparing to assert his right to the throne of England. In this distress the king proposed, or rather begged a truce, till both parties could send ambassadors to the pope, to know his final determination; to which Anselm, at the earnest intreaty of the nobility, at last agreed (4).

In the time of this truce, Anselm performed several important services for king Henry. He presided in a council of the English clergy, in which, after a very solemn investigation, it was declared that the princess Matilda (daughter of Malcolm Canmore king of Scotland), who had been educated in a nunnery, and had sometimes worn a veil, was at liberty to marry: and he soon after celebrated the king's marriage with that princess, and placed the crown on her head (5). When the kingdom was invaded by Robert duke of Normandy, in July A. D. 1101, Anselm contributed more than any man, by his example, his exhortations, and his authority, to keep the nobility steady in their attachment to king Henry, and thereby preserved him upon the throne (6). To engage the primate to perform these services, we are assured by Eadmerus, his friend and secretary, that the king solemnly promised to govern his kingdom by his advice, and submit in all things to the will of the pope (7).

If the king made such promises in the time of danger, which is not improbable, he did not think fit to keep them when that danger was at an end. Soon after the pacification with his brother Robert, which secured him in the possession of the crown of England,

(3) Eadmer, p. 56.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

(5) Id. p. 57, 58.

(6) See chap. 1. p. 39.

(7) Eadmer, p. 59. *Anglia Sacra*, t. 2. p. 172.

Cent. XII. his messengers arrived from Rome with letters from the pope, in which his holiness asserted in the strongest terms,—That the church, and all its revenues, belonged entirely to St. Peter and his successors; and that emperors kings and princes, had no right to give the investiture of benefices to the clergy, or to demand homage from them. This he endeavoured to prove by several texts of scripture, most grossly misapplied, and by other arguments, which are either blasphemy or nonsense (8). Amongst other things of the like kind, “—How abominable is it (said he) for a son to beget his father, and a man to create his God? and are not priests your fathers and your Gods?”

Quarrel between the king and Anselm.

Henry seems rather to have been irritated than convinced by this curious piece of papal reasoning. For, the first time the primate appeared at court, he required in a peremptory tone, to do homage to him for the revenues of his see, and to consecrate certain bishops and abbots, according to ancient custom, or depart the kingdom; adding,—“I will suffer no subject to live in my dominions who refuses to do me homage (10).” The archbishop boldly answered, “—I am prohibited by the canons of the council of Rome, to do what you require.—I will not depart the kingdom, but stay in my province, and perform my duty; and let me see who dares to do me any injury:” and immediately left the court, and returned to Canterbury (11).

Council of Winchester. Ambassadors sent to Rome.

Not long after the king convened a great council at Winchester, to which he summoned the primate; who attended. In this council it was at length agreed to send ambassadors to Rome, to declare to the pope in the name of the king and nobility of England,—“That if he persisted to deny the king’s rights to investitures and homage, they would drive Anselm out of the kingdom, withdraw their subjection to the see of Rome, and withhold their usual payments (12).” Gerard archbishop of York, Her-

(8) Eadmer, p. 60, 61.

(9) Id. p. 61.

(10) Id. *ibid.*

(11) Id. p. 62. W. Malmf. p. 128.

(12) Eadmer, p. 62.

bert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Chester, Cent. XII. persons of eminent abilities, as well as rank, were chosen ambassadors to carry this unwelcome message, and manage this difficult negotiation. Anselm, by permission, sent also two of his friends, Baldwin and Alexander, to take care of his concerns (13).

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, the holy father was thrown into no small perplexity. On the one hand, he was unwilling to provoke the king and people of England too far; and, on the other, he was still more unwilling to relinquish his own pretensions, or abandon so good a friend as Anselm. But he delivered himself from this difficulty by his cunning, at the expence of his veracity. To the king's ambassadors he made the most solemn promises in private, that he would wink at their master's, giving investitures and receiving homage; and that though he might threaten, he would never inflict any censures upon him on that account; but that he could not in prudence make such promises in public, or in writing, lest other princes should claim the same indulgence. To the primate's messengers, he spoke a very different language; and gave them a letter to their master, exhorting him to adhere steadily to the canons against investiture and homage, and promising to support him with all his power. When the ambassadors of both parties returned to England a great council was called at London, A. D. 1102, to receive their report. But how great was the surprize of the king and council, when the ambassadors gave contradictory reports? the three prelates affirming in the strongest terms, that the pope had promised to dispense with the execution of the canons against lay-investitures and homage; and the two monks affirming the direct contrary, and producing his holiness's letters in confirmation of their testimony. This occasioned very violent debates, and involved the matter in much uncertainty; the king, the bishops, and nobility, giving most credit to the report of the prelates, and Anselm and his friends to that of his messengers; while both parties suspected the duplicity of the pope (14). In the end, the

(13) Eadmer, p. 62.

(14) Id. 63—66.

Cent. XII. primate proposed to send other ambassadors to Rome to discover the sentiments of the pope; and in the mean time promised to keep communion with those prelates who had received investiture from the king by the pastoral staff and ring; and his proposal was accepted (15).

Council at
Westminster.

While the controversy about investitures was at a stand, Anselm, with the king's consent, held a great council of the clergy at Westminster; in which several abbots were deposed for simony, and many canons were made. By one of these canons the married clergy were commanded to put away their wives; which was proceeding a step further than Lanfranc had done. By another canon it is decreed, that the sons of priests should not be heirs to their fathers churches. By a third, marriage is prohibited to those who are within the seventh degree of kindred:—a vexatious law, that brought great power and wealth to the church, and great inconveniencies on the state. The other canons of this council have nothing in them very remarkable, except the twenty-sixth, which forbids the worship of fountains; which seems to have been a relic of Druidical superstition (16).

1103.
Anselm
goes to
Rome at
the king's
desire.

The king had an interview with the archbishop at Canterbury about Mid-Lent, A. D. 1103, in which he laboured, both by threats and promises, to bring him to do homage for the temporalities of his see. But all in vain. That prelate replied, that his messengers were now returned from Rome, and had brought letters from the pope, which he had not yet opened, but declared that he was willing to be governed entirely by their contents. The king, knowing, or suspecting, what these were, answered in a violent passion,—
“What have I to do with the pope, or his letters?
“The prerogatives of my predecessors belong to me;
“and whoever attempts to deprive me of them, shall
“feel the weight of my indignation.” To which the primate calmly replied,—“I am determined to die,
“rather than violate the canons of the church with-

(15) Eadmer, 63—66.

(16) Id. p. 68. Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 23.

“out the commands of the pope (17).” Henry, observing that the firmness of the archbishop was not to be shaken by threatenings, changed his tone, and intreated that prelate to go to Rome, and endeavour to procure what others had not been able to obtain, “that I may be allowed to enjoy the prerogatives of “my predecessors (18).” Anselm desired that this might be delayed till Easter, that the sentiments of the bishops and nobility might then be taken. Accordingly, when the great council met, as usual, at that festival, all the members joined with the king, and intreated the archbishop to undertake that journey: to which he consented, and set out without delay, April 29th, A. D. 1103 (19).

Cent. XII.

Contents of
the pope's
letters to
Anselm.

When Anselm arrived at the abbey of Becc in Normandy, where he had formerly been abbot, he opened the pope's letters (which, for several prudential reasons, he had not done before), and found that they contained—the highest expressions of approbation of his own conduct,—the most solemn asseverations, that the report of the three English prelates who had lately been at Rome, was entirely false; for which he communicated them as impudent notorious liars. The pope further declared in these letters, that he was fully determined to see the canons against lay-investitures strictly executed. “For if we allow “(says he) kings and emperors to give a bishop the “staff, the sign of his pastoral office, and the ring, “the sign of his faith, the church, and even Christianity itself, will be immediately destroyed (20).” Though, after reading these letters, Anselm could have no hopes of success in his embassy, which it is probable he did not desire, he set out from Becc, in August, and soon after arrived at Rome.

When the king desired Anselm to undertake this journey, he was far from expecting that he would be a zealous advocate in his cause; and therefore he did not depend upon him, but sent William Warelwast, an able, active, and faithful servant, to the court of Rome, well furnished with certain arguments, that were likely to be most convincing in that most corrupt

The king
sends an
agent to
Rome.

(17) Eadmer, p. 70.

(18) Id. *ibid.*(19) Id. *ibid.*

(20) Id. p. 71.

Cent. XII. and venal court. William travelled with so much expedition, that he reached the end of his journey some weeks before the archbishop; and was so active and liberal, that he gained many friends, and began to entertain great hopes of success in his negotiation.

Decree of the consistory of Rome against the king's right of granting investitures.

A few days after the arrival of Anselm, the pope called a consistory to examine this cause; before which William Warelwaſt made a long harangue, in defence of the right of the king of England to grant investiture to the prelates of his kingdom, and to receive homage from them: nor did he neglect to put the assembly in mind of the great munificence of the kings of England to the church of Rome; and to insinuate, that if a favourable sentence was not given in this cause, that munificence would be withdrawn. Anselm remained entirely silent. When the matter came to be debated, several members, who had been gained, spoke in favour of the king of England's claim, and represented the danger of provoking so great a prince. To enforce their arguments, Warelwaſt declared, "That he knew his master was resolved to lose his kingdom, rather than relinquish his right to grant investitures." This bold declaration had an ill effect, by rousing the pride and passion of the sovereign pontiff; who said,—“And I swear before God, that pope Pascal will rather lose his life than suffer him to enjoy his pretended right (21).” This positive declaration put an end to all debate; and a decree was pronounced against the king's right to grant investitures, and excommunicating all prelates who had received, or should receive them from his hand, until they made satisfaction, and were absolved by their primate (22). Still further to please the archbishop, the pope granted him a bull, confirming the primacy of England to him, and his successors in the see of Canterbury; and then dismissed him with every mark of affection and esteem.

Soothing letter from the pope to the king.

The king's agent remained at Rome a few days after the departure of Anselm, in hopes of gaining some advantage in his absence: but all he could obtain was

(21) Eadmer, p. 72, 73.

(22) Id. *ibid.*

a soothing letter from the pope to Henry, in which he congratulated him on his success in Normandy, and on the birth of his son; and assured him, that it was out of pure love to his person that he had taken the dangerous right of investitures from him, which would certainly have brought the vengeance of heaven upon his head. He further promised, that if he would be a very dutiful son of the church, and very kind and obedient to the archbishop, he would grant him, and his glorious queen, a full pardon of all their sins, and bestow many graces on the young prince their son (23). Cent. XII.

With this curious letter Warelwast left Rome, and visited the archbishop of Canterbury at Lyons; to whom he intimated in the king's name,—“That if he would behave to him as former archbishops of Canterbury had behaved to his predecessors, he might return to England.” In answer to this intimation, Anselm sent messengers of his own, with a very blunt letter to the king; in which he told him plainly, that he would not do homage to him as former archbishops had done to his predecessors; and that he would not keep communion with any of those prelates who had received the pastoral staff and ring from his hands; nor would he come into England on any other terms; protesting, that all the souls that should be lost by his absence, should be laid to the king's charge (24). As soon as the king received this letter, he seized all the revenues of the see of Canterbury; and Anselm continued at Lyons a year and four months in a state of exile. Anselm remains abroad.

Though Anselm was very hospitably entertained at Lyons by Hugh archbishop of that city, he neglected nothing that might contribute to his restoration to his own see, on his own terms. Having prevailed with the pope to issue a sentence of excommunication against the earl of Mellent, king Henry's great favourite, and to promise to issue a like sentence against the king himself in a little time, he left Lyons in May A. D. 1105, and paid a visit to Adela countess of Blois, the king's sister, who was a princess of great piety, and one of his greatest admirers. In the course 1105. Meeting between the king and Anselm.

(23) Eadmer, p. 74, 75.

(24) Id. p. 76.

Cent. XII. of their conversation, the countess having asked him, what was his principal design in coming into those parts? he frankly told her, that it was to publish a sentence of excommunication (which he daily expected from Rome) against her brother the king of England. The devout Adela was so grieved at her brother's damnation (as Eadmer expresses it), that she never rested till she had negotiated a meeting between him and the primate, in order to an accommodation (25).

Ambassadors sent by both to Rome.

When all preliminaries were settled, the countess conducted Anselm to the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy, and introduced him to the king, July 22d, A. D. 1105; who received him with the strongest expressions of esteem and friendship. After a little conversation, Henry restored to the archbishop the revenues of his see, and also gave him leave to return to England, on this single condition,—That he did not refuse to keep communion with those prelates who had received royal investitures. But with this condition Anselm declared he could not comply, until he had received directions from the pope, to whom he was determined in all things to yield obedience. It was therefore agreed, that both the king and the primate should send ambassadors to Rome, to receive the directions of the sovereign pontiff, on all subjects in dispute between them; and that all things should remain quiet till these ambassadors returned (26). After this interview the archbishop retired to the abbey of Becc, and Henry embarked for England.

Invitation of the English bishops to Anselm.

The king having thus warded off the blow of excommunication, which he really dreaded, was in no haste in sending his ambassador to Rome; which greatly offended Anselm, and his friends in England. One of these wrote him a letter at this time, in which he acquainted him, that religion was quite ruined by his absence, that sodomy and wearing long hair (which that good man seems to have regarded as equal crimes) were become very common, and no body had the courage to reprove them (27). At length, about Christmas A. D. 1105, the king sent over his former

(25) Eadmer, p. 79, 80.

(27) Id. p. 81.

(26) Id. *ibid.*

ambassador William Warelwast, now bishop-elect of Exeter; who proceeded on his journey to Rome, in company with Baldwin de Torney, ambassador from the archbishop. While these messengers were negotiating at the court of Rome, the English bishops, foreseeing the approaching return of their primate, thought fit to send him a letter of invitation, containing some expressions of submission and respect (28). Cent. XII.

The king's agent at Rome acted his part so well, that he succeeded better in his negotiation than could have been expected. For, on March 23d, A. D. 1106, he obtained letters from the pope, directed to Anselm, permitting and requiring him to grant absolution to all the English bishops and abbots who had received investiture from, and had done homage to, the king, on their making such satisfaction as William and Baldwin would tell him by word of mouth; and then either to consecrate them himself, or by commission. In future, he directed him not to refuse consecration to such bishops and abbots as had done homage to the king, provided they had not received investiture from him. He even commands him to receive into his communion those three prelates who had brought a false report from Rome, and to absolve the king, queen, and nobility of England, from all their sins. And finally, he advises him to behave with great prudence, gentleness, and meekness to the king and the nobles in time to come (29). By what means these concessions were obtained we are not informed. The pope seems to have been sensible that they were greater than Anselm expected; for which he made a kind of apology, by telling him, that in order to raise people from the ground, it was necessary to stoop a little. 1106.
Favourable
letter from
the pope to
the king.

King Henry was so heartily tired of his disputes with the pope and the primate, that he accepted of this compromise with pleasure, and sent an invitation to Anselm to return to England. But when that prelate was preparing for his journey, he was seized with a lingering illness that detained him several months longer on the continent. At length, however, he ar- Anselm
returns to
England.

(28) Eadmer, p. 84.

(29) Id. p. 87.

Cent. XII. { rived at Dover, in August A. D. 1106; and was received with the highest testimonies of respect and joy by persons of all ranks (30).

1107.
Dispute
about ho-
mage and
investitures
compro-
mised.

The absence of the king, who was then in Normandy, completing the conquest of that country, prevented the full settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in that year; and, even after his return, it was put off from time to time, till August 1st, A. D. 1107; when a great council of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, was held in the king's palace at London. In this council the right of the king and of other lay-patrons to give investitures, by the delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, was debated with great warmth for three days; many of the nobility pleading boldly in defence of their own rights, and of the rights of their sovereign. But, on the fourth day, the king put an end to this debate, by declaring, that he was determined to adhere to the late compromise, and to relinquish the ceremony of giving investiture, in order to secure the more important right of receiving the homage of the clergy; and a solemn act was made, agreeable to this declaration, viz. "That, for the future, none shall be invested
" by the king, or any lay-patron, in any bishopric or
" abbey, by delivering of a pastoral staff and ring;
" and none who is elected to any prelacy, shall be
" denied consecration on account of the homage that
" he does to the king (31)."

Several bi-
shops conse-
crated.

Immediately after the determination of this great controversy about investitures, Anselm consecrated no fewer than five bishops in one day (August 11th), with the assistance of seven of his suffragans (32). About the same time he received a letter from pope Paschal II. permitting him to dispense with that canon of the church, which prohibited the ordination or promotion of the sons of priests, "Because (says the
" pope) the execution of it would be very inconve-
" nient in England, where the best and greatest part
" of the clergy are of that kind (33)." So long did the English ecclesiastics adhere to the laws of nature, in opposition to the barbarous policy of Rome.

(30) Eadmer, p. 89.

(31) Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 27. Eadmer, p. 91.

(32) Eadmer, p. 92.

(33) Id. p. 91.

In the end of this, or the beginning of the next Cent. XII. year, a new bishopric was erected in the monastery of Ely, with the consent of the king, the pope, the primate, and all parties concerned; and Hervey, who had been expelled by the Welsh from the see of Bangor, was appointed the first bishop of that see (34). See of Ely erected.

Anselm was a violent enemy to the marriage of the clergy, and it was by his influence that the severe canons had been made against it in the council of London, A. D. 1102. But these canons had been ill observed, or rather totally neglected, during the disputes about investitures, and the exile of the archbishop; who procured another council to be held on that subject, at London, in Whitsuntide A. D. 1108 (35). In this council, in which the king and the nobility, as well as the prelates, were present, no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce the celibacy and prevent the marriage of the clergy. By these canons, all priests, even those in the very lowest orders, are commanded—to put away their wives immediately,—not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—never to see them or speak with them, except in cases of great necessity, and in the presence of two or three witnesses.—Those who put away their wives, were to abstain from saying mass for forty days, and to perform such penances as their bishops should prescribe; but those unhallowed wretches who refused to put away their wives, were instantly to be deposed and excommunicated, and all their goods, together with the persons and goods of their wives, as in the case of adulteresses, were to be forfeited to the bishop of the diocese (36). These canons afford a sufficient proof, that those ecclesiastical tyrants found it no easy task to dissolve the natural and virtuous affection that subsisted between the clergy of England and their wives in this period.

While the rulers of the church of England were laying these restraints on the most innocent passions of the inferior clergy, they set no bounds to their own ambition, which produced amongst them many indecent quarrels. One of these quarrels happened A. D. Quarrel between Anselm and the elect of York.

(34) Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 616.

(35) Eadmer, p. 94.

(36) Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 29. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 388.

+ Remains of Papers to 1108

Cent. XII. 1108, between Anselm, and Thomas elect of York; who, observing the advanced age and increasing infirmities of the primate, delayed from time to time, under various pretences, to come to Canterbury to receive consecration; hoping, that after the death of Anselm, he might obtain it without making the humiliating profession of canonical obedience. But that prelate was too quick-sighted not to discover the secret intentions of the elect of York, and too tenacious of the prerogatives of his see, not to take the most vigorous measures to prevent their success. With this view he wrote to the pope not to grant Thomas his pall, and to all the bishops of England not to assist at his consecration, till he had made the usual professions of obedience; which he was at last, after a long and violent struggle, constrained to perform (37).

1109.
Death and
character
of Anselm.

Anselm, having languished for some months, died 20th April, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his primacy. He was a man of piety and learning, according to the mode and measure of the age in which he flourished; but by promoting with zeal and obstinacy the ambitious views of the see of Rome, he involved himself, as well as his king and country, in many troubles, and set an example which was too well imitated by some of his successors.

1114.
Radulphus
made arch-
bishop.

Henry had suffered so much from the opposition of the late primate, that he was in no haste to give him a successor; but kept the see of Canterbury vacant no less than five years. At length, after a warm contest between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, Radulphus bishop of Rochester was elected primate, 26th April, and enthroned 17th May, A. D. 1114 (38).

Insolent
letter from
the pope.

As all this had been transacted without so much as consulting the pope, the messengers sent to Rome by the archbishop to solicit his pall, were very coldly received, and met with many difficulties; but being powerfully supported by abbot Anselm, nephew of the late primate, and a great favourite of his holiness, they at last succeeded; and that abbot was sent into England, with the pall, and a long letter to the king and bishops. In this letter many texts of scripture are

(37) Eadmer, p. 97—104.

(38) Id. p. 115.

quoted

quoted to prove, that no business of any importance ought to be transacted in any nation of Europe without the knowledge and direction of the pope; it also contains the strongest expressions of resentment against the king and prelates of England for their late neglect of the holy see, with threats of excommunication, if they did not behave in a more dutiful manner in time to come (39). Henry was much offended with the insolent strain of this epistle; and sent William bishop of Exeter to Rome, to expostulate with the pope on that and some other subjects.

Cent. XII.

The people of Wales were about this time so much humbled by the superior power of Henry, that the clergy of the church of St. David's applied to that prince to nominate a fit person to be bishop of that see; and he named Bernard, chaplain to the queen. That this was a novelty, appears from this circumstance, that a very violent dispute arose between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, about the place where the bishop-elect of St. David's ought to be consecrated, in which the policy of the prince at last yielded to the pertinacity of the prelate (40).

Henry nominates a bishop of St. David's in Wales.

The dispute about the obligation of the archbishops of York to make a profession of canonical obedience to the archbishops of Canterbury at their consecration, which had so often disturbed the peace of the church of England, was revived at this time by Thurstan, elect of York, who refused to make that profession. After this dispute had subsisted almost a year, it was brought before a great council at Salisbury, 18th March A. D. 1116; and such was the pride and obstinacy of Thurstan, that when the king and council declared against him, he chose to relinquish his see rather than to submit (41). It was not long, however, before he repented of this rash step; and, following the king into Normandy, earnestly solicited to be restored to the dignity he had too hastily resigned. Meeting with little encouragement from the king, Thurstan had recourse to Rome; and, employing those modes of solicitation which he knew to be most successful, he at length obtained a bull from the pope A. D. 1118,

1116. Disputes about the primacy revived.

(39) Eadmer, p. 115.

(41) Wilkin. Concilia, t. 1. p. 393.

(40) Id.

Cent. XII. restoring him to his see; and declaring, that his holiness would hear both parties in the dispute between Canterbury and York in his own presence, and determine it according to justice (42). But this bull did not put an end to this controversy. For the primate still refused to consecrate the elect of York, without a profession of canonical obedience; which he obstinately refused to make (43).

Prevarication of the pope. On this Thurstan petitioned the king for leave to go into France to visit the pope, who had indicted a general council to meet at Rheims in October A. D. 1119. But Henry, suspecting his intention, obliged him to give a solemn promise on oath, that he would neither ask nor accept of consecration from the pope; and, for the great security, he also obtained a solemn promise from the pope, that he would not grant consecration to Thurstan. But all these oaths and promises were most shamefully violated. For, as soon as the elect of York arrived at Rheims, he was consecrated by his holiness in the cathedral church of that city. The king of England was so much provoked at this base transaction, that he solemnly swore, he would not suffer Thurstan to enter any of his dominions (44). In an interview that he had with the pope, some time after, at Gisors, his holiness importuned him to permit his friend Thurstan to return to his see, and offered to absolve him from his oath. The king, after reflecting a little on this proposal, answered, that he could not accept of his absolution, because such a trifling with oaths and promises would destroy all faith and confidence among mankind (45).

1120.
The pope breaks his promise.

At this interview the king obtained a promise from the pope, that he would not send any legates into England or Normandy without his requisition; which was no better observed than other papal promises (46). For Calixtus, who made this promise, having defeated his rival Michael Burdinus the antipope, and taken him prisoner, sent his legates, under the specious pretence of communicating this joyful news, into all the different nations of Europe, and amongst others into

(42) Eadmer, p. 121.

(43) W. Malmf. p. 157.

(44) Eadmer, p. 125. W. Malmf. p. 157. (45) Eadmer, p. 126.

(46) Id. p. 125.

England, without the least regard to his late engagement. But king Henry was not so inattentive to that engagement: for though he received the legate with no little ceremony, and treated him with much respect, he told him plainly, that he could not acknowledge him as legate, nor suffer him to perform any one act in consequence of that commission (47).

Cent. XII.
 1122.
 Death and
 character of
 Radulphus.

Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, died the 20th October A. D. 1122, in the ninth year of his patriarchate. He is said by a contemporary historian, who was well acquainted with him, to have been a man of eminent piety and learning, of a generous disposition and affable deportment, but a little too much addicted to jocularity for the dignity of his station (48).

The death of the primate gave rise, as usual, to a warm contest between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, about the choice of a successor; in which, the bishops, being secretly favoured by the king, at length prevailed, and William Corboyl, prior of Chiche, was elected at Gloucester on the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, A. D. 1123 (49). Being consecrated at Canterbury by the bishops of London and Winchester, assisted by the other English prelates, on the 20th of February, he made a journey to Rome for his pall; which he obtained (50). In this journey he had also in view to obtain a decision in favour of his see, in the famous dispute with the archbishop of York, which was still depending. But in this he did not succeed. For his holiness was in no haste to determine a question which gave him so much authority over the church of England (51).

William
 Corboyl
 made arch-
 bishop.

One of the most specious and successful arts employed by the court of Rome to subject the several churches of Europe to her dominion, was that of sending legates into all countries, with commissions to hold national councils in the name and by the authority of

1125.
 A papal le-
 gate holds
 a council at
 Westmin-
 ster.

(47) Eadmer, p. 137.

(48) W. Malmf. p. 132.

(49) Anglia Sacra, t. I. p. 7.

(50) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1662.

(51) Anglia Sacra, t. I. p. 71.

Cent. XII. the pope. Though every attempt to procure the admission of such papal legates into England had hitherto proved abortive, the policy of Rome was still upon the watch to seize the first favourable opportunity for renewing these attempts. Such an opportunity presented itself at this time, when the king of England was engaged in a dangerous war on the continent, and stood in need of the favour of the court of Rome; and it was not neglected. For pope Honorius II. granted a commission, 13th of April, to John de Crema, a cardinal priest, to be his legate in England and Scotland (52). The legate, having waited on king Henry in Normandy, at length, and with much difficulty, obtained his permission to pass over into England; where he gratified his pride and avarice without much regard to decency. Amongst other things, he presided in a national council at Westminster, 9th September A. D. 1126, in which both the archbishops, twenty bishops, forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude, both of the clergy and people, were present (53). In this council, which was the first in which a Roman legate had presided in England, no fewer than seventeen canons were made, or rather promulgated, in the name and by the authority of the pope alone. In these canons there is little new or remarkable, except that the celibacy of the clergy is extended to those in the lowest orders; and they are forbidden to have any women in their houses, besides their sisters, aunts, or those of whom there could be no suspicion (54). At the conclusion of the council, the legate summoned both the archbishops to repair immediately to Rome, to plead the prerogatives of their respective sees, which was depending before the pope. To such a height had the usurpations of Rome, and the insolence of the papal legates, arrived at this time.

In the night after the conclusion of this council, an incident happened which made a prodigious noise, and brought no little scandal on the Roman clergy. John de Crema, the pope's legate, who had declaimed with

(52) Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 32, 33.

(54) Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 34.

(52) Id. p. 33.

great warmth, in the council the day before, in honour of immaculate chastity, and inveighed with no less vehemence against the horrid impurity of the married clergy, was caught in bed with a harlot. The detection was so undeniable, and soon became so public, that the legate dared not to shew his face; but sneaked out of England with the greatest secrecy and precipitation (55). This incident gave much satisfaction to the married clergy (who had probably been the detectors), and rendered the canon of the late council against them abortive and contemptible.

The two archbishops in obedience to the citation of the legate, repaired to Rome; where Thurstan, being the greatest favourite, obtained a bull exempting him and his successors from all subjection to the see of Canterbury, and placing the two prelates of Canterbury and York on an exact footing of equality (56). This was not the only disaster that befell the archbishop of Canterbury when he was at Rome. For he was by some means or other prevailed upon to degrade and enslave himself and his successors, by accepting a commission to be the pope's legate in England; hoping perhaps by this commission to recover that authority over his rival Thurstan, that he had lost by the late bull. Proud of his chains, he convened a national synod immediately on his return, to meet at Westminster, 17th May, and presided in it as the pope's legate. Thurstan, unwilling to give any marks of subjection to William even in this new character, did not attend this council; and his suffragan, the bishop of Durham, also sent an excuse. The canons of this council seem to have been brought from Rome, as well as the authority by which they were promulgated. In them the marriage of the clergy is styled the plague of the church, and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their most zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of priests and canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be seized by the mi-

Cent. XII.

1127.
Transactions of the two archbishops at Rome, and a council at Westminster.

(55) Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 219. R. Hoveden, p. 274. J. Brompt. col. 1015. H. Knyghton, col. 2382. Chron. Hemingford, l. 1. c. 48.

(56) Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 407.

Cent. XII. ministers of the church (57), and subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the bishop: and if any persons, great or small, attempted to deliver these unhappy victims out of the hands of the ministers of the church, they were to be excommunicated (58). These canons afford a sufficient proof of the power and tyranny of the court of Rome; from whence they came; and also of the great difficulty of establishing celibacy among the inferior clergy of the church of England; which was far from being accomplished by these canons.

1129.
Council at
London.

For this reason the archbishop of Canterbury convened another council, which met at London, on Monday, September 29th, A. D. 1129, and continued to sit till Friday, October 3d. The sole design of this council was, to contrive some more effectual means than had yet been used to compel the inferior clergy to put away their wives. To accomplish this end, it was decreed, that all priests who were married should put away their wives on or before the feast of St. Andrew (November 30th) next; and that those who did not obey this decree, should be immediately turned out of their churches and houses, and declared incapable of ever holding any office or benefice in the church (59). To render this decree still more effectual, the council committed the execution of it to the king. But this turned out to be very ill policy, and disappointed the whole design. For the king, instead of compelling the clergy to put away their wives, thought it more for his advantage to impose a tax on those who chose to retain them; which, it is said, brought a great sum into the royal coffers (60).

1130.
Schism in
the papacy.
The see of
Carlisle
founded.

The legantine commission, which had been so imprudently accepted by the archbishop of Canterbury, expired with pope Honorius II. who had granted it, February 14th, A. D. 1130. On the very day of his death, two popes were chosen, one of which as-

(57) These ministers of the church were laymen, and a kind of ecclesiastical sheriffs, who executed the sentences of ecclesiastical courts, as the secular sheriffs executed those of the secular courts.

(58) Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 410. Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 35, 36.

(59) Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 411.

(60) Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 220.

fumed the name of *Innocent* II. and the other of *Anacletus*. This schism continued about nine years, but at length terminated in favour of Innocent, who had been acknowledged by the emperor, and the kings of France and England (61). Though the frequent schisms in the papacy in the middle ages were very fatal to the prosperity and pretensions of the church of Rome, they were very friendly to the rights of other churches. For while the rival popes were employed in cursing and destroying one another, they had no leisure to disturb the peace or invade the rights of the rest of mankind. During this schism in particular, the church of England was governed by her own prelates, and enjoyed great tranquillity to the death of Henry I. December 1st, A. D. 1135. The most remarkable ecclesiastical transaction that happened in this period was the founding of the bishopric of Carlisle A. D. 1132, of which Adelwald, the king's confessor, was the first bishop (62).

It was no small reproach to the bishop of Canterbury, and the other English prelates, that they so shamefully violated their most solemn oaths to support the succession of the empress Maud, and so tamely submitted to the usurper Stephen (63). To this they were induced by the pompous promises made by Stephen to the church at his coronation, and soon after confirmed in a royal charter (64). For in those times the advancement of the good of the church, *i. e.* of its power and riches, was esteemed a sufficient excuse for the most immoral actions. Nor was pope Innocent II. (the pope acknowledged by England) more scrupulous on this occasion, than the English prelates. For he sent Stephen a bull, confirming his election to, or rather his usurpation of, the crown (65).

William Corboyl, archbishop of Canterbury, did not live to see many of the fatal effects of his imprudent compliance with the court of Rome in accepting

(61) Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. cent. 12. ch. 3.

(62) Godwin de Preful. Careolf.

(63) Heu. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222. col. 1.

(64) W. Malmf. p. 102. col. 1.

(65) Id. ibid.

Cent. XII.

1136.
The clergy
submit to
king Ste-
phen.

1137.
Death and
character

Cent. XII. of arch-
bishop
Corboyl.

the legantine commission, nor of the countenance he had given to the usurpation of king Stephen. For he died in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, December 12th, A. D. 1127 (66). He seems to have been a weak man, too easily prevailed upon to forget the dignity of his station and the obligation of his oaths. The archbishopric continued vacant for two years and one month, contrary to the solemn promises that had been made by Stephen at his coronation, and in his charter. This prince, after the primate's death, was so mean and imprudent as to solicit the pope to grant a legantine commission to his brother Henry bishop of Winchester; which he obtained. But he was soon convinced that he had no reason to rejoice in this success.

1138.
The papal
legate holds
a council at
Westmin-
ster.
Theobald
chosen pri-
mate.

The schism in the papacy being healed by the death of Anacletus, and the resignation of Victor his successor, A. D. 1138, Innocent II. began to meddle more directly, and in a more magisterial manner, in the affairs of the church of England. For though he had granted the legantine commission to Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, he now suspended that commission, and sent a creature of his own, Albericus bishop of Ostia, as his legate, into England. This bold step was equally disagreeable to the king and his brother. But they had proceeded too far in their submissions to the see of Rome, to stop short; and therefore, after a little hesitation, Albericus was permitted to execute his commission (67). In consequence of this, he presided in a national synod, which he had summoned to meet, December 13th, A. D. 1138, at Westminster. In this synod sixteen canons were promulgated by the sole authority of the holy see, without so much as mentioning the consent of the council, though there were seventeen bishops, thirty abbots, and a great multitude of the inferior clergy present (68). At the conclusion of this council, the legate proceeded to a still more daring invasion of the rights of the crown and church of England, by taking the lead in the choice of an archbishop of Canter-

(66) *Anglia Sacra*, t. 1. p. 7.

(67) *Chron. Gervas apud X Script.* col. 1344.

(68) *Id.* col. 1347, &c.

bury; and by his influence Theobald, abbot of Beoc Cent. XII.
 in Normandy, was chosen, on the Sunday before
 Christmas, and consecrated at Canterbury, by the
 legate, January 19th, A. D. 1139 (69). This was a
 cruel disappointment to the king's brother, Henry
 bishop of Winchester, who had set his heart upon the
 primacy; and suspecting, not without reason, that the
 king had secretly contributed to his disappointment, he
 began to form schemes of revenge against his own
 brother, which he soon discovered.

Albericus the pope's legate, with Theobald the 1139.
 new archbishop, departing for Rome about the end of Quarrel be-
 January this year, the bishop of Winchester resumed tween king
 the exercise of his legantine commission, and governed Stephen
 the church of England with a high hand. This and his bro-
 haughty, ambitious, and vindictive prelate, meditated ther the bi-
 revenge against all who had contributed to his missing shop of
 the primacy, and particularly against the king, which Winchester.
 he executed on the following occasion. An invasion
 of England by the empress Maud, and her natural
 brother Robert earl of Gloucester, being daily ex-
 pected, Stephen thought it necessary to secure such
 of the nobility and clergy as he suspected of an intention
 to abandon him and join his rival. Roger bishop of
 Salisbury had been justiciary and prime minister of
 Henry I. who had loaded him, and his two nephews,
 Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Nigellus bishop of
 Ely, with riches and honours. These prelates had
 built several strong and magnificent castles, which ex-
 cited the envy of the nobility as well as the jealousy
 of the king; who seized the persons of the bishops of
 Salisbury and Lincoln, at Oxford, June 26th, and ob-
 liged them, with the bishop of Ely, who was taken at
 the Devizes, to surrender all their castles. This
 transaction made a prodigious noise. The king's con-
 duct was commended by some, and blamed by others;
 but by none so much as his own brother the bishop of
 Winchester. That artful prelate thinking this a fa-
 vourable opportunity of displaying his own power,
 and zeal for the immunities of the church, as well as
 of gratifying his resentment, did not suffer it to escape.
 He repaired to court; commanded rather than peti-

(69) Chron. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1344.

Cent. XII. tioned the king to restore their castles to the three bishops; and meeting with a denial, as he expected, he called a national council to meet at Winchester, August 28th, and summoned the king to appear before it to answer for his conduct. This daring insult on the royal dignity would have been properly resented by Stephen at another time; but, in his present circumstances, he was obliged to temporise. He first sent certain earls to the council, to demand why he had been summoned; who received this haughty answer from the legate: "That as the king pretended to be a Christian, he ought not to be surpris'd that he was commanded by the ministers of Christ to give them satisfaction; especially as he was conscious of the horrid crime of imprisoning bishops, and stripping them of their possessions; a crime which had never been heard of before in any Christian age (70)." The legate added, That if the king was not a fool, he would come immediately, and submit to the judgment of the clergy, to whom he owed his crown. Though Stephen was greatly irritated at the report of his commissioners, he suppress'd his resentment, and sent them back to the council, with Alberic de Vere, the most eloquent pleader of that age, to defend his cause; which was agitated three days successively, with incredible warmth on both sides; and the council broke up at last in confusion, without having come to any decision (71).

1141.
Disputes
about the
election of
an arch-
bishop of
York.

The civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud broke out immediately after the conclusion of the above council; and during its continuance there were but few ecclesiastical transactions of importance. Thurstan archbishop of York having died, February 5th, A. D. 1141, the canons of that cathedral proceeded immediately to the choice of a successor, without so much as consulting either of the two rivals who were then contending for the crown of England. But these canons were unhappily divided in their sentiments on this occasion; and while one part of them declared for William, treasurer of the church of York, and nephew to king Stephen, being the son

(70) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103.

(71) Id. *ibid.*

of his sister Emma, the other made choice of Henry Cent. XII. Murdak, abbot of Fountains, in Yorkshire. This dispute, instead of being carried to the court of England, was immediately carried to the court of Rome, where it continued depending no less than five years, at an immense expence and trouble; and was at last determined in favour of the abbot, by the influence of his friend St. Bernard (72). So much had the influence of the crown lost, and that of the papacy gained, by the civil wars, which then raged with uncommon fury.

An event which happened in these wars, on February 2d, A. D. 1141, gave the legate, Henry bishop of Winchester, an opportunity of gratifying his resentment against his brother king Stephen, in its utmost extent. That prince having then been taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, the legate openly joined the party of his rival, and by his legantine authority summoned a council to meet at Winchester, the week after Easter, in order to bring over all the rest of the clergy to embrace the same party. The legate spent the first day of the council in private consultations with the several different orders of the clergy separately, in order to discover their inclinations. On the second day he made a long harangue to the council, in which he loaded his unhappy brother with reproaches, and greatly magnified all the misfortunes and errors of his government. After which he concluded in this manner: "That the kingdom might not be ruined for want of a head, I, by virtue of my legantine authority, have summoned you all to this council. Yesterday this great question, Which of the two claimants hath the best right to the crown? was canvassed privately by the clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect and ordain kings. And now, having invoked the divine direction, we elect and chuse the daughter of the late pious, glorious, rich, good, and incomparable king Henry, to be the mistress of England and Normandy, and we promise her our obedience and fealty (73)."

The clergy in the council of Winchester declare for the empress.

(72) H. Stubs apud X. Script. col. 1721.

(73) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. t. 2. p. 106.

Cent. XII. All who were present gave their assent to this, either by gentle acclamations or by silence. On the third day the deputies of the city of London were introduced to the council, and petitioned the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy, to procure the liberty of their king. To convince them that this could not be granted, the legate repeated the oration he had made the day before; and then added, "That it very ill became the citizens of London, who were regarded as a kind of nobles in England, to favour that party of the nobility, who had abandoned their prince in battle, who had persuaded him to dishonour the holy church, and who seemed to court the Londoners with no other view than to squeeze money from them (74)." The council broke up on the fourth day, after excommunicating some of the most active barons of the king's party.

1142.
In the council of Westminster they declare for king Stephen.

The war between the parties of the empress and king Stephen having taken a different turn in the course of this year, and that prince having obtained his liberty, in exchange for the earl of Gloucester, the legate changed his party once more, and openly declared for the king and against the empress. In consequence of this change he called a national council, which met at Westminster in the beginning of December. The king being introduced into the council, made bitter complaints of the rebellion of his subjects, and of the injuries that he and his friends had sustained. The legate exerted all his eloquence to excuse his former conduct, declaring, that every thing he had done in favour of the countess of Anjou (the name he now gave the empress) had been the effect of constraint and force. Though few believed him, none ventured to contradict him but one layman, who stood up, and boldly affirmed, that the empress had come into England in consequence of his frequent and earnest solicitations, and had done nothing but by his direction and advice. The legate, without losing his temper, or making any answer, proceeded, with a grave face, to excommunicate all the disturbers of

(74) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. t. 2. p. 106.

the public peace, and favourers of the countess of Cent. XII. Anjou (75).

The legate held a council at London about the middle of Lent this year, in order to provide some security to the persons and possessions of the clergy, from that violence to which they were exposed in the civil wars. With this view the following canon was made: "That none who violated a church or church-yard, or laid violent hands on a clerk, should be absolved from excommunication by any but the pope." By this canon (says a contemporary historian) the rapacity of the kites was a little restrained (76).

1143.
Council at
London.

The legate, elated by his legantine authority, and his great interest at the court of Rome, is said to have formed a scheme of getting Winchester erected into an archbishopric by the pope. This scheme, if we may believe an ancient historian, was carried so far, that pope Lucius sent the legate a pall, and intended to have assigned him seven bishops for his suffragans (77). However this may be, this design was disappointed either by the death of the pope, the confusions of the times, or some other cause.

1145.
Scheme for
making
Winchester
an archbi-
shopric.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury had been greatly mortified by that superiority of rank and power which his suffragan the bishop of Winchester possessed, by his legantine commission, and his near relation to the king. Many disputes arose between these two prelates, which were carried to the court of Rome, and prosecuted with great eagerness (78). Pope Eugenius III. proposed to hold a council at Rheims, in Lent, A. D. 1148, to which he summoned the archbishop of Canterbury and several English bishops. The legate persuaded his brother king Stephen to prohibit the primate from attending that council; hoping, that if the archbishop slighted that prohibition, he would offend the king; and if he obeyed it, he would incur the displeasure of the pope. In this dilemma, Theobald, chusing rather to disobey his secular than his spiritual sovereign, made his escape out of England, and was honourably received by the pope at Rheims.

1148.
Council of
Rheims.

(75) W. Malmf Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 108, 109.

(76) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 280. col. 1.

(77) Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 300. Liceto apud X script. col. 508.

(78) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1665.

Cent. XII. If ever Theobald received a commission, as some authors affirm, of being *legatus natus*, as it was called, it was probably at this time (79). On his return to England, he was so ill received by Stephen, that he thought proper to retire again to France, till a kind of reconciliation was patched up, that was never cordial on either side (80).

1151.
Appeals to
Rome.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury being now restored to his see, and also invested with the legantine authority, held a general council of the English clergy, at London, about the middle of Lent, A. D. 1151. We hear of no canons that were made in this council; and though king Stephen, his eldest son prince Eustace, and the chief nobility of England, were present, its peace was very much disturbed, and its authority diminished, by appeals to Rome from its decrees, of which no fewer than three were taken (81). This practice of appealing to Rome from an English council, had only been introduced a few years before, by the legate, Henry bishop of Winchester; and so great progress had it already made, that all ecclesiastical causes of importance were finally determined in the court of Rome.

1154.
Death of
king Stephen.

England, in the three last years of king Stephen's reign, was a scene of so great confusion, that no ecclesiastical councils were held; and the disputes which then began to arise between several rich, abbeyes and the bishops of those dioceses in which they lay, about their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, will fall more properly to be related in the next section. Death put an end to the unfortunate life and unhappy reign of this prince, October 25th, A. D.

1154.

Encroachments of the papacy on the crown and church.

In the period we have been now delineating, the papacy made great encroachments, both on the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the church of England. On the prerogatives of the crown, by depriving the king of the right of granting investiture to his prelates, and diminishing his influence in their election; on the privileges of the church and clergy,

(79) Antiquit. Britan. p. 127.

(80) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1666.

(81) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

by establishing the legantine authority,—by enforcing Cent. XII.
 celibacy on the inferior clergy,—and by drawing all }
 ecclesiastical causes of importance to Rome, by ap-
 peals.

AUTHENTIC materials for a church-history of Ecclesiastical
 Scotland are still very scanty in this period, and are hif-
 chiefly to be found in the English historians. After tory of
 the see of St. Andrew's had continued a considerable Scotland.
 time vacant, Turgot prior of Durham was recom- Tourgot bi-
 mended to Alexander I. king of Scotland by Henry I. shop of St.
 and elected to supply that vacancy, A. D. 1107. But Andrew's
 a dispute having arisen between king Alexander and
 Thurstan archbishop of York, about the independency
 of the church of Scotland, the consecration of Tur-
 got did not immediately take place. When this dis-
 pute had subsisted above a year, Henry I. interposed,
 and prevailed upon Thurstan to consecrate the elect of
 St. Andrew's, without exacting a profession of cano-
 nical obedience, leaving the rights of all parties entire,
 to be determined on some future occasion (82).
 Turgot was accordingly consecrated at York, August
 1st, A. D. 1109; from whence he went into Scotland,
 and governed that church for some years with pru-
 dence, and in peace (83). At length, some difference
 breaking out between the king and him, he obtained
 leave to pay a visit to his friends in England; where he died, at Durham, March 30th, A. D.
 1115 (84).

One William, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, seems A. D. 1120.
 to have succeeded Turgot in the see of St. Andrew's; Disputes
 but he either resigned or was deprived before his con- between
 secration; after which there was a vacancy of consi- the king of
 derable duration (85). At length king Alexander sent Scotland
 a letter to Ralph archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. and Ead-
 1120, desiring him to send Eadmerus, one of the merus bi-
 monks of his cathedral, of whom he had heard a shop of St.
 high character, into Scotland, to be raised to the Andrew's
 primacy of his kingdom. With this desire the archbi-
 shop, having also obtained the consent of king Henry,
 joyfully complied; and Eadmerus was dispatched

(82) Sim, Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 207.

(83) Chron. Métrofs, ad ann. 1109.

(84) Sim, Dunelm. col. 208.

(85) Eadmer. p. 132.

with

Cent. XII. with a very strong letter of recommendation. He was kindly received by the king; and, on the third day after his arrival, he was elected bishop of St. Andrew's, with much unanimity. But on the very day after his election, an unhappy dispute arose between the king and him, in a private conference about his consecration. Eadmerus having been a constant companion of the late and of the present archbishop of Canterbury, was a violent stickler for the prerogatives of that see. He therefore told the king, that he was determined to be consecrated by none but the archbishop of Canterbury, who he believed to be the primate of all Britain. Alexander, who was a fierce prince, and supported the independency of his crown and kingdom with great spirit, was so much offended, that he broke off the conference in a violent passion, declaring that the see of Canterbury had no pre-eminency over that of St. Andrew's (86). This breach between the king and the bishop-elect became daily wider, till at length Eadmerus, despairing of recovering the royal favour, sent his pastoral ring to the king, and laid his pastoral staff on the high altar, from whence he had taken it, and abandoning his bishopric, returned to England. He was kindly received by the archbishop and clergy of Canterbury, though they disapproved of his stiffness, and thought him too hasty in forsaking the honourable station to which he had been called. Nor was it long before Eadmerus became sensible of his error, and desirous of correcting it. With this view he wrote a long submissive letter to the king of Scotland, intreating his leave to return to his bishopric, promising compliance with his royal pleasure in every thing respecting his consecration, which was accompanied by an epistle to the same purpose from the archbishop (87). But these letters, which were written A. D. 1122, did not produce the desired effect.

A. D. 1124.
Robert bishop of St. Andrew's.

King Alexander I. had succeeded so ill in his applications to England, that he determined to raise one of his own subjects to the primacy of his kingdom; and Robert, prior of Scone, was elected bishop of St.

(86) Eadmer, p 132.

(87) Id. p. 139, 140.

Andrew's in January A. D. 1124 (88). But the same difficulties occurring about his consecration, it did not take place till long after the death of king Alexander, which happened April 26th this year. This prince was a considerable benefactor to the church, founded the abbeys of Scone and St. Columbe, was at much expence in collecting relics and clerical ornaments; and though naturally haughty in his deportment, behaved with much condescension to the clergy (89). Cent. XII.

The reign of St. David, who succeeded his brother Alexander, was the golden age of the church and churchmen in Scotland. The famous John de Crema arrived in Scotland, A. D. 1126, as legate from the pope, and held a council at Rokeborough, in which the king was present. But the decrees of this, as well as of many other Scotch councils, are lost, though it is probable they were much the same with those of the council which was celebrated soon after at London, and chiefly intended to enforce the celibacy of the clergy (90). In the course of his reign, king David erected the four bishoprics of Rosse, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dumblane; founded and endowed the abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, Dundrennan, and Holmcuttram in Cumberland; besides several religious houses in Newcastle, Carlisle, Berwick, and other places (91). The performance of all this in twenty-nine years, by the sovereign of so small a state as Scotland, was certainly too great an exertion, and must have greatly diminished the lands and revenues of the crown. This pious prince died at Carlisle, May 25th, A. D. 1154, exactly five months before the death of king Stephen (92). A. D. 1126.
St. David
a great benefactor to
the church.

(88) Sim. Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 251.

(89) Ethelred, apud X. Script. col. 368.

(90) Simeon Dunelm. col. 252, 253.

(91) Chron. de Mailros, p. 165, 166, 167. Simeon Dunelm. col. 281. Ailred apud X. Script. col. 348.

(92) Simeon Dunelm. col. 281.

SECTION III.

*The ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from A. D.
1154, to A. D. 1189.*

Cent. XII.

1154.
Violent
contest be-
tween the
crown and
the church.

THOUGH the court of Rome had made great encroachments both on the independency of the church, and the prerogatives of the crown, of England, in the preceding period, that court was far from being satisfied with its acquisitions, but continued to prosecute its ambitious schemes with unwearyed ardour and consummate policy. This occasioned such violent collisions between the crown and mitre, in the reign of Henry II. as very much disturbed the government, and even shook the throne, of that great prince.

1155.
Abbeys
exempted
from epif-
copal ju-
risdiction.

One of the first ecclesiastical affairs that gave Henry II. any trouble, was the claim which some of the richest abbeys began about this time to advance, to an exemption from the jurisdiction of their bishops. A dispute on this subject between Walter abbot of Battle abbey, and his diocesan Hilary bishop of Chichester, was agitated in several councils in this and the two succeeding years; and at length was determined in favour of the abbot, who pleaded a charter of exemption granted to his abbey by its founder William the Conqueror (1). The success of this abbot encouraged the hopes and inflamed the ambition of his brethren, some of whom did not scruple to forge charters of exemption. But these forgeries were so ill

(1) Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 53—58.

executed, that they were generally detected (2). This engaged others to apply to Rome for bulls, subjecting themselves immediately to the pope, and exempting them from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries. Robert, abbot of St. Albans, was the first who obtained such a bull from pope Adrian IV. an Englishman who had spent some years of his youth in the abbey of St. Albans (3). Abbot Robert did not owe his success entirely to this circumstance: for his historian acquaints us, that he presented his holiness with three mitres and a pair of sandals of exquisite workmanship, and divided two hundred marks among the blood-suckers of the court. This abbot soon after obtained, by the same means, two other bulls; the one granting him and his successors permission to wear the episcopal ornaments, and the other appointing the parochial processions and offerings of Hertfordshire, at Whitsuntide, to be made to the church of St. Albans, and not to the cathedral of Lincoln (4). These bulls, which diminished both the power and revenues of the bishop of Lincoln, gave rise to violent disputes with that prelate; which, by the mere force of bribery, terminated in favour of the abbey (5). Many other abbots, in different parts of England, made similar applications to the court of Rome; and, by employing the same means, obtained the same exemptions, and became mitred abbots. This innovation very much disturbed the ancient order of church-government, by diminishing the episcopal and encreasing the papal power. But none felt the fatal effects of these exemptions so sensibly as those who had obtained them. For the exempted abbots were so much harrassed by expensive journeys to Rome, and by the various exactions of that insatiable court, that they had great reason to lament the success of their ambition.

Henry II. in the second year of his reign, inadvertently contributed to exalt the power and pretensions of the pope (under which he and his successors so severely smarted), by accepting a grant of the kingdom of Ireland from Adrian IV. For the soliciting

Cent. XII.

1156.
Henry II. obtains a grant of Ireland from the pope.

(2) Petr. Blesens. Epist. 68. p. 102.

(3) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. 46.

(4) Id. p. 47.

(5) Id. p. 48—53.

Cent. XII. or even accepting of this grant, was a plain acknowledgment, that the pope had a right to deprive the Irish princes of their dominions, and to bestow them upon another: and in the body of the grant his holiness takes care to mention this acknowledgment. "For it is undeniable (says he), and your majesty acknowledges it, that all islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shined, and which have received the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter and the most holy Roman church (6)." A dangerous proposition, to which a king of England ought never to have given any countenance. But the wisest princes are so blinded by their ambition, as not to see the most obvious consequences of their conduct.

1159.
Some persons condemned and punished for heresy.

A company of about thirty men and women, who spoke the German language, appeared in England at this time, and soon attracted the attention of government by the singularity of their religious practices and opinions. It is indeed very difficult to discover with certainty what their opinions were, because they are recorded only by our monkish historians, who speak of them with much asperity. They were apprehended, and brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. Being interrogated about their religion, their teacher, named *Gerard*, a man of learning, answered, in their name, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. Upon a more particular enquiry, it was found, that they denied several of the received doctrines of the church, as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints; and, refusing to abandon those damnable heresies, as they were called, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the secular arm to be punished. The king, at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through the streets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut short by their girdles, to be turned out into the open fields, all persons being forbid to afford them any shelter or relief under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigour; and it being

(6) M. Paris, Hist. p. 67.

the depth of winter, all these unhappy persons perished with cold and hunger (7). These seem to have been the first who suffered death in Britain, for the vague and variable crime of heresy; and it would have been much to the honour of our country if they had been the last. Cent. XII.

On the death of Adrian IV. September 1st, A. D. 1159, there happened another schism in the papacy; Octavian, who assumed the name of *Victor* III. being chosen by one part of the cardinals; and Rolland, who took the name of *Alexander* III. by another. The first of these was received as pope by the emperor Frederic; while the kings of France and England, after some deliberation, acknowledged the latter (8). This schism continued about fifteen years, and was the occasion of much confusion in the church. 1160.
Schism in
the papacy.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury died, April 18th. A. D. 1161, in the twenty-second year of his pontificate; and, after a vacancy of more than a year, was succeeded by one who makes a most conspicuous figure in the ecclesiastical annals of England. This was the famous Thomas Becket, who was the occasion of much political contention during his life, and the object of much superstitious veneration after his death. He was born in London, A. D. 1119; and studied in the universities of Oxford, Paris, and Bononia, the most celebrated seats of learning in those times (9). Having got into the family and favour of archbishop Theobald, he was made archdeacon of Canterbury and provost of Beverly; and, by the earnest recommendation of that prelate to Henry II. he was appointed chancellor of England, A. D. 1158 (10). In this station he paid his court so successfully to his royal master, not only by his dexterity in business, but also by his splendid manner of living, and agreeable conversation, that he became his favourite, and his chief companion in his amusements. The king 1161.
Archbishop
Theobald
dies, and is
succeeded
by Thomas
Becket.

(7) W. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 13. Idem, p. 631. J. Brompt. col. 1050.

(8) Du Pin, cent. 12. p. 116.

(9) J. Brompt. apud X Script. col. 1052. Gervas, ibid. col. 1668.

(10) J. Brompt, col. 1057, 1058.

Cent. XII. was in Normandy when he heard of Theobald's death, and immediately resolved to raise his chancellor to the primacy, in hopes of governing the church of England by his means in perfect tranquillity. The empress Maud, the king's mother, endeavoured to dissuade her son from this design, and the clergy and bishops of England opposed the promotion of Becket, which retarded it above a year (11). But such was Henry's fondness for his favourite, that he was deaf to all advice, and overcame all opposition, and the chancellor was elected archbishop at Westminster, June 6th, A. D. 1162 (12).

1161.
Becket dis-
obliges the
king.

As soon as Becket found himself firmly seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, he suddenly changed his whole deportment and manner of life, and from the gayest and most luxurious courtier, became the most austere and solemn monk (13). One of his first actions after his promotion; equally irritated and surprised the king. This was his resignation of the chancellor's office, without having consulted the inclination of his beneficent master, by whom he had been loaded with wealth and honours (14). Before Henry returned to England, in January A. D. 1163, he had received so many complaints of the severities of the new primate, that he became sensible, when it was too late, that he had made a wrong choice. When Becket therefore waited upon him at Southampton, it was observed by the whole court, that though he was treated with respect, he was not received with the same marks of friendship as on former occasions (15). The king at the same time gave a still plainer proof of his dissatisfaction with the primate, by obliging him to resign the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which he did with great reluctance (16).

1163.
Breach be-
tween the
king and
Becket.

Alexander III. the pope acknowledged by the kings of France and England, held a general council of the prelates of his party at Tours, in April A. D. 1163 (17). The archbishop of Canterbury was present at this council; and was treated with every possible mark of

(11) Epist. Divi Thomæ, l. 1. Epist. 126. p. 190.

(12) Cervas, col. 1669.

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) Quadrilog., l. 1. c. 22.

(15) Diceto apud X Script. col. 534.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Du Pin, cent. 12. p. 213.

respect and honour by the pope and cardinals, who were not ignorant that vanity and the love of admiration were his predominant passions (18). It is highly probable, that at this interview Becket was animated by the pope in his design of becoming the champion for the liberties of the church and the immunities of the clergy. This much at least is certain, that, soon after his return, he began to prosecute this design with less reserve than formerly, which produced an open breach between him and his sovereign (19).

Cent. XII.

Nothing could be more opposite than the sentiments and views of the king and primate, concerning the immunities and independency which began to be claimed by the clergy about this time. The former was determined to be the sovereign of all his subjects, clergy as well as laity; to oblige them to obey his laws, or to answer for their disobedience in his courts of justice: the latter maintained, that the clergy were subject only to the laws of the church, were to be judged only in spiritual courts, and to be punished only by ecclesiastical censures (20).

Opposite views of the king and Becket.

The dissolute lives of the clergy at this time, and the atrocious crimes committed by some of them, made it necessary to bring this question to a speedy issue (21). In order to this, the king called a council of the clergy and nobility at Westminster; which he opened with an excellent speech, in which he complained of the mischiefs occasioned by the thefts, robberies, and murders, committed by the clergy, with impunity; and concluded with requiring, that the archbishop and the other bishops would consent, that when a clerk was degraded for any crime, he should be immediately delivered to the king's officers, that he might be punished for the same crime, according to the laws of the land (22). The primate, dreading the compliance of the other bishops with so reasonable a demand, earnestly intreated that they might be allowed to hold a private conference amongst themselves

Council of Westminster.

(18) Vita S. T. Becket, c. 14. p. 23.

(19) Inett's Church Hist. b. 2. c. 12. p. 238.

(20) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1670. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 33. R. Hoveden, pars posterior, p. 282. col. 2.

(21) W. Neubrigenf. l. 2. c. 16. p. 158.

(22) Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 29.

Cent. XII.

before they returned an answer; which was granted. In this conference, the other bishops acknowledged, that the king's demand appeared to them to be agreeable to reason, law and scripture. But the primate insisted with so much warmth and obstinacy on the immunities granted to the clergy by the canons of the church, that he silenced all his brethren, and persuaded them to return this answer to the king,—That they could not comply with his demand. On this the council broke up in confusion (23).

1164.
Becket
promises to
obey the
constituti-
ons of Cla-
rendon.

Though Henry had not been successful in his first attempt to persuade the clergy to relinquish the pernicious immunities to which they laid claim, he determined to carry his point, if possible, and had frequent conferences with the primate and other prelates, in which he employed every art to prevail upon them to comply with his desire. At length, by the earnest intreaties of his friends, Becket began to yield a little; and waiting upon the king at Oxford, he consented to promise obedience to the laws of the land, without annexing to this promise, as he had always done before, a saving of the privileges of his order (24). The king, highly pleased with this success, and resolving to have this consent of the prelates, to obey the laws of the land without reserve, ratified in the most solemn manner, called a parliament or great council of the clergy and barons to meet at Clarendon, on the festival of St. Hilary, A. D. 1164 (25). But before the meeting of this assembly, Becket had again changed his mind, and when he appeared before the council, he obstinately refused to promise obedience to the laws in the terms to which he had agreed at Oxford. At this the king was equally disappointed and enraged, the most violent debates between the bishops and the barons ensued, which continued three days, in which time every possible mean was used to overcome the obstinacy of the primate, and even threats of immediate violence were not spared. At last, by the tears and intreaties of two knights-templars, Richard of Hastings and Hosteus of Bolonia, for whom he had a great esteem,

(23) Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 31.

(24) Vita S. Thomæ, c. 20. p. 37.

(25) Gervæus apud X Script. col. 1385.

he was again softened, and appearing before the council, he, with all the other bishops, solemnly promised and swore, in the words of truth, and without any reserve, to obey all the royal laws and customs which had been established in England in the reign of his majesty's grandfather Henry I. (26). These laws and customs, commonly called *the Constitutions of Clarendon*, were put in writing, read in the council, and one copy of them delivered to the primate, another to the archbishop of York, and a third deposited among the records of the kingdom (27). These famous constitutions, which were sixteen in number, reduced ecclesiastics of all denominations to a due subjection to the laws of their country, limited the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, guarded against appeals to Rome, and the pronouncing of interdicts and excommunications, without the consent of the king or his justiciary (28). In a word, they were in all respects wise and just; but at the same time so evidently calculated to put a stop to the encroachments of the court of Rome, and to set bounds to the extravagant immunities of the clergy, that they were equally odious to both; who never speak of them but in the harshest terms (29). Henry made some attempts to prevail upon the pope, who was under great obligations to him, to give his sanction to the constitutions of Clarendon; but in vain (30).

As it was with visible reluctance that Becket had sworn to obey those hated constitutions; so he soon began to give indications of his repentance, by extraordinary acts of mortification, and by refraining from performing the sacred offices of his function (31). He also dispatched a special messenger, with an account of what had happened, to the pope; who sent him a bull, releasing him from the obligation of his oath, and enjoining him to resume the duties of his sacred office (32). But though this bull reconciled his

Cent. XII.

Becket attempts to leave England, but is put back.

(26) Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 21. p. 39.

(27) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1386. 1388.

(28) Id. ibid. M. Paris, p. 71. Spelman. Con. t. 2. p. 63, 64.

(29) M. Paris, p. 71.

(30) Epistolæ Tho. Cantuar. l. i. Ep. 4. p. 12.

(31) Vita S. Thomæ, c. 24. p. 40.

(32) M. Paris, p. 71, 72.

Cent. XII. conscience to the violation of his oath, it did not dispel his fears of the royal indignation; to avoid which he determined to retire privately out of the kingdom. With this intention he went to the port of Romney, accompanied only by two faithful friends, and there embarked for France; but being twice put back by contrary winds, he landed, and returned to Canterbury. About the same time the king's officers came to that city, with orders to seize his goods and revenues; but, on his appearing, they desisted from executing these orders (33.) Conscious that he had transgressed those laws which he had sworn to observe, by attempting to leave the kingdom without permission, he waited upon the king at Woodstock; who received him without any other expression of displeasure, than asking him, if he had left England because he thought it too little to contain them both (34)?

Transac-
tions of the
parliament
at North-
ampton.

Soon after this interview, fresh misunderstandings arose between the king and the primate, who publicly protected the clergy from those punishments which their crimes deserved, and flatly refused to obey a summons to attend the king's court. Henry was so much enraged at those daring insults on the laws and the royal authority, that he determined to call him to an account for them before his peers, in a parliament which he summoned to meet at Northampton, October 17th, A. D. 1164 (35). This parliament, was uncommonly full, as the whole nation was deeply interested in the issue of this contest between the crown and the mitre (36). On the first day, the king in person accused the archbishop of contumacy, in refusing to attend his court when he was summoned: against which accusation having made only a very weak defence, he was unanimously found guilty, by the bishops, as well as by the temporal barons, and all his goods and chattels were declared to be forfeited (37). To this sentence Becket, with much reluctance, submitted; and the king agreeing to accept of five hundred pounds for

(33) M. Paris, p. 71, 72. Vita S. Thomæ, c. 21. p. 22. Diceto apud X Script. col. 537.

(34) Vita S. Thomæ, p. 43,

(35) M. Paris, p. 72.

(36) See Appendix to Lord Lyttleton's History of Henry II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 48.

(37) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 25. p. 47.

the forfeiture, the bishops became sureties for their primate. On the second day of the parliament, the king made a demand of five hundred pounds which he had lent to Becket when he was chancellor; who alleged, in his own defence, that this sum had been given to him, and not lent. But not being able to produce any evidence of this grant, he was adjudged to repay the money. To this sentence he also submitted; and prevailed upon five of his vassals to become his sureties, the bishops declining to be any further bound (38). But, on the third day, being Saturday, a much heavier demand was made on the archbishop by the king, who gave in a charge of no less a sum than two hundred and fifty thousand marks, which he affirmed that prelate had received from vacant benefices, while he was chancellor, and required the parliament to oblige him to account for that sum. Becket, astonished at this demand, begged leave to consult with his brethren the bishops apart, before he returned an answer; which was granted. When these prelates had retired into a separate room, and their primate had demanded their advice, they differed very widely in their opinions; some (who were in the interest of the court) advising him to resign his see, as the only means of appeasing the king's wrath, and preserving himself from ruin; while others opposed this as a dangerous precedent, and too great an act of submission to the civil power. When they could not come to any unanimous resolution, Becket sent messengers to the king and barons, to crave a short delay; which was granted till Monday (39). The proceedings of this day struck terror into so many of Becket's retainers, that when he returned to his lodgings, he was attended by very few. On Monday he was seized with a violent colic, which put it out of his power to appear in parliament; but he sent a solemn promise that he would appear on the next day, though he should be carried in his bed. Early on Tuesday morning many of the bishops waited upon him in his chamber, and earnestly intreated him to resign his office; assuring him, that if he did not, he would be tried for perjury and high treason. But

(38) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 26. p. 48.

(39) Id. ibid. c. 27. p. 48, 49, 50.

Cent. XII. he reproached them bitterly for deserting him in this contest; charged them not to presume to sit in judgment upon their primate; and assured them, that though he should be burnt alive, he would not abandon his station, nor forsake his flock. Having celebrated mass, he set out from his house, dressed in his pontifical robes, with a consecrated host in one hand; and when he approached the hall where the king and parliament sat, he took the cross from the bearer, and carried it in the other hand (40). When the king was informed of the posture in which the primate was advancing, he retired hastily into an inner room, commanding all the bishops and barons to follow him. Here he complained in very severe terms of the intolerable audacity of Becket; and was answered by the barons, "That he had always been a vain and obstinate man, and ought never to have been raised to so high a station: that he had been guilty of high treason, both against the king and kingdom; and they demanded that he should be immediately punished as a traitor (41)." The clamours of the barons against Becket became so loud and vehement, that Roger archbishop of York, apprehending that they would proceed to acts of violence, retired hastily, that he might not be a witness of the bloody scene. The bishop of Exeter went into the great hall, where the primate sat almost alone, and, falling at his feet, conjured him to take pity on himself and on his brethren, and preserve them all from destruction, by complying with the king's will. But, with a stern countenance, he commanded him to be gone. The bishops, apprehensive of incurring the indignation of the pope, if they proceeded to sit in judgment on their primate, and of the king and barons if they refused, begged that they might be allowed to hold a private consultation; which was granted. After deliberating some time, they agreed to renounce all subjection to Becket as their primate; to prosecute him for perjury before the pope; and, if possible, to procure his deposition. This resolution they reported to the king and barons; who, not knowing that Becket had already obtained a bull from the pope, absolving him from his oath, too

(40) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 30.

(41) Id. ibid. c. 31.
rashly

rashly gave their consent; and the bishops went into the hall in a body, and intimated their resolution to the archbishop; who, not deigning to give them any answer, except, "I hear," a profound silence ensued (42). In the mean time, the king and barons came to a resolution, that if the archbishop did not immediately give in his accounts, they would declare him guilty of perjury and treason; and sent out certain barons to communicate this resolution. Robert earl of Leiceſter, who was at the head of these barons, addressing himself to Becket, said, "The king commands you to come immediately, and give in your accounts; or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" cried he, starting to his feet, "No! my son, hear me first. I was given to the church free, and discharged from all claims, when I was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore I never will give any account. Besides, my son, neither law nor reason permits sons to judge their father. I decline the jurisdiction of the king and barons, and appeal to God, and my lord the pope, by whom alone I am to be judged. For you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, I summon you to appear before the pope, to be judged by him for having obeyed men rather than God. I put myself, the church of Canterbury, and all that belongs to it, under the protection of God, and the pope, under whose protection I depart hence." On this he walked out of the hall in great state, leaving the whole assembly so much disconcerted by his boldness, that none had the courage to stop him (43). Some indeed pursued him with opprobrious language, which he returned. When he reached the street, he was received by a prodigious mob, who conducted him to his lodgings with loud acclamations. A circumstance which flattered his vanity, and increased his obstinacy.

In the evening, Becket, in order to conceal his intention of making his escape, sent three bishops to the king, to ask his permission to retire out of the kingdom; about which Henry said he would deliberate with his council next day. The primate,

Becket makes his escape out of England.

(42) Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 32. p. 55. 56.

(43) Id. ibid. c. 33. p. 57.

Cent. XII. who never intended to wait the result of this deliberation, arose about midnight, and passing through a postern gate, left Northampton with only two monks in his company. After lurking in different places, and travelling only by night, he arrived at Sandwich, where he embarked on board a fisher-boat before dawn, on Tuesday, November 10th (exactly two weeks after he left Northampton), and towards evening landed at Boulogne (44).

Parliament agree to send a splendid embassy to the pope, to procure Becket's deposition. The flight of the archbishop occasioned no small bustle as soon as it was known. His friends either concealed themselves, or fled. The king convened the bishops and barons, to consider what was proper to be done on that event, which seems to have been unexpected. After spending some time in consultation, it was agreed to send a splendid embassy, consisting of five bishops, and several noblemen of the first rank, to the pope, to prosecute the archbishop, and, if possible, to procure his deposition. These ambassadors were furnished with a large sum of money (which was well known to be the most prevailing advocate in the papal court), and with letters to the earl of Flanders and the king of France, intreating those princes not to afford the fugitive prelate an asylum in their dominions. It was also agreed to protect the friends and property of the primate from all violence, till the issue of this embassy should be known; and a proclamation was issued for that purpose (45). The king's ambassadors sailed from Dover about the same time that Becket sailed from Sandwich, and they both arrived at St. Omer's on the same day, November 11th (46). Here the latter lay concealed in a hermitage belonging to the abbey of St. Bertin, till the departure of the former; when he threw off his disguise, resumed his own name (which he had exchanged for that of *Brother Christian*), and was treated with the greatest respect and kindness by the clergy and people of those parts (47).

(44) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 35. l. 2. c. 2.

(45) Idem, l. 2. c. 1. p. 63. Stephanidis Vita Thomæ Cant. p. 48.

(46) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 5. p. 68. (47) Id. ibid. c. 5, 6.

When the English ambassadors arrived in the French court, which was then at Compeigne, they met with a very cold reception. Louis, who was a superstitious bigot, and a great admirer of Becket, with whom he held a private correspondence, was much shocked at the following expression in the king of England's letter:—"Thomas, late archbishop of Canterbury." "Late archbishop!" exclaimed he:—"Who hath deposed him? I am a king as well as your master, and yet I have no power to depose the meanest clerk in my dominions." He rejected all the requisitions of the ambassadors; and plainly intimated, that he would protect the persecuted prelate with all his power (48). The two monks who had accompanied Becket in his flight, followed the English ambassadors from St. Omer's to the court of France; where they were received in the kindest manner by the king, who promised their master his friendship and protection; adding, "That it had always been the glory of the kings of France, to protect the persecuted of all nations, especially the clergy (49)."

Cent. XII.
 Ill success
 of the Eng-
 lish ambaf-
 sadors at
 the court of
 France.

From Compeigne the ambassadors proceeded to Sens, where the pope then resided; being followed in this journey also by the above two monks; who were first admitted to an audience of his holiness. Herbert, one of those monks, began his harangue in this canting strain: "Holy father, your son Joseph no longer reigns in Egypt, but the Egyptians have almost killed him, and forced him to flee." When he described the persecutions which his master had endured in England, and the toils and dangers of his escape, the father of fathers (as he tells us) burst into tears, and said, "And doth your master still live? He may claim the glory of a martyr, though he is in the flesh (50)."

Becket's
 agents ad-
 mitted to
 an audience
 of the pope.

The English ambassadors were admitted to an audience of the pope and cardinals the day after. Robert Foliot bishop of London, who spoke first, using some severe expressions concerning the archbishop, was interrupted by the pope; which disconcerted him so much, that he could not proceed. Hilary bishop of Chichester, who was very vain of his eloquence, had no better fortune; for happening to pronounce a Latin word

Speeches of
 the English
 ambafsa-
 dors to the
 pope.

(48) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 7.

(50) Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 72.

(49) Id. ibid.

Cent. XII. wrong (*oportuebat* for *oportebat*), so loud a laugh was raised, that he was quite confounded and put to silence. The other three bishops observing the ill success of their brethren, said but little. The earl of Arundel, having apologized for his ignorance of the Latin language, made a speech in English; in which he artfully extolled the authority of the pope, before which, he said, all the world bowed; he magnified the veneration of his sovereign for the person and character of his holiness, of which, he observed, the present embassy, consisting of the most honourable persons in his kingdom, was a proof; he even spoke in very respectful terms of the archbishop, and said, that England might have been perfectly happy under a good prince and an excellent pastor, if an unfortunate difference had not broken out between them; and concluded, with intreating the pope to restore peace between these two personages, by commanding the archbishop to return to England, and by sending a legate thither to terminate all their disputes (51).

The pope's answer.
The ambassadors return to England.

This soothing speech was very favourably heard; and the pope, having consulted with the cardinals, told the ambassadors, that no answer could be given to their petition till the archbishop had been heard. But the ambassadors insisting on an immediate answer, because their master had commanded them to stay only three days, his holiness was thrown into great perplexity. Some of the cardinals, who had been secretly gained by the ambassadors, pleaded earnestly for granting their petition; and, as the schism still subsisted, the pope was apprehensive, that if he gave a flat denial, the king of England might abandon his party, and embrace that of his opponent. On the other hand, it was thought equally imprudent and dishonourable, to abandon the archbishop, who had suffered so much for the immunities of the clergy. The pope, therefore, after some deliberation, adhered to his former answer: on which the ambassadors left his court, and hastened back to England, where they arrived about Christmas A. D. 1164 (52).

(51) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74, 75.


(52) Id. ibid. p. 75, 76.

As soon as Becket was assured of the favour and protection of the king of France, he collected his scattered followers, and set out from St. Omer's. When he arrived at Soissons, where the French court then resided, the king paid him the first visit, embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and obliged him to accept of an order on the royal treasury for every thing he needed while he remained in France. Having spent three days at Soissons, he departed with a numerous retinue for Sens, which he entered in a kind of triumph, and was received with the greatest respect and kindness by the pope. Next day a solemn council of all the cardinals and prelates was held, in which he was seated on the pope's right hand, and desired to explain his cause without rising from his seat. He made a very artful speech; in which he magnified the high favour in which he had long stood with the king of England, which he said he could recover when he pleased, if he would abandon the cause of the church, and submit to the constitutions of Clarendon. He then produced a copy of these constitutions, which he desired might be read. Nothing could be better contrived than this to secure the favour of the pope and cardinals, as several of these constitutions were directly calculated to abridge their power and abolish their usurpations. Accordingly, they were no sooner read, than the whole assembly broke out into the strongest expressions of their abhorrence of them, and into the highest encomiums on the archbishop, declaring, that his cause was the cause of God and the church, and that he ought to be supported (53). On the day after, in a private consistory, Becket, still further to ingratiate himself, resigned his see into the hands of the pope, pretending, that his conscience was much disquieted for his having been advanced to that dignity by the influence of the king. Some of the cardinals, who were secretly in the interest of the court of England, and by the historians of those times are called the pharisees, proposed to accept of this resignation, as the best way of terminating this dispute; but the majority rejected this proposal with disdain, declaring, that if Becket was abandoned, no bishop would dare to re-

Cent. XII.

Reception of Becket by the king of France and the pope. The constitutions of Clarendon condemned.

(53) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. p. 77, 78.

Cent. XII.  sif his prince; and the church would be ruined. By their advice, the pope restored the archbishopric to Becket, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, at the same time appointing him to take up his residence in the abbey of Pontigni in Burgundy (54).

A. D. 1165.

Severe
measures
against
Becket and
his friends.

When Henry received the report of his ambassadors on their return from Sens, he was highly offended both with the pope and the archbishop, and resolved to make them feel the weight of his resentment. In order to this, he prohibited the payment of Peter-pence, and commanded all clerks who presumed to appeal to the pope, to be imprisoned (55). He also commanded all the goods and revenues of the archbishop, and of all the clergy who adhered to him, to be seized. He did not even stop here, but confiscated the estates, and banished the persons, of all the primate's friends, retainers and relations, to the number of about four hundred, obliging them to take an oath to present themselves before Becket, in hopes that the sight of so many persons involved in ruin on his account, would shake his resolution, and induce him to submit. But this step was as imprudent as it was unjust. For it made the king appear in the light of a cruel tyrant, and excited universal compassion towards the archbishop and his exiled friends, who were so hospitably entertained by the king of France, and his nobility and clergy, that they lived more happily than in their own country (56).

Interview
between
Henry and
the king of
France.

The kings of France and England had an interview at Gizors, in Easter week, A. D. 1165, in which the affair of Becket was the chief subject of their negotiations. But as Henry insisted on the submission of the archbishop to the constitutions of Clarendon, and Louis refused to withdraw his protection from him, nothing was concluded (57). An interview was proposed about the same time between king Henry and the pope; which did not take place; because the king proposed that the archbishop should not be present:

(54) Vita S. Thomæ, c. 12. p. 79, 80.

(55) Epistolæ Divi Thomæ, l. i. ep. 13, 14, 15. Hoveden Annal. p. 285, col. 1.

(56) Stephanid. in Vita S. Thomæ, p. 52. Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 14. p. 82.

(57) J. Sarisbur. Epist. 31.

to which his holiness returned this haughty answer : Cent. XII
 “ That no man had a right to exclude any person from
 “ the presence of the sovereign pontiff, whose prerogative it had always been, to protect oppressed exiles
 “ from the violence of the wicked, and even from the
 “ rage of princes (58).”

Henry was so much engaged for the greatest part of this year, after his return from the continent, in his wars against the princes of Wales, that he had no leisure to attend to the affairs of the church, or of the exiled archbishop, who continued to reside in the abbey of Pontigni. In this retreat, his historian tells us, he spent his time in reading the scriptures, and in devout exercises, and sometimes amused himself, by assisting the monks in their rural labours (59). But there is sufficient evidence, that he was far from being unmindful of his secular interests. For in this interval he wrote many letters to different persons in England, in which he praises some for their adherence to, and reproaches others for their apostacy from, the cause of God ; with which honourable appellation he dignified his own side of the question in his dispute with the king (60). He also engaged the pope to write letters to several persons in England, exhorting and commanding them to espouse his cause (61). He had also agents in the courts of Rome and France, as well as in England, who laboured to increase the number of his friends, and to raise up enemies to his sovereign (62). At his instigation the pope published a bull, annulling the sentence pronounced in the first session of the parliament of Northampton against Becket for contumacy, on this insolent pretence, that it did not become inferiors to judge their superior (63). In the same strain Becket wrote several letters to Henry, in which he plainly tells him,—That kings received their power from the church ; but priests received their power from Christ, and were the undoubted fathers and masters of kings and princes (64). On

Conduct of
the pope
and Becket,
offensive to
Henry.

(58) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 16. p. 84.

(59) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1400.

(60) Vide Epistolæ Thomæ Cantuarien. Epist. 34. 40. 52. &c. &c.

(61) Id. ibid.

(62) Baron. Annal. ann. 1168.

(63) Epistol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 49.

(64) Id. Ep. 64, 65, 66.

Cent. XII. these and other accounts, Henry was so much offended, both with the archbishop and the pope, that he began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the party of Alexander, and of embracing that of his rival Paschal; which he intimated in a letter to the archbishop of Cologne (65).

A.D. 1166.

Becket excommunicates many persons, and threatens to excommunicate the king.

Henry having returned to the continent in the spring of this year, his dispute with Becket became more violent. For that furious prelate, finding that his monitory and threatening letters had produced no effect, became impatient to strike the last decisive blow, by pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against his king and benefactor; a sentence which, in those times, made the greatest princes tremble on their thrones. But from this he was restrained, for some time, by the greater timidity or greater policy of the pope, who advised him to exercise a little longer forbearance with the prince, permitting him to do as he pleased with others (66). In consequence of this permission he excommunicated John of Oxford, who had been much employed by the king, and suspended the bishop of Salisbury, for admitting John into the deanry of the church. He also excommunicated Richard de Lucy, chief justiciary, and Joceline de Baliol, because they had been the chief promoters of the constitutions of Clarendon; with Ralph de Broc, Hugh de St. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, because they had seized the possessions of the church of Canterbury. All these censures he notified in a letter directed to all the bishops of the province of Canterbury; acquainting them at the same time, that he had delayed a little the excommunication of the king, in hopes of his repentance; but that if he did not repent very soon, he would delay no longer (67).

Letter of the English bishops to Becket.

Not only the bishop of Salisbury, but all the other bishops and clergy, were alarmed at these violent proceedings, and more violent threatenings; and wrote a letter in the name of all the clergy of his province

(65) Epistol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 69.

(66) Id. Ep. 54.

(67) Id. Ep. 96. 100.

to their primate; in which they represented, with great freedom,—his ingratitude to his gracious sovereign, who had raised him from a low condition to the highest honours;—the uncanonical means by which he had obtained his see;—the informality and severity of his censures already pronounced;—the injustice and danger of those which he meditated against the king;—and concluded with an appeal to the pope against all his proceedings (68). But Becket was so far from being restrained by this letter, to which he wrote a very long and spirited answer, that he prepared in earnest to execute his threats. With this resolution he acquainted the pope, by a letter, in which he painted the king of England in the most odious colours, as a cruel, impious, unrelenting persecutor, who had tried and condemned Christ, at Northampton, in his person (69).

When Henry heard of Becket's design, he was much alarmed; and called a council of his barons and prelates at Chinon in Touraine, to consider what was to be done to prevent his excommunication, or to guard against its consequences. At the opening of this council, the king is said to have been much agitated, to have even shed tears, and to have spoken with much bitterness against Becket, who, he said, seemed to be determined to ruin both his soul and body. After long deliberation, the council could think of no better expedient than an appeal to the pope; and two bishops were sent to Pontigni to notify that appeal. When these prelates reached the place of his retreat, they were told, that the archbishop had gone a few days before to Soissons, to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Dransius the patron of combatants, to implore his protection in that dangerous conflict in which he was engaged against the king of England. This prevented their giving him a regular notification of the appeal (70). Henry, still apprehensive that nothing would stop the furious zeal of Becket, sent orders into England, to guard the sea-coasts with the greatest care, to search all who came from the continent, and if letters of excommunication or interdict

Cent. XII.

Henry's precautions against the effects of his threatened excommunication.

(68) Epistol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 126.

(69) Id. Ep. 129.

(70) Id. Ep. 140.

Cent. XII. were found upon any person, to punish him, if he was a clergyman, by castration; if he was a layman, by death (71). So terrible to the greatest princes were the thunders of the church in those days of darkness and superstition!

Becket, prevented by the king of France from excommunicating Henry, excommunicates his ministers. Becket in his return from the shrine of St. Dransius, full of confidence in the protection of that courageous saint, halted at Vizelay, where he designed to pronounce the dreaded anathema against his sovereign, on Whitsunday A. D. 1166; but was prevented by a message from his great friend the king of France, who acquainted him that Henry had fallen into a dangerous sickness, and advised him to delay the final sentence against him for some time. Not daring to disregard this advice, and yet determined to do something decisive, he mounted the rostrum on Whitsunday, and, before a crowded audience, published sentences of excommunication against all the king of England's ministers and chief confidants, by name; declaring, that he would in a short time pronounce a similar sentence against the king himself if he did not speedily repent, and repair the injuries he had done to the church. At the same time, he declared the impious constitutions of Clarendon null and void, absolved all the bishops of England from the unlawful oath they had taken to obey them, and excommunicated all persons who paid them any regard (72). Henry was so much offended at these presumptuous proceedings, that he threatened the monks of the Cistercian order, that he would expel them out of all his dominions if they entertained his enemy the archbishop of Canterbury any longer at Pontigni; which obliged him to remove to Sens about Martinmas A. D. 1166, where an honourable asylum was provided for him by the king of France (73).

Change in the politics of the court of Rome.

In the mean time the agents of both parties were negotiating with great eagerness at the court of Rome; and those of the archbishop, October 22d, A. D. 1166, obtained for their master a legantine

(71) See Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. octavo, vol. 4. p. 473.

(72) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 140. (73) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2.

commission over the province of Canterbury (74). Cent. XII.
 This was not only a mark of the pope's favour, but a great addition of power to the archbishop, which he was preparing to use with vigour, when the balance suddenly turned against him at the court of Rome. This change in the papal politics was owing to several circumstances which are but imperfectly known. The emperor had gained some advantages in Italy, which made his holiness set a greater value on the favour of the king of England: and the marquis of Montferrat, who was one of the pope's most powerful allies, had asked one of Henry's daughters in marriage for his son, and warmly seconded the solicitations of the royal agents; who were also better provided with money than those of the archbishop (75). These agents obtained a very soothing letter from the pope to their master the king of England, dated December 20th, A. D. 1166; in which he acquaints him, that he had given a commission to two cardinals to determine all controversies between him and the archbishop of Canterbury, and between that prelate and the bishops of England; and that these legates would set out on their journey in January;—that he had given his legates authority to absolve all the king's servants and subjects who had been excommunicated;—and that he had inhibited the archbishop from issuing any censures against him, or any of his subjects, while this cause was depending (76).

Nothing could exceed the consternation of Becket when he heard of this bull: especially as he was informed at the same time, that the king's agents, John of Oxford, John Cumin, and Ralph Tamiwurde, had obtained copies of all the letters that he and his friends had written to the pope against the king (77). Unwilling to believe so much ill news, he wrote to John of Poitou, his agent at the court of Rome, earnestly intreating him to discover the truth, and acquaint him with it; adding, "If these things which
 1167.
 Consternation of Becket.

"are reported be true, my lord the pope hath suffo-

(74) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 118.

(75) Id. Ep. 130.

(76) See Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 478, 479.

(77) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 164.

Cent. XII.

“ cated and strangled not only me, but also himself
“ and all the clergy.” He tells him further, that
since these reports arose, the English bishops and clergy
paid no regard to his commands, looking on his de-
position as unavoidable; and that the French nobility
and prelates, who had hitherto entertained his exiled
friends, now began to discard them (78).

He is sup-
ported by
the king of
France.

The truth is, the affairs of Becket were in a very
bad condition at this time; and it is highly probable
that Henry would have obtained a complete victory in
this famous contest, if the king of France had not
interposed. But that prince, whose reigning passions
were bigotry in religion, and enmity to the king of
England, was more displeas'd, if possible, than
Becket himself, with the pope; declaring, that he
would not suffer the legates to enter his dominions;
and that he was as much offended with them as if they
had come to pull the crown off his own head (79).
The strong remonstrances of Louis, the loud com-
plaints and importunities of Becket, together with
some changes in the political state of Europe, gave
a new turn to this affair less favourable to
Henry (80).

Duplicity
of the pope.

Though the legates (who were William of Pavia, a
cardinal priest, and a declared friend of the king of
England, and Otto, a cardinal deacon, who was sus-
pected to be of a venal disposition) set out from Rome
in January, they met with so many interruptions in
their journey, from the wars in Italy and other causes,
that they did not reach Montpellier till the end of
October A. D. 1167 (81). On their arrival in
France, a correspondence commenced between them
and Becket on the subject of their commission; in
which the latter discovers the most intolerable arro-
gance and inflexible obstinacy, denying that they had
any authority to act as judges, but only as mediators
between him and the king (82). This misunderstanding
about the nature of their commission, was owing

(78) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 165.

(79) Id. ibid. Ep. 166.

(80) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 24.

(81) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 4.

(82) Id. l. 2. Ep. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

to the artful disingenuous conduct of the pope, who, in order to please both parties, had represented it, in his letters to the king, as a commission to judge and determine, but in his letters to the archbishop as a commission to negotiate a reconciliation (83). The truth seems to have been, that the pope had given the legates a commission to act as judges, but had given them also secret instructions to act only as mediators (84).

Cent. XII.

When the legates had an interview with the king of England in the city of Maine, soon after their arrival in France, and communicated their instructions to that prince, he expressed great displeasure that these instructions were different from what the pope had given him reason to expect. He complained also, that the archbishop had stirred up both the king of France and the earl of Flanders to make war upon him. He affirmed likewise, that the account which had been given to the pope by the archbishop of the constitutions of Clarendon, was false; which the English bishops then present also attested. He added further, that if any laws had been made in his own time inconsistent with the laws of the church, he was willing that they should be abolished; and at the request of the English bishops he consented that the legates should act either as judges or mediators between him and the archbishop (85).

Condescension of the king.

After these concessions, which seemed to lay a foundation for an agreement, the legates, with some difficulty, procured an interview with Becket, November 17th, A. D. 1167; at which he behaved with great haughtiness and inflexibility, refusing to submit to them as judges, and declining to give them any ground to proceed upon as mediators with the least hopes of success. For to all his seeming concessions he constantly added,—a saving of the honour of God,—of the apostolic see,—and of his own person,—of all the liberties and of all the possessions of the church, which they knew the king would not admit, as it would be a source of endless disputes (86).

Inflexibility of Becket.

(83) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 1, 2.

(84) Id. l. 2. c. 22.

(85) Id. l. 2. Ep. 28.

(86) Id. l. 2. Ep. 28. 30.

Cent. XII.

The king
appeals to
Rome.

When the legates reported what had passed at this interview to the king and the English bishops, who were with him in Normandy, that prince and these prelates protested, that they had performed their part, in offering to submit to them either as judges or mediators, and that the archbishop had not performed his part, as he had not made a similar submission; and further, in order to screen themselves from the severe censures which they dreaded from that enraged prelate, they appealed to the pope, and put themselves and the kingdom of England under the immediate protection of the holy see, until the feast of St. Martin, in the year following. The king and bishops also requested the legates to notify their appeal to the archbishop, and to inhibit him from issuing any censures against them in the interval. With this request the legates complied, and prohibited the archbishop, in their own, and in the pope's name, from inflicting any censures on the king or kingdom of England during the time of the appeal (87). No hungry lion was ever more enraged at having his prey torn from him when he was ready to devour it, than Becket was at this prohibition. He complained of it to the pope and cardinals in the bitterest terms, painting the king of England in the blackest colours, and accusing the legates of having been bribed by that prince (88).

1168.

Attempt to
reconcile
the king
and Becket
miscarries.

The prohibition of the pope's legates produced a suspension of hostilities for some time between the king and Becket, who was restrained, much against his will, from launching the thunders of the church against his sovereign. The earl of Flanders made an attempt to put an end to this long and violent dispute, and in order to this, he brought Becket with him, about Midsummer A. D. 1168, to the place appointed for a conference between the kings of France and England. But Henry, secured from the censures of the church by the prohibition of the legates, and still further by a bull he had about that time received from the pope, suspending the archbishop's spiritual authority over him and his subjects till he had recovered his favour, would make no advances towards a reconcilia-

(87) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 29.

(88) Id. l. 2. Ep. 46, 47.

tion, nor so much as admit Becket into his presence. That prelate was therefore obliged to return to the place of his retirement, tormented with mortified pride and impotent resentment (89).

The kings of France and England had another interview, January 6th, A. D. 1169, at which a treaty of peace was concluded. Two abbots, with Bernard de Corillo, a monk, who had acted as a kind of mediators between the two monarchs, brought Becket with them to the place of this interview, in hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between him and his sovereign. To accomplish this, they were at great pains to persuade that haughty prelate to behave in the most humble and respectful manner to his much-offended prince, in order to appease his anger, and facilitate an accommodation; in which, being seconded by the king of France, and all the princes and prelates who were present, they at length prevailed. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees, and said, "I submit myself to the mercy of God and the king, to the honour of God and the king;" a form of words that was very artfully contrived, and full of ambiguity. This did not escape the penetration of Henry, who expressed his dissatisfaction with this form of submission, and insisted that the archbishop should promise, in plain words, "That he would obey those laws and customs which the holy archbishops of Canterbury had obeyed in the times of former kings, and which he had solemnly sworn to obey." This Becket refused to do; alleging, that his predecessors had not been pressed to make such a promise. But the king insisting upon it, and many of the nobles and bishops vehemently urging him to comply, he at last consented to make the promise required, with a saving of the honour of God and of the rights of his order (90). The king, well knowing what was intended by these savings, rejected this offer; and, addressing himself to the king of France, said, with an affecting air and tone of voice, "My liege lord, I earnestly intreat your attention. I know, that whatever happens to displease him, he will say is contrary to the honour

1166.
Another attempt towards reconciliation unsuccessful.

(89) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 32. 58.

(90) Id. l. 4. Ep. 8.

Cent. XII. “ of God, and the rights of his order. But that it
 “ may appear to all the world that I do not oppose
 “ the honour of God, or the real rights of his order,
 “ I here make this offer. There have been many
 “ kings of England before me, some weaker and
 “ others greater than I am; there have been also
 “ many great and holy men, archbishops of Canter-
 “ bury before him; let him behave towards me as the
 “ greatest and most holy of his predecessors behaved
 “ towards the weakest of mine, and I am satisfied
 “ (91).” This speech had no little influence on the
 audience, who cried out, that the king’s concessions
 were sufficient; and the archbishop remaining silent,
 the king of France added, “ My lord archbishop,
 “ why do you hesitate? Peace is now in your offer.”
 But Becket, with an invincible firmness, that could
 not be shaken either by the threats of his enemies, nor
 the most earnest entreaties of his friends, adhered to
 his former savings; and the conference broke off with-
 out effect (92). This gave many of the French no-
 bility unfavourable impressions of him as a person of
 intolerable pride and obstinacy; and even his great
 friend and patron Louis was for a little time disgusted.

A third at-
 tempt to
 reconcile
 the king
 and Becket
 fails.

At a second interview between the two kings, in
 the beginning of this year, another attempt was made
 to bring about a reconciliation between Henry and
 Becket; and in order to render the former more trac-
 table, a bull was delivered to him, in which the pope
 declared, that if he was not reconciled to the archbi-
 shop before the beginning of next Lent, he would
 restore that prelate to the full exercise of his spiritual
 authority over him and his kingdom. Henry, well
 knowing what use would be made of that authority
 if it was restored, proposed to the two priors, who were
 appointed by the pope to be mediators in this negoti-
 ation, that he would permit the archbishop to return
 into England, and enjoy all the emoluments of his see,
 if he would only promise to behave towards him as
 former archbishops had behaved towards former kings.
 When this was reported to Becket, he consented to
 make that promise, with a saving of the rights of his

(91) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 25.

(92) Id. ibid.
 order;

order; and as the king obstinately persisted in rejecting this saving, and the prelate as obstinately persisted in adhering to it, all the efforts of the mediators to bring about a reconciliation were in vain (93). Cent. XII.

After this negotiation had terminated without effect, both parties became more exasperated than ever, and all hopes of a reconciliation seemed to be at an end. Becket, in his letters to the pope, at this time, speaks of Henry in the bitterest terms, as a more cruel tyrant and persecutor than Herod (94). As soon as Lent commenced, he resumed the exercise of his spiritual authority; and, without consulting the pope, thundered out sentences of excommunication against many of the greatest men, both among the clergy and laity, particularly against the bishops of London and Salisbury, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and his vicar, Hugh earl of Chester, Richard de Lucy chief justiciary, Negil de Sackville, Thomas Fitzbernard, William Giffard, &c. &c (95). Becket excommunicates several persons of high rank.

While Becket was thus employed in launching the thunders of the church, Henry was not idle. He gave orders to his ambassadors at Beneventum, where the pope then resided, to labour with the greatest earnestness to persuade his holiness to translate Becket from Canterbury to some other see. As this seemed to be the only expedient for terminating this fatal dispute, and the king's heart was greatly set upon it, he gave them authority to offer the pope a present of ten thousand marks,—to procure him peace with the emperor and Roman nobility—and to allow him to fill the see of Canterbury, and all the other sees that were then vacant in England (96). But these tempting offers were rejected, the pope suspecting that they were too great to be faithfully performed; and all that the ambassadors could obtain was a promise, that his holiness would send two nuncios into Normandy, to negotiate peace between the king and the archbishop. Accordingly Vivian archdeacon of Rome, and Gratian subdeacon, were nominated; and having received their commission and instructions, they set out for Norman- Two nuncios from the pope endeavour to make peace, but in vain.

(93) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 1. 8, 9, 10.

(94) Id. Ep. 79. l. 3.

(95) Id. l. 3. Ep. 58. Wilkin. Concilia, t. I. p. 455, 456.

(96) Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 79, 80. l. 3.

Cent. XII. dy, and were received with great respect by the king, at Damfront, August 23d, A. D. 1169 (97). These nuncios had several long conferences with Henry, at different places, in the months of August and September; but though they seemed to be sometimes on the very point of making peace, new difficulties still arose, and all their labours proved finally unsuccessful: on which they left Normandy soon after Michaelmas (98).

Terms of reconciliation proposed by Becket are rejected by Henry, and those proposed by Henry rejected by Becket.

After the departure of the nuncios, Henry's apprehensions of an excommunication and interdict increased so much, that he sent a messenger after Vivian, with a letter, earnestly intreating him to return, and resume his negotiations, giving him strong assurances that they would be crowned with success. With this request Vivian complied, to the great dissatisfaction of Becket, who was impatient to proceed to extremities (99). But he did not venture to disobey a letter sent him by the nuncio, requiring him to attend an interview of the kings of France and England, which was to be at St. Deny's, November 15th, A. D. 1169. Having come to Paris, he sent a petition to the king, containing the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to his sovereign, which amounted to a full restoration of himself, and of all who had followed his fortunes, to all the rights and possessions which they had enjoyed before they left England. He also claimed all the churches and prebends belonging to the church of Canterbury that had become vacant since his retreat, that he might dispose of them as he pleased (100). This last article was very disagreeable to Henry, as it would have produced the expulsion of his own friends from many valuable livings, to make way for those of the archbishop; and the whole petition was couched in such ambiguous terms, that he declined to grant it: but proposed the following plain and short terms, to which he was willing to give his consent: "That the arch-

(97) Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 6. l. 3.

(98) Gervas, apud. X Script. col. 1407,

(99) Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 9, 10. l. 3.

(100) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 62.

“ bishop should have his church, and all the possessions of it that had been held by his predecessors, and as they had been held by them (101).” This form, for very obvious reasons, was rejected by the archbishop; especially as the king had declared his resolution not to give him the kiss of peace, which in those times was esteemed an essential ceremony in all reconciliations (102). Vivian having thus failed in his second attempt to bring about a peace between those two jealous and inflamed opponents, returned to Italy in great discontent.

As Henry now dreaded that a sentence of excommunication would be immediately pronounced against himself, and an interdict laid on his kingdom, by the archbishop, he made haste to take the most effectual measures to prevent these sentences from being executed, or even published in England. With this view he sent over his royal injunctions, forbidding all intercourse between his subjects and the pope or archbishop; declaring it high treason to bring any interdict from either of them into England, or to pay any obedience to such interdict; confiscating all the possessions of all who should in any way favour the pope and archbishop, together with the possessions of all their relations; and finally commanded Peter-pence to be paid into the royal treasury, and not to the pope (103). To render these injunctions more effectual, an oath was required from all persons, that they would observe them; which was cheerfully given by the laity of all ranks, but generally refused by the clergy. (104).

This was not the only means employed by Henry to prevent or guard against the censures of his adversary. He sent directions to his agents at the papal court, to settle the terms of an accommodation between him and Becket, with the pope in person, which they at length accomplished; and the following form of pacification proposed by them was approved of by his holiness: “ That for the love of God, of the pope,

Cent. XII.

Precautions to prevent the sentence of excommunication being published in England.

1170. Terms of reconciliation settled in the court of Rome.

(101) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 62.

(102) Du Cange, Gloss. voc. Osculum Pacis.

(103) Gervas. Chron. apud X Script. col. 1409.

(104) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 65.

Cent. XII. “ and of the church of Rome, the king would permit the archbishop to return to his church in safety, and to have and to hold it in peace, together with all the possessions he had before he left England. The same to all who were in exile on his account (105).” To bring about an accommodation on this plan, the pope gave a commission to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers; and as he apprehended some difficulty would occur about the kiss of peace, which the king had sworn in his anger he would never give to Becket, he absolved him from his oath, and instructed these commissioners to press him as much as possible to give it; but if he could not prevail, they were then to persuade the archbishop to accept of it from prince Henry. Their prelates were also authorised to absolve all those whom Becket had excommunicated (106).

Commission from the pope to crown prince Henry.

The king of England’s agents were at this time so successful in their negotiations at the court of Rome, that they obtained another favour for him from his holiness. This was a bull empowering Roger, archbishop of York, to crown prince Henry; a project which his too indulgent father had very much at heart, but had been prevented from executing by his quarrel with Becket, who claimed an exclusive right to perform that office (107). Richard Barre brought this bull, with the commission to archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers, into Normandy, in February A. D. 1170; and in the beginning of March Henry sailed into England to carry his favourite design of crowning his son into execution. These successes of the royal agents put Becket into a rage, that seems to have approached to madness. In his letters to the pope and cardinals, he tells them in the plainest terms,—that they had been bribed,—that they had absolved the devil and crucified Christ,—and that he would make no more applications to the court of Rome, where none but wicked men prevailed (108).

(105) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 1.

(106) Id. ibid. Ep. 2, 3, 4.

(107) See Appendix, N^o. 16. to Lord Lyttelton’s Hist. Hen. II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 498.

(108) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 20, 21.

The departure of Henry from the continent, prevented the papal nuncios from commencing their negotiations for a peace between him and Becket so soon as they intended. This served still further to inflame the fury of that prelate, to which he gave vent, by writing threatening letters to the bishops of England to deter them from crowning the young king, and by laying an interdict upon the kingdom; but the ports were so carefully guarded, and the danger of bringing over these letters was so great, that none of them were made public, or produced any effect (109). The king having accomplished the coronation of his son, and settled his other affairs in England, returned to the continent, and held several conferences with the nuncios, in which all the articles of reconciliation between him and Becket were agreed upon, except that of the kiss of peace. This Henry struggled earnestly to avoid promising, but was at length obliged to yield to the invincible pertinacity of the prelate; and thought himself very unhappy, that by the most earnest intreaties he obtained a delay of that ceremony at their first interview, because it was to be in the territories of France (110). All preliminaries being thus adjusted, the archbishop was conducted in great state to an audience of his sovereign, July 22d, A. D. 1170, in a meadow near Fretville (in which the kings of France and England had held conferences the two preceding days), where the French and English courts, with a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks, were assembled. As soon as the king saw the archbishop approaching, he put spurs to his horse, and advanced to meet him, with his head uncovered. The prelate intended to have spoken first, but the king prevented him, by a most gracious address; and taking him by the hand, led him aside, and entered into a familiar conversation with him. But all this condescension of his sovereign seems to have made little or no impression on the heart of Becket. For, according to his own account of this transaction, he made a long discourse, enumerating all the injuries the king had done to the church; dwelling long on that greatest

Cent. XII.
 Reconciliation between Henry and Becket.

(109) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 44, 45, 46. l. 5. Ep. 30, 35, 36, &c.
 (110) Id. l. 5. Ep. 12. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 68.

Cent. XII. injury of permitting his son to be crowned by the archbishop of York; and insisting, that he should make ample reparation for all these injuries, and permit those who had been concerned in them to be duly censured; to which the king assented. On this the archbishop dismounted, in order to throw himself at his feet: but in this also he was prevented by Henry, who stooped so low as to hold his stirrup, and assist him in remounting. After this the terms of the peace and reconciliation, as they had been settled, were publicly read by the archbishop of Sens, and ratified by the king; on which the other exiles, who had followed the fortunes of Becket, were introduced, and graciously received. Henry then desired the archbishop to declare his forgiveness of all those who had incurred his displeasure in the late dispute, as he had now forgiven all those who had incurred his resentment. But to this most reasonable proposal, the artful prelate, who meditated revenge against all his adversaries, returned an evasive answer; pretending, that some of these persons were more, and some of them less criminal: some of them were excommunicated by the pope, and some of them by other prelates; and therefore he could only promise in general, that if any of them failed in obtaining forgiveness in the end, it would be his own fault (111).

Becket's agents ill received in England.

After this long-expected peace was thus concluded, the archbishop dispatched his agents into England, who carried with them letters from Henry to the young king, acquainting him with the conclusion of the peace, and commanding, that all their estates and possessions should be restored to the archbishop and the other exiles (112). When these agents had been some time in England, they wrote to Becket, that they had met with a very cold reception;—that every body shunned their company, and disbelieved their report of the peace;—that when they presented the royal mandate to the young king on the Monday after Michaelmas, he appointed them to return ten days after to receive an answer,—and concluded with advising him not to return to England until he had really regained the fa-

(111) Epist. S. Thomæ; l. 5. p. 46, 47.

(112) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1413.

vour of the king (113). The truth is, that Henry's reconciliation to Becket was far from being cordial, and therefore he was not very pressing for the immediate execution of the conditions of it; and few imagined it would be of long continuance. That prelate, however, made bitter complaints to the king of this delay of restoring the possessions of his see, and transmitted the letters of his agents to the pope, with whom he stood in the very highest degree of favour, and from whom he obtained authority to inflict the highest censures on his adversaries, particularly on the archbishop of York for crowning the young king, and on the bishops of London, Salisbury, Rochester, &c. for assisting at that solemnity (114). This last favour was very agreeable to his vindictive temper, and he resolved to use it in the most effectual manner; and he even solicited a power of inflicting the same censures on the king (115). But it doth not appear that this was granted.

Becket had two conferences with the king after the conclusion of the peace; but as they were spent in mutual complaints, they contributed nothing to the restoration of real friendship (116). At length having taken leave of his steady friend and patron the king of France, and of the prelates and nobles who had generously supported him and his friends in their exile, he set out from Sens about the middle of November, under the conduct of John of Oxford, one of his greatest enemies, who was appointed by Henry to attend him into England, and arrived at Whitland, a sea-port in Flanders, towards the end of that month (117). While he waited there for a fair wind, he found means to send over three bulls, one for suspending the archbishop of York, and the other two for excommunicating the bishops of London and Salisbury, which were actually conveyed to these prelates. Nothing could be more inexcusable than this conduct, as it was declaring war at the very moment he pretended to return in peace. Accordingly this action ex-

Cent. XII.

Becket, having sent before him sentences of excommunication and suspension against several bishops, lands in England.

(113) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 53.

(114) Id. ibid. Ep. 52. 54. 65, 66, 67.

(115) Id. ibid. Ep. 52.

(116) Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 70.

(117) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 3. p. 110.

Cent. XII. cited universal indignation against him, and proved the cause of his ruin. On the evening of the last day of November he sailed from Whitsand, and landed next day at Sandwich, from which port he had departed six years and three weeks before; all which time he had spent in exile (118). John of Oxford, though no real friend, protected him from the insults of some armed men at his landing, who commanded him in a threatening tone to absolve the excommunicated bishops (119).

Troubles about the excommunicated bishops.

The day after, he entered Canterbury in a kind of triumph, attended by a great crowd of the clergy and common people; and next morning he was waited upon by the agents of the bishops who had been excommunicated, demanding their absolution; which he refused (120). On the return of their agents to Dover with this answer, these prelates determined to go over into Normandy, to implore the protection of their sovereign against the violence of their primate. The young king was no less incensed against Becket, as the severe censures which he had inflicted on those prelates for assisting at his coronation seemed to call in question its validity. He sent some of the officers of his court to Canterbury to demand the absolution of the bishops; but in vain (121).

Becket's progress from and return to Canterbury

When Becket had rested about eight days at Canterbury, where he had been visited by very few persons of rank, he set out with a design to wait upon the young king at Woodstock, in order to appease his anger, and regain his favour, by valuable presents, and other means. As he approached London, of which he was a native, prodigious crowds of men, women, and children, came out to meet him, and conducted him through the city to his lodgings in Southwark with loud acclamations; in return for which he scattered amongst them both money and episcopal benedictions. But this vanity was soon after mortified by a message from the young king, forbidding him to proceed any further, or to enter any royal town or castle; and commanding him to return immediately to Canterbury, and confine himself within the precincts of his

(118) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 4. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 72.

(119) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 73.

(120) Id. ibid.

(121) Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 75.

church (122). After hesitating some time, he resolved to comply with this message; and returned to Canterbury, escorted by a company of armed men, to protect him from any sudden assault. Here he resided about a week in great solitude, receiving daily accounts of fresh insults offered to his friends, and depredations committed on his estates; which made him say to one of his greatest confidants, That he was now convinced this quarrel would not end without blood; but that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church (123). On Christmas day he preached in the cathedral; and at the end of his sermon pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Ranulph de Broc (his great enemy), Robert de Broc, and almost all the king's most familiar servants, with visible marks of the most violent anger in his voice and countenance (124).

When the archbishop of York, with the bishops of London and Salisbury, arrived in Normandy, they threw themselves at the king's feet, and implored his protection from that disgrace and ruin with which they were threatened by the primate, painting the violence of his proceedings against themselves, and others, in such strong colours, that Henry fell into one of those violent fits of passion to which he was liable. In the height of his fury he cried out,—“ Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate in a wallet behind him, trample upon his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom? Will none of all those lazy cowardly knights whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest (125)?”

This passionate exclamation made too deep an impression on some of those who heard it, particularly on the four following barons, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Breto, who formed a resolution, either to terrify the archbishop into submission, or to put him to death. Having laid their plan, they left the court at different times, and took different routes, to prevent suspicion;

(122) Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 75.

(123) Id. p. 78.

(124) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 10. p. 118.

(125) Id. ibid. p. 119.

Cent. XII. but being conducted by the devil, as some monkish historians tell us, they all arrived at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury, on the same day, December 28th, and almost at the same hour (126). Here they settled the whole scheme of their proceedings, and next morning early set out for Canterbury, accompanied by a body of resolute men, with arms concealed under their clothes. These men they placed in different parts of the city to prevent any interruption from the citizens. The four barons above named then went unarmed, with twelve of their company, to the archiepiscopal palace, about eleven o'clock forenoon, and were admitted into the apartment where the archbishop sat conversing with some of his clergy. After their admission a long silence ensued, which was at length broken by Reginald Fitz-Urse, who told the archbishop, that they were sent by the king to command him to absolve the prelates, and others, whom he had excommunicated; and then to go to Winchester, and make satisfaction to the young king, whom he had endeavoured to dethrone (127). On this a very long and violent altercation followed, in the course of which they gave several hints, that his life was in danger if he did not comply. But he remained undaunted in his refusal. At their departure they charged his servants not to allow him to flee; on which he cried out with great vehemence,—“Flee! I will never flee from any man living. I am not come to flee, but to defy the rage of impious assassins (128).” When they were gone, his friends blamed him for the roughness of his answers, which had inflamed the fury of his enemies, and earnestly pressed him to make his escape; but he only answered,—“I have no need of your advice.—I know what I ought to do.” The barons with their accomplices, finding their threats were ineffectual, put on their coats of mail; and taking each a sword in his right hand, and an ax in his left, returned to the palace; but found the gate shut. When they were preparing to break it open, Robert de Broc conducted them up a back stair, and let them in at a window. A cry then arose, “they are armed! they are armed!” on which the clergy hurried the

(126) Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 28, 79. (127) Id. p. 81.
 (128) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 14.

archbishop, almost by force into the church, hoping that the sacredness of the place would protect him from violence. They would also have shut the door, but he cried out,—“Begone ye cowards! I charge you on your obedience, do not shut the door. What! will you make a castle of a church?” The conspirators having searched the palace, came to the church, and one of them crying,—“Where is that traitor? where is the archbishop?” Becket advanced boldly, and said, “Here I am, an archbishop, but no traitor!” “Flee,” cried the conspirator, “or you are a dead man.” “I will never flee,” replied Becket. William de Tracy then took hold of his robe, and said, “you are my prisoner; come along with me.” But Becket seizing him by the collar, shook him with so much force, that he almost threw him down. De Tracy, enraged at this resistance, aimed a blow with his sword, which almost cut off the arm of one Edward Grim, a priest, and slightly wounded the archbishop on the head. By three other blows given by the other three conspirators, his skull was cloven almost in two, and his brains scattered about the pavement of the church (129).

Thus fell Thomas Becket, December 29th, A. D. 1170, in the fifty-third year of his age, and ninth of his pontificate. He was evidently a man of very great abilities, particularly of consummate cunning, undaunted courage, and invincible constancy in the prosecution of his designs. But his schemes were of a most pernicious tendency, to emancipate the ministers of religion from the restraints of law, and to subject his king and country to a foreign power. He was vain, obstinate, and implacable; as little affected by the intreaties of his friends as by the threats of his enemies. His ingratitude to his royal benefactor admits of no excuse, and hath fixed an indelible stain upon his character. Though his murderers were highly criminal, his death was very seasonable, and probably prevented much mischief and confusion.

Few events in history have made a greater noise than the murder of archbishop Becket. It was generally imputed to the commands of the king of England,

1171.
Immediate
effects of
Becket's
death.

(129) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3, c. 14—18. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81—87.

Cent. XII.

and represented as the most execrable deed that ever had been perpetrated. The king of France, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, and several other prelates, wrote accounts of it to the pope, in the most tragical strains, calling upon him to draw the sword of St. Peter, and inflict some exquisite punishment on "that horrible persecutor of God, who exceeded Nero " in cruelty, Julian in perfidy, and Judas in treachery (130)." But none expressed greater grief and horror at this deed than Henry himself, who broke out into the loudest lamentations, refused to see any company, to take any food, or admit of any consolation for three days; of which he took care to have a pathetic narrative transmitted to the pope by the bishop of Lizieux, declaring his innocence in the strongest terms, and intreating his holiness to suspend all censures till he had examined into the truth (131).

Negotiations of Henry's ambassadors at Rome successful.

Not long after he sent a numerous and splendid embassy to the papal court, to endeavour to prevent the dreaded sentences of an interdict and excommunication. When the English ambassadors arrived at Fiescati, where the pope then resided, they met with nothing but frowns and threats. His holiness refused to permit them to kiss his feet, and few of the cardinals would admit them to an audience. They were also informed, that the pope designed to denounce the sentence of excommunication against the king, and of an interdict against his dominions, on Maundy Thursday, which was then approaching. To avert this terrible blow, they exerted themselves with so much vigour, and in particular laid out a very great sum of money with so much judgment, that they gained many friends, and even obtained several audiences of the pope, in which they pleaded their prince's cause so well, that the intended sentences were not pronounced (132). Before they obtained this very essential favour, four of the ambassadors took a solemn oath, that the king would submit to the pleasure of his holiness; and the pope engaged to send two legates into Normandy, to settle the terms of his reconcilia-

(130) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 78. 80, 81.

(131) Id. ibid. Ep. 79.

(132) Id. ibid. Ep. 83, 84.

tion to the church. In a word, the dispositions of the papal court were so entirely changed, that the pope was prevailed upon to write a letter to Henry, in very friendly terms, and to absolve the English bishops whom Becket had excommunicated (133). Cent. XII.

Henry being thus relieved from his apprehensions of the thunders of the church, which in those days of darkness and superstition made the greatest monarchs tremble, left Normandy, and arrived in England (August 17th), where he found every thing in profound tranquillity (134). His expedition into Ireland, in which he immediately engaged, engrossed all his thoughts, and suspended his negotiations with the papal court for almost a whole year. In the mean time his holiness nominated the two cardinals, Albert and Theodwin; to be his legates, for terminating this long and violent contest with the king of England. Though Henry had made great progress in the conquest of Ireland, and earnestly desired to stay some months longer in that island, in order to finish that important business; yet he no sooner heard of the arrival of these legates in his continental dominions, than he hastened through England into Normandy, where he landed in the beginning of September. In the first conferences the terms proposed by the two cardinals appeared so hard, that Henry threatened to break off the treaty, and return to Ireland. But at length, all the conditions were amicably settled at Avranches, September 18th, A. D. 1172, when the king, in the presence of the legates, and of a great assembly of princes; prelates, nobles, and others, swore on the gospels, and the relics of the saints, in the church of St. Andrew, “ that he had neither “ commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop “ of Canterbury, and that when he heard it he was “ very much grieved.” But as he was afraid that his passionate expressions had excited the murderers of the archbishop to perpetrate that horrid deed, he consented to the following conditions to atone for his offence, and to procure a full reconciliation with the church:

1. To give to the knights templars as much money as

1172.
Accommodation between Henry and the court of Rome.

(133) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 84.

(134) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1419.

Cent. XII. would pay two hundred knights for one year to serve in the Holy Land; and, at next Christmas, to take the cross, and go in person into the Holy Land the following summer, unless he obtained a dispensation from the pope. 2. To permit appeals to be made to the pope, in good faith, and without fraud; but if he suspected any of the appellants of ill intentions, he might oblige them to give security that they would attempt nothing to the detriment of him or his kingdom. 3. To abolish such evil customs against the church as had been introduced in his own time. 4. To restore all the possessions of the church of Canterbury, and all the clergy and laity of both sexes, who had been deprived of their estates on account of the late archbishop. Both the king and his son at the same time swore, that they would adhere to pope Alexander as long as he treated them as Christian and Catholic kings (1135). Thus terminated this memorable struggle between the crown and mitre, less to the disadvantage of the former than could have been expected.

Disputes
about the
election of
an arch-
bishop.

The next ecclesiastical affair that engaged the attention of the king and kingdom, was the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of England, towards which some steps were taken immediately after the young king's return from Normandy. Odo prior of Canterbury was called to court to consult about this matter; but he pretended, that the monks of that cathedral had the sole right of electing an archbishop, to the exclusion both of the king and the bishops of the province. On this he was sent home to deliberate more maturely on this matter, with the monks of his convent, and to report the result of their deliberations. At his return to court, about three weeks after; he reported, that the monks would not relinquish their claim. He was then commanded to wait upon the old king in Normandy; with which he complied. On his arrival there, Henry dreading,

(1135) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 88, 89. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 147, 148. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 303, 304. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1421, 1422.

that

that if the choice of an archbishop was left to the monks, who were professed admirers of Becket, it would fall upon some person of the same principles, exerted every art in his power to prevail upon Odo to consent to the election of the bishop of Baieux, who was a man of a gentle and flexible disposition. He even descended to the most humble and earnest intreaties, that he would take pity upon him, and not drive him to commit some greater crime than he had yet committed. But all his intreaties were in vain: the hard-hearted monk remained inflexible, and returned to England. About the end of this year an assembly was held at London for the election of an archbishop; but the monks still insisting on their exclusive right to elect, it broke up without effect (136).

Cent. XII.

When the monks returned to Canterbury, beginning to fear that if they continued to adhere strictly to their claim, some violent measures would be adopted, they held a chapter, in which it was agreed to propose three persons to the king, of which he might chuse one to be the archbishop. This proposal was accordingly made to Richard de Lucy, high justiciary and regent of the kingdom; who embraced it with joy, and called an assembly of the bishops and monks at London in February; in which Roger abbot of Bec was unanimously elected. But this election, after it had been confirmed by the king, was defeated by the obstinate refusal of the abbot to accept of the dignity to which he had been chosen (137). On this another assembly of the bishops and monks met at London, about the end of April, in which the six sees of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Bath, Chichester, and Lincoln, were filled up by the following persons, Richard de Ivicestre, archbishop of Poitiers, Geoffrey Redel archdeacon (commonly called by Becket archdevil) of Canterbury, Robert Foliot, Reginald, son of Joceline bishop of Salisbury, John of Greenford, and Geoffrey, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond. These persons were all very agreeable to the king, and some of them had been the most active enemies of

1173.
Several vacant sees filled, and Richard prior of Dover elected archbishop.

(136) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1422, 1423.

(137) Id. col. 1423, 1424.

Cent. XII. the late primate. But when the assembly proceeded to elect an archbishop, the dispute between the monks and bishops revived, and though various expedients were proposed, it could not be compromised. The chief Justiciary, having taken some private measures to make the choice of the monks fall upon a person who he knew would not be disagreeable to the king, ventured to call another assembly to meet at London in the beginning of June. After several sessions, and very warm debates, the monks, June 8th, proposed Richard prior of Dover to be their archbishop; who being approved of by the bishops, and by the chief justiciary, in the king's name, was declared duly elected. The archbishop-elect made his public entry into Canterbury, on Saturday, June 14th; and was to have been consecrated the day after; which was prevented by a very unexpected obstacle. The bishops who attended to assist at the consecration, received a letter from the young king, who was then in open rebellion against his father, protesting against the late election, and acquainting them that he had appealed against it to the pope. After some debate it was agreed to delay the consecration, and that the archbishop-elect should go to Rome to prosecute his own cause, and the cause of the other bishops lately elected, against whom the young king had also protested and appealed (138).

1174.
Richard being consecrated at Rome returns to England.

When the elect of Canterbury arrived at Rome, he found the papal court very much divided between the parties of Henry and his rebellious sons. After he had waited long, and spent much money, his election was confirmed; and he was consecrated on the Sunday after Easter A. D. 1174, by the pope, who also appointed him his legate in England (139). On his return from Rome, he had an interview (which seems to have been accidental) with the king, in the month of August, at a public house near Caen in Normandy, where they dined together, and then separated.

(138) Gervas apud X Script. col. 1424, 1425, 1426. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 307.

(139) Id. ibid. p. 308. col. 1.

The archbishop made his public entry into Canterbury in a kind of triumph, October 10th, and the next day consecrated the bishops who had been lately elected (140). Cent. XII.

The civil wars being now happily terminated by a pacification between Henry and his sons, the archbishop held a council of the English clergy at Westminster, May 28th, in which eighteen canons were promulgated, and confirmed by the authority of both kings and of the barons of the kingdom, who were present in the council. There was little new or very remarkable in these canons. By the first, the celibacy of all the clergy above the rank of subdeacons was commanded, and the succession of sons to their fathers in the same churches forbidden: a sufficient proof that all the severe canons that had been made against the marriages of the clergy had been ineffectual. By the fourth, archdeacons were authorised to crop such of the clergy as wore long hair. By the other canons churchmen were forbidden—to frequent public houses, —to bear civil offices, —to take farms, —to carry arms, &c. &c (141.) The archbishop of York was not present at this council; but sent some of his clergy to claim a right to carry his cross erect within the province of Canterbury, and to demand the subjection of the bishops of Hereford, Lincoln, Worcester, and Chester, to him as their metropolitan; and upon these claims being rejected, they, in his name, appealed to the pope (142). The clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph complained to the council against Godfrey their bishop for non-residence, and he was obliged to resign his bishopric (143). After the council was dissolved, the two kings accompanied the archbishop to Canterbury, to return their united thanks for the late pacification to St. Thomas Becket, who had been canonized about two years before, and now eclipsed all the saints in heaven, by the fame of his miracles and the reputation of his power (144). The sincerity of Henry's devotion towards this new saint, who

1175.
Transactions of a council at Westminster.

(140) Gervas, col. 1427, 1428.

(142) Hoveden Annal. p. 311.

(144) Gervas, col. 1492.

(141) Id. col. 1430, &c.

(143) Id. *ibid.*

Cent. XII. had long been his most dangerous and detested enemy, may be justly doubted.

1176.
Legate sent
into Eng-
land.

About the end of October A. D. 1175, cardinal Hugo, who had been appointed by the pope his legate *a latere*, landed in England; and, with the king's permission, made a progress into many parts of the kingdom, visiting the richer churches and abbeys. "As his business (says a contemporary historian) was, to root out and to plant, he performed it very diligently, by rooting out money from the purses of others, and planting it in his own coffers (145)." The king had solicited this legation from the pope, in order, as it was given out, to determine the disputes between the archbishops of Canterbury and York; but, in reality (as it was surmised), to procure a divorce from his queen, who had instigated her sons to their late rebellion. Towards this however he took no public step (146). The controversies of the two prelates were referred to the archbishop of Rouen, and some foreign bishops, and they were enjoined to suspend all disputes on these subjects for five years (147).

Quarrel
between
the arch-
bishops of
York and
Canterbu-
ry.

But notwithstanding this injunction, their animosity broke out with the most indecent violence, at a council summoned to meet at Westminster in the middle of Lent A. D. 1176. For when the legate had taken his seat, a struggle ensued between the two archbishops about the seat next to him on the right hand, in which the followers of the archbishop of Canterbury interposed, threw down his antagonist of York, and trampled upon him with their feet. This occasioned so great a tumult, that the legate retired in a fright, and the council broke up in confusion. Both prelates appealed to the pope, and complained to the king; who at first was much incensed at the archbishop of Canterbury; but, upon better information, and cooler thought, he laboured to reconcile the two enraged prelates; in which he at last succeeded, both of them withdrawing their appeals, and promising to live in peace. The legate was so much disgusted, that he hastened out of England (148).

(145) Gervas, col. 1433.

(146) Id. col. 143.

(147) Hoveden. Annal. p. 313.

(148) Id. p. 35. col. Gervas, col. 1433. 1434.

A schism which had subsisted in the church of Rome almost eighteen years, was terminated in the course of this year, by the degradation of Calixtus the anti pope, and the submission of Frederic emperor of Germany to pope Alexander. At an interview between the emperor and the pope, in the city of Venice, July 24th, A. D. 1177, this important transaction was concluded; and the former paid certain honours to the latter (such as giving him the right hand in all processions, and holding his stirrup when he mounted); with which he was highly pleased, and of which he wrote a pompous account to the two English archbishops (149). The ecclesiastical events which happened in England in this and the succeeding year, were neither singular nor important.

Cent. XII.

1177.
Schism in
the papacy
terminated.

The extinction of the late schism which had so long subsisted in the church, added not a little to the power and wealth, as well as to the satisfaction, of the victorious pontiff, who determined to make the best use of this favourable event. With this view he sent his legates into all the countries in communion with the church of Rome, and particularly into Normandy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to summon the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to attend a general council at Rome in the time of Lent this year (150). From several Scotch and Irish bishops who passed through England in their way to this council, Henry exacted an oath, that they would attempt nothing against him, or his kingdom; and that they would return the same way (151). So attentive were princes in those times to all the motions of the clergy. Only four English bishops, those of Durham, Oxford, Hereford, and Bath, repaired to this council, as the English prelates claimed a privilege of being represented by four of their number in all general councils. But this claim was not sustained, and the absent prelates were obliged to pay considerable sums of money to prevent their being censured; to obtain which money, is said by contemporary writers, to have been one great object of calling this council (152). Pope

1179.
General
council at
Rome.

(149) Gervas, col. 1439. Hoveden, p. 325. col. 1.

(150) Chron. J. Brompt. inter X. Script. col. 1138.

(151) Id. ibid.

(152) Hoveden, p. 332. col. 2. G. Neubrigenf. l. 3. c. 2.

Cent. XII. Alexander opened the council in the church of St. John de Lateran, March 5th, A. D. 1179, with great pomp, attended by the whole college of cardinals, by the magistrates and nobles of Rome, by the ambassadors of the emperor, and of all the kings and princes of the Western church, by three hundred and ten bishops, besides a prodigious number of abbots and inferior clergy. In the third session, which was held March 21st, thirty-three canons were published, and received the sanction of the council (153). These canons are too long to be here inserted, and have no particular reference to the church of England. Some of them contain very wise and just regulations; while others carry the usurpations of the papacy over the prerogatives of princes and the rights of conscience, to the most impious and daring height.

King of France pays his devotions at the shrine of Becket.

The fame of St. Thomas Becket for working miracles, increased with so much rapidity, that by this time he was more celebrated on that account than any other saint. This brought prodigious numbers of persons of all ranks, and from different countries, to Canterbury, to perform their devotions, and to obtain cures for themselves or friends. The king of France, his old friend and patron, being in great anxiety about the life of his only son Philip, who had fallen into a dangerous sickness, resolved to apply to him for help, and came into England, attended by the earl of Flanders, and many other nobles. He was received with great respect by Henry on his landing at Dover, August 22d, A. D. 1179, and conducted to the tomb of Becket, where he performed his devotions, and presented a chalice of gold, with a grant of one hundred casks of wine annually to the monks of the cathedral (154). At his return to the continent, he received the agreeable news of his son's recovery, which was universally ascribed to the prayers and merits of St. Thomas, and greatly increased his fame. The church-history of England in the three next years, contains nothing but the succession of prelates, and matters of little moment.

(153) G. Neubrigenf. l. 3. c. 3. Diceto, col. 63. J. Brompt. col. 113.
(154) Hoveden, Annal. p. 338. J. Brompt. col. 1140.

An unnatural war having this year broken out between Henry and his sons, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, with Waleran bishop of Rochester, and several Norman bishops and abbots, held a council at Caen in Normandy, by a mandate from the pope; in which, on Ascension-day, they denounced a sentence of excommunication against all who disturbed the peace of the elder Henry, except the young king (155). About the same time the archbishop wrote a letter to that prince, expostulating with him on the folly and iniquity of his conduct, earnestly intreating him to return to his duty, and concluding with an assurance, that if he did not do this in fifteen days, he, as well as his followers, would be excommunicated (156).

These were some of the last transactions in which Richard archbishop of Canterbury was engaged. For he died, after a short illness, February 16th, A. D. 1184, in the eleventh year of his pontificate (157). He appears to have been a prelate of a mild temper, innocent life, and moderate principles, condemning the unreasonable immunities of the clergy, for which his predecessor had contended with so much violence, as equally pernicious to church and state (158). This made him no great favourite of the monks, who represent him as too indolent, timid, and complying. Henry had been so much assisted by the late primate, that he was impatient to see his place supplied by a person of similar principles; and having fixed on Baldwin bishop of Worcester, he earnestly laboured to bring about his election. In this he met with great opposition from the monks of Canterbury; but at length, after several meetings, this opposition was overcome, and Baldwin was elected (159).

About the beginning of this year, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, with the grand master of the knights-hospitalers, arrived in England; and being introduced to Henry at Reading, and, falling at his feet, most earnestly intreated him to come to the protection of the Holy Land, which was in danger of be-

Cent. XII.
A. D. 1183.
Clergy endeavour to reconcile Henry and his sons.

1184.
Archbishop Richard's death and character. Succeeded by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester.

1185.
Henry declines to comply with the intreaties of the patriarch of Jerusalem.

- (155) Hoveden, p. 354. col. 1.
 (156) Epistol. P. Blesens. Ep. 47. p. 69.
 (157) Hoveden, p. 355.
 (158) Epist. P. Blesens. Ep. 73. p. 109.
 (159) Hoveden. Annal. p. 356

Cent. XII. ing lost; presenting him at the same time with the keys of Jerusalem and of the holy sepulchre; together with a most pathetic letter from the pope, exhorting him to undertake that expedition. Henry raised them from the ground, with many expressions of kindness and sympathy, promising to give them an answer when he had consulted his great council, which was to meet on the first Sunday of Lent, at London (160). By this assembly, which was very full, the king was advised not to engage in an expedition into the Holy Land, till he had consulted with the king of France; which was given as an answer to the two ambassadors (161). But that they might not have reason to complain that their application had been altogether unsuccessful, Henry promised them an aid of fifty thousand marks; and gave a permission to such of his subjects as pleased to take the cross (162).

1186. About this time a quarrel began between Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of his cathedral, which made a mighty noise, and continued several years. The archbishop, offended perhaps at the keen opposition that had been made by the monks to his election, early discovered a disposition to diminish their wealth and abridge their power. With this view he resolved to erect a magnificent church and convent at Hackington, without the walls of Canterbury, to dedicate it to St. Thomas Becket, and to fill it with secular canons. For this purpose he not only obtained the king's consent, but he also procured a bull from the pope, Urban III. authorising his intended erection, and granting him a fourth of all the oblations at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket to assist him in building the church (163). On this the work was immediately begun, and carried on with great rapidity; at which the monks of Canterbury were very much alarmed. For they not only grudged that share of the oblations granted by the pope, but began to suspect that the archbishop intended to remove the

(160) Hoveden. Annal. p. 359.

(161) Id. ibid. Diceto, col. 626.

(162) Hoveden, p. 359.

(163) Diceto, col. 631.

seat of his see, and perhaps the precious remains of their favourite saint, to his new church and convent. Cent. XII.
Excited by these suspicions, they filled the whole kingdom with their clamours, as if the church, and even the Christian religion, had been in danger. They complained to the king; but met with no redress. They then appealed to the pope, and notified their appeal to the archbishop, December 20th, A. D. 1186, in hopes that he would have desisted from his works. But he was so far from doing this, that he suspended the prior and monks, who had notified the appeal. The king made several attempts to persuade the monks to refer their disputes with the primate to him, or to the bishops of the province. But all these attempts were fruitless, and they prosecuted their appeal with so much vigour, that they obtained a bull from the same pope Urban, commanding the archbishop to restore the prior and monks, and to stop his works, which was intimated to him, March 25th, A. D. 1187. This bull was disregarded by Baldwin, who proceeded with greater haste than ever to finish his buildings, having sent Peter of Blois, and some other learned men, to Rome to vindicate his conduct. As a perfect concord at this time subsisted between the king and the archbishop, the latter was supported in this contest by all the power of the crown; and Ralph de Glanville, chief justiciary, issued two writs, one commanding the prior and monks to desist from prosecuting their appeal to the pope, and the other citing them to appear before himself at London. Encouraged by this powerful patronage, the primate seized all the possessions of the prior and monks; who sent a deputation of their number to complain to the king, in Normandy, of this violence; and also made another application to the pope. Urban, greatly enraged at the contempt with which his former mandate had been treated, sent a thundering bull to Baldwin (dated October 12th, A. D. 1187), commanding him to demolish all his buildings at Hackington, to desecrate the ground on which they had been erected, and restore all their possessions to the monks. He sent at the same time a most insolent epistle to the king, commanding him to oblige the
the

Cent. XII. the archbishop to submit to the above bull. When these letters were delivered to the king and primate, their countenances fell (says the monkish historian), and they began to speak to the monks in a kind and soothing strain. But this dejection was not of long continuance. For in a few days the news arrived, that Urban was dead, and that cardinal Albert, a particular friend of the archbishop, was chosen pope, and had assumed the name of Gregory III. On this the primate resumed courage; and resolving to bring the refractory monks to submission, he shut them up prisoners in their convent, and excommunicated the sub-prior, and some others. When they were in this confinement, the king and the primate sent several agents to prevail upon them, both by threats and promises, to withdraw their appeals, and give their consent to the new erection at Hackington. But they remained undaunted in their opposition, and suspended all divine service in the cathedral, being encouraged by the citizens of Canterbury, who supplied them plentifully with necessaries, and even delicacies. When things had continued in this state about two months, the news arrived of another change at the court of Rome, by the death of Gregory, and the election of Clement III. who was as great a friend to the monks as the former had been to the primate. The scene was now entirely changed. Clement issued a bull, dated February 26th, A. D. 1188, commanding Baldwin to demolish all his works at Hackington, and to repair all the damages he had done to the monks of Canterbury. When this bull was disregarded, another was issued, dated March 16th, commanding the abbot of Faversham to excommunicate all persons who had any of the goods or estates of the convent in their possession; which that abbot performed. But the excommunicated were so powerfully supported by the king and primate, that they treated that highest censure with contempt. Honorius, the prior of Canterbury, who had long resided at the papal court to prosecute his appeals, prevailed upon pope Clement to appoint the bishop of Ostia his legate *a latere*, and send him into England to see his bulls executed in their

their full extent. But when the legate and prior were preparing for their journey, they were both seized with, and died of the plague, which then raged with great violence at Rome. A second legate was appointed, who died on his journey at Pavia, in December A. D. 1188. The partisans of the archbishop were much elated by these events, giving out that heaven had espoused his cause, and that he had wrought several miracles. But the irresistible power of the pope at length prevailed, and the archbishop after a brave struggle of more than three years, was obliged to demolish all the buildings he had erected at Hackington; and the pertinacious monks, fighting under the papal banner, obtained a complete victory over their sovereign and their primate (164).

Cent. XII.

THE history of the church of Scotland in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden and William the Lion, who were contemporaries with Henry II. is so imperfectly preserved, that it doth not merit very much attention. Robert bishop of St. Andrew's died A. D. 1159, and was succeeded by Arnold abbot of Kelfo; who survived only one year and ten months. Richard, one of the king's chaplains, was chosen to succeed him. But Roger, archbishop of York, claiming a right to perform the ceremony of the consecration, he was not consecrated till about two years after, by the bishops of Scotland (165). The archbishop complained of this to the court of Rome, and was appointed the pope's legate in Scotland; against which the Scotch clergy made very strong remonstrances, and at length obtained a bull from Alexander III. A. D. 1165, divesting the primate of York of his legantine authority (166).

Ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

The independency of the church of Scotland, as well as of the kingdom, was endangered by the unfortunate captivity of William the Lion. In the treaty of peace indeed, A. D. 1174, on which that prince obtained his liberty, it was only stipulated, "That the church of Scotland should yield that subjection

Archbishop of York declared primate of Scotland.

(164) Gervas, col. 1488—

(165) Spottiswoode, p. 36.

(166) Id. *ibid.* Wilkin. Concil. t. 2. p. 461.

Cent. XII. “to the church of England that it had been accus-
 tomed to yield in the reigns of former kings (167).”
 But though by this article of the treaty, the contro-
 versy between the churches of England and Scotland
 seemed to be left upon its former footing; yet king
 William was prevailed upon, by means now unknown,
 to write a letter to the pope, A. D. 1175, acknow-
 ledging, that the church of Scotland had in former
 times been subject to the archbishops of York, and
 that the church of York had been deprived of the ex-
 ercise of its authority by force; and praying his holi-
 ness to restore that church to the possession of its
 rights. In consequence of this letter the pope issued a
 bull, subjecting the church of Scotland to the pri-
 macy of the archbishop of York (168).

The clergy of Scotland refuse to acknowledge the primacy of York. The clergy of Scotland did not tamely acquiesce
 in this decision. For at a great council held at
 Northampton, A. D. 1176, by cardinal Huguzon,
 the pope’s legate, where the kings of England and
 Scotland, and the chief nobility and clergy of both
 kingdoms, were present; when the Scotch prelates
 were required to make their submission to the arch-
 bishop of York as their primate, agreeable to the ar-
 ticle of the late treaty, to which they had sworn, they
 denied that the clergy of Scotland had ever been ac-
 customed to pay such submissions to that see; and af-
 firmed, that they were not obliged to pay it (169).
 One Gilbert, a young canon of Glasgow, is said to
 have gained great honour on this occasion, by his
 bold and eloquent defence of the immunities of the
 church of Scotland; for which he was soon after
 made bishop of Caithness and chancellor of the king-
 dom (170). Roger archbishop of York supported
 his pretensions with much spirit, and no small evi-
 dence; but by the influence of his great adversary
 Richard archbishop of Canterbury, the Scotch pre-
 lates were allowed to depart without making any sub-
 mission (171).

(167) Diceto, col. 584. Brompt. col. 1104.

(168) Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 481, 482.

(169) Hoveden. Annal. p. 315.

(170) Fordun, p. 714. Boeth. l. 12. p. 271. Lestæus, l. 6.

(171) Hoveden. Annal. p. 315.

The clergy of Scotland in order to guard against the encroachments of their neighbour of York, solicited the pope to send a legate into their country to determine this controversy. In compliance with this application, his holiness dispatched cardinal Vivian, with a legantine commission over Scotland, Ireland, and Norway (172). When the legate arrived in Scotland, he held a council of the prelates and clergy of that kingdom in the castle of Edinburgh, then called the *Castle of Maidens*, August 1st, 1177. The canons of this council are not preserved, though we are told in general, that it revived some old and made some new constitutions (173). Christian bishop of Whithorn was suspended from the exercise of the episcopal office by this council, for refusing to come to it, and pretending that he was a suffragan of the archbishop of York (174). Immediately after the dismissal of the council of Edinburgh; Vivian was recalled by the pope, on many complaints of his evasive and extortions from the clergy, in the several countries of his legation (175).

Cent. XII.
Council of
Edinburgh.

Richard bishop of St. Andrew's having died A. D. 1178, a violent dispute arose about the choice of his successor, which continued several years. The monks made a hasty election, and chose John Scot, an Englishman, their archdeacon, to be their bishop. The king (William the Lion), much offended at their presumption, swore by the arm of St. James, that Scot should never enjoy that bishopric, and commanded them to proceed to a new election, recommending Hugo, one of his chaplains, and sending Joceline bishop of Glasgow to superintend their conduct. In obedience to the royal mandate, a second election was made, in presence of bishop Joceline, and Hugo was chosen. John Scot, not willing to relinquish his right, appealed to the pope; who confirmed his election, and sent Alexius, subdeacon of Rome, as his legate into Scotland, A. D. 1180, to see him consecrated. Alexius met with much opposition in the execution of his commission; for which he excommunicated some cler-

Disputes
about the
election of
a bishop of
St. An-
drew's.

(172) Brompt. col. IIII. (173) Concil. Wilkin. t. i. p. 486.

(174) Brompton, col. IIII.

(175) Id. ibid. Chron. de. Mailros, p. 173.

Cent. XII. gymen of the royal party, and laid the whole bishopric of St. Andrew's under an interdict. This legate held a council of the bishops, abbots, and clergy of Scotland, 18th June A. D. 1180, in the church of the Holy Cross, near the castle of Maidens, or Edinburgh, at which John Scot was consecrated bishop of St. Andrew's, by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, his uncle, with great pomp, and Hugo his competitor was deposed (176). But it was not in the power of the papal legate to give the revenues of the see of St. Andrew's to the new bishop; who, finding himself with only the name, without the power or possessions of a bishop, and exposed to the indignation of the king and his courtiers, left the country, and returned to Rome to renew his complaints; which were favourably heard (117). For Alexander III. irritated at the opposition that had been given to his legate, excommunicated Hugo for refusing to resign his pretensions, and to surrender the pastoral staff and ring (178). The pope also appointed Roger archbishop of York and Hugo bishop of Durham his legates in Scotland, with authority to excommunicate the king of Scotland, and to lay his whole kingdom under an interdict, if he refused to admit John Scot to the peaceable enjoyment of his bishopric. He also wrote to the king, acquainting him with the authority he had given to his legates, and threatening to confirm their sentences of excommunication and interdict, if he did not receive bishop Scot into his favour, within twenty days after he received that letter. William was so far from complying with these papal dictates, that he banished bishop Scot, Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, who had consecrated him, and all the clergy who acknowledged him for their bishop, together with all their friends and relations: on which the legates pronounced the dreaded sentences of excommunication and interdict (179). When William king of Scotland was in Normandy, A. D. 1181, he sent ambassadors to Rome with the following proposals for an accommodation,—That the bishop of Aberdeen should be restored to all his possessions; and that bishop Scot should be allowed to return to

(176) Hoveden. Annal. p. 341.

(177) Chron. Mailros, p. 174, 175.

(178) Hoveden. Annal. p. 342.

(179) Id. *ibid.*

Scotland,

Scotland, to enjoy the preferments he had before his election, with a pension of forty marks a-year, and should have the first bishopric that became vacant. But these proposals were rejected by the pope (180). However, Alexander III. the great friend and patron of bishop Scot, having died September 20th, A. D. 1181, and Roger archbishop of York, his other chief protector, having also died November 21st, the king was encouraged to renew his negotiations for an accommodation with the church, and sent Joceline bishop of Glasgow, with the abbots of Melros and Kelso, his ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. These ambassadors met with a very favourable reception from the new pope, Lucius III. and were so successful in their negotiations, that they procured a bull, dated March 18th, A. D. 1182, removing the interdict, and absolving the king and all his subjects who had been excommunicated (181). As a further proof of his regard, the pope sent a rose of gold, with his benediction, to the king; and appointed Rolland bishop of Dol, and Silvanus abbot of Recval, his legates, to determine the controversy between the two pretenders to the see of St. Andrews (182). The king, by these legates, offered to bishop Scot the bishopric of Dunkeld, the chancellorship of the kingdom, and a pension of forty marks, if he would resign his pretensions to the see of St. Andrews. Bishop Scot agreed to accept of these terms, on condition that his rival Hugo also resigned his pretensions. But the king being either unable or unwilling to persuade Hugo to make that resignation, the legates summoned both the pretenders to appear before the pope (183). They accordingly appeared before his holiness at Viterie, A. D. 1183, and were both commanded to resign the bishopric of St. Andrews into the pope's hands; with which they complied. A few days after, the pope, in a full consistory of all the cardinals, restored and confirmed the bishopric of St. Andrews to Hugo, and granted the bishopric of Dunkeld, with every thing the king of Scotland had promised, to bishop Scot. Both

Cent. XII.

(180) Hoveden. Annal. p. 350.

(181) Id. ibid.

(182) Chron. de Mailros, p. 175. Hoveden. Annal. p. 352.

(183) Id. p. 353.

Cent. XII. prelates returned soon after to Scotland, and took possession of their respective sees (184). But this violent and dangerous controversy, which seemed now to be finally terminated, was renewed not long after, and took a different turn. For bishop Scot being much dissatisfied with the decision of pope Lucius, and hoping for more favour from his successor Urban III. complained, that some of his goods had not been restored to him, according to agreement, and therefore renewed his claim to the bishopric of St. Andrews. Urban received this complaint and claim; and summoned bishop Hugo to appear before him, to defend his title to the disputed bishopric; and gave a commission to Joceline bishop of Glasgow, with the abbots of Melross, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, first to suspend him if he did not obey the papal summons, and if, after that, he continued refractory, to pronounce the more formidable sentence of excommunication. In consequence of this commission, and of Hugo's disobedience, these legates pronounced first a sentence of suspension against him, and afterwards a sentence of excommunication (185). Pope Clement III. by a bull, dated at Pisa, January 16th, A. D. 1188, declared the see of St. Andrews vacant, and directed the above legates to command the chapter to proceed to the election of a bishop, and to use all their influence to make their choice to fall on bishop Scot. At the same time he wrote—to the clergy of St. Andrews, to receive Scot as their bishop,—to the king of Scotland, no longer to oppose that prelate,—to the king of England, to persuade William by arguments, or to compel him by force, to admit Scot to the peaceable possession of the see of St. Andrews (186). But all these bulls were ineffectual: for bishop Scot finding that the aversion of the king was invincible, and that he could not enjoy the bishopric to which he had so long aspired in peace, made a second resignation of it; and Hugo going to Rome, was absolved from the sentences of excommunication and suspension, and restored to the long-litigated bishopric. But he did not long survive this favourable turn in his af-

(884) Hoveden. Annal. p. 355.

(186) Id. p. 368, 369.

(185) Id. p. 361.

fairs; for being seized by the plague, which then raged at Rome, he died in the month of August A. D. 1188 (187). Thus ended this long and violent contest between the courts of Rome and Scotland, in which William the Lion acted with great spirit and firmness. But his success seems to have been partly owing to the seasonable death of that haughty inflexible pontiff, Alexander III. and to the character of John Scot, who had neither the courage, abilities, nor obstinacy of a Becket. Roger, a near relation of the king, and son of Robert of Leicester, was elected bishop of St. Andrews, April 13th, A. D. 1189. John Scot bishop of Dunkeld was present at, and consenting to his election (188). Cent. XII.

S E C T I O N IV.

The Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, from the accession of Richard I. A. D. 1189, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

AS the ecclesiastical transactions in England, in the reign of Richard I. were not of great importance, they do not merit a minute detail. Though the heart of this prince was wholly set on his expedition into the Holy Land, and his thoughts much employed in making preparations for it; yet he bestowed some attention, in the beginning of his reign, on the affairs of the church, that he might leave it in a state of tran-

1189.
The vacant
sees filled in
a council at
Pipewell.

(187) Hoveden. Annal. p. 370.

(188) Id. ibid. Chron. Mailrofs, p. 178.

quillity.

Cent. XI. quillity. With this view he held a great council of his prelates and clergy at the abbey of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, in September A. D. 1189, in which he filled up all the vacant sees, by nominating Geoffrey de Lucy to that of Winchester, Richard archdeacon of Ely to Lincoln, William Longchamp, his chancellor, and great favourite, to Ely, Hubert Fitz-Walter dean of York to Salisbury, and his own natural brother Geoffrey to York. On this last nomination, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury stood up in the council, and claimed the sole right of consecrating the elect of York, producing a charter of William the Conqueror, in support of that claim. No decision seems to have been given by the council on this claim, and Baldwin appealed to the pope (1).

Dispute between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury terminated.

In the month of November this year, John cardinal of Anagnia, the pope's legate, landed at Dover, with a commission to terminate the dispute between archbishop Baldwin and the monks of his cathedral, about the buildings at Hackington. But the king, desirous of terminating this troublesome and violent contest by his own authority, sent a message to the legate, to remain at Dover till he received further orders. In the mean time, Richard, with his mother queen Eleanor, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and priors, arrived at Canterbury, and with much difficulty made a compromise between the contending parties, which was put in writing, and signed by the king, queen, bishops, and abbots. This accommodation was much in favour of the monks; for by it the prior of Christ's Church, who had been appointed by the archbishop, was to be turned out, and all the magnificent buildings at Hackington to be pulled down (2).

1190.
Two councils.

After the departure of Richard on his expedition into the Holy Land, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who was at once chief justiciary, chancellor, and papal legate, reigned for some time in England, with more than regal power, and lived in more than royal pomp. This haughty prelate, by virtue of his legantine commission, held two councils in the course of this year, one at Gloucester, and the other at Westminster, chiefly with an intention to make an osten-

(1) Hoveden. Annal. p. 376.

(2) Id. p. 377.

tatious display of his own greatness; for no business of importance was done at either of these councils (3). Cent. XII.

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, seized with the epidemic frenzy of the times, had taken upon him the cross, at a council held at Gaitington, February 15th, A. D. 1188; and having spent about three years in preaching up the croisade, and preparing for his expedition, he embarked at Dover, March 25th, A. D. 1191, abandoning both the honours and duties of his important station (4). After suffering many hardships in his voyage, he arrived in the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais, where he died, November 20th, the same year (5).

The report of archbishop Baldwin's death reaching England in the beginning of March A. D. 1192, the dispute between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, about the right of election, which had so often disturbed the tranquillity of the church of England, was again revived. The bishop of London, to prevent the monks from proceeding to an immediate election, went in haste to Canterbury, accompanied by an officer of the exchequer, and commanded them to take no step towards supplying the vacancy in the archiepiscopal chair, without the consent of the king and of the bishops of the province; on which the monks protested for the security of their right of election, and of all their other rights (6). William Longchamp, who was both chief justiciary and the papal legate, presented a letter, May 25th, from the king to the convent, giving a high character of William archbishop of Mountreale, in Sicily, and commanding them to receive him as their archbishop. To this demand the monks gave the following answer, in a great council at Northampton in June—"That they had no certain evidence of the death of archbishop Baldwin, who they hoped was still alive; and therefore they craved a delay, till that fact was ascertained." This was at last granted,

1191.
Archbishop
Baldwin
goes to the
Holy Land,
where he
dies.

1192.
Disputes
about the
election of
an arch-
bishop.
Reginald
bishop of
Bath is
elected,
and dies.

(3) Wilkin. Concil. l. 1. p. 493.

(4) Gervas Chron. col. 1522. 1564.

(5) Id. col. 1566.

(6) Id. col. 1567. Diceto, col. 666.

Cent. XII. after very warm debates (7). In this interval the monks turned out such of their number as they suspected of unsteadiness, particularly their prior, Osbern, and placed Geoffrey, the sub-prior, in his room (8). The commotions that arose about this time, occasioned by the imprisonment of Geoffrey archbishop of York, in the castle of Dover, by order of William Longchamp, prevented any further proceedings in the affair of Canterbury, till after the public tranquillity was in some degree restored by the flight of Longchamp out of the kingdom (9). On this event prince John, and Walter archbishop of Rouen, who had then the chief direction of affairs, held a council at London about the end of October; in which the monks of Canterbury, being required to give their consent to the election of the archbishop of Mountreale, returned this artful answer,—“ That
 “ they could not in conscience give their consent at
 “ present to the election of the person proposed, until
 “ they were better acquainted with his character, and
 “ until they had asked counsel of the Lord, and felt
 “ the divine direction upon their minds.” The archbishop of Rouen, who secretly aspired to the primacy of England, was well pleased with this answer, granted a month’s delay, and piously exhorted the monks to pray heartily during all that time for the direction of Heaven (10). Another council was accordingly called at Canterbury, November 28th, for the election of an archbishop. The monks having formed their plan beforehand, as soon as the council met, Geoffrey their prior stood up, and declared, in their name, that they chose, by the direction of the Holy Trinity, Reginald bishop of Bath to be their archbishop; and at the same time took that bishop by the hand, conducted him into the cathedral, and placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. On this (says the contemporary historian) the archbishop of Rouen turned pale, and fell a trembling, seeing all his hopes blasted (11). But Reginald did not long enjoy his new and unex-

(7) Gervas, col. 1159.

(8) Id. col. 1160.

(9) See chap. 1.

(10) Gervas, col. 1578.

(11) Id. col. 1580.

pected dignity: for he fell sick soon after his election, and died December 26th, A. D. 1192. Cent. XII.

The news of king Richard's captivity reaching England in the beginning of this year, threw the whole kingdom into so much confusion, that no steps were taken for some time for supplying this new vacancy in the see of Canterbury. But the king himself, being sensible that an able and zealous friend in that important station might contribute not a little to raise his ransom and procure his liberty, wrote a letter from his prison to his mother queen Eleanor and his ministers, earnestly intreating them to procure the advancement of Hubert Fitz-Walter bishop of Salisbury (who had been with him in the Holy Land, and was lately returned into England) to the primacy. These ministers managed this matter with so much dexterity, that Hubert was unanimously elected archbishop by the monks of Canterbury, May 29th, A. D. 1193, and as unanimously approved by the bishops of the province the day after (12).

1193.
Hubert
bishop of
Salisbury
chosen pri-
mate.

The long and violent contests of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, with his brother king Richard,—with the archbishop of Canterbury,—and with the clergy of his own cathedral, seem to have been the effects of clerical pride and passion; but though they occasioned much disquiet and confusion in those times, they are hardly worthy of a place in history (13). It may only be proper to observe, that the archbishop of Canterbury, having obtained a legantine commission from the pope, dated March 18th, A. D. 1195, made a progress into the north, and held a synod of the clergy of the province of York in the cathedral of that city, in which he made several canons, and established his own authority, which was the chief object of his journey (14). Soon after this the enemies of the archbishop of York became so numerous and powerful, that they prevailed against him at the court of Rome; and he was suspended from his offices and benefices by pope Celestine. The pretence for this

1194, &c.
Archbishop
of York sus-
pended by
the pope.

(12) Gervas, col. 1583.

(13) Hoveden. Annal. p. 417. Gervassii Chron. col. 1584.

(14) Hoveden. Annal. 430.

Cent. XII. severe censure was, that he neglected the duties of his sacred function, and spent his time in hunting and hawking; but the real reason of it seems to have been, that he was an enemy to vexatious appeals to Rome, and endeavoured to prevent them (15).

1196.
Disputes
between
the arch-
bishop and
the monks
of Canter-
bury about
a new
erection of
a church
at Lam-
beth.

Both the king and the bishops of the province of Canterbury had long been very much offended at the monks of that cathedral, for the exclusive right that they claimed, and the great influence that they had obtained, in the election of the archbishops. To diminish that influence, the late archbishop had attempted to establish a society of secular canons at Hackington near Canterbury; and though he had been shamefully baffled in that attempt, his successor, the present archbishop Hubert, formed the design of establishing a similar society at Lambeth, near London, hoping that the distance of the place from Canterbury would prevent any opposition. But in this he was mistaken. Nothing could escape the vigilance of the suspicious monks, who immediately took the alarm, and commenced a most violent opposition. Both the king and the archbishop took all possible pains to allay their fears, and gain their consent. In order to this they proposed,—that every canon of Lambeth, before his admission into his office, should go down to Canterbury, and take a solemn oath at the high altar of the cathedral;—that he would never claim a vote in the election of an archbishop,—that he would never consent to the removing of the see of Canterbury, or the reliques of St. Thomas, from that city;—and, in a word, that he would never do any thing to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the church of Canterbury. But nothing would satisfy the monks, who instantly sent two of their number to Rome; where they met with a most favourable reception, and soon returned with a bull from pope Innocent III. dated April 25th, A. D. 1197, directed to the archbishop at Canterbury, and commanding that prelate, in the most imperious strain, to demolish all the buildings he had erected at Lambeth, within thirty days, under the penalty of being suspended from his office: “For it is not fit (says this insolent pontiff in his bull)

“ that any man should have any authority, who doth Cent. XIII.
 “ not revere and obey the apostolic see (16). The ~~~~~
 archbishop was greatly shocked and perplexed when he
 received this bull, and employed every method he
 could invent to gain the consent of the monks to a
 short delay of its execution. The king was still more
 enraged at the conduct of the monks, in applying to
 Rome without his knowledge; and in a letter he
 threatened them with his highest indignation, and the
 confiscation of all their possessions, if they insisted on
 the execution of the papal bull. But the monks were
 quite inflexible; and knowing themselves to be secure
 under the protection of the Roman pontiff, they de-
 spised all the threats of their sovereign and the persua-
 sions of their primate. On this all their possessions
 and treasures were seized by the king's officers. The
 archbishop immediately dispatched agents to Rome,
 furnished with large sums of money, and charged with
 letters in his favour from all his suffragans. These
 agents were admitted to an audience of the pope and
 cardinals, October 24th, A. D. 1197; presented the
 letters of the archbishop and of his suffragans; and
 pleaded their cause with great ability: and, the day
 after, the monks of Canterbury made their reply.
 The cause being thus heard, the pope confirmed his
 former sentence against the archbishop; which he in-
 timated to him by a bull, dated November 20th,
 threatening him with the highest censures of the
 church, if he did not immediately demolish the works
 at Lambeth. At the same time he directed another
 bull to the king, commanding him in a magisterial tone
 to see the sentence of the apostolic see executed; and
 telling him, that if he presumed to oppose its execu-
 tion, he would soon convince him, by the severity of
 his punishment, how hard it was to kick against the
 pricks. The pope sent also another bull to the king,
 written, if possible, in a still higher strain, command-
 ing him immediately to restore all their possessions to
 the monks of Canterbury: “ for he would not endure
 “ the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose
 “ place he held on earth; but would punish, without
 “ delay, and without respect of persons, every one

(16) Gervas Chron. col. 1602, &c.

“ who

Cent. XII. “ who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to
 “ convince the whole world, that he was determined
 “ to act in a royal manner (17).” To such an intolerable height of impiety and arrogance had this audacious priest arrived! When these bulls were delivered to the king and the archbishop, they were terrified (says a contemporary historian) at the thunders of the church; and being convinced of the danger and vanity of resistance, they determined to obey (18). Thus did the pertinacious monks obtain a complete victory over their king and primate, and had the satisfaction of seeing the obnoxious buildings at Lambeth pulled down to the very foundation in the months of January and February A. D. 1199, a little before the death of king Richard.

A. D. 1200. If pope Innocent III. acted in a manner so imperious towards the lion-hearted Richard, we need not be surprised to find him domineering with still greater insolence over his indolent pusillanimous successor, king John. Of his intention to do this, he gave an early indication, by bestowing, in the very beginning of this reign, the revenues of the vacant see of St. David's, which unquestionably belonged to the king, on the famous Giraldu Bary (commonly called *Giraldu Cambrensis* (19)). This wanton invasion of the rights of the crown was the more provoking, that Giraldu, on whom these revenues were bestowed, was one of the king's most open and inveterate enemies, to which the pope was no stranger.

Notwithstanding all the calamities that the Christian world in general, and the king and kingdom of England in particular, had suffered by the late unfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, pope Innocent was not ashamed to set another croisade on foot, and that in a manner suited to his imperious character and high pretensions. He issued a bull, dated December 27th, A. D. 1199, directed to all the prelates of the Christian church, commanding them, and all their clergy, by the authority of the apostolic see,—of almighty God,—and of the Holy Ghost, and under the

(17) Gervas Chron. col. 1616—1624.

(18) Id. *ibid.*(19) *Anglia Sacra*, t. 2. p. 512.

penalty of eternal damnation, to pay the fortieth part of all their revenues, for defraying the expence of this expedition, which was to be commanded by two cardinals named by the pope. The bull contains many directions about the manner of levying this tax upon the clergy, and of collecting the voluntary contributions of the laity, which are all expressed in the language of supreme authority (20). This was the first attempt to impose a tax on the clergy of all nations, by the authority of the pope, as sovereign of the church; which ought to have excited universal indignation. But those dark unhappy times were the proper season for such daring usurpations on the rights of mankind. It was probably to carry this bull into execution, that Hubert archbishop of Canterbury held a council of the clergy at Westminster, A. D. 1200, in spite of the prohibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, and high justiciary of England (21). This much we know however with certainty, that this papal tax was collected in England, and the money arising from it was carried to Rome by Philip, a notary of that church. "But (says a contemporary historian) it will never be applied to the purpose for which it was raised, unless the Romans have changed their nature, and relinquished their innate rapacity (22)." King John was so far from resenting this intolerable insult upon the rights of his crown and independency of his kingdom, by a foreign power imposing a tax on his subjects without his consent, that he voluntarily granted the fortieth part of his own revenues to the pope, and exhorted his barons to imitate his example (23): a demonstration that this weak prince did not understand the prerogatives of his crown, or that he had not the wisdom and fortitude to defend them.

Cent. XII.

Cent. XIII.

1201, to
1205.
A crusade.

At the same time that the pope imposed this tax on the clergy for defraying the expence of his intended crusade, he sent his emissaries into all countries, and particularly into England, to exhort the laity to take the cross. The most remarkable of these

(20) Hoveden. Annal. p. 455.

(21) Id. p. 457.

(22) Diceto, apud X Script. col. 707.

(23) Hoveden. Annal. p. 471.

Cent. XIII. emissaries was Eustachius abbot of Flay in Normandy, who pretended to work many miracles, and to have received a letter from heaven, written by the hand of God, in which he threatened to rain sticks and stones, and boiling water, on all who frequented fairs and markets on Sunday (24). The declamations of this enthusiast produced great effects. The Sundays fairs and markets were for some time deserted, and multitudes of all ranks crowded to take the cross, which he warmly recommended. When these deluded people had leisure to reflect on what they had done, they repented of their rashness, and would gladly have declined embarking in so distant and dangerous an expedition. But they soon found that there was no trifling with the court of Rome. For the pope no sooner heard of this backwardness, than he issued a thundering bull, dated May 5th, A. D. 1201, directed to the archbishops and bishops of England, commanding them to excommunicate by name, and with all possible solemnity, every person who had taken the cross, and refused or delayed to fulfil his engagements (25). This obliged all who had been so imprudent as to take the cross, to go upon this crusade, or to purchase a dispensation, which was not easily obtained. It may not be improper to take notice, that the great army that was raised on this occasion by the authority of the pope, and conducted by his counsels, was not employed in rescuing the Holy Land from the hands of infidels, but in dethroning the Christian emperor of Constantinople in order to subject that empire to the see of Rome (26).

1205.
Death of
archbishop
Hubert.

Few events were more to be dreaded by a king of England in this period, than a vacancy in the see of Canterbury, which was commonly productive of a violent contest at home, and a no less violent conflict with the court of Rome. But no vacancy in that see had ever been attended with such fatal consequences as that which happened at this time on the death of archbishop Hubert, July 13th, A. D. 1205 (27). These

(24) Hoveden. Annal. p. 457.

(25) Id. p. 466.

(26) Bzovii Continuat. Baron. Annal. ann. 1202, 1203, 1204. Goldast. Constit. Imper. t. 3. p. 369.

(27) Gervas. col. 1683.

consequences

consequences were indeed so singular and important that they merit a very distinct consideration. Cent. XIII.

The monks of the cathedral of Canterbury had long claimed an exclusive right to elect their archbishops; but this right had always been disputed by the kings of England and the prelates of the province. On this occasion the monks determined to exclude their competitors from any share in the election, by making a secret and sudden choice, before the vacancy could be generally known. As soon therefore as they heard of Hubert, they held a chapter in the night-time, and chose their own sub-prior Reginald to be archbishop, and placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. At the same time they obliged Reginald to take an oath, that he would not publish the election without the consent of the convent, and sent him away next morning, with some of their own number, to Rome, to obtain the approbation of the pope. This scheme was well contrived; and would probably have been crowned with success, if the vanity of Reginald had not got the better of his prudence, and even of the obligation of his oath. For he no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he assumed the state of the archbishop elect of Canterbury, and shewed the letters of his election to several persons. The news of this soon reached England, and occasioned no little noise. The monks were so much offended at the misconduct of their elect, that they determined to abandon him, in order to make their peace with the king, to ask his leave to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and to obtain it they secretly agreed to chuse John de Gray bishop of Norwich. As soon as these agents returned to Canterbury with the king's licence, a chapter was held, and John de Gray was unanimously chosen archbishop; and, on his arrival, was solemnly enthroned in the presence of the king, who immediately put him in possession of the temporalities of the see. That nothing might be wanting to render this election valid, some of the monks were dispatched to Rome to procure the approbation of the pope (28). Two archbishops elected.

(28) M. Paris, p. 148, 149.

Cent. XIII. But this affair, which was already sufficiently embarrassed by a double election, became now more perplexed by the appearance of a third party. The bishops of the province, who had always claimed a share in the election of their metropolitan, had been quite neglected in the late elections. They therefore sent their agents to Rome to complain of this neglect, and to protest against both elections, as invalid on that account. Nothing could be more agreeable to the court of Rome, than the appearance of so many parties, and so many clashing claims. Great sums of money were expended, and a whole year was employed in pleadings, audiences, hearing witnesses, and examining records. At length, when one part of this great controversy was ripe for decision, the pope issued a bull, dated December 21st, A. D. 1206, declaring, that from thenceforward the suffragans of the province of Canterbury should not pretend to any share in the election of their metropolitan, nor disturb the monks of the cathedral in the enjoyment of their exclusive right to chuse their archbishop (29).

1206. Bishops of the province appeal to Rome, and the pope determines against them.

1207. The pope vacates both elections.

The pope, after having thus determined the dispute between the bishops and the monks, proceeded to examine the great controversy between the two archbishops-elect. The agents of both parties supported their respective claims with great eagerness and obstinacy. When more than a year had been spent in pleadings and investigations on this subject, his holiness pronounced a definitive sentence, declaring both the election of the sub-prior and of the bishop of Norwich to be irregular and uncanonical, and decreeing that neither of these persons should be capable of being chosen archbishop of Canterbury (30). The last part of this sentence was intended to exclude the bishop of Norwich, the king's favourite, who, in case of a new election, would infallibly have been chosen.

1207. Stephen Langton chosen

The archbishopric being thus declared vacant, the pope began to unfold his scheme, which it is probable he had formed long before, of filling it with a creature

(29) M. Paris, p. 149, 150.

(30) Id. 155.

of his own, without so much as consulting the king of England. In order to this, he commanded the monks of Canterbury, who were then at Rome, immediately to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and at the same time commanded them to chuse cardinal Stephen Langton. The monks objected, that they could not do this without the consent of their convent; but the pope hastily replied, that his authority supplied all defects. The monks, fourteen in number, who had been agents for the bishop of Norwich, laboured under another and still greater difficulty. Before they left England, they had solemnly sworn to the king (who dreaded that they might be corrupted at the court of Rome), that they would never acknowledge any person but the bishop of Norwich for archbishop of Canterbury. But the plenitude of papal power soon removed this obstacle. His holiness absolved them from the obligation of their oaths, and commanded them immediately to proceed to an election, under the penalty of the highest censures of the church. With this they all complied, except Elias de Brentfield. Stephen Langton was chosen archbishop of Canterbury by a few monks at Rome, and consecrated by the pope himself at Viterbo, June 27th, A. D. 1207 (31).

Cent. XIII.
archbishop
at Rome by
a few
monks.

Innocent was not ignorant that this unprecedented transaction would rouse the indignation of the king of England, and therefore he endeavoured beforehand to soothe the mind of that prince. With this view he sent him four rings of gold, set with four different kinds of precious stones, accompanied with a flattering letter, which contained an illustration of the mysteries represented by these rings. King John, who was equally fond of trinkets and of flattery, expressed much satisfaction with this papal present. But this satisfaction was of short duration. For a few days after the bull arrived, intimating the election and consecration of cardinal Langton; which threw him into a

John's letter
to the pope,
and the
pope's an-
swer.

(31) M. Paris, p. 155.

Cent. XIII. most violent rage, both against the pope and the monks of Canterbury. As these last were most within his reach, they felt the first effects of his indignation. Two officers, Fulk de Cantalou and Henry de Cornhille, with a company of armed men, were sent to Canterbury, who took possession of the convent of the Holy Trinity, banished the monks out of the kingdom, and seized all their estates. King John then wrote a spirited and angry letter to the pope, in which he accused him of injustice and presumption, in raising a stranger to the highest dignity in his kingdom, without his knowledge. He reproached the pope and court of Rome with ingratitude, in not remembering that they derived more riches from England than from all the kingdoms on this side the Alps. He assured him that he was determined to sacrifice his life in defence of the rights of his crown; and that if his holiness did not immediately repair the injury he had done him, he would break off all communication with Rome (32). Though this letter was written in a strain very becoming a king of England, it was very shocking to the pride of the haughty pontiff, who had been long accustomed to trample on the majesty of kings. Innocent immediately returned a long answer; in which, after many expressions of displeasure and resentment, he tells the king plainly, that if he persisted in this dispute, he would plunge himself into inextricable difficulties, and would at length be crushed by him, before whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth (33).

1208.
The pope
lays Eng-
land under
an interdict.

These two letters might be considered as a formal declaration of war between the pope and the king of England. But the contest was very unequal. For the former had now attained that extravagant height of power which made the greatest monarchs tremble upon their thrones, and the latter had sunk very low both in his reputation and authority, having before this time lost his foreign dominions by his indolence, and the esteem and affection of his subjects at home by

(32) M. Paris, p. 156.

(33) Id. p. 157.

his crimes and follies. Innocent was not ignorant of the advantage he possessed; and therefore, without delay, he laid all the dominions of king John under an interdict; and this sentence was published in England, at the pope's command, March 23d, A. D. 1208, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, though the king endeavoured to deter them from it by the most dreadful threats. From that time the churches were shut up, and the clergy refrained from performing any of the duties of their function, except hearing confessions, baptizing infants, and administering the viaticum. The king was so much enraged against the clergy for obeying the interdict, that he commanded his sheriffs to seize all their lands and revenues in their several counties, and withdrew from them the protection of the laws, by which they were exposed to injuries of all kinds. To avoid these injuries some fled into foreign parts, others confined themselves within the precincts of their churches, and the whole kingdom was a scene of confusion and dismay (34).

When this interdict had continued about two years, the pope proceeded a step further, and pronounced the dreaded sentence of excommunication against king John, which he commanded the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, his most obsequious tools, to publish in England. These prelates, who resided on the continent, sent copies of the sentence, and of the pope's commands, to publish it in their churches, to the bishops and clergy who remained in England. But such was their dread of the royal indignation, that none of them had the courage to execute these commands. The sentence however did not remain a secret; but became the subject of conversation in all companies. Even Geoffrey archdeacon of Norwich, one of the king's judges, when sitting on the bench in the exchequer at Westminster, declared to the other judges, that the king was excommunicated, and that he did not think it lawful for him to act any longer in

Cent. XIII.

1209.

The pope
excommu-
nicates king
John

(34) M. Paris, p. 158. Hen. Knyghton, apud X. Script. col. 2415.

Cent. XII. his name. But for this declaration he was thrown into prison, where he soon after died (35).

1211. The English laity adhere to king John. In the mean time the pope was much enraged at the loyalty of the English laity to their prince; and, in order to shake it, he sent them several letters full of threats and promises (36). But these letters produced little or no effect: for the great barons and their followers adhered with so much steadiness to the king, that while he lay under the sentence of excommunication, he executed the only two successful expeditions of his reign, the one into Wales, and the other into Ireland (37). This gives us reason to believe, that if John had continued to act with firmness, and had secured the affections of his own subjects, by a just and mild administration, he would have triumphed over all the arts of Rome, and delivered himself and his country from their ignominious subjection to a foreign priest.

Insolent behaviour of the papal legates. In the course of this year some secret overtures had been made for an accommodation of this famous controversy; and in consequence of these overtures, the pope sent two legates, Pandulph and Durand, into England. These legates were admitted to an audience in a parliament held at Northampton; when a most violent altercation ensued between them and the king. In this altercation Pandulph was not afraid to tell the king, in the face of his parliament, that he was bound to obey the pope in temporals as well as spirituals: and when John refused to submit to the will of his holiness without reserve, the audacious legate published the sentence of excommunication against him with a loud voice, absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and declared that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England (38). This was certainly carrying clerical insolence to the most extravagant height. But in those unhappy times the meanest agents of the pope insulted the greatest princes with impunity.

(35) M. Paris, p. 159.

(36) Innocen. Epist. lib. 10. Ep. 159, 160.

(37) M. Paris, p. 160.

(38) Annal. Monast. Burton, apud Rerum Anglican. Script. s. I. p. 165, 166.

After the return of the legates to Rome, and their report of the obstinacy of the king of England, the pope proceeded to more violent measures. He pronounced, with great solemnity, a sentence of deposition against king John, and of excommunication against all who should obey him, or have any connections with him (39). When these sentences were known in England, they began to excite the superstitious fears of too many of the barons; who were, at the same time, much dissatisfied with their prince, for his imprudent, illegal, and oppressive government. Of this secret disaffection of his barons, John received intimations from the king of Scotland, from his own natural daughter the princess of Wales, and from other quarters, which alarmed him not a little, and began to stagger his resolutions (40). About the same time one Peter the Hermit, a mad enthusiast, went up and down preaching with great vehemence against John for his disobedience to the pope, and prophesying that he would not be king of England on next Ascension day: "and his declarations (says a contemporary historian) were as firmly believed by all who heard him, as if it had been a voice from heaven (41)."

The pope, in order to render his sentence of deposition against king John effectual, appointed the king of France to put it in execution, and promised him the pardon of all his sins, and the kingdom of England for his reward. This was a temptation which that prince had neither wisdom nor virtue to resist. Blinded by his ambition, he became the tool of the court of Rome, in destroying the common rights of princes, which he ought to have supported with all his power. Philip now became the champion of the church, raised a mighty army, and collected a great fleet, in order to invade England, and take possession of that kingdom in consequence of the papal grant; not reflecting that he thereby acknowledged the right of the pope to dispose of crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure (42).

Cent. XII.

1212.

The pope deposes king John and excommunicates all who adhered to him.

1213.

The pope commits the execution of his sentence to the king of France, who prepares to invade England.

(39) M. Paris, p. 161.

(41) Id. p. 161.

(40) Id. *ibid.*

(42) Id. p. 162.

Cent. XIII.

King of France obliged to relinquish his enterprize.

King John had good intelligence of all these transactions on the continent, and made the most vigorous preparations for his own defence. But all these preparations on both sides served only to promote the purposes of the court of Rome. For as soon as John was sufficiently intimidated by his dread of the French army, and his suspicions of his own subjects, to induce him to make an ignominious surrender of his crown and kingdom to the pope, Philip was obliged to abandon his enterprize against England, to avoid the thunders of the church, the dreadful effects of which he had before his eyes.

The pope neglects the interest of his tools.

In consequence of the unlimited submission of king John to the will of the pope, Stephen Langton, whose promotion had been the cause of the late fatal contest, came over to England, took possession of his see, and soon after absolved the king from the sentence of excommunication (43). At the same time the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, with all the other clergy and laity who had been banished in the course of this quarrel, returned, with high expectations of receiving the most ample satisfaction for all the damages they had sustained, and of having a considerable share in the management of affairs. But these expectations were not fully answered; and they soon began to complain, that when the pope had gained his own ends, he became unmindful of the interests of his friends. Nor were these complaints without foundation. For about Michaelmas this year Nicholas bishop of Tusculum arrived in England as the pope's legate, and regulated all ecclesiastical affairs in the most arbitrary manner, without consulting with the primate or any of the clergy. The archbishop, and those who had been sufferers in the papal cause in the late quarrel, were so far from receiving that ample and immediate satisfaction for their damages, which had been stipulated, and they expected, that they were put off from time to time, under various pretences, with the consent of the legate. In bestowing vacant benefices, he paid no regard to the pretensions of the

(43) Epist. Innocent. p. 827. M. Paris, p. 166.

papal party, but preferred only his own creatures, or those recommended by the king (44). Cent. XIII.

The archbishop of Canterbury, greatly chagrined at the new councils of the court of Rome, and at the conduct of its legate, held a provincial synod of his suffragans and clergy at Dunstable, about the middle of January A. D. 1214. At this synod the most loud and vehement complaints were made against the legate, for his partiality to the king, and his discouragement of those of the clergy who had adhered to the court of Rome in the late contest. After long debates, it was agreed to send a deputation of two clergymen to the legate, who was then at Burton upon Trent, to intimate to him, that the archbishop had appealed to the pope against his proceedings, and to inhibit him from granting institution to any more prelates or priests within the province of Canterbury. To this intimation the legate paid no further regard, than by sending the famous Pandulph to Rome, to defend his conduct against any who might appear there to accuse him (45).

1214.
The clergy of England appeal to the pope against his legate.

Though king John had been absolved from the sentence of excommunication soon after his agreement with the pope, the interdict upon the kingdom was continued, till it should be seen how he would adhere to that agreement. But the king having now entirely gained the heart of the pope, by renewing his submission, and by sending him a great sum of money, his holiness gave a commission to his legate to remove the interdict. This was accordingly taken off, with great solemnity, in the cathedral of St. Paul's London, June 29th, A. D. 1214, after it had continued six years three months and fourteen days (46).

The interdict taken off.

The archbishop and monks of Canterbury, with the bishops of London, Hereford, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath, who had been the greatest sufferers in the late contest, obtained at different times twenty-seven thousand pounds in reparation of the damages they had sustained. But the rest of the sufferers in that cause, The inferior clergy, who had suffered in the late troubles, obtain no redress.

(44) M. Paris, p. 171, 172.

(46) Id. p. 173.

(45) Id. p. 172.

consisting

Cent. XIII. consisting of an innumerable multitude of abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, abbeſſes, monks, nuns, ſecular clerks, and laymen, when they applied to the legate about the reparation of their damages, were told, that he had received no directions from the pope about that matter: and this ſeems to have been all the reparation they ever received (47). Simon Langton, brother to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who appeared at Rome to proſecute the appeal of his brother and his clergy againſt the legate, had no greater ſucceſs. For Pandulph, who was agent for the legate, having painted king John in the moſt amiable colours, as a moſt pious, juſt, and humble prince, and repreſented the primate and his clergy as exceſſively rigid and covetous in their demands of reſtitution, and enemies to the juſt prerogatives of the king, they were diſmiſſed without any redreſs: a treatment which they had merited for eſpouſing the cauſe of Rome againſt their king and country, but which they had no reaſon to expect from that court whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed.

A.D. 1215.
The pope
ſuſpends
the pri-
mate.

In the famous conteſt that raged at this time between king John and his barons about the great charter of their liberties, the pope ſupported the party of his new vaſſal with great warmth, and was not ſparing of his ſpiritual thunders againſt the barons and their favourers. In particular, he was ſo much diſpleaſed with the political conduct of his own creature the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he laid him under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion; and reverſed the election of his brother Simon Langton, who had been choſen archbiſhop of York (48).

General
council at
Rome.

Innocent III. being now in the zenith of his power, aſſembled a general council in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran at Rome, in November this year, at which were preſent no fewer than four hundred and twelve biſhops, beſides an incredible number of abbots, priors, and inferior clergy. His intention in calling this council doth not ſeem to have been to take the advice of its members in the affairs of the church,

(47) M. Paris, p. 174.

(48) Id. p. 188.

but to make an ostentatious display of his own greatness and supreme authority. For the seventy canons decreed in this council had been prepared before, were read in the council, and passed without any deliberation or debate; though some things in them appeared very intolerable to many of the members (49). In the confession of faith contained in the first canon, the new doctrine of transubstantiation is inserted in these strong terms: "The body and blood of Christ are contained really in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God." For this wonderful transubstantiation, the following curious reason is assigned:—"That we might receive of Christ's nature, what he had received of ours (50)." The third canon commands kings and princes to extirpate all heretics in their territories, under the penalty of being excommunicated, and deprived of their dominions; which gave occasion to the most horrid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. These, and several other canons in the same collection, sufficiently shew the darkness of this period, and the great incroachments the court of Rome had made on the civil and religious rights of mankind. The many fatal changes that were made both in the civil and ecclesiastical polity of England by the incroachments of that ambitious court, will be mentioned in their proper places in the third chapter of this book.

Cent. XIII.

AFTER the termination of the long and violent dispute between John Scot and bishop Hugh about the see of St. Andrews, the church of Scotland seems to have enjoyed a long period of profound tranquillity, which affords very few materials for history. King William the Lion, to put an end to the pretensions of the archbishops of York to the primacy of Scotland, which had been the occasion of many contests, obtained a bull from pope Celestine III. dated March

Ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

(49) M. Paris, p. 184. Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. 13. c. 6.

(50) Id. *ibid.*

Cent. XIII. 17th, A. D. 1192, declaring, That the church of Scotland was immediately subject to the see of Rome, without the intervention of any other;—that none but the pope or his legate *a latere* had a right to lay that kingdom under an interdict;—that none but a Scotch prelate, or one sent directly from Rome, should be capable of the legantine authority in Scotland;—and that all controversies that could not be finally determined within that kingdom, should be brought immediately before the pope (51). Innocent III. the successor of Celestine, sent John, cardinal of St. Stephen de Monte Cœlia, as his legate, into Scotland and Ireland; who held a national council at Perth, A. D. 1201, for making canons, and reforming the manners of the clergy. The canons of this council are all lost, except one, which commanded the Sabbath to be kept from Saturday at twelve o'clock noon, to Monday morning (52). King William was present at this council, with all the nobility, as well as the prelates and principal clergy of his kingdom; who, at the king's desire, took an oath of fealty to his son prince Alexander (who was then only three years of age) as his successor (53). Several ecclesiastical controversies were also determined at this council, particularly one between the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot and monks of Kelso (54).

National
council at
Perth.

Roger bishop of St. Andrews died at Cambuskenneth, A. D. 1202; and was succeeded in that see by William Malvoisin, bishop of Glasgow; who governed it no less than thirty-five years, with great wisdom and felicity. That prelate, in conjunction with Walter bishop of Glasgow, received a legantine commission from Innocent III. and in virtue of that commission, with the consent of the king, they held a national council at Perth A. D. 1211. The design of that council was to promote a croisade for the recovery of the Holy Land; and by the exhortations of these prelates, and of the rest of the clergy, great multitudes of the common people, but very few of the

(51) Wilkin. Council. t. i. p. 495.

(52) Id. *ibid.* Boeth. Hist. Scot. i. 13. p. 277.

(53) Id. *ibid.*

(54) Wilkin. Council. t. i. p. 509.

nobility,

nobility, took the cross (55). The backwardness of the Scotch nobility to embark in this croifade, was probably owing to the deplorable fate of five hundred of their countrymen, mostly noblemen and gentlemen, who accompanied king Richard in his expedition into the East, under the conduct of earl David, brother to William the Lion, who all perished, except their leader, who returned, after having suffered the most incredible hardships for the space of four years (56). Cent. XIII.

Brice Douglas bishop of Moray fixed the seat of his see, A. D. 1212 (which before had been unsettled), at the church of the Holy Trinity of Spyny, which he declared a cathedral, and in which he constituted a chapter, consisting of eight canons residentiary, in imitation of the chapter of Lincoln (57). Seat of the see of Moray fixed at Spyny.

William bishop of St. Andrews, Walter bishop of Glasgow, and Brice bishop of Moray, with Henry abbot of Kelso, attended in person the general council held at Rome, in November A. D. 1215, while the rest of the Scotch prelates contented themselves with sending representatives (58). Scotch bishops attend the general council at Rome.

(55) Wilkin. Concil. t. I. p. 532.

(56) Boeth. l. 15.

(57) Wilkin. Concil. t. I. p. 532. (58) Chron. Mailros in ann. 1215.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

C H A P. III.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

THOUGH the Norman conquest was not near so sanguinary as the Anglo-Saxon, it cannot be denied that it was productive of very important changes in the state of England, and particularly in its constitution, government, and laws, the subjects of the present chapter. To prevent the repetition of the delineation that hath been already given in the third chapter of the preceding book, of those parts of the Anglo-Saxon constitution that were still retained in this period; it is proposed to divide this chapter into two sections; and, in the first of these, to give a very brief account of the most considerable changes that were introduced by William I. into the constitution, government, and laws of England; and, in the second, to describe, with equal brevity, the successive alterations

Plan of this chapter.

alterations in all these, that were made by the other princes who reigned in this period. The laws of history will not admit into these sections those particular details, minute distinctions, and controversial disquisitions, that would be proper in a work on law and government; and I am fully determined that they shall not be swelled with unfriendly depreciating strictures on the labours of other writers.

SECTION I.

History of the changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, that were introduced in the reign of William I. from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1087.

Those in the lowest rank in society were slaves.

THE changes in the ranks and degrees of men in society, that were introduced into England at the Norman conquest, seem to have been rather nominal than real. Those who occupied the lowest rank, still continued in a state of slavery; and we have good reason to believe, that their numbers were rather increased than diminished by that event. None of the Anglo-Saxon serfs, who were annexed to the lands which they cultivated, and had been usually transferred with them from one proprietor to another, could entertain the least hopes of obtaining freedom, or even a mitigation of their servitude, when these lands were bestowed on the enemies and conquerors of their nation (1). On the contrary, many of the English, who had formerly been free, having been taken prisoners at the battle of Hastings, or in some of the subsequent revolts, were reduced to slavery; and thought

(1) Ingulph. Hist. sub. fin.

themselves very happy if they preserved their lives, though they lost their freedom. The Norman conquerors for some time treated their English slaves with so much severity, that a contemporary writer declines giving any description of it, "because its inhuman cruelty would appear incredible to posterity (2.)"

The condition of all these unhappy people, in this period, was not equally abject and wretched. There were different degrees of servitude, and different kinds of slaves that were called by different names, viz.—I. Different kinds of slaves; as domestic slaves. Villains in gross, who were the personal property of their masters, and performed the lowest and most laborious offices about their masters houses (3). This class of slaves seems to have been very numerous; for Roger Hoveden tells us, that from the reign of William I. to his own time in the reign of king John, there was hardly a house or even cottage in Scotland, in which there was not to be found an English slave (4). It was not to be imagined that their more opulent neighbours the Normans and English were worse provided than the Scots with domestic slaves. They had indeed such great numbers of them, that they exported and sold many of these unhappy persons in foreign countries (5).

2. Villains regardant, or predial slaves, who lived Predial slaves. in the country, and cultivated the lands of their masters, to which they were annexed (6). These were in a better condition than domestic slaves, and had an imperfect kind of property in their houses, and furniture, and in the little gardens and small pieces of ground which they were allowed to cultivate, at leisure times, for their own subsistence. But still their persons and properties were so much in the power of their masters, that they granted or sold them to whom they pleased (7). These two formed a very numerous class of slaves, by whom the demesnes of all the earls, barons, bishops, abbots, and great men of England, were cultivated. The villains belonging to some of the richest abbeys amounted to two thousand (8).

(2) Hist. Eliens. apud Gale, t. 1. p. 116.

(3) Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, p. 123.

(4) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 260. col. 1.

(5) Girald. Cambrenf. Hibernia Epugnata. p. 770.

(6) Sir T. Smith, p. 123

(7) Ingulph. Hist. p. 520. col. 1.

(8) Walsingham Hist. Ang. p. 258.

Cottars.

3. Cottars (who in the barbarous Latin of those times were called *Cottarii*, because they dwelt in small huts or cottages, near to the mansions of their masters) composed another class of slaves frequently mentioned in Doomsday-book. They were such as, by the direction of their owners, had been instructed in some handicraft art or trade, as that of smiths, carpenters, &c. which they practised for the benefit of their masters, and were on the same footing in all respects with villains or predial slaves (9).

Borders.

4. Borders, in Latin *Bordarii*, frequently occur in Doomsday-book, as distinguished from villains and cottars; but in what respects they differed from them, is not clearly ascertained. The most probable opinion seems to be, that they were a kind of upper domestic servants, who waited at table (then called *bord*), and performed other less ignoble offices in their masters houses, in which they did not reside, but in small huts of their own, to which little gardens and parcels of land were annexed, as the fee or reward of their services (10). From this short and imperfect enumeration it is sufficiently evident, that a very great proportion of the people of England in this period, were in a state of servitude, or rather in a state of slavery.

Freedmen.

As all the children of slaves were by their birth in the same degree of subjection to the same masters with their parents, this order of men must have increased exceedingly, if many of them had not from time to time obtained their freedom. This they did by various means, but chiefly by uncommon fidelity and diligence, which excited the gratitude of their masters, and engaged them to make them free (11). The granting freedom to a certain number of slaves, was sometimes enjoyed by the clergy, and sometimes voluntarily performed by the penitents, in order to obtain the pardon of their sins, and for the good of their souls. The ceremony of manumission was commonly performed at church, or at the country-court, when the master, taking his slave by the hand, declared that he made him free; after which he gave him a sword or spear, the arms of a free man; and then command-

(9) Spelman. Du Cange, in voc. (10) Spelman Gloss. in voc.

(11) Clanvill de Consuetudini Angliæ, l. 5. c. 5.

ing all the doors to be thrown open, allowed him to go where he pleased (12). These freed-men possessed the same place in society in this period, that the free-lazen had possessed in the times of the Anglo-Saxons.

The middle rank in society, that filled up the interval between the freed-men on the one hand, and the noblesse and baronage on the other, was chiefly composed of three different bodies of men, which had been formerly very distinct, but were now united. 1. Those Anglo-Saxon ceorls, who had remained neuter in the quarrel between William and Harold, and had not joined in any of the subsequent revolts, and were therefore allowed to retain their ranks as well as their possessions, though, for their own greater security, they generally put themselves under the protection of some great Norman baron, and became his socmen. 2. Those Anglo-Saxon thanes and noblemen who were degraded from their former rank, and divested of all power, but permitted to retain a part of their possessions, under the protection of their conquerors. The number of these degraded nobles was not inconsiderable; for before the end of the reign of William I. there was hardly so much as one Englishman who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot (13); and for more than a century after, to be an Englishman was an effectual exclusion from all preferment (14). 3. Those Frenchmen, Normans, and others, who fought under their several leaders in the conquest of England, and afterwards settled on the demesne lands of those leaders, and became their farmers, socmen, and smaller vassals. All these different kinds of people were by degrees blended together, and formed a body, from which the yeomanry and many of the gentry of England are descended. The inhabitants of towns and cities were generally of this middle rank.

The Norman barons formed the highest order of the state, and occupied the same place in society after the conquest, that the Anglo-Saxon thanes had possessed before that æra, and the nobility and principal gentry of England now possess (15). They were a

Description
of those in
the middle
ranks in
society.

Norman
nobility.

(12) *Leges Willielmi I.* l. 65. *Henrici I.* l. 78. &c.

(13) *Ingulphi Hist.*

(14) *Eadmer*, p. 94. 110.

(15) See vol. 3-

numerous, opulent, and powerful body of men, and (when taken in the most extensive sense) comprehended all the considerable proprietors of land in England, especially all those who held immediately of the king *in capite* by military services. The lesser barons were frequently called *vavasors*, and corresponded to the lesser Anglo-Saxon thanes, and to the modern English gentlemen of ancient families and large estates (16.) But barons, in this period, most properly were the greater or king's barons, who held immediately of the king an entire barony, consisting of thirteen knights fees, and the third part of a knight's fee, yielding an annual revenue of £266: 13: 4, or 400 marks (17): an ample fortune in the times we are now considering. Those who held such baronies were the spiritual and temporal lords of the kingdom, who enjoyed many singular privileges and immunities, and in their own territories were a kind of petty princes (too often tyrants), possessing both civil and military jurisdiction over their vassals (18). But we shall meet with a more convenient opportunity of considering the civil authority and military power of the Norman barons.

Great changes in the circumstances of the people of England.

Though the accession of William duke of Normandy to the throne of England produced no very remarkable alteration in the ranks and orders of men in society; it produced many important changes in their political circumstances,—in the tenures by which they held their lands,—the services and prestations to which they were subjected—the magistrates by whom they were governed.—the courts in which they were judged,—and the laws they were obliged to obey. These changes were chiefly owing to the establishment of the feudal system of police and government in England by William I. in the same state of maturity to which it had then attained in his dominions on the continent.

The feudal system of government not altogether unknown.

In the Anglo-Saxon times, all the proprietors of land (the clergy at last excepted) were subjected to the three following obligations, commonly called the *trinita necessitas*:—1. To attend the king with their followers in military expeditions;—2. To assist in build-

(16) Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 518.

(17) Vid. Spelman. Du Cange Gloss. in voc. *Baro, Baroniam*.

(18) Id. *ibid*.

ing and defending the royal castles;—3. To keep the highways and bridges in a proper state (19). To these three obligations a fourth, called *a heriot*, was added, by the laws of Canute the Great; which consisted in delivering to the king the horses and arms of his earls and thanes at their death, with certain sums of money, according to their rank and wealth (20). That these may be called feudal prestations, and considered as a proof that the feudal form of government was not altogether unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, need not be disputed. But to these William I. added so many others, which shall be presently described, that he may be justly said to have completed, if not to have erected, the fabric of the feudal government in Britain.

The sovereign of a feudal state was, in idea at least, the proprietor of all the lands in his dominions (21). Part of these lands he retained in his own possession for the maintenance of his family, and support of his dignity; the rest he granted to certain of his subjects, as benefices or fees for services to be performed by them, and on such other conditions as he thought proper to require, and they to accept. By the numerous forfeitures after the battle of Hastings, and the subsequent revolts, and by the abject state to which even those of the English who had not forfeited were reduced, the idea of a feudal sovereign was almost realized in William I. and he beheld a very great proportion of the lands in England at his disposal, which enabled him to establish the feudal system of government in its full extent, with little or no difficulty. Nor did he neglect this favourable opportunity of introducing into his new dominions that form of government, to which he and his followers had been long accustomed, and which was so well adapted to preserve that important acquisition he had made (22).

William I. in the distribution of the territory of England, was not unmindful of the interests of the crown; but retained in his own possession no fewer than 1422 manors, besides a great number of forests, parks, chaces, farms, and houses, in all parts of the

before the conquest

The conquest a favourable opportunity for establishing the feudal system.

William I. made very liberal grants of land to his barons.

(19) Hicessii Dissertat. Epistol. p. 60. Relinquæ Spelman. p. 22.

(20) Wilkin. Leges Saxon.

(21) Somner on Gavelkind, p. 109. Smith de Republic. l. 3. c. 10.

(22) Coke on Lit. p. 1, 2. ad Sect. 1. Craig de Feudis, l. 1. c. 7.

kingdom.

kingdom (23). As the hopes of obtaining splendid establishments for themselves and followers had engaged many powerful barons, and even some sovereign princes, to embark with him in his dangerous expedition, he was induced both by the dictates of honour and prudence to gratify their expectations by very liberal grants of lands. To Hugh de Abrencis, his sister's son, he granted the whole county of Chester;—to Robert earl of Mortaigne, and Odo bishop of Bayeux, his two uterine brothers, he gave, to the former 973 manors, to the latter 439;—to Allen earl of Brittany 442,—to William de Warrenne 298,—to Geoffrey bishop of Coutance 280,—to Roger Bigod 123,—to Walter Giffard 107,—to Richard de Clare 171,—to William de Percy 119,—and to all his other chieftains according to the different degrees of their power, their services, and their favour (24).

Obligations
annexed to
these
grants.

None of the grants of land made by William I. were unconditional, but to all of them a great variety of obligations were annexed. These obligations were of two kinds, viz. 1. Services; which contributed to the splendour of the sovereign, and security of the kingdom; 2. Prestations of various kinds, which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue.

Military
services,
&c.

1. The services which contributed to the splendour of the sovereign, and security of the kingdom, to be performed by the immediate vassals of the crown, were chiefly these three: 1. Homage and fealty. 2. Personal attendance upon the king in his court at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and in his parliament, at other times, when regularly called. 3. Military services in the field, or in the defence of castles for a certain time, with a certain number of men, according to the extent of their estates. By these three things the sovereign of a feudal kingdom was secured, as far as human policy could secure him,—in a splendid court for his honour,—a numerous council for giving him advice in the arduous affairs of government,—and a powerful army for the defence of his person and dominions.

(23) Doomsday-book passim.

(24) *Id. ibid.* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 60.—269.

2. The payments or prestations to which the immediate vassals of the crown were subjected, and which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue, were chiefly these six : 1. Reserved rents. 2. Wardships. 3. On marriages. 4. Reliefs. 5. Scutages. 6. Aids. It is necessary to give a very brief delineation of each of the above services and prestations.

Pecuniary
prestations.

1. The sovereign of a feudal kingdom never appeared in greater glory than when he received the homage of his immediate vassals in his great court or parliament. Seated upon his throne, in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, and surrounded by his spiritual and temporal nobles, he beheld his greatest prelates and most powerful barons, uncovered and unarmed, on their knees before him. In that humble posture they put both their hands between his, and solemnly promised, "to be his liege-men of life and limb and worldly worship, to bear faith and troth to him, to live and die with him against all manner of men (25) "

Homage.

2. The courts of the Anglo-Norman kings were at all times very splendid, but more especially at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when all the prelates, earls, and barons of the kingdom were, by their tenures, obliged to attend their sovereign, to assist in the celebration of these festivals,—in the administration of justice,—and in deliberating on the great affairs of the kingdom. On these occasions the king wore his crown, and feasted his nobles in the great hall of his palace, and made them presents of robes, &c. as marks of his royal favour; after which they proceeded to business, which consisted partly in determining important causes, and partly in deliberating on public affairs (26).

Personal
attendance
in the
king's
court.

3. Military service was the greatest and most important obligation annexed to the grants of lands made by William I. and other feudal sovereigns whose chief intention was, in making these grants, to secure a sufficient body of troops under proper leaders, well arm-

Military
service.

(25) Spelman, Du Cange, in *voc. Homagium, Ligium*. Littleton, sect. 85. Bracton, l. 2. c. 35. Glanville, l. 9. c. 1. Fleta, l. 3. c. 16.

(26) Du Cange, *voc. Curia*. Craig de Feudis, l. 2. c. 11.

ed, and always ready to take the field, for the defence of the kingdom, and the prosecution of such wars as were thought necessary for the honour of the prince and the prosperity of the state (27). These lands, so granted, may very well be considered as the daily pay of a certain number of troops which the persons to whom they were granted were obliged to keep in constant readiness for service; and therefore the number of knights fees or stipends which every estate comprehended was carefully ascertained. To add still further to the strength and security of the kingdom, William I. subjected the lands of spiritual barons, as archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, to the same military services with the lands of temporal barons and knights (28). From the famous survey of England, made by the direction of this great prince, and recorded in Doomsday-book, it was found, that the whole kingdom contained 60,215 knights fees, of which no fewer than 28,115 belonged to the church (29).

It is now time to take a very short view of those prestations to which the immediate vassals of the crown of England were at this time subjected, and which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue.

Reserved
rents.

1. Though William I. and other feudal sovereigns, made large grants of lands to their nobility, clergy, and other vassals, they did not relinquish all connection with and interest in these lands. On the contrary, they granted only the right of using these lands on certain conditions, still retaining the property, or *dominium directum*, in themselves: and to put their vassals constantly in mind of this circumstance, they always reserved certain annual payments (commonly very trifling), that were collected by the sheriffs of the counties where the lands lay (30).

Wardships.

2. When an earl, baron, or other vassal of the crown, died, and left his heir under age, and consequently incapable of performing those personal services to his sovereign to which he was bound by his tenure, the king took possession of his estate; that he might

(27) Coke Instit. 4. p. 192.

(28) M. Paris. p. 5. col. 1. ann. 1070.

(29) Spelman. Gloss. Voc. *Feodum*. Differtat. de Militi, p. 184. Craig de Feudis, l. 2. c. 11.

(30) Madox, Hist. Excheq. c. 10. Craig de Feud. l. 1. c. 9.

therewith

therewith support the heir, and give him an education suitable to his quality, and at the same time might provide another person to perform his services in his room. This right of being the guardians of all minors, male or female, who held their lands of the crown by military services, brought considerable profits into the royal coffers, or enabled the prince to enrich his favourites, by granting them the guardianship of some of his most opulent wards (31).

3. The king's female wards could not marry any person, however agreeable to themselves and their relations, without the consent of their royal guardian; that they might not have it in their power to bestow an estate that had been derived from the crown on one who was disagreeable to the sovereign (32). This was a cruel and ignominious servitude, by which heiresses of the greatest families and most opulent fortunes, were exposed to sale, or obliged to purchase the liberty of disposing of themselves in marriage by great sums of money, either from the king, or from some greedy courtier, to whom he had granted or sold their marriage (33). No less a sum than ten thousand marks, equal in efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds of our money at present, was paid to the king for the wardship and marriage of a single heiress (34). This cruel servitude was afterwards extended to male heirs.

4. The king had not only the guardianship and marriage of the heirs of all his immediate vassals, but he demanded and obtained a sum of money from them when they came of age, and were admitted to the possession of their estates; and also from those heirs who had been of age at the death of their ancestors. This last was called relief, because it relieved their lands out of the hands of their sovereign, into which they fell at the death of every possessor (35). Reliefs were at first arbitrary and uncertain, and of consequence the occasion of much oppression. They were afterwards fixed at the rate of one hundred shillings for a knight's

(31) Craig de Feud. l. 2. c. 2. Spelman Reliquæ, p. 25. Gloss. voc. *Warda*. Madox, Hist. Excheq. c. 10. sect. 4. Glanvil, l. 7. c. 9.

(32) Du Cange, voc. *Maritagium*. Glanvil, l. 7. c. 9.

(33) Madox, Hist. Excheq. c. 10. sect. 4.

(34) Id. *ibid*.

(35) Glanvil, l. 9. c. 4.

fee, one hundred marks for a baron, and one hundred pounds for an earldom, which was supposed to be about the fourth part of the annual value of each (36).

Scutage.

5. Scutage, or shield-money, was another prestation to which the military vassals of the crown, both of the clergy and laity, were subjected. It was a sum of money paid in lieu of actual service in the field, by those who were not able or were not willing to perform that service in person, or to provide another to perform it in their room. The rate of this commutation was not always the same, but most commonly it was two marks for every knight's fee, though sometimes it was only twenty shillings, and at other times three marks, or two marks and a half (37). This payment became the occasion of much vexation to those who owed military service the crown; because our monarchs sometimes engaged, or pretended to engage, in expeditions into distant parts, or at inconvenient seasons, that they might have a pretence for demanding scutage from their vassals (38).

Aids.

6. Besides all the above payments, the immediate vassals of the crown, who were presumed to be possessed of much affection and gratitude to their sovereign for the favours they had received from him, granted, or rather complied with the demand of certain pecuniary aids, on some great occasions, when he stood in particular need of their assistance. The occasions on which these aids were demanded and granted, were these three: 1. To make his eldest son a knight; 2. To marry his eldest daughter; 3. To ransom his person when he was taken prisoner in war. The rate of these aids was also unsettled; but it seems to have been most frequently one mark, or one pound, for every knight's fee (39).

Subinfeudation.

There is sufficient evidence, that all these services and prestations, so troublesome in themselves, and so liable to be rendered oppressive and intolerable, were

(36) Du Cange, voc. *Relevium*. Madox. Hist. Excheq. c. 10. sect. 4.

(37) Du Cange, voc. *Scutagium*.

(38) Id. *ibid.* Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 16.

(39) Spelman. Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Auxilium*. Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 15. Glanvil, l. 9. c. 8.

brought

brought from Normandy, and imposed by William I. on the leaders of his victorious army, to whom he granted great estates in England. But these were far from being the only persons who felt the weight of those feudal servitudes. For the Norman and other barons, who received extensive tracts of land, imitated the example of their sovereign in the disposal of these lands. They retained part of them lying contiguous to their castles in their own possessions, which were called their demesnes; and the rest they granted to their followers, who had fought under their banners, on terms exactly similar to those on which they had received them from the crown. The vassals of every baron did him homage, with a reservation of their homage to the king, which was sometimes not much regarded.—They gave personal attendance in his court at stated times, or when regularly called.—They followed him into the field with a certain number of troops, according to the quantity of land they had received.—They paid him certain reserved rents.—Their heirs were his wards when under age.—They could not marry without his consent.—They gave him relief when they obtained possession of their estates;—and aids for making his eldest son a knight, for marrying his eldest daughter, and for redeeming his person from captivity. In a word, a feudal baron was a king in miniature, and a barony was a little kingdom. Even the vassals of barons sometimes granted subinfeudations, but always exactly on the same plan. By this means all the distressful servitudes of the feudal system descended from the sovereign to the meanest possessor of land by military tenure, becoming heavier as they descended lower (40).

It is true that those possessors of land who were Socmen. called *socmen*, because (as many think) they followed the soc or plough, were not subjected to some of the most vexatious of those feudal servitudes, as personal attendance, wardship, marriage, &c. But this seems to have been owing to the contemptible light in which they were viewed by their sovereign, and his haughty

(40) Spelman. Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Baro, Feodum, Curia, Homagium, Warda, Maritagium, Relevium, Uzilium.*

martial barons, who would not admit them into their courts and company; and considered the education and marriage of their heirs as matters of small importance, and unworthy of their attention. Nor were many of these focmen more free and happy than the military vassals of the king and barons. On the contrary, they were subjected to lower and more laborious servitudes, as furnishing men, horses, and carriages, on various occasions; ploughing and sowing the lands of their lords, &c (41). In a word, the feudal system of tenures established by William I. in England was productive of universal distress and servitude; from which even those of the highest ranks were not exempted, though they were most severely felt by the lower orders of the state.

Introduc-
tion of the
feudal sys-
tem into
Scotland.

It hath been the subject of much dispute, when, by whom, and in what manner, the feudal system of government was introduced into Scotland. It would be improper to revive this unimportant controversy, by repeating the sentiments of different authors, and their arguments in support of these sentiments. Upon the whole, it seems to be most probable, that Malcolm III. surnamed *Canmore*, began the introduction of this system into his dominions, in imitation of his neighbour and contemporary, William I. of England; and that his plan was prosecuted by his successors, as opportunities offered, until it came to be universally established (42).

The introduction of the feudal system was productive of several other changes in police and government, particularly in courts and magistrates.

Nothing could be more regular, or more admirably adapted to the speedy, easy, and effectual admi-

(41) Spelman. Du Cange voc. *Socmannus*. The opinion of one of the most learned writers on the law of England,—that tenures, called *free socage*, were the relics of the allodial tenures of the Anglo-Saxons, is not disputed. We have no reason to be surpris'd, that a few small estates escaped the rapacity of the Normans. *Judge Blackstone's Comment. b. 2. c. 6. p. 81.*

(42) See *Essays on British Antiquities, Essay 1.* Sir David Dalrymple's *Annals of Scotland*, p. 30, 31, 32,

niftration of juſtice, to perſons of all ranks, than the conſtitution of the Anglo-Saxon court (43). But this beautiful fabric was not reſpected by the Norman conquerors. For though they did not pull it down by violence, they ſuffered it to fall into ruins by neglect, and the eſtabliſhment of other courts.

In all feudalk ingdoms there were three kinds of perſons that bore the chief ſway, both in peace and war, viz. barons in their baronies, earls in their counties, and kings in their kingdoms. In conſequence of this there were three kinds of courts of chief conſideration—the baron's court,—the earl's court,—and the king's court. Courts.

In the feudal times, every barony (as hath been already obſerved) was a little kingdom, and every baron was a petty king; the commander of all the tenants in his barony (who might not improperly be called his ſubjects) in time of war, and their judge in time of peace. In his court, which was commonly held in the great hall of his caſtle, and to which all the tenants of his barony owed ſuit and ſervice, he adminiſtered juſtice to his people, in perſon, or by his bailiff; not only compelling the payment of debts and the performance of contracts, but alſo redreſſing wrongs, and puniſhing crimes even with capital puniſhments. Archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, and priors, who held baronies of the crown, had their courts of the ſame kind with the ſecular barons. Even the barons of barons, or thoſe who held manors by military ſervice of the king's barons, had ſimilar courts within their reſpective manors, but commonly without the privilege of pit and gallows, *i. e.* the power of inflicting capital puniſhments (44). Baron's court.

The title of *earl* before the conqueſt, and for ſome time after, was not honorary, but official. There was but one earl in every county, who was properly its governor, the general of its forces in times of war, and its chief juſticiary or judge in times of peace. The court in which the earl preſided, was the county-court; and as a reward or ſalary for acting in his judi- County court.

(43) See vol. 3. c. 3. § 2.

(44) Spelman. Du. Cange Gloſſ. voc. *Barones, Baronía, Furca.*—Regiam Majeſtatem. Glanvil. Bracton. Fleta.

cial capacity, he received the third penny of all the dues, amerçiements, and profits, arising in that court (45). This in the Anglo-Saxon times, and even during some part of the reign of William I. was a court of great power and dignity, in which the bishop of the diocese sat with the earl, and on which all the abbots, priors, barons, knights, and freeholders of the county, were obliged to attend. In this little parliament all the controversies arising in the county, the most important not excepted, were determined, though not always finally, because there lay an appeal from its decrees to a higher court, which shall presently be described. In a county-court of Kent, held in the reign of William I. at Pinendine, there were present one archbishop, three bishops, the earl of the county, the vice-earl or sheriff, a great number of the king's barons, besides a still greater multitude of knights and freeholders, who in the course of three days adjudged several manors to belong to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which had been possessed for some time by Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, and by other powerful barons (46).

Separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil part of county-courts, which occasioned their decline.

But the county-courts did not continue long after the conquest in this state of power and splendour. For William I. about A. D. 1085, separated the ecclesiastical from the civil part of these courts, prohibiting the bishops to sit as judges, the clergy to attend as suitors, and the causes of the church to be tried in them, but in courts of their own (47). By this regulation, which is said to have been made in a common council of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and chief men of the kingdom, the county courts were deprived, at one blow, of their most venerable judges, their most respectable suitors, and most important business. Besides this, after the departure of the bishops and clergy, the earls disdained to sit as judges,

(45) Selden's Titles of Honour. p. 526, &c.

(46) Dugdale Origines Juridiciales, p. 30. Hicceſii Diſſertat. Epistol. p. 31, &c.

(47) Wilkin. Concilia, l. I. p. 368, 369. Hale's History of the Common Law, p. 102.

and the great barons to attend as suitors in the county courts; which by degrees reduced them to their present state. But this was not the worst effect of this most imprudent and pernicious regulation. For by it the kingdom was split asunder; the crown and mitre were set at variance, and the ecclesiastical courts by putting themselves under the immediate protection of the pope, formed the clergy into a separate state under a foreign sovereign, which was productive of infinite mischiefs and disorders (48).

The ecclesiastical courts, that were immediately erected in consequence of this fatal statute, were these three: 1. The archdeacon's court. For as the archdeacon was by that statute discharged from sitting as a judge with the hundredary in the hundred court, he was authorized to erect a court of his own, in which he took cognizance of ecclesiastical causes within his archdeaconry. 2. The bishop's court, or consistory, which received appeals from the archdeacon's court, and whose jurisdiction extended over the whole dioceses. 3. The archbishop's court, which received appeals from the consistories of the several bishops of the province, and had jurisdiction not only over the particular dioceses of the archbishop, but over all the dioceses in the province. From this highest ecclesiastical court appeals lay to the pope, which soon became very frequent, vexatious, and expensive (49).

As the king was the chief magistrate of the kingdom, and it was both his duty and prerogative to administer justice to his subjects, he had a court, which was the chief court of the kingdom, in which he performed that duty and exercised that prerogative (50). This supreme court was commonly called, *curia* or *aula regis*, because it was held in the great hall of the king's palace, wherever he happened to reside (51). In this court the king was presumed to be always present, either in person, or by his representatives, the judges of his court, to whom he committed the performance of his duty, and the exercise of his pre-

(48) Judge Blackstone's Comment. b. 3. c. 5.

(49) Id. *ibid.*

(50) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 3. p. 58.

(51) Bracton, l. 3. c. 7. Glanvil de Consuetud. Angliæ, passim.

rogative as the supreme judge in his kingdom. The judges in the king's court, as it was constituted by William I. and continued till near the end of this period, were,—the great officers of the crown,—the king's justices,—together with all the great barons of the kingdom both temporal and spiritual, who were intitled to seats in this court (52).

Great officers of the crown.

The great officers of the crown, who were also the leading members of the king's court, were these seven: 1. The chief justiciary, who was an officer of the highest dignity and greatest power, the president of the king's court when the prince was not personally present, and regent of the kingdom when the sovereign was beyond seas, which in this period very frequently happened. 2. The constable of England. 3. The marshal of England, who were both military and civil officers: when acting in their civil capacity, as members of the king's court, their jurisdiction chiefly respected matters of honour and of arms. 4. The high steward of England. 5. The great chamberlain of England. These two great officers had the chief direction of all things in the king's court and palace. The four last named officers were for the most part hereditary. 6. The chancellor of England, who had the custody of the great seal, and the inspection of all grants to which it was appended. 7. The high treasurer, who had the chief direction of all things respecting the royal revenues (53).

Division of the king's court.

The king's justices were persons learned in the laws, who had seats in this supreme court, in order to inform the other members what the law of the land was in every case. This great court was divided into several chambers, and certain judges sat in each of these chambers, at particular times, to take cognizance of those matters with which they were best acquainted, and in which they were most interested. Of these chambers the exchequer (so called from a chequered cloth which covered the table) was one, in which the high treasurer and certain barons sat, and regulated all things respecting the revenues of the crown (54).

(52) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 2. c. 3. p. 64. Blackst. Comment. b. 3. c. 4.

(53) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 3. (54) Dialogus de Scaccario.

The jurisdiction of the king's court was universal, extending to all parts of the kingdom, and over all the subjects of it, till the clergy, after long and violent struggles, emancipated themselves in a great measure from its authority (55). As the Normans were remarkably fond of pomp; some of the sessions of this august tribunal, particularly those at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, were attended with much parade and show. The king, on these occasions, wore his crown and royal robes; the great officers of state appeared with the ensigns of their respective offices; and all the spiritual and temporal barons, in their richest ornaments. At these ceremonies and magnificent meetings, the ambassadors of foreign princes were introduced, that they might be struck with admiration at the opulence and grandeur of the king and kingdom (56). To these stated meetings all the members of the king's court came of course, without any summons (57). In this, and in several other respects, they differed from the common councils of the kingdom (58).

Jurisdiction
and splendour
of the
king's
court.

Though the powers of this supreme court were great and various, they were all ministerial and executive, and did not extend to the making new laws or imposing new taxes. These two most important branches of police and government belonged to another assembly, that was called (*commune concilium*, or *magnam concilium regni*) the common council, or great council of the kingdom; and sometimes, though very seldom in this period, (*parliamentum*) parliament, from the French word *parler*, to speak.

Parliament.

Who were the constituent members of the great councils or parliaments of this period, is a question that hath been differently answered, and warmly agitated (59). Though the nature and limits of this work will not admit a full discussion of this question (at present of no great importance), yet a plain and short exposition of what appears to be the truth is necessary. That all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, and barons, who held each an entire barony

Who were
the constituent
members of
the parliaments
of this period.

(55) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 3.

(56) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 63.

(57) Eadmer, p. 15.

(58) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222.

(59) Petyt's Rights of the Commons asserted. Jane Anglorum Facies nova. Dr. Brady's Tracts, &c. &c.

immediately of the king *in capite*, were constituent members of these great councils, hath never been denied, and needs not be proved. Besides these great spiritual and temporal barons, there were many others, who held smaller portions of land, as one, two, three, or four knights fees, immediately of the king, by the same honourable tenure with the great barons, who were also members of the great councils of the kingdom, and were commonly called the lesser barons, or free military tenants of the crown. Among many evidences that might easily be produced of this, the fourteenth article of the great charter of king John, is one of the most decisive, and seems to be sufficient: “To have a common council of the kingdom, to assents an aid otherwise than in the three foresaid cases, or to assents a scutage (60), we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, particularly by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us *in capite* (61).” The lesser barons continued to sit personally in the parliaments of Scotland till A. D. 1427, when the act was made, exempting them from personal attendance in parliament, on condition of sending representatives (62). But besides all these great and small barons, who by virtue of their tenures were obliged, as well as intitled, to sit as members in the great councils of the kingdom; our historians of this period sometimes speak of great multitudes of people, both of the clergy and laity, who were present in some of these councils (63). Eadmerus, the friend and secretary of archbishop Anselm, thus describes the persons assembled in a great council at Rockingham, A. D. 1095, to whom his patron made a speech.

(60) These three foresaid cases were, 1. To make his eldest son a knight; 2. To marry his eldest daughter; 3. To redeem his own person. In all which cases aids were due by tenure, without an act of parliament.

(61) Ad habendum commune consilium regni, de auxilio assidendo, aliter quam in tribus casibus predictis, vel de scutagio assidendo, summoniri faciemus archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites, et majores barones sigillatim, per literas nostras: et preterea faciemus summoniri in generali, per vicecomites et balivos nostros, omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite. Append. No 1.

(62) Essays on British Antiquities, p. 43.

(63) Spelman. Council. l. 2. p. 33.

“ Anselm

“ Anselm spoke in this manner to the bishops, abbots, and princes, or principal men, and to a numerous multitude of monks, clerks, and laymen standing by (64).” By the bishops, abbots, and princes, we are certainly to understand the spiritual and temporal barons. But who are we to understand by “ the numerous multitude of monks, clerks, and laymen standing by?” Were they members of this assembly; or were they only spectators and by-standers? If by the multitude of these clerks and laymen, the historian did not mean the lesser barons, it is highly probable that they were only spectators. We are told by several contemporary historians, that the great councils of the kingdom in those times were very much incommoded by crowds of spectators, who forced their way into their meetings. One of these historians thus describes a great council held by king Stephen: “ The king, by an edict published through England, called the rulers of the churches, and the chiefs of the people, to a council at London. All these coming thither, as into one receptacle, and the pillars of the churches being seated in order, and the vulgar also forcing themselves in on all hands, confusedly and promiscuously, as usual, many things were usefully proposed, and happily transacted, for the benefit of the church and kingdom (65).” In a great council held at Westminster, May 18th, A. D. 1127, the spectators, who are said to have been innumerable, were so outrageous, that they interrupted the business of the council, and prevented some things from being debated (66). Upon the whole, it seems to be almost certain, that though great numbers of people of all ranks, prompted by political curiosity, or interested in the affairs that were to be debated, attended the great councils of the kingdom in this

(64) Assistentem, monachorum, clericorum, laicorum, numerosam multitudinem. *Eadmeri Hist.* p. 26.

(65) Edicto per Angliam promulgato, summos ecclesiarum ductores, eum primis populi, ad concilium Londonias convocavit. Illis quoque, quasi in unam sentinam, illuc confluentibus, ecclesiarumque columnis sedendi ordine dispositis, vulgo etiam confuse et permixtim ut solet, ubique se ingerentes, plura ecclesie et regno profutura fuerunt, et utiliter ostensa, et salubriter pertractata.

Gesta Stephani Regis apud Duchine, p. 932.

(66) Spelman. *Concil.* l. 2. p. 35.

period, none were properly members of these councils but those described in the great charter of king John, viz. the spiritual and temporal barons, who were personally summoned; and those who held smaller parcels of land than baronies, immediately of the king, by knight's service, who were summoned edictally by the sheriffs of their respective counties.

Great
power of
the crown.

Besides all the prerogatives that had been enjoyed by his predecessors the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings of England, William I. acquired a great addition of power by the introduction of the feudal system, which made him the territorial lord as well as sovereign of his greatest subjects. But the greatness of some of these subjects, together with their extensive influence over their vassals and tenants, fortunately formed a kind of counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the crown, prevented it from becoming, or at least from continuing arbitrary; and at length, by slow degrees, and many struggles (which form the most interesting parts of our history), reduced it within proper limits. All the historians of this period are full of the most bitter complaints of the tyranny of William I. and of his son and successor William II. representing them as acting on many occasions in the most despotic manner, with little or no regard to law, justice, or humanity (67). "None of his bishops, abbots, or great men (says Eadmerus of William I.), dared to disobey his will on any consideration; but all things divine and human depended upon his nod." "Whoever (says Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of the same prince) desired to enjoy money, lands, or even life itself, was under a necessity of obeying the king's nod in all things. Alas! how much is it to be lamented, that any man, who is but a worm and dust, should forget death, and arrive at such a height of pride as to trample on all the rest of

(67) Eadmeri Hist. p. 6. 83. 94. M. Paris, p. 4. col. 1. M. Westmonast. l. 2. p. 3. W. Malmf. l. 3. Simon Dun. p. 206. Brompt. 962. Ingulph. p. 516. G. Neubrigen. p. 357. Alurid. Beverlicu, p. 124. Hen. Hunt. p. 213. col. 1. Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 413. Anglica Normannica Camdeni, p. 32.

"mankind!

“ mankind (68)!” Of the ferocity and tyranny of his son and successor William II. the historians of those times speak in still stronger terms. “ He was more fierce (says one of them) than human nature seemed to be capable of. By the advice of the worst of men, which he always followed, he harrassed his neighbours with war, and his own subjects with armies and taxes; and England was so miserably oppressed that it was brought to the very brink of ruin (69).”

The great revenues of these princes contributed not a little to increase their pride, and support their power: especially as these revenues were, for the most part, considered as their undoubted property, and did not depend on the generosity or good-will of their subjects. Besides all the revenues arising from the royal demesnes, and from the rents, aids, wardships, marriages, and scutages of all the immediate vassals of the crown, which have been already mentioned; money flowed into the coffers of the first Norman kings of England, from all the following sources, escheats, vacancies, tallages, taxes, tolls, customs, oblations, amerciements, moneyage, farms of counties, cities, towns, and corporations, queen-gold, impositions of various kinds upon the Jews, &c. &c.

Escheats and forfeitures formed a great branch of the royal revenues in those turbulent times, when civil broils were frequent, when estates escheated into the king's hands on the failure of lineal descendants from the persons to whom they had been granted, and when the immediate vassals of the crown forfeited their lands, not only for treason against the king as sovereign of the state, but for various offences against him as their feudal lord,—such as, declining to do him homage,—to swear fealty,—to attend his court,—to serve him in the field,—for betraying his secrets,—abetting his enemies,—affronting his person,—debauching his wife, his daughters, or near relations,—and in a word, for doing any thing that made them unworthy of being the companions of their superior lord, the members of the court, and the peers of his other ba-

(68) Hen. Hunt. l. 6. p. 213. col. 1.

(69) Id. l. 7. p. 217. col. 1.

rons (70). These escheats and forfeitures formed so capital a part of the royal revenue, that a particular court or office, called the *escheatry*, was erected for the management of them (71).

Ecclesiastical vacancies.

When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, became vacant, the temporalities were seized and enjoyed by the king during the vacancy. This, it is probable, was intended to correspond to the profits arising from the wardship of the temporal barons, and in some reigns, when many of the richest sees were kept vacant several years, it must have made a great addition to the revenues of the crown (72).

Tallages.

The kings of England, in this period, were not always contented with the ordinary annual rents which they received from the cities, towns, socmen, and tenants of their demesnes, and of the escheats and forfeitures in their hands; but on some occasions they exacted certain extraordinary payments, called *tallages*, or *cuttings*, from the French word *tailleur*, to cut; because by them a certain proportion of the goods of these cities, towns, socmen, and tenants, as a tenth, a fifteenth, a twentieth, or thirtieth part, was cut off and appropriated to the king's use (73). As neither the frequency nor the quantity of these tallages were ascertained in the former part of this period, they became the occasion of great oppression to the subjects, and a source of much treasure to the crown (74).

Taxes.

The ignominious tax called *danegild*, though the reason for which it had been imposed no longer existed, continued to be levied through a great part of this period. It seems to have been a stated article in the annual charge against the sheriffs of the several counties, who collected and paid it into the exchequer. The annual danegild for the county of Surry was £185:6:0, for Essex £252:6:0 (75). These

(70) Lib. Feud. l. 1. tit. 21. l. 4. tit. 21. l. 39. 44, &c. Craig de Feud. l. 3. passim.

(71) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 10. p. 20.

(72) Id. ibid. p. 207, &c.

(73) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Tallagium*. Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 17.

(74) Eadmeri Hist. p. 83.

(75) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 17. p. 476.

appear at present to be trifling sums, but they were of considerable value in the times we are now considering.

Tolls, levied at bridges, and in fairs and markets, with the customs on goods exported and imported, made a part of the royal revenue, that will be more particularly described in another place (76). Tolls and customs.

Fines, free-gifts, and oblations, formed one of the most abundant sources of the riches of the kings of England in this period. It is hardly possible to enumerate all the various occasions on which valuable presents were made to these princes. No franchise or privilege of any kind could be obtained from the crown without a fine or oblation proportioned to its value. Great fines were paid by prodigious numbers of people, in order to obtain justice, and that they might be allowed the benefit of a legal trial; while others gave great gifts to procure the royal interposition for preventing law-proceedings against them; and not a few agreed to give one half, or a third or fourth part, of their lawful debts, to the king, that they might procure payment by his authority (77). In a word, justice was openly sold by these sovereigns to their subjects; which made the famous article in the great charter against selling, delaying and denying justice, very necessary. No office, either in church or state, could be obtained without a bribe; and in some reigns, even bishoprics were exposed to sale, and bestowed on the highest offerers (78). There was hardly any business so contemptible, or so dishonourable, in which some of our princes in this period did not engage for money; nor did they disdain to accept of dogs, hawks, hens, lampreys, shads, and such poultry presents, when they could not obtain more valuable bribes. For money they sold even their love and hatred, and were pleased or angry, friends or enemies, as they were paid. To complete their shame, all these articles of their revenues are regularly entered in the public records, where they still remain undeniable monuments of their venality (79). Fines, free-gifts, &c.

(76) See chap. 6.

(77) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 12.

(78) Eadmeri Hist. p. 14.

(79) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 14.

Amerciaments.

Amerciaments formed another very ample source of wealth to the kings of England in this period. These were often excessive, and were imposed on a thousand different occasions, not only for real crimes, but for trivial or imaginary offences, and on the most frivolous pretences. In the records of those times we meet with many persons who were scarcely amerced for making foolish speeches, or returning foolish answers, and even for having short memories, or being ignorant of things which they could not possibly know (80). On these accounts amerciaments were the sources of infinite vexations to the subjects, as well as of great riches to the sovereigns of England in this period. They fell heavy, not only on the common people, but upon the greatest prelates and most powerful barons of the kingdom; which gave occasion to the 27th article of the great charter, in which it is declared,—“That earls and barons shall not be amerced except by their peers, and according to the degree of their offence (81).”

Moneyage.

Moneyage was a tax that had been levied in Normandy long before the conquest, and was levied in England by the first and second Norman kings (82). By it, one shilling was paid on every hearth once every three years, to prevail upon the king not to debase the coin. For these princes insisted on being paid, not only for doing good, but for not doing all the evil that was in their power. This tax was abolished by the charter of liberties granted by Henry I. (83).

Farms of counties, &c.

The farms of counties, and of cities, towns, and corporations, or guilds, brought very considerable sums into the royal coffers in this period. The profits arising from law-proceedings in the county-courts were divided between the king and the earls of the county, two thirds belonging to the former, and one third to the latter. The king's part of these profits was farmed from year to year by the sheriffs, together

(80) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 14.

(81) See Appendix, N^o 1. N^o 2.

(82) Hale's Hist. Common Law, p. 116.

(83) M. Paris, p. 38. col. 2.

with some other small articles of revenue, for a certain sum of money, which they paid into the exchequer. The far greatest part of the cities and towns of England belonged to the royal demesnes, and their inhabitants held their lands and houses immediately of the king; who commonly granted the farm of all the rents and gilds due to him from all the citizens, or burgessees, for their lands and houses, to the community, or to the chief magistrate, in name of the community, for a certain rent to be paid yearly into the exchequer. For the further encouragement of towns and cities, and for promoting commerce and arts, the monarchs of England, in this period, formed the inhabitants of these towns and cities, of certain professions, as merchants, goldsmiths, weavers, &c. into corporations or gilds, to whom they granted various privileges, for which they paid certain sums of money yearly into the exchequer (84).

Queen-gold.

When a sum of money was due to the king, an additional sum was payable to the queen-consort, called (*aurum reginæ*) *queen-gold*. The proportion in some cases, perhaps in all, was one pound, mark, or shilling, on every hundred pounds, marks, or shillings; or, as we now express it, one per cent (85).

Impositions on the Jews.

The Jews settled in England in this period were both very numerous and very wealthy; but their wealth was entirely at the mercy of the king, who seized any proportion of it he pleased at any time he thought proper. A degree of power which is seldom used with moderation, and which was much abused by some of our princes, who extorted prodigious sums of money from the Jews, by the most cruel and violent methods. Of the greatness of these sums, we may form some conception from the following examples. Isaac, the Jew of Norwich, was fined to king John in the enormous sum of ten thousand marks (equal in value and efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds of our money at present), to be paid at the rate of one mark a-day during life. A considerable part of this sum was accordingly paid by Isaac in his life-time, and the remainder by his heirs (86). A Jew of Bristol is

(84) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 10. Brady of Burghs, passim.

(85) Dialogus de Scaccario, l. 2. c. 26.

(86) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 7. p. 153, 154.

said to have paid an equal sum to the same prince (87). In a word, the revenues squeezed from the Jews on various pretences, were so great, that a particular exchequer, called *the exchequer of the Jews*, was established for their receipt, and a number of officers appointed for their management (88).

Annual
revenue.

From the above enumeration of the several sources of the revenues of the Norman kings of England in this period, though far from being complete, it is sufficiently evident that these revenues were very great. We are assured by an author who was born in England only nine years after the conquest, that those of William I. amounted to the incredible sum of £1061 : 10 : 1½ per day, which (neglecting the fraction) was equal in efficacy to £15,915 of our money per day, and to £5,808,975 per year (89). This account, extravagant as it may appear, is not very different from that which is given by Roger Hoveden, a contemporary historian, of the revenues of England in the reign of Richard I. When Hubert archbishop of Canterbury was about to resign the office of high justiciary, A. D. 1196, he proved from his books, that the revenue he had collected in England in the two preceding years, was no less than eleven hundred thousand marks of silver (90). A great sum, equivalent to £11,000,000, at the above rate of computation, in two years, or £5,500,000 in one year. But though it should be allowed that both these accounts are exaggerated, we have still no reason to be surpris'd; that the kings of England in this period kept such splendid and numerous courts—lived in so much affluence—entertained all their prelates and nobles at the three great festivals—endowed so many monasteries, built so many strong castles, and magnificent churches—carried on so many wars—and after all left so much money in their treasury when they died.

Changes in
the laws of
England.

It is now time to take a view of some of the most important changes that were made in the laws of England, and in the forms of judicial proceedings in the

(87) M. Paris, p. 160, col. 1.

(88) Id. *ibid.* chap. 7.

(89) Orderic. Vital. apud Duchesn. p. 523.

(90) R. Hoveden. *Annal.* p. 437. col. 1.

reign of William I. It is indeed true, that William at his coronation took a solemn oath,—“ To keep and
 “ establish right laws, and to prevent rapine and un-
 “ just judgment (91).” But he either paid no regard to that oath, or did not think himself bound by it, to support the laws which he found established. For we have the clearest evidence, that he had a predilection for the laws and customs of his native country, and endeavoured to introduce them into England. This is asserted in the plainest terms by Eadmerus, a man of learning, virtue, and integrity, who flourished in those times. “ William, having a desire that the
 “ customs and laws which his ancestors, and he himself, had observed in Normandy, should be observed
 “ in England, made those men bishops, abbots, and
 “ princes (earls and barons), who would esteem it
 “ dishonourable to oppose his laws in any thing, and
 “ who dared not to lift up their heads against him.
 “ The English (says Ingulphus, who had been secretary to the conqueror) were so much abominated,
 “ that, whatever their merit might be, they were deprived of all their offices, and strangers, though of
 “ inferior abilities, were put into their places (92).” In consequence of this conduct, in the course of a few years, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, together with all the judges and pleaders in all the courts of England, were Normans (93).

This naturally produced many changes, and introduced many Norman laws and customs, without particular statutes for that purpose. One natural consequence of this total change of judges and pleaders in the English courts, was the introduction of the Norman or French language into these courts, because it was the only language the pleaders could speak, or the judges understood (94). The clerks and scribes also, in all these courts, were necessarily Normans; which occasioned the disuse of the Saxon and the introduction of the French manner of writing. This produced various changes in the forms of legal deeds and char-

(91) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.

(92) Eadmer Hist. p. 6.

(93) Ingulphi Hist. p. 513. col. 1.

(94) Id. *ibid.*

ters, particularly in the manner of their confirmation, which, in the Anglo-Saxon times, had been by the subscriptions of many witnesses, with the sign of the cross prefixed to each of their names; but, in the Norman times, by seals impressed upon them, or appended to them (95). Almost all the advocates, as well as the clerks, in the courts of England in this period, were clergymen, from which the clergy got the name of clerks; and the Anglo-Norman clergy were so generally practitioners in law, that it became a proverb,—“There is no clergyman who is not a cause-pleader (96).” This, however, did not contribute much to the impartial administration of justice; for the best writers of this period represent those clerical advocates as the most covetous and venal of all men (97).

The judicial combat.

Fire and water ordeals had been used in Normandy, as well as Britain, before the conquest, and were therefore continued in England after that event (98). But the judicial combat, or duel, though it had been long established in France and Normandy, and other countries on the continent, both by laws and custom, was first introduced into England by the Normans (99). This, like other ordeals, was an appeal to the judgment of God for the discovery of the truth or falsehood of an accusation that was denied, or a fact that was disputed, founded on this supposition,—*That heaven would always interpose, and give the victory to the champions of truth and innocence.* As the judicial combat was esteemed the most honourable, it soon became the most common method, of determining all disputes among martial knights and barons, both in criminal and civil causes. When the combatants were immediate vassals of the crown, the combat was performed with great pomp and ceremony in presence of the king, with the constable and marshal of England,

(95) Ingulphi Hist. p. 513. col. 1.

(96) W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 70. col. 1.

(97) J. Sarisburiensis, p. 289, 292. Petrus Blefenfis, Epist. 25. p. 45. Epist. 26. p. 46.

(98) Hoveden. Annal. p. 314. col. 1. Eadmer, p. 48.

(99) Leg. Aleman. tit. 44. Burgund. tit. 45. Bajwar, tit. 2. Coutumiere de Normand. part 2. c. 2. Hoveden. Annal. p. 343.

who were the judges; but if the combatants were the vassals of a baron, the combat was performed in his presence. If the person accused was victorious, he was acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused; if he was defeated, he was thereby convicted, and subjected to the punishment prescribed by law for his offence. If he was killed, his death was considered both as the proof and punishment of his guilt. If the accuser was vanquished, he was, by the laws of some countries, subjected to the same punishment that would have fallen upon the accused; but in England the king had a power to mitigate or remit the punishment. In civil cases the victor gained, and the vanquished lost his cause. Many wise laws were made for regulating the times and places of such judicial combats, the dress and arms of the combatants, and every other circumstance; which are too voluminous to be here inserted (100). Several kinds of persons were by these laws exempted from the necessity of defending their innocence, or their properties; by the judicial combat; as women, priests, the sick, infirm, or maimed, with young men under twenty, and old men above sixty years of age. But all these persons might, if they pleased, employ champions to fight in their causes (101). It may not be improper, for the further illustration of this singular mode of trial, to give a very brief narration of two judicial combats that were fought in this period, one in a criminal, and the other in a civil cause.

Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, fled from a battle in Wales, A. D. 1158, threw from him the royal standard, and cried out, with others, that the king was slain. Some time after, he was accused of having done this with a treasonable intention, by Robert de Montfort, another great baron, who offered to prove the truth of his accusation by combat. Henry de Essex denied the charge, and accepted the challenge. When all preliminaries were adjusted, this combat was accordingly fought, in the presence of

Judicial
combat in
a criminal
cause.

(100) See Du Cange, Gloss. voc. *Duellum*. Spelman, Gloss. voc. *Campus*. Bracton, l. 2. tract. 2. c. 21. Fleta, l. 1. c. 34, 35.

(101) Glanvill. de consuetud. Angl. l. 14. c. 1.

Henry II. and all his court. Essex was defeated, and expected to be carried out to immediate execution. But the king, who was no friend to this kind of trial, spared his life, and contented himself with confiscating his estate, and making him a monk in the abbey of Reading (102).

Judicial
combat in a
civil cause.

The priory of Tinnmouth, in Northumberland, was a cell of the abbey of St. Alban's. One Simon of Tinnmouth claimed a right to two corrodies, or the maintenance of two persons in the priory, which the prior and monks denied. This cause was brought before the abbot of St. Alban's, and his court-baron, who appointed it to be tried by combat on a certain day before him and his barons. Ralf Gubion, prior of Tinnmouth, appeared at the time and place appointed, attended by his champion, one William Pegun, a man of gigantic stature. The combat was fought, Pegun was defeated, and the prior lost his cause; at which he was so much chagrined, that he immediately resigned his office (103). This judicial combat is the more remarkable, that it was fought in the court of a spiritual baron, and that one of the parties was a priest.

Introduc-
tion of trials
by a jury.

The trial of criminal and civil causes by a jury of twelve men, which makes so distinguished a figure in English jurisprudence, seems to have been introduced in the reign of William I. and was probably one of those customs which he had seen observed in his native country, and which he wished to see observed in England (104). For this custom had prevailed in Scandinavia in very remote ages, was brought from thence into that part of France which was possessed by Rollo and his followers, and from them called Normandy, where it was preserved till it was imported into England at the conquest (105). This custom was not established at once by any positive statute, but came into use by slow degrees, and was far from being common in the former part of this period, when almost all causes were tried by ordeals of one kind or other. But

(102) W. Neubrigen, l. 2. c. 5. J. Brompt. ad ann. 1158. p. 1048.

(103) M. Paris, vita Abbot St. Albani, p. 78. col. 2.

(104) Eadmer Hist. p. 6. (105) Hicckesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 37.

in the reign of Henry II. after a law was made allowing the defendant, in a criminal or civil process, to defend his innocence, or his right, either by battle, or by a jury of twelve men, called the *grand assize*, this last method, as being the most rational, became more and more frequent, till at length it obtained a complete victory over the judicial combat, and every other ordeal (106). This victory however was not obtained till long after the conclusion of this period.

That there was a very great similarity between the laws of England and of Normandy, soon after the conquest, is undeniable, and may be seen by any one who will take the trouble of comparing the work of Ranulph de Glanvill, chief justiciary to Henry II. *of the laws and customs of England*, with the grand coutumiere of Normandy. This similarity doth not subsist only in matters of essential justice, which are or ought to be the same in all countries; but in the rules of descents, the terms of limitations, the forms of writs, and many other things of an indifferent nature, which could neither have arisen from necessity, nor have fallen out by accident (107). The only question is, how this similarity was produced; whether by the exportation of the English laws into Normandy, or the importation of the Norman laws into England? Something of both these might have happened in the course of time; but in the reign of William I. it is evident, both from the nature of things, and the testimony of historians, that the current of the exchange of laws and customs ran strong from Normandy into England. (108),

But notwithstanding all the changes that were made in the ancient constitution, government, and laws of England, by the conquest, it must not be imagined that they were quite destroyed. This was very far from being the case. Many of them were preserved, and even adopted; by the conquerors. Roger Hoveden, and several other historians after

Similarity of the laws of England and Normandy.

The ancient constitution and laws of England not quite destroyed by the conquest.

(106) Glanvill. l. 14. c. 1.

(107) Hale's History of the Common Law, p. 120, &c.

(108) Eadmeri Hist. p. 6.

him, tell a very formal story on this subject (109). That in the fourth year of his reign, William the Conqueror, by the advice of his barons, summoned twelve of the most noble and learned of the English out of every county, and that when they were assembled, he commanded them to make a collection of the ancient laws of their country. That they accordingly performed this, and collected the following laws, which William commanded to be observed. They then subjoin a copy of these laws. But, to say nothing of the great improbability, that Norman barons would make such a proposal in favour of the English and their laws, there is a passage in one of these laws themselves, which demonstrates that the story cannot be true; for in the eleventh of these laws, concerning the tax called danegeld, there is this passage: "That this tax had never been levied on the lands of the church till the reign of William the younger, called William Rufus (110)." Now it is perfectly impossible, that a transaction which happened in the reign of William Rufus, could be mentioned in a collection of laws made in the fourth year of his father's reign. But though this story cannot be true as it is related by these writers, it is highly probable or rather certain, that William I. in some period of his reign, gave his sanction to a system of ancient English laws, with some additions and alterations of his own. For we are told by Ingulphus, a writer of undoubted credit, who was an intimate friend and favourite of the Conqueror, "I brought with me, at the same time (A. D. 1081) from London to my monastery, certain laws of the most righteous king Edward, which my illustrious lord king William had promulgated as authentic and perpetual, and to be inviolably observed through the whole kingdom of England, under the severest penalties (111)." These laws are published by the learned Mr. Selden,

(109) R. Hoveden. *Annal.* p. 343. *Chron. Eccles. Liebſiden.* apud Selden *Spicleg.* in Eadmer. p. 171. *Hen. Knyght.* col. 2355.

(110) Ingulphi *Hist.* ad fin.

(111) Eadmer, p. 172.

in his notes on Eadmerus, from an ancient transcript of the original, which he says, was still preserved at Croiland in Lincolnshire (112). These laws are written in the French or Norman language, of the eleventh century; and consequently are very obscure, and in some places hardly intelligible. They are all of a penal nature, fifty in number, and are evidently a compilation from several systems of Anglo-Saxon laws (113). In another system of laws published by the Conqueror, there is one commanding all the laws of Edward the Confessor to be observed, with the additions that he had made to them, for the benefit of the English (114). This probably refers to those laws which Ingulphus brought with him from London.

The great veneration that William I. professed to entertain for the memory of Edward the Confessor, from whose last will he pretended to derive a title to the crown, might contribute something to preserve some of the ancient English laws and customs. But their preservation was chiefly owing to the invincible attachment of the native English to their ancient laws. This was so great that they seem to have been written on their hearts, and they never ceased to cry for their restoration. On some occasions, when their assistance was wanted, their cries were heard; and from time to time many of those liberties which had been torn from them by the hand of violence, were restored. This will appear in part of the subsequent section of this chapter, but more fully in the following volumes of this work.

Great attachment of the English to their ancient laws.

It is unnecessary to spend any time in delineating the constitution, government, and laws of Scotland, in this period, as they seem to have been the same with those of England above described (115). This we learn by comparing the treatise of Glanvill with the most ancient collection of the Scotch law, called *regiam majestatem*. From thence it plainly appears, that

Great conformity of the laws of England and Scotland in this period.

(112) Eadmer p. 172.

(113) Id. p. 173—189.

(114) Id. p. 192.

(115) Hale's Hist. of the Common Law, c. 10. p. 189—195.

the laws of the two British kingdoms were then the same in many particulars, in which they are now different, though under the same sovereign, and forming one kingdom. Of this remarkable circumstance it may not be improper to give a few examples. By the ancient law of England, the subsequent marriage of the parents did not legitimate the children of the same parents born before that marriage; which still continues to be the law of that country (116). This was also the law of Scotland in the period we are now considering (117); but the contrary rule of the civil and canon law hath been long since adopted in North Britain. The trial of civil causes by a jury of twelve men, was known in England in this period, and is still considered as one of the most excellent properties of English jurisprudence, and most valuable privileges of English subjects (118). Juries of twelve men were also used in Scotland, in those ancient times, in civil as well as criminal causes, as appears from the authorities quoted below, and examples recorded in history (119). But it is well known, that the use of juries in civil causes, except in the court of exchequer, hath been long since discontinued in Scotland. Several things no doubt contributed to this remarkable uniformity between the laws of the two British kingdoms in those ancient times, but one of the chief causes of it seems to have been,—that the kings of Scotland were feudatories to the kings of England for the lands they held of them in that kingdom. This obliged those princes to be often present in the courts and parliaments of England, where they became acquainted with and contracted a fondness for English laws and customs, which they introduced into their own dominions.

(116) Glanvill, l. 7. c. 15. (117) Regiam Majestatem, l. 2. c. 19: 51.

(118) Glanvill, l. 1. c. 14. l. 2. c. 13. 16. 18, 19. l. 7. c. 12. &c. &c.

(119) Regiam Majestatem, l. 1. c. 12. 13. 14. l. 2. 19. 32. 43. Chron. Mailrofs, p. 176.

S E C T I O N II.

History of the changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, in the reigns of William II. Henry I. Stephen, Henry II. Richard I. and John, from A. D. 1087, to A. D. 1216.

AS the most important changes in the English constitution were made, either in the reign of William I. by the establishment of the feudal system; or in the reign of John, by the limitation and mitigation of the severities of that system, it will not be necessary to dwell long on the five intermediate reigns.

The succession to the crown of England after the death of Edward the Confessor, became so unsettled, that it seemed to be set up as an object of ambition to every bold invader, who had but a slight pretence, together with power and courage to seize the glittering prize. To say nothing of Harold and the Conqueror, the three successors of this last, William, Henry, and Stephen, are esteemed by many no better than usurpers, and most certainly reigned with a disputed title.

This proved a most fortunate circumstance to the native English, and to their posterity, as it contributed not a little to raise them from that insignificance into which they had been depressed. It even contributed to the preservation of what was left, and to the re-

Succession
to the
crown of
England
unsettled.

This circumstance
advantageous
to the
ancient
English.

storation of what had been lost, of their ancient liberties. For the Norman barons having estates both in Normandy and England, naturally desired to see the ducal and royal crown on the same head, that they might enjoy their estates in both countries. Many of these barons therefore favoured and were ready to support the pretensions of Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of William I. to the crown of England, first against his younger brother William, and afterwards against his youngest brother Henry. This obliged both these princes to have recourse to the native English, who were still formidable by their numbers, after all the losses they had sustained. "William Rufus" (says a contemporary historian) seeing almost all the Normans in England conspiring against him, invited, by letters, the bravest and most respectable among the English who were yet remaining, to come to him; and complaining to them of the disloyalty of the Normans, he prevailed upon them to engage in his quarrel, by promising them good laws, an abatement of taxes, and the liberty of hunting.—He called them his dear English, exhorted them to collect their countrymen, under the penalty, that every one who did not come, should be called a *Nidering*, a name which he knew none of them could endure. In consequence of this, such multitudes of the English crowded to the king, that he soon formed an invincible army (1). It is very true, that as soon as the storm was blown over, William violated all his promises, and proved a greater tyrant and oppressor than his father (2). But still this transaction was of some use, as it raised the English from their neglected state, and taught them their own importance.

(1) W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 68.

(2) M. Paris, p. 37. col. 2.

As the title of Henry I. was liable to the same objection with that of his brother William; so he was exposed to the same danger, on his accession to the throne, and had recourse to the same expedient, with this only difference, that he put his promises in writing, in the form of a charter, and extended them to all his subjects (3). This charter contained many mitigations of the most distressing articles of the feudal system, to gain the Normans, with an express restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor, to please the English (4). It cannot be denied, that the written promises of Henry were shamefully violated as well as the verbal ones of William; but his charter being in writing, and copies of it being sent into every county, and deposited in every monastery, had greater effects, by diffusing and cherishing the love of liberty, and equal laws, among the Normans, as well as English (5). It served also as a model, on which the great charter of liberties, in the reign of king John, was formed. Henry I. promulgated also a system of laws, as he had promised in his charter, consisting of the laws of Edward the Confessor, with some alterations that had been made in them by his father the Conqueror (6).

Charter of
Henry I.

As the usurpation of king Stephen was more unjustifiable in many respects than that of the two former kings, so he was more liberal of his promises of good laws and good government, than any of his predecessors. These promises were made with great solemnity on the day of his coronation, and were soon after confirmed by a charter (7). But the credit of royal promises and royal charters was now become so low, that the clergy, and some of the barons, swore fealty to Stephen, only as long as he kept his promises and observed his charters (8). His conduct soon jus-

Charter of
king Ste-
phen.

(3) M. Paris, p. 38. Richard Hagulstad. col. 310.

(4) See Appendix, N^o. 1.

(5) M. Paris, p. 39. col. 1.

(6) Lambard Archaionom. 175. Wilkin. Leges Anglo Saxon. p. 233.

(7) W. Malmf. Hist. Novellæ, l. 1. p. 102. R. Hoveden Annal. p. 276. Hen. Hunt. p. 222. col. 1.

(8) W. Malmf. *ibid.* p. 102. col. 1.

tified their suspicions. By violating all his promises, he excited a civil war, which raged during his whole reign, and effectually prevented any amendment of the constitution.

Introduc-
tion of the
study of the
civil law.

It was in this turbulent reign that the pandects of Justinian were brought into England from Rome by some of archbishop Theobald's attendants; and Roger Vacarius, prior of Bec, read lectures upon them to very crowded audiences, both of the clergy and laity (9). Great opposition, however, was made to the introduction of those laws; and John of Salisbury tells us, that he had seen some who were so much enraged against them, that whenever they met with a copy of the Roman law, they tore it in pieces, or threw it into the fire. King Stephen, out of hatred (as the learned Mr. Selden thinks) to archbishop Theobald, joined in this opposition, by publishing an edict, imposing silence on Vacarius, and prohibiting any one to read the books of the civil law (10). But this edict did not put a stop to the study of the civil law, as will afterwards appear.

Charter of
Henry II.

Though the title of Henry II. to the crown was more clear and unexceptionable than those of his three predecessors; he thought it prudent, on his accession, to conciliate the affections of his subjects, by granting them a charter, confirming that of his grandfather Henry I. (11). This great prince, in the course of his long reign, made several improvements in the law, especially in its forms, in the manner of its administration, and the practice of its courts. This appears very plainly from that most ancient treatise of the laws and customs of England, written by, or at least published under the name of Ranulph de Glanvill, who was chief justiciary to this king (12). Some of these improvements merit a place in history.

Amend-
ments of
the law in
the reign of
Henry II.

The unhappy separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts made by William I. had by this time produced the most fatal consequences. For the former of these courts had not only become terrible to

(9) J. Sarisburien. l. 8. c. 22. p. 672.

(10) Id. ibid. Selden, apud Fletam, c. 7.

(11) Judge Blackstone's Law-tracts, vol. 2. p. 111.

(12) R. de Glanvilla de Legibus et Consuetud. Angliæ.

persons of all ranks, by their interdicts, excommunications, and other censures; but the clergy, in consequence of this separate jurisdiction, to which alone they pretended they were responsible, had emancipated themselves in a great measure from all subjection to civil authority, and committed the most horrid crimes with impunity. Henry II. if we may believe one of the best of our ancient historians, was assured by his judges, that the clergy, in the first ten years of his reign, had committed no fewer than one hundred murders, besides many thefts, robberies, rapes, and other crimes, for which they could not punish them (13). To put a stop to those intolerable evils, and reduce the clergy to the rank of subjects, Henry, in a great council, A. D. 1164, enacted the famous constitutions of Clarendon (14). These were sixteen in number; and though they cannot be inserted here at full length, it is proper the reader should be made acquainted with their substance, which is as follows:

1. All pleas between clergymen and laymen shall be tried in the king's courts. 2. Churches in the king's gift shall not be filled without his consent. 3. All clergymen, when accused of any crime, shall be tried in the king's courts; and when convicted, shall not be protected from punishment by the church. 4. Clergymen shall not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave. 5, 6. Regulate the manner of proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. 7. None of the king's ministers or vassals shall be excommunicated without his knowledge. 8. Appeals from the archbishop to be made to the king. 9. Pleas between a clerk and a layman, whether an estate was in free-arms or a lay-fee, to be tried in the king's court by a jury. 10. One of the king's tenants might be interdicted, but not excommunicated, without the consent of the civil judge of the place. 11. All prelates, who hold baronies of the king, shall perform the same services with other barons. 12. The revenues of vacant sees and abbeys belong to the king. The election of prelates shall be with the king's consent; and they shall swear fealty, and do homage to the king, before their

Constitutions of Clarendon.

(13) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 16. tom. I. p. 158.

(14) Gervas Chron. col. 1386, &c.

consecration. 13, 14, 15. Direct the manner of proceeding, in case any of the king's barons shall disseise any of the clergy of the lay-fees which they held under them. 16. The sons of villains shall not be ordained without the leave of their masters (15). But the salutary effects of these constitutions were in a great measure prevented by the invincible opposition of Thomas Becket.

Institution
of justices
itinerant.

Justice was not always administered in those ancient times, by the barons and sheriffs in the inferior courts, with the greatest wisdom and impartiality; partly owing to the ignorance of the judges, and partly to the prevalence of faction among the suitors in these courts (16). Nor was it an easy matter to procure relief from an iniquitous sentence pronounced by a baron or sheriff, on account of the great distance and unsettled state of the king's court, which constantly attended his person. To remedy these inconveniences, Henry II. with the advice of a great council of his prelates, earls, and barons, at Northampton, A. D. 1176, divided the whole kingdom into six parts or circuits, and appointed three judges, learned in the law, to hold courts in each of these, by a commission from the king, empowering them to hear and determine all causes not exceeding the value of one half of a knight's fee, unless the matter was of such importance or difficulty as to require the judgment of the king's court in his royal presence (17). These justices itinerant took an oath, to administer justice to all persons with impartiality (18). They had also authority to judge in all criminal causes and pleas of the crown, and to transact a variety of other affairs for the public good. A small change was made in this excellent institution, A. D. 1179, by dividing the kingdom into four circuits, and allowing a greater number of judges to each of these circuits (19). It is easy to conceive how great a check the circuits of these judges, of superior rank, knowledge, and integrity, must have given to the wantonness and partiality of the inferior

(15) Gervas Chron. col. 1386, &c.

(16) Hale's Hist. Com. Law, p. 139, &c.

(17) Hoveden. Annal. p. 313.

(18) M. Paris, p. 92. col. 1.

(19) Hoveden. Annal. p. 337.

courts, and how great an advantage they were to the people, by bringing justice within their reach. It must, however, be confessed, that though the honour of bringing this wise institution to a settled state is due to Henry II. there is sufficient evidence that courts were held, occasionally at least, by itinerant judges in more ancient times (20).

This wise prince was no friend to the superstitious modes of trial by fire and water ordeals, nor to the barbarous one by single combat, especially in civil causes. He therefore endeavoured to introduce trials by juries, or by the oaths of twelve men of the vicinage, called *the grand assize*, as more rational. With this view he made a law, allowing the defendant, in a plea of right, to support his title, either by single combat, or by a grand assize, “ which (says Glanvill) “ is a benefit granted to the people by the king’s clemency, upon consultation with his nobles, in ten- derneis of life, whereby men might decline the “ doubtful success of battle, and try the right to their “ freehold in the other way (21).” This was a great improvement in English jurisprudence, and from hence we may date the more frequent use of juries than in former times.

Though Richard I. spent much of his time out of the kingdom, and in the toils of war, he was not inattentive to matters of police and law. The laws which he made for the government of his fleet in his voyage to the Holy Land, are truly curious, particularly the last of these laws, which is to this purpose:— “ If any one is convicted of theft, let his head be “ shaved like a champion’s; let melted pitch be pour- “ ed upon it, and feathers shaken over it, that he may “ be known, and let him be set on shore at the first “ land to which the ship approaches (22).” To say nothing of his other maritime and mercantile laws, which will be more properly considered in another place, he made some excellent regulations for establishing an uniformity of weights and measures over

(20) Madox, Hist. Excheq. p. 86, 87, 88.

(21) Glanvill, l. 2. c. 7.

(22) Chron. J. Brompt. apud. X Script. col. 1173.

the whole kingdom (23): a thing much to be desired, but not yet accomplished. This prince gave also very long and particular directions to the justices-itinerant for the regulation of their conduct on their circuits. These directions were contained in two capitularies, one relating to the pleas of the crown, and the other to the affairs of the Jews, who, on account of their numbers and riches, were regarded by government with great attention (24). Richard I. gave also very particular directions to the justices of his forests, who held forest-courts in all parts of England, at which all archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, as well as persons of inferior rank, were obliged to attend, and answer to interrogatories (25). These directions, which are too long to be here inserted, set the rigour of the forest-laws in so strong a light, that we need not wonder the barons in the next reign insisted upon some articles being inserted in the great charter for mitigating their severity.

Melioration of the constitution in the reign of king John.

Though king John was certainly one of the worst princes that ever filled the throne of England, his reign will be for ever memorable for the melioration of the constitution by the great charter of liberties that was then obtained. His merit, however, in this melioration was very small, as he contributed to it only by rendering himself odious by his vices, contemptible by his follies, and impotent by his losses, which both constrained and encouraged his subjects to demand, and enabled them to obtain, by means already related, this great palladium of English liberty. (26).

Magna Charta, or the Great Charter.

We are indebted to the labours of a learned judge for an accurate history, and correct edition, of the Great Charter of king John, and of the similar charters of his son Henry III. and grandson Edward I. (27) From that edition the charter, in the Appendix, N^o 1. is printed; to which a plain and almost literal translation is subjoined, N^o 2. which may be agreeable to some readers.

(23) Hoveden. Annal. p. 441.

(25) Id. Ibid.

(27) Law-tracts, vol. 2.

(24) Id. *ibid*.

(26) See p. 169.

It is not the province, though it were in the power, of an historian, to give a complete commentary on this famous charter. All the purposes of general history, it is hoped, will be sufficiently answered by a very short analysis, pointing out, in a few words, the grievances and hardships that were intended to be removed, with the liberties and privileges that were designed to be granted, by the Great Charter of king John.

Analysis
of that
charter.

The privileges and liberties that were granted or confirmed to the people of England by this charter, may be divided into these four classes: 1. Those that were granted to the church and clergy. 2. To the earls, barons, knights, and others, who held of the king *in capite*. 3. To cities, towns, and merchants, for the encouragement of trade. 4. To the whole body of freemen. For none of the parties concerned in this charter ever entertained a thought of emancipating slaves or villains; and therefore they are mentioned only once, and that for the benefit of their masters.

Privileges
granted by
it, divided
into four
classes.

As archbishop Langton, and six other bishops, were at the head of the barons who procured this charter, we may be certain that the interests of the church would not be forgotten. But the power and wealth of the clergy were then so great, and their grievances so few, that they had hardly any thing to complain of or to ask. This is no doubt the reason that there are so few articles in the charter, particularly respecting the church and clergy.

Privileges
granted to
the church.

The famous constitutions of Clarendon, made by Henry II. A. D. 1164, had been the great object of the execration and horror of the popes, and of those English clergy who were of their party, for half a century before the granting of the great charter. There is hardly a name in the Latin language, expressive of abhorrence and detestation, which is not bestowed by the monkish writers of those times on these hated regulations (28). After a long and violent struggle, in which archbishop Becket lost his life, Henry II. had been obliged to give up the greatest part of his favour-

(28) Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 52, 210, 288, 450, 467, 499, 570, &c.

rite constitutions (29). To guard against the restoration of those detested laws, and to eradicate their remains, had been the chief concern of the English clergy for many years. It was evidently with this view that the several articles respecting the church and clergy were inserted in the Great Charter, which seems to be the true key for the right understanding of these articles.

It is declared in the first article, "that the English church shall be free, and have her rights entire, and her liberties unhurt (30)." By the freedom here stipulated for the church of England, we are most probably to understand the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, to which they had been subjected by the third constitution of Clarendon (31). This pernicious exemption was contended for by Becket, and the great body of the clergy, as if it had constituted the very essence of Christianity, on which the existence of the church depended; and when they had obtained it, they defended it with equal obstinacy. One of the rights of the church, which is particularly mentioned in this first article, is directly contrary to the twelfth constitution of Clarendon. It is the right which John had granted by a particular charter about a year before, to the monks of cathedral churches and abbeys, freely to chuse their own bishops and abbots (32).

The twenty-second article of the charter seems to indicate very plainly, that the freedom granted to the clergy implied an exemption of their persons as clergymen, and of their benefices belonging to the church, from civil jurisdiction. For by that article it is declared, that no clergyman shall be amerced according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice, but according to his secular estate. A clergyman therefore, who had no secular estate, was not liable to be amerced. One reason of inserting that article seems to have been, that some clergymen, who had secular estates, had been so unreasonable as to plead, that these

(29) Vita S. Thomæ, p. 148.

(30) Appendix, No 1, 2.

(31) Gervas Chron. col. 1386.

(32) Id. col. 1388. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 197.

estates should be exempted from civil jurisdiction, as well as their ecclesiastical benefices.

None of the constitutions of Clarendon was more disagreeable to the pope and clergy than the fourth, which prohibited all archbishops, bishops, and clerks, from going out of the kingdom without the king's leave (33). For by this law the clergy were prevented from prosecuting their appeals and other affairs at the court of Rome, and that court was deprived of much power and riches. This restraint was effectually removed by the forty-second article of the Great Charter, which permitted all persons, the clergy not excepted, to go out of the kingdom and return into it when they pleased (34).

As the earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, were the chief instruments of procuring the Great Charter; there are several articles in it particularly calculated for their relief and benefit, by mitigating some of the most oppressive rigours and abuses of the feudal system of tenures, under which they groaned. These articles, though they were of great importance, will not require much illustration; as the remedy provided by the charter, clearly enough points out the evils intended to be remedied.

Privileges granted to the barons, &c. by the Great Charter.

By the second article of the charter, the reliefs of the heirs of earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, are fixed and ascertained according to the ancient rate of reliefs (35).

By what means this ancient rate of reliefs had been laid aside, we are not informed. But there is sufficient evidence, that in the late reigns, as well as in that of king John, the reliefs of earls and barons had been arbitrary and uncertain. Henry I. says, in his charter which he granted at his accession, "if any of my earls, barons, or other vassals die, their heirs shall not be obliged to redeem their land, as they were in the time of my brother; but they shall be put in possession of it on paying a just and reasonable relief (36)". Glanvill, who flourished in the reign of Henry II.

(33) Gervas Chron. 1386.

(34) Appendix, N^o 1, 2.

(35) Appendix, N^o 1, 2.

(36) Appendix, N^o 1.

acquaints us, "that the reliefs for baronies were not fixed; but were according to the pleasure and mercy of the king (37)." This was also the law of Scotland in this period (38). It is easy to imagine how great an instrument of oppression the uncertainty of reliefs might be in the hands of such princes as William Rufus or king John, and how great an advantage it was to the military tenants of the crown to have them ascertained.

Though the king reaped great profits from the wardship of the heirs of his earls, barons, and other vassals, when they were minors, and ought therefore to have put them in possession of their lands when they came of age, without exacting any relief or payment of any kind, it appears to have been common to demand a fine proportioned to the value of the estate (39). To correct this abuse, it is declared (article 3.) "that when an heir who had been a ward, comes of age, he shall have his inheritance without relief or fine."

Sometimes a king of England, in this period, appointed the sheriff of the county, or some other person, to manage the estate of an earl or baron who was his ward, and to pay the profits arising from it into the exchequer. At other times he sold or granted the wardship, with all its profits, to some particular person. In both these cases, the tenants on the estate of the royal wards were often much oppressed, and the estates wasted, by the managers, the grantees, or purchasers, for their own profit. The persons who had the custody of those estates also permitted the castles, houses, mills, parks, &c. upon them to go to ruin, because they would not be at the expence of repairs. By the fourth and fifth articles of the Great Charter, some partial remedies are provided against these abuses; in which the most remarkable circumstance is this, that the managers of these estates are prohibited from wasting the men, as well as the cattle, woods, and other things upon them (40). This shews, that the

(37) Glanvill, l. 9. c. 4.

(38) Regiam Majestatem, l. 2. c. 71.

(39) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 13. sect. 8. p. 333.

(40) Appendix, N^o 1, 2.

unhappy men who were annexed to their estates, were viewed in the same light, by the mighty champions of liberty, the authors of the Great Charter, as the negroes in our plantations are viewed by their proprietors (41).

If the heirs of earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, were liable to great losses in their fortunes from their sovereign's right of wardship, they were liable to still greater injuries from his right of disposing of them in marriage. In consequence of this unnatural right, the heirs and heiresses of the greatest families and fortunes were frequently sold or granted in marriage to persons disagreeable to them or unworthy of them; or were obliged to preserve themselves from so great a calamity, by paying exorbitant fines. To set some bounds to this intolerable tyranny, it was granted by the sixth article of the Great Charter, "that heirs should not be married to their "disparagement, or without the knowledge of their "relations (42)." But this was evidently too general and indefinite to be an effectual remedy to so great an evil.

Not only heirs and heiresses, but also widows, were subjected to great oppressions by the feudal system. They were often obliged to pay heavy fines to obtain possession of their dower, and for liberty to remain unmarried, or to marry whom they pleased. Thus Maud countess of Warwick, in the thirty-first year of Henry II. gave seven hundred marks to the king, equal in value and efficacy to seven thousand pounds of our money at present, that she might have her dower, and be at liberty to marry whom she pleased (43). Lucia countess of Chester paid five hundred marks to king Stephen, that she might not be compelled to marry within five years (44). King John had carried this part of feudal oppression, as well as all the rest, to a greater height than any former prince; for Alicia countess of Warwick paid him no

(41) See Observations upon the Statutes, p. 6.

(42) Appendix, N^o I, 2.

(43) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 13. sect. 2.

(44) Id. *ibid*.

less than one thousand pounds, that she might not be forced to marry till she pleased (45). The seventh and eighth articles of the Great Charter were intended to restrain these abuses (46).

While the kings of England acted as if they had been the sole judges both of the quantity of the feudal prestations, of aids, scutages, and tallages, and of the frequency of exacting them, (as they often did in this period), the property of their vassals was insecure. For when the king could take any proportion of their goods at any time he pleased, they had, properly speaking, nothing that they could call their own. To prevent this most dangerous abuse in the sovereign, and to prevent his granting permission to inferior feudal lords to be guilty of abusing, in the same manner, their power over their vassals, is the intention of the twelfth and fifteenth articles of the Great Charter (47). These articles however did not prevent those abuses, which were not effectually removed till long after the conclusion of this period.

So very tyrannical and encroaching had some of our princes been, that when the military vassal of an inferior lord happened to hold a small piece of land of the crown by soccage, or burgage-tenure, they claimed the wardship and marriage of his heir, though they most evidently belonged to the lord of whom he held by military tenure. This most unreasonable claim was relinquished by the thirty-seventh article of the Great Charter.

Because it would have been impossible to enumerate all the various unjust vexations to which the military vassals of the crown were liable, and to provide particular remedies for each of them, a general provision is made in the sixteenth article,—“that no man shall be constrained to do more service for a knight’s fee than what is due.” But this provision was too general to be of much use.

(45) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 13. sect. 2.

(46) Appendix, N^o 1, 2.

(47) Id. *ibid.*

Such were the mitigations of some of the greatest rigours of the feudal system, obtained from king John, in this famous charter, by the barons; but none of them were capable of forming an idea of the perfect freedom from all the servilities of that system, which their posterity now enjoy.

One thing which seemed at least to render the above limitations of the power of the sovereign as a feudal lord of greater value, and more universal benefit, was this, that, by the sixtieth article of this famous charter, the same limitations are imposed upon all inferior feudal lords towards their vassals (48). This article, which was highly reasonable, was probably inserted at the desire of the king; and in the event was so far from extending the benefit of the limitations in the charter, that it contributed not a little to render them ineffectual. For though the great barons were very desirous to prevent the tyrannical exercise of the feudal authority of the sovereign towards themselves; many of them were much inclined to exercise it in that manner towards their vassals, and continued to do so after this charter was granted. This both encouraged our kings to violate all its limitations, and furnished them with a ready answer to all the complaints of their barons. So uncertain are the effects of political regulations, and so different do they sometimes prove in fact, from what they promised in theory.

The great barons in this period had in general little knowledge of trade, and little regard for merchants: besides, the cities and towns of England, for almost a century after the conquest, London and a few others excepted, were very inconsiderable, and many of their inhabitants were little better than slaves to the king, or to the barons in whose territories they were situated. But about the middle of the twelfth century they began to emerge from this obscurity into some degree of consideration. Many small towns were made free burghs by the royal charters of Henry II. Richard I. and king John; and had merchants, guilds, and other fraternities established in them, with various privileges, which soon filled them with inhabitants (49). Many of these free burghs favoured the cause of the barons.

Privileges
granted to
towns, &c.
by the
Great
Charter.

(48) Append. No 1, 2.

(49) See Brady of Burghs.

The citizens of London, in particular, embraced their party with so much zeal, that they gave them possession of their city, to which they were chiefly indebted for the success of their enterprise (50). This was probably the reason that the privileges of cities and towns, and the interests of trade, were not quite neglected in the Great Charter.

It was granted by the thirteenth article of that charter, that the city of London, and all the other cities, burghs, towns, and ports of the kingdom, should enjoy all their liberties and free customs, both by land and water (51). In times when law and justice had their regular course, such a stipulation would have been thought unnecessary. But this was far from being the case when fines from cities, towns, and corporations, for licence to use their legal rights and liberties, constituted a considerable branch of the royal revenue (52). By the twenty-third article it is declared, that towns shall not be compelled to build bridges or embank rivers, except where they are obliged to it by law. It was probably at the desire of the citizens of London that the thirty-third article was inserted, commanding all cruves or wears (then called *keydels*) to be removed out of the rivers Thames and Medway, and other rivers; because they obstructed the navigation of these rivers. This appears plainly from a precept of Henry III. granted about twelve years after this, strictly requiring, “that, for the
“ common utility of the city of London, all keydels
“ in the rivers Thames and Medway, and particularly
“ those near the tower of London, be immediately re-
“ moved (53).” It is also probable that the thirty-fifth article, commanding the London measures of wine, ale, and corn, with an uniformity of weights, to be observed over all the kingdom, was dictated by the Londoners. Lending money on interest was, in this period, called usury, and prohibited to Christians by the canons of the church, and even by the laws of

(50) M. Paris, p. 117. col. 1.

(51) Appendix, N^o 1, 2.

(52) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 11, 12.

(53) Coke's Institutes, part second, p. 38.

the land (54). This branch of business therefore fell entirely into the hands of the Jews, who were the only money-lenders, and commonly great extortioners. It was probably at the suggestion of the Londoners, who had borrowed great sums of the Jews, that the tenth article was inserted in the charter, "that money owing to Jews should pay no interest during the minority of the debtor;" though it must be confessed that this article was equally advantageous to feudal superiors who had the wardship of minors.

One of the greatest obstructions to the progress of commerce in this period, was an impolitic and ungenerous jealousy of strangers in general, and of foreign-merchants in particular, that prevailed in England, as well as in several other countries (55). In consequence of this these merchants were subjected to many restraints and hardships. They were not allowed to come into the kingdom but at certain times, nor to stay above forty days, nor to expose their goods to sale, except at certain fairs (56). They were often obliged to pay great fines to the king for licence to trade, and much higher customs and tolls of all kinds than natives (57). Both their persons and their goods were exposed to great violences when a war happened to break out between England and the country to which they belonged. But about this time juster notions of trade began to be entertained by some persons, most probably by the chief citizens of London, and by their influence, an article (the forty first) very favourable to foreign-merchants both in times of peace and war, was inserted in the Great Charter. The language of this article is so plain that it needs no illustration (58.)

The great barons, who were the chief instruments of procuring this famous charter, may be viewed as acting in the two capacities. 1. of the military vassals of the crown; 2. of the subjects of the kingdom. They consulted their interest in the first capacity, by the limitations of the rigours of the feudal tenures which they procured, in which all who held lands by

Privileges granted to all freemen by the Great Charter.

(54) Johnston's Canons, A. D. 785. 17. 1064. 16.

(55) Observations on the Statutes, p. 21. *Leges Wallicæ*, 330.

(56) Mirror, c. 1. sect. 3.

(57) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 13. sect. 3. p. 323.

(58) See Append. N^o 1, 2.

military services shared with them. They consulted their interest in the second capacity by the amendments they procured in the general police of the kingdom, in which all their fellow-subjects who were freemen, were partakers. These amendments were numerous and important, tending to remove or alleviate the several grievances of which the people in general complained.

The greatest of all the grievances of which the people of England complained in this period, was,— That the mere will and arbitrary commands of the sovereign were substituted in the place of law, and men were seized, imprisoned, stripped of their estates, outlawed, banished, and even destroyed, without any trial. That this complaint was not without foundation, might be proved by giving examples of every one of these tyrannical acts; but it will certainly be sufficient to give one example in which they are all included, and that taken from the history of the best prince who reigned in this period. Henry II. was so much enraged against Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury for his opposition to the constitutions of Clarendon, and his flight out of the kingdom, that he apprehended all his relations, friends, and dependants, to the number of four hundred persons, men, women, and children, confiscated all their estates and goods, and banished them out of the kingdom in the middle of winter, A. D. 1165; obliging all the adults among them to take an oath at their departure, that they would go to Sens, and present themselves to the archbishop (59). All this was done, not only without any trial, but even without any suspicion or possibility of guilt, as many of the sufferers were infants, by the mere arbitrary command of the king, in order to distress the archbishop by the sight of so many persons connected with him by the ties of blood or friendship, ruined on his account, and to oppress him with the charge of their support. To put a stop to such outrageous exertions of arbitrary power, the following concession was made by king John in the thirty-ninth article of

(59) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2, c. 14. p. 82. Epistolæ S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 48. l. 3. Ep. 79.

his charter: "No freeman shall be apprehended, or
 "imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished,
 "or any other way destroyed, nor will we go upon
 "him, nor will we send upon him, except by the
 "legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the
 "land (60):"—the most valuable stipulation in the
 whole charter, and the grand security of the liberties,
 persons, and properties of the people of England,
 which cannot be unjustly invaded if this law is not vio-
 lated. The expressions,—we will not go upon him,—
 we will not send upon him,—signify, that the king
 would not sit in judgment, or pronounce sentence, on
 any freeman, either in person or by his judges, except
 by the verdict of a jury, or by a process conducted ac-
 cording to the established laws of the land. By this
 last expression, trials by ordeals, by judicial combats,
 and by compurgators, are probably intended, as these
 were all in use at this time, and agreeable to law.

Next to the substitution of arbitrary will in the
 place of law, the king's personal interfering in law-suits
 depending before his courts, in order to interrupt or
 pervert the regular course of justice, was one of the
 greatest grievances of this period. This was done in
 so public and shameless a manner, that the bribes re-
 ceived by our kings for these iniquitous practices, were
 regularly entered in the revenue-rolls of every year,
 and amounted to great sums (61). To put a stop to
 this great abuse, it is promised by king John, in the
 fortieth article of his charter,—“To no man will we
 “sell, to no man will we deny or delay right and jus-
 “tice (62).”

The people of England also complained, that too
 many of the judges had neither a competent know-
 ledge of the law, nor a due regard to justice. To re-
 move the ground of these complaints, king John en-
 gaged in article forty-fifth, “We will not make jus-
 “ticiaries, constables of castles, sheriffs, or bailiffs,
 “unless of such as know the law of the kingdom,
 “and are well inclined to observe it (63).” Still
 further to secure the lives of the subjects from being
 endangered by the ignorance or iniquity of inferior

(60) Append. N^o 1, 2.

(61) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 12.

(62) Append. N^o 1, 2.(63) Id. *ibid.*

judges, it is provided by article twenty-fourth, "That no sheriff, constable of a castle, coroner, or bailiff, shall hold pleas of the crown," i. e. try capital crimes, or inflict capital punishments.

The ambulatory unsettled state of the king's court, which constantly attended the royal person, was a great obstruction to the regular administration of justice, and made a revival of the proceedings of inferior courts very hard to be obtained. To remove this inconvenience, it is declared by article seventeenth,— "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some certain place (64)." Amerciaments for trivial offences, or exorbitant and ruinous ones for real delinquencies, were among the greatest grievances of the people of England in this period. The causes for which amerciaments were imposed, were almost innumerable; and as the rates of them were unsettled, and they brought much money into the royal coffers, they were frequently excessive (65). This was so much the case, that those who were amerced, were said to be *in misericordia regis*, or at the king's mercy. To set some bounds to these oppressions, was the intention of the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second articles of the Great Charter; by which it is declared, that earls and barons shall not be amerced, except by their peers, and that according to the degree of their delinquency; that no freeholder or freeman shall be heavily amerced for a slight default, nor above measure even for a great misdemeanor; still saving to a freeholder his freehold, to a merchant his merchandise, and to a rustic his implements of husbandry (66). The savings to these different kinds of persons are called in the charter their *contenement*; which signifies such a reservation of their estate and goods, as enabled them to keep their countenance, to live in their former ranks, and pursue their former business (67). Thus also his arms were the

(64) Append. N^o. I, 2.

(65) See Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 14.

(66) See Appendix, N^o. I, 2.

(67) Observations on the Statutes, p. 10.

contenement of a soldier, his books of a scholar, and, by the laws of Wales, his harp made a part of the contenement of a gentleman (68).

The prerogative of pre-emption of all things necessary for their court and castles, commonly called *purveyance*, which belonged to the kings of England in this period, was a source of infinite vexations and injuries to their people. This was sometimes owing to the avarice, and sometimes to the official insolence and cruelty, of the purveyors, who attended the court in all its motions. The miseries inflicted on the country by the petty tyrants in the reign of William Rufus, are thus pathetically described by a writer of undoubted credit, who flourished in those times, and beheld the scenes he represents: "Those who attended
 " the court, plundered and destroyed the whole coun-
 " try through which the king passed, without any
 " controul. Some of them were so intoxicated with
 " malice, that when they could not consume all the
 " provisions in the houses which they invaded, they
 " either sold or burnt them. After having washed
 " their horses feet with the liquors they could not
 " drink, they let them run out on the ground, or de-
 " stroyed them in some other way. But the cruelties
 " they committed on the masters of families, and the
 " indecencies they offered to their wives and daugh-
 " ters, were too shocking to be described (69)." Under better princes these enormities were, no doubt, in some degree restrained; but we can hardly suppose that the courtiers and purveyors of king John were much more modest than those of William Rufus. To prevent in some measure those intolerable oppressions, is the design of the twenty-eighth, the thirtieth, and thirty-first articles of the Great Charter. (70).

The fondness, or rather rage, of our ancient kings, for hunting, was productive of many mischiefs to their subjects. Great tracts of country in almost every county of England, were desolated, and converted

(68) Glanvil. l. 9. c. 8. Bracton, l. 3. Tract. 2. c. 2.

(69) Eadmer. Hist. Novorum, l. 4. p. 94.

(70) Appendix, N^o. 1, 2.

into forests, for their game; and these forests, with the game contained in them, were guarded by the most cruel and sanguinary laws (71). For it was a received doctrine in this period, before the Great Charter was granted, that the king might make what laws he pleased for the protection of his forests; and that in making and executing these laws, he was not under any obligation to observe the ordinary rules of justice (72). In consequence of this doctrine, the forest-laws were dictated by such a spirit of cruelty, and executed with such severity, that they were great objects of terror, and sources of distress to those who were so unhappy as to live near the precincts of any royal forests. To mitigate in some degree the cruelty of these forest-laws, and the severity with which they were executed, was the intention of the forty-fourth, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth article of the Great Charter of king John (73). These articles, however, were soon found to be insufficient to answer the ends for which they were intended; and therefore the barons, in the ninth year of the next reign, obtained a separate charter, called *carta de foresta*, or, *the charter of the forests*, containing more precise and particular regulations (74).

The Great Charter of king John contains several other articles, besides those on which observations have been made above; but these are either of a temporary or private nature; or relate to law, writs, and forms, long ago obsolete; or are of little importance, or so plain that they need no illustration.

Securities
for the ex-
ecution of
the Great
Charter.

The barons who procured this famous charter, were not ignorant, that the king had granted it with the most extreme reluctance; and therefore they took every precaution they could invent to render it effectual, and to secure the rights and liberties they had obtained. The great seal was not only appended to it

(71) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 63. Hen. Knighton, apud X Scrip. col. 2354.

(72) Dialogus de Scaccario, l. i. c. 11.

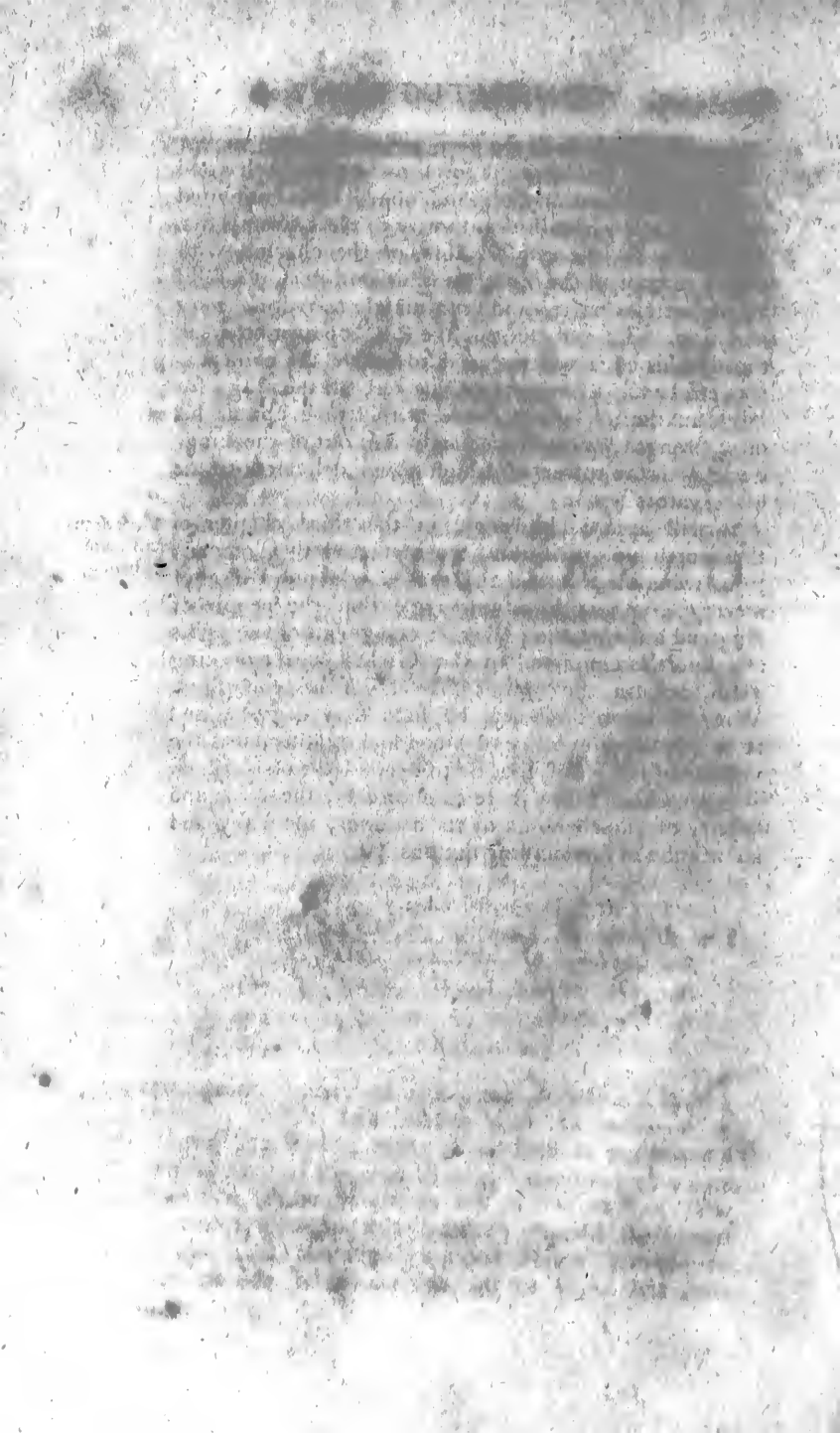
(73) Appendix, N^o. 1, 2.

(74) See Law-tracts, vol. 2. p. 93.

in due form, but both the king and the barons took a solemn oath, to observe it in all particulars with good faith, and without any dissimulation. Nor contented with this, they obtained authority to elect twenty-five barons to be the conservators of the charter, with power to compel the king, and his ministers, to fulfil all the articles of it, and immediately to redress every violation. To put it out of the king's power to break through his engagements, and to enable the conservators effectually to support the charter, all the king's foreign auxiliaries, which were at this time almost his only strength, were immediately sent out of the kingdom, and the tower of London was delivered to the conservators (75).

It will appear, however, in the third chapter of the fourth volume of this work, that all these precautions were ineffectual; and that it was not till after a very long and bloody struggle that the people of England obtained the peaceable enjoyment of the rights and liberties contained in the Great Charter of king John, and in the similar charters of his successors. With so much difficulty, by such slow degrees, and at so great an expence of blood and treasure, was the venerable fabric of the British constitution erected. *Eso perpetua.* May it remain for ever, the pride and felicity of those who enjoy its blessings, the envy and admiration of surrounding nations!

(75) Law-tracts, vol. 2. p. 39,



THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

C H A P. IV.

*The History of Learning in Great Britain, from
the landing of William duke of Normandy,
A. D. 1066, to the death of king John,
A. D. 1216.*

NATIONS are liable to various revolutions in the state of their minds, and extent of their knowledge, as well as in their power and wealth, and other external circumstances. The same people, who, in one period, are grossly ignorant, and even regard all literary pursuits with supreme contempt, in another period become ingenious and inquisitive, and apply to the cultivation of the sciences with

Nations
liable to
changes in
their intel-
lectual at-
tainments.

with

with the greatest ardour. This is a revolution more to their honour than the greatest victories, and therefore certainly merits a place in history. We have seen the inhabitants of Britain involved in that profound darkness which covered the face of Europe, and almost of the whole world, for several ages after the fall of the western empire. We shall now see the day of science beginning to dawn upon them; faintly indeed at first, and liable now and then to be overcast, but never quite extinguished.

Plan of this chapter.

As the period we are now considering is not near so long as any of the two former periods, it will not be necessary to divide it into centuries, but only to give a brief account, 1. Of the several sciences that were cultivated—the improvements that were made in them—and the reasons of these improvements; 2. Of the most considerable men of learning who flourished; 3. Of the chief seminaries of learning that were founded, or improved, in the course of this period.

SECTION I.

An account of the Sciences that were cultivated in Great Britain, from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1216—of the improvements that were made in them—and of the reasons of these improvements.

THOUGH the ancient division of the sciences into the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, is frequently mentioned by the writers of the twelfth century, it doth not seem to have been strictly adhered to in the schools (1). For there is sufficient evidence, that all the following parts of learning were cultivated, in some degree, in Britain, in this period, viz. Grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, ethics, scholastic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law; arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine. Of the state of all these branches of learning in Britain in the times we are now delineating, it is proper to take a short view.

Grammar, or the study of languages, was prosecuted by many persons, with much ardour and no little success. The languages that were chiefly studied in England in this period, were the French and Latin, the former being the language of the court, and the latter that of the church. “William the Conqueror” (says Ingulphus, who was his friend and secretary)

(1) J. Sarisburiens. Metalog. l. 2. c. 12. p. 758.

“ had so great an abhorrence of the English language, “ that he commanded all the laws and law-proceedings “ to be in French; and even the children at school “ were taught the first elements of grammar and letters in French, and not in English (2).” All Englishmen therefore who wished to appear at court, to converse with the great, or to be fit for any office, were under a necessity of acquiring the French language. But the Latin language was studied with still greater keenness by all who were of any learned profession, or aspired to any reputation for learning; because it was not only the language of the liturgies of the church, but that in which all the sciences were taught, all books were composed, all accounts were kept, all letters of business or compliment were written, in which all scholars daily conversed, many of the clergy preached, not only before synods and councils, but even to the common people (3). Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to his nephew of the same name, writes to this purpose: “ I command and charge you not to be idle, but to prosecute daily those studies for which I left you in “ England. In particular, study to know all the elegancies of grammar; accustom yourself to write “ something every day, especially in prose; and labour to acquire a plain and rational, rather than an “ intricate way of writing. Speak always in Latin, “ except in cases of absolute necessity (4).” We have some reason to believe, that even the colloquial Latin of scholars in this period was tolerably pure and elegant. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions it as a very uncommon thing, that an old hermit, with whom he frequently conversed, did not speak Latin very correctly, but sometimes violated the rules of grammar (5). Some of the learned in this period had attained a very surprising facility in speaking and writing

(2) Ingulph. Hist. p. 513. col. 1.

(3) Girald. Cambrensis, de Rebus a se gestis. Ang. Sacr. tom. 2. p. 491. P. Blesens. Opera, p. 262—400.

(4) Spicilegium Acherii, tom. 9. p. 122.

(5) Oh! oh! noli discere scire, sed custodire: vana est scire, nisi custodiri. Talis enim erat ei loquendi modus semper per infinitivum, nec casus servabat; & tamen satis intelligi poterat. Girald. Cambrensis. Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 497.

Latin. Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, asserts, that the bishop of Bath, to whom he writes, the archbishop of Canterbury, and several others, had seen him dictate letters in Latin, to three different scribes, on different subjects, and write a letter in the same language himself, at the same time (6). It appears from the writings of several authors of the twelfth century, particularly of John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, that they were intimately acquainted with the Latin classics, as they not only quote them very frequently, and with great propriety, but also imitate their style and manner with considerable success. These writers too recommend the study of grammar with the greatest warmth, and bestow upon it the highest praises. "Grammar, which is the science of speaking and writing well, is the first of all the liberal arts and sciences; the nurse, if I may so speak, of all philosophy, and of every literary study. She receives them, at their birth, from the womb of nature, in a tender state, cherishes them in their infancy with a mother's care, gradually improves their strength, attends and adorns them in every period of their progress. To philosophise successfully, without grammar, is as impossible as without both eyes and ears (7)." In a word, whoever hath perused the works of the divines, historians, and philosophers, who wrote in France and England in the twelfth century, will readily acknowledge the truth of the following declaration of one of the most learned writers of literary history: "Before we descend to particulars, we may affirm in general, that the latinity of no age, from the decline to the revival of learning, was so terse and elegant as that of the twelfth century (8)."

The Greek and Hebrew languages were very far from being so much studied, so well or so generally understood, in Britain, in this period, as the Latin. But as many Jews resided and taught in England, their ancient language could not be unknown. Plain evi-

(6) Epist. Pet. Blesens. Ep. 92. p. 143. col. 2.

(7) J. Sarisburiens. Metalogicon, l. 1. c. 13. p. 759.

(8) Bulzæi Hist. Universitat. Parisiens. tom. 2. p. 556.

dences of some acquaintance with it, as well as with the Greek, appear in the works of P^{er}ter of Blois, John of Salisbury, and several others (9). But by how many and in what degree the Hebrew and Greek languages were then understood in Britain, we are not well informed. We meet with only two Englishmen in this period who were famous for their knowledge of the Arabian language. These were Adelard of Bath, and Robert of Reading, who returned into England in the reign of Henry I. after they had spent several years in the East in learning that language, and translating books out of it into Latin (10).

Rhetoric.

From the study of grammar, or the art of speaking correctly, the youth of those times generally proceeded to the study of rhetoric, or the art of speaking eloquently. This part of learning was neglected, and even represented as unnecessary and useless, by some philosophers of this period, who spent their whole time, and employed all the powers of their minds, on the subtilties of Aristotelian logic, which was then the most admired and fashionable study. "Eloquence," said they, "is either given or denied by nature. If it is given, all pains about it are unnecessary; if it is denied, all pains to acquire it will be in vain (11)." But the necessity and many advantages of the study of eloquence were most elegantly displayed both in prose and verse, by several writers of those times, particularly by John of Salisbury and Alan de Lisle. "The gifts of nature," says the former, "are necessary; but they are not sufficient to make a complete orator without art and study. There is no natural genius so strong, that negligence will not enfeeble; nor so sublime, that it will not depress. No man ever attained the reputation of being superlatively eloquent, even in one language, by the mere force of natural genius, without the help of art. For he is not to be esteemed elo-

(9) P. Blesens. Opera, p. 596, &c. J. Sarisburiens. Metalogicon, l. I. c. 10. p. 754.

(10) Martini & Durand. Thesaur. Anecdot. p. 292. Wallis Algebra, p. 5.

(11) J. Sarisburiens. Metalogicon, l. I. c. 7. p. 749.

“quent who can speak with tolerable ease and fluency,
 “and so as to be understood. He alone is eloquent,
 “who can express the thoughts of his mind, and the
 “feelings of his heart, with so much sweetness, pow-
 “er, and energy, as not only to convince and per-
 “suade, but to charm and transport his hearers with
 “delight.—How admirable an accomplishment is
 “this! If wisdom and virtue merit the first place in
 “our esteem, eloquence undoubtedly claims the se-
 “cond. How honourable is it to excel in the powers
 “of reason and perfections of speech, which are the
 “peculiar excellencies of human nature? How orna-
 “mental is eloquence in youth? how venerable in
 “old age? how profitable in every stage of life? Who
 “attain to fame and admiration, to riches, honours,
 “and preferments, to the direction of all assemblies,
 “and success in all undertakings, with so much ease
 “and certainty as the eloquent (12)?” Bulæus, in his
 history of the university of Paris, gives several exam-
 ples of eloquence from the French and English writers
 of the twelfth century, some of which are truly excel-
 lent, and would do honour to any age; but they are
 too long to be here inserted (13). The verses of Alan
 de Lisle, quoted below, will serve as a description of
 the rhetoric, and as a specimen of the Latin poetry
 of this period, and will give the candid reader no un-
 favourable opinion of the state of these parts of learn-
 ing (14).

(12) J. Sarisburiens. Metalogicon, l. 1. c. 7. p. 749.

(13) Bulæi Hist. Universitat. Parisiens. tom. 2. p. 557, &c.

(14) Adfunt rhetoricæ cultus, floresque colorum,
 Verba quibus stellata nitent, et fermo decorem
 Induit, et multa candescit clausula luce.
 Has sermonis opes vultus et sidera verbi,
 Copia rhetoricæ jactat, juvenisque loquelam
 Pingit, et in vario præsignit verba colore.
 Succinctè docet illa loqui, sensusque profundos
 Sub sermone brevi concludere, claudere multa
 Sub paucis, nec diffuso sermone vagari.
 Ut breve sit verbum, dives sententia, fermo
 Facundus, multo facundus pondere sensus.
 Vel si forte fluat fermo, sub flumine verbi
 Fluminet uberius sententia, copia fructus
 Excuset, folii silvam paliasque vagantes
 Ubertas granis redimat sensusque loquelam.

Alanus de Insulis in Anticlaudianis, l. 6. c. 6.

From rhetoric the youth of this period proceeded to the study of logic, on which they employed much time and labour. Ingulphus acquaints us, that after he had made himself a perfect master of the first and second book of Tully's Rhetoric, he applied to the study of Aristotle's Logic, and made greater proficiency in it than many of his contemporaries (15). This is a sufficient proof that the logic of Aristotle was studied by many of the English youth at the very beginning of this period, and even a little before. For Ingulphus had left Oxford, and settled in the court of William duke of Normandy, several years before the conquest (16). The truth is, that from about the middle of the eleventh century, the philosophy, and particularly the logic of Aristotle, became so much in vogue, both in France and England, that it was studied with great ardour, not only by all men who made any pretensions to learning, but even by some ladies of the highest rank. The same Ingulphus tells us, that Edgitha, the amiable consort of Edward the Confessor, after she had examined him in Latin prose and verse, often proceeded to attack him with the subtilties of logic, in which she very much excelled; and when she had entangled him with her acute and artful arguments, and obtained the victory, she always dismissed him with a present of some pieces of money (17). It is well known, that the fair unfortunate Heloisa, so much beloved by the accomplished Peter Abelard, was one of the most acute logicians of the twelfth century (18). The fondness of the learned for the Aristotelian logic increased so much in the course of this century, that many persons spent their whole lives in the study of it, and it was esteemed the most necessary and excellent of all the sciences (19). But very unfortunately, this admired science, which had the discovery and establishment of truth for its professed object, soon degenerated into mere sophistry, and deserved no better name than that of the art of

(15) Ingulph Hist. p. 514. col. 1.

(16) Id. *ibid.*(17) Id. *ibid.* p. 509.

(18) Bulæi Hist. Univer. Paris. tom. 2. p. 42.

(19) Id. *ibid.* p. 78, 79.

quibbling (20). “ I wish (says John of Salisbury) to behold the light of truth, which these logicians say is only revealed to them. I approach them, I beseech them to instruct me, that, if possible, I may become as wise as one of them. They consent, they promise great things, and at first they command me to observe a Pythagorean silence, that I may be admitted into all the secrets of wisdom, which they pretend are in their possession. But by and by they permit, and even command me to prattle and quibble with them. This they call disputing, this they say is logic; but I am no wiser (21).” The truth seems to be, that many studious men, in this period, by spending too much time, and employing too intense thought, on logical subtilties, ran into the two extremes, of speculating sometimes on things too high and difficult, and at other times on things too low and contemptible, for human investigation. That they ran into the first of these extremes there is the clearest evidence, as we find among the subjects of their investigations and disputes,—of the substantial form of sounds,—of the essence of universals, &c. &c (22). That they sometimes fell into the latter extreme, is no less evident, from the many ridiculous trifling questions that were keenly agitated by them, of which the following one may serve for an example: When a hog is carried to market with a rope tied about its neck, which is held at the other end by a man, whether is the hog carried to market by the rope or by the man (23)? This appears to us to be too ridiculous to be mentioned; but it appeared in a very serious light to the logicians of this period, who declared, with great gravity, that it was one of those questions that could not be solved, the arguments on both sides were so perfectly equal. In a word, the far greatest part of the questions that were investigated by the logicians of those times, as John of Salisbury justly observes, “ were of no use, in the church or the state, in the cloister or the court,

(20) J. Sarisburien. Metalog. l. 2. c. 6. p. 794, &c.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Petri. Blesens. Ep. 101. p. 157.

(23) J. Sarisbur. Metalog. l. 1. c. 3. p. 740.

“ in peace or war, at home or abroad, or any where
 “ but in the schools (24).

Metaphy-
 fics and na-
 tural philo-
 sophy.

The metaphysics and natural philosophy of this period, though they were taught with much parade, and studied with much diligence, do not deserve the name of sciences, or merit the attention of posterity. They consisted of a prodigious number of abstract and subtle speculations, about entity and nonentity, spirit, primary matter, body, substance, accidents, substantial forms, occult qualities, solidity, extension, cohesion, rest, motion, time, place, number, magnitude, &c. which contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life (25). Adelard of Bath, already mentioned for his skill in the Arabian language, published a dialogue, on the causes of things, between him and his nephew, who, he says, read lectures on that subject, rather perplexing than instructing his hearers (26). Philip de Tabun, about the same time, composed a work on the nature of beasts, for the instruction of Alicia, the second queen of Henry I. which gives a very unfavourable view of the state of natural philosophy, as it is wholly fanciful, and turns every thing into allegory (27). Henry II. who was a great patron of learning and learned men, sent Giraldus Cambrensis into Ireland, to examine the natural history of that country (28). His topography of Ireland (the writing of which, he says, was the labour of three years) was the consequence of this commission; and shows how ill qualified he was for the task in which he was engaged, by the great number of ridiculous incredible stories with which it abounds. To give one example of this, out of a hundred that might be given: “ When St. Kewen
 “ (says he) was one day praying with both his hands
 “ held up to heaven, out of the window of his cham-
 “ ber, a swallow laid an egg in one of them; and
 “ such was the patience and good nature of the saint,
 “ that he neither drew in or shut his hand till the swal-

(24) Sarisbur. Metalog. p. 801.

(25) Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. tom. 3. p. 894, 897.

(26) Martini & Durand. Thefaur. Anecd. tom. 1. 292.

(27) Cotton Bib. p. 48.

(28) Expugnatio Hiberniæ, l. 2. c. 31. p. 806.

“ low had built her nest, laid all her eggs, and hatched her young. To preserve the remembrance of this fact, every statue of St. Kewen in Ireland hath a swallow in one of its hands (29).”

The observations that have now been made on the *Ethics*. metaphysics and natural philosophy, may be applied to the ethics or moral philosophy, of this period. This science was esteemed an important part of a learned education, and as such it was taught and studied; but in so improper a manner, that it contributed very little to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the manners. Taking Aristotle for their guide in this, as well as in logics and physics, they disputed with much warmth and subtilty about liberty and necessity,—about the means, the ends, the acts of moral philosophy,—whether it was a practical or speculative science, &c. &c. but took little pains to shew the foundations of moral obligation, or to illustrate the nature, limits, and motives, of the various duties of men and citizens (30). This mode of philosophising was severely censured by John of Salisbury in many places. “ They err (says he), they impudently err, who think that virtue consists of words, as a wood of trees. No! good actions are the glory of virtue, and the inseparable companions of true philosophy. But those men who are fonder of the reputation than the reality of wisdom, are noisy and contentious; they run about the streets, they frequent the schools, they start a thousand frivolous and perplexing questions, and confound both themselves and others by a deluge of words (31).”

That extravagant fondness for Aristotelian logic, *Theology or school-divinity.* which was the reigning taste of this period, and of some succeeding ages, infected all the sciences in some degree; but most of all, divinity. It was this that produced that species of theology which was so long admired, and is so well known by the name of *school-divinity*, and its teachers by the title of the *school-men*. When these divines composed commentaries on the scriptures, it was not with a view to explain the real

(29) *Topographia Hiberniæ*, c. 28. p. 727.

(30) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. 7. p. 138.

(31) *J. Sarisburiens. Metalog.* apud *Bulæi Hist. Paris.* tom. 2. p. 597.

meaning of the words, or to illustrate the truths that they contained, but in order to extract certain mystical or allegorical senses out of them, and to found certain curious questions upon them for subjects of disputation (32). An incredible multitude of such commentaries were written in those times, which have been long ago consigned a prey to worms and dust. But the chief delight and business of the schoolmen was to write voluminous systems of divinity, consisting of a prodigious number of questions on all subjects, which they discussed with the greatest logical acuteness. Some of these questions were bold and impious, others trifling and curious, and not a few obscene (33). With their obscenities and impieties, which are truly horrid, these pages shall not be stained; and their frivolities are so ridiculous, that they are quite unworthy of a place in history. Their curiolity, though excessive, and far from being innocent, was neither so criminal as the former, nor so ridiculous as the latter, and therefore a few examples of it may be given. They canvassed, with great eagerness, the following questions, among a thousand others of the same kind: Was Christ the same between his death and resurrection, that he was before his death and after his resurrection? Doth the glorified body of Christ stand or sit in heaven? Is the body of Christ that is eaten in the sacrament, dressed or undressed? Were the clothes in which Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection real or only apparent? &c. &c. (34).

Canon law. The bishops of Rome had long been engaged in the ambitious project of erecting a spiritual monarchy, superior to all others, even in worldly power. With this view they had assembled many councils, composed of prelates from all Christian countries, in which they had enacted many laws, commonly called *canons*, for the government of that monarchy. This obliged the bishops, and their officials, to make the canons of the church their study, in order to direct them when

(32) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 7. p. 205.

(33) Erasmi Encomium Moriae. Launocus de Fortun. Aristot. c. 14. p. 273, &c.

(34) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisiens. tom. 2. p. 613. Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 7. p. 208, 209.

they acted as judges in their spiritual courts. But it was not till after the publication of the decretals of Gratian, about the middle of the twelfth century, that the canon law attained the rank of a science, and was taught and studied in the schools (35). It soon became the most fashionable study among the clergy, as it was found to pave their way to the highest honours and the richest benefices. Long before the end of this period, it was taught with great applause and profit at Oxford, Paris, Orleans, and many other places (36). But the subtilties of the Aristotelian logic gave a tincture to this, as well as to the other sciences, which made John of Salisbury complain,—“ That the laws themselves were become traps and snares, in which plain honest men, who were unacquainted with logical quirks and subtilties, were caught (37)” Peter of Blois speaks with still greater severity of some students and practitioners in the canon law: “ It is the chief study of the ecclesiastical judges of our days, to multiply litigations, to invent delays, to invalidate contracts, to suppress truth, to encourage falsehood, to increase extortions, and, in a word, to confound all law and justice, by their quirks and subtilties (38).”

The study of the Roman or civil law was introduced Civil law. into England about the same time with that of the canon law. From the departure of the Romans, their laws were little known, and of no authority in this island, for more than seven hundred years (39). But the study of them having been revived at Bononia, Paris, and other seminaries of learning on the continent, about A. D. 1130, it soon after made its way into England. A copy of the Justinian code, as hath been already observed, was brought from Rome by some of the family of archbishop Theobald, A. D. 1140; and a few years after, Roger Vacarius, prior of Beck in Normandy, opened a school at Oxford, in

(35) Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. 9. p. 215.

(36) Hugo Sacræ Antiq. Monument. tom. 1. p. 505. Bulæi Hist. Univerf. Parisien. tom. 2. p. 580.

(37) J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium, l. 5. c. 16. p. 314.

(38) P. Blesens. Ep. 45. p. 45. col. 1.

(39) Seldeni Not. Flet. c. 7. sect. 2.

which he read lectures on the civil law to very crowded audiences (40). But king Stephen, A. D. 1149, imposed silence on Vacarius; who returned into Normandy, and was chosen abbot of Beck (41). A kind of persecution was raised against the professors and students of the civil law, by the common lawyers, and others; but John of Salisbury says, "That, by the blessing of God, the more the study of it was persecuted, the more it flourished (42)." Henry II. who succeeded Stephen, being a much greater politician, was far from discouraging the study of the civil law; which, in conjunction with that of the canon law, prevailed very much in the universities, but still more in the cathedral schools. We learn from a very curious letter of Peter of Blois, that the most intricate and knotty questions in law and politics were sometimes referred to the teachers and students of the civil and canon law in the family of archbishop Theobald, or archiepiscopal school of Canterbury: "In the house of my master, the archbishop of Canterbury, there are several very learned men, famous for their knowledge of law and politics, who spend the time between prayers and dinner in lecturing, disputing, and debating causes. To us all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, which are produced in the common hall, and every one in his order, having first prepared himself, declares, with all the eloquence and acuteness of which he is capable, but without wrangling, what is wisest and safest to be done. If God suggests the soundest opinion to the youngest amongst us, we all agree to it without envy or detraction (43)."

Common
law.

Though the common law of England was not yet taught in the schools as a science, it was studied with great diligence as a profession; and many persons, by their skill in it, acquired both fame and wealth, and obtained the highest offices in the state. The greatest number of these professional lawyers were clergymen, though some of the laity, as, particularly, Aubury de Vere, who flourished in the reign of king Stephen,

(40) A. Wood Hist. Oxon. p. 52. col. 1.

(41) J. Sarisburiens. Policrat. l. 8. c. 22. p. 672. (42) Id. ibid.

(43) P. Blefenf. Ep. 6. p. 8. col. 2.

and Ranulph de Glanville, who was chief justiciary to Henry II. and Richard I. are much celebrated for their knowledge of the common law (44). The last of these sages composed a kind of system of the common law, with this title, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ* (45). But it was not till some time after the conclusion of this period that the law-college of London, commonly called *The inns of court*, was established; which contributed very much to the improvement of this useful and lucrative branch of learning (46).

As the subtilties of Aristotelian logic could not be applied with success to numerical calculations or mathematical demonstrations, these sciences do not seem to have been much studied, or improved, in this period; and therefore a few short observations on the state of them will be sufficient.

Nothing ever contributed so much to facilitate arithmetical operations, as the invention of the Arabian figures for representing numbers. But whether these figures were known and used in Britain in this period, is a little doubtful. From the revenue-rolls of Henry II. Richard I. and king John, it appears that they were not then used in the exchequer; for all the sums in these rolls are marked in Roman letters (47). But the learned Dr. Wallis hath produced several authorities, which make it very probable, that the Arabian arithmetic, called *algorism*, performed by the Arabian figures, was known to some learned men in England in the twelfth century; and indeed it is hardly possible that Adelard of Bath, Robert of Reading, and several others, who travelled into Spain, Egypt, and other countries, in the course of that century, to make themselves masters of the Arabian language and learning, could have returned without some knowledge of these figures (48). Arithmetic.

Though the Elements of Euclid, and several other treatises in geometry, were translated out of the Greek and Arabian languages into Latin in this period, we Geometry.

(44) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 104.

(45) Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, p. 56. col. 2.

(46) Id. ibid. p. 141.

(47) Madox Hist. Excheq. passim.

(48) Wallis Algebra, ch. 4.

have the clearest evidence that this most useful science was very little studied. “ The science of demonstration (says John of Salisbury) is of all others the most difficult; and, alas! is almost quite neglected, except by a very few who apply to the study of the mathematics, and particularly of geometry. But this last is at present very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some people in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy. One reason of this is; that those parts of the works of Aristotle that relate to the demonstrative sciences, are so ill translated, and so incorrectly transcribed, that we meet with insurmountable difficulties in every chapter (49).” After so decisive a testimony of one who was so well acquainted with the state of learning in the age in which he flourished, it is in vain to look for any great improvements in geometry in this period.

Astronomy. When geometry was so much neglected, astronomy could not be successfully cultivated. There is, however, sufficient evidence, that a considerable degree of attention was paid to the motions, situations, and aspects, of the heavenly bodies; though it is probable that this was done rather with a view to astrological predictions, than to discover the true system of the universe. Several treatises on astronomy were translated out of the Greek and Arabian languages into Latin, particularly the planisphere of Ptolemy by Ralf of Bruges, and a treatise on the astrolabe by Adelard of Bath (50). The astrolabe, which seems to have been much the same with the armillary sphere of the moderns, was used in taking observations of the sun and stars (51). Ingulphus laments the loss of an astronomical table, more than of any thing else, that was destroyed when his abbey of Croyland was burnt, A. D. 1091. He calls it a *Nadir*, and describes it in this manner: “ We then lost a most beautiful and precious table, fabricated of different kinds of metals, according to the variety of the stars and heavenly signs. Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the Sun of latten, Mercury of amber,

(49) J. Sarisburiens. Metalog. l. 4. c. 6. p. 887.

(50) Vossius de Math. c. 63.

(51) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Astrolabium*.

“ Venus of tin, the Moon of silver. The eyes were
 “ charmed, as well as the mind instructed, by behold-
 “ ing the colure circles, with the zodiac and all its
 “ signs, formed with wonderful art, of metals and
 “ precious stones, according to their several natures,
 “ forms, figures, and colours. It was the most ad-
 “ mired and celebrated Nadir in all England (52).”
 From the above description of this curious table, it
 appears to have been a delineation of the Ptolemæan
 system, the centre of it representing the earth, and the
 planets placed around it exactly in the order of that
 system.

None of the mathematical sciences was cultivated Astrology.
 with so much diligence, in this period, as the fallaci-
 ous one of judicial astrology. None indeed were ho-
 noured with the name of mathematicians but astrolog-
 ers, who were believed by many to possess the preci-
 ous secret of reading the fates of kingdoms, the events
 of war, and the fortunes of particular persons, in the
 face of the heavens. “ Mathematicians (says Peter of
 Blois) “ are those who, from the position of the stars,
 “ the aspect of the firmament, and the motions of the
 “ planets, discover things that are to come (53).”
 These pretended prognosticators were so much admired
 and credited, that there was hardly a prince, or even
 an earl or great baron, in Europe, who did not keep
 one or more of them in his family, to cast the horo-
 scopes of his children, discover the success of his designs,
 and the public events that were to happen (54). The
 most famous of these astrologers published a kind of
 almanacs every year, containing schemes of the planets
 for that year, with a variety of predictions concerning
 the weather, and other events. We have the following
 quotation from one of these almanacs, in a letter of
 John of Salisbury: “ The astrologers call this year
 “ (1170) the wonderful year, from the singular situ-
 “ ation of the planets and constellations, and say—
 “ that in the course of it the councils of kings will be
 “ changed, wars will be frequent, and the world will

(52) Hist. Ingulph. Oxoniæ edit. A. D. 1685, tom. 1. p. 98.

(53) P. Blefenf. Opera, p. 596. col. 1.

(54) Hoveden. Annal. p. 356.

“ be troubled with seditions ; that learned men will be discouraged ; but towards the end of the year they will be exalted (55).” From this specimen we may perceive, that their predictions were couched in very general and artful terms. But by departing from this prudent conduct not long after this, and becoming a little too plain and positive, they brought a temporary disgrace on themselves and their art. For, in the beginning of the year 1186, all the great astrologers in the Christian world agreed in declaring, that from an extraordinary conjunction of the planets in the sign *Libra*, which had never happened before, and would never happen again, there would arise, on Tuesday, September 16th, at three o’clock in the morning, a most dreadful storm, that would sweep away not only single houses, but even great towns and cities ;—that this storm would be followed by a destructive pestilence, bloody wars, and all the plagues that had ever afflicted miserable mortals (56). This direful prediction spread terror and consternation over Europe, though it was flatly contradicted by the Mahometan astrologers of Spain, who said, there would only be a few shipwrecks, and a little failure in the vintage and harvest (57). When the awful day drew near, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded a solemn fast of three days to be observed over all his province. But, to the utter confusion of the poor astrologers, the 16th of September was uncommonly serene and calm, the whole season remarkably mild and healthy ; and there were no storms all that year (says Gervase of Canterbury), but what the archbishop raised in the church by his own turbulence (58). In the midst of this general wreck of astrological reputation, William, astrologer to the constable of Chester, saved his character, by subjoining to his prediction this alternative,—“ If the nobles of the land will serve God, and fly from the devil, the Lord will avert all these impending plagues (59).” But though astrology was in itself deceitful, and sometimes involved its professors in dis-

(55) *Epistol. T. Cantuar.* l. 2. Ep. 48. p. 388, 389.

(56) *Hoveden. Annal.* p. 356.

(57) *Id.* p. 358.

(58) *Gervas Chron. apud. X Script. col.* 1479.

(59) *Hoveden. Annal.* p. 357. col. 1.

grace, it contributed greatly to promote the study of astronomy; and there is the clearest evidence, that the astrologers of this period could calculate eclipses, could find the situation of the planets, and knew the times in which they performed their revolutions, &c. (60).

Medicine had been practised as an art in Britain in the darkest ages. In this period it began to be studied as a science. The medical schools of Salerno in the kingdom of Naples, and of Montpellier in France, were famous in those times, and frequented by many persons from all parts of Europe (61). This science was also taught and studied in the universities of Paris and Oxford (62). But the following description of the theoretical and practical physicians of the twelfth century, given by one of the most learned and ingenious men who flourished in that age, will present us with a more satisfactory view of the state of medicine in this period, than any thing that can be said by any modern writer. “ The professors
 “ of the theory of medicine are very communicative;
 “ they will tell you all they know, and perhaps, out
 “ of their great kindness, a little more. From them
 “ you may learn the natures of all things, the causes
 “ of sickness and health, how to banish the one and
 “ to preserve the other; for they can do both at pleasure. They will describe to you minutely the origin, the beginning, the progress, and the cure of all diseases. In a word, when I hear them harangue, I am charmed, I think them not inferior to Mercury or Esculapius, and almost persuade myself that they can raise the dead. There is only one thing that makes me hesitate. Their theories are as directly opposite to one another as light and darkness. When I reflect on this I am a little staggered. Two contradictory propositions cannot both be true. But what shall I say of the practical physicians? I must say nothing amiss of them. It pleaseth God, for the punishment of my sins, to suffer me to fall

(60) Hoveden. Annal. p. 358.

(61) Opera J. Freind, p. 535. J. Sarisburiens. Metalog. l. 1. c. 4. p. 743.

(62) Bulæi Hist. Univerf. Paris. tom. 2. p. 575. A. Wood Hist. Univerf. Oxon. p. 46. col. 2.

“ too frequently into their hands. They must be
 “foothed, and not exasperated. That I may not be
 “treated roughly in my next illness, I dare hardly
 “allow myself to think in secret what others speak
 “aloud (63).” In another work this writer picks
 up more courage, and speaks his mind of the practical
 physicians with equal freedom. “ They soon return
 “from college, full of flimsy theories, to practise what
 “they have learned. Galen and Hyppocrates are con-
 “tinually in their mouths. They speak aphorisms
 “on every subject, and make their hearers stare at
 “their long, unknown, and high-soundings words.
 “The good people believe that they can do any thing,
 “because they pretend to all things. They have
 “only two maxims which they never violate: never
 “mind the poor—never refuse money from the rich
 “(64).”

The clergy
 the chief
 physicians.

The clergy were almost the only persons in this pe-
 riod who taught and practised physic, as well as the
 other sciences; and we meet with very few celebrated
 for their medical knowledge who were not priests or
 monks. This profession became so lucrative, and so
 many monks applied to the study and practice of it,
 deserting their monasteries, and neglecting their own
 profession, that a canon was made in the council of
 Tours, A. D. 1163, prohibiting monks to stay out of
 their monasteries above two months at one time, teach-
 ing or practising physic (65). No restraint of this
 kind was laid on the secular clergy, and many of the
 bishops and other dignitaries of the church acted as
 physicians in ordinary to kings and princes, by which
 they acquired both riches and honour (66). These
 very reverend physicians drew much of their medical
 knowledge from the writings of Rhazes, Avicenna,
 Avenzoar, Averhois, and other Arabians, whose
 works had been translated into Latin by Constantine,

(63) J. Sarisburiens. Policrat. l. 2. c. 29. p. 147.

(64) J. Sarisburiens. Metalog. l. 1. c. 4. p. 743.

(65) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisien, tom. 2. p. 575. Concil. tom. 10.
 p. 986. 1004. 1421,

(66) Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. 9. p. 193, 194.

a monk of Mount Casine, near Salernum, and others (67). It will not perhaps be disagreeable to some medical readers, to see the description and treatment of a particular disease by one of their predecessors in the art of healing in England, about six hundred years ago, which they will find in the Appendix N^o. 3.

It is not improbable that the scientific way of teaching and studying physic, which was introduced by the medical schools of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, gave rise to the distinction between physicians and surgeons, which appears to have taken place towards the end of this period. For a contemporary poet, in describing the attempts that were made to cure the wound which Richard I. received before the castle of Chalus, A. D. 1199, plainly distinguishes these two professions, and the different parts they acted on that occasion (68). There is even sufficient evidence, that some persons, about the same time, applied more particularly to the study of the *materia medica*, and the composition of medicines, and were on that account called apothecaries. We are told in the annals of the church of Winchester, that Richard Fitz-Nigel, who died bishop of London A. D. 1198, had been apothecary to Henry II (69). Whoever will give himself the trouble to peruse the prescriptions of the Salernian school, which were written in the eleventh century, for the use of a king of England, will perceive, that the *materia medica* of those times was far from being scanty, and that they were acquainted with some very complicated and artificial mixtures, particularly *theriac*, which consists of above fifty ingredients (70).

It seems to be impossible to give any satisfactory account of the state of experimental philosophy, anatomy, chymistry, botany, and some other parts of

Distinction
between
physicians
and surgeons.

Sciences
that were
neglected.

(67) Opera J. Freind, p. 533, &c.

(68) *Interea regem circumstant undique mixtim,
Apponunt medici fomenta, secantque chirurgi
Vulnus, ut inde trahant ferrum levioere periclo.*

Pasquier Recherches, l. 9. c. 31.

(69) *Anglia Sacra, tom. I. p. 304.*

(70) *Medicina Salernitana, c. 13. p. 119.*

learning,

learning, from the genuine monuments of this period ; which plainly indicates, that these sciences were then either totally neglected, or very little cultivated.

The circle of the sciences enlarged.

By comparing the above delineation of the state of learning, with that which was given of it in the former period, we cannot but observe, that the circle of the sciences was now considerably enlarged, and that some of them were cultivated with greater diligence and success (71). This is agreeable to the testimony of the best contemporary historians. “ Before the arrival of the Normans (says William of Malmfbury), learning was almost extinct in England. The clergy contented themselves with the slightest smattering of letters, and could hardly stammer through the offices of the church. If any one amongst them understood a little grammar, he was admired as a prodigy (72).” But so sudden and advantageous a change in this respect took place after the conquest, that the same sensible writer acquaints us, that learning was in a more flourishing state in England and Normandy, so early as the reign of Henry I. than it was in Italy (73). This happy change seems to have been owing to the following causes :

Causes of the improvement of learning.

The accession of William duke of Normandy to the throne of England, contributed in several ways to the revival of learning in Britain. That prince had received a good education, was fond of reading and the conversation of learned men, to whom he was a most munificent patron, advancing them to the highest dignities and richest benefices in the church (74). This had excited an extraordinary ardour for literary pursuits among the clergy in Normandy, and had afterwards the same effect in England. Besides this, many of the most learned men of the continent came over into Britain, after conquest, and by their example and instructions diffused the love and knowledge

(71) See book 2. ch. 4.

(72) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57.

(73) Id. l. 5. p. 90.

(74) W. Gemittens, p. 604. edit. a Camdeno. Orderic. Vital. p. 656.

of letters. William took great care of the education of his royal offspring, and Henry I. his youngest son, became the most learned prince, and the greatest promoter of learning, of the age in which he flourished. This procured him the surname of *Beauclerk*, or the fine scholar (75). He married his only daughter, the heiress of all his dominions, to Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou, who is greatly celebrated for his learning (76). The eldest son of this marriage, Henry II. received a learned education, under the direction of his excellent uncle Robert earl of Gloucester, who was more illustrious for his knowledge and virtue than his royal birth (77). Henry II. never lost that taste for letters he had acquired in his youth, and through his whole life, as we are assured by one who was intimately acquainted with him, he spent his leisure hours, either in reading, or in discussing some literary question, in a circle of learned men (78). His three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard, had all a considerable tincture of letters, and a taste for poetry (79). Under the patronage of these great princes, learning could hardly fail to revive, and in some degree to flourish.

The erection of above one hundred monasteries in England, in the course of this period, may be reckoned among the causes of the revival of learning, —by increasing the number both of teachers and students,—by multiplying the inducements to pursue, and the opportunities to acquire knowledge,—but chiefly by making books much more common and attainable than they had been in any former period. (It will by and by appear, that every convent was a kind of college, in which several parts of learning were taught and studied (80). The government of these religious

The increase of monasteries one cause of the improvements in learning.

(75) Martin. Anec. l. 3. p. 345. J. Brompt. apud X Script. p. 978. H. Knyghton. Ibid. p. 2374.

(76) D. Acherii Spicileg. l. 10. p. 508.

(77) Gervas Chron. p. 1358. W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 96.

(78) P. Blesens. Ep. 66. p. 98.

(79) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 9. p. 175.

(80) See Section 3.

houses was commonly bestowed on men of learning; and being attended with considerable degrees of power and dignity, afforded strong incentives to study. A library was then esteemed so essential to a monastery, that it became a proverb, "A convent without a library, is like a castle without an armory (81)." Some of these monastic libraries were very valuable. Though the abbey of Croyland was burnt only twenty-five years after the conquest, its library then consisted of nine hundred volumes, of which three hundred were very large (82). To provide books for the use of the church, and for furnishing their libraries, there was in every monastery a room called *the Scriptorium*, or writing-chamber, in which several of the younger monks were constantly employed in transcribing books: and to which, in some monasteries, considerable revenues were appropriated (83). A noble Norman, who was a great encourager of learning, left his own library to that of the abbey of St. Albans, A. D. 1086, and granted two thirds of the tithes of Hatfield, and certain tithes in Redburn, to support the writers in the scriptorium of that abbey (84). Where there were no fixed revenues for defraying the expences of procuring books for the library, the abbot, with the consent of the chapter, commonly imposed an annual tax on every member of the community for that purpose (85). The monks of some monasteries, in this period, were bitterly reproached for the extravagant sums they expended on their libraries (86).

Art of making paper another cause of this.

The art of making paper, which was invented in the course of this period, contributed also to the revival of, and more general application to, learning, by rendering the acquisition of books much less difficult and expensive than it had formerly been. We have not the satisfaction of knowing to whom we are indebted for that most useful invention. But it appears that

(81) Martin. Anec. tom. 1. col. 511.

(82) Historia Ingulphi, Oxon. edit. p. 98.

(83) Du Cange Gloss. voc. Scriptorium.

(84) M. Paris Vita Abbatum, p. 32.

(85) Mabell. Annal. tom. 6. p. 651, 652.

(86) Martin Col. Script. tom. 1. p. 1020, 1021.

our paper was first made of cotton; and, on that account, called *charta bombycina*, or *cotton paper*; and that towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, it began to be made of linen rags, as it is at present (87).

Though the learned authors of the literary history of France are of opinion that the Croisades proved an impediment to the progress of learning, I am more inclined to think, with the judicious and elegant historian of Charles V. that they had a contrary effect. (88). That the sciences, as well as the arts were in a more flourishing state in the Greek empire, and the East, than in those countries which had composed the western empire, is acknowledged on all hands. It seems therefore highly probable, that some of those ingenious and inquisitive men, of which the number was not small, who accompanied the Croisaders in their expeditions into the East, acquired some sciences which they could not have acquired in their own countries, and that they communicated their acquisitions to their countrymen on their return home.

Now to
Croisades
another
cause of
this.

(87) Murator. Antiq. tom. 3. col. 871.

(88) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 9. p. 16. Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. 1. p. 26.

S E C T I O N II.

History of the most learned men who flourished in Britain from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1216.

Learning chiefly among the clergy.

THOUGH the circle of the sciences was enlarged, and learning was cultivated with greater assiduity in this than in the former period; yet this was chiefly, or rather almost only, by the clergy. The great body of the people, and even the far greatest part of the nobility, still continued illiterate, or had but very slight acquaintance with letters. Of this, if it were necessary, many proofs might be produced; but the following one, it is presumed, will be sufficient. After the flight of archbishop Becket out of England, A. D. 1164, Henry II. sent a most splendid embassy to the pope, consisting of one archbishop, four bishops, three of his own chaplains, the earl of Arundel, and other three of the greatest barons of the kingdom. When these ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and four of the prelates had harangued the pope and cardinals in Latin, the earl of Arundel stood up, and made a speech in English, which he began in this manner: “We who are illiterate laymen do not understand one word of what the bishops have said to your holiness (1).” We may be almost certain, that if Henry, who was a learned prince, could have found men of learning, amongst his nobility, he would have sent them on this embassy. The

(1) Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74.

truth is, that the general ignorance of the laity of all ranks was so well known, that the historians of this period frequently distinguished the clergy from the laity by calling the former *literati*, and the latter *laici* (2). Our readers therefore need not be surprised to find, that all the learned men mentioned in this section belonged either to the secular or regular clergy.

The laws of general history, and the limits of this work, will admit only of a very brief account of a few who were most eminent for their learning in every period.

Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, and author of the *Ingulphus* history of that abbey, was born in London about A. D. 1030. He received the first part of his education at Westminster; and when he visited his father, who belonged to the court of Edward the Confessor, he was so fortunate as to engage the attention of queen Edgitha. That amiable and learned princess took a pleasure in examining our young scholar on his progress in grammar, and in disputing with him in logic; nor did she ever dismiss him without some present as a mark of her approbation (3). From Westminster he went to Oxford, where he applied to the study of rhetoric and of the Aristotelian philosophy, in which he made greater proficiency than many of his contemporaries (4). When he was about twenty-one years of age, he was introduced to William duke of Normandy (who visited the court of England A. D. 1051), and made himself so agreeable to that prince, that he appointed him his secretary, and carried him with him into his own dominions. In a little time he became the prime favourite of his prince, and the dispenser of all preferments, humbling some and exalting others at his pleasure; in which difficult station, he confessed, he did not behave with a proper degree of modesty and prudence (5). This excited the envy and hatred of many of the courtiers; to avoid the effects

(2) Ingulphi Hist. edit. Oxon. p. 102.

(3) Id. l. i. p. 62. Tanner Bibliothec. p. 429.

(4) Ibid. p. 73.

(5) Id. *ibid.*

of which, he obtained leave from the duke to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which was then become fashionable. With a company of thirty horsemen he joined Sigfrid duke of Mentz, who, with many German nobles, bishops, clergy, and others was preparing for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When they were all united they formed a company of no fewer than seven thousand pilgrims. In their way they spent some time at Constantinople, performing their devotions at the several churches. In their passage through Lycia, they were attacked by a tribe of Arabs, who killed and wounded many of them, and plundered them of a prodigious mass of money. Those who escaped from this disaster, at length reached Jerusalem, visited all the holy places, and bedewed the ruins of many churches with their tears, giving money for their reparation. They intended to have bathed in Jordan, but being prevented by the roving Arabs, they embarked on board a Genoese fleet at Joppa, and landed at Brundisium, from whence they travelled through Apulia to Rome. Having gone through a long course of devotions in this city, at the several places distinguished for their sanctity, they separated, and every one made the best of his way into his own country. When Ingulph and his company reached Normandy, they were reduced to twenty half-starved wretches, without money, clothes, or horses. A faithful picture of the foolish disastrous journies into the Holy Land, so common in those times. Ingulph was now so much disgusted with the world, that he resolved to forsake it, and became a monk in the abbey of Fontenelle in Normandy; in which, after some years, he was advanced to the office of prior. When his old master was preparing for his expedition into England, A. D. 1066, he was sent by his abbot with one hundred marks in money, and twelve young men, nobly mounted and completely armed, as a present from their abbey. Ingulph having found a favourable opportunity, presented his men and money to his prince, who received him very graciously; some part of the former affection for him reviving in his bosom. In consequence of this he raised him to the government

government of the rich abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1076, in which he spent the last thirty-four years of his life, governing that society with great prudence, and protecting their possessions from the rapacity of the neighbouring barons by the favour of his royal master. The lovers of English history and antiquities are much indebted to this learned abbot for his excellent history of the abbey of Croyland, from its foundation, A. D. 664, to A. D. 1091, into which he hath introduced much of the general history of the kingdom, with a variety of curious anecdotes that are no where else to be found (6). Ingulph died of the gout, at his abbey, 1st December A. D. 1109, in the seventy-ninth year of his age (7).

Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Lanfranc. Pavia A. D. 1005, where he was educated in grammar and logic (8). After the death of his father, he spent some years in the study of rhetoric and civil law, at Bologna; from whence he returned to his native city, and commenced an advocate in the courts of law (9). Thinking this too narrow a sphere, he removed into France, and opened a school at Avranches, which was soon crowded with students, of high rank (10). In a journey to Rome, he had the misfortune to be robbed, and left bound in a wood, where he was found next morning by some peasants, who carried him, almost dead, to the abbey of Bec. Here he was treated with so much tenderness, that when he recovered, he became a monk in that abbey, A. D. 1041 (11). At the end of three years he was chosen prior of his convent, and opened a school, which in a little time became very famous, and was frequented by students from all parts of Europe (12). Amongst others, some of the scholars of Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, and master of the academy of Tours, left that

(6) Vide Hist. Ingulph. a Savilio edit. London 1594. Oxon. 1684.

(7) Continuat. Hist. Croyland, p. 112.

(8) Mabil. Aët. tom. 9. p. 659.

(9) Id. ibid. p. 360.

(10) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 8. p. 261.

(11) Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. cent. 11. c. 3. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1652.

(12) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 8. p. 262.

school, and went to study in the abbey of Bec. This, it is said, excited the envy of Berenger, and gave rise to that long and violent controversy between him and Lanfranc, on the subject of the eucharist, which made a mighty noise in the church (13). When our author resided in the abbey of Bec, his literary fame procured him the favour of his sovereign, William duke of Normandy, who made him one of his counsellors, employed him in an important embassy to the pope, and appointed him, A. D. 1062, abbot of his newly erected monastery of St. Stephen's, at Caen (14). Here he established a new academy, which became no less famous than his former one at Bec. When the see of Canterbury became vacant by the deposition of Stigand, the Conqueror procured his election to that see, August 15th, A. D. 1070, and with some difficulty prevailed upon him to accept of that high station (15). He proved a great benefactor to the church of Canterbury, by asserting its right to the primacy of England, —by recovering many of its possessions,—and by rebuilding the cathedral (16). He enjoyed a high degree of the favour of William I. and had the chief direction of all affairs, both in church and state, under William II. to the time of his death, which happened May 28th, A. D. 1089. in the eighty-fourth year of his age (17). Several of our ancient historians who were almost his contemporaries, speak in very advantageous terms of the genius and erudition of Lanfranc; and some of them, who were personally acquainted with him, represent him as the most learned man of the age in which he flourished (18). His writings consist of commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, sermons on various subjects, letters, and his famous treatise on the eucharist against Berenger, in which he employed all his abilities in support of that

(13) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. 8. p. 263.

(14) *Id. ibid.* p. 266.

(15) *Eadmer. Hist. Novel. l. i. p. 6.*

(16) *Id. ibid.* p. 7. Gervas, col. 1653. 1292. J. Brompt. *Ibid.* col. 970—972.

(17) J. Brompt. col. 986. Gervas, p. 1655.

(18) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 223. *Eadmeri. Hist.* p. 6. *W. Malm. l. 3. p. 61. col. 2.*

opinion; which had been broached by Paschasius Radbertus, in the gloom of the ninth century, had been gradually gaining ground among the clergy through the tenth and eleventh, and terminated in transubstantiation towards the end of the twelfth (19). This treatise hath rendered Lanfranc a prodigious favourite with the literary historians of the church of Rome, who load him with the most extravagant and lavish praises (20).

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, the disciple and successor of Lanfranc, was born at Aouft in Piedmont, A. D. 1034, of noble and pious parents, who were at great pains to give him a good education (21). Having lost his mother Ermengarda when he was about seventeen years of age, he abandoned his studies, and indulged his youthful passions to such a degree, that his father refused to see him, or admit him into his house; on which he left his native country and travelled into France. After some time, attracted by the fame of Lanfranc, he settled at the abbey of Bec, and prosecuted his studies with so much ardour under that great master, that he excelled all his fellow-students in learning (22). Having become a monk in that abbey, A. D. 1060, he was chosen, three years after, to succeed Lanfranc, both as prior, and teacher of the sciences; in both which stations he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the society, that he was unanimously elected abbot, on the first vacancy, A. D. 1078 (23). The abbey of Bec had several estates in England, which obliged our abbot sometimes to visit this kingdom; and in these visits he gained the friendship of some of the greatest men. He happened to be here A. D. 1103, when William II. in a fit of sickness, was prevailed upon to fill the see of Canterbury, which he had kept four years vacant, and nominated him to that high office. After a long and obstinate opposition to his own advancement, in which some persons suspected his

Anselm.

(19) Opera Lanfran. a D'Acher. Edit Paris, 1648. Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. 9. c. 7. Opera P. Blefens. p. 219. col. 1. p. 644. col. 1.

(20) Histoire Literaire de la France, l. 8. p. 260—305.

(21) Anselmi Vita, l. 1. p. 2.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Id. ibid. p. 9.

sincerity,

sincerity, he was consecrated December 4th, A. D. 1093 (24). The quarrels of this prelate with William II. and afterwards with Henry I. about investitures, have been already mentioned (25). These obliged him to spend much of his time on the continent, and rendered his pontificate uncomfortable to himself and hurtful to the kingdom. After a tedious indisposition, he expired at Canterbury April 21st, A. D. 1109, in the sixty-sixth year of his age (26). Anselm was one of the most voluminous writers of the age in which he flourished, as any one may be convinced, by perusing the catalogue of his works in the books quoted below (27). He excelled chiefly in logics and metaphysics, and the application of them to theological subjects; which made him to be considered as one of the fathers of scholastic divinity.

Eadmerus. Eadmerus, the faithful friend and historian of archbishop Anselm, was an Englishman; but his parents, and the particular time and place of his nativity, are not known. He received a learned education, and very early discovered a taste for history, by recording every remarkable event that came to his knowledge (28). Being a monk in the cathedral of Canterbury, he had the happiness to become the bosom-friend and inseparable companion of two archbishops of that see, St. Anselm, and his successor Ralph. To the former of these he was appointed spiritual director by the pope; and that prelate would do nothing without his permission (29). His election to the see of St. Andrews, in Scotland, and its consequences, have been already mentioned (30). But Eadmerus is most worthy of the grateful remembrance of posterity for his historical works, particularly for his excellent history of the affairs of England in his own time, from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1122; in which he hath inserted many origi-

(24) Eadmer. Hist. p. 16.—21.

(25) See chap. 2. p. 194. &c.

(26) Eadmer, p. 102.

(27) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. 9. p. 416—465. Tanner, p. 44, 45, 46.

(28) Eadmer. Hist. Novar. p. 50.

(29) *W. Malmf. de Gest. Pontif. Angl.* l. 1. p. 130.

(30) See chap. 2. p. 219.

nal papers, and preserved many important facts, that are no where else to be found (31). This work hath been highly commended, both by ancient and modern writers, for its authenticity, as well as for regularity of composition and purity of style (32). It is indeed more free from legendary tales, than any other work of this period; and it is impossible to peruse it with attention, without conceiving a favourable opinion of the learning, good sense, sincerity, and candour of the author.

Turgot, a contemporary of Eadmerus, was an Anglo-Turgot. Saxon, of a good family in Lincolnshire, and received a learned education. When he was a young man, he was delivered by the people of Lindsay, as one of their hostages, to William the Conqueror, and confined in the castle of Lincoln (33). From thence he made his escape into Norway, and resided several years in the court of king Olave, by whom he was much caressed and enriched. Returning to his native country, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Northumberland, by which he lost all his money and effects, escaping death with great difficulty. He travelled to Durham; and applying to Walcher, bishop of that see, declared his resolution to forsake the world, and become a monk; in which he was encouraged by that pious prelate, who committed him to the care of Aldwine, the first prior of Durham. Being admitted into that priory, he recommended himself so much to the whole society, by his learning, piety, prudence, and other virtues, that, on the death of Aldwine, A. D. 1087, he was unanimously chosen prior, and not long after was appointed by the bishop archdeacon of his diocese (34). In the faithful discharge of these two offices, he spent the succeeding twenty years of his life, sometimes residing in the priory, and at other times visiting the diocese, and preaching in different places. Some of his leisure-hours he employed in collecting and writing the history of the church of Durham or Northumberland, from

(31) Eadmer. Hist. Novar. a Selden. edit. London, A. D. 1623.

(32) W. Malmf. Leland, Cave, Nicolson, Seiden, &c.

(33) Simeon Dunelm. Hist. apud X Script. col. 206, 207.

(34) Id. col. 53, 54.

A. D. 635, to A. D. 1096, in four books (35). But not having published this work, or made many transcripts of it, according to the custom of those times, it fell into the hands of Simeon, precentor of the church of Durham, who published it under his own name, expunging only a few passages that would have discovered its real author. This curious fact is demonstrated by the learned Mr. Selden, in his preface to the ten ancient historians, published by sir Roger Twysden; and shows that literary fame was even then an object of ambition (36). The promotion of Turgot to the see of St. Andrews in Scotland, A. D. 1107, and his death, at Durham, A. D. 1115, have been already recorded (27). Turgot composed several other works, particularly the lives of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, and of his pious consort queen Margaret, from which John Fordun hath quoted several facts (38).

Robert
White.

Robert White (in Latin Robertus Pullus) was born in England towards the end of the eleventh century; and having received a learned education in his own country, he went, as was usual in those times, to the university of Paris for his further improvement (39). Here he continued several years, and acquired a shining reputation by his learned lectures in philosophy and theology, which were attended by crowded audiences. He was invited by Asceline, bishop of Rochester, A. D. 1136, to return into his own country, where his labours were much wanted for the revival of learning; and no less earnestly pressed by the famous St. Bernard to continue at Paris, where he did so much good (40). But he complied with the invitation of the bishop, who had appointed him his archdeacon; and read lectures on the scriptures at Oxford five years, which attracted prodigious numbers of students to that university (41). Being of a studious unambitious disposition, he declined a bishopric that was offered him by Henry I (42). At

(35) Simeon Dunelm. Hist. apud X Script. col. 1—5.

(36) Prefat. X Script. post Bedam, p. 4.

(37) See vol. 5. chap. 2.

(38) Fordun, Scotichron. l. 5. c. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21.

(39) Simeon Dunelm. Continuat. apud X Script. col. 275.

(40) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Paris. tom. 2. p. 153.

(41) A Wood, Hist. Univers. Oxon. p. 49.

(42) Simeon Dunelm. col. 275.

length he became so famous, that he was called to Rome, A. D. 1143, by Celestine II. appointed a cardinal by Lucius II. and made chancellor of the holy see by Eugenius III; and was esteemed the most learned of all the college of cardinals (43). He is believed to have died about A. D. 1150. He composed many theological works; but none of them have been printed, except his book of sentences, which is a body of scholastic divinity, written in a better style, and with greater perspicuity, than was common in those times (44).

Nicolas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever sat in St. Peter's chair, was born near St. Albans, and in his youth performed the meanest menial offices about the abbey of that place, in which his father was a monk (45). Being rejected, for want of learning, by the abbot, when he desired to become a monk, and reproached by his father for his indolence, he left England, and went to Paris, where he applied to study with the greatest ardour (46). From Paris he travelled into Provence, and was admitted a monk in the abbey of St. Rufus, where he still continued to prosecute his studies, and recommended himself so effectually, that, on the first vacancy, he was chosen abbot. The monks, however, soon became weary of the government of a foreigner, and made bitter complaints against their new abbot to pope Eugenius III. This proved a very fortunate event to our countryman. For the pope was so much pleased with the learning and eloquence he displayed in his own defence, that he thought him worthy of a higher station in the church, made him bishop of Alba, A. D. 1146, and a cardinal (47). Not long after he was sent as a papal legate into Denmark and Norway; and acquitted himself so well in that station, that a vacancy happening in the papal throne about the time of his return to Rome, he was unanimously chosen pope in November 1154, and took the name of Adrian IV (48). Henry II. pleased with the elevation

Nicolas
Break-
spear.

(43) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisien. tom. 2. p. 241.

(44) Du Pin Hist. cent. 12. chap. 15.

(45) M. Paris, Hist. Abbat. St. Albani, p. 42. col. 2.

(46) M. Paris, Hist. Abbat. St. Albani, p. 42. col. 2. W. Neubrigenf. l. 2. c. 6.

(47) Id. ibid.

(48) Platina in Vit. Adrian. IV. W. Neubrigenf. l. 2. c. 6.

of one who had been his subject, sent three bishops and the abbot of St. Albans, to congratulate the new pope on his election (49). The ambassadors met with a most gracious reception, and obtained from his holiness every favour the king of England desired, particularly a grant of the kingdom of Ireland, in which grant the high pretension to the property of all the islands in the sea was advanced (50): a proof, that though Adrian's origin was low, his spirit and his claims were as high as any of his predecessors. But this pontiff soon found the vanity of ambition even when it is most successful; for his pontificate, which lasted only four years and ten months, was one continued scene of disquiet and trouble; and if we may believe some writers, his death was violent, A. D. 1159 (51). Though Adrian was a man of genius and learning, none of his works have been published, except his letters.

Historians: England produced a great number of historians in the twelfth century; and it may not be improper to give a very brief account of the most considerable of them, without interruption, though it should make us depart a little from the exact order of time.

William of Malmfbury. William of Malmfbury, who is well entitled to stand at the head of our historians of the twelfth century, was born in Somersethire, and, on that account, is sometimes called William Somerseth. When he was but a child (as he himself acquaints us), he discovered a fondness for learning, which was encouraged by his parents, and increased with his years (52.) “ I applied
 “ (says he) to the study of several sciences, but not
 “ with equal diligence. I went through a course of
 “ logic, but prosecuted it no further; with physic, or
 “ the art of curing diseases and preserving health, I
 “ was at more pains; for ethics, which lead to a good
 “ and happy life, I had still a higher veneration; but
 “ history, which is equally pleasant and profitable,
 “ was my favourite study. Having, at my own ex-
 “ pence, procured the copies of some foreign histories,

(49) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. St. Albani, p. 46.

(50) Rymeri Fœd. t. I. p. 15.

(51) Baron. Annal. tom. 12. an. 1154. M. Paris, Vita Abbat. p. 48.

(52) W. Malmf. Prolog. l. II. p. 19.

“ I then,

“ I then, at my leisure, began to enquire into the me-
 “ morable transactions of my own country; and not
 “ finding any satisfactory history of them already writ-
 “ ten, I resolved to write one, not to display my learn-
 “ ing, which is no great matter, but to bring things
 “ to light that are covered with the rubbish of anti-
 “ quity (53).” This design he executed with great
 ability and diligence, by writing a general history of
 England in five books, from the arrival of the Saxons,
 A. D. 449, to the 26th of Henry I. A. D. 1126; and
 a modern history in two books, from that year to the
 escape of the empress Maud out of Oxford, A. D. 1143;
 with a church-history of England in four books (54).
 In all these historical works (which are written in a
 Latin style more pure than that of any of his contem-
 poraries), he discovers great diligence, much good sense,
 and a sacred regard to truth, accompanied with uncom-
 mon modesty. “ I do not (says he) set a very high va-
 “ lue on the applause of my contemporaries, which I
 “ hardly expect; but I hope, that when both favour
 “ and malevolence are dead, I shall obtain from poste-
 “ rity the character of an industrious, though not of
 “ an eloquent historian (55).” This excellent person,
 to whom all the lovers of English history are so much
 indebted, spent his life in the humble station of a monk
 and library-keeper in the abbey of Malmesbury, where
 he died, A. D. 1143 (56).

Simeon of Durham, the contemporary of William
 of Malmesbury, merits a place among the historians
 and antiquaries of this period, for the great pains he
 took in collecting the monuments of our history, es-
 pecially in the north of England, after they had been
 scattered by the Danes in their devastations of that
 country (57). From these he composed a history of
 the kings of England, from A. D. 616, to A. D.
 1130, with some smaller historical pieces (58). Si-
 meon both studied and taught the sciences, and parti-
 cularly the mathematics, at Oxford, and became pre-

Simeon
 Durham,
 &c.

(53) W. Malmf. Prolog. l. II. p. 19.

(54) Rerum Anglicar. Script. a Hen. Savile edit. London, 1596.

(55) Prolog. ad lib. I.

(56) Cave Hist. Litteraire, p. 661.

(57) Leland de Script. Brit. tom. I. p. 188.

(58) Apud X Script. p. 67—256.

centor of the church of Durham, where he died, probably soon after the conclusion of his history, which was continued by John, prior of Hexham, to A. D. 1156 (59). Richard, who succeeded John in the government of the priory of Hexham, wrote the history of the bishops of that church, and of four years of the reign of king Stephen, from A. D. 1135, to A. D. 1139 (60).

Ailredus.

Ailred, abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, was born of noble parents, and educated in the court of David king of Scots, with his son prince Henry, who was one of the most studious; as well as one of the bravest princes of his age. After the death of Henry, Ailred retired into the abbey of Revesby; and became so famous for his piety and learning, that he might have attained to the highest dignities of the church, if he had not modestly declined them, and contented himself with the government of his own abbey, where he died A. D. 1166 (61). He left behind him many monuments of his piety and learning, besides his historical works, for which he is introduced in this place (62). Several of his theological treatises are printed among the works of his friend St. Bernard, and his historical pieces in the collection of the ten ancient historians published by sir Roger Twysden, London, A. D. 1652.

Henry of Huntington.

Henry of Huntington was the son of one Nicolas, a married priest, and was born about the beginning of the twelfth century, or end of the eleventh. For he acquaints us, that he was made an archdeacon by Robert Bloet bishop of Lincoln, who died A. D. 1123 (63). He was educated by Albinus of Anjou, a learned canon of the church of Lincoln, and in his youth discovered a great taste for poetry, by writing eight books of epigrams, as many of love-verses, with three long didactic poems, one of herbs, another of spices, and a third of precious stones (64). In his more advanced years he applied to the study of history;

(59) Apud X Script. p. 257—282.

(60) Id. p. 286—330.

(61) Biographia Britan. vol. I. p. 72.

(62) X Script. p. 338—442.

(63) Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 695.

(64) Leland de Script. Britan. tom. I. p. 197.

and at the request of Alexander bishop of Lincoln, who was his great friend and patron, he composed a general history of England, from the earliest accounts, to the death of king Stephen, A. D. 1154, in eight books (65). In the dedication of this work to bishop Alexander, he tells us, that in the ancient part of his history he had followed venerable Bede, adding a few things from some other writers; that he had compiled the sequel from several chronicles he had found in different libraries, and from what he had heard and seen (66). Towards the conclusion of this work, he very honestly acknowledges, that it was only an abridgment; and that to compose a complete history of England, many more books were necessary than he could procure (67). Mr. Wharton hath published a long letter of this author to his friend Walter, abbot of Ramsay, on the contempt of the world, which contains many curious anecdotes of the kings, nobles, prelates, and other great men, who were his contemporaries (68).

Roger de Hoveden was born in Yorkshire, most probable at the town of that name, now called *Howden*, some time in the reign of Henry I. After he had received the first parts of education in his native county, he studied the civil and canon law, which were then become the most fashionable and lucrative branches of learning (69). He became domestic chaplain to Henry II. who employed him to transact several ecclesiastical affairs; in which he acquitted himself with honour. But his most meritorious work was, his annals of England, from A. D. 731, when Bede's ecclesiastical history ends, to A. D. 1202 (70). This work, which is one of the most voluminous of our ancient histories, is more valuable for the sincerity with which it is written, and the great variety of facts which it contains, than for the beauty of its style, or the regularity of its arrangement.

(65) Vide *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam* a Hen. Savileo, edit. London, A. D. 1596. p. 169—228.

(66) Id. p. 169.

(67) Id. p. 228.

(68) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 694—702.

(69) *Leland de Script. Brit.* l. 1. p. 229.

(70) *Vid. Rerum Anglicar. a Savileo*, edit. p. 230—471.

William
Little.

William Little, who is better known by his Latin name *Gulielmus Neubrigensis*, was born at Bridlington in Yorkshire, A. D. 1136, and educated in the abbey of Newborough in the same county, where he became a monk (71). In his advanced years he composed a history of England in five books, from the Norman conquest, to A. D. 1197, which, for veracity, regularity of disposition, and purity of language, is one of the most valuable productions of this period. In his preface to this work, he made some very severe strictures on Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history, which have drawn upon him the displeasure of several ancient Britons, though it cannot be denied that his strictures were in general well founded, and discover a degree of critical discernment that was not very common in those times.

Gervase of
Canterbury.

Gervase of Canterbury, a monk of the monastery of Christ's church in that city, was one of the most voluminous historians of this period. His chronicle of the kings of England, from A. D. 1122 to A. D. 1200, and his history of the archbishops of Canterbury, from St. Augustine to archbishop Hubert, who died A. D. 1205, are his two most considerable performances of this kind, and are published, together with his smaller pieces, in the collection quoted below (72). A strict attention to chronology in the disposition of his materials, is one of the chief excellencies of this historian.

Ralph de
Diceto.

Ralph de Diceto, archdeacon of London, was the contemporary of Gervase, and composed also two historical works, intitled, *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, and *Imagines historiarum*, which are published in the same collection (73).

Benedict
Abbas.

Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, was educated at Oxford, became a monk in the monastery of Christ's church in Canterbury, and some time after was chosen prior by the members of that society. Though he had been a great admirer of archbishop Becket, and wrote a life of that prelate, he was so much esteemed by

(71) *Historia G. Neubrigen.* a T. Hearne edit. Oxon. 1719, l. 1. c. 15. p. 53. Ibid. in fine Proœmii.

(72) *Hist. Anglican. Script.* X. a R. Twissden edit. London, 1652. col. 1290—1683.

(73) *Id.* 1652, col. 42)—710.

Henry II. that by the influence of that prince he was elected abbot of Peterborough, A. D. 1177 (74). He assisted at the coronation of Richard I. A. D. 1189, and was advanced to be keeper of the great seal A. D. 1191 (75). But he did not long enjoy this high dignity, as he died on Michaelmas day A. D. 1193 (76). Besides his life of archbishop Becket, he composed a history of Henry II. and Richard I. from A. D. 1170 to A. D. 1192; which hath been much and justly esteemed by many of our greatest antiquaries, as containing one of the best accounts of the transactions of those times. A beautiful edition of this work was published at Oxford, in two volumes, by Mr. Hearne, A. D. 1735. My gratitude for the information I have received from the perusal of the English historians of the twelfth century, who, in merit, as well as in number, are superior to those of any other nation of Europe, in that period, is in danger of making me forget the proportion that must be observed in the several parts of this work, or neglect those who were the chief ornaments of their country in other branches of learning.

John of Salisbury was born at Old Sarum, from which he derived his name, about A. D. 1116. For, according to his own account, after he had gone through a course of education in England, he went to the university of Paris, for his further improvement, A. D. 1136, at which time, it is probable, he was at least twenty years of age (77). In this famous seat of learning he spent no fewer than twelve years, attending the lectures of the most celebrated professors of the several sciences, particularly grammar, rhetoric, the Aristotelian philosophy, and theology (78). At his return into England he studied the civil law under Vacarius, who taught with great applause at Oxford, A. D. 1149 (79). By this long and ardent application to study, under the best masters, he acquired a pro-

(74) Benedictus Abbas a T. Hearne edit. Oxon. 1735, tom. I. p. 210.

(75) Id. ibid. p. 556, 714.

(76) Roberti Swaphani Hist. Cenob. Burgen. a Josepho Sparki edit. London, 1723, p. 103.

(77) J. Sarisburien. Matalog. l. 2. c. 10. p. 802.

(78) Id. ibid.

(79) J. Sarisburien. Policraticon, l. 8. c. 22. p. 672. Seldeni Dif-ferat. in Flet. c. 7. sect. 3.

digious fund of knowledge, and became one of the most learned men of the age in which he flourished. Embracing the monastic life at Canterbury, he was the bosom-friend and chief confidant of two successive archbishops of that see, Theobald and Thomas Becket (80). To the last of these, while he was chancellor of England, our author dedicated his famous work, *De nugis curialium, et vestigiis philosophorum* (of the fopperies of courtiers, and the footsteps of philosophers) in an elegant Latin poem, containing some of the politest compliments to his patron. This work is indeed the most curious and valuable monument of the English literature of the twelfth century; and it is impossible to peruse it without admiring the virtue and good sense, as well as the genius and erudition, of its author (81). His connection with archbishop Becket involved him in many troubles; and he was the very first person banished out of England by Henry II. A. D. 1164, for his attachment to that prelate (82). He continued almost seven years in exile, though he had the most inviting offers made him, not only of leave to return home, but also of the royal favour and preferment, if he would abandon the party of the archbishop. But to this he never would consent, declaring his resolution to die in exile, rather than forsake his friend and patron in his adversity; though he was far from approving of his conduct in every particular (83). His friendship for Becket was as active as it was steady, and prompted him to undertake no fewer than ten journies into Italy, besides many others into different parts of France, in negotiating his affairs (84). At length he obtained permission to return into England a little before the archbishop, A. D. 1171, and was a mournful spectator of the murder of his beloved friend and patron (85). In the time of his exile our author had gained the favour of many persons of the highest rank, particularly of pope Alex-

(80) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisien. tom. 2. p. 751.

(81) Vid. J. Sarisburien. Policraticon, sive de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum lib. oct. Impress. Lugduni Batavorum, 1639.

(82) Epist. S. Thomæ Cant. Ep. 2. l. 1. p. 8.

(83) Id. ibid. p. 137. 320.

(84) J. Sarisburien. Metalog. l. 3. init. p. 838.

(85) Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 64.

ander III. of the king of France, and of the archbishop of Sens, by whose interest he was elected bishop of Chartres in that province, A. D. 1172 (86). Having enjoyed this dignity almost ten years, he died A. D. 1182. John of Salisbury composed many other works, besides that already mentioned, particularly a very learned defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, against one whom he calls *Cornificius*, which contains a most curious account of the state of these sciences in this period (87). A collection of his letters, consisting of above three hundred, with a life of Thomas Becket, were published at Paris, A. D. 1611.

Peter of Blois (Petrus Blesensis) was born about A. D. 1120, at the city of Blois in France, from whence he derived his name. His parents, being opulent, gave him a learned education (88). In his youth, when he studied in the university of Paris, he was excessively fond of poetry; and when he was a little further advanced in life, he became no less fond of rhetoric, to the study of which he applied with the greatest ardour (89). From Paris he removed to Bonaonia in Italy, to acquire the civil and canon law, in the knowledge of both which he very much excelled (90). He appears from his writings to have cultivated medicine, and several branches of the mathematics, with no little care and success (91). The study of theology was the chief delight and business of his life, in which he spent the greatest part of his time, and made the greatest progress. But unfortunately it was that scholastic theology, which consisted in vain attempts to prove and explain the many absurd opinions which then prevailed in the church, by the subtilties of Aristotelian logic (92). In attempting to explain in this manner the most absurd of all opinions that ever existed amongst mankind, he was the very first person who employed the famous word *transubstantiation*, which was soon after adopted by the church of Rome, and hath ever since made so great a noise (93). Being appointed preceptor to William II.

(86) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Paris. tom. 2. p. 394.

(87) Vid. J. Sarisburiens. Metalog. lib. Quart. Impress. Lugduni Batav. 1639.

(88) Epist. P. Blesens. Ep. 90. 93. (89) Id. ibid. 76. 26.

(90) Ep. 6. 8. (91) Ep. 43. (92) Ep. 140. (93) Id. ibid.

king of Sicily, A. D. 1167, he obtained the custody of the privy seal; and next to the archbishop of Palermo, the prime minister, had the greatest influence in all affairs (94). But his power was not of long duration; for the archbishop being banished, A. D. 1168, our author soon after left the court of Sicily, and returned into France. He was not long, however, without a royal patron, being invited into England by Henry II. who employed him as his private secretary, made him archdeacon of Bath, and gave him some other benefices (95). When he had spent a few years at court, he conceived a disgust at that way of life (of which he hath drawn a very unpleasing picture in one of his letters), and retired into the family of Richard archbishop of Canterbury, who made him his chancellor about A. D. 1176 (96). In this station he continued to the death of the archbishop, A. D. 1183, enjoying the highest degree of favour with that prelate, though he used much freedom in reproving him for his remissness in the government of the church (97). Our author remained in the same station in the family of archbishop Baldwin, who succeeded Richard, acting both as his secretary and chancellor. He was also sent by that prelate on an embassy to Rome; A. D. 1187, to plead his cause before pope Urban III. in the famous controversy between him and the monks of Canterbury, about the church of Hackington (98). After the departure of his friend and patron Baldwin for the Holy Land, A. D. 1190, our author was involved in various troubles in his old age, the causes of which are not distinctly known, and died about the end of the twelfth century. He appears from his works, which may be justly reckoned among the most valuable monuments of the age in which he flourished, to have been a man of great integrity and sincere piety, as well as of a lively inventive genius, and uncommon erudition. His printed works consist of one hundred and thirty-four letters, which he collected together at the desire of Henry

(94) Epist. P. Blesens. Ep. 131.

(95) Ep. 149.

(96) Ep. 14. 38. 139.

(97) Ep. 5.

(98) Gervas Chron. col. 1498, 1499.

II. ; of sixty-five sermons, delivered on various occasions ; and of seventeen tracts on different subjects (99). Of the quickness of our author's invention, a very remarkable example hath been already mentioned ; and whoever will give themselves the trouble to peruse his works, will meet with many proofs of his erudition (100).

Girald Barry, commonly called *Giraldus Cambrensis*, ^{Girald}
i. e. Girald of Wales, was born at the castle of ^{Barry.} Mainarper, near Pembroke, A. D. 1146 (101). By his mother he was descended from the princes of South Wales ; and his father, William Barry, was one of the chief men of that principality. Being a younger brother, and intended for the church, he was sent to St. David's, and educated in the family of his uncle, who was bishop of that see. He acknowledges, in his history of his own life and actions, that in his early youth he was too playful ; but being severely reproached for it by his preceptors, he became a very hard student, and greatly excelled all his school-fellows in learning (102). When he was about twenty years of age, he was sent, A. D. 1166, for his further improvement, to the university of Paris ; where he continued three years, and became, according to his own account, a most excellent rhetorician ; which rendered him very famous (103). On his return into Britain, he entered into holy orders, and obtained several benefices both in England and Wales. Observing, with much concern, that his countrymen, the Welsh, were very backward in paying the tithes of wool and cheese, which he was afraid would involve them in eternal damnation, he applied to Richard archbishop of Canterbury, and was appointed his legate in Wales for rectifying that disorder, and for other purposes. He executed this commission with great spirit, excommunicating all without distinction, who refused to save their souls, by surrendering the tithes of their cheese

(99) Vid. Opera P. Blefenf. Parisiis edit. A. D. 1667.

(100) See sect. I. of this chap.

(101) Præfat. ad Ang. Sacr. tom. 2. p. 20. Id. p. 466.

(102) Girald. Cambren. de Rebus a se gestis, l. 1. c. 2. apud Angl. Sacr. tom. 2. p. 467.

(103) Id. ibid.

and wool (104). Not satisfied with enriching, he also attempted to reform the clergy, and dilated the archdeacon of Brechin to the archbishop, for the unpardonable crime of matrimony; and the poor old man refusing to put away his wife, was deprived of his archdeaconry; which was bestowed upon our zealous legate (105). In discharging the duties of this new office, he acted with great vigour, which involved him in many quarrels; but, if we may believe himself, he was always in the right, and always victorious. His uncle, the bishop of St. David's, dying A. D. 1176, he was elected his successor by the chapter: but this election having been made without the permission, and contrary to the inclination of Henry II. our author prudently declined to insist upon it, and went again to Paris to prosecute his studies, particularly in the civil and canon law, and theology (106). He speaks with great raptures of the prodigious fame he acquired by his eloquent declamations in the schools, and of the crowded audiences who attended them, who were at a loss to know whether the sweetness of his voice, the beauty of his language, or the irresistible force of his arguments, were most to be admired (107). Having spent about four years at Paris, he returned to St. David's; where he found every thing in confusion; and the bishop being expelled by the people, he was appointed administrator by the archbishop of Canterbury, and governed the diocese in that capacity to A. D. 1184, when the bishop was restored (108). About the same time he was called to court by Henry II. appointed one of his chaplains, and sent into Ireland A. D. 1185, with prince John (109). By this prince he was offered the united bishoprics of Ferns and Leighlin; but declined them, and employed his time in collecting materials for his topography of Ireland, and his history of the conquest of that island. Having finished his topography, which consisted of

(104) Girald. Cambren. de Rebus a se gestis, l. 1. c. 3. p. 468.

(105) Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 4, 5, 6.

(106) Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 9, 10, 11, l. 2. c. 1.

(107) Ibid. l. 2. c. 1, 2.

(108) Ibid. c. 6, 7.

(109) Ibid. l. 1. c. 8, 10.

three books, he published it at Oxford A. D. 1187, in the following manner, in three days. On the first day he read the first book to a great concourse of people, and afterwards entertained all the poor of the town; on the second day he read the second book, and entertained all the doctors and chief scholars; and, on the third day, he read the third book, and entertained the younger scholars, soldiers, and burgesſes (110). “A moſt glorious ſpectacle! (ſays he) which revived “the ancient times of the poets, and of which no example had been ſeen in England.” He attended Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his progreſs through Wales, A. D. 1186, in preaching a croiſade for the recovery of the Holy Land; in which, he tells us, he was far more ſucceſſful than the primate; and particularly, that the people were prodigiouſly affected with his Latin ſermons, which they did not underſtand, melting into tears, and coming in crowds to take the croſs (111). Although Henry II. as our author aſſures us, entertained the higheſt opinion of his virtues and abilities; yet he never would advance him to any higher dignity in the church, on account of his relation to the princes and great men of Wales. But on the acceſſion of Richard I. A. D. 1189, his proſpects of preferment became better: for he was ſent by that prince into Wales to preſerve the peace of that country, and was even joined in commiſſion with William Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, as one of the regents of the kingdom (112). He did not, however, improve this favourable opportunity; reſuſing the biſhopric of Bangor in A. D. 1190, and that of Landaff, the year after, having fixed his heart on the ſee of St. David’s, the biſhop of which was very old and infirm (113). In A. D. 1192, the ſtate of public affairs, and the courſe of intereſt at court, became ſo unfavourable to our author’s views, that he determined to retire. At firſt he reſolved to return to Paris to proſecute his ſtudies; but meeting with ſome difficul-

(110) Girald. Cambren. de Rebus a ſe geſtis, l. 1. c. 16.

(111) Ibid. c. 18.

(112) Ibid. l. 1. c. 21. p. 495.

(113) Ibid. c. 22, 24.

ties in this, he went to Lincoln, where William de Monte read lectures in theology with great applause (114). Here he spent about six years in the study of divinity, and in composing several works. The see of St. David's, which had long been the great object of his ambition, became vacant A. D. 1198, and brought him again upon the stage. He was unanimously elected by the chapter; but met with so powerful an adversary in Hubert archbishop of Canterbury (who opposed his promotion with great violence), that it involved him in a litigation, which lasted five years, cost him three journies to Rome, at a great expence, and in which he was at last defeated, A. D. 1203 (115). Soon after this he retired from the world, and spent the last seventeen years of his life in a studious privacy, composing many books, of which we have a very correct catalogue in the work quoted below (116). That Girald of Wales was a man of uncommon activity, genius, and learning, is undeniable; but these and his other good qualities were much tarnished by his insufferable vanity, which must have been very offensive to his contemporaries, as it is highly disgusting to his readers.

Many other men of genius and erudition flourished in Britain in this period; but, to give a full account of them, belongs rather to the biographer than to the general historian.

(114) Girald. Cambren. de Rebus a se gestis, l. 3. c. 3.

(115) Ibid. l. 3. c. 4—19.

(116) Biographia Britannica, vol. I. p. 512.

S E C T I O N III.

History of the chief Seminaries of Learning in Great Britain, from A. D. 1166, to A. D. 1216.

ONE cause of the improvements in the sciences which took place in this period, was the increase of seminaries of learning. These may be divided into five classes, viz. 1. General studies or universities; 2. Episcopal or cathedral schools; 3. Monastic or conventual schools; 4. The schools of cities and towns; and, 5. The schools of the Jews. Of each of these classes we shall give a brief account.

That those seats of learning which are now called *universities*, were anciently called *studies*, is well known; as, the study of Oxford, the study of Paris, &c. (1). But about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, the modern name seems generally to have prevailed, either because all kinds of learning were taught in them, and students of all countries were welcome to them, or because they were formed into legal communities, which, in the Latin of those times, were called *universitates* (2). Of such universities there were only two in Britain, Oxford and Cambridge.

(1) J. Brompt. Chron. col. 814.

(2) A. Wood, Hist. Univerf. Oxon. p. 18.

Oxford.

The state of public affairs was so unsettled for a considerable time, both before and after the conquest, and the city of Oxford in particular suffered so much, first from the Danes, and afterwards from the Normans, that it could not be in a flourishing condition as a seat of learning (3). From Doomsday-book we find, that A. D. 1086 there were no fewer than five hundred and twenty-two ruinous or empty houses in Oxford, and only two hundred and forty-three inhabited. It hath been warmly agitated, whether the Conqueror's youngest son, afterwards Henry I. was educated at Oxford or Cambridge, without satisfactory evidence on either side (4). That he built a palace, and sometimes resided, in the first of these places, is better attested (5). It is also said, that Robert White, of whom an account hath been already given, taught with great reputation at Oxford in the reign of that learned prince (6). But this seat of the muses was taken by storm, and reduced to ashes, A. D. 1141, by king Stephen; which dispersed both teachers and scholars. In a little time, however, they returned to their favourite residence; which, before the end of that reign, became famous for the study of the civil law (7). This university became still more flourishing in the reign of Henry II. who was a learned prince, and a great patron of learning; though a great part of the city, and several schools or halls, were destroyed by an accidental fire A. D. 1190 (8). Before that time the houses and halls of Oxford had been built of wood, and covered with straw; but after this fire, many of them were built of stone, and covered with tiles or lead. As Richard I. had been born at Oxford, he still retained an affection for it, and granted it so many privileges, that, in his reign, it became a rival to the university of Paris (9). In the reign of king John, when the university was in a prosperous state, an unfortunate event happened, A. D. 1209, which threatened it with destruction. A scholar, engaged in his

(3) A. Wood, Hist. Univerf. Oxon. p. 42—46.

(4) Id. p. 46. col. 2. J. Caius in Antiq. Cantab. p. 97.

(5) A. Wood, Hist. Univerf. Oxon. p. 49.

(6) Id. *ibid.* (7) Id. p. 52. (8) Id. p. 57.

(9) Bulzei Hist. Univerf. Parisiens. tom. 2. p. 544, &c.

diversion, accidentally killed a woman, and made his escape, for fear of punishment. A prodigious mob, with the mayor of the city at their head, immediately assembled, and surrounded the hall to which the unfortunate scholar belonged; and not finding him, seized and imprisoned other three, who were entirely innocent, and obtained an order from king John, who hated the clergy, to put them to death; which was executed without delay. The greatest part of the professors and scholars, enraged at this act of cruelty and injustice, abandoned Oxford, to the number of three thousand, and retired, some to Cambridge, some to Reading, and some to Maidstone in Kent. They complained also to the pope, and obtained a bull, laying the city under an interdict, and discharging all professors from teaching in it. Their superstitious terrors and secular losses soon brought the people of Oxford to repent of the cruelty they had committed; and they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to Nicolas bishop of Tusculum, the pope's legate, to make their submissions, and promise obedience to all his commands. In consequence of this the legate issued a bull, dated at Ramsey, 26th June A. D. 1214, suspending those professors who had not left Oxford, from teaching for three years; prescribing the most humiliating penances to the inhabitants, and stipulating many advantages for the members of the university; and obliged the mayor, with fifty of the chief citizens, to take a solemn oath, in the name of all the rest, that they would comply with every article in that bull. When all these preliminaries were settled, the professors and scholars returned in such multitudes, and were so joyfully received by the citizens, that the university became more flourishing than it had ever been; and at the conclusion of this period consisted of about four thousand members (10).

Cambridge suffered still more than Oxford, both Cambridge. from the Danes before, and the Normans after the conquest; and seems to have been longer and more entirely deserted as a seat of learning (11). This

(10) Wood, Hist. Ant. Univerf. Oxon. p. 60, 61.

(11) J. Brempt. Chron. col. 887, 888. Chron. Saxon. p. 140.

appears from the following distinct account of its revival, given by a writer of undoubted credit :
 “ Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, A. D. 1109, sent to his
 “ manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, master Gisle-
 “ bert, his fellow-monk, and professor of theology,
 “ with three other monks who had followed him into
 “ England ; who being very well instructed in philo-
 “ sophical theorems, and other ancient sciences, went
 “ every day to Cambridge ; and having hired a cer-
 “ tain public barn, taught the sciences openly, and in
 “ a little time collected a great concourse of scholars.
 “ For in the very second year after their arrival, the
 “ number of their scholars from the town and country
 “ increased so much, that there was no house, barn,
 “ nor church, capable of containing them. For this
 “ reason they separated into different parts of the town,
 “ and imitating the plan of Orleans, brother Odo, a
 “ famous grammarian and satirist of those times, read
 “ grammar, according to the doctrine of Priscian,
 “ and Remigius upon him, to the boys and younger
 “ students assigned to him, early in the morning. At
 “ one o’clock brother Terricus, an acute sophist, read
 “ Aristotle’s logics, according to the introductions
 “ and commentaries of Porphyry and Averrois, to
 “ those who were further advanced. At three, bro-
 “ ther William read lectures on Tully’s rhetoric and
 “ Quintilian’s institutions. But master Gislebert, be-
 “ ing ignorant of the English, but very expert in the
 “ Latin and French languages, preached in the sever-
 “ ral churches to the people on Sundays and holi-
 “ days.—From this little fountain, which hath
 “ swelled into a great river, we now behold the city
 “ of God made glad, and all England rendered fruit-
 “ ful, by many teachers and doctors issuing from
 “ Cambridge, as from a most holy paradise(12).”
 This last observation shews, that the university of
 Cambridge, after its revival by those learned monks in
 the beginning of the twelfth century, made such rapid
 progress, that, before the end of that century, when
 Peter of Blois wrote, it had attained to a very flourish-
 ing condition. The town, and consequently the uni-

(12) P. Blefens. Continuatio Hist. Ingulph. ann. 1109. p. 114, 115.

versity, suffered much in the civil war between king John and his barons, having been taken and plundered by both parties, A. D. 1215 (13).

So many of the ingenious youth of Britain, in this Paris. period finished their education in the university of Paris, that it merits a little of our attention, though not strictly within our plan (14). It was unquestionably the most celebrated seat of learning in Europe in those times, and was called, by way of eminence, *The city of letters* (15). All who excelled as teachers, or wished to improve as students, crowded to Paris, as the most proper place for displaying or acquiring talents. In the twelfth century we are assured, that the students in the university constituted one half of the inhabitants of that city (16). The English, in particular, were so numerous, that they occupied several schools or colleges; and made so distinguished a figure by their genius and learning, as well as by their generous manner of living, that they attracted the notice of all strangers. This appears from the following verses, describing the behaviour of a stranger on his first arrival in Paris, composed by Negel Wircker, an English student there, A. D. 1170.

Pexus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem,
Intrat ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.
Inde scholas adiens, secum deliberat, utrum
Expediat potius illa vel ista schola.
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit iis.
Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,
Ingenio pollent, consilioque vigent.
Dona pluunt populis, et detestantur avaros,
Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt (17).

The stranger dress'd, the city first surveys,
A church he enters, to his God he prays.
Next to the school he hastens, each he views,
With care examines, anxious which to chuse.

(13) Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 8.

(14) Dulæi Hist. Univers. Parisien. l. II. p. 299.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 253. Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. 6. p. 78.

(16) Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. 9. p. 663.

(17) A Wood, Antiq. Oxon. p. 55.

The English most attract his prying eyes,
 Their manners, words, and looks, pronounce them wise.
 Theirs is the open hand, the bounteous mind;
 Theirs solid sense, with sparkling wit combin'd.
 Their graver studies jovial banquets crown,
 Their rankling cares in flowing bowls they drown.

Advantages of universities.

These general studies or universities, as Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, &c. possessed several advantages, which attracted greater numbers of students to them than to other seats of learning. They had not only the best libraries, and most famous professors in all the sciences, but being incorporated societies, they were governed by their own magistrates, and enjoyed several peculiar privileges, particularly that of conferring academical honours or degrees. These were introduced in the course of this period, and soon became great objects of ambition, and incitements to learning (18).

Cathedral schools.

In the darkest of the middle ages, the families of bishops were the chief seminaries of learning, in which young persons were educated for the service of the church (19). These episcopal or cathedral schools still continued in this period. They were even better regulated, and consequently more useful and more famous. In the most ancient times, the bishop was commonly the chief, if not the only teacher, of his cathedral school; the faithful discharge of which laborious office was hardly compatible with the other duties of his function (20). But in this period these schools were put under the direction of men of learning, who devoted their whole time and study to the education of youth, and had certain estates or prebends assigned for their support. These teachers of the cathedral schools were called *The scholastics of the dioceses*; and all the youth in it who were designed for the church, were entitled to the benefit of their instructions (21). Thus, for example, William

(18) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. 9. p. 80—84.

(19) *Bulzè Hist. Univers. Paris*. tom. 1. p. 151., 152.

(20) *Id. ibid.*

(21) *Du Cange Gloss. voc. Scholasticus.*

de Monte, who had been a professor at Paris, and taught theology with so much reputation, in the reign of Henry II. in Lincoln, was the scholastic of that cathedral (22). By the eighteenth canon of the third general council of Lateran, A. D. 1179, it was decreed, that such scholastics should be settled in all cathedrals, with sufficient revenues for their support; and that they should have authority to superintend all the schoolmasters of the dioceses, and grant them licences, without which none should presume to teach (23). The laborious authors of the literary history of France have collected a very distinct account of the scholastics who presided in the principal cathedral schools of that kingdom in the twelfth century, among whom we meet with many of the most illustrious names for learning of that age (24). To attempt this with respect to England, would be quite unsuitable to the nature of general history. The sciences that were taught in these cathedral schools, were such as were most necessary to qualify their pupils for performing the duties of the sacerdotal office, as grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, and church-music.

The great increase of religious houses in this period, very much increased the number of seminaries of learning, as there was a school more or less famous in almost every convent (25). We may form some idea of the number added to the schools of England by this means, if we consider, that there were no fewer than five hundred and fifty-seven religious houses of different kinds founded in it between the conquest and the death of king John (26). One design of these monastic schools was, to instruct the younger monks in those branches of learning that were necessary to their decent performance of the service of the church, particularly in the Latin language and church-music. Some degree of knowledge of these parts of learning was so

Conventual
schools.

(22) Girald. Cambrenf. de Rebus a se gestis, l. 3. c. 3. apud Ang. Sac. tom. 2. p. 499.

(23) Concil. tom. 10. p. 1518. c. 18.

(24) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 9. p. 31—64.

(25) Id. ibid. p. 92—132.

(26) See Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

necessary, that without it none could be admitted into the monastic order in any of the chief abbeys; and the famous Nicolas Breakspear, afterwards pope Adrian IV. was rejected by Richard abbot of St. Alban's, for want of a sufficient share of learning (27). In these conventual schools the young monks were carefully instructed in the art of fair and beautiful writing; and those who excelled in that art, were for some years employed in the *scriptorium*, or writing-chamber, in transcribing books for the use of the church and library (28). There were such schools also in nunneries for the instruction of the younger nuns; and in some of these schools they did not confine themselves to such parts of learning as were absolutely necessary, but studied also the Greek and Hebrew languages, philosophy, physic, and divinity (29). In the schools of all the larger monasteries, besides the necessary parts of learning, several other sciences were taught, as rhetoric, logic, theology, medicine, with the civil and canon law. These two last branches of learning, law and physic, being very lucrative, were so diligently studied and practised by the monks, that they were almost the only pleaders and physicians of those times. The abbey-school of St. Alban's, for example, was a famous seminary of learning in this period, in which all the sciences, particularly theology, law and physic, were taught; as appears from the verses of Alexander Neicham, one of the most learned men of the twelfth century, who was educated, and afterwards presided, in that school. They were addressed to his friend Gurmunde, abbot of Gloucester, and may be seen below (30). Many persons of rank and fortune were educated in these conventual

(27) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. St. Albani, p. 45. col. 2.

(28) Id. p. 32. col. 2.

(29) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 9. p. 127—132.

(30) Quod si forte foras claudat tibi Claudia, claustrum
Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.

Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,

Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.

Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuat annos

Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.

conventual schools, to which they frequently became benefactors (31).

Besides all these seminaries of learning already mentioned, there were established in this period, in all the chief cities and towns of England, a kind of illustrious schools, in which the youth were instructed not only in reading, writing, and grammar, but also in several other branches of learning, as rhetoric, logic, &c. We are told by William Fitz-Stephens, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. that there were three of these illustrious schools in London, firmly established; besides several others that were occasionally opened by such masters as had obtained a high reputation for their learning (32). “ On holidays (says he) “ it is usual for these schools to hold public assemblies “ in the churches, in which the scholars engage in “ demonstrative or logical disputations, some using “ enthymems, and others perfect syllogisms; some “ aiming at nothing but to gain the victory, and make “ an ostentatious display of their acuteness, while “ others have the investigation of truth in view. Art- “ ful sophists, on these occasions, acquire great ap- “ plause; some by a prodigious inundation and flow “ of words, others by their specious but fallacious “ arguments. After the disputations, other scholars “ deliver rhetorical declamations, in which they ob- “ serve all the rules of art, and neglect no topic of “ persuasion. Even the younger boys in the different “ schools, contend against each other in verse, about “ the principles of grammar, and the preterites and “ supines of verbs (33). There was, about the same time, a very famous academy in the town of St. Alban’s (besides that in the abbey), under the government of

Schools in towns and cities.

Hic artes didici, docuique fideliter; inde
Accessit studio lectio sacra meo.
Audiui canones, Hipocratem cum Galieno,
Jus civile mihi displicuisse neges.

Leland de Script. Brit. t. 1. p. 240.

(31) *Historia Ramsienf.* chap. 67. p. 430.

(32) W. Stephanid. *Descript. Civitat.* London. edit. Oxon. 1723, a Jos. Sparke, p. 4.

(33) *Id. ibid.*

Matthew a physician, who had been educated at Salerno, and of his nephew Garinus, who excelled in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. Of this academy Matthew Paris affirms, "That there was hardly a school in all England, at that time, more fruitful or more famous, either for the number or proficiency of its scholars (34)." This plainly intimates, that there were many schools of the same kind in England; which is further evident from the last canon of the council of Westminster, A. D. 1138, prohibiting the scholastics of cathedral churches from taking money for granting licences to the teachers of the schools in the several towns and villages (35.)

Jewish
schools.

That prodigious numbers of Jews crowded into England soon after the conquest, and resided in all its principal towns for some ages, is attested by all the historians of those times. Their numbers and riches were indeed so great, and the revenues derived from them by government so considerable, that (as we have already seen) a particular exchequer was appointed for their reception (36). Among these Jews there were many rabbies, and men of learning, who officiated as priests in their synagogues, and professors in their schools which they had in London, York, Lincoln, Linn, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, and every other town where any considerable number of them resided (37). For though the sciences had been much neglected by the Jews for five or six centuries, they were cultivated by them in the twelfth with surprising ardour, and many of their rabbies of that age made a distinguished figure in the world of letters (38). In their schools, besides the rites of their religion, they taught the Hebrew and Arabic languages, arithmetic, for which they had much use in their money-transactions; and medicine, by which many of them acquired both riches and reputation (39). Nor were the academies

(34) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. St. Alban. p. 62. col. 1.

(35) J. Brompt. Chron. p. 1348.

(36) Madox, Hist. Excheq. p. 150—173.

(37) M. Paris, p. 596. A Wood, Antiq. Oxon. p. 46. Gul. Nevbrigenf. l. 4. c. 7. p. 368. c. 10. p. 379.

(38) Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. 9. p. 132. &c.

(39) Id. ibid.

of the Jewish rabbies shut against the Christian youth, but open to all who chose to take the benefit of their instructions.

From this brief account of the seminaries of learning established in Britain in the period we are now examining, it is abundantly evident, that the general *ignorance* of the laity was owing rather to the taste and manners of the times, than to the want of opportunities of acquiring at least a moderate degree of knowledge. But the truth seems to be, that this *ignorance* prevailed most amongst those in the highest and those in the lowest ranks of life; which was occasioned by the extreme dissipation of the former, who spent almost all their time, when they were not engaged in war, in rural diversions or domestic riots; and by the no less extreme depression of the latter, who were doomed to perpetual servitude and hard labour. For it is well known, that these two extremes are equally unfriendly to intellectual pursuits.

1. 499.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF
 CHARLES THE FIRST
 BY
 JOHN BURNET
 BISHOP OF SALISBURY
 IN TWO VOLUMES
 THE SECOND VOLUME
 LONDON
 Printed by J. Sturges, in Pall-mall
 1704



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

C H A P. V.

History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

TH E arts and sciences are so nearly connected, and have so great an influence upon one another, that they commonly flourish or decline together. In the preceding chapter we have seen, that the circle of the sciences was enlarged, and that some of them were cultivated with greater care and success in this than they had been in the former period. In this chapter we shall perceive that a similar improvement took place at the same time, both in the necessary and pleasing arts, of which we shall give a plain and succinct account in two sections.

The arts improved in this period.

S E C T .

 SECTION I.

*History of the necessary Arts in Great Britain, from
A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1216.*

What are
necessary
arts.

BY the necessary arts we understand such as are employed in procuring nourishment, lodging, clothing, and defence, which are justly esteemed necessary to the preservation and comfortable enjoyment of human life. Of this kind are, agriculture, architecture, the clothing arts, and those of defensive and offensive war, together with the various arts that are necessary to their operations. It is true indeed, that architecture and the clothing arts, after they have passed a certain point of perfection, may be termed ornamental rather than necessary. But as it is impossible to fix that point; and as their primary object was to administer to our necessities, there can be no great impropriety in arranging them, in every period of this work, under the division of necessary arts. On the other hand, some arts, as those of catching beasts and birds, which, in the infancy of society were of all others the most necessary, in a more advanced period become the favourite amusements of the great, and are prohibited to the common people. These therefore, in this and the succeeding periods of this work, are to be omitted

omitted in the history of arts, and introduced only in the article of diversions.

Though pasturage and fishing were exercised as necessary arts in this as in every other period, we know of no important improvement that was made in either of them that merits a place in history. Those who exercised them were in general of fertile condition, and were transferred from one proprietor to another, with the estates to which they were annexed (1).

As agriculture, in its several branches, is the most useful of all arts, it merits our particular attention in every period. That the conquest of England by the Normans contributed to the improvement of this art in Britain, is undeniable. For by that event many thousands of husbandmen, from the fertile and well-cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, settled in this island, obtained estates or farms, and employed the same methods in the cultivation of them that they had used in their native countries. Some of the Norman barons were great improvers of their lands, and are celebrated in history for their skill in agriculture. “Richard de Rulos, lord of Brunne and Deeping (says Ingulphus), was much addicted to agriculture, and delighted in breeding horses and cattle. Besides inclosing and draining a great extent of country, he imbanked the river Wielland (which used every year to overflow the neighbouring fields) in a most substantial manner, building many houses and cottages upon the bank; which increased so much, that in a little time they formed a large town called *Deeping*, from its low situation. Here he planted orchards, cultivated commons, converted deep lakes and impassable quagmires into fertile fields, rich meadows, and pastures; and, in a word, rendered the whole country about it a garden of delights (2).” From the above description, it appears, that this nobleman (who was chamberlain to William the Conqueror) was not only fond of agri-

(1) Rymeri Fœdera, tom. I. p. 89. Hist. Ingulphi, Oxon. edit. 1684. tom. I. p. 87.

(2) Hist. Ingulphi, Oxon. edit. 1684. tom. I. p. 77, 78.

culture, but also that he conducted his improvements with skill and success.

The clergy made improvements in agriculture.

The Norman clergy, and particularly the monks, were still greater improvers than the nobility; and the lands of the church, especially of the convents, were conspicuous for their superior cultivation. For the monks of every monastery retained such of their lands as lay most convenient in their own possession, which they cultivated with great care, under their own inspection, and frequently with their own hands. It was so much the custom of the monks of this period to assist in the cultivation of their lands, especially in seed-time, hay-time, and harvest, that the famous Thomas Becket, after he was archbishop of Canterbury, used to go out to the fields, with the monks of the monasteries where he happened to reside, and join with them in reaping their corns and making their hay (3). This is indeed mentioned by the historian as an act of uncommon condescension in a person of his high station in the church; but it is a sufficient proof that the monks of those times used to work with their own hands, at some seasons, in the labours of the field. And as many of them were men of genius and invention, they no doubt made various improvements in the art of agriculture. The 26th canon of the general council of Lateran, held A. D. 1179, affords a further proof that the protection and encouragement of all who were concerned in agriculture, was an object of attention to the church. For by that canon, it is decreed, “that all presbyters, clerks, monks, convents, pilgrims, and peasants, when they are engaged in the labours of husbandry, together with the cattle in their ploughs, and the seed which they carry into the field, shall enjoy perfect security; and that all who molest or interrupt them, if they do not desist when they have been admonished, shall be excommunicated (4).”

Implements of husbandry.

The implements of husbandry were of the same kind, in this period, with those that are employed at present; but some of them were less perfect in their

(3) Chron. Gervas, col. 1400.

(4) Id. col. 1456.

construction. The plough, for example, had but one stilt or handle, which the ploughman guided with one hand, having in his other hand an instrument which served both for cleaning and mending his plough, and breaking the clods (5). The Norman plough had two wheels; and, in the light soil of Normandy, was commonly drawn by one ox, or two oxen; but in England a greater number, according to the nature of the soil, was often necessary (6). In Wales the person who conducted the oxen in the plough, walked backwards (7). Their carts, harrows, scythes, sickles, and flails, from the figures of them still remaining, appear to have been nearly of the same construction with those that are now used (8). In Wales they did not use a sickle in reaping their corns, but an instrument like the blade of a knife, with a wooden handle at each end (9). Water-mills for grinding corn were very common; but they had also a kind of mills turned by horses, which were chiefly used in their armies, and at sieges, or in places where running water was scarce (10).

Though the various operations of husbandry, as manuring, ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing, winnowing, &c. are incidentally mentioned by the writers of this period, it is impossible to collect from them a distinct account of the manner in which these operations were performed. Marl seems still to have been the chief manure next to dung, employed by the Anglo-Norman, as it had been by the Anglo-Saxon and British husbandmen (11). Summer-fallowing of lands designed for wheat, and ploughing them several times, appears to have been a common practice of the English farmers of this period. For Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales, takes notice of it as a great singularity in

(5) See Mr. Strutt's compleat View of the Manners, &c. of England, vol. 2. p. 12.

(6) M. Montfaucon Monumens de Monarchie Française, tom. 1. plate 47. Girald Cambrenf. Descript. Cambriæ, c. 17.

(7) Id. ibid. (8) Mr. Strutt's View, vol. 1. plate 26. plate 32, 33.

(9) Girald. Camb. ibid.

(10) Gaufrid. Vinifaus. Iter Hierosolomit. l. 1. c. 33. M. Paris. Vit. Abbat. p. 94. col. 2.

(11) M. Paris, Hist. p. 181. col. 1. In Vit. Abbat. p. 101. col. 1.

the husbandmen of that country, “ that they ploughed their lands only once a year in March or April, in order to sow them with oats; but did not, like other farmers, plough them twice in summer, and once in winter, in order to prepare them for wheat (12).” On the border of one of the compartments in the famous tapestry of Baieux, we see the figure of one man sowing, with a sheet about his neck, containing the seed under his left arm, and scattering it with his right hand; and of another man harrowing with one harrow, drawn by one horse (13). In two plates of Mr. Strutt’s very curious and valuable work, quoted in this page, we perceive the figures of several persons engaged in mowing, reaping, threshing, and winnowing; in all which operations there appears to be little singular, or different from modern practice (14).

State of
agriculture
in Scotland.

Agriculture seems to have been in a very imperfect state in Scotland towards the end of this period. For in a parliament held at Scone, by king Alexander II. A. D. 1214, it was enacted, that such farmers as had four oxen or cows, or upwards, should labour their lands by tilling them with a plough, and should begin to till fifteen days before Candlemas; and that such farmers as had not so many as four oxen, though they could not labour their lands by tilling, should delve as much with hand and foot as would produce a sufficient quantity of corn to support themselves and their families (15). But this law was probably designed for the highlands, and most uncultivated parts of the kingdom. For in the same parliament, a very severe law was made against those farmers who did not extirpate a pernicious weed called *gilde* out of their lands, which seems to indicate a more advanced state of cultivation (16).

(12) Giral. Cambrenf. Descript. Cambriæ, c. 8. p. 887.

(13) Montfauçon Monumens de Monarchie Française, tom. I. plate 47.

(14) Mr. Strutt’s compleat View of the Manners, Customs, &c. of England, vol. I. plates 11, 12.

(15) Regiam Majestatem, p. 327.

(16) Id. p. 335.

All the branches of gardening were much improved Gardening. in England by the Normans, who coming from a country abounding with gardens, orchards, and vineyards, naturally laboured to introduce the same accommodations in their new settlements. William of Malmſbury, who flouriſhed in the former part of the twelfth century, celebrates the vale of Glouceſter, near to which he ſpent his whole life, for its great fertility both in corn and fruit-trees, ſome of which the ſoil produced ſpontaneouſly by the way-fides, and others were cultivated, yielding ſuch prodigious quantities of the fineſt fruits as were ſufficient to excite the moſt indolent to be induſtrious (17). “ This vale (adds he) is planted thicker with vineyards than any other province in England; and they produce grapes in the greateſt abundance, and of the ſweeteſt taſte. The wine that is made in theſe vineyards hath no diſagreeable tartneſs in the mouth, and is very little inferior in flavour to the wines of France (18).” This is a deciſive proof that vineyards were planted and cultivated in England, in this period, for the purpoſe of making wine. Many of theſe vineyards were planted by abbots and biſhops, for the benefit of their monks and clergy. Martin, for example, abbot of St. Edmundsbury, planted a vineyard for the uſe of his abbey, A. D. 1140; and Hugh biſhop of Lincoln paid a fine to the king of no leſs than five hundred marks, that the crops of corn produced on the eſtates, and wine made in the vineyards, together with the wine-preſſes, belonging to that ſee in a year in which a biſhop died, ſhould be the property of a biſhop, though he ſhould happen to die before Martinmas (19). This fine, it is true, was paid to Henry III. about fourteen years after the concluſion of this period; but the vineyards had been planted long before, and our kings had been accuſtomed to claim the produce of them when a biſhop died before Martinmas.

But notwithſtanding all the improvements that were Famines in made in agriculture, and that England was reputed the England.

(17) W, Malmf. de Pontific. Angl. l. 4. fol. 161. (18) Id. ibid.

(19) Chron. Saxon. p. 240. Hiſt. Canob. Burgenf. p. 88. Madox Hiſt. Excheq. p. 289.

most fertile country in Europe, it cannot be denied, that there were some very severe famines felt in it in the course of this period (20). An attentive examination, however, of the circumstances of these famines will serve still further to convince us, that agriculture was much improved, and a more constant supply of the necessaries of life provided, by the Normans, after they had obtained a firm establishment. For of the five great famines that raged in this period, four happened within a few years after the conquest, and were partly produced by the dreadful devastations of war; and the only destructive famine that fell out in the twelfth century (A. D. 1125) was occasioned by prodigious rains and floods in harvest; against the effects of which no skill or industry of the husbandman can guard (21).

Architec-
ture.

Architecture, in all its branches, received as great improvements in this period as agriculture. The truth is, that the twelfth century may very properly be called the age of architecture, in which the rage for building was more violent in England than at any other time. The great and general improvements that were made in the fabrics of houses and churches, in the first years of this century, are thus described by a contemporary writer: “ The new cathedrals and
 “ innumerable churches that were built in all parts,
 “ together with the many magnificent cloisters and
 “ monasteries, and other apartments of monks, that
 “ were then erected, afford a sufficient proof of the
 “ great felicity of England in the reign of Henry I.
 “ The religious of every order, enjoying peace and
 “ prosperity, displayed the most astonishing ardour
 “ in every thing that might increase the splendour of
 “ divine worship. The fervent zeal of the faithful
 “ prompted them to pull down houses and churches
 “ every where, and rebuild them in a better manner.
 “ By this means the ancient edifices that had
 “ been raised in the days of Edgar, Edward, and

(20) Chron. Saxon. p. 178. 184. 188. 204. 229. (21) Id. ibid.

“ other Christian kings, were demolished, and others
 “ of greater magnitude and magnificence, and of more
 “ elegant workmanship, were erected in their room, to
 “ the glory of God (22).”

As the prodigious power of religious zeal, what- Arts of the
 ever turn it happens to take, when it is thoroughly clergy.
 heated, is well known, it may not be improper to
 give one example of the arts employed by the clergy
 and monks of this period, to inflame the pious ardour
 of the kings, nobles, and people, for building
 and adorning churches. When Joffred, abbot of
 Croyland, resolved to rebuild the church of his monas-
 tery in a most magnificent manner, A. D. 1106,
 he obtained from the archbishops of Canterbury and
 York, a bull dispensing with the third part of all pe-
 nances for sin to those who contributed any thing to-
 wards the building of that church. This bull was di-
 rected not only to the king and people of England,
 but to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all
 other kings, earls, barons, archbishops, bishops, ab-
 bots, priors, rectors, presbyters, and clerks, and to
 all true believers in Christ, rich and poor, in all
 Christian kingdoms. To make the best use of this
 bull, he sent two of his most eloquent monks to pro-
 claim it all over France and Flanders, two other monks
 into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two
 into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into
 different parts of England. “ By this means (says
 “ the historian) the wonderful benefits granted to the
 “ contributors to the building of this church were
 “ published to the very ends of the earth; and great
 “ heaps of treasure and masses of yellow metal flowed
 “ in from all countries, upon the venerable abbot
 “ Joffred, and encouraged him to lay the foundations
 “ of his church.” Having spent about four years in
 collecting mountains of different kinds of marble from
 quarries both at home and abroad, together with great
 quantities of lime, iron, brass, and other materials
 for building, he fixed a day for the great ceremony of
 laying the foundation, which he contrived to make a
 very effectual mean of raising the superstructure. For

(22) Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. l. 10. p. 788.

on the long-expected day, the feast of the holy virgins Felicitas and Perpetua, an immense multitude of earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, of abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks, arrived at Croyland, to assist at this ceremony. The pious abbot Joffred began by saying certain prayers, and shedding a flood of tears, on the foundation. Then each of the earls, barons, knights, with their ladies, sons, and daughters, the abbots, clerks; and others, laid a stone, and upon it deposited a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes, or patronages, or a promise of stone, lime, wood, labour, or carriages, for building the church. After this the abbot entertained the whole company, amounting to five thousand persons, at dinner (23). To this entertainment they were well intitled; for the money, and grants of different kinds, which they had deposited on the foundation-stones, were alone sufficient to have raised a very noble fabric. By such arts as these the clergy inspired kings, nobles, and people of all ranks, with so ardent a spirit for these pious works, that in the course of this period almost all the sacred edifices in England were rebuilt, and many hundreds of new ones raised from the foundation. Nor was this spirit confined to England, but prevailed as much in Scotland in proportion to its extent and riches. King David I. alone, besides several cathedrals and other churches, built no fewer than thirteen abbeys and priories, some of which were very magnificent structures (24).

Sacred architecture.

The sacred architecture of the Anglo-Normans in the beginning of this period, did not differ much in its style and manner from that of the Anglo-Saxons; their churches being in general plain, low, strong, and dark; the arches both of the doors and windows semicircular; with few or no ornaments (25). By

(23) P. Blefenf. Continuat. Hist. Ingulph. p. 113—120.

(24) Spottifwood's Religious Houses.

(25) Dr. Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102. &c. Mr. Strutt's Manners, &c. of England, vol. I. p. 102. Bentham's Hist. Ely, pref. Grose's Antiquities of England, pref. p. 63, &c.

degrees,

degrees, through much practice, our architects, who were all monks or clergymen, improved in their taste and skill, and ventured to form plans of more noble, light, and elevated structures, with a great variety of ornaments; which led to that bold magnificent style of building, commonly, though perhaps not very properly, called *the latter Gothic*. It is not improbable that our monkish architects were assisted in attaining this style of building by models from foreign countries, or by instructions from such of their own number as had visited Italy, France, Spain, or the East. But, without entering into uncertain disputes about the origin of this style of architecture, it is sufficient to observe, that it began to appear in England in the reign of Henry II. and was distinguished from the more ancient Gothic by the following marks. The walls were much higher though not so thick, and supported on the outside by buttresses;—the doors and windows were wider and loftier; and the arches of both were no longer semicircular, but pointed: and were sometimes ornamented with clusters of pillars on each side, and great variety of carvings;—the larger windows had mullions of stone for ornament; and for the conveniency of fixing the glass, the pillars that supported the roof were lofty and slender, and frequently surrounded with small pillars that made them appear like a cluster;—the arches of the roof, like those of the doors and windows, were pointed;—the roof was covered with lead, and the fabric ornamented on the top at each end with pinnacles, and with a tower over the middle of the cross; on which, about the end of this period, very lofty spires of wood or stone began to be erected (26). This mode of architecture, which, with some variations, flourished more than three centuries, produced many stupendous edifices, which are still viewed with pleasure and admiration. Many of these magnificent structures were built with stones brought from the quarries near Caen in Normandy, which very much enhanced the expence of their erection (27).

(26) Sir Christ. Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 298. Bentham, *Hist. Ely*, pref. Grose's *Antiquities*, pref. p. 70.

(27) Grose's *Antiquities*, pref. p. 77.

Civil architecture.

The houses of the common people in the country, and of the lower burgesſes in towns and cities, were very little improved in their ſtructure in the courſe of this period; that moſt numerous and uſeful order of men being much depreſſed in the times we are now delineating. Even in the capital city of London, all the houſes of mechanics and common burgesſes were built of wood, and covered with ſtraw or reeds, towards the end of the twelfth century (28). But the palaces, or rather caſtles, of the Anglo-Norman kings, barons, and prelates, were very different from the reſidences of perſons of the ſame rank in the Anglo-Saxon times. For this we have the teſtimony of a perſon of undoubted credit, who was well acquainted with them both. “The Anglo-Saxon nobles (ſays William of Malmsbury) ſquandered away their ample revenues in low and mean houſes; but the French and Norman barons are very different from them, living at leſs expence, but in great and magnificent palaces (29).” The truth is, that the rage of building fortified caſtles, was no leſs violent among the Norman princes, prelates, and barons, than that of building churches. To this they were prompted, not only by the cuſtom of their native country, but alſo by their dangerous ſituation in this iſland. Surrounded by multitudes, whom they had depreſſed and plundered, and by whom they were abhorred, they could not think themſelves ſafe without the protection of deep ditches and ſtrong walls. The conqueror himſelf was ſenſible, that the want of fortified places in England had greatly facilitated his conqueſt, and might facilitate his expulſion; and therefore he made all haſte to remedy this defect, by building very magnificent and ſtrong caſtles in all the towns within the royal demefnes. “William (ſays Matthew Paris) excelled all his predeceſſors in building caſtles, and greatly harracted his ſubjects and vaſſals with theſe works (30).” All his earls, barons,

(28) Stow's Survey of London, vol. 1. p. 69.

(29) W. Malmsf. p. 57. col. 2.

(30) M. Paris, Hiſt. p. 8. col. 2. Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. col. 197, 198. R. de Diceto Chron. col. 482.

and even prelates, imitated his example; and it was the first care of every one who received the grant of an estate from the crown, to build a castle upon it for his defence and residence. The disputes about the succession in the following reigns, kept up this spirit for building great and strong castles. William Rufus was still a greater builder than his father. "This William" (says Henry Knyghton) "was much addicted to building royal castles and palaces, as the castles of Dover, Windfor, Norwich, Exeter, the palace of Westminster, and many others, testify: nor was there any king of England before him that erected so many, and such noble edifices (31)." Henry I. was also a great builder both of castles and monasteries (32). But this rage for building never prevailed so much in any period of the English history as in the turbulent reign of king Stephen, from A. D. 1135 to A. D. 1154. "In this reign (as we are told by the author of the Saxon Chronicle) every one who was able, built a castle; so that the poor people were worn out with the toil of these buildings, and the whole kingdom was covered with castles (33)." This last expression will hardly appear too strong, when we are informed, that besides all the castles before that time in England, no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen were raised from the foundation in the short space of nineteen years (34).

An art so much practised as architecture was in this period, must have been much improved. That it really was so, will appear from the following very brief description of the most common form and structure of a royal castle, or of that of a great earl, baron, or prelate, in this period; and as these castles served both for residence and defence, this description will serve for an account both of the domestic and military architecture of those times, which cannot well be separated.

The situation of the castles of the Anglo-Norman kings and barons, was most commonly on an eminence, Description of a castle.

(31) Hen. Knyghton, col. 2373.

(32) R. de Diceto Chron. col. 505.

(33) Chron. Saxon. p. 238.

(34) R. de Diceto, col. 528.

nence, and near a river; a situation on several accounts eligible. The whole site of the castle (which was frequently of great extent and irregular figure) was surrounded by a deep and broad ditch, sometimes filled with water, and sometimes dry, called *the fosse* (35). Before the great gate was an outwork; called a *barbican* or *antemural*, which was a strong and high wall, with turrets upon it, designed for the defence of the gate and drawbridge (36). On the inside of the ditch stood the wall of the castle, about eight or ten feet thick, and between twenty and thirty feet high, with a parapet, and a kind of embrasures, called *crennels*, on the top. On this wall at proper distances square towers of two or three stories high were built, which served for lodging some of the principal officers of the proprietor of the castle, and for other purposes; and on the inside were erected lodgings for the common servants or retainers, granaries, storehouses, and other necessary offices. On the top of this wall, and on the flat roofs of these buildings, stood the defenders of the castle, when it was besieged, and from thence discharged arrows, darts, and stones, on the besiegers. The great gate of the castle stood in the course of this wall, and was strongly fortified with a tower on each side, and rooms over the passage, which was closed with thick folding-doors of oak, often plated with iron, and with an iron portcullis or grate let down from above. Within this outward wall was a large open space or court, called, in the largest and most perfect castles, the *outer bayle* or *ballium*, in which stood commonly a church or chapel. On the inside of this outer bayle was another ditch, wall, gate, and towers, inclosing the inner bayle or court, within which the chief tower or *keep* was built. This was a very large square fabric, four or five stories high, having small windows in prodigious thick walls, which rendered the apartments within it dark and gloomy. This great tower was the palace of the prince, prelate, or baron,

(35) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Fossatum*.(36) Id. voc. *Barbacana*.

to whom the castle belonged, and the residence of the constable or governor. Under ground were dismal dark vaults, for the confinement of prisoners, which made it sometimes be called *the dungeon*. In this building also was the great hall, in which the owner displayed his hospitality, by entertaining his numerous friends and followers (37). At one end of the great halls of castles, palaces, and monasteries, there was a place raised a little above the rest of the floor, called *the deis*, where the chief table stood, at which persons of the highest rank dined (38). Though there were unquestionably great variations in the structure of castles and palaces in this period, yet the most perfect and magnificent of them seem to have been constructed nearly on the above plan. Such, to give one example, was the famous castle of Bedford, as appears from the following account of the manner in which it was taken by Henry III. A. D. 1224 (39). The castle was taken by four assaults. "In the first was taken
 " the barbacan; in the second the outer ballia; at the
 " third attack the wall by the old tower was thrown
 " down by the miners, where, with great danger,
 " they possessed themselves of the inner ballia, through
 " a chink; at the fourth assault, the miners set fire to
 " the tower, so that the smoke burst out, and the
 " tower itself was cloven to that degree, as to shew
 " visibly some broad chinks: whereupon the enemy
 " surrendered (40)."

The castles, monasteries, and greater churches of Famous architects. this period, were generally covered with lead, the windows glazed; and when the walls were not of ashler, they were neatly plastered and whitewashed on both sides (41). The doors, floors, and roof, were commonly made of oak planks and beams, exactly smoothed and jointed, and frequently carved, (42). It is hardly necessary to observe, that the building one of these

(37) See Mr. Grose's Preface, p. 5, 6, 7, 8. to his Antiquities of England and Wales, from which I gratefully acknowledge the above description is chiefly taken.

(38) M. Paris: Vit. Abbat. p. 92. col. 1. p. 148. col. 1.

(39) M. Paris, Hist. Ang. p. 221, 222.

(40) Camden's Britannia, vol. 1. p. 314. col. 2.

(41) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 42. col. 2. (42) Id. ibid. p. 79. col. 2.

great and magnificent castles, monasteries, or churches, of which there were many in England, must have been a work of prodigious expence and labour; and that the architects and artificers, by whom that work was planned and executed, must have attained considerable dexterity in their respective arts. Several of these architects have obtained a place in history, and are highly celebrated for their superior skill. William of Sens, architect to archbishop Lanfranc in building his cathedral, is said, by Gervase of Canterbury, to have been a most exquisite artist both in stone and wood. He made not only a model of the whole cathedral, but of every particular piece of sculpture and carving, for the direction of the workmen; and invented many curious machines for loading and unloading ships, and conveying heavy weights by land, because all the stones were brought from Normandy (43). Matthew Paris speaks even in a higher strain of Walter of Coventry, who flourished towards the end of this period, when he says, that “so excellent an architect had never yet appeared, and probably never would appear in the world (44).” This encomium was undoubtedly too high; but it is impossible to view the remains of many magnificent fabrics, both sacred and civil, that were erected in this period, without admiring the genius of the architects by whom they were planned, and the dexterity of the workmen by whom they were executed.

Metallic
arts.

Though the arts of refining and working metals, which are so useful in themselves, and so necessary to the practice of the other arts, were very far from being in an imperfect state among the Anglo-Saxons, they certainly received some improvements in the present period (45). The art of making defensive armour, in particular, was brought to such perfection, that a knight completely armed was almost invulnerable (46). A suit of this armour consisted of many different

(43) Gervas de Combustione et Reparatione Dorobernenf. Eccles. col. 1290, 1291.

(44) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 79. col. 2.

(45) See vol. 4. chap. 5.

(46) Orderic. Vital. p. 854.

pieces,

pieces, for the several parts of the body, nicely jointed, to make them sit easy, and allow freedom of motion and exertion of strength; the whole was well tempered, finely polished, and often beautifully gilt; which are sufficient evidences of the dexterity of the artists (47). But those who wrought in the more precious metals of gold and silver, had attained to still greater perfection in their art. This appears from the direct testimony of contemporary writers, and from the descriptions of some of the works of these artists. When Robert, abbot of St. Albans, sent a present of two candlesticks made of gold and silver, with wonderful art, to his countryman pope Adrian IV. A. D. 1158, they were greatly admired and praised by that pontiff and his courtiers, who acknowledged they had never beheld any pieces of workmanship of that kind so exquisitely beautiful (48). A goldsmith, named Baldwin, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. was very famous, and made many admirable pieces of plate for the use of churches. "Simon, abbot of St. Albans (says Matthew Paris), dedicated to God, and the church of the holy martyr Alban, for the perpetual preservation of his own memory, a very large cup of gold, than which there was not one more noble or beautiful in all England. It was made of the purest gold, by that renowned goldsmith, master Baldwin, adorned with flowers and foliages of the most delicate workmanship, and set around with precious stones in the most elegant manner. Besides this, he gave to that church a vessel for keeping the eucharist, which was suspended over the high altar, and excited universal admiration. It was made by the hand of the same Baldwin; and though it was of the finest gold, and enriched with precious stones of inestimable value, the workmanship was more excellent than the materials (49)." These artists also excelled in casting figures of all kinds, in brass, silver, and gold, for ornamenting cabinets, shrines, altars, and the like.

(47) Martin. Anecdotes. tom. I. col. 1306.

(48) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 47. col. I.

(49) Id. ibid. p. 60. col. 2.

There was in the same abbey of St. Albans a shrine adorned with the whole history of our Saviour's passion, in such cast figures (50). The excessive riches of the church in this period, and the ambition of many prelates and abbots, to display their piety and gratify their pride, by adorning their cathedrals and abbeys, contributed very much to the improvement of this, and of several other arts, by affording the highest encouragement to the artists. The truth is, that many of the most curious artists of this period were ecclesiastics, and some of them even prelates; and that in some churches there were certain prebends appropriated to those of their clergy who excelled as architects, workers in stone, wood, or metals, and such arts as were necessary in building and adorning monasteries and cathedrals (51).

Clothing
arts.

The arts of dressing and spinning wool and flax, weaving both linen and woollen cloth, and several other clothing-arts, were well known to the Anglo-Saxons, and practised by them with no little success, before the conquest (52). There is however sufficient evidence that all these arts were improved after that event, in the course of our present period. This was partly owing to the great multitude of manufacturers of cloth, who came from Flanders, and settled in England, in those times. The people of that country were then so famous for their skill in the woollen manufactory, that one of our ancient historians says, "the art of weaving seemed to be a peculiar gift bestowed upon them by nature (53)." By this they were so much enriched, that some of their manufacturers and merchants rivalled princes in wealth and luxury. Besides the great number of Flemings who came over in the army of the conqueror, there were several considerable emigrations of them from their own country into England, particularly in the reigns of Henry I. and king Stephen (54). After their settlement in this island, which abounded in the best materials for their

(50) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 61. col. 1.

(51) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 7. p. 141, 142, tom. 9. p. 221, &c.

(52) See vol. 4. chap. 5.

(53) Gervas Chron. col. 1349.

(54) J. Brompt. Chron. 1003. Gervas col. 1349.

manufactories, they pursued their former occupation with great advantage to themselves and to the kingdom. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his itinerary of Wales, observes, that “the inhabitants of the district of Ros in Pembrokehire, who derived their origin from Flanders, were much addicted to, and greatly excelled in, the woollen manufactory (55).”

For the improvement of the clothing-arts the weavers in all the great towns of England were formed into guilds or corporations, and had various privileges bestowed upon them by royal charters, for which they paid certain fines into the exchequer. The weavers of Oxford paid a mark of gold for their gild, in the fifth of king Stephen; those of London paid sixteen pounds for theirs in the fifteenth, and those of Lincoln fined two chafeures or hounds for theirs in the twelfth of the same reign (56). In the twelfth of Henry II. the weavers of Winchester paid one mark of gold as a gresome, and two marks as their annual rate, for enjoying the rights of their gild, and the privilege of chusing their own aldermen; and in the same year, the fullers of the same city, who formed another corporation, paid six pounds for their gild (57).

In the reign of Richard I. the woollen manufactory became the subject of legislation; and a law was made, A. D. 1197, for regulating the fabrication and sale of cloth. By that law, “it was enacted,—That all woollen cloths shall every where be made of the same breadth, viz. two ells within the lists; and of the same goodness in the middle as at the sides.—That the ell shall be of the same length over all the kingdom, and that it shall be made of iron.—That no merchant in any part of the kingdom, of England shall stretch before his shop or booth, a red, or black cloth, or any other thing, by which the sight of buyers is frequently deceived in the choice of good cloth.—That no cloth of any other colour than black shall be sold in any part of the kingdom, except in cities and capital burghs; and that in all cities and burghs, four or six men, according to the

(55) Girald Cambrenf. Itinerarium Walliæ, l. 1. ch. 11. p. 848.

(56) Madox Hist. Exchcq. ch. 13. sect. 3. p. 323. (57) Id. ibid.

“size of the place, shall be appointed to enforce the
 “observation of these regulations, by seizing the per-
 “sons and goods of all who transgress them (58).”
 This remarkable law demonstrates, that the manufac-
 tory of broad cloth was not only established in Eng-
 land in this period, but that it had arrived at consid-
 erable maturity, and had become an object of national
 attention. There is evidence still remaining that this
 law was for some time very strictly executed; but that
 in the reign of king John, when every thing became
 venal, the merchants and manufacturers purchased
 licences to make their cloth either broad or narrow as
 they pleased, which brought considerable sums into the
 royal exchequer (59).

Tapestry.

That tapestry hangings, with historical figures
 woven in them, were used in England in this period,
 we have the clearest evidence. Richard, who was ab-
 bot of St. Albans from A. D. 1088 to A. D. 1119,
 made a present to his monastery of a suit of hangings,
 which contained the whole history of St. Alban (60).
 But whether these hangings had been made in England
 or not is uncertain, although it is not improbable that
 this curious art might be introduced by some of the
 many manufacturers from the Netherlands, who settled
 in Britain in this period.

Silks.

Silks of various kinds are frequently mentioned
 both in the records and by the historians of this period,
 and even seem not to have been very uncommon. For
 we often meet with accounts of silk vestments, cops,
 altar-cloths, hangings, &c. in great quantities, pur-
 chased by prelates, for the use of themselves, their
 clergy, and their churches (61). Nor was the use of
 silks confined to the church and clergy. They were
 worn also by kings, queens, princes, and other per-
 sons of high rank, especially on solemn occasions
 (62). But it is much more probable, that these silks
 were imported from Spain, Sicily, Majorca, Ivica,
 and other countries, than that they were manufactured

(58) Hoveden Annal. p. 440. col. 2. M. Paris Hist. Ang. p. 134.

(59) Hoveden Annal. p. 467. col. 2.

(60) M. Paris. Vit. Abbat. p. 35. col. 1.

(61) Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 416. 421. W. Malmf. p. 118. His-
 toria Cœnobii Burgenf. a Josepho Sparke, edit. London 1723. p. 100, &c.

(62) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 10. sect. 12.

in Britain. The silk manufactory seems to have flourished greatly, at this time, in the two last-mentioned islands, as each of them paid an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of silk to the king of Arragon (63). Roger king of Sicily having taken the cities of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, A. D. 1148, got into his hands a great number of silk weavers, brought them, with the implements and materials for the exercise of their art, and settled them at Palermo in Sicily (64). A writer who visited this manufactory, A. D. 1169, represents it to have been then in a most flourishing condition, producing great quantities of silks, both plain and figured, of many different colours. "There (adds he) you might have seen
 " other workmen making silks interwoven with gold,
 " and adorned with figures, composed of many sparkling gems (65)." It will afterwards appear, that those elegant arts were not long confined to Sicily.

We have already seen, that the Anglo Saxon ladies ^{Embroidery.} before the conquest excelled in the art of embroidery (66). This art was rather improved than injured by that event, and the English ladies still maintained their superiority in this respect. When Robert abbot of St. Albans visited his countryman pope Adrian IV. he made him several valuable presents, and, among other things, three mitres, and a pair of sandals, of most admirable workmanship. His holiness refused his other presents; but thankfully accepted of the mitres and sandals, being charmed with their exquisite beauty. These admired pieces of embroidery were the work of Christina abbess of Markgate (67). Another pope, not long after, admiring the embroidered vestments of some English clergymen, asked where they had been made; and being answered—in England,—he cried out, —“ O England! thou garden
 “ of delights, thou inexhaustible fountain of riches,

(63) R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 387. col. 2.

(64) Otto Frisingens. Hist. Imp. Frederic. l. i. c. 33.

(65) Falcaldus Historia Sicula, Præfat.

(66) See vol. 4. ch. 5.

(67) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 46.

“ from thee I never can exact too much ;” and immediately dispatched his bulls to several English abbots, commanding them to procure him some of these embroidered cloths and silks for his own dress (68). From the descriptions of these sacerdotal vestments in our ancient writers, they seem to have merited the admiration which they excited. Some of them (as we are informed by contemporary writers) were almost quite covered with gold and precious stones, and others adorned with the most beautiful figures of men, beasts, birds, trees, and flowers (69). It may not however be improper to suggest, that if these and other works, which appeared so exquisitely beautiful to the writers of this period, were now extant, it is probable that they would not excite so much admiration, in the present age, when the arts are so much improved.

Art of
war.

No art was more necessary, more cultivated, or more improved, in Britain, in this period, than that of war. “ The Normans, (says William of Malmfbury) are a people who delight in war, and are unhappy when they are not engaged in some military operation. They excel in all the arts of attacking their enemies when their forces are sufficient ; and, when these are defective, they are no less expert in military stratagems, and the arts of corruption by money (70).”

Their
armies.

The armies of Britain, and of all the nations of Europe, in the feudal times, consisted chiefly of cavalry, composed of earls, barons, knights, and others, who held their lands by knights service ; or of their substitutes. All these were obliged, by their tenures, to take the field when called upon by their sovereign, together with a certain number of knights, well mounted, and properly armed, and to serve a certain number of days at their own expence, their lands being considered as their pay. As it often happened, that many who held lands by knights service, were superannuated, or infirm, or otherwise incapable of

(68) Spelman Gloss. voc. Aurifrisia. M. Paris Hist. p. 473.

(69) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 40. col. 1. Historia Cœnobii Burgenf. p. 100, 101.

(70) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. col. 2.

performing that service in person, they were permitted, or rather obliged, to perform it by proper substitutes. The clergy also, who possessed a great proportion of lands, for which they could not in person perform the military services, because they were prohibited by the canons, were subjected to the same necessity of performing these services by substitutes, that the national defence might be complete. As many of the wars of the kings of England, in this period, were carried on in Normandy and France, the personal performance of their military services became very inconvenient and expensive to the possessors of lands in England; which induced many of them to redeem these services, by paying the tax called *scutage*. With the money arising from this tax, the kings engaged soldiers of fortune to perform the services. The cavalry therefore of the British armies, in this period, consisted of such earls, barons, and knights, as were able and willing to perform military services for their lands in person, and of the substitutes of the clergy and others, either provided by themselves, or hired by the king. If all these, belonging to England, had been collected together, they would have formed a body of sixty thousand horsemen, as there were sixty thousand knights fees in that kingdom (71).

The defensive armour of the British cavalry hath been already described, except their shields, which they carried on their left arms, and with which they warded off the blows of their enemies (72). These shields were of an oval form, considerably broader at the top than at the bottom. Even the horses of some of the princes, earls, barons, and chief knights, were covered with armour of steel or iron (73). The offensive arms of the cavalry were, 1. long spears, or lances, made of some light strong wood, as fir or ash, and pointed with steel, very sharp, and well tempered; 2. long and broad swords, defensive

(71) Orderic. Vital. p. 523.

(72) See p. 438.

(73) Hoveden. Annal. p. 44. col. 2.

ble-edged, and sharp pointed; a short dirk or dagger (74).

Infantry.

The infantry of the British armies of this period consisted of the freemen of the several British states, who did not hold lands of the sovereign by knights service, but were possessed of property to a certain extent, for which they were obliged to contribute to the public defence. By the famous assize of arms made by Henry II. A. D. 1181, every freeman who was possessed of sixteen marks, either in lands or goods, was obliged to provide the armour and weapons of a man at arms; and every freeman and burges who possessed ten marks, was obliged to provide the armour and arms of an ordinary foot-soldier (75). The defensive armour of a man at arms was a coat of mail, a helmet, and a shield; and his offensive weapons, were a spear and a sword. The defensive armour of an ordinary foot-soldier was a wambois, or jacket twilted with cotton, and an iron scull-cap; his offensive arms, a spear, or a bow and arrows, or a sling, with a sword. These arms, by the same assize, were neither to be sold, nor pledged, nor seized for debt, nor any way alienated, but transmitted by every man to his heir; and if any one who possessed them was not capable of using them, he was obliged to provide one who was capable, when he was called into the field (76). By these wise regulations every man who had any valuable stake in the state, was obliged to contribute to the public safety, and was constantly provided with the means of doing it.

Mercenary troops.

Besides these national forces, there were, in this period, several bands of mercenary soldiers of fortune, who made a trade of war, and were occasionally taken into the pay of the kings of England. These were called by various names, as, *Ruptarii*, *Bragmanni*, *Coterelli*, and most commonly *Brabantons*, because many of them were natives of Brabant (77). They are painted by the historians of those times in the most

(74) Hoveden, p. 350. col. 1.

(75) Id. ibid.

(76) Id. ibid.

(77) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Ruptarii*, *Coterelli*, *Brabantes*. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 391.

odious colours, as a collection of desperate lawless ruffians, who lived by plunder, when they were not employed in war (78). Stephen seems to have been the first English king who took these miscreants into his pay; and his example was imitated by his three successors, Henry II. Richard I. and John (79). But it was only in times of great confusion, when many of their own subjects had revolted, that our princes had recourse to such destructive auxiliaries. These troops of banditti, rather than of soldiers, became at length so terrible, especially to the clergy, that they were solemnly excommunicated by the third general council of Lateran, A. D. 1179, and a croisade was set on foot for their extermination (80). One Durand, a common carpenter, pretending to have received a commission from the Virgin Mary in a vision, A. D. 1182, put himself at the head of this croisade, and formed a military society for the destruction of the Brabanzons; which, after a long and bloody struggle, was accomplished (81).

The sovereign of every feudal state was, by the constitution, generalissimo or commander in chief of its forces; and all the British princes of this period performed that office in person, appearing constantly at the head of their armies. This was not altogether owing to the martial character of these princes, but was absolutely necessary to preserve some degree of discipline in armies composed of haughty independent barons and their followers. The constable, who was the highest military officer, commanded under the king, and with the assistance of the marshal and his officers, superintended the musters, regulated the quarters, marches, and incampments; determined all disputes, and appointed the punishment of delinquents, according to martial law (82). Every earl commanded the troops of his county, and every baron those of his barony. All these offices or commands

(78) Gervasi Chron. col. 1461.

(79) J. Hagulstad. col: 282. W. Neubrigen. 1. 2. c. c. 27. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 391. M. Paris Vita Abbat. p. 77. col. 2.

(80) Benedict. Abbas, tom. 1. p. 229. ad ann. 1179.

(81) Gervas Chron. col. 1461.

(82) Pasquier Recherches, p. 104. Spelman Gloss. voc. *Constabularius Marissallus*.

were hereditary; which, as John of Salisbury observes, was a defect in the military system of the middle ages, because by this means many persons were invested with offices of very great importance, for which they were naturally unqualified. “ In our
 “ time (says he) military skill and discipline have
 “ much declined, and are almost quite destroyed;
 “ because many possess the highest offices, without
 “ having passed through the subaltern degrees; who
 “ are proud indeed of their commands and titles, but
 “ despise the most necessary qualifications. Young
 “ men who are gamesters, hunters, hawkers, and even
 “ natural fools, who have never handled arms, or
 “ acquired any knowledge of the arts of war, take
 “ upon them to act the part of generals (83).

Standards.

The royal standard was considered as the centre of the whole army. In the day of battle it was carried by some great baron, who was standard-bearer of the kingdom, whose office was very honourable, and commonly hereditary. Henry de Essex was standard-bearer of England in the reign of Henry II. but in a battle against the Welsh, A. D. 1157, he was seized with a panic, and threw down the royal standard; on which the whole army concluded that the king was killed. Being tried for this crime, and convicted, he was condemned to lose his office, his fortune, and his life; which last was spared by the clemency of the king (84). Every earl and baron had his particular standard, painted with the armorial ensigns of his family; and even bishops and abbots had also standards, with different devices, that accompanied their troops when they took the field (85). These standards served not only to distinguish one body of troops from another, and to be a centre of union to each, but they also contributed to animate the soldiers to fight with courage for their preservation; because to lose their standard, was esteemed the greatest dis-

(83) J. Sarisburiensis de Nugis Curialium, l. 6. c. 16. p. 366.

(84) J. Brompton Chron. col. 1048. Gervas Chron. col. 1380.

(85) Simeon Dunelm. Hist. col. 262.

grace. The shapes and devices of these standards may be seen in the works quoted below (86).

The several corps in the army had bands of martial music, which served to cheer them in their marches, to rouse and inflame their courage in battle, and to drown the cries and groans of the wounded. These martial musicians made use of various instruments, as horns, trumpets, drums, flutes, fifes, and heroins; the last of which are now unknown (87). The charge to battle was given by the sound of all the instruments of martial music in both armies, commonly accompanied with the shouts or martial songs of the combatants (88).

It is not to be imagined that any particular rule was fixed for the arrangement of the troops in the order of battle. This must at all times be liable to great variations, arising from the nature of the ground, the quality of the troops, the genius of the commanders, the dispositions of the enemy, and other circumstances. In general, however, the Normans seem to have drawn up their different kinds of troops in different lines, rather than to have formed them into one solid compact body, which was the most common method of the Anglo-Saxons. In the famous battle of Hastings, the different practice of the two nations was most conspicuous. King Harold formed his whole army into one solid body, which made a kind of castle, impenetrable on all sides, of which the royal standard was the centre (89). The duke of Normandy, on the contrary, drew up his army in three lines, according to the custom of his country. "In the first line (to use the words of a contemporary historian, who was a witness of what he relates) he placed the foot, who were armed with bows and arrows, or with slings; in the second line he placed the heavy-armed foot, who were defended with coats of mail; and in the third line he placed his cavalry, in which his chief strength consisted,

(86) Mr. Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, plate 3. His complete *View of the Manners, &c. of England*, vol. 1. plates 38. 46, 47.

(87) *Vinefauf. Iter. Richardi Regis*, l. 3. c. 2.

(88) *W. Pictavien*, p. 201. *Orderic. Vital.* p. 501. *Hen. Knyghton*, col. 2342.

(89) *R. de Diceto*, col. 480. *J. Brompt.* col. 960.

“and among whom he was in person (90).” Agreeable to this disposition of the Norman army, the battle was begun by the first line, with a shower of arrows and stones from their bows and slings; which did considerable execution; but could not break the solid phalanx of their enemies, who repulsed them by throwing darts, javelins, and stones. The second line then advanced to the attack; and was in the same manner repulsed. At last the cavalry advanced in a deep and heavy body, and with their lances and swords made a most furious assault upon the English; who still stood firm like a wall composed of shields and spears; and if they had not been tempted, by the pretended flight of their enemies, to depart from their original disposition, they would have been invincible (91). But though the above seems to have been the most common method used by the Normans in the arrangement of their troops; yet so many deviations from it occur in the descriptions of the battles fought in Britain and Normandy in this period, that they cannot be enumerated. In the famous battle of the Standard, for example, they adopted the Anglo-Saxon method, and formed their forces into one compact body, with the standard in the centre (92). In the great battle (to give only one example more) that was fought between Henry I. and the king of France at Brenneville in Normandy, A. D. 1119, a different disposition was made by Henry, who formed the first and second lines of cavalry, and the third of infantry (93).

Artillery.

Besides their lances, spears, darts, cross bows, arrows, slings, which may be called the small arms of the middle ages, they had a kind of field-artillery which they used in battle. This artillery consisted of certain machines made of wood, which, by various contrivances, and combinations of the mechanic powers, threw darts and stones with great force to a great distance. Such machines were used with success in the famous battle of Hastings, and in several other battles (94). The darts that were shot from these machines, as well

(90) W. Pictavien. p. 201.

(91) Id. *ibid.*

(92) R. Hagulstad de Bello Standardi, col. 312.

(93) J. Brompt. Chron. col. 1007.

(94) W. Pictavien. p. 201.

as from the cross bows, were called *quarrels*; and were pointed with heavy pieces of steel, shaped like pyramids, and very sharp, which made them very destructive (95). This kind of artillery was more frequently used in sea-fights, than in battles on shore; and in these fights they discharged not only stones and darts, but also pots full of Greek-fire, quicklime, and other combustible materials (96).

As sea-fights have been mentioned, it may not be improper to give the following description of one that was fought in this period, between the Christian and Turkish fleets, before Ptolemais, translated from an author who was an eye-witness of what he describes: Sea-fights.
 “ Modern ships of war (says Geoffrey de Vinefauf) are either galleys or galliots. Galleys are long, low, and narrow, with a beam extended from the prow, which is commonly called *the spur*, with which they pierce the ships of the enemy. Galliots have only one bank of oars, are much shorter, more easily wrought, and fitter for throwing fire. When both parties prepared for battle, our men drew up their ships, not in a straight line, but bending a little like a crescent, placing the strongest ships on the points, that if the enemy attempted to break our line, they might be surrounded. The sea was perfectly calm and smooth, as if it had been prepared for the occasion, that neither the rowers, nor combatants, might miss their strokes. The signal of battle was given by the sound of the trumpets on both sides, followed by dreadful shouts and showers of darts. Our men, imploring the divine assistance, plyed their oars, and pushed the spurs of their galleys against the ships of their enemies. Now the battle raged.— Oars are entangled with oars,—grappling-irons fix one ship to another,—the combatants engage hand to hand,—and the boards are set on fire by a flaming oil, which is commonly called *Greek-fire*. This fire hath a most fetid smell, with livid flames, and consumes even flints and iron: water makes no impression upon it; a sprinkling of sand abates it; but it

(95) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Quadrillus*.

(96) G. Vinefauf. Iter Richardi Regis, l. 1. c. 34. Hoveden. Annal. col. 394.

“ can only be extinguished by vinegar. O how terrible, how cruel, is a sea-engagement! Some are tortured by fire,—some absorbed by the waves,—and others expire with wounds. One of our galleys was set on fire and boarded by the Turks. The rowers plunged into the sea, to save their lives by swimming; but a few knights, who were heavy-armed, fought in despair, slew all the Turks, and brought their galley half-burnt to land. In another of our galleys, the Turks seized the upper bank of oars, while the Christians kept possession of the lower, and by their pulling different ways, it was tossed in a miserable manner. In this engagement the Turks lost one galley and one galliot, with their crews, while we came off triumphant and victorious (97).”

Greek-fire.

The Greek-fire, mentioned in the above description, seems to have been one of the most terrible instruments of destruction employed in military operations, before the invention of gun-powder. It was called *Greek-fire*, because it was invented by the Greeks of the Eastern empire, who, for several centuries, kept the composition of it a profound secret. In that period, the emperors of Constantinople used to send quantities of this fire to princes in friendship with them, as the most valuable present they could give them, and as the greatest mark of their favour (98). But the composition of this liquid fire, as it is sometimes called, seems to have been no longer a secret in the twelfth century, as it was then used in very great quantities, not only by the Christians of all nations in the Holy Land, but also by the Turks (99). It is said to have been a composition of sulphur, bitumen, and naphtha (100). It had a very strong and disagreeable smell, as we may easily suppose from its ingredients; burnt with a livid flame, and so intense a heat, that it consumed not only all soft combustible substances, but even stones and metals (101). When it fell, in any considerable quantity, upon a warrior, it penetrated his armour, and peeled his flesh from his bones, with exquisite pain, which

(97) Vinefauf. Iter Richardi Regis, l. 1. c. 34.

(98) Luehprand, l. 5. c. 4. Delmar, l. 3. p. 33.

(99) N. Trivet. Chron. ad ann. 1191.

(100) Du Cange. Not. ad Joinvil. p. 71.

(101) Vinefauf. l. 1. c. 24.

made it an object of great terror (102). This liquid fire was kept in phials and pots, and in this was discharged from machines upon the enemy (103). One of its most singular properties was, that it burnt in water, which did not in the least abate its violence; but it yielded to several other things, particularly to sand, urine, and vinegar, according to the monkish verses quoted below (104). For this reason, when an army made an assault, in which they expected to be opposed by Greek-fire, they provided themselves with these things for its extinction. "Greek-fire (says Geoffrey de Vinefauf, in describing an assault) was discharged upon them from the walls of the castle and city, like lightning, and struck them with great terror; but they endeavoured to preserve themselves from it, by sand, vinegar, and other extinguishers (105)."

As Britain abounded, in this period, in fortified towns, and castles, much of the art of war consisted in defending and assaulting places of strength. The manner in which these fortifications were constructed hath been already described (106). They were defended by discharges of the various kinds of small arms and artillery then in use, from the ramparts, and by counteracting all the arts and efforts of the besiegers. It would be a very tedious work to enumerate all the arts and all the machines that were employed in this period, in assaulting and defending places. For as the combinations of the mechanic powers in forming engines for bursting open gates, undermining, scaling, and battering walls, throwing stones, darts, and fire, and for opposing all these efforts, are almost innumerable, great scope was given to the genius and invention both of the besiegers and besieged. The consequence of this was, that there were few sieges

Attack and
defence of
strong
places.

(102) Vinefauf. l. 2. c. 14.

(103) Du Cange. voc. *Ignis Græcus*.

(104) Preat, O utinam, ignis hujus vena;
Non enim extinguitur aqua, sed arena;
Vixque vinum acidum arctat ejus fræna,
Et urina stringitur ejus vix habena.

(105) G. Vinefauf. *Historia Captionis Damutzæ*, ch. 9.

(106) See p. 434, 435,

of great importance in which some new machine was not invented. Of these machines above twenty different kinds are mentioned by the writers of this period (107). But a plain description of a siege, given by a contemporary writer, will probably be more satisfactory to the reader, and give him a clearer idea of the means employed in attacking and defending places, than the most laborious investigation of the constructions and uses of all these machines. For this purpose I have chosen the relation given by an eye-witness of the siege of the castle of Exeter by king Stephen, A. D. 1136: “ The castle of Exeter is built on a lofty
 “ mount, surrounded with impenetrable walls, strength-
 “ ened with Cæsarean towers. In this castle Baldwin
 “ de Redvers placed a garrison, composed of valiant
 “ youths, the flower of all England, to defend it
 “ against the king, to which he bound them by a so-
 “ lemn oath, and by putting under their protection
 “ his wife and children. When the king invested the
 “ castle, they mounted the walls in shining armour,
 “ and treated him and his army with scorn and defi-
 “ ance. Sometimes they sallied out from secret pas-
 “ sages, when least expected; and put many of the
 “ besiegers to the sword; sometimes they poured down
 “ showers of arrows, darts, and other weapons on
 “ the assailants. On the other hand, the king and
 “ his barons laboured, with the greatest ardour, to
 “ distress the garrison. Having formed a very strong
 “ and well-armed body of foot, he assaulted the bar-
 “ bican, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle,
 “ carried it. He next beat down, with his engines,
 “ the bridge of communication between the castle
 “ and the town: after which he erected lofty towers
 “ of wood, with wonderful art, to protect his men,
 “ and enable them to return the discharges from the
 “ walls. In a word, he gave the besiegers no rest,
 “ either day or night. Sometimes his men mounted

(107) For the names and figures of some of these machines, see the Preface to Mr. Grose's *Antiquities of England*. Camden's *Remains* p. 200.

“ on a machine supported by four wheels, approached
“ the walls, and engaged hand to hand. Sometimes
“ he drew up all the slingers of the army, and threw
“ into the castle an intolerable shower of stones.
“ Sometimes he employed the most skilful miners to un-
“ dermine the foundations of the walls. He made use
“ of machines of many different kinds; some of which
“ were very lofty, for inspecting what they were doing
“ within the castle; and others very low, for battering
“ and beating down the walls. The besieged, mak-
“ ing a bold and masterly defence, baffled all his ma-
“ chinations with the most astonishing dexterity and
“ art (108).” After this siege had lasted three months,
and king Stephen had expended upon it, in machines,
arms, and other things, no less than fifteen thousand
marks, equal in efficacy to one hundred and fifty thou-
sand pounds of our money, the besieged were obliged
to surrender for want of water (109).

(108) *Gesta Regis Stephani*, apud. Duchesn. p. 934. (109) *Id. ibid.*

S E C T I O N II.

The history of the fine or pleasing arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music in Great Britain, from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1216.

The pleasing arts merit attention.

MANKIND, in every stage of society, have some taste and capacity for the imitative and pleasing arts; and, from the indulgence of that taste, and exertion of that capacity, they derive many of their most rational enjoyments. On this account, the state of these arts is an object worthy of attention in every period of the history of our country.

Sculpture.

Sculpture, or the art of forming the figures of men, birds, beasts, &c. in metal, stone, wood, or other materials, flourishes most under the patronage of riches and superstition, among a wealthy people addicted to idolatry. As Britain was one of the richest countries of Europe, in the period we are now delineating, and its inhabitants were much addicted to a superstitious veneration for the images of their saints, we have good reason to believe that sculpture was much cultivated and encouraged. Every church had a statue of its patron saint, while cathedrals and conventual

tual churches were crowded with such statues (1). We may form some judgment of the number of these statues in conventual churches from the following account given by Matthew Paris, of those that were erected in the abbey-church of St. Albans by one abbot: "This abbot William removed the ancient statue of the Virgin Mary, and placed it in another part of the church, erecting a new and more beautiful one in its room. He did the same with respect to the ancient crucifix, which stood aloft in the middle of the church, and another image of the Virgin Mary, that stood over the altar of St. Blasius, removing them into the north side of the church, and substituting others of more excellent workmanship in their places, for the edification and consolation of all the laity who entered (2). This abbot also set up the great crucifix with its images over the great altar (3)." Some of these statues, if we may believe this historian, were executed in a very masterly manner. "It must be mentioned also (says he) to the praise of abbot William, that the new statue of the Virgin Mary, which he presented to our church is admirably beautiful, having been made by Mr. Walter de Colchester, with the most exquisite art and skill (4)."

Besides statues the sculptors of this period executed many figures, and even historical pieces, in basso and alto relievo, as ornaments of churches, and objects of superstitious veneration. In the same abbey-church of St. Albans, we are told by the same historian, who was a monk of that abbey, there was a curious piece of this kind in wood, over the high altar: "In the middle (says he) of this piece, was a representation of the Divine Majesty, with that of a Christian church and of a Jewish synagogue. On one hand was a series of figures representing the twelve patriarchs, and on the other hand another series represent-

(1) Gervasius de Combustione et Reparatione Dorobernensis Ecclesie, col. 1294, &c.

(2) M. Paris Vit. Abbat. p. 81. col. 1. (3) Id. p. 80. col. 1.

(4) Id. p. 81. col. 1.

“ing the twelve apostles (5).” In a word, when architecture was cultivated with so much ardour, sculpture could not be neglected; and when so many noble and magnificent churches were built, artists could not be wanting to adorn and furnish them with images, which were esteemed so essential to the worship that was to be performed in these sacred structures.

Painting.

The art of painting was never wholly lost in any of those countries of Europe which had been provinces of the Roman empire. For though the barbarous conquerors of those countries destroyed many magnificent edifices and beautiful paintings, not a few of both escaped their ravages, and became the objects of their admiration. Some of these conquerors also, when the rage of war was at an end, discovered a taste for the fine arts, and became their patrons (6). Even the Anglo-Saxons, who were among the most destructive of the northern conquerors who overturned the Roman empire, did not continue long to despise the pleasing arts, particularly that of painting, which was practised by them with considerable success (7). But the Norman conquest contributed not a little to the improvement of the art of painting, as well as of architecture, in Britain; for the Normans being as superstitious, and more magnificent than the Anglo-Saxons, they built more beautiful churches, and adorned them with a greater profusion of paintings. The roof, for example, of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by archbishop Lanfranc, was painted, if we may believe a contemporary author, in the most elegant manner (8). Aldred archbishop of York, who put the crown on the head of William the Conqueror, added much to the magnitude and beauty of the church of St. John of Beverley. “He enlarged
“ (says his historian) the old church, by adding a new
“ presbytery, which he dedicated to St. John the

(5) M. Paris Vit. Abbat. p. 81. col. 2.

(6) Muratori, tom. 2. p. 354.

(7) See vol. 4. chap. 5.

(8) Gervas de Combustione & Reparatione Ecclesiæ Doroberniens. col. 1294.

“ Evangelist;

“ Evangelist; and he adorned the whole roof, from
 “ the presbytery to the great tower, with the most
 “ beautiful paintings, intermixed with much gilding of
 “ gold, performed with admirable art (9).” In a
 word, it seems to have been the constant custom of
 this period, to paint the inner roofs or ceilings of ca-
 thedrams and conventual churches; but of what kind
 these paintings were, and with what degree of de-
 licacy they were executed, we have now no means of
 judging, as we cannot depend very much on the taste
 of the monkish writers of those times, who speak of
 them in the highest strains of admiration. It is how-
 ever highly probable, that these paintings were of the
 historical kind, the subjects of which were taken from
 the Scripture: for Dudo of St. Quintin tells us,
 that Richard I. duke of Normandy, who died A. D.
 1002, painted the inside of a magnificent church,
 which he built at Rouen, with historical paintings
 (10).

Portrait-paintings appear to have been very common Portrait-
painting.
 in this period; and it is probable that there were few
 kings, queens, or princes, who had not their pictures
 drawn. The learned Montfaucon hath published
 prints of four pictures at full length, representing
 William the Conqueror, his queen Matilda, and their
 two sons Robert and William (11). These pictures,
 which are believed by many to have been drawn from
 the life, were painted in fresco, on the walls of a
 chapel belonging to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen,
 which was built A. D. 1064. They are thus de-
 scribed: “ The Conqueror was drawn as a very tall
 “ man, clothed in a royal robe, and standing on the
 “ back of an hound couchant: on his head was a
 “ diadem, ornamented with trifolds; his left hand
 “ pointed to his breast, and in his right he held a
 “ sceptre, surmounted with a fleur de lys. Queen
 “ Matilda was dressed in a kirtle and mantle; and
 “ had on her head a diadem, similar to that of her

(9) T. Stubbs Act. Pontific. Ebor. col. 1704.

(10) Dudo de Actis Norman. l. 3. p. 153.

(11) Montfaucon Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. 1.
 plate 55. p. 402.

“ husband; from the under part whereof hung a vail,
 “ which was represented as falling carelessly be-
 “ hind her shoulders: in her right hand was a scap-
 “ tre, surmounted with a fleur de lys, and in her left a
 “ book: her feet were supported by the figure of a
 “ lion. Duke Robert was represented as standing on
 “ a hound, and clad in a tunique, over which was
 “ thrown a short robe or mantle: his head was cover-
 “ ed with a bonnet; upon his right hand, clothed with a
 “ glove, stood a hawk, and in his left was a lure. The
 “ picture of duke William represented him as a youth,
 “ bare-headed, dressed in the same habit as his bro-
 “ ther, and standing on a fabulous monster: the left
 “ hand of this prince was clothed with a glove, and
 “ supported a falcon, which he was feeding with his
 “ right. These paintings are supposed to have been
 “ coeval with the foundation of the abbey of St. Ste-
 “ phen, and to have been drawn from the life (12).”
 The learned Montfauçon says, “ That these four
 “ pictures have all the air and appearances of origi-
 “ nals.”

Remarka-
 ble likenes
 of some
 portraits.

There is an anecdote preserved by William of
 Malmſbury, which seems to indicate that portrait-
 painting was practised in great perfection in this period.
 A company of banditti in Flanders, who pretended
 to be adherents of Guibert the anti-pope, had formed
 a plot to intercept and rob Anselm archbishop of Can-
 terbury, in his way to Rome, A. D. 1097. The
 archbishop having received intelligence of their de-
 sign, escaped by means of a disguise. That he
 might not escape in the same manner on his re-
 turn, the banditti sent an excellent painter to
 Rome to draw his picture so exactly, that they
 might know him under any disguise. Of this also
 the archbishop received intelligence; and was so much
 alarmed that he went a great way out of his road, to
 avoid the danger (13). About the same time the pope
 and clergy employed the art of painting in promoting
 a croisade for the recovery of the Holy Land, by
 sending certain irritating pictures to the courts of
 princes, and exposing them to the view of the people.
 In one of these pictures, Christ was represented tied

(12) Doctor Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 61.

(13) W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific, Angl. p. 127. col. 2.

to a stake, and scourged by an Arabian, supposed to be Mahomet; and in another an Arabian was painted on horseback, with his horse staling on the holy sepulchre. These pictures, it is said, excited the indignation both of princes and people, in a very high degree, and contributed not a little to their taking the cross (14).

Painting, in this period, was not confined to the use of the church, or to the portraits of great men, but was employed to various other purposes; particularly to ornamenting the apartments, furniture, shields, &c. of persons of rank and fortune. In the seventeenth of Henry III. a precept was directed to the sheriff of Hampshire, commanding him, "to cause the king's wainscotted chamber in the castle of Winchester to be painted with the same histories and the same pictures with which it had been painted before (15)." This is an authentic proof that wainscoting chambers, and painting the wainscot with historical paintings, was practised in England so long before the seventeenth of Henry III. A. D. 1233, that the paintings were so much faded or tarnished that they needed to be renewed. Peter de Blois, archdeacon of Bath, and chaplain to Henry II. acquaints us, in one of his letters, that the great barons and military men of his time, had their shields and saddles painted with the representations of battles. In that letter he censures the vices, and particularly the ostentatious vanity, of these barons, with no little severity; and, amongst other things, says, "They carry shields into the field so richly gilded, that they present the prospect of booty rather than of danger to the enemy; and they bring them back untouched, and, as I may say, in a virgin state. They also cause both their shields and saddles to be painted with representations of battles and equestrian combats, that they may please their imaginations with the contemplations of scenes in which they do not chuse to engage (16)."

The art of painting glass was known and practised in France, and very probably in England, in this period. Father Montfauçon hath given several plates of

Paintings
of various
kinds.

Painting
glass.

(14) Abulfeda, l. i. c. 3. Bohadin. Vit. Salidini, ch. 80. p. 136.

(15) See the Honourable Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, p. 3.

(16) Opera Petri Blesensis, ep. 94. p. 146, 147.

the paintings in the windows of the abbey of St. Dennis that were painted in the twelfth century, particularly a representation of the progress of the first crusade, in ten compartments (17). This art, it is believed, was brought into England in the reign of king John (18).

Illuminations of books.

There was a kind of miniature painting much practised in Britain in this period, and of which many curious specimens are still remaining. This was called *illuminating* (from which limning is derived); and was chiefly used, as we now use copper-plates, in illustrating and adorning the Bible and other books. This art was much practised by the clergy, and even by some in the highest stations in the church: "The famous " Osmund (says Brompton), who was consecrated " Bishop of Salisbury A. D. 1076, did not disdain to " spend some part of his time in writing, binding, and " illuminating books (19)." Mr. Strutt hath given the public an opportunity of forming some judgment of the degree of delicacy and art with which these illuminations were executed, by publishing prints of a prodigious number of them, in his two works, quoted below (20). In the first of these works, we are presented with the genuine portraits, in miniature, of all the kings, and several of the queens, of England, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the VII. mostly in their crowns and royal robes, together with the portraits of many other eminent persons of both sexes.

Art of preparing colours.

The illuminators and painters of this period seem to have been in possession of a considerable number of colouring materials, and to have known the arts of preparing and mixing them, so as to form a great variety of colours. In the specimens of their miniature-paintings that are still extant, we perceive not only the five primary colours, but also various combinations of them. There is even some appearance that they were not ignorant of the art of painting in oil, from the following precept of Henry III. dated only twenty-three years after the conclusion

(17) Montfaucon Monumens, &c. tom. 1. p. 384.

(18) Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, p. 5. note.

(19) J. Brompt. Chron. col. 977.

(20) The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, London 1773; View of the Customs, &c. of England, 1774.

of this period: "Pay out of our treasury, to Odo the goldsmith, and Edward his son, one hundred and seventeen shillings and ten pence, for oil, varnish, and colours bought, and pictures made, in the chamber of our queen at Westminster, between the octaves of the Holy Trinity, in the twenty-third year of our reign, and the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, in the same year, which is fifteen days (21)." This was a considerable sum (equal in quantity of silver to seventeen pounds fourteen shillings of our money, and in efficacy to eighty-eight pounds) to be expended in painting one chamber in so short a time.

As the Normans were more learned, and no less fond of poetry than the Anglo-Saxons, that most pleasing and delightful art, especially Latin poetry, was cultivated with no less ardour, and with greater success, in this than in the former period. On this account it may be proper to pay a little more attention to this than to any of the other arts. Poetry.

The vernacular language of England, in this period was in such an imperfect and unsettled state, that it was hardly fit for transacting the common business of society, and very improper for the sublime and melodious strains of poetry. No sciences were taught, few letters were written, few accounts were kept, few treatises in prose, on any subject, were composed in that language (22). But so strong a propensity to poetry prevailed, that a prodigious number of poems on different subjects, and in various kinds of verse, were written in that crude unformed tongue. Many of our best poets indeed in this period, sensible of the imperfection of their native language, wrote their poems in Latin, and some in the Romance or Provençal tongue. This makes it necessary to give a very brief account, 1. of the English; 2. of the Latin; and 3. of the Provençal poetry of this period. Imperfect state of the English language.

As many of the poets of this period were clerks and monks, many of their poems were on religious subjects. Of this kind is a translation of the Old and New Testament into English verse, supposed to have been made before the year 1200,—a version of the psalms, English poetry.

(21) Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. 1. p. 6.

(22) See chap. 7.

made about the same time,—and a large volume of the lives of the saints (23). The only specimen of these poems our limits can admit, is the following version of the hundredth psalm :

Mirthes to God al erthe that es
Serves to Louerd in faines.
In go yhe ai in his siht,
In gladnes that is so briht.
Whites that louerd god is he thus
He us made and our self noht us,
His folk and shep of his fode :
In gos his yhates that are gode :
In schrift his worches belive,
In ympnes to him yhe schriye.
Heryhes his name for Louerde is hende,
In all his merci do in strende and strande (24).

Sunday-
songs.

The minstrels of those times had a set of songs of a religious cast, and on religious subjects, which they sung to their harps, in the courts of kings, and in the halls of barons, on Sundays, instead of those on love and war, and such subjects, which they sung on other days. The following lines are the exordium of one of these Sunday-songs :

The visions of Seynte Poul won he was rapt into Paradys.

Lusteneth lordynges leof and dere,
Ze that wolen of the Sunday here ;
The Sunday a day hit is
That angels and archangels join i wis,
More in that ilke day
Then any odur, &c. (25)

Hymns.

The monks, and other clerical poets of this period, composed many short hymns, in various kinds of verse. The following stanza of one of these hymns may serve as a specimen. The subject of it is our Saviour's crucifixion :

I fyke when y singe for forewe that y se
When y with wyinge bihold upon the tre,
Ant se Jhesu the suete
Is hert blod for-lete,

(23) Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 19. 23. 12.

(24) Id. ibid. p. 23.

(25) Id. ibid. p. 19. note.

For the love of me ;
 Ys woundes waxen wete,
 Thei wepen, still and mete,
 Marie reweth me (26).

Religion was not the only subject of the English poetry of this period. Love, the favourite theme of many poets, produced its share of verses. The following little poem, in which the poet compares his mistress to a great variety of gems and flowers, may serve as a specimen of this kind of poetry, and of that alliteration which was esteemed a great beauty in this period:

Ich hot a burde in an hour, ase beryl so bryght,
 Ase saphyr in selver semely on syght,
 Ase jaspe the gentil that lemeth with lyght,
 Ase gernet in golde and rubye wel ryht,
 Ase onycle he is on y holden on hyht ;
 Ase a diamand the dere in day when he is dyht :
 He is coral yend with Cayser and knyght,
 Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht.
 The myht of the margaryte haveth this mai mere,
 Ffor charbocele iche hire chafe bi chyn and bi chere,
 Hire rede ys as rose that red ys on ryse
 With lilye white leves loffum he ys,
 The primros he passeth, the penenke of prys,
 With alisaundre thareto ache and anys :
 Coynte as columbine such hire cande ys,
 Glad under gore in gro and in grys,
 Heo is blome upon bleo brightest under bis
 With celydone ant fange as thou thi self fys,
 From Weye he is wisift into Wyrhale,
 Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtigale ;
 In a note is hire nome nampneth hit non
 Who so ryht redeth ronue to Johon (27).

Several satirical poems appear among the remains of the English poetry of this period. Some of these are general satires against monks, bishops, lawyers, physicians, and people of other professions. That part of a very curious satire against monks, in which the author lashes them for their incontinence, may serve as

(26) Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 33. note.

(27) Id. p. 32.

an example of this kind of poetry. After the satirist had described the delightful situation, magnificent fabric, and great provision of meats and drinks of an abbey, with the indolence, gluttony, and drunkenness of its monks, he proceeds thus :

An other abbai is ther bi
 For soth a gret nunnerie ;
 Up a river offwet milk
 Whar is pleinte grete of silk.
 When the summeris dai is hote,
 The yung nunnes takith a bote,
 And doth ham forth in that river
 Both with oris and with stere :
 Whan hi beth fur from the abbei
 Hi makith him nakid for to plei,
 And leith dune in to the brimme
 And doth him sleilich for to swimme :
 The yung monkes that hi seeth
 Hi doth ham ap, and forth he fleeth,
 And comith to the nunnes anon,
 And each monk him takith on,
 And snellich berith forth har prei
 To the mochill grei abbei,
 And techith the nonnes an oreisun
 With jambleus up and dun.
 The munke that wol be staluu gode,
 And can set a riyt his hode,
 He scal hab withoute danger
 xii wives each yer,
 Al throy riyt and noyt throy grace,
 For to do himsilf solace.
 And thilk monke that clepetn best
 And doth is likam all to rest,
 Of him is hope, God hit wote,
 To be sone vader abbot (28).

Danger of
 writing
 satirical
 poems.

It was far from being safe at this time to write satirical verses against particular persons, especially against those in power. Henry I. A. D. 1124, condemned one Luke de Barra to have his eyes pulled out, for having written defamatory ballads against him; and when the earl of Flanders very warmly interceded for the unhappy poet, the king replied, " This man, being

(28) Hiccesii Thesaur. tom. I. p. 132, 133. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 11.

“ a wit, a poet, and a minstrel, hath composed many
 “ indecent songs against me, and sung them openly,
 “ to the great entertainment and diversion of my ene-
 “ mies. Since it hath pleased God to deliver him into
 “ my hands, he shall be punished, to deter others from
 “ the like petulance (29).” This cruel sentence was
 accordingly executed on the unfortunate satirist; who
 died of the wounds he received in struggling with the
 executioner.

But though the kings and great men of those times Panegyrics.
 were thus impatient of satire, they were fond enough
 of panegyrics; which produced poems of that kind in
 great abundance. The famous William Longchamp,
 bishop of Ely, chancellor and chief justiciary of Eng-
 land, the pope's legate, and the great favourite of
 Richard I. (if we may believe his brother Hugh
 Nunant bishop of Chester), “ kept a number of poets
 “ in his pay, to make songs and poems in his praise;
 “ and allured the best singers and minstrels, by great
 “ gifts, to come over from France, and sing these
 “ songs in the streets of the several cities of Eng-
 “ land (30).” Matilda, queen of Henry I. was so
 generous, or rather so profuse a patroness of poets,
 that they crowded to her court from all parts to present
 her with their panegyrics (31). So much were the
 muses both courted and dreaded by the great in this
 period!

Among the remains of the English poetry of the Elegies,
 pastorals,
 &c.
 twelfth century, are several elegiac, pastoral, and de-
 scriptive poems; but for specimens of these, I must
 refer the reader to the very curious work quoted be-
 low, to which I have been so much indebted in this
 article (32).

The unsettled state of the English language, fluctu- Latin
 poetry.
 ating between the Norman, spoken by one part of the
 people, and the Saxon, by another, was, no doubt, one
 reason why the Latin language was studied with so

(29) Orderic. Vital. p. 880, 881.

(30) Benedict. Abbas, ad ann. 1191.

(31) W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 93. col. 1.

(32) Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 29, &c.

much ardour in England in this period; and that not only all our divines, philosophers, and historians, but also many of our poets wrote in that language. Several learned men, whom we have already mentioned for their other works, were excellent Latin poets, and in that capacity claim a little of our attention.

Henry of
Hunting-
ton.

Henry of Huntington, the historian, was also a voluminous Latin poet, and wrote several books of epigrams and love-verses, and a poem upon herbs. This we are told by himself, in the conclusion of his curious letter on the contempt of the world :

Henricus tibi ferta gerens, epigrammata primum,
Prælia mox Veneris gramina deinde tuli (33).

His invocation of Apollo, and the goddesses of Tempe, in the exordium of his poem on herbs, may serve as a specimen of his poetry :

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, Deæ !
Si mihi ferta prius hedera florente parastis,
Ecce meos flores, ferta parate, fero (34).

John of
Salisbury.

The famous John of Salisbury was not only well acquainted with the best Roman poets, as appears from the numerous quotations from them in his works, but was himself no contemptible Latin poet. His poem prefixed to his book, *De nugis curialium*, is equally elegant and witty. It is an address to his book, containing many directions for its conduct; from which the following verses, alluding to the title of his work, may be given as a specimen :

(33) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 702.

(34) *Leland. de Script. Britain.* tom. 2. p. 198.

Nusquam divertas ne quis te lædat euntem,
 Nugarum luat garrula lingua notas.
 Omnia, si nescis, loca sunt plenissima nugis;
 Quarum tota cohors est inimica tibi.
 Ecclesia nugæ regnant, et principis aula;
 In claustrò regnant, pontificisque domo.
 In nugis clerus, in nugis militis usus;
 In nugis juvenes, totaque turba senum,
 Rusticus in nugis, in nugis sexus uterque;
 Servus et ingenuus, dives, egenus, in his (35).

Eadmer, William of Malmſbury, Peter of Blois, Eadmer, &c.
 Girald Barry, and several others of whom we have already given some account, have left proofs of their proficiency in Latin poetry, as well as in other parts of learning; but extracts from their works would swell this section beyond its due proportion. It will be more proper to take a little notice of a very few of the Latin poets of this period, who addicted themselves chiefly to poetry, and who have not yet been mentioned.

John Hanvill, or Hautvill, a monk of St. Albans, Hanvill.
 flourished towards the end of the twelfth century, and was far from being a contemptible Latin poet. His chief work was a kind of moral heroic poem, in nine books, the hero of which he calls *Architrieni*, who travelled over the world, and every where found reason to lament the follies, vices, and miseries of mankind. He dedicated this work to his great friend and patron Walter de Constans, who was made bishop of Lincoln A. D. 1183. A few lines from the dedication will enable the reader to form some idea of his style and manner:

O cujus studio, quo remige navigat æstu,
 Mundanoque mari tumidis exempta procellis,
 Lincolnæ sedes! O quem non præterit æqui
 Calculus! O cujus morum redolentia cælum
 Spondet, et esse nequit virtus altissima major,
 Indivisa minor: cujus se nomen et astris
 Inferit, et famæ lituo circumsonat orbem (36).

(35) J. Sarisburien. ad opus suum.

(36) Balzæi. Hist. Universitat. Parisien, tom. 2. p. 458.

Besides his Architrieniſus, he wrote a volume of Latin epigrams, epiſtles, and ſmaller poems, which (as an excellent judge who peruſed them declares) have conſiderable merit (37).

Joſeph of Exeter.

Joſephus Iſcanus (Joſeph of Exeter) was the prince of Latin poets in the period we are now examining, and wrote two heroic poems. The Trojan war was the ſubject of one of theſe poems, which conſiſted of ſix books, and was dedicated to Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſubject of the other, which was called *Antiocheis*, was the croiſade, in which his ſovereign Richard I. and his patron archbiſhop Baldwin were engaged. Of the beauty and excellēce of the firſt of theſe poems we have an opportunity of judging, becauſe it is ſtill extant, and hath been publiſhed (38). “ The diction is generally pure, the “ periods are round, and the numbers harmonious ; “ and, on the whole, the ſtructure of the verſification “ approaches nearly to that of poliſhed Latin “ poetry (39).” It is hardly poſſible to dip into any part of this poem, which conſiſts of no fewer than three thouſand ſix hundred forty-fix lines, without finding paſſages that will juſtify this favourable opinion of its merit ; and therefore I ſhall go no further for an example than to the exordium, in which the ſubject is propoſed with great plainneſs and ſimplicity :

Iliadum lachrymas, conceſſaque Pergama fatiſ,
Prælia bina ducum, bis adactam eladibus urbem,
In cineres, querimur: ſtemuſque quod Herculis ira,
Heſiones raptus, Helenæ fuga fregerit arcem,
Impulerit Phrygios Danaas exciverit urbes (40).

The *Antiocheis* is unhappily loſt, except a ſmall fragment, in which the ancient heroes of Britain are celebrated in a ſtrain not unworthy of the Man-

(37) Mr. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, diſſertation 2.

(38) At Baſil, 8vo, 1541. At Amſterdam, 4to, 1702.

(39) Mr. Warton's *Hiſt. Engl. Poet.* diſſertat. 2.

(40) Joſephi Iſcani de Bello Trojana, Libri Sex, cum notis Drefemii, Amſtelæd. 1702.

tuan bard. Of the famous prince Arthur our poet sings thus :

Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu,
 Flos regum Arthurus * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * Quém cūque priorum
 Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
 Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romāna triumphos:
 Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstis;
 Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
 Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
 Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
 Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
 Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris (41).

Alexander Necham was another elegant Latin poet, Alexander who flourished in England at the same time with Necham. Joseph of Exeter. He was born and educated at St. Albans, as appears from the following verses, which may serve also as a specimen of his poetry :

* * * * * Claustrum
 Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies,
 Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
 Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
 Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuat annos
 Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
 Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
 Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ.
 Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
 Indulgit sancto religiosa cohors (42).

Walter Mapes, the jovial and witty archdeacon of Walter Oxford, and chaplain to Henry II. was a good Latin Mapes. poet, and voluminous writer. His poems were chiefly of a satirical or festive strain, and in the rhyming kind of verses, commonly called *Leonine*, which were much used by the minor poets of those times. Three stanzas from his satire on pope Innocent, for prohibiting the marriage of the clergy, will give us some idea

(41) Camden's Remains, p. 314. Warton. Hist. Poet. dissertat. 3.

(42) Id. ibid.

of his satirical vein; and his famous ode on drinking, will be a sufficient specimen of his festive lays:

O quam dolor anxius, quam tormentum grave,
 Nobis est dimittere quoniam est suave!
 O Romane pontifex, statuisse prave,
 Ne in tanto crimine moriaris cave.
 Non est Innocentius, immo nocens vere,
 Qui quod factò docuit, studet abolere:
 Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
 Modo vetus pontifex studet prohibere.
 Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
 Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi.
Pater noster nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
 Dicat quisque presbyter, cum sua suavi (43).

Ode on Drinking.

Mihi est propositum in taberna mori,
 Vinum sit appositum morientis ori:
 Ut dicant, cum venerint, angelorum chori,
 Deus sit propitius huic potatori.
 Poculis accenditur animi lucerna.
 Cor imbutum nectare volat ad superna;
 Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in taberna,
 Quam quod aqua miscuit præfulis pincerna.
 Suum cuique proprium dat natura munus,
 Ego nunquam potui scribere jejunus:
 Me jejunum vincere possit puer unus;
 Sitim et jejunium odi tanquam funus.
 Unicuique proprium dat natura bonum,
 Ego versus faciens, vinum bibo bonum,
 Et quod habent melius dolia cauponum,
 Tale vinum generat copiam sermonum.
 Tales versus facio, quale vinum bibo,
 Nihil possum scribere, nisi sumpto cibo;
 Nihil valet penitus, quod jejunus scribo,
 Nasonem post calices carmine præibo.
 Mihi nunquam spiritus prophetiæ datur
 Nisi tunc cum fuerit venter bene satur;
 Cum in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur,
 In me Phœbus irruit, ac miranda fatur (44).

(43) Camden's Remains, p. 334, 335.

(44) Id. p. 332, 333.

Among the English monks of this period, there were many smart satirical epigrammatists; a considerable number of their epigrams, which are far from being contemptible, are still preserved. Our limits will only allow us to admit one of Godfrey's, who was prior of Winchester A. D. 1100, on an abbot, who protected his monks from others, but oppressed them himself:

Tollit ovem de fauce lupi persæpe molossus
 Ereptamque lupo ventre recondit ovem.
 Tu quoque Sceva tuos prædone tueris ab omni,
 Unus prædo tamen perdis ubique tuos (45).

Latin elegies and epitaphs were written upon almost all the kings, princes, prelates, and other eminent persons who died in England in this period; and not a few of these performances approach to classical purity of diction (46). In a word, every kind of Latin poetry was cultivated by the clergy and monks of the twelfth century, with a degree of success that will hardly be credited by those who are not acquainted with their writings.

The language which the Normans brought with them into England, was that which was called *lingua Romana*, or the Romance language, which was the vulgar tongue of all the provinces of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (47). In this language the Normans had already composed many poems and songs, one of which was sung by the champion Taillifer, at the head of the Norman army, before the battle of Hastings, as we learn from the following lines of master Wace, an Anglo-Norman poet of this period (48):

(45) Camden's Remains, p. 325:

(46) Orderic. Vital. passim. Camden's Remains, p. 321, &c. 360, &c.

(47) See chap. 7.

(48) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. col. 1.

Taillifer,

Taillifer, qui moult bien chantoit,
 Sur un cheval qui tost alloit,
 Devant eus alloit chantant,
 De l'Allemagne et de Rollant,
 Et d'Oliver, et de Vaffaux,
 Que moururent a Rainfchevaux (49).

It was in this *lingua Romana*, or Romance tongue (the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French), that many metrical romances were composed by the French and Normans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: and it was from the language in which they were written, rather than from the extravagant fables which they commonly contained, that these poems were called Romances (50). In the exordium of a metrical life of Tobiah, written by a monk at the desire of the abbot of Kenelworth, the language in which it is composed is called the *Roman* or *Romance*:

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie,
 De l'eglyse seynte Marie
 De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
 Ki porte le plus haute peyne
 De charite, ke nul eglyse
 Del reaume a devyfe
 Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie
 De celui ke ont nun Tobie, &c (51).

Romances.

Some of the French and Norman poets of this period, pretended, at least, that their poems were true histories, though they gave them the title of Romances, on account of the language in which they were written. Of this kind was the long historical poem of Maister Robert Wace, chaplain to Henry II. which is sometimes called *Roman de Rois d'Angleterre*, and sometimes *Roman le Rou, et les vies des*

(49) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 7. Avertissement, p. 73.

(50) Id. ibid. Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Romances*, l. 5, p. 1489.

(51) Warton's Hist. Poet. p. 85.

Dues de Normandie (52). Robert de Brunne, in the prologue to his translation of one of these metrical historical poems, written by an Anglo-Norman, says the language of his original was called Romance :

Frankis spech is cald Romance,
So fais clerkes and men of France.
Pers of Langtoft, a chanon
Schaven in the hōuse of Bridlyngton
On Frānkis style this storie he wrotē
Of Inglis kinges, &c (53).

Many of these poems, which were originally written in romance, because it was the language of their authors, and of the court and nobility to whom they were addressed, were soon after translated into the English of those times, for the entertainment of the native English, who were called *lewed*, i. e. ignorant men. This is the motive assigned by Robert de Brunne for his translating one of these poems :

For lewed men I undyrtoke,
In Englyshe tonge to make this boke :
For many beyn of suche manere
That talys and rymys wyle bleihty here (53).

The Provençal poets were very famous in the Provençal twelfth and thirteenth centuries, not only in their own; but in several neighbouring countries. They were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were in reality the fathers of modern poetry. No poets were ever more loved, admired, and cherished, than these Provençal bards. They were invited to the courts of the greatest princes, where they became the delight of the brave, and the favourites of the fair, by celebrating the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other, in their poems. In a word, the admiration which they acquired was so flattering, that several sovereign prin-

(52) Warton's Hist. Poet. p. 62, 63.

(53) Id. p. 66.

(54) Id. p. 59.

ces became Troubadours, and wrote poems in the Provençal language, which was then the most perfect of all the modern languages of Europe (54). Richard I. of England was one of these royal songsters; some of whose poems, in the Provençal tongue, are still extant; and one of them hath been published in the very curious work quoted below (55). The first stanza of that poem, which was composed in prison in Germany, with a translation, is all the specimen of this kind of poetry that our limits will admit:

Ja nus hom pris non dira fa raïson,
 Adreitament se com hom dolent non :
 Ma per conort pot il faire chanfon.
 Pro a d'amis, mas poure son li don.
 Onta i auron se por ma reezon,
 Sois fait dos yver pris (56).

No prisoner his condition can explain,
 But he will fall into a plaintive strain.
 Yet to divert his sorrows he may sing,
 Though he have friends, how poor the gifts they bring!
 Shame be on them! my ransom they deny,
 And I in prison two long winters lie.

Music.

In times when poetry was so much cultivated, we may be certain, that musick could not be neglected, especially when we consider that the union between these two arts was much greater in those times than it is at present. For in the middle ages, almost all the poets of France and England, like the antient bards of Gaul and Britain, were musicians, and sung their verses to the music of their harps (57). These poetical musicians, commonly called *Minstrels*, were the delight of princes, prelates, and barons, who entertained them in their courts and castles, and

(54) *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours à Paris, 1774.*

(55) *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, vol. I. p. 6.*

(56) *Histoire de Traubodours, tom. I. p. 59.*

(57) See Dr. Percy's curious Preface to his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.*

lavished upon them much of their wealth (58). Matilda, queen of Henry I, was so fond of music, and so profusely generous to musicians and poets, that she expended almost all her revenues upon them, and even oppressed her tenants, in order to procure money to reward them for their songs (59). John of Salisbury censures the great people of his time, for imitating Nero in his extravagant fondness for musicians; and says, that “they prostituted their favour, by bestowing it on minstrels and buffoons; and that, by a certain foolish and shameful munificence, they expended immense sums of money on their frivolous exhibitions (60).” “The courts of princes (says another contemporary writer) are filled with crowds of minstrels, who extort from them gold, silver, horses, and vestments, by their flattering songs. I have known some princes who have bestowed on these minstrels of the devil, at the very first word, the most curious garments, beautifully embroidered with flowers and pictures, which had cost them twenty or thirty marks of silver, and which they had not worn above seven days (61).” An art that was so highly honoured, and so liberally rewarded, could not fail to flourish.

Both the vocal and instrumental music of this period was of three kinds, viz. sacred, civil, and martial. Of the last, enough hath been already said (62). Of the state of the other two it may be proper to give a very brief account.

Sacred or church music was cultivated with great ardour by the British clergy of all ranks in this period, both because it attracted the people to the church, and because it rendered the performance of the public service more agreeable to themselves. The Anglo-Norman clergy, in particular, applied with much diligence and success to this delightful art: of which it may not be improper to give one example, out of many that might be given. Thomas, the first Nor-

Church-
music.

(58) M. Paris, p. 114. col. 1.

(59) W. Malmf. p. 93. col. 1.

(60) J. Sarisburien. Policrat. l. 1. c. 8. p. 32.

(61) Rigordus ad an. 1185.

(62) See p. 449.

man archbishop of York, who was advanced to that see by William the Conqueror, A. D. 1070, was one of the most pious and learned prelates of the age in which he flourished (63). Having a fine voice, and a great taste for music, he made that art his particular study, and attained to great perfection in it, both in theory and practice (64). He composed many pieces of music for his cathedral, in a grave, solemn, manly style, avoiding all light effeminate airs, as unsuitable to the nature of religious worship. When he heard any of the secular minstrels sing a tune which pleased him, he adopted and formed it for the use of the church, by some necessary variations (65). "There was nothing (says one of his historians) which archbishop Thomas studied so much as to have a good and virtuous clergy in his cathedral. With them he sometimes read, sometimes disputed, sometime sung, or played upon the organ: he even spent some of his leisure-hours in making organs, and in teaching his clergy to make them, and to set hymns both in prose and verse to music (66)." When so great and learned a prelate employed so much of his time in the study and practice of church music, and was so highly commended for it, we have reason to think that it was an object of great and general attention among the clergy.

The gamut
invented.

The invention of the new musical scale, or modern gamut, by an Italian monk named *Guido Aretine*, a native of Arezzo, about A. D. 1022, contributed not a little to encrease the ardour of the clergy in their application to music, by facilitating the acquisition of musical knowledge. This invention made a mighty noise in the church at that time. The author of it was sent for thrice to Rome, to explain and teach it to the clergy of that city (67). Aretine, in a letter

(63) T. Stubbs de Pontific. Ebor. col. 1705.

(64) W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific. Angl. p. 155. col. 2.

(65) Id. ibid.

(66) Stubbs de Pontific. Ebor. col. 1709.

(67) See Bayle's Dictionary, article *Guido Aretine*.

to the pope, affirms, that any person, by the help of his invention, may make as great proficiency in music in one year, as before he could have made in ten. He insinuates to his Holiness, that he had been inspired by Heaven with this happy thought, which had atoned for all his sins, and secured the salvation of his soul (68). There is no room to doubt that this invention was well known to archbishop Thomas, who had spent some time at Rome soon after his elevation to the see of York, and that it was by this scale that he and the other English composers of this period regulated their compositions.

The church-music of Britain did not continue long in the grave and solemn style. Before the end of the twelfth century it had lost the primitive simplicity of plain song, and become soft, effeminate, and artificial, in a very high degree. Of this change in the church-music of his time, John of Salisbury thus complains: "This soft effeminate kind of music hath even debased the dignity, and stained the purity of religious worship. For in the very presence of God, and in the centre of his sanctuary, the singers endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain wanton luxuriancy of voice. When you hear the soft and sweet modulations of the choiristers; some leading, others following; some singing high, others low; some falling in, others replying; you imagine you hear a concert of sirens, and not of men; and admire the wonderful flexibility of their voices, which cannot be equalled by the nightingale, the parrot, or any other creature, if there be any more musical. Such is their facility in rising and falling, in quavering, shaking, and trilling, in blending and tempering all the different kinds of sounds, that the ear loses its capacity of distinguishing, and the mind, overpowered with so much sweetness, cannot judge of the merit of what it hears. When they have thus far departed from the bounds of moderation, they are more apt to excite unhal-

Corruption
of church-
music.

(68) Baron. Annal. ad. ann. 1022.

“lowed passions than devout affections in the hearts of men (69).” Though this music was certainly very much misplaced when it was introduced into the church; yet, if it really answered the description which is here given of it, we cannot entertain a very contemptible opinion, either of the skill of the composers, or of the ability of the performers.

Civil music. By civil music is to be understood that which was in common use in civil society, for alleviating the cares and labours of the poor, and exhilarating the festivities of the rich. The minstrels, a very numerous and much-respected order of men, were the professors and practitioners of this pleasing art, from their excellence in which they derived all their honours and advantages. Not being under the same restraints with the composers for the church, they indulged their imaginations, and invented tunes of many different kinds, from the most slow and solemn, to the most quick and joyous.

Genius of the music of the different British nations. In general, as we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, the genius of the English music was slow and grave, while that of the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh music, was quick and gay (70). The same writer expresses great surprise at the masterly execution of these three last nations on the harp: “It is wonderful, that in such quick and rapid motions of the fingers any musical proportion is preserved, and that without violating any of the rules of art, the music is rendered harmonious, in the midst of warbling and intricate modulations, by sounds, rapid yet sweet, unequal yet proportioned, discordant yet consonant, and the harmony is completed, whether they play upon fourths or fifths. They always begin upon B flat, and return upon the same, which makes the whole uniformly sweet and sonorous. They begin and end their modulations with so much delicacy, and intermix the sounds of the bass-strings, with the wanton and sportive tinklings of the treble, in such a manner, that by the excellency of their art, they even conceal their

(69) J. Sarisburien. Policrat. l. 1. c. 6. p. 28, 29.

(70) G. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. l. 3. c. 2. p. 739.

“ art. Hence it is, those who are intimately ac-
 “ quainted with the theory of music are penetrated
 “ and transported with delight, while those who
 “ are ignorant of the rules of art are apt to be
 “ teased and wearied with what appears to them a
 “ confused and noisy jumble of discordant sounds
 “ (71).”

From the account which is given by the same writer, of the manner in which the people of Wales, and of the north of England; sung their songs, it seems to be very evident that they were not unacquainted with the laws, or at least with the practice, of harmony, or counter-point: “ In Wales (says he) they do not sing in one uniform musical modulation, as in other places, but in several different tones or modulations, in so much that in a company of singers you hear almost as many different parts as there are voices, all forming one pleasing delightful harmony in B flat. The English also, in the country about York, and beyond the Humber, use a similar symphonious harmony in singing, consisting only of two parts, the one, the deep murmuring bass, the other, the high and sweet sounding treble (72).”

Counter-point.

The chief, if not the only instrument that was used in sacred music, was the organ. We have already heard of a great and learned prelate, and his clergy, who spent some part of their time in making these instruments, which indicates that they were esteemed necessary at least in cathedral churches. The figures of two organs, of this period, differing considerably in their structure from those now in use, may be seen in the work quoted below (73). In civil music, if we may believe Giraldus Cambrensis, the Scots, Irish, and Welsh, used but few instruments: “ The Irish (says that author) use only two musical instruments, the harp and the timbrel; the Scots use three, the harp, the timbrel, and the

Musical instruments.

(71) J. Sarisburien. Policrat. l. 1. c. 6. p. 28, 29.

(72) G. Cambrenf. Descript. Camb. c. 13. p. 890.

(73) Mr. Strutt's View of the Manners, &c. vol. 1. plate 33. fig. 12. vol. 2. plate 6. fig. 27.

“ bag-pipe; the Welsh also use three, the harp, the
 “ pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Irish harps have
 “ brass strings. It is the opinion of many, that the
 “ Scotch music at present not only equals, but even
 “ very much excels the Irish; for which reason they
 “ go to Scotland as to the fountain head of perfec-
 “ tion in that art (74).” The English seem to have
 been acquainted with a greater variety of musical in-
 struments, some of which, it is probable, were in-
 troduced by the Normans. The violin is mentioned
 in books written in this period, and represented in il-
 luminations (75). Some of their violins had five
 strings. Mr. Strutt hath collected from illumina-
 tions, the figures of no fewer than sixteen different
 kinds of musical instruments, if some of the figures
 do not represent different sizes of the same instrument
 (76). The harp, however, seems to have been the
 favourite and most admired instrument of the Eng-
 lish, as well as of the other British nations, in this
 period. That was the instrument, to the sound of
 which the minstrels, the admired musicians of this
 period, sung their songs and poems (77).

(74) Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. l. 3. c. 11. p. 739.

(75) Du Change Gloss. Voc. *Vitula*. Vita S. Thomæ Cant. p. 24.
 Mr. Strutt's View of the Manners, vol. 1. plate 33. fig. 7. vol. 2.
 plate 1. fig. 9.

(76) Mr. Strutt's View of the Manners, vol. 2. plate 6.

(77) See Dr. Percy's excellent Essay on the ancient English Minstrels.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

C H A P. VI.

History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping, in Great Britain, from the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of King John, A. D. 1216.

NO apology is necessary for introducing the history of commerce into the history of Britain, which hath derived so many advantages from that source. History of commerce imperfect. ! But it is much to be regretted, that genuine authentic materials, for executing this part of my plan in this period, to the entire satisfaction of the reader, are very difficult, if not impossible to be collected. All our ancient historians being monks, they paid little attention to the affairs of trade, and dropped only a few incidental hints on this important subject. Let us attend to the information which these hints convey.

Commerce not inconsiderable at the conquest.

It hath been already observed,—that the foreign trade of Britain was almost annihilated by the departure of the Romans,—that it continued in a very languid state in the times of the heptarchy,—that it gradually revived after the establishment of the English monarchy,—and that towards the end of the last period it was not inconsiderable (1). This last circumstance is confirmed by the testimony of a contemporary historian, William of Poictou, who was chaplain to the duke of Normandy, and attended him in his expedition into England. “The English merchants add to the opulence of their country, rich in its own fertility, still greater riches, and more valuable treasures, by importation. These imported treasures, which were considerable both for their quantity and quality, were either to have been hoarded up to gratify their avarice, or to have been dissipated to satisfy their luxurious inclinations. But William seized them, and bestowed part of them on his victorious army, and part of them on churches and monasteries. To the pope and church of Rome he sent an incredible mass of money in gold and silver, and many ornaments that would have been admired even at Constantinople (2).”

The conquest in some respects unfavourable to commerce.

It hath been disputed, whether the Norman conquest was an event favourable or unfavourable to the foreign commerce of Britain. The truth seems to be, that in some respects it was, and in others it was not favourable. Every violent revolution must give a temporary check to commerce, by fixing the attention of all the members of society on other objects, and by rendering property precarious. The feudal form of government that was established in England soon after the conquest, had more of a martial than a mercantile spirit in it; and was better calculated for defending a kingdom by arms, than for enriching it by commerce. The Conqueror himself having obtained his crown, and the great Norman barons their princely fortunes, by the sword, arms became the most honourable and lucrative profession; trade was

(1) See vol. 4. chap. 6.

(2) W. Pictaven. Gest. Gul. Ducis Norman. p. 206.

held in little estimation, and those who were engaged in it were exposed to many injuries. Many of the chief towns in England, the greatest seats of trade, suffered much between the conquest, and the time when Doomsday-book was composed (3). In all these respects the conquest was unfriendly to commerce, and obstructed its progress for some time.

But, on the other hand, the conquest contributed to increase the trade of England, in several ways, after the disorder inseparable from such revolutions was at an end. It opened a free communication with Normandy, and afterwards with several other rich provinces of France, which came under the dominion of our Anglo-Norman kings; and this soon produced a brisk and constant trade between England and these provinces. It made also a very great addition both to the ships and sailors of England, which are the chief instruments of foreign trade. For William was so far from burning the fleet in which he brought his army into England, as some modern writers have affirmed, that his first care was to erect fortifications for its protection (4). The frequent expeditions of the Conqueror and his successors to the continent, obliged them to give constant attention to trade and maritime affairs. The settlement of the Jews in England about the time of the conquest, brought great sums of money into the kingdom, and contributed to increase both its internal and foreign commerce, in which they were constantly employed (5).

It is quite unnecessary to spend any time in delineating the internal trade of Britain in this period, as there was little or nothing remarkable in the manner in which it was conducted. Fairs and markets, which are the principal scenes of internal commerce, continued to be held in many places on Sundays (6), in spite of all the canons that had been made against it. This was one of the abuses which the famous preacher Eustace, abbot of Flay in Normandy, came over into England to correct, A. D. 1200; and he was so successful, that he prevailed upon the people of London,

(3) See Brady on Burghs.

(4) W. Pictaven. p. 199.

(5) Anglia Judaica.

(6) See vol. 4.

and of several other towns, not to hold their markets on Sundays (7). But we are informed by one of our best historians, that some of these towns soon after returned to their former practices (8).

Plan of
this chap-
ter.

To prevent any degree of obscurity or confusion in our delineation of the foreign trade of Britain in this period, it may be proper to consider the following particulars in the order in which they are here mentioned, 1. The chief seats of trade;—2. The most valuable articles of its exports and imports;—3. The persons by whom it was conducted;—4. Laws and regulations respecting trade;—5. Shipping;—6. Coin;—7. The comparative value of money, prices of commodities, and expence of living;—8. The balance of trade.

Chief seats
of trade.
London.

London was unquestionably the chief seat of trade in this, as it had been in the former period. Situated on the noble river Thames, at no great distance from the sea, amidst the most fertile plains of this island, it enjoyed every advantage for importing the commodities of other countries, and exporting those of Britain in return. These advantages were not neglected by its citizens, who were much addicted to trade, and acquired so much wealth and influence by it, that they were called *barons*, and respected in the public assemblies of the kingdom, as possessing a kind of nobility (9). “London (says William of Malmesbury) is but about twenty-five miles distant from Rochester. It is a noble city, renowned for the riches of its citizens, and crowded with merchants, who come from all countries, and particularly from Germany, with their merchandise (10).” In this city (says William Fitz-Stephen, in his description of London), merchants from all nations under heaven reside, for the sake of trade (11). The great multitude of Jews who resided in London, and possessed several entire streets, afford a further proof of the flourishing state of trade in that city, in this period (12).

(7) R. Hoveden, p. 457. col. 2.

(8) M. Paris, ad ann. 1200.

(9) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106. col. 1.

(10) W. Malmf. de Pontific. Angl. l. 2. p. 133. p. 2.

(11) W. Stephaned. in Vita T. Cant. Lond. edit. 1723. p. 6.

(12) Stow's Survey, b. 3. p. 54.

For trade was almost the only occupation of that people; and they never settled in great numbers in any place, but where they either found or brought commerce.

As Bristol had been a place of considerable trade in ^{Bristol.} the Anglo-Saxon times (13), it continued to be so in the present period. This we learn from William of Malmesbury, in his description of the vale of Gloucester. "In the same vale, is a very famous town named Bristow, in which there is a sea-port, a safe receptacle for ships from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign countries; that this happy region, which abounds so much in its native riches, might not be destitute of the commodities procured by commerce (14)." The trade between England and Ireland, which was for the most part carried on by the merchants of Bristol, was so great, and so essential to the support of the Irish, that when it was interrupted, they were reduced to great distress. "Murcard, monarch of Ireland, behaved a little haughtily towards Henry I. I know not for what reason; but he was soon humbled by a prohibition of all trade between England and his dominions. For how wretched would Ireland be if no goods were imported into it from England (15)?"

The Flemings, who were settled in the fine coun- ^{Rofs.} try of Rofs in Pembroke-shire by Henry I. were bold adventurous sailors, and much addicted to commerce. "They are (says Giraldus Cambrensis) a people much used to the woollen manufacture, and to foreign trade; and in order to increase their store, they spare no pains either by sea or land (16)." The vicinity of the spacious harbour of Milford-haven was probably a great advantage to this industrious colony.

The city of Exeter appears to have been a place of ^{Exeter.} considerable trade at the conquest, and continued to enjoy that advantage through the whole of this period. When it was besieged by the Conqueror, A. D. 1068,

(13) See vol. 4.

(14) W. Malmf. de Pontific. Angl. l. 4. p. 161.

(15) Id. l. 5. p. 91.

(16) Girald. Cambren. Itin. Camb. p. 348.

the inhabitants compelled a great number of foreign merchants and mariners, who were then in their harbour, to assist them in their defence (17). William of Malmfbury acquaints us, that, in his time, though the soil about Exeter was so barren that it hardly produced meagre crop of oats, yet its extensive trade made it abound in every thing that contributed to the comfort of human life (18).

Cinque-ports.

The five towns on the coasts of Kent and Suffex, commonly called the *cinque-ports*, were certainly among the most considerable seats of foreign commerce in England, in this period. Their merchants, like those of London, enjoyed the honourable appellation of barons, which their representatives in parliament still enjoy (19). Government depended very much upon them for a fleet on any emergency; and they were obliged to furnish no fewer than fifty-seven ships for the public service, at forty days notice, to continue fifteen days in that service, with their crews, at their own charges (20). This is a sufficient proof that they abounded in shipping and sailors, which they could not have done without a flourishing trade. The five towns which originally formed the *cinque-ports*, were Hastings in Suffex, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich in Kent; to which were added Winchelsea and Rye as principals, and some other towns as members, though they still retained the name of the *cinque-ports* from their original number (21). We may form some idea of the comparative trade of these towns, by observing the number of ships which each was obliged to furnish. Hastings (with its members) was obliged to furnish twenty-one ships;—Romney (with its members) five;—Hythe and Sandwich (with their members) each five;—and Dover (with its members) twenty-one (22). For this important service to the state, the people of the *cinque-ports* had various honours and privileges conferred upon them. Their merchants were not only styled barons, but four of

(17) Orderic. Vital. p. 510.

(18) W. Malmf. Pontific. Angl. l. 2. p. 145. col. 2.

(19) Spelman. Gloss. p. 71.

(20) Liber Rub. Scaccarii.

(21) Camden Britan. vol. 1. p. 254.

(22) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 1. p. 19.

these barons had a title to support the canopy over the king on the day of his coronation, and to dine at a table on his right hand. The inhabitants of these towns were exempted from the several feudal servitudes and prestations, and could be sued only in their own court (23). These honours and privileges afford a proof, that the government of England, in this period, was not inattentive to the encouragement of trade and shipping.

When bishop Herebert, in the reign of William Norwich, Rufus, removed the seat of his see from Thetford to Yarmouth, Norwich, that town, as we are told by William of Lynn. Malmesbury, was famous for the number of its inhabitants and the greatness of its commerce (24). In the same county, the town of Yarmouth abounded in ships, and was a formidable rival in power and commerce to the cinque-ports, though both its commerce and its shipping increased very much in the succeeding period (25). The town of Lynn seems to have possessed a still greater share of foreign trade than Yarmouth, if we may rely on the testimony of William of Newborough, who resided at no great distance. That author tells us, that in the reign of Richard I. the town of Lynn was famous for its riches and commerce, and was inhabited by many wealthy Jews; who, being enraged against one of their nation who had embraced Christianity, attempted to kill him, and assaulted a church in which he had taken shelter. This raised a tumult. A great multitude of foreign sailors who were in the harbour, attacked the Jews, and beat them from the church with some slaughter. Not contented with this, they plundered and then burnt several of their houses, and having carried the plunder, which was of great value, on board their ships, they immediately set sail, in order to secure their booty, and escape punishment (26).

Several places in Lincolnshire had a particular share Lincoln, of trade, in this period, which some of them have &c. since lost, by the choaking of their harbours, and

(23) Camd. Britan. vol. 1. p. 254.

(24) W. Malmf. Pontific. Angl. p. 136.

(25) Camd. Britain. vol. 1. p. 379.

(26) Gul. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 7. p. 367.

other accidents. Lincoln, the capital of the county, was a rich and populous city; and, though at a distance from the sea, was not destitute of foreign trade, which was carried on by the navigable canal between the rivers Trent and Witham, made A. D. 1121, by order of Henry I. (27) The towns of Grimsby, Saltfleet, Waynfleet, and Boston, though they had much declined from what they had been in this period, sent some ships to the fleet of Edward III. A. D. 1359 (28). Boston, in particular, was a very rich and flourishing place before it was plundered and burnt in the reign of Edward I. (29) The great numbers and riches of the Jews who resided at Lincoln, Stamford, and other towns in this county, plainly indicate that there was then a flourishing trade in those towns (30).

York.

York, the northern capital of England, and residence of Roman Emperors, made a distinguished figure in the Anglo-Saxon times, but was much reduced soon after the conquest (30). It revived however in a little time; and William of Malmesbury tells us, that in the reign of king Stephen, when he wrote, it was become a place of great trade; and that ships from Ireland and Germany sailed up the river Ouse into the very heart of the city (31). Great numbers of Jews settled in York about this time, and acquired immense wealth by usury and commerce, which, together with their magnificent houses and splendid way of living, excited the envy and indignation of the people to such a degree that they determined to destroy them. As soon as the news of the slaughter of that people at the coronation of Richard I. reached York, the mob arose, assaulted the Jews, plundered and burnt their houses, killed many, and drove others in despair to kill themselves, after they had dispatched their wives and children with their own

(27) Simeon Dunelm. col. 243.

(28) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 1. p. 120.

(29) Camden Britan. vol. 1. p. 423.

(30) Gul. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 8, 9.

(31) Simeon Dunelm. col. 39. J. Brompt. col. 965. Drake's History of York.

(32) W. Malmf. Pontific. Angl. l. 3. Prolog. p. 147.

hands (33). This outrageous tumult, in which some hundreds of Jews were killed, and their houses, furniture, and riches, reduced to ashes, seems to have been fatal to the trade of York, which declined so fast, that it was able to send only one small ship, with nine mariners, to the fleet of Edward III. (34).

Many other towns situated on the sea-coasts and navigable rivers of Britain, had their share of foreign trade in this period. But a more particular enumeration of them is unnecessary, and would be tedious. One of our ancient Historians, referring to the times we are now delineating, hath the following exclamation: "O England! thou wast lately equal to the ancient Chaldeans in power, prosperity, and glory. The ships of Tarshish could not be compared with thy ships, which brought thee spices and every precious thing, from the four corners of the world. The sea was to thee an impregnable wall, and thy ports on all sides as the well-fortified gates of a strong castle (35)."

It is curious, and may be useful, to know what were the most valuable articles of the foreign trade of Britain in every period. By this we shall at least discover wherein the superfluities and necessities of our country consisted from time to time, and in what manner the former were disposed of, and the latter were supplied.

Slaves still continued to be a valuable article, both in the internal and foreign trade of Britain. When an estate was conveyed from one proprietor to another, all the villains or slaves annexed to that estate, were conveyed at the same time, and by the same deed (36). When any person had more children than he could maintain, or more domestic slaves than he chose to keep, he sold them to a merchant, who disposed of them either at home or abroad, as he found would be most

(33) G. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 9, 10.

(34) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. I. p. 120.

(35) Matth. Westminster. p. 240, 241.

(36) Liber Niger Scaccarii, art. de *Danegeldo*. Regiam Majest. l. 2. c. 12. § 3. Rymer. Fœd. tom. I. p. 90.

profitable. “ It was a common vice (says Giraldus “ Cambrensis) of the English, when they were reduced to poverty, that rather than endure it patiently, they exposed their own children to sale (37).” Many of these unhappy persons, were carried into Ireland, and no doubt into other countries, and there sold (38). A strong law was made against this barbarous kind of commerce, in a great council held at St. Peter’s, Westminster, A. D. 1102. “ Let no man “ for the future, presume to carry on the wicked trade “ of selling men in markets, like brute beasts, which “ hitherto hath been the common custom in England “ (39).” But this law did not put an end to this trade in slaves. For in the great council held at Armah, A. D. 1171, the whole clergy of Ireland, after having deliberated long concerning the cause of the calamities with which they were threatened by the invasion of the English, at length agreed, that this great judgment had been inflicted upon them by the displeasure of God, for the sins of the people, particularly for their having bought so great a number of English slaves from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and for detaining them still in bondage. To appease therefore the divine displeasure, which had been excited against them on that account, they decreed,—“ That “ all the English slaves in the whole island of Ireland “ should be immediately emancipated, and restored “ to their former liberty (40).”

Horses.

English horses had been long admired and coveted on the continent; and such multitudes of them had been exported, that a law was made by king Athelstan,—“ That no man shall export any horses beyond “ seas, except such as he designs to give in presents “ (41).” But this law, it is probable, did not continue long in force, especially after the conquest, when the intercourse between this island and the continent were under no restrictions, and our great barons had estates in both countries. The very high price of

(37) Girald. Cambrenf. Hiberniæ Expugnat. l. i. c. 18. p. 770.

(38) Id. *ibid.*

(39) Eadmer. Hist. Novor. l. 3. p. 68.

(40) Wilkin. Concil. tom. I. p. 471.

(41) Wilkin. Saxon. Leges, p. 52.

horses, especially of those which were used by the nobility in war and tournaments, is a presumption that they were exported. A great baron, named *Amphitil Till*, agreed to pay to king John, A. D. 1207, as a part of his ransom, ten horses, each worth thirty marks, equivalent to three hundred pounds of our money at present (42). Whether any other animals were exported in this period or not, we are not informed.

Wool was for several centuries the most valuable article of the British exports. Gervase de Aldermanbury, in his accounts of the chamberlainship of London, A. D. 1199, charges himself with twenty-three pounds twelve shillings, which he had received from several merchants, for leave to export wool and leather out of England (43). He also accounts for two hundred and twenty-five marks, which had arisen from the sale of forty-five sacks of wool seized from the merchants, for attempting to export them without leave (44). Many other proofs, if it were necessary, might be produced, of the exportation of wool, wool-felt, and leather, in this period.

It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that woollen yarn, and even woollen cloth, were exported from England in this period. In the tenth year of Richard I. the chamberlain of London accounted for eleven marks, which had arisen from the sale of a parcel of woollen yarn seized from John de Birchamstede, because he had attempted to export it to Flanders, contrary to the liberties of the city of London (45). From this it appears, that woollen yarn was exported, and that the privilege of exporting it had been granted to the merchants of London. That the manufacture of woollen cloth was in a much more flourishing state in England in this than in the succeeding period, there is the clearest evidence; which induced a well-informed writer to say,—
 “ That in the time of Henry II. and Richard I. this kingdom greatly flourished in the art of manufacturing woollen cloth; but by the troublesome wars in the time of king John and Henry III. and also

(42) Rymeri Fœd. tom. I. p. 146. col. 2.

(43) Madox. Hist. Excheq.

(44) Id. ibid.

(45) Id. ibid.

“ of

“ of Edward I. and Edward II. this manufacture
 “ was wholly lost, and all our trade ran out in wool,
 “ woofels, and leather, carried out in specie (46).”
 The Flemings settled in England seem to have exported some of the woollen cloths which they manufactured. For we are told by a contemporary writer, that they applied with equal ardour to the woollen manufacture and to foreign trade (47).

Corn.

Although agriculture was far from being in a flourishing state in Britain, in this period; yet, in favourable seasons, the natural fertility of the soil, even with imperfect cultivation, made it produce more corn than was necessary for home consumption, and at those times considerable quantities of it were exported. “ Then (says one of our ancient historians) England
 “ might be called the store-house of Ceres, out of
 “ which the world was supplied with corn (48).” Many examples are to be found in the records of this period, of fines paid to the king, for licences to export corn; which is a sufficient proof that it was at some times an article of exportation. (49).

Metals.

Metals, particularly lead and tin; constituted one of the most valuable articles of exportation in the times we are now delineating. Almost all the cathedral and abbey churches, together with many palaces and castles in France, and other countries on the continent, are said to have been covered with lead brought from England (50). We may form some idea of the great quantities of tin that were exported, from an article in the accounts of Henry de Casteilun, chamberlain of London, A. D. 1198, in which he charges himself with three hundred and seventy-nine pounds eighteen shillings, which he had received in fines from the merchants of London, for leave to export tin (51). The royal revenues arising from the tin-mines

(46) Sir Matt. Hale's primitive Original of Mankind, p. 161.

(47) Girald. Cambren. Itin. Camb. p. 484.

(48) Gul. Pictaven. p. 210.

(49) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 323. 530, &c..

(50) Histoire Literaire de la France, tom. 9. p. 221.

(51) Madox. Hist. Excheq. p. 531.

of Cornwall and Devonshire, were valued at two thousand marks a-year, equivalent to two thousand pounds of our money; and were granted at that rate, to queen Berengaria, widow of Richard I. (52).

Besides these capital articles of exportation, there were many other articles of smaller value, as salt, salmon, cheese, honey, wax, tallow, &c. &c. as appears from the licences granted for exporting them, which are still extant in our records (53). But it is not necessary to make this enumeration more perfect.

In return for the goods which they exported, the British merchants of this period imported not only gold and silver, in coin and bullion, but several other commodities, for which they found a demand at home. It is proper to mention some of the most valuable of these commodities.

As the English were not very famous for their sobriety in this period, we may be certain that wine was a saleable commodity, and made one of the most valuable articles of importation. "The French (says William Fitz-Stephen) import their wines into London, which they expose to sale both in their ships and in their wine-cellars near the river (54)." The duties payable on wines imported, called *prisa vinorum* (the prize of wines), constituted no inconsiderable branch of the royal revenue; and particular officers were appointed for collecting these duties (55). The importation of wines increased very much after the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor, heiress of some of the finest provinces in the south of France, where the best wines were produced (56). The wine-trade was become a matter of so much importance in the beginning of king John's reign, that a law was made for regulating the prices of all the different kinds of wine, and twelve men appointed in each city, town, and borough, to superintend the execution of that law. "By this means (says a contempo-

(52) Rymer Fœd. tom. 1. p. 243.

(53) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 530, &c.

(54) W. Stephaned. Descript. Civitat. London. p. 5, 6.

(55) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 525, 526.

(56) Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 83.

“rary historian) the land was filled with drink and drunkards (57).”

Spiceries,
drugs, &c.

Spiceries, drugs, and aromatics of various kinds, the productions of the East, were imported in considerable quantities in this period; because they were much used by persons of rank and fortune in their meats and drinks, as well as by physicians in the composition of their medicines (58). “The Sabæans (says Fitz-Stephen) import into London their frankincense and other spices; and from the rich country about Babylon, they bring the oil of palms (59).” The spice-trade formed so capital a branch of the commerce of this period, that merchants in general are often called *speciarii* in the barbarous Latin of those times (60).

Gold and precious stones were imported from Egypt, Arabia, and other eastern countries (61). For though no gold was used at this time in coinage, much of it was used in manufactures of various kinds, by goldsmiths, jewellers, gilders, embroiderers, illuminators, and painters. The monks, in particular, were bitterly reproached by several writers, for expending so much gold in gilding and illuminating books (62). Many precepts of our ancient kings are still extant, directing certain persons to buy gold from the merchants for their use (63). The sheriffs of London, in the second year of Henry II. paid fifty-six shillings for gold to gild the king's bridles (64).

Gold and
precious
stones.]

Silks, and other fine fabrics of the East, were also imported; but not in very great quantities, because they were used only by the church, the royal family, and perhaps by a few of the most wealthy barons (65). Many cathedral and abbey churches were adorned with altar-cloths, veils, and curtains of silk, and had

(57) Hoveden. Annal. p. 453.

(58) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Spices. Aromata.*

(59) W. Stephaned. p. 6.

(60) Murator. Antiq. tom. 2. Dissertat. 30. tom. 2. p. 881,

(61) W. Stephaned. p. 6.

(62) Martin Anu. tom 5. p. 1584. 1623.

(63) Anglia Judaica, p. 152.

(64) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 230.

(65) W. Stephaned. p. 6. Anderfon's Hist. Com. vol. 1: p. 79.

also vestments of it, in which their clergy officiated on some occasions (66). It appears from the records of this period, that silks were purchased from time to time for the use of the royal family (67). At the conquest, and for some time after, silks were very dear and scarce; but manufactories of them having been established in Sicily, Spain, Majorca, and Ivica, in the course of the twelfth century, they became much cheaper and more common (68).

Tapestry, together with linen and woollen cloths of the finer kinds, were among the British imports of this period. For though great quantities of woollen cloths were manufactured in England, and some of them were exported; yet they seem to have been generally of the coarsest kinds, and most common colours; while those of a finer texture, and more delicate colours, for the use of persons of high rank, were imported from Flanders; which was then so famous for the woollen manufacture, that it was called *Flandria Textrix* (69). Tapestries for hangings were manufactured in the city of Arras, even in this period, and from thence imported into England (70). Though linen, as well as woollen cloths, were manufactured in Britain; yet it seems probable that the finest linens were imported, as the first notice we meet with of fine linen made in England is in the thirty-seventh of Henry III. (71)

Furs of various kinds, and in great quantities, were imported from Norway, Russia, and other northern countries (72). For furs were very much used, both by the clergy and laity; and all persons who could afford to purchase them had their winter-garments lined with them (73). Some of these furs, particularly sables, bore a very high price, and could only be obtained by princes, or prelates of the greatest wealth. Robert Bloit, bishop of Lincoln, made a present to

(66) *Anglia Sacra* passim.

(67) Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 10. § 12.

(68) Hoveden. Annal. p. 382. col. 2.

(69) Galf. Vinefauf. p. 433. Gervas Chron. col. 1348.

(70) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 254.

(71) Id. p. 259. note g.

(72) W. Stephaned.

(73) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 499.

Henry I. of a cloak of the finest cloth lined with fables, which cost no less than one hundred pounds, equivalent to fifteen hundred pounds of our money (74).

Dye-stuffs,
woad.

Dye-stuffs, particularly woad, may be reckoned among the imports of Britain in this period, which is an additional proof that the woollen manufacture was not neglected. Henry de Casteilun, who was chamberlain of the port of London, charged himself, in his accounts for A. D. 1197, with the sum of ninety-six pounds six shillings and eight-pence, which he had received from certain merchants, for licences to import woad, and sell it in England (75). The quantity of woad imported by these merchants must have been very great, when they could afford to pay a sum equivalent to more than fourteen hundred pounds of our money at present, for their licences.

Metals.

Besides gold and silver, other metals, particularly iron and steel, were imported into Britain from Germany, and other countries, in this period (76). The German merchants of the Steel-yard in London, are thought by some to have derived that name from the great quantities of iron and steel which they imported, and sold at a place called the *Steel-yard* (77).

Corn.

Though corn was exported from Britain in years of plenty, we have good reason to believe that it was imported in still greater quantities in times of scarcity, which were but too frequent in our present period. The merchants of London seem to have been the chief importers of corn; for we are told by a contemporary writer, that they kept many granaries full of it in that city; and that from these granaries all parts of the kingdom were supplied (78). Several other articles of importation, as arms, books, pictures, &c. might be mentioned; but it seems to be unnecessary, and would be tedious, to make this enumeration more particular.

(74) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 417.

(75) *Madex Hist. Excheq.* p. 531, 532.

(76) *W. Stéphaned.* p. 6.

(77) *Anderfon's Hist. Com.* vol. 1. p. 123.

(78) *W. Malmf. de Pontific. Angl.* l. 2. p. 133. col. 2.

The internal trade of England was managed chiefly Merchants. by Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, who were natives of the country, and members of the merchant guilds established in the several towns and cities of the kingdom: but they do not seem to have had a great share in its foreign commerce, which was for the most part in the hands of foreigners. Fitz-Stephen, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. acquaints us, in his description of London, that “ in this city all nations under heaven had factors residing for the management of their commerce (79).

Great numbers of Jews came from Normandy, and Jews. other countries of the continent, soon after the conquest, and settling in all the trading towns of England, got possession of a very great proportion of the commerce of the kingdom (80). Having larger capitals, greater knowledge of trade, and a more extensive correspondence with those of their own nation in other parts of Europe, than the native English merchants, they were able to undersell them in every market (81). By these means they acquired great riches; but at the same time drew upon themselves the indignation of the public, and the most oppressive exactions of the government. For they and their families were considered as the slaves, and all their possessions as the property, of the sovereign, which he might seize at pleasure, which he might even sell or mortgage like any other estate (82). We may form some idea of the great trade and riches of the Jews of this period, as well as of the oppressions of the government, by observing, that a particular exchequer, called *the Exchequer of the Jews*, was established for receiving the prodigious sums extorted from them in customs, fines, forfeitures, tallages, and various other ways (83). To give one example, out of many, of the cruelty of the government towards the Jews, and of the great sums extorted from them, we are told, “ That the king, A. D. 1210, commanded all the Jews in

(79) W. Stephaned. p. 6.

(80) Anglia Judaica, p. 4.

(81) Id. p. 80.

(82) Id. p. 132. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 313.

(83) Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 7. p. 150, &c.

“ England, of both sexes, to be imprisoned, in order
 “ to compel them to pay him great sums of money.
 “ Some of them, after they had been grievously tor-
 “ tured, surrendered all the money they had, and even
 “ promised more, to preserve themselves from further
 “ tortures. Amongst others, the king demanded ten
 “ thousand marks (equivalent to one hundred thou-
 “ sand pounds at present) from a certain Jew of
 “ Bristol, and commanded one of his teeth to be pul-
 “ led out every day till he paid that sum. The Jew
 “ held out seven days, but submitted on the eighth;
 “ and parted with his money to preserve the remainder
 “ of his teeth (84).”

Christians
 not permit-
 ted to take
 interest for
 money.

All Christians, in this period, were prohibited, both by the laws of the church and state, from lending money at interest, which was called *usury*; and those who were convicted of it were punished by excommunication, and the forfeiture of all their goods (85). By these imprudent laws, the business of lending money was thrown into the hands of the Jews, from whence they derived the most exorbitant profits, and in which they practised the most cruel exactions. For as the rate of interest was not regulated by any law, they set no bounds to their avarice, and took every advantage of the necessities of those who applied to them for a loan of money. On some occasions, if we are not misinformed, they took no less than fifty *per cent. per annum*. This, though almost incredible, is highly probable, from an order of Henry III. restraining them from taking more than two pence in the week for every twenty shillings they lent to the scholars of Oxford, which is a little more than forty-three *per cent* (86). From the following letter of the famous Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, to his friend the bishop of Ely, we may form some idea of the extreme severity of the Jews to their unhappy debtors: “ I am dragged to Canterbury, to be crucified by the
 “ perfidious Jews, amongst their other debtors, whom
 “ they ruin and torment with usury. The same suf-

(84) M. Paris, ann. 1210. p. 160.

(85) Wilkin. Concil. tom. I. p. 313. M. Paris, p. 250. Hoveden. Annal. p. 335.

(86) Anglia Judaica, p. 122.

“ferings await me also at London, if you do not
 “mercifully interpose for my deliverance. I beseech
 “you therefore, O most reverend father, and most
 “loving friend, to become bound to Sampson the
 “Jew, for six pounds, which I owe him, and thereby
 “deliver me from that cross (87).” After this we
 need not be surprised, either at the prodigious opulence
 of the Jews, or at the universal execration in which
 they were held.

The German merchants of the Steel-yard, who had Germans.
 been settled in London before the conquest, continued in the same place, and enjoyed the same privileges, after that event (88). For Fitz-Stephen, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, says, in his description of London, that the merchants of all nations had their distinct keys and wharfs in that city; and, particularly, that the Germans had the Steel-yard (89). But as the society of the merchants of the Steel-yard made a more conspicuous figure in the next period, we shall insert a more particular account of it in our next book.

The trade of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalphi, and Italians.
 some other cities of Italy, was, in this period, in a very flourishing state (90). The truth is, that almost all the commerce between Asia, Africa, and Europe, was in the hands of the merchants of these cities, who exported the superfluities of Europe, and brought home the spices, gold, silks, and other precious commodities of the East, which they sent into every country where they could find a market, and particularly into Britain. For the management of this trade, companies of Italian merchants were settled in London, and perhaps in some other towns.

Amongst these companies the Caurfimi were the Caurfimi.
 most famous about the end of this and the beginning of the next period. It is imagined, that they were

(87) Epistolæ P. Blesens. Ep. 156. p. 242.

(88) See vol. 4.

(89) W. Stephaned. Descript. Lond. p. 5.

(90) Murator. Antiq. tom. 2. p. 883, &c.

called Caurfini, because many of them belonged to a numerous and opulent family of that name in Italy (91). However this may be, the Caurfini in England, by departing from the proper business of merchants, and becoming agents for the pope in his usurious transactions, rendered themselves as odious as the Jews (92). But a more full account of this society, as well as that of the Lombards, shall be given in the sixth chapter of our next book.

Barons
merchants.

Some of the great barons of England, among the officers of their household, had one who was called *the Merchant*, who transacted all the mercantile business of the baron to whom he belonged; disposing of his corn, cattle, and every thing he had to sell; and purchasing cloths, wines, spices, and every thing else he wanted to buy. It appears from records, that these baronial merchants even engaged in foreign trade, and imported wines and other goods, for which they were liable to pay customs (93).

Mercantile
regulations.

Commerce had been an object of the attention of government, and a subject of legislation, in the Anglo-Saxon times, and continued to be so in the present period (94). It was one of the first cares of the Conqueror to encourage trade. With this view he published a proclamation, inviting foreign merchants to frequent the ports of England, and promising them the most perfect security for their goods and persons (95). This prince adopted several Anglo-Saxon regulations, with respect to trade, into his own laws, and enforced them by his authority. By one of these laws, it is decreed,—“That no live cattle shall be bought or sold, but in cities, and before three credible witnesses;” by another,—“That all fairs and markets shall be kept in fortified cities, towns, or castles (96).” These laws were inconvenient but they were ne-

(91) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Caurfini*.

(92) M. Pauris, p. 286. M. Wetiminst. ann. 1233. p. 134.

(93) Madox Hist. Excheq. p. 529. note (e).

(94) See book 2. chap. 6.

(95) W. Pictaven. p. 208.

(96) Seldeni Spicilegium in Eadmer. p. 191.

cessary in those turbulent times. The Conqueror also prohibited the selling of Christian slaves to infidels : but this prohibition, it is probable, was not much regarded (97). We know of no laws respecting trade made by William II ; but his successor Henry I. was more attentive to that important object. By the ancient law and custom of England, when a ship was wrecked on the coast, if those who escaped from it did not return within a limited time, the ship and cargo became the property of the lord of the manor. This most unjust and cruel law was abrogated by Henry I. who decreed, that if one man escaped alive out of the wreck, the lord of the manor should have no claim either to ship or cargo (98).

But this just and merciful regulation was very disagreeable to many of the rapacious barons, and was quite disregarded after the death of the prince by whom it was made, till it was revived by his grandson Henry II. “ That prince (as we are told by one “ of our ancient historians), in the very beginning of “ his reign, abolished the cruel customs towards “ shipwrecked sailors, which had too long prevailed ; “ and commanded that those who escaped from the “ dangers of the sea, should be treated with kindness ; “ and that such as did them any injury, or seized “ any of their goods, should be severely punished (99).” A law which doth much honour both to the wisdom and humanity of its author. However this may be, it is certain, that Henry II. A. D. 1174, promulgated the three following regulations on this subject : 1. That if but one man escaped from a ship alive, that ship and cargo should not be considered as wreck, but should be kept for the use of the owners. 2. Though no man escaped alive, yet if any animal escaped, or was found in a ship alive, the ship and cargo should be committed to the custody of four persons of credit, to be kept three months, to be delivered to the owners if they appeared within that time, or to the king at the end of it, if the owners did

(97) Seldeni Spicilegium in Eadmer. p. 191.

(98) Seldeni Opera, tom. 4. p. 1009.

(99) W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26. p. 341.

not appear. 3. But if neither man nor beast escaped alive, the ship and cargo should belong to the king, or the person having right to wreck at that place (100). This prince cultivated the friendship of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to whom he sent a splendid embassy, with magnificent presents, A. D. 1157, with a view to promote a free trade between their subjects (101). To prevent the diminution of the ships and sailors of his kingdom, which he knew to be so necessary for its defence and trade, Henry II. A. D. 1181, commanded his justices itinerant, “to give a strict charge in every county, that no man, as he valued his life and fortune, should buy or sell any ship to be carried out of England, or should send or cause to be sent, any mariner out of England (102).”

By Richard I.

The importance of trade to the prosperity of the kingdom becoming more conspicuous, Richard I. paid great attention to it, and made many mercantile regulations. The laws and regulations published by this prince at Chinon in France, A. D. 1189, for the government of his great fleet in his expedition into the Holy Land, are very curious, but too long to be here inserted; and being rather of a martial than a mercantile nature, do not so properly belong to our present subject. By the last of these laws, it is decreed, “That whoever is convicted of theft, shall have his head shaved, melted pitch poured upon it, and the feathers from a pillow shaken over it, that he may be known; and shall be put on shore on the first land at which the ship touches (103).” The famous maritime laws called *the laws of Oleron*, as it is asserted by many modern authors, were promulgated by this prince on that island, at his return from the Holy Land; but on what foundation

(100) Rym. Fæd. tom. 1. p. 36.

(101) Radevic. Frisingens. l. 1. c. 7. p. 263.

(102) Benedict. Abbas, tom. 1. p. 368.

(103) Rym. Fæd. tom. 1, p. 65. Brompt. Chron. col. 1173.

this assertion is built, I have not been able to discover (104). These laws, which are forty seven in number, are evidently very ancient, and no less prudent, humane, and just; though several of them, from a change of manners and circumstances, are now obsolete (105). We have better evidence that Richard I. made various mercantile regulations, soon after his return into England from his unfortunate expedition into the East. By the first of these regulations he commanded the sea-ports to be carefully guarded, that no corn or provisions of any kind might be exported either in English or foreign bottoms. But this was only a temporary prohibition, to prevent a famine, with which England was then threatened. Having set forth the great inconveniencies arising from the diversity of weights and measures in different parts of the kingdom, he, by a law, commanded all measures of corn, and other dry goods, as also of liquors, to be exactly the same in all his dominions; and that the rim of each of these measures should be a circle of iron. By another law, he commanded all cloth to be woven two yards in breadth within the lists, and of equal goodness in all parts; and that all cloth which did not answer this description, should be seized and burnt. He enacted further, That all the coin of the kingdom should be exactly of the same weight and fineness,—that no Christian should take any interest for money lent;—and to prevent the extortions of the Jews, he commanded, that all compacts between Christians and Jews should be made in the presence of witnesses, and the conditions of them put in writing; of which three copies should be made, one to be lodged in a public repository, and one to be given to each party (106). Many of these regulations were wise and useful, but some of them were tinged with the prejudices of the times.

If there was any thing commendable in the character of king John, it was his attention to mari-
Regulations of king John.

(104) Godolphin's View of the Admiral Jurisdiction, p. 14. Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 96.

(105) Godolphin Append. p. 163.

(106) Hoveden. Annal. p. 440. col. 2. Brompt. Chron. col. 1258.

time and mercantile affairs. Of this he gave a proof, soon after his accession to the throne, by publishing the famous edict of Hastings, A. D. 1200, in which he asserted his dominion over the British seas in the strongest terms, and commanded his captains to seize all ships which did not strike their topsails to them, to confiscate their cargoes, and imprison their crews, even though they were the subjects of a power in friendship with England (107). In a word, the attention of this prince to maritime affairs was such, that he was served with zeal and fidelity by almost all his other subjects (108). It is a sufficient evidence of this, that, at a time when his affairs were in the most desperate state on shore, his fleet destroyed the whole naval power of France, and sent home no fewer than three hundred sail of French ships which had been taken (109). King John contributed also to the improvement of commerce, by establishing guilds or societies of merchants, with various privileges and immunities, in all parts of the kingdom, where there was any considerable trade (110). By the forty-first article of Magna Charta, foreign merchants are secured against all violence, and every illegal exaction, in times of peace; and it is declared, that when a war breaks out, they shall be treated in England in the same manner in which the English merchants are treated in the enemy's country (111).

Shipping.

As ships are the chief instruments of foreign trade, the state of the shipping of this island is an object worthy of some attention in every period of its history.

We conjectured, rather than affirmed, that the shipping of England amounted to two or three thousand vessels, from twenty to one hundred tons, at the conclusion of the former period (112). Whatever

(107) Seldeni Mare clausum, l. 2. c. 26. p. 265.

(108) M. Paris, p. 184. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 1. c. 4. p. 146.

(109) M. Trivet. Annal. ad ann. 1214.

(110) Brady on Burghs, passim.

(111) Magna Charta, ch. 41.

(112) See vol. 4.

may be in this conjecture, there is sufficient evidence, that, in the course of the period we are now delineating, the ships belonging to Britain became more numerous, of a larger size, and better construction, than they had been before the conquest.

The very fleet which brought over the duke of Normandy and his army into England, made a great addition to the English shipping. Some of our ancient historians affirm, that this fleet consisted of no fewer than three thousand ships (113). Though this may be an exaggeration, we may be certain that the transportation of sixty thousand men, with their horses, arms, and other necessaries, required a very numerous fleet of such small ships as were then in use. Some of these ships were carried back to the continent; but the greatest part of them, together with their crews, remained in England, and made a great addition to its naval power. The frequent voyages of our Anglo-Norman kings, between this island and their dominions on the continent, attended by large armies, chiefly composed of cavalry, rendered numerous fleets absolutely necessary. These, it is true, bore a greater resemblance to fleets of transports, than to the royal navies of the present times. For they consisted chiefly of merchant-ships, collected together when it was necessary, and dismissed as soon as the service was performed (114). But the very possibility of collecting together a fleet of several hundred ships, in a few weeks, affords a demonstration that England abounded in shipping in this period.

More numerous than in the former period.

The Anglo-Saxon ships were very small, and far from being perfect in their construction (115). But the English ships of this period appear to have been larger and better built. Those of the largest size, and strongest construction, were called *dromones* (116). The famous Saracen ship which was taken by Richard

Description of their ships.

(113) Ypodigma Neufriae, p. 436.

(114) M. Paris, ad an. 1213, p. 162.

(115) Mr. Strutt's View, &c. vol. I. plate 9. fig. 1.

(116) Gauf. Vinefauf. l. 2. c. 26. p. 316.

I. near the port of Acon, was of this kind; and must have been of an enormous magnitude, as it contained no less than fifteen hundred men (117). Those dromones had three masts, and are said to have sailed very slowly, being too lofty to make use of oars. Ships of the second rate, called *buffæ*, or *buccæ*, were also large vessels, and had three masts (118). Galleys were of various kinds, and different degrees of magnitude; but they all made use of oars as well as sails (119). The ships most commonly used in trade, both at sea and in large rivers, were called *barcæ*, or *barks*; and those of them which were of the smallest size, were called *barbottæ* (120). All these vessels had decks, for securing the goods with which they were loaded, from the injuries of the sea. Besides these, they had boats of different kinds and dimensions, for plying on rivers, for fishing, and for other purposes (121).

English
ships much
valued.

That the English ships of this period had the reputation of being excellent in their several kinds, is at least highly probable from the law of Henry II. which prohibited the selling of them to foreigners (122). We are told by a contemporary author, who was present at Messina, in Sicily, with Richard I. in his way to the Holy Land,—that the people of that city were filled with admiration at the number, beauty, and magnitude, of the ships of which that monarch's fleet were composed; and declared, that so fine a fleet had never been seen, and probably never would be seen in the harbour of Messina (123). This was indeed a very gallant fleet. It consisted of thirteen ships of the largest kind, called *dromones*, one hundred and fifty of the second rate, called *buffæ*, fifty-three galleys, besides a great number of tenders (124). Such a fleet would make no contemptible appearance even in modern times.

(117) M. Paris, p. 115. col. 1. (118) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Buffæ*.

(119) Id. ibid. voc. *Galea*. (120) Id. ibid. in voc. *Basææ*, *Barbottæ*.

(121) See Mr. Strutt's View, &c. vol. 1. plate 32.

(122) Benedict. Abbas. p. 368.

(123) Gauf. Vinefauf. l. 2. c. 26. p. 316.

(124) J. Brompt. col. 1196. R. de Diceto, col. 657.

As the British ships were better built, so they were also better navigated, in this than in the preceding period. The English sailors were much admired, both at home and abroad for their dexterity and courage; which produced the law of Henry II. prohibiting them from entering into foreign service (125). Geoffrey of Vineauf, who accompanied Richard I. in his expedition into the Holy Land, ascribes the preservation of that prince from shipwreck in a storm, to the uncommon skill and courage of his sailors, "who did every thing that was possible for human art to do, to resist the fury of the winds (126)." This character, which the English sailors so early acquired, they have long retained, and I hope will never forfeit.

English sailors excelled those of other countries.

It is a little uncertain, whether or not the English sailors, towards the end of this period, had the advantage of the mariners compass to guide them in their voyages. For neither the person who invented that most useful instrument, nor the time when it was invented, are very well known. It is however certain, that it had been discovered about the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century, that a needle touched with a loadstone, pointed towards the north; and that endeavours were used to apply this discovery to navigation, though the most convenient way of doing it was not then invented. For Hugh de Bercy, a French poet, who flourished in the former part of the thirteenth century, mentions this property of a needle touched with a loadstone very plainly, and describes an instrument called *la mariniere*, used by the sailors of his time, in which the needle was placed upon a board that floated in a vessel of water (127).

Mariners compass.

If ships and sailors are necessary to foreign trade, especially in an island, money is no less necessary both to foreign and internal commerce. It hath long been the common measure of all commodities, and the chief instrument of their circulation, and mult

Money.

(125) Benediſt. Abbas, p. 368.

(126) G. Vineauf. l. 2. c. 27. p. 317.

(127) Paſquier Recherches de la France, l. 4. c. 25. p. 40 5.

therefore

therefore never be neglected in the history of trade.

Living money.

Living money, which made so great a figure in the former, is seldom or never mentioned by the writers of the present period (128). For when coin became common, the conveniency of it, as a representative of all commodities, appeared so great, that all others were soon laid aside.

Changes made by the conquest.

The full account that hath been given of the several denominations of money, and of the real coins that were used in Britain in the preceding period, makes it unnecessary to say much on these subjects in the present; because the changes made in them by the conquest were but few and inconsiderable. These changes were the following (129). Some denominations of money, as mancusses, oras, and thimfas, that were common in the Anglo-Saxon times, fell into disuse, and are seldom mentioned by the writers after the conquest. If the mancus of gold was a real coin among the Anglo-Saxons, which is not very certain, it ceased to be coined after the conquest; for there is not the least vestige of such a coin among the Anglo-Normans: nor do we hear any thing of the copper-coin called a *stica* after the conquest.

Pound.

The tower pound, which had been the money pound of the Anglo-Saxons, continued to be the money pound of England for several centuries after the conquest (130). This pound was three fourths of an ounce lighter than the Troy pound, to which it was in the proportion of fifteen to sixteen. It was divided into twelve ounces, each ounce weighing 450 Troy grains, which made 5400 such grains in the pound (131). Whenever therefore a pound of money is mentioned by the writers of this period, it signifies as many silver coins as weighed 5400 Troy grains; or, in other words, a Tower pound weight of silver coins. The pound was both the largest and most common denomination of money.

(128) See vol. 4.

(129) Id.

(130) Folkes on Coins, p. 2.

(131) See vol. 4.

The mark is another denomination of money, Mark. which is frequently mentioned in the histories and records of this period. It weighed exactly two thirds of a Tower pound; and was the same with the Anglo-Danish mark, which hath been fully described already (132).

The shilling was not a real coin, but only a deno- Shilling. mination of money, in this period, whatever it might have been in the former. The Anglo-Norman shilling was also very different in its weight and value from the Anglo-Saxon. The largest of the latter weighed only $112\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, whereas the former represented as many silver coins as weighed 270 of the same grains, or the twentieth part of a Tower pound.

The penny was by far the most common real coin Penny. in the present period. Every Tower pound of silver was coined into two hundred and forty of these pennies, each weighing $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains. Twelve of these pennies, weighing 270 grains, were paid for one shilling (133). In a word, the Anglo-Norman penny was the same in weight with the Anglo-Saxon. Many of the former, as well as some of the latter, are still preserved, and have been published (134).

Though the silver penny of this period was but a Half pen-
nies and
farthings. small coin; yet it was of considerable value, and would have purchased as much provisions, or other goods, as four or five of our shillings will do at present. To have had no smaller coins than pennies, would have been very inconvenient to the poor in the purchase of provisions and other necessaries. We may be certain, therefore, that silver half-pennies and farthings were coined in this, as well as in the former period; though few or none of these small coins of some of our Norman kings have been preserved. It seems probable however that the smaller coins were sometimes very scarce, and that the people had been accustomed to cut or break silver pennies into halves or quarters, which passed for half-pennies and farthings.

(132) See vol. 4.

(133) Folkes on Coins, p. 5.

(134) Id. vol. 2.

For Henry I. A. D. 1108, prohibited this practice ; and commanded, that all half-pennies and farthings, as well as pennies, should be entire and round (135). It appears also, that this law did not put an end to the practice of cutting pennies into halves and quarters, but that it continued through the whole of this period ; because we meet with a law against it in the reign of Edward I. A. D. 1279 (136).

Sterling
money,

In the course of this period, the silver penny is sometimes called an *esterling* or *sterling* ; and good money in general is sometimes called *esterling* or *sterling* money (137). It is unnecessary to mention the various conjectures of antiquaries about the origin and meaning of this appellation. The most probable opinion seems to be this, that some artists from Germany who were called *Esterlings*, from the situation of their country, had been employed in fabricating our money, which consisted chiefly of silver pennies ; and that from them the penny was called an *esterling*, and our money *esterling* or *sterling* money (138).

Standard.

As the silver coins of England, in this and the former period, were of the same kinds, and of the same weights, they were also of the same standard or degree of fineness. Both our Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman princes paid great attention to the purity of their coin, and punished those who attempted to debase it, with great severity (139). Henry II. A. D. 1180, called in all the coin, because some of it had been debased ; and issued new money, which was to be the only current coin of the kingdom (140).

Money
mints in
England.

Coining money was not confined to one place in England, as it is at present, but was practised in every town of any considerable trade. The workmen, however, who were employed in coining, did not enjoy the same liberty with other artists, of fol-

(135) Simeon Dunelm. col. 231.

(136) M. Westmint. p. 367.

(137) Spelman. Gloss. voc. *Esterlingus*. (138) Id. ibid.

(139) See vol. 4. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2377. Gervas Chron. col.

1457.

(140) Eneadict. Abbas, ad ann. 1180.

lowing their own fancies, and making such coins as they pleased; but they received all their dyes from the exchequer, and they wrought under the inspection of officers, who were called *examinatores monetæ*, and *custodes cuneorum*, "Essayers and keepers of the dyes," whose business it was, to take care that their coins were of the standard weight and fineness. All these workmen, together with the essayers and keepers of the dyes, in all the different mints, were under the immediate direction of the barons of the exchequer; who, from time to time, commanded them to appear before them, with their implements of coining. Thus, in the 9th of king John, writs were issued by the barons of the exchequer, commanding all the moneyours, essayers, and keepers of the dyes, in London, Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Linn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmunds, and Durham, to appear before them at Westminster, in the quinzieme of St. Denys, and to bring with them all their dyes sealed up with their seals (141).

Though it is highly probable that money was coined in Scotland before the beginning of this period; yet as none of that money hath been discovered, nothing certain can be said on that subject (142). Nor have any coins of Malcolm Canmore, or of his three successors, Donald, Duncan, and Edgar, kings of Scotland, yet appeared; the most ancient Scotch coins that are known being those of Alexander I. who began his reign A. D. 1107 (143). From that æra the series is almost complete (144). It is unnecessary to spend one moment in describing the money of Scotland, in this period, as it was exactly the same in weight, fineness, and fabrication, with that of England, already described.

Coins of
Scotland
the same
with those
of Eng-
land.

(141) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 9. p. 198.

(142) See vol. 4.

(143) Anderson Diplomata Scotiæ, Præfat. p. 57.

(144) Id. plate 157, &c.

No gold
coined in
this period.

If any gold was coined in Britain in the times we are now considering, it hath disappeared. For no gold coins of any of the kings who reigned in England in this period, have been yet discovered, nor are any such coins mentioned by the contemporary historians. But foreign gold coins, of the same kinds which had circulated among the Anglo-Saxons, still continued to circulate through the whole of this period. These were commonly called *Byzants*, or *Byzantines*, and have been described in the sixth chapter of the second book of this work (145).

Proportion
of gold to
silver.

The proportion of gold to silver appears to have been as one to nine. The abbot of Thorney being obliged to pay to king Stephen yearly, for the privilege of a market at Jakesley, one mark of gold, paid nine marks of silver, and was discharged (146). The same proportion was observed in the succeeding reign. For Peter Turk paid six pounds of silver into the exchequer, for one mark of gold, which he owed to Henry II. (147). The cheapness of gold, in this period, seems to be an indication of its abundance in proportion to silver.

Different
ways of
paying mo-
ney.

The most natural and easy way of paying any sum of money, is to pay as many real coins of gold or silver as are nominally and legally contained in that sum. This is called paying by tale; and is almost the only method now in use. But as the real value of coins, in some periods, may fall considerably short of their nominal value, either by a deficiency in their weight, or fineness, or in both, it becomes necessary, at those times, to contrive some methods to guard against this deception. Several methods were used for this purpose, in the times we are now considering, by those who received the royal revenues at the exchequer, and probably by all who had extensive dealings in money.

Increment.

When the coins offered to the receivers at the exchequer appeared to them sufficiently pure, but a little

(145) See vol. 4.

(146) Madox Hist. Excheq.

(147) Id. *ibid.*

lighter than the standard, they contented themselves with demanding and receiving six silver pennies in every pound, more than was nominally contained in it, to make up the supposed deficiency in the weight. For example, they demanded and received two hundred and forty-six silver pennies for one pound, instead of two hundred and forty pennies, which made a nominal pound. The six silver pennies extraordinary were called *the increment*; and this way of paying was called paying *ad scalam*, and was an easy and amicable method of adjusting the difference between the legal and real weight of coins (148).

When the coins presented in payment at the exchequer appeared to be so much diminished that the ordinary increment would not make up the deficiency, they were put into the scales, and taken by weight, without any regard to number. This was called payment *ad pensum*, and was certainly the most just (149). By weight.

But as coins might be defective in fineness, as well as in weight, the receivers at the exchequer sometimes melted a few of them by way of trial, and calculated the value of the whole, according to the issue of that trial. This was called payment by *combustion*; and when a quantity of coins had undergone this trial, they were said to be *blanched*. To prevent the trouble of melting, a certain allowance, as one shilling in the pound was sometimes offered, and accepted, to make up the deficiency in fineness (150). There were proper officers in the exchequer for performing these operations, such as a *pesour* for weighing, and a *fusor* for melting the coins that were to be tried; and these officers were furnished with proper instruments and conveniencies for their respective works (151). By combustion.

It will readily occur to every reader, that these different modes of payment made a very essential difference both to the debtor and creditor, especially in Manner of payments settled.

(148) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 9. p. 187.

(149) Id. *ibid.*

(150) Id. *ibid.*

(151) Id. *ibid.* p. 197.

large sums ; because it required a greater number of the same kind of coins to pay the same debt in one way than another. For this reason, in making bargains, and settling the rents of farms, &c. it was usual to stipulate in which of these ways the money was to be paid, by tale, by scale, by weight, or by combustion (152).

Comparative value of money.

If the same nominal sum of money had always contained the same quantity of the precious metals, of the same fineness, we might easily and certainly have discovered the comparative value of money, and expence of living, at any two periods, only by comparing the nominal prices of labour and commodities at these different times. But this hath not been the case. The same nominal sum of money, as a pound, a mark, a shilling, &c. hath at some periods contained a greater, and at others a smaller quantity of silver, to say nothing of its degrees of fineness. In order therefore to discover the comparative value of money, and expence of living, at any two periods, two things must be taken into the account: 1st, The quantity of silver contained in the same nominal sum at each of these periods; and, 2dly, the efficacy or power of the same quantity of silver in purchasing labour and commodities of all kinds at each period.

The same nominal sum contained thrice the quantity of silver.

Any nominal sum of money, or number of pounds, marks, or shillings, in the period we are now delineating, contained nearly thrice as much silver, as the same nominal sum, or number of pounds, marks, or shillings, contain at present. Whenever therefore we meet with any sum of money, or number of pounds, marks, or shillings, in the histories or records of this period, said to be the price of any commodity, we must multiply it by three to discover how many of our pounds, marks, or shillings, it contained. Thus, for example, we are told by several of our ancient historians, that there was so great a scarcity of corn in England, A. D. 1126, that a quarter of

(152) Madox Hist. Excheq. ch. 9. p. 197.

wheat

wheat sold for six shillings, that is, for eighteen shillings of our money (153).

The same nominal sum of money not only contained a much greater quantity of silver than it doth at present, but the same quantity of silver was also much more valuable than it is at present. It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover the difference in this respect with certainty and exactness. This difficulty is occasioned by two things: 1. because we are not sufficiently informed of the common prices of the most necessary and useful commodities, particularly of corn, in this distant period; 2. because the prices of some commodities, as of books, silks, and spices, bore a much higher proportion than the prices of some others, as of corn, cattle, and wine, to the prices of the same commodities in the present times. Accordingly we find, that the most ingenious and best-informed writers have entertained very different sentiments on this subject; some estimating the value or efficacy of any given weight of silver coins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to the value or efficacy of the same weight of our silver coins at present, to have been in the proportion of ten to one, and some estimating it to have been only in the proportion of five to one (154). That is to say, some of these writers think, that a quantity of silver coins, of an equal weight with one of our crown-pieces, would have purchased ten times as much labour, meat, drink, and clothing, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as one of our crown-pieces can purchase at present, while others of them think that it would have purchased only five times as much.

Same quantity of silver more valuable.

If we could discover the average price of corn in the times we are now examining, we might determine this question with tolerable certainty; because the price of corn hath a considerable influence on the price of labour, and the expence of living. The

The same quantity of silver five times the value it is at present.

(153) Hen. Hunt. p. 219. R. Hoveden Annal. p. 274.

(154) Mr. Hume's History of England, vol. I. p. 166. edit. 1762. Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. I. p. 406. octavo edit. 1769,

historians of this period represent it as a great dearth, or rather as a famine, when wheat was sold for six of their shillings (containing as much silver as eighteen of our shillings) the quarter. "This year, A. D. 1126 (says Henry of Huntington), was the greatest dearth in our times, when a quarter of wheat was sold for six shillings (155)." If we suppose the same quantity of silver to have been ten times as valuable then as it is now, this makes the dearth A. D. 1126, to have been as great as it would be at present, if wheat was sold for nine pounds the quarter, or £1 : 2 : 6 the bushel : a dearth that would be quite ruinous and insupportable. But if we suppose the value or efficacy of the same quantity of silver to have been only five times as great then as it is now, this makes the dearth A. D. 1126 to have been as great as it would be at present if a quarter of wheat was sold for £4 10s. or a bushel for 11s. 3d. a dearth sufficiently distressful, and of which we have few examples. We can hardly imagine that our historians would have mentioned this dearth in such strong terms, if the price of corn had not then been the double of its common or average price. On the other hand, our historians speak of it as a proof of uncommon plenty and cheapness, when wheat was sold for two of their shillings (containing as much silver as six of our shillings) the quarter. "This year, A. D. 1244 (says Matthew Paris), was so fruitful, that a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings (156)." Upon the whole, it seems to be no improbable conjecture, that the most common price of wheat in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was about three of their shillings, or nine of our shillings the quarter. If we suppose the same quantity of silver to have been then ten times the value it is now, we must also suppose, that the most common or average price of wheat in our times is £4. 10s. the quarter : a supposition which we know to be very remote from truth. But if we estimate any given quantity of silver, as nine of our shillings, the average price of a quarter of wheat in the eleventh and

(155) Hen. Hunt. p. 219.

(156) M. Paris, ad ann. 1244.

twelfth centuries, to have been only five times the value of the same quantity of silver at present; this corresponds with the supposition, that the average price of a quarter of wheat, in modern times, is £2 5s. or 5s. 7½d. the bushel. This is evidently not far from the truth. The justness of this supposition, that any given quantity or weight of silver coins, in the period we are now delineating, was equal in value and efficacy to five times the same weight or quantity of our silver coins at present, might, if it was necessary, be confirmed by many other arguments (157).

According to this supposition, a person who had a nominal income of £10 a-year, in this period, received as much silver as one who hath a nominal income at present of £30 a-year; and could have lived as well, purchased as much labour, meat, drink, and clothing, as one who hath an income of £150 at present. A constant attention to these two things, the different quantity of silver in the same nominal sum of money, and the different value of the same quantity of silver, is necessary to our understanding the meaning of our ancient historians on many occasions, and particularly to our comprehending the real value of the several sums of money that are mentioned by them.

The materials of our commercial history, in this period, are not so perfect as to enable us to form a judgment, or even a guess, concerning the balance of trade between Britain and any one particular country. But we have good reason to believe, that the balance of trade, upon the whole, was in favour of Britain; or, in other words, that the British exports were more valuable than the British imports; and that to make up the deficiency in the imports, Britain received a balance in cash or bullion,

This may be proved in this manner. We had no mines of gold or silver in this island, in those times, to supply the daily diminution of the national stock of the precious metals, by manufactures,—by the wear and loss of plate and coin,—and by the great sums of

(157) See Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. I. p. 404—410. octavo.

money which were carried out of the kingdom from time to time; yet this diminution was actually supplied, and the national stock was kept up, if not increased; which must have been by cash or bullion brought home by the balance of trade.

No mines
of gold or
silver.

That no mines of gold or silver were wrought in Britain in this period, the silence of all our records, historians, and other writers, seems to be a sufficient proof. That the national stock of the precious metals must have been gradually diminished—by the quantities of them that were used in illuminating, gilding, and other manufactures,—and by the necessary wear and loss of plate and coins, is too evident to need any proof.

Much mo-
ney carried
out of
England.

That very great sums of money were carried out of Britain in the course of this period, we have the clearest evidence. What prodigious sums of money were carried to Rome alone by the clergy, in purchasing their palls, prosecuting their appeals, and procuring favours of various kinds, to say nothing of the annual payment of Peter-pence! Many of our writers in this period complain bitterly of the avarice of the pope and cardinals, and of the great sums of money which they extorted from the English clergy, and others (158). Nay, king John, in a letter which he wrote to the pope A. D. 1208, affirmed, that the court of Rome received more money from England, than from all the other kingdoms on this side of the Alps (159). The long residences of our kings upon the continent, and their frequent wars with the kings of France and other princes, must have occasioned a great drain of money from England. The unfortunate expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land, together with his ransom from his captivity, carried out an incredible mass of money (160). To say nothing of the great sums which the prelates, nobles, and others, who embarked in that expedition, carried with them, the king not only expended on it all

(158) P. Blefenf. Epist. 153. p. 143, 144. Epistola S. Thomæ Cant. l. 1. Ep. 179. p. 306. M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 46, 89, 92.

(159) M. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 156.

(160) Chron. J. Brompt. col. 1162. Knyghton, col. 1402.

his father's treasures, but all the money which he collected from the sale of every thing belonging to the crown for which he could find a purchaser (161).

But notwithstanding all these drains, and others which might have been mentioned, England still continued to be rich in money. If the Jews, in particular, who were settled in Britain, had not been very rich in money, they could not have paid the heavy and frequent demands that were made upon them by government (162). All our kings were rich in gold and silver; and great sums of ready money, as well as great quantities of plate and jewels, were found in their repositories when they died (163). Many subjects also, particularly among the prelates, possessed great quantities of the precious metals, both in coin and plate. No less than forty thousand marks, equal in quantity of silver to £80,000, and in value or efficacy to £400,000 of our money, were found in the castle of the Devizes, when it was taken from Roger bishop of Salisbury, A. D. 1139 (164). Eleven thousand pounds of gold coins, besides great quantities of gold and silver plate, were found in the treasury of Roger archbishop of York at his death, A. D. 1181 (165). The silver coins alone in this archiepiscopal treasury, were equal in value to £165,000 of our present money; and if we reckon one pound of the gold to have been worth only nine pounds of silver, the gold coins were equal in efficacy to £40,500 of our money. Many other examples, if it was necessary, might be given, from the genuine monuments of this period, of particular persons, and of societies, who possessed great quantities of the precious metals, both in coins and plate. In a word, there is sufficient evidence, that though great sums of money were annually carried out of England, to Rome, to Normandy, and other places, the national stock of gold and silver was not diminished, but rather

Much money still in England.

(161) W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 5.

(162) See Madox Hist. Excheq. chap. 7.

(163) Hoveden. Annal. p. 374. Benedict. Abbas, tom. 2. p. 553. M. Paris, p. 107.

(164) J. Brompt. col. 1027. Chron. Gervas, col. 1346.

(165) M. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 97.

increased,

increased, in the course of this period. This cannot be accounted for, but by supposing, that considerable quantities of coin and bullion were imported by the merchants as the balance of their trade with foreign nations. All the gold coins, in particular, which appear to have been numerous, must have been imported, as no gold was coined in Britain in this period.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K III.

C H A P. VII.

History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, of the people of Great Britain, from the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of King John, A. D. 1216.

NATIONS which have been long seated in the same country, and have had little intercourse with strangers, commonly retain the same national characters, manners, and customs, through a long succession of ages. They become proud of their antiquity, fond admirers of their ancestors, and warmly attached to all their sentiments and practices; their follies, errors, and vices, not excepted. The inhabitants of Wales, for example, and of the greatest part of Scotland, the descendants of the ancient Britons and Caledonians, seem to have had the same national characters, manners, and

Some nations tenacious of the customs of their ancestors.

and customs, the same religion, laws, language, dress, diet, and diversions, with very little variation, for more than a thousand years. As all these have been already described at great length in this work, it will not be necessary to say much concerning them in this chapter, except to take notice of such singularities on any of these subjects as are mentioned for the first time by the writers of this period (1).

Manners
of the
Anglo-
Saxons
changed.

The manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, who conquered and peopled the best and greatest part of Britain in the preceding period, have been also delineated (2). If these nations had continued in the peaceable possession of their country, they would probably have retained the same national character and manners, with some slight and almost insensible alterations, in the present period. But by their subjection to and intermixture with their Norman conquerors, very great changes were made in their manners, customs, and ways of living, which claim our attention in this part of our work.

Manners
of the
Normans.

But as the Normans first appeared upon the stage, and became the governing and predominant people of England, in our present period, their manners, &c. must be the principal subject of this chapter,

Name of
the Nor-
mans.

Those destructive bands of piratical adventurers which issued from Scandinavia, and infested all the seas and coasts of Europe, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, were sometimes called *Saxons*, sometimes *Danes*, and sometimes *Normans*. "From the fury of the Normans, Good Lord deliver us," was then a petition in the litanies of all the nations, which dreaded the depredations of those northern plunderers, who were called *Normans* from the situation of the countries from whence they came (3). "In those days (says the author of the Saxon chronicle, A. D. 787) came the first three ships of Northmen from Hethaland. These were the first ships of Danishmen that came into England (4)."

(1) See vol. 2. chap. 7. Vol. 4. chap. 7.

(2) See vol. 4. chap. 7.

(3) Id. *ibid.* p. 314. note.

(4) Chron. Saxon. p. 64.

About the beginning of the tenth century, a very numerous band, or rather army, of these northern adventurers, under the conduct of Rollo, a Norwegian chieftain, invaded, and almost desolated the fine province of Neustria. This province, extending from the river Ept to the confines of Brittany, was at length granted, A. D. 911, by Charles the Simple king of France, to Rollo and his followers, on condition that they became Christians, and that they held the ceded territories of the crown of France (5). With these conditions they complied; and having obtained possession of so fine a country, they abandoned their former roving and predatory course of life, and began to rebuild the cities which they had destroyed, and to cultivate the fields which they had desolated. From that time the country which had formerly been called *Neustria*, was called *Normandy*, from its new masters; who were called *Normans*, because all the different countries from whence they came, lay to the north of France.

Origin of
the Nor-
mans.

Duke Rollo, and his Normans, though they had been as great barbarians as any of the other swarms of savages which had issued from Scandinavia, gradually became a civilized and polished people, after their settlement in Normandy. This was owing to several causes. The Christian religion, which they then embraced, was of a more humane and peaceful spirit than the barbarous superstition in which they had been educated.—The mild climate and fertile soil of Normandy inspired them with the love of home, and of a quiet and settled way of life.—Their intercourse and intermarriages with the French inhabitants, made them adopt the manners, customs, language, and dress of that people. This was so much the case, that the Normans, when they invaded England, called themselves, and were called by others, Frenchmen. They are so called in the laws of William the Conqueror, and in the charters of that prince and of his successors for a century after the conquest (6). In a word, the man-

Settled in
France and
became
French-
men.

(5) W. Gimiticenf. l. 2. c. 17. Dudo Sancti Quint. p. 84. P. Walsingham Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 417.

(6) Seldeni Spicilegia ad Eadmerum, p. 193. Charta Henrici II. in Libro Rubro Scaccarii.

ners, customs, virtues, vices, language, dress, diet, and diversions of the predominant people of England through the greatest part of this period, were exactly the same with those of persons of the same rank on the continent of France. A very brief delineation of these must now be given.

Contempt
and ill
treatment
of the
English.

There is hardly any thing more remarkable in the manners and customs of this period, than the sovereign contempt in which the name of an Englishman was held, and the cruel indignities with which the persons of Englishmen were treated. William of Poictou, in describing the battle of Hastings, at which he was present, frequently denominates the English,—*the barbarians*. “The cries (says he) of the Normans on one side, and of the barbarians on the other, were drowned by the clashing of arms and the groans of the dying (7).” After that fatal battle, and a few unfortunate revolts, the native English sunk into great contempt and wretchedness (8). Their estates were confiscated, their persons insulted, their wives and daughters dishonoured before their eyes. “The Normans (says an ancient historian) were astonished at their own power, became as it were mad with pride, and imagined that they might do whatever they pleased to the English. Young ladies of the highest rank and greatest beauty having lost their fathers, brothers, and protectors, and being violated by armed ruffians, called upon death to come to their relief (9).” In a word, the name of an Englishman became a term of reproach. “The Normans (says Brompton) reduced almost all the English to such a state of servitude, that it was a reproach to be called an Englishman (10).” This insolence of the Normans, and depression of the English, continued almost to the very conclusion of our present period. For we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, who flourished in those times, that, in the reign of Richard I. when a Norman was accused of any thing which he thought

(7) W. Poictaviens. a Duches edit. p. 202.

(8) Ingulph. Hist. p. 70.

(9) Orderic. Vital. p. 523.

(10) J. Brompt. p. 962.

dishonourable, and chose to deny, he commonly said,—*What! do you imagine I am an Englishman?—or—May I become an Englishman if I did it* (11). By slow degrees, however, the animosity between the Normans and English abated, and they coalesced into one powerful people, who have long been, and still are, justly proud of the honourable name of *Englishmen*.

A new mode of education was one of the many Method of education. changes introduced into England by the Normans. For the Conqueror, having formed the design of extirpating the English language, and making the French the vulgar tongue of all his subjects, commanded, that the children of the English should be taught the first rudiments of grammar at school in French, and not in English (12). This mode of education introduced by the Normans, with a design to establish their own language on the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon, continued more than three centuries after the conquest. This we learn from Trevisa, a writer who flourished in the fourteenth century, whose testimony we shall give in his own words: “For John Cornwaile, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar schole, and construction of Frenche into Englishe; and Richard Pincriche lerned the manere techynge of him, as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of our Lorde a thousand three hundred and four score and five, and of the seconde kyng Richard, after the conquest nyne, and alle the gramere scholes of Engilond, children leveth Frensche, and construeth and lerneth an Englishe, and haveth thereby advantage in oon side, and disadvantage in another side. Here advantage is, that they lerneth her gramer in lasse tyme, than children were woned to doo; disadvantage is, that now children of gramer schole conneth na more Frensche than can her list heele, and that is harm for him, and they schulle passeth the see, and travaille in strange landes, and in many other places. Also gentilmen havith now moche left for to teche here children Frenche (13).”

(11) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 406.

(12) *Ingulph. Hist.* p. 71.

(13) *Hicckesii Thesaur.* tom. 1. Præfat. p. 17, 18.

Thus the long struggle between the French and English languages, after it had continued more than three centuries, drew towards a conclusion, and victory began to declare in favour of the English.

Introduc-
tion of chi-
valry.

The very singular spirit of chivalry which began to display itself about the beginning of this period, and was introduced into England by the Normans, gave a new turn to the education of the young nobility and gentry, in order to fit them for obtaining the honour of knighthood, which was then an object of ambition to the greatest princes (14). Those noble youths who were designed for the profession of arms and the honours of knighthood, were early taken out of the hands of the women, and placed in the family of some great prince or baron, who was also esteemed an expert and valorous knight.

Pages or
valets.

At their first entrance into this school of chivalry, they acted in the capacity of pages or valets (15). For those names which are now appropriated to domestic servants, were then sometimes given to the sons and brothers of kings (16). In this station they were instructed in the laws of courtesy and politeness, and in the first rudiments of chivalry, and martial exercises; to fit them for shining in courts, at tournaments, and on the field of battle: Henry II. received this part of his education in the family of his uncle, Robert earl of Gloucester, who was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished (17).

Esquires.

After they had spent a competent time in the station of pages, they were advanced to the more honourable rank of esquires. Then they were admitted into more familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies of the court, and perfected in dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, and other accomplishments necessary to fit them for performing the offices, and becoming the honours, of knighthood, to which they aspired (18). In a word, the courts of

(14) Simeon Dunelm. p. 277. Ailredi Abbat. Rieval. p. 347.

(15) Memoire sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de Sainte Paylaye, tom. I. p. 6.

(16) Les Mœurs de François, par Le Gendre, p. 63.

(17) Gervas Chron. p. 1358. W. Malmf. p. 98.

(18) Memoires sur Chevalerie, part I.

kings, princes, and great barons, were a kind of colleges of chivalry, as the universities were of the arts and sciences; and the youth in both advanced through several degrees to the highest honours.

The exercises of the youth in these schools of chivalry, are thus described by Fitz-Stephen, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. "Every Sunday in Lent, immediately after dinner, crowds of noble and sprightly youths, mounted on war-horses, admirably trained to perform all their turnings and evolutions, ride into the fields in distinct bands, armed with lances and shields, and exhibit representations of battles, and go through all their martial exercises. Many of the young nobility, who have not yet received the honour of knighthood, issue from the king's court, and from the houses of bishops, earls, and barons, to make trial of their courage, strength, and skill in arms. The hope of victory rouses the spirits of these noble youths;—their fiery horses neigh and prance, and champ their foaming bits. At length the signal is given, and the sports begin. The youths, divided into opposite bands, encounter one another. In one place some fly, and others pursue, without being able to overtake them. In another place, one of the bands overtakes and overturns the other (18)."

Their exercises described.

The noble youth in those schools of chivalry, sometimes contracted the most sincere and lasting friendships, and became what they then called *sworn brothers*. Those who were sworn brothers, cemented their friendship with vows of inviolable attachment to each other, in peace and war, in prosperity and adversity;—that they would share the same dangers, and divide equally all their acquisitions (19). Of this custom it may not be improper to give one example. Robert de Oily, and Roger de Ivery, two young gentlemen who came into England with the

Sworn brothers.

(18) W. Stephaned. Descript. Lond. a J. Sparke, edit. 1723. p. 7, 8.

(19) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Fratres conjurati*.

duke of Normandy, were sworn brothers. Some time after the conquest, king William granted the two great honours of Oxford and St. Waleries to Robert de Oily, who immediately bestowed one of them, that of St. Waleries, on his sworn brother Roger de Ivery (20). A custom similar to this prevailed in Wales. The princes of that country placed one of their sons in the family of one chieftain, and another in the family of another, where they were educated with the sons of these chieftains, who became the sworn brothers of the young prince who had been educated with them. This produced frequent civil wars, each of the great families endeavouring with all their power to raise their sworn brother and favourite prince to the government (21).

The spirit of romantic gallantry.

It was also in these schools of chivalry, the courts of kings, princes, and great barons, that the youth of this period imbibed that spirit of romantic gallantry, and devotion towards the ladies, which was esteemed the most necessary qualification of a true and gentle knight. These courts were the schools in which the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, received their education. Both were often the wards of the prince or great baron; and while those of the one sex were educated with his sons under his own eye, those of the other sex were educated with his daughters under the inspection of his lady. In this situation it was natural for the young persons of each sex to cultivate those qualities which would render them most acceptable to the other. These were gentleness, modesty, and virtue, in the ladies; courtesy, valour, and gallantry, in the gentlemen. Accordingly we are told, that in these schools of chivalry, the youth were carefully instructed in the arts of love, and in all the rules and punctilios of a virtuous and honourable gallantry (22). To render these lessons more effectual, the young gentlemen chose mistresses among the young ladies of the courts in which they resided, to whom they addressed all their vows, and

(20) Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 57.

(21) Gerald. Cambrenf. apud Angl. Sacra, tom. 2. p. 450.

(22) Memoires sur la Chevalerie, part 1.

practised all their arts of pleasing (23). They became their constant attendants in assemblies, their champions at tournaments, the protectors of their persons, fame, and fortune, and the avengers of their wrongs.

When the youth in these schools of chivalry had ^{Knights.} spent seven or eight years in the station of esquires, they received the honours of knighthood, most commonly from the hands of the prince, earl, or baron, in whose court they had spent their youth and received their education. That honour was preceded by various preparations, and accompanied with several pompous ceremonies; which are thus described by the best modern writer on this subject, who hath confirmed every article of his description by the most solid proofs. “ Severe fastings,—nights spent in “ prayer in a church or chapel,—the sacraments of “ penance, and the eucharist received with devotion, “ —bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems “ of that purity of manners required by the laws of “ chivalry,—confession of all their sins,—with serious “ attention to several sermons, in which the faith and “ morals of a good Christian were explained, were the “ necessary preparations for receiving the honour of “ knighthood. When a candidate for that honour had “ performed all these preliminaries, he went in procession into a church, and advanced to the altar, “ with his sword slung in a scarf about his neck. “ He presented his sword to a priest; who blessed it, “ and put it again into the scarf, about the neck of “ the candidate; who then proceeded in a solemn “ pace, with his hands joined, to the place where he “ was to be knighted. This august ceremony was “ most commonly performed in a church or chapel, “ in the great hall of a palace or castle, or in the “ open air. When the candidate approached the “ personage by whom he was to be knighted, he “ fell on his knees at his feet, and delivered to him “ his sword. Being asked, for what end he desired “ the honour of knighthood? and having returned a “ proper answer, the usual oath was administered to

(23) Memoires sur la Chevalerie, part 1.

“ him with great solemnity. After this, knights and
 “ ladies, who assisted at the ceremony, began to
 “ adorn the candidate with the armour and ensigns
 “ of knighthood. First, they put on his spurs, be-
 “ ginning with the left foot: next his coat of mail;
 “ then his cuirass; afterwards the several pieces of
 “ armour for his arms, hands, legs, and thighs; and,
 “ last of all they girt him with the sword. When
 “ the candidate was thus *dubbed*, as it was call-
 “ ed, the king, prince, or baron, who was to make
 “ him a knight, descended from his throne or seat,
 “ and gave him, still on his knees, the accolade,
 “ which was three gentle strokes, with the flat of
 “ his sword on the shoulder, or with the palm of his
 “ hand on the cheek; saying at the same time,—
 “ *In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George,*
 “ *I make thee a knight; be thou brave, hardy, and*
 “ *loyal.* The new knight was then raised from the
 “ ground; his helmet put on, his shield and lance
 “ delivered to him, and his horse brought; which he
 “ mounted without using the stirrup, and performed
 “ several courses, displaying his dexterity in horse-
 “ manship, and in the management of his arms,
 “ amidst the acclamations of great multitudes of
 “ people, who had assembled to behold the ceremony
 “ (24).” Could any institution be better adapted to
 inflame the ardour of the young nobility in acquir-
 ing the accomplishments necessary to obtain an hon-
 our which was courted by the greatest monarchs?

Qualities
 necessary to
 knight-
 hood.

The virtues and endowments that were necessary
 to form an accomplished knight in the flourishing
 times of chivalry, were such as these,—beauty,
 strength, and agility of body,—great dexterity in
 dancing, wrestling, hunting, hawking, riding, tilt-
 ing, and every other manly exercise;—the virtues of
 piety, chastity, modesty, courtesy, loyalty, liberality,
 sobriety; and above all, an inviolable attachment to
 truth and an invincible courage.

(24) *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, tom. I. p. 72, &c.

To perform the duties of a good and valiant knight, not one of these virtues and endowments was unnecessary. For he was not only to be the delight and ornament of courts by his gallantry and politeness, but he was bound by oath—to serve his prince,—to defend the church and clergy,—to protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies,—and to rescue the widow and orphan from oppression, with his sword, at the hazard of his life (25). Few, we may presume, possessed all these qualifications, and performed all these duties in perfection. But still an institution so virtuous in its principles, and honourable in its ends, must have done much good, and prevented many evils. We have even reason to believe, that chivalry, which, under the name of knight-errantry, hath long been an object of ridicule, was one of the happiest inventions of the ages in which it flourished.

Duties of
a knight.

The use of family-surnames, descending from father to son, seems to have been introduced into Britain by the Normans at the beginning of this period. For among the Anglo-Saxons, persons who bore the same Christian name, were distinguished from one another by descriptive epithets, as the black, the white, the long, the strong, &c. and these epithets were not given to their sons if they did not possess these properties (26). Family-surnames, at their first introduction, like family-arms, were confined to persons of rank and fortune, who most commonly took their surnames from the castles in which they resided; or the estates which they possessed (27). This is the true reason of the surnames of so many of the noble and honourable families in England, being the same with the names of certain towns, castles, and estates in Normandy, France, and Flanders. The ancestors of these families were lords of their estates and castles; and being proud of their native country and family-possession, they retained their names after they settled in England, and transmitted them to

Surnames.

(25) *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, tom. I. p. 72, &c.

(26) See vol. 4. ch. 7. Verstigan, ch. 8.

(27) Camden's Remains, p. 113.

their posterity (28). It was not 'till after the conclusion of this period that surnames were universally assumed by the common people.

Coat-armour.

The use of coats of arms, distinguishing one great family from another, and descending from father to son, appears to have been introduced into Britain about the same time with family surnames, and by the same noble Normans. The Anglo-Saxon warriors adorned their shields and banners with the figures of certain animals, or with other devices; but in doing this every particular person followed his own fancy, without any regard to the figures or devices that had been borne by his ancestors (29). But about the time of the first croisades, greater attention began to be paid to these devices, when it was discovered that they might be useful as well as ornamental. "About this time (says one of our best antiquaries) the estimation of arms began in the expeditions to the Holy Land; and afterwards, by little and little, became hereditary; when it was accounted most honourable to carry those arms which had been displayed in the Holy Land, in that holy service against the professed enemies of Christianity (30)." Jufts and tournaments, the favourite diversions of the great and brave in this period, contributed not a little to render arms hereditary. For a noble son, proud of the honours that had been gained by an illustrious father in those fields of fame, delighted to appear with the same devices on his shield at the like solemnities (31). It was only, however, by slow degrees, and in the course of almost two centuries, that this custom became constant and universal even in noble families.

Norman magnificence.

The many noble Normans who settled in England after the conquest, introduced a more magnificent and splendid manner of living than had been known among the Anglo-Saxons. This we learn from a wri-

(28) Camden's Remains, p. 113.

(29) Camden's Remains, p. 206. *Les Mœurs de François, par M. le Gendre, p. 88.*

(30) Camden's Remains, p. 208.

(31) *Le Gendre, p. 88.*

ter who flourished soon after the conquest, and had the best opportunities of being well informed; who tells us, that the English nobles were universally addicted to excessive drinking, and spent their ample revenues in a sordid manner, in mean and low houses; but that the Norman barons dwelt in stately and magnificent palaces, kept elegant tables, and were very splendid in their dress and equipage (32). William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, had no fewer than a thousand, some contemporary writers say fifteen hundred, horsemen in his retinue: and to furnish his table, says a prelate who was his contemporary, all the different kinds of beasts that roam on the land, of fishes that swim in the waters, and of birds that fly in the air, were collected (33). The Norman kings and nobles displayed their taste for magnificence, in the most remarkable manner, at their coronations, their royal feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and at their tournaments, which were all celebrated with incredible expence and pomp (34).

One thing that contributed very much to swell the retinue of the Norman kings, prelates, and nobles, was the necessity they were under of carrying with them not only their provisions, but even a great part of the furniture of their houses, in their journies. Peter of Blois, who was chaplain to Henry II. in his curious description of a court-life, paints the prodigious crowds, confusion, and bustle, with which the royal progresses were attended, in very strong colours. “When the king sets out in the morning, you see multitudes of people running up and down as if they were distracted; horses rushing against horses; carriages overturning carriages; players, whores, gamesters, cooks, confectioners, mimics, dancers, barbers, pimps, and parasites, making so much noise, and in a word, such an intolerable tumultuous jumble of horse and foot, that

Great retinues of the Norman kings and nobles.

(32) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. col. 2.

(33) J. Brompt. p. 1193. Benedict Abbas, p. 701. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 407.

(34) M. Paris, p. 108.

“ you imagine the great abyfs hath opened, and that
 “ hell hath poured out all its inhabitants (35).”
 William Fitz-Stephen presents us with a very curious
 description of the retinue and parade with which
 the famous Thomas Becket used to travel, when he
 was chancellor of England. “ He was attended
 “ with about two hundred knights, esquires, young
 “ noblemen, pages, clerks, and officers of his
 “ household, who, together with their attendants,
 “ were well armed, dressed, and mounted, every
 “ one according to his rank. He had in his train
 “ eight waggons, each drawn by five of the strongest
 “ horses; two of these waggons contained his ale,
 “ one contained the furniture of his chapel, another
 “ the furniture of his chamber, and another the furni-
 “ ture of his kitchen; the other three were filled with
 “ provisions, clothes, and other necessaries. He
 “ had besides twelve pack-horses, who carried trunks,
 “ containing his money, his gold and silver plate, his
 “ books, his apparel, and the ornaments of the altar.
 “ To each of the waggons was chained a fierce and
 “ terrible mastiff, and on each of the pack-horses
 “ sat an ape or a monkey (36).” In the expedition
 of Henry II. against Tholouse, his chancellor,
 Becket, had seven hundred knights in his pay, who
 dined every day at his own table, or at other ta-
 bles, provided for them (37).

Some
 things in
 their way
 of living
 mean and
 fordid.

But in the midst of all this magnificence in which
 the Norman kings and nobles lived, there were
 some things in their domestic œconomy, which must
 appear to us exceedingly mean and fordid. Several
 estates in England were held by the tenure of finding
 clean straw for the king's bed, and litter for his cham-
 ber, as often as he lodged at a certain place (38).
 Fitz-Stephen, in his life of Thomas Becket, men-
 tions this as a proof of his elegant manner of living,

(35) P. Blefenf. Epist. 14.

(36) W. Stephaned. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 20. (37) Id. *ibid.* p. 23.

(38) Blount's *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 28. *Caund. Brit.* vol. 1.
 p. 311.

“ That

“ That he commanded his servants to cover the
 “ floor of his dining room with clean straw or hay
 “ every morning in winter, and with fresh bulrushes
 “ and green branches of trees every day in summer,
 “ that such of the knights who came to dine with
 “ him, as could not find room on the benches, might
 “ sit down and dine comfortably on the floor, without
 “ spoiling their fine clothes (39).”

The custom of covering up their fires about sun-
 set in summer, and about eight or nine at night in
 winter, at the ringing of a bell called the *couvre feu*,
 or *curfew-bell*, is supposed by some to have been intro-
 duced by William I. and imposed upon the English
 as a badge of servitude. But this opinion doth not
 seem to be well founded. For there is sufficient evi-
 dence, that the same custom prevailed in France,
 Spain, Italy, Scotland, and probably in all the other
 countries in Europe, in this period; and was intended
 as a precaution against fires, which were then very
 frequent, and very fatal, when so many houses were
 built of wood (40). Henry I. restored the use of
 lamps and candles at court in the night, after the
 ringing of the *couvre-feu* bell, which had been pro-
 hibited by his predecessor William Rufus (41).

Piety, or a regard to religion, may not improperly
 be placed at the head of the national virtues of the
 Anglo-Normans. The best of our ancient historians
 make great complaints of the decay of piety among
 the Anglo-Saxons immediately before the conquest,
 and ascribe that great calamity to the wrath of heaven
 against them on that account (42). Nothing can ex-
 hibit a stronger picture of the different characters of
 the two nations in this respect, than the different be-
 haviour of the Norman and Saxon armies on the night
 before the famous battle of Hastings. The Normans
 spent that awful night in confession, prayer, and other
 acts of devotion; while the English wasted it in noise

(39) W. Stephaned. p. 14.

(40) Observations on the Statutes, p. 116. Du Cange Gloss. voc.
Ignetegium.

(41) W. Malmf. p. 88.

(42) W. Malmf. p. 57. col. 2. M. Paris, p. 4. col. 2.

and riot (43). "Religion (says William of Malmfbury), which was almost extinct in England, revived after the settlement of the Normans. Then you might have seen magnificent churches and monasteries arising in every village, town, and city. In a word, so much did religious zeal flourish in our country, that a rich man would have imagined he had lived in vain, if he had not left some illustrious monument of his pious munificence (44)." The religion, however, of the Anglo-Normans in this period, was not of the most pure and rational kind. On the contrary, it consisted chiefly of building, adorning, and endowing churches, in performing certain superstitious ceremonies, in believing all the opinions, and obeying all the commands, of the clergy.

Valour of
the Anglo-
Normans.

There was no virtue of which the Normans who settled in England were so proud, and to which they made such high pretensions, as martial courage and valour. This they claimed in a degree peculiar to themselves, above all other nations. The speech of William the Conqueror to his army, before the battle of Hastings, was in this boastful strain: "I address you, O Normans! the most valiant of all nations, not as doubting but as secure of victory, which neither force nor fortune can wrest out of your hands. O ye bravest of mortal men! what availed the king of France at the head of all the nations between Lorraine and Spain, against your ancestor Hasting, who seized as much of France as he pleased and kept it as long as he thought proper?" &c. &c. (45). Almost a century after the conquest, the Normans still considered themselves as a distinct people from the English, and had lost nothing of their high opinion of their own valour. This appears from the speech of that venerable warrior Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard: "Why should we despair of victory, though we are

(43) W. Pictaven. p. 201. Orderic. Vital. p. 501.

(44) W. Malmf. p. 57. col. 2.

(45) J. Brompt.

“ few in number ? Hath not the Almighty bestowed
 “ victory upon our nation, as its peculiar property ?
 “ How often have small bodies of brave Normans
 “ obtained glorious victories over great armies of the
 “ people of France, Maine, Anjou, and Aquitaine ?
 “ Did not our own fathers conquer this island at one
 “ blow, on which the invincible Julius bestowed so
 “ much time and blood ? We have seen, my brave
 “ Normans, we ourselves have seen, the king of
 “ France and his whole army, flying before us,
 “ many of his greatest barons slain, and others taken
 “ prisoners. Who were the conquerors of Sicily,
 “ Apulia, and Calabria, but the valiant Normans,”
 “ &c. &c. (46).

Sobriety may not improperly be reckoned among Sobriety.
 the national virtues of the Anglo-Normans, especially at the time of their settlement in England. The most ancient of our historians who had opportunities of conversing with the Normans and English, before they were so blended together as to form one people, commend the former for their sobriety, as much as they condemn the latter for their intemperance. “ The English (says William of Malmesbury) were much addicted to excessive eating and drinking, in which they sometimes spent both day and night, without intermission. The Normans were very unlike them in this respect, being delicate in the choice of their meats and drinks, but seldom exceeding the bounds of temperance. By this means the Normans lived with greater elegance, and at less expence, than the English (47).” The custom, however, of drinking to pegs, which had been introduced by a law of Edgar the Peaceable, still continued in this period (48). For by a canon of the council of Westminster, held at Westminster A. D. 1102, the clergy are prohibited to frequent ale-houses, or to drink to pegs (49). It appears also, that before the conclusion of this pe-

(46) Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 339, 340.

(47) W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. col. 2.

(48) See vol. 4.

(49) Eadmerus, p. 67.

riod, many of the Normans had adopted the manners of the English, and departed from the sobriety of their ancestors. “When you behold (says Peter of Blois) our barons and knights going upon a military expedition, you see their baggage-horses loaded, not with iron but wine, not with lances but cheeses, not with swords but bottles, not with spears but spits. You would imagine they were going to prepare a great feast rather than to make war (50). There are even too many who boast of their excessive drunkenness and gluttony, and labour to acquire fame by swallowing great quantities of meat and drink (51).”

Gallantry,
and regard
to the
point of
honour.

The point of honour was very much respected by the Normans in this period, and they paid much regard to their plighted faith, especially to the ladies. A most remarkable example of this occurs in the history of king Stephen. The empress Maud, from whom Stephen had usurped the crown of England, was besieged by him in Arundel castle, the residence of the queen-dowager, A. D. 1139, and might easily have been taken prisoner. But Stephen was prevailed upon to respect the ties of blood, and the honour due to ladies of so high a rank. He did not push the siege, but gave his word of honour to the empress, that he would cause her to be conducted in safety to the castle of Bristol, the residence of Robert earl of Gloucester, her natural brother and most powerful partisan. Though the empress knew that Stephen had violated the most solemn oaths which he had taken to support her succession to the crown, she relied upon his word of honour, put herself under his protection, and was safely conducted to the castle of Bristol. “The king (says William of Malmshbury) gave to his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, and Walleran earl of Millent, the charge of conducting the empress; an office which no gallant and true knight could refuse to perform to his greatest enemy (52).”

Wit and
humour.

The Normans appear to have been a cheerful, witty, and facetious people, delighting much in innocent frolics and convivial jocularity. No qualities were

(50) P. Blefens. Ep. 94. p. 146. col. 2.

(51) Id. Ep. 86. p. 130. col. 1.

(52) W. Malmf. l. 2. p. 104.

more admired amongst them than those of wit and humour. It was to these qualities chiefly that king Stephen owed his popularity, and the success of his usurpation. "Stephen, when he was an earl (says William of Malmesbury, who was well acquainted with him), gained the affections of the people to a degree that can hardly be imagined, by the affability of his manners, and the wit and pleasantry of his conversation. He condescended sometimes to chat and joke with persons in very humble stations, and the nobility were in general charmed with him, and embraced his party (53)." Our historians of this period have taken the trouble to record many of the frolics and repartees of our princes, prelates, and great men; which is a sufficient proof that they were considered as matters of importance, and not unworthy of a place in history. Nay so fond were the Normans of the innocent conflicts of wit and humour, that the greatest enemies, in the very heat of a siege, sometimes suspended their hostilities, in order to engage in a more harmless combat of banter and repartee. When one of the contending parties designed this, he appeared in sight of the other, dressed in white; which was understood and accepted as a challenge to a trial of wit (54). John of Salisbury censures, with great severity, the excessive fondness of his country and contemporaries for professed wits and jesters, and reproaches them for spending too much time, and taking too much delight, in their company (55).

The Normans seem also to have been a generous Generosity. open-hearted people, capable of very noble acts of bounty and liberality. Their profuse donations to the church are well known, and were certainly far too great and numerous. Few princes have had more to give, or were more liberal in their donations, than the Norman kings of England. To say nothing of the inestimable grants made by William I. to his followers, all his successors in this period displayed both their wealth and liberality at the three great festivals of

(53) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 101. col. 2.

(54) Orderic. Vital. p. 784.

(55) J. Sarisburiens. Policrat. l. 1. c. 8. p. 38.

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, every year, and on many other occasions. “ In the month of February, A. D. 1191 (says John Brompton), when Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, he made a present of several ships to the king of France and his nobles. He also opened his treasures, and distributed to the earls, barons, knights, and esquires of the army, greater sums of money than any of his predecessors had ever distributed in one year (56).”

Anecdote
of Robert
duke of
Normandy.

The same historian hath preserved the following curious anecdote, which may serve both as a proof and illustration of the wit, politeness, and generosity of the Normans. When Robert duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, was at Constantinople, in his way to the Holy Land, he lived in uncommon splendour, and was greatly celebrated for his wit, his affability, and other virtues. Of these many remarkable examples were related to the emperor; who resolved to put the reality of them to a trial. With this view he invited the duke and all his nobles to a feast in the great hall of the imperial palace, but took care to have all the tables and seats filled with guests, before the arrival of the Normans, of whom he commanded them to take no notice. When the duke, followed by his nobles in their richest dresses, entered the hall; observing that all the seats were filled with guests, that none of them returned his civilities, or offered him any accommodation, he walked, without the least appearance of surprize or discomposure, to an empty space, at one end of the room, took off his cloak, folded it very carefully, laid it upon the floor, and sat down upon it; in all which he was imitated by his followers. In this posture they dined, on such dishes as were set before them, with every appearance of the most perfect satisfaction with their entertainment. When the feast was ended, the duke and his nobles arose, took leave of the company in the most graceful manner, and walked out of the hall in their doublets, leaving their cloaks, which were of great value, behind them on the floor. The emperor, who had admired

(56) J. Brompt. Chron. p. 1193.

(57) Id. p. 911.

their whole behaviour, was quite surpris'd at this last part of it; and sent one of his courtiers to intreat the duke and his followers to put on their cloaks. "Go" (said the duke), and tell your master, that it is not "the custom of the Normans to carry about with them" the seats which they use at an entertainment (57)."

Could any thing be more delicate than this rebuke, or more noble, polite and manly, than this deportment?

These are the most remarkable of the national virtues and agreeable qualities of the Anglo-Normans which are mentioned by our historians of this period. We must not imagine that these virtues were either unmixed or universal. A regard to truth obliges me to reverse the medal, and take a view of their most conspicuous foibles and prevailing vices. But on this unpleasant subject, the reader's attention shall not be long detained.

Foibles and vices of the Normans.

The Normans were no less credulous than the Anglo-Saxons. This is evident from the prodigious number of miracles, revelations, visions, and enchantments, which are related with the greatest gravity by the best of their historians, and other writers. "In" this year (1171), about Easter (says Matthew Paris), "it pleased the Lord Jesus Christ to irradiate his glorious martyr Thomas Becket with many miracles, that it might appear to all the world he had obtained a victory suitable to his merits. None who approached his sepulchre in faith, returned without a cure. For strength was restored to the lame, hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, health to lepers, and life to the dead. Nay, not only men and women, but even birds and beasts, were raised from death to life (58)." Giraldus Cambrensis, who was one of the most learned and ingenious men of the twelfth century, amongst many ridiculous stories of miracles, visions, and apparitions, tells of one devil who acted a considerable time as a gentleman's butler with great prudence and probity; and of another who was a very diligent and learned clergyman, and a mighty favourite of his archbishop. This last clerical devil was, it seems, an excellent historian, and used to divert the archbishop with telling

Their credulity.

(58) M. Paris, p. 87.

him old stories. “ One day when he was entertaining
 “ the archbishop with a relation of ancient histories
 “ and surprising events, the conversation happened to
 “ turn on the incarnation of our Saviour. Before the
 “ incarnation, said our historian, the devils had great
 “ power over mankind ; but after that event their pow-
 “ er was much diminished, and they were obliged to
 “ fly. Some of them threw themselves into the sea ;
 “ some concealed themselves in hollow trees, or in the
 “ clefts of rocks ; and I myself plunged into a certain
 “ fountain. As soon as he had said this, finding that
 “ he had discovered his secret, his face was covered
 “ with blushes, he went out of the room, and was no
 “ more seen (59).”

Their curi-
 osity.

The Normans were as curious as they were credu-
 lous. This prompted them to employ many vain fal-
 lacious arts to discover their future fortunes, and the
 success of their undertakings. John of Salisbury enu-
 merates no fewer than thirteen different kinds of diviners
 or fortune-tellers, who pretended to foretell future
 events ; some by one means, and some by another
 (60). Nor did this passion for penetrating into futu-
 rity prevail only among the common people, but also
 among persons of the highest rank and greatest learning.
 All our kings, and many of our earls and great barons,
 had their astrologers, who resided in their families, and
 were consulted by them in all undertakings of im-
 portance (61). We find Peter of Blois, who was one
 of the most learned men of the age in which he flourish-
 ed, writing an account of his dreams to his friend the
 bishop of Bath, and telling him how anxious he had
 been about the interpretation of them ; and that he had
 employed for that purpose *divination by the psalter* (62).
 The English, it seems probable, had still more super-
 stitious curiosity, and paid greater attention to dreams
 and omens, than the Normans. For when William
 Rufus was dissuaded from going abroad in the morning
 of that day on which he was killed, because the abbot of

(59) Girald. Cambrenf. Itin. Camb. l. i. c. 12. p. 853.

(60) J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium, l. i. c. 12. p. 36.

(61) See chap. 6.

(62) P. Blefenf. Ep. 30. p. 51.

Gloucester had dreamed something which portended danger, he is said to have made this reply,—“ Do you imagine that I am an Englishman, to be frightened by a dream, or the sneezing of an old woman (63)?” But the truth is, that excessive credulity and curiosity were the weaknesses of the times, rather than of any particular nation.

If we give entire credit to the furious declamations of some of our historians, and other writers in this period, against the vices of their countrymen, we should be constrained to believe, that the Anglo-Normans were a most profligate, vicious, and abandoned people. But such declamations of recluse and melancholy men have abounded in every age, and are always to be read with some degree of caution and distrust. We have, however, the fullest evidence, that violations of the laws of humanity, chastity, and justice, prevailed so much amongst that people in this period, that they may justly be called their national vices.

Though the Normans were a brave and generous, ^{Their cru-} they were also a haughty, passionate, and fierce people, ^{elty.} and their fierceness sometimes degenerated into cruelty. “ When it pleased God (says one of our ancient historians) to bring destruction upon the English, he employed the Normans to execute his vengeance, because he knew that they delighted more in blood and slaughter than any other nation (64).” Nothing could be more deplorable than the devastation of William the Conqueror, in his expedition into Northumberland, A. D. 1070. He set out on that expedition with a declared intention to destroy the whole country with fire and sword, and exterminate all its inhabitants, men, women, and children; and he executed that barbarous intention with a savage persevering cruelty, of which there are not many examples in the history of mankind (65). The description given by the author of the Saxon Chronicle of the cruelties exercised in the reign of

(63) Orderic. Vital. p. 782.

(64) Hen. Huntingdon, p. 212.

(65) See vol. 5.

king Stephen, by the great barons and lords of castles, who were all Normans, affords a still stronger proof of the excesses of which they were capable, when their passions were inflamed: “ They grievously
 “ oppressed the poor people with building castles;
 “ and when they were built, they filled them with
 “ wicked men, or rather devils, who seized both men
 “ and women who they imagined had any money,
 “ threw them into prison, and put them to more cruel
 “ tortures than the martyrs ever endured. They
 “ suffocated some in mud, and suspended others by the
 “ feet, or the head, or the thumbs; kindling fires be-
 “ low them. They squeezed the heads of some with
 “ knotted cords, till they pierced their brains, while
 “ they threw others into dungeons swarming with
 “ serpents, snakes, and toads (66).” But it would be cruel to put the reader to the pain of perusing the remainder of this description.

Their vio-
 lations of
 chastity.

The great prosperity of the Normans in England, seems to have contributed not a little to inflame their passions and corrupt their manners. This is directly asserted by one of our ancient historians, in a passage already quoted in this chapter (67). Their great power and prosperity, in particular, appears to have rendered them regardless of that respect and decency with which the fair sex was commonly treated in those times, and made them wanton and licentious in their behaviour to the wives and daughters of the English. This licentiousness was so great, that the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, and afterwards queen of Henry I. being educated in England, was obliged to wear the veil of a nun, to preserve her honour from being violated by the Normans. The princess herself affirmed, before a great council of the clergy of England, that this was the only reason of her having worn the veil: and the council admitted the validity of her plea, in these remarkable words:—“ When the great king William

(66) Chron. Saxon. p. 238.

(67) See p. 193.

“conquered this land, many of his followers, elated by so great victory, and thinking that every thing ought to be subservient to their will and pleasure, not only seized the possessions of the conquered, but invaded the honour of their matrons and virgins, with the most unbridled wantonness, whenever they had an opportunity. This obliged many young ladies, who dreaded their violence, to take shelter in nunneries, and to put on the veil, to preserve their honour (68).” When this dissolution of manners was introduced, it was not easily corrected, but continued through the whole of this period, though direct violence was restrained. It would be highly improper to stain the pages of history with proofs and examples on this subject, which might easily be produced. Of the licentiousness of manners in this respect, it will probably be thought sufficient evidence, that public stews were established by law in London, and probably in other cities, in this period; and that the ladies of pleasure who followed the camps and courts of the kings of England in all their motions, were formed into regular incorporations, and put under the government of officers, who were called *the Marshals of the whores* (69). These officers, both in the camp and court, had estates annexed unto them, and were hereditary.

Several of our historians, and other writers in this period, reproach the Normans in the severest terms for introducing and practising an unnatural crime, which is too detestable to be named. To support the truth of this assertion, a few of these reproaches, in the original language, may be seen below (70).

N n 2

That

(68) Eadmeri Hist. l. 3. p. 57.

(69) Stow's Survey of London, vol. 2. p. 7. Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis, p. 8. 80. 82. 85. 126.

(70) Nefandissimum Sodomæ scelus (ut illicita confanguineorum connubia, et alia multa rerum detestandarum facinorosa negotia, taceam), scelus inquam Sodomæ, noviter in hac terra divulgatum, jam plurimum pullulavit, multosque suo immanitate scævavit. *Eadmeri Hist. l. 1. p. 24.*Nefandum egitur illud et enorme nimis Normannorum crimen, quod olim a Francis mutuati, nunc sibi velut proprium vindicant. *Anglia. Sacra, tom. 2. p. 406.*

Tyranny
and oppres-
sion.

That prosperity which plunged the Normans into these licentious courses, prompted them to various acts of tyranny and oppression, and emboldened them to invade the rights, and injure the persons of others, especially of the unhappy English. Some of the tyrannical despotic actions of the sovereigns who reigned in this period, have been occasionally mentioned, to which many more of the same kind might easily be added (71). But the sovereigns were not the only tyrants in the times we are now delineating. Many earls, barons, sheriffs, foresters, and judges, were petty despots in their several districts. One of our ancient historians describes the state of England at the death of William the Conqueror, in this manner: "The Normans had now fully executed the wrath of Heaven on the English. For there was hardly one of that nation who possessed any power, but they were all involved in servitude and sorrow, in so much that to be called an Englishman, was a reproach.—In those miserable times, many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were introduced. The king himself, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, and afterwards another, and offered still more, violated all his former pactions, and gave them to him who offered most. The great men were inflamed with such a violent rage for money, that they cared not by what means it was acquired. The more they talked of justice, the more injuriously they acted. These who were called justiciaries, were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose duty it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than common thieves and robbers (72). The truth is, that the castles of some of the great barons were no better than dens of thieves and robbers, who extorted money from

Sed quid filias et uxores (quod licet jura prohibeant, tamen quocunque modo natura permittit) exponi queror aut prostitui? In ipsam naturam, quasi gigantes alii, Theomachiam novam exercentes insurgent. Filios offerunt Veneri, &c. J. Sarisburi. ns. l. 3. p. 195.

(71) See p. 356, 357.

(72) Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 212.

the unfortunate people who fell into their hands, by the most cruel methods (73). The woods also were haunted by troops of banditti, who were so terrible to the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, that they had a form of prayer against robbers, which they said every evening when they shut their doors and windows (74). In a word, there is the fullest evidence, that in this period, both the lives and properties of the people of England were exposed to many injuries and dangers from several different quarters.

The inhabitants of Wales, and of the far greatest part of Scotland, still continued to speak the language of their ancestors, the ancient Britons and Caledonians; an account of which hath been already given (75). As the people of England consisted of two different nations, the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, they spoke for a considerable time at least, two different languages, the Norman-French and the Saxon. The observations which have been made on the former of these languages, commonly called *the Romance tongue*, in the fourth and fifth chapters of this book, together with the specimens which have been given of it in the last of these chapters, will, it is hoped, be thought sufficient to give a tolerable view of its origin and structure, and prevent the necessity of saying any thing further upon it in this place (76). A still more extended description of the Saxon tongue hath been given in the seventh chapter of the fourth volume, to which the reader is referred (77). In spite of all the efforts that were made by all the Norman conquerors to abolish this language, and introduce their own in its room, it still continued to be the vulgar tongue of the great body of the people of England through this whole period, with such slight and gradual changes as time and other circumstances are apt to make in all living languages. These changes appear to have been

(73) See p. 545, 546. W. Malmf. l. 2. p. 105.

(74) M. Paris. Vit. Abbat. p. 29. col. i.

(75) See vol. 2. Appendix, N^o. 10. p. 486.

(76) See chap. 4. and chap. 5.

(77) See vol. 4.

very flow, and almost imperceptible, in the course of a whole century after the conquest. Of this we may be convinced, by comparing the charter of king Harold (78), written a little after the middle of the eleventh century, with the last paragraphs of the Saxon Chronicle, written a little after the middle of the twelfth century. To enable us to make this comparison, that paragraph, with a literal translation interlined, is here subjoined :

Specimen of
the Saxon
of this pe-
riod.

An. MCLIV. On this yær wærd the king
A. D. 1154. In this year was the king:

Stephen ded; and bebyried there his wif and
Stephen dead; and buried where his wife and

his sunne wæron bebyried æt Tauresfeld. That
his son were buried at Tonresfield. That

minstre hi makiden. Tha the king was ded,
minster he made. When the king was dead,

tha was the eorl beionde sæ. And ne durste
then was the earl beyond sea And not durst:

nan man don other, bute god for the micel (79)
no man do other, but good for the great

æie of him. Tha he to Engleland come, tha
awe of him. When he to England came, then

was he under-fangen mid micel wartscipe; and
was he received with great worship; and

to king bletsed in Lundine, on the
to be king consecrated in London, on the

(78) See, vol. 4.

(79) This Word is still used in Scotland in the same sense.

Sunnan dæi beforen mid-winter-dæi.
Sunday before mid-winter-day.

From the above specimen it appears, that the chief difference between the Saxon that was spoken in England at the conquest, and that which was spoken a century after, consisted in this, that the latter approached a little nearer to modern English than the former, and differed from it rather in the disposition and spelling of the words, than the words themselves. For in this specimen there are not above three or four words that are absolutely unintelligible to an English reader. This fragment also affords a further evidence of a very curious fact, which might be proved by many other arguments,—that the enmity between the Normans and Anglo-Saxons continued very long, and that they mingled as little as possible in conversation during the first century after the conquest. For, in the above specimen, there is not so much as one word derived from the language of the Normans. By slow degrees, however, this enmity abated, and the two nations began to converse more familiarly together; which naturally produced this effect, that the language of the great majority of the people became the prevailing and vulgar tongue of the whole, but mixed with a tincture of the language of the minority. The steps by which this effect was produced will be traced in the next period of this work.

Observations on the above specimen.

The people of Normandy and Flanders, of which great numbers followed the Conqueror into England, were remarkable for the beauty and elegance of their persons (80). They were also very ostentatious and fond of pomp. These two things prompted them to pay great attention to their dress; of which it is proper to give a very brief description (81).

Dress.

There was hardly any thing against which the clergy in this period declaimed with greater vehemence, than the long curled hair of the laity, especially of the

Long curled hair.

(80) W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 98. col. 1.

(81) Hen. Hunt. p. 222. col. 1.

courtiers (82). Deprived of this ornament themselves, by their clerical tonsure, they endeavoured to deter others from enjoying it, by representing it as one of the greatest crimes, and most certain marks of reprobation. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury even pronounced the then terrible sentence of excommunication against all who wore long hair, for which pious zeal he is very much commended (83). Serlo, a Norman bishop, acquired great honour by a sermon which he preached before Henry I. A. D. 1104, against long and curled hair, with which the king and all his courtiers were so much affected, that they consented to resign their flowing ringlets, of which they had been so vain. The prudent prelate gave them no time to change their minds, but immediately pulled a pair of shears out of his sleeve, and performed the operation with his own hand (84). Another incident happened about twenty-five years after, which gave a temporary check to the prevailing fondness for long hair: it is thus related by a contemporary historian: "An event happened, A. D. 1129, which seemed very wonderful to our young gallants; who, forgetting that they were men, had transformed themselves into women by the length of their hair. A certain knight, who was very proud of his long luxuriant hair, dreamed that a person suffocated him with its curls. As soon as he awoke from his sleep, he cut his hair to a decent length. The report of this spread over all England, and almost all the knights reduced their hair to the proper standard. But this reformation was not of long continuance. For in less than a year all who wished to appear fashionable, returned to their former wickedness, and contended with the ladies in length of hair. Those to whom nature had denied that ornament, supplied the defect by art (85)."

Shaved
their
beards.

The Normans had as great an aversion to beards, as they had a fondness for long hair. Among them, to allow the beard to grow, was an indication of the

(82) Eadmeri Hist. p. 23. Orderic. Vital. p. 682.

(83) Eadmer. p. 81.

(84) Orderic. Vital. p. 216.

(85) W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 99. col. 2.

deepest distress and misery (86). They not only shaved their beards themselves, but when they had authority, they obliged others to imitate their example. It is mentioned by some of our ancient historians, as one of the most wanton acts of tyranny in William the Conqueror,—that he compelled the English (who had been accustomed to allow the hair of their upper lips to grow) to shave their whole beards (87). This was so disagreeable to some of that people, that they chose rather to abandon their country than resign their whiskers (88).

The vestments of the Normans at the conquest, and for some time after, were simple, convenient, and even graceful; but before the end of this period they degenerated not a little from their simplicity, and became fantastical enough in some particulars. Those of the men were—caps or bonnets for the head,—shirts, doublets, and cloaks, for the trunk of the body,—and breeches, hose, and shoes, for the thighs, legs, and feet. It may be proper to take a little notice of what was most remarkable in each of these.

The caps or bonnets of the Anglo-Normans were made of cloth, or furs. They were of various shapes and colours, and differently ornamented, according to the taste, rank, and circumstances of the wearers. The Jews were obliged to wear square caps of a yellow colour, to distinguish them from other people (89). The bonnets of kings, earls, and barons, especially those which they used at public solemnities, were of the finest cloths, or richest furs, and adorned with pearls and precious stones (90).

The shirts of all persons of rank and fortune, and even of the great body of the people, were of linen; which was now become so common, that it was not taken notice of by our writers as a singularity. As this

(86) Orderic. Vital. p. 847.

(87) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 29.

(88) Id. ibid. p. 30.

(89) Du Cange Gloss. tom. 8. p. 483.

(90) See Mr. Strutt's View of the Manners, Customs, &c. vol. I. plates 42, 44, 49.

part of dress is not much seen, it hath not been much affected by the tyranny of caprice and fashion.

Their doublets.

Doublets or circoats were worn next to the shirt, and made to fit the shape of the body. This vestment appears to have been used shorter or longer, at different times, and even at the same time, by persons of different ranks. For while the circoats of kings, and persons of quality, reached almost to their feet, those of the common people reached no lower than the middle of the thigh, that they might not incommode them in labouring (91). The sleeves of these doublets reached to the wrists. They were put on, over the head, like a shirt, and made fast about the waist with a belt or girdle. The girdles of kings were commonly embroidered with gold, and set with precious stones (92).

Mantles.

The cloak or mantle was one of the chief vestments of the Anglo-Normans. The mantles worn by kings, and other great persons, were very valuable, being made of the finest cloths, embroidered with gold or silver, and lined with the most costly furs. Robert Bloet, the second bishop of Lincoln, made a present to Henry I. of a cloak of exquisitely fine cloth, lined with black fables, with white spots, which cost £100 of the money of those times, equal in efficacy to £1500 of our money at present (93). The cloak of Richard I. was still more splendid, and probably more expensive. It is thus described by his historian: "The king wore a cloak, striped in straight lines, adorned with half-moons of solid silver, and almost covered with shining orbs, in imitation of the system of the heavenly bodies (94)." The fashion of their cloaks changed oftener than once in this period, particularly as to their length. Henry II. introduced the short cloak of Anjou, from which he got the surname of *Court-mantle* (95). At another time the fashion was in the other extreme. "In our days (says Ordericus Vitalis) they sweep the ground with their long

(91) See Mr. Strutt's *View of the Manners, Customs, &c.* vol. I. plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

(92) *Id. ibid.* p. 16.

(93) *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 2. p. 417.

(94) *Vinifauf. Iter, Hierosolymit.* l. 2. c. 36. p. 325.

(95) *J. Brompt.* col. 1150.

“ cloaks and gowns, whose long and wide sleeves cover their hands, so that they can neither walk nor act with freedom (96).”

Kings, earls, and great barons, used a garment in this period, called, in Latin *rheno*, for which I do not know an English name. It was made of the finest furs; covered the neck, breast, and shoulders; and was equally comfortable and ornamental (97). Rhen.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader with a description of the breeches and stockings of the Anglo-Normans. They were both of cloth, of different colours, and different degrees of fineness, according to the different fancies and circumstances of the wearers. William Rufus disdained to wear a pair of stockings which cost less than a mark, equivalent to about ten pounds of our money at present (98). Breeches and stockings.

The shoes of the Normans, when they settled in England, seem to have had nothing remarkable in their make. But before the end of this period, a very ridiculous and inconvenient fashion of shoes was introduced. This fashion made its first appearance in the reign of William Rufus; and was introduced by one Robert, surnamed *the Horned*, from the fashion of his shoes. He was a great beau in the court of that prince, and used shoes with long sharp points, stuffed with tow, and twisted like a ram's horn (99). This ridiculous fashion, says the historian, was admired as a happy invention, and adopted by almost all the nobility (100). The clergy were offended at this fashion, and declaimed against these long-pointed shoes with great vehemence; but to no purpose. For the length of these points continued to increase through the whole of this period, and the greatest part of the next; when we shall find them arrived at a degree of extravagance which is hardly credible. Shoes.

(96) Orderic. Vital. p. 682.

(97) Id. p. 535. Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Rheno*.

(98) W. Malmf. p. 69.

(99) W. Malmf. p. 69. col. 2. Orderic. Vital. p. 682.

(100) Id. Ibid.

Women's
drefs.

The two sexes did not differ very much from each other in their dress, in the present period. The inner garments of women were more large and flowing in the under part, than those of men, and reached to the ground. Their mantles had commonly hoods annexed to them, which sometimes hung down behind as an ornament, and at other times covered their heads. The girdles of princesses and ladies of quality were richly ornamented with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and at their girdles they had a large purse or pouch suspended. Both their inner garments and their mantles of state were embroidered with various figures, and lined with furs. They wore collars of pearls or precious stones about their necks, and rings of great value on their fingers. The above description is chiefly taken from the prints of Eleanor, queen Henry II. Berengaria, queen of Richard I. and Elizabeth, queen of king John, in the work quoted below (101).

Diet.

The Anglo-Normans are said to have been more delicate in the choice and dressing of their victuals than the Anglo-Saxons (102). It may appear fanciful to suggest, that the art of cookery was improved by the introduction of feudal tenures, and yet this suggestion is very probable. For after these tenures were introduced, the office of cook, in great families, became hereditary, and had an estate annexed unto it; which naturally engaged fathers to instruct their sons with care, in the knowledge of an art to which they were destined by their birth (103). We even meet with estates held by the tenure of dressing one particular dish of meat (104.)

Only two
meals a
day.

The Anglo-Normans had only two stated meals a day, which were dinner and supper. By the famous laws of Oleron, those sailors who were allowed strong drink of any kind at the ship's expence, were to have only one meal a day from the kitchen; but the Norman sailors were to have two meals a day,

(101) *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, par Montfauçon, tom. 2. plate 15. p. 114.

(102) *W. Malmf.* p. 57. col. 2.

(103) *Fleta*, l. 2. c. 75.

(104) *Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 1.

because

because they had only water at the ship's allowance (105). Robert earl of Millent, the prime minister and great favourite of Henry I. laboured earnestly, both by his example and exhortations, to persuade the nobility of England to have only one formal meal a day in their families (106). Henry of Huntington complains very feelingly, that this parsimonious custom prevailed too much in his time; and that many great men had only one meal a day in their houses, which he imagined proceeded from their avarice rather than from their love of temperance, as they pretended (107). This stated meal where there was only one, was an early and plentiful supper; but the most common custom was to have two meals, a dinner and a supper.

The time of dinner in this period, even at court, and in the families of the greatest barons, was at nine in the forenoon, and the time of supper at five in the afternoon. These times were very convenient for dispatching the most important business of the day, without interruption; as the one was before it begun, and the other after it was ended. They were also thought to be friendly to health and long life, according to the following verses, which were then often repeated:

Lever a cinq, diner a neuf,
Souper a cinq, coucher a neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf (108).

To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Makes a man live to ninety nine.

At dinner and supper, but especially at the last, the tables of princes, prelates, and great barons, were plentifully furnished with many dishes of meat,

(105) Godolphin's View of the Admiral Jurisdiction, p. 177.

(106) W. Malmf. p. 90. col. 2.

(107) Hen. Hunt. l. 6. p. 209.

(108) Recreations Historiques, tom. I. p. 170.

dressed in several different ways. William the Conqueror, after he was peaceably settled on the throne of England, sent agents into different countries, to collect the most admired and rare dishes for his table; by which means, says John of Salisbury, this island, which is naturally productive of plenty and variety of provisions, was overflowed with every thing that could inflame a luxurious appetite (109). The same writer tells us, that he was present at an entertainment which lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon to midnight; at which delicacies were served up, which had been brought from Constantinople, Babylon, Alexandria; Palestine, Tripoli, Syria, and Phenicia (110). These delicacies we may presume were very expensive. Thomas Becket, if we may believe his historian Fitz-Stephen, gave five pounds, equivalent to seventy-five pounds at present, for one dish of eels (111). The sumptuous entertainments which the kings of England, and of other countries, gave to their nobles and prelates, at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, in which they spent a great part of their revenues, contributed very much to diffuse a taste for profuse and expensive banqueting. It was natural for a proud and wealthy baron to imitate, in his own castle, the entertainments he had seen in the palace of his prince. Many of the clergy too, both seculars and regulars, being very rich, kept excellent tables. The monks of St. Swithins, at Winchester, made a formal complaint to Henry II. against their abbot, for taking away three of the thirteen dishes they used to have every day at dinner (112). The monks of Canterbury were still more luxurious: for they had at least seventeen dishes every day, besides a dessert; and these dishes were dressed with spiceries and sauces, which excited the appetite as well as pleased the taste (113).

(109) J. Sarisburien. p. 553.

(110) Id. p. 555.

(111) W. Stephaned. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 21.

(112) Giraldus Cambrenf. de Rebus a se gestis, l. 2. c. 5.

(113) Id. ibid.

Great men had some kinds of provisions at their tables, that are not now to be found in Britain. Dishes now unknown. When Henry II. entertained his own court, the great officers of his army, with all the kings and great men of Ireland, in Dublin, at the feast of Christmas, A. D. 1171, the Irish princes and chieftains were quite astonished at the profusion and variety of provisions which they beheld, and were with difficulty prevailed upon by Henry to eat the flesh of cranes, a kind of food to which they had not been accustomed (114). In the remaining monuments of this period, we meet with the names of several dishes, as dellegrout, maupigyrnun, karumpie, &c. the composition of which, I imagine, is now unknown (115).

The people of Britain, especially persons of rank and fortune, had several kinds of bread in this period. Their bread. That which is called in Latin *panis piperatus*, was made of the finest flower mixed with spices, and is sometimes mentioned by our ancient historians (116). Simnel and wastel cakes were made also of the finest flour, and were seldom seen, except at the tables of kings, prelates, barons, or monks. When the king of Scotland resided in the court of England, he was, by charter, allowed twelve of the king's wastel cakes, and twelve of his simnel cakes, every day for his table (117). But the most common bread used by persons in comfortable circumstances, was made of the whole flour, coarse and fine, the price of which was very early settled by law, in proportion to the price of wheat (128). The common people had bread made of rye, barley, or oats (119).

Persons of high rank and great fortunes, had variety of liquors, as well as of meats. For besides wines of various kinds, they had pigment, morat, mead, hypo- Their drinks.

(114) Girald. Cambrenf. Expugnatio Hiberniæ, l. i. c. 32.

(115) Fragmenta Antiquitatis, p. I. M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 32. col. 2.

(116) Gervas Chron. col. 1520.

(117) Rymeri Fœdera, tom. I. p. 87.

(118) M. Paris, p. 145.

(119) Spelmanni Gloss. p. 467. col. 2.

cras, claret, cyder, perry, and ale. Some of these liquors, as pigment and morat, have been already described; and others of them, as mead, cyder, perry, and ale, are so well known, that they need no description (120). The claret of those times was wine, clarified, and mixed with spices; and hypocras was wine mixed with honey. The curious reader may find directions for making both these liquors in the work quoted below (121).

Diversions. As the Anglo-Norman nobles were neither men of business nor men of letters, they had much leisure, and spent much time in their diversions; which were either martial—rural—theatrical—or domestic.

Martial sports. The martial sports of the middle ages, commonly called *tournaments*, were the favourite diversions of the princes, barons, and knights of those times. They had indeed the most powerful motives to be fond of these diversions. For it was at tournaments that princes, earls, and wealthy barons, appeared in the greatest pomp and splendour. Tournaments were the best schools for acquiring dexterity and skill in arms, and the most public theatres for displaying these accomplishments, and thereby gaining the favour of the fair and the admiration of the world (122).

Origin of tournaments. Tedious investigations of the origin of these martial sports, are neither suited to the nature of general history, nor the limits of this work. It is sufficient to take notice, that they began to be more famous and better regulated in France and Normandy, a little before the conquest, than they had been in former times. Geoffrey de Pruilli, who was killed A. D. 1066, contributed so much to this, that he is represented by several authors as the inventor of tournaments (123). That these military sports were introduced into Britain by the Normans, is highly probable. But they do not seem to have prevailed very

(120) See vol. 4.

(121) Du Cange Gloss. tom. 2. p. 662.

(122) Du Cange Gloss. voc. *Torneamentum*. Memoires sur Chevalerie, tom. 1. p. 27. 88. 100. 152. 211. 263. tom. 2. p. 23. 75, &c.

(123) Chron. Touronen. A. D. 1066.

much in England for a considerable time after the conquest, having been discouraged, on account of the great danger and ruinous expence with which they were attended. “ After this truce (says William of Newborough) between the kings of France and England, A. D. 1194, the military sports and exercises which are commonly called tournaments, began to be celebrated in England by the permission of king Richard, who imposed a certain tax on all who engaged in these diversions. But this royal exaction did not in the least abate the ardour with which the youth of England crowded to these exercises. Such conflicts, in which the combatants engaged without any animosity, merely to display their dexterity and strength, had not been frequent in England, except in the reign of king Stephen, when the reins of government were much relaxed. For in the times of former kings, and also of Henry II. who succeeded Stephen, tournaments were prohibited; and those who desired to acquire glory in such conflicts, were obliged to go into foreign countries. King Richard, therefore, observing that the French were more expert and dexterous in the use of their arms in battle, because they frequented tournaments, permitted his own knights to celebrate such martial sports, within his own territories, that they might no longer be insulted by the French (124).” That reader will find a translation of this edict of king Richard in the Appendix, No. 4.

The most splendid tournaments were celebrated by sovereign princes of a martial character, at their coronations, marriages, victories, or on other great occasions. When a prince had resolved to hold a tournament, he sent heralds to the neighbouring courts and countries to publish his design, and to invite all brave and loyal knights to honour the intended solemnity with their presence. This invitation was accepted with the greatest joy; and at the time and place appointed, prodigious numbers of persons of high rank,

(124) W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 4.

and of both sexes, commonly assembled. Judges were chosen from among the most noble and honourable knights, who were invested with authority to regulate all preliminaries and determine all disputes. Some days before the beginning of the tournament, all the knights who proposed to enter the lists, hung up their shields in the cloister of a neighbouring monastery, where they were viewed by the ladies and knights. If a lady touched one of the shields, it was considered as an accusation of its owner, who was immediately brought before the judges of the tournament, tried with great solemnity, and if found guilty of having defamed a lady, or of having done any thing unbecoming the character of a true and courteous knight, he was degraded, and expelled the assembly with every mark of infamy. The lists were effectually secured from the intrusion of the spectators, and surrounded with lofty towers and scaffolds of wood, in which the princes and princesses, ladies, lords, and knights, with the judges, marshals, heralds, and minstrels, were seated in their proper places, in their richest dresses. The combatants, nobly mounted, and completely armed, were conducted into the lists by their respective mistresses, in whose honour they were to fight, with bands of martial music, amidst the acclamations of the numerous spectators. It would be tedious to describe all the different kinds of combats that were performed at a royal tournament, which continued several days. It is sufficient to take notice, that representations were exhibited of all the different parts of actual war, from a single combat to a general action, with all the different kinds of arms, as spears, swords, battle-axes, and daggers. At the conclusion of every day's tournament, the judges declared the victors, and distributed the prizes, which were presented to the happy knights by the greatest and most beautiful ladies in the assembly. The victors were then conducted in triumph to the palace; their armour was taken off by the ladies of the court; they were dressed in the richest robes, seated at the table of the sovereign, and treated with every possible mark of distinction. Besides all this, their exploits were inserted in a register, and celebrated by the poets and minstrels who attended these solemnities.

nities. In a word, the victors became the greatest favourites of the fair, and the objects of universal admiration. It is easy to imagine with what ardour young and martial nobles aspired to these honours, so flattering to the strongest passions of the bravest hearts. The most magnificent tournament celebrated in this period, was that proclaimed by the king of England, Henry II. A. D. 1174, in the plains of Beaucaire, at which no fewer than ten thousand knights, besides ladies and other spectators, are said to have been present (125).

No person under the rank of an esquire was permitted to enter the lists at tournaments; which gave occasion to similar sports among burgeses and yeomen. Of this kind was the game called *the quintain*, which is thus described: A strong post was fixed in the ground, with a piece of wood, which turned on a spindle on the top of it. At one end of this piece of wood a bag of sand was suspended, and at the other end a board was nailed. Against this board they tilted with spears, which made the piece of wood turn quickly on the spindle, and the bag of sand strike the riders on the back with great force, if they did not make their escape by the swiftness of their horses (126). Of this kind also was the sport on the Thames, which is thus described by Fitz-Stephen: “ A shield is
 “ nailed to a pole fixed in the midst of the river. A
 “ boat is driven with violence by many oars and the
 “ stream of the river. On the prow of the boat
 “ stands a young man, who, in passing, tilts against
 “ the shield with a spear. If the spear breaks and he
 “ keeps his station, he gains the prize; but if the
 “ spear doth not break he is thrown into the river.
 “ To prevent his being drowned, a boat is moored on
 “ each side of the shield, filled with young men, who

Quintain,
&c.

(125) For the proofs of this description, and for a fuller account of the martial sports of the middle ages, the reader may consult—*Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de Sainte Palaye.—*Mœurs de François*, par M. le Gendre.—*Du Cange Gloss. voc. Tournamentum*.—*Le P. Meniftrier Traités sur la Chevalerie*.—*Honoré de St. Marie Differtat. sur la Chevalerie*.

(126) *Stow's Survey of London*, vol. 1. p. 249. *Kennet's Parochial Antiquities*, p. 19.

“rescue him as soon as possible. The bridge, wharfs, and houses, are crowded with spectators ready to break out into loud bursts of laughter (127).” The youth in towns and villages diverted themselves on holidays with running, leaping, wrestling, throwing stones and darts, and shooting with bows and arrows, which were useful amusements, and fitted them for acting their parts in time of war. In great cities, particularly in London, wild boars and bulls were baited by dogs for the entertainment of the populace (128). Cock-fighting and horse-racing were not unknown in this period; but they seem to have been considered as childish rather than manly amusements (129). In frost the youth diverted themselves in various ways upon the ice, particularly by skating with the shank-bones of sheep tied under their shoes, and at the same time tilting against each other with pointless spears (130).

Hunting
and haw-
king.

It is hardly possible for the keenest sportsman of the present age to form any idea of the excessive fondness of the Anglo-Norman kings and nobles, for the rural diversions of hunting and hawking. In these they spent the greatest part of their time and of their revenues; and to their fondness for them they too often sacrificed their interest, their honour, and their humanity. “In our times (says John of Salisbury) hunting and hawking are esteemed the most honourable employments, and most excellent virtues, by our nobility: to spend their whole time in these diversions, they think is the supreme felicity of life.— They prepare for these sports with more anxiety, expence, and bustle, than they do for war; and pursue wild beasts with greater fury than they do the enemies of their country.—By their constant pursuit of this way of life, they lose the best part of their humanity, and become almost as great monsters and savages, as the animals which they hunt.

(127) W. Stephaned. Descript. Lond. p. 8.

(128) Id. *ibid.*

(129) Id. *ibid.*

(130) Id. *ibid.*

“——Husbandmen

“ —Husbandmen with their harmless herds and
 “ flocks are driven from their well-cultivated fields,
 “ their meadows, and their pastures, that wild beasts
 “ may range in them at large.—If one of these
 “ great and merciless hunters pass by your habitation,
 “ bring out quickly all the refreshments you have in
 “ your house, or you can buy or borrow from your
 “ neighbours, that you may not be involved in ruin,
 “ or even accused of treason (131).” It would be
 easy to produce many other proofs of the fondness, or
 rather rage, of the Anglo-Norman kings and nobles
 of this period for the sports of the field; but this seems
 to be as unnecessary, as it is to describe these diversions,
 which are so well understood. So general was
 this rage for these rural sports, that both the clergy and
 the ladies were seized with it, and many of them spent
 much of their time in hunting and hawking. Walter
 bishop of Rochester, as we learn from a letter of Peter
 of Blois, was so fond of hunting, that when he was
 eighty years of age, it was the only employment of
 his life, to the total neglect of the duties of his office
 (132). The English ladies of this period applied
 so much to hawking, that they excelled the gentlemen
 in that art; which John of Salisbury, very unpolitely,
 produces as a proof, that hawking was a trifling and
 frivolous amusement (133).

Though theatrical entertainments in Britain were so
 imperfect in this period, that they might, without
 much impropriety, have been omitted in this place;
 yet there is sufficient evidence that they were not un-
 known, or even uncommon. They were of two kinds,
 ecclesiastical and secular.

The ecclesiastical plays of this period were com-
 posed by the clergy, and acted by them and their schol-
 ars; and consisted of representations of events or actions
 recorded in the Scriptures, or in the lives of the
 saints. When Geoffrey, the sixteenth abbot of St.
 Albans, was a young man, and presided in the school
 of Dunstable, about A. D. 1110, “ he composed

(131) J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium, l. 1. c. 4.

(132) Id. ibid.

(133) J. Sarisburiens. l. 1. c. 4. p. 13, 14.

“ (says Matthew Paris) a certain play of St. Katharine, of that kind which we commonly call miracles, and borrowed from the sacrist of St. Albans some of the sacred vestments of that abbey, to adorn the persons who acted his play (134).” Peter of Blois congratulates his brother William, who was an abbot, on the fame he had acquired by his tragedy of *Flaura and Marcus*, and by his other theological works (135). “ London (says Fitz-Stephen), for theatrical spectacles, hath religious plays, which are representations of the miracles which holy confessors had wrought, and of the sufferings by which martyrs had displayed their constancy (136).”

Secular
plays.

The secular plays of this period seem to have been of a very different nature and tendency from the ecclesiastical. The clergy were prohibited from frequenting them, by the sixteenth canon of the fourth general council of Lateran, A. D. 1215 (137). They seem indeed to have been very improper entertainments for the clergy. For, according to the descriptions given of them by contemporary writers, they appear to have consisted of comic tales or stories, intermixed with coarse jests, and accompanied, in the acting, with instrumental music, singing, dancing, gesticulations, mimicry, and other arts of raising laughter, without much regard to decency (138). They were acted by companies of strollers, composed of minstrels, mimics, singers, dancers, wrestlers, and others, qualified for performing the several parts of the entertainment (139). Such companies constantly followed the courts of the kings of England, and from time to time visited the castles of earls and great barons, where they were well entertained and generously rewarded (140). The reader will perceive, from the quotation below, how little regard these an-

(134) M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 35. col. 2.

(135) P. Blefenf. Ep. 93. p. 145.

(136) W. Stephaned. Descript. Lond. p. 7.

(137) Du Pin, Ecclef. Hist. cent. 13. c. 4. p. 98.

(138) J. Sarisburiens. l. 1. c. 8. p. 32, 33, 34.

(139) Id. ibid. p. 34.

(140) Id. ibid. P. Blefenf. Ep. 14. p. 24. col. 2.

cient players paid to decency in their exhibitions, and how indelicate our ancestors were in their diversions (141). I chuse rather to give this quotation in the original language than in a translation, for very obvious reasons.

A minute description of all the domestic diversions of the kings, nobles, and people of Britain, in this period, is not necessary, and would swell this article beyond its due proportion. The following very brief account of the two most admired and fashionable domestic games, those of chefs and dice, will it is hoped be thought sufficient. Domestic
diversions.

The game of chefs, and several games at dice, were much studied and practised by persons of rank and fortune in this period. Some knowledge of these games was so necessary to every gentleman, especially if he aspired to the honour of knighthood, that they were commonly made a part of his education (142). Peter of Blois, in one of his letters to a friend, who had a very profligate young man under his care, ascribes the profligacy of the youth to the education he had received from his father, who being a great gamester, had taught his son to play at dice, when he was but a child: “ For I do not wonder (says he), “ that he is a vicious young man, who in his childhood was taught to play at dice, which is the mother of perjury, theft, and sacrilege (143).” “ In our times, (says another writer of this period) expertness in the art of hunting, dexterity in the damnable art of dice-playing, a mincing effeminate way of speaking, and great skill in dancing and music, are the most admired accomplishments of our nobility. In these arts, our young nobles imi- Chefs and
dice.

(141) Hinc mimi, salii vel saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palæstritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici quoque multi, et tata jocularum scæna procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur, etiam illi qui obscænis partibus corporis, oculis omnium eam ingerunt turpitudinem, quam erubescat videre vel Cynicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec tunc ejiciuntur, quando tumultuantes inferius crebro sonitu aerem scédant, & turpiter inclusum, turpius produnt. *J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium,* l. i. c. 8. p. 34.

(142) *Memoires sur la Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. I. p. 136.*

(143) *P. Blesens. Ep. 74. p. III.*

“ tate

“tate the examples, and improve by the instructions, of their fathers (144).” Matthew Paris blames the English barons who had revolted from king John, for spending their time in London, in feasting, drinking and playing at dice, when they should have been in the field (145). Nor was this fondness for dice confined to the nobility; for we meet with some clergymen, and even bishops, who were said to have spent much of their time in these games (146). It appears also that the gamesters of this period were acquainted with many different games at dice, of which a writer of those times gives us the Latin names of no fewer than ten (147). But I confess my incapacity to describe the games intended by these names.

Laws
against
gaming.

This too violent passion for games of chance was then (as it hath always been) attended with various inconveniencies, both to the gamesters themselves, and to society. To the gamesters,—by dissipating their fortunes,—by consuming their most precious hours,—and by making them neglect their most important duties. To society,—by depriving it of the advantages it might have derived from a better application of the time and talents of many of its members. To prevent these inconveniencies, by laying this dangerous passion under some restraints; several canons and laws were made. A translation of one of these laws will form no improper conclusion to this article. This remarkable law was one of those promulgated by the united authority of Richard I. king of England, and Philip-Augustus king of France, with the advice and consent of their archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, for the government of their forces, in their expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1190. It is the second in that system of laws, and is to this purpose: “Besides, none in the whole army shall play at any kind of game for money, except knights and

(144) J. Sarisburiens. l. 1. c. 5. p. 25. (145) M. Paris, p. 187. col. 1.

(146) Orderic. Vital. p. 550.

(147) J. Sarisburiens. l. 1. c. 5. p. 23.

“clerks;

“ clerks ; who shall not lose above twenty shillings
 “ (equal in efficacy to about fifteen pounds of our
 “ money at present) in one day and one night. But if
 “ any knight or clerk shall lose more than twenty
 “ shillings in one day, he shall pay one hundred shil-
 “ lings (equivalent to about seventy-five pounds of
 “ our money) for every such offence, into the hands
 “ of the above-named commissioners, who shall have
 “ the custody of that money (148). But the two
 “ kings shall be under no restrictions, but may play
 “ for as much money as they please. The servants
 “ who attend upon the two kings at their head-quar-
 “ ters may play to the extent of twenty shillings. But
 “ if any other soldiers, servants, or sailors, shall be
 “ found playing for money among themselves, they
 “ shall be punished in the following manner, unless
 “ they can purchase a pardon from the commissioners,
 “ by paying what they shall think proper to demand.
 “ Soldiers and servants shall be stripped naked, and
 “ whipt through the army three days. Sailors shall
 “ be as often plunged from their ships into the sea,
 “ according to the custom of mariners (149).”

(148) These commissioners are named in the preceding law.

(149) J. Brompt. Chron. p. 1182. Benedic. Abbas, tom. 2, p. 610.

The first of these was the
 establishment of the
 federal government in
 1787. This was a
 result of the
 failure of the
 Articles of
 Confederation and
 the desire for a
 stronger central
 authority. The
 second was the
 adoption of the
 Constitution in
 1787, which
 provided for a
 three-branch
 system of
 government. The
 third was the
 establishment of
 the federal
 courts in 1789.

The fourth was the
 establishment of
 the federal
 executive branch
 in 1789. The
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 the federal
 legislative branch
 in 1789. The
 sixth was the
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 ninth was the
 establishment of
 the federal
 judicial branch
 in 1789.

A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

T H I R D B O O K.

N U M B E R I.

Magna Carta Regis Johannis, xv die Junii
MCCXV, Anno Regni xvii.

JOHANNES Dei gratia rex Anglie dominus Hybernie No. I.
dux Normannie Aquitanie et comes Andegavie archie-
piscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis
forestariis vicecomitibus prepositis ministris et omnibus ballivis
et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos intuitu Dei et pro salute
anime nostre et omnium antecessorum et heredum nostrorum
ad honorem Dei et exaltationem sancte ecclesie et emendati-
onem regni nostri per consilium venerabilium patrum nostro-
rum Stephani Cant' archiepiscopi totius Anglie primatis et
sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis Henrici Dublin' archiepif-
copi Willielmi London' Petri Winton' Joscelini Bathon' et
Glaston' Hugonis Lincoln' Walteri Wygorn' Willielmi Co-
ventr' et Benedicti Roff' episcoporum magistri Pandulfi do-
mini pape subdiaconi et familiaris fratris Eymerici magistri
militie

No. I. militie templi in Anglia et nobilium virorum Willielmi comitis
 Warena' Willielmi comitis Arundell' Alani de Galweya
 constabularii Scottie Warini filii Geroldi Petri filii Hereberti
 Huberti de Burgo fenescalli Piectavie Hugonis de Nevill' Ma-
 thei filii Hereberti Thome Basset Alani Basset Philippi de
 Albin' Roberti de Roppel' Johannis Mariscalli Johannis filii
 Hugonis et aliorum fidelium nostrorum In primis concessisse
 Deo et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et here-
 dibus nostris in perpetuum quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit
 et habeat jura sua integra et libertates suas illesas et ita volumus
 observari quod apparet ex eo quod libertatem electionem que
 maxima et magis necessaria reputatur ecclesie Anglicane
 mera et spontanea voluntate ante discordiam inter nos et
 barones nostros motam concessimus et carta nostra confir-
 mavimus et eam optinimus a domino papa Innocentio tertio
 confirmari quam et nos observabimus et ab heredibus nostris in
 perpetuum bona fide volumus observari Concessimus etiam
 omnibus liberis hominibus regni nostri pro nobis et heredibus
 nostris in perpetuum omnes libertates subscriptas habendas et
 tenendas eis et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris
 Si quis comitum vel baronum nostrorum sive aliorum tenentium
 de nobis in capite per servitium militare mortuus fuerit et
 cum decefferit heres suus plene etatis fuerit et relevium debeat
 habeat hereditatem suam per antiquum relevium scilicet heres
 vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum li-
 bras heres vel heredes baronis de baronia integra per centum
 libras heres vel heredes militis de feodo militis integro per
 centum solidos ad plus et qui minus debuerit minus det secun-
 dum antiquam consuetudinem feodorum Si autem heres
 alicujus talium fuerit infra etatem et fuerit in custodia cum ad
 etatem pervenerit habeat hereditatem suam sine relevio et sine
 fine Custos terre hujusmodi heredis qui infra etatem fuerit
 non capiat de terra heredis nisi rationabiles exitus et rationa-
 biles consuetudines et rationabilia servitia et hoc sine destruc-
 tione et vasto hominum vel rerum et si nos commiserimus
 custodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de
 exitibus illius nobis respondere debeat et ille destructionem de
 custodia fecerit vel vastum nos ab illo capiemus emendam et
 terra committatur duobus legalibus et discretis hominibus de
 feodo illo qui de exitibus respondeant nobis vel ei cui eos as-
 signaverimus et si dedimus vel vendiderimus alicui custodiam
 alicujus talis terre et ille destructionem inde fecerit vel vastum
 amittat ipsam custodiam et tradatur duobus legalibus et discretis
 hominibus de feodo illo qui similiter nobis respondeant sicut
 predictum est Custos autem quamdiu custodiam terre ha-
 buerit sustentet domos parcos vivaria stagna molendina et cetera
 ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre ejusdem et
 reddat heredi cum ad plenam etatem pervenerit terram suam
 totam

totam instaurationem de carrucis et wainnagiis secundum quod tempus wainnagii exigit et exitus terre rationabiliter poterunt sustinere Heredes maritentur absque disparagatione ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium ostendatur propinquus de consanguinitate ipsius heredis Vidua post mortem mariti sui statim et sine difficultate habeat maritagium et hereditatem suam nec aliquid det pro dote sua vel pro maritagio suo vel hereditate sua quam hereditatem maritus suus et ipsa tenuerint die obitus ipsius mariti et maneat in domo mariti sui per quadraginta dies post mortem ipsius infra quos assignetur ei dos sua Nulla vidua distringatur ad se maritandum dum voluerit vivere sine marito ita tamen quod securitatem faciat quod se non maritabit sine assensu nostro si de nobis tenuerit vel sine assensu domini sui de quo tenuerit si de alio tenuerit Nec nos nec ballivi nostri seisiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo quamdiu catalla debitoris sufficiunt ad debitum reddendum nec pleggii ipsius debitoris distringantur quamdiu ipse capitalis debitor sufficit ad solutionem debiti et si capitalis debitor defecerit in solutione debiti non habens unde solvat pleggii respondeant de debito et si voluerint habeant terras et redditus debitoris donec sit eis satisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo solverint nisi capitalis debitor monstraverit se esse quietum inde versus eosdem pleggios Si quis mutuo ceperit aliquid a Judeis plus vel minus et moriatur antequam debitum illud solvatur debitum non usuret quamdiu heres fuerit infra etatem de quocumque teneat et si debitum illud incidit in manus nostras nos non capiemus nisi catallum contentum in carta Et si quis moriatur et debitum debeat Judeis uxor ejus habeat dotem suam et nichil reddat de debito illo et si liberi ipsius defuncti qui fuerint infra etatem remanserint provideantur eis necessaria secundum tenementum quod fuerit defuncti et de residuo solvatur debitum salvo servitio dominorum simili modo fiat de debitis que debentur aliis quam Judeis Nullum scutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno nostro nisi per commune consilium regni nostri nisi ad corpus nostrum redimendum et primogenitam filium nostrum militem faciendum et ad filiam nostram primogenitam semel maritandam et ad hec non fiat nisi rationale auxilium simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate London' Et civitas London' habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas tam per terras quam per aquas Preterea volumus et concedimus quod omnes alie civitates et burgi et ville et portus habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas Et ad habendum commune consilium regni de auxilio assidendo aliter quam in tribus casibus predictis vel de scutagio assidendo summoneri faciemus archiepiscopos episcopos abbates comites et majores barones sigillatim per litteras nostras et preterea faciemus summoneri in generali

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per vicecomites et ballivos nostros omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite ad certum diem scilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus et ad certum locum et in omnibus litteris illius summonitionis causam summonitionis exprimemus et sic facta summonitione negotium ad diem assignatum procedat secundum consilium illorum qui presentes fuerint quamvis non omnes summoniti venerint Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus suis nisi ad corpus suum redimendum et ad faciendum primogenitum filium suum militem et ad primogenitam filiam suam semel maritandam et ad hec non fiat nisi rationabile auxilium Nullus distringatur ad faciendum majus servitium de feodo militis nec de alio libero tenemento quam inde debetur Communia placita non sequantur curiam nostram sed teneantur in aliquo loco certo Recognitiones de nova disseisina de morte antecessoris et de ultima presentatione non capiantur nisi in suis comitatibus et hoc modo Nos vel si extra regnum fuerimus capitalis justiciarius noster mittemus duos justiciarios per unumquemque comitatum per quatuor vices in anno qui cum quatuor militibus cujuslibet comitatus electis per comitatum capiant in comitatu et in die et loco comitatus assisas predictas Et si in die comitatus assise predictae capi non possint tot milites et libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatu die illo per quos possint judicia sufficienter fieri secundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus Liber homo non americietur pro parvo delicto nisi secundum modum delicti et pro magno delicto americietur secundum magnitudinem delicti salvo contencimento suo et mercator eodem modo salva mercandisa sua et villanus eodem modo americietur salvo wainnagio suo si inciderint in misericordiam nostram et nulla predictarum misericordiarum ponatur nisi per sacramentum proborum hominum de visneto Comites et barones non americietur nisi per pares suos et non nisi secundum modum delicti. Nullus clericus americietur de laico tenemento suo nisi secundum modum aliorum predictorum et non secundum quantitatem beneficii sui ecclesiastici Nec villa nec homo distringatur facere pontes ad riparias nisi qui ab antiquo et de jure facere debent Nullus vicecomes constabularius coronatores vel alii ballivi nostri teneant placita corone nostre Omnes comitatus hundredi wapentak' et trething' sint ad antiquas firmas absque ullo incremento exceptis dominicis maneriis nostris Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum moriatur et vicecomes vel ballivus noster ostendat litteras nostras patentes de summonitione nostra de debito quod defunctus nobis

nobis debuit liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo nostro attachiare et inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti per visum legalium hominum ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur donec perfolvatur nobis debitum quod clarum fuerit et residuum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum testamentum defuncti et si nichil nobis debeatur ab ipso omnia catalla cedant defuncto falvis uxori ipsius ei pueris rationabilibus partibus suis Si aliquis liber homo intestatus decefferit catalla sua per manus propinquorum parentum et amicorum suorum per visum ecclesie distribuantur falvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat Nullus constabularius vel alius ballivus noster capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus nisi statim inde reddat denarios aut respectum inde habere possit de voluntate venditoris. Nullus constabularius distringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro custodia castri si facere voluerit custodiam illam in propria persona sua vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit propter rationabilem causam et si nos duxerimus vel miserimus eum in exercitum erit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis pro cariagio faciendo nisi de voluntate ipsius liberi hominis Nec nos nec ballivi nostri capiemus alienum boscum ad castra vel alia agenda nostra nisi per voluntatem ipsius cujus boscus ille fuerit Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de feloniam nisi per unum annum et unum diem et tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamisia et de Medewaye et per totam Angliam nisi per costeram maris Breve quod vocatur Precipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento unde liber homo amittere possit curiam suam Una mensura vini fit per totum regnum nostrum et una mensura cervisie et una mensura bladi scilicet quarterium London' et una latitudo panorum tinctorum et ruffetorum et halbergettorum scilicet due ulne infra listas de ponderibus autem fit ut de mensuris Nichil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquisitionis de vita vel membris sed gratis concedatur et non negetur Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodifirmam vel per sokagium vel per burgagium et de alio terram teneat per servitium militare nos non habebimus custodiam heredis nec terre sue que est de feodo alterius occasione illius feodifirme vel sokagii vel burgagii nec habebimus custodiam illius feodifirme vel sokagii vel burgagii nisi ipsa feodifirma debeat servitium militare Nos non habebimus custodiam heredis vel

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vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per servitium militare occasione alicujus parve sergenterie quam tenet de nobis per servitium reddendi nobis cultellos vel sagittas vel hujusmodi Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem simplici loquela sua sine testibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis

Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur aut dissaiatur aut utlagetur aut aliquo modo destruat nec super eum ibimus nec super eum mittemus nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terre Nulli vendemus nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum aut justiciam Omnes mercatores habeant saluum et securum exire de Anglia et venire in Angliam et morari et ire per Angliam tam per terram quam per aquam ad emendum et vendendum sine omnibus malis tollis per antiquas et rectas consuetudines preterquam in tempore gwerre et si sint de terra contra nos gwerriva et si tales inveniantur in terra nostra in principio gwerre attachiantur sine dampno corporum et rerum donec sciatur a nobis vel capitali justiciario nostro quomodo mercatores terre nostre tractentur qui tunc inveniuntur in terra contra nos gwerriva et si nostri salvi sint ibi alii salvi sint in terra nostra Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno nostro et redire salvo et secure per terram et per aquam salva fide nostra nisi tempore gwerre per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni exceptis inprisonatis et utlagatis secundum legem regni et gente de terra contra nos gwerriva et mercatoribus de quibus fiat sicut predictum est Si quis tenuerit de aliqua escaeta sicut de honore Walingeford Notingeham Bon' Lainkastr' vel de aliis eskaetis que sunt in manu nostra et sunt baronie et obierit heres ejus non det aliud relevium nec faciat nobis aliud servitium quam facerit baroni si baronia illa esset in manu baronis et nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo baro eam tenuit Homines qui manent extra forestam non veniant de cetero coram justiciariis nostris de foresta per communes summonitiones nisi sint in placito vel pleggii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati sint pro foresta Nos non faciemus justiciarios constabularios vicecomites vel ballivos nisi de talibus qui sciant legem regni et eam bene velint observare Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abbatias unde habent cartas regum Anglie vel antiquam tenuram habeant earum custodiam cum vacaverint sicut habere debent Omnes foreste que aforestate sunt tempore nostro statim deaforestentur et ita fiat de ripariis que per nos tempore nostro posite sunt in defenso Omnes male consuetudines de forestis et warennis et de forestariis et warennariis vicecomitibus et eorum ministris ripariis et earum custodibus statim inquirentur in quolibet

quolibet comitatu per duodecim milites juratos de eodem comitatu qui debent eligi per probos homines ejusdem comitatus et infra quadraginta dies post inquisitionem factam penitus ita quod numquam revocentur deleantur per eisdem ita quod nos hoc sciamus prius vel justiciarius noster si in Anglia non fuerimus Omnes obfides et cartas statim reddemus que liberate fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in securitatem pacis vel fidelis servitii Nos amovebimus penitus de balliis parentes Gerardi de Athyes quod de cetero nullam habeant balliam in Anglia Engelardum de Cygony Andream Petrum et Gyonem de Cancell' Gyonem de Cygony Galfridum de Martyni et fratres ejus Philippum Mark et fratres ejus et Galfridum nepotem ejus et totam sequelam eorundem Et statim post pacis reformationem amovebimus de regno omnes alienigenas milites balistarios nocuentes stipendiaros qui venerint cum equis ad armis ad nocumentum regni Si quis fuerit disseisitus vel elongatus per nos sine legali judicio parium suorum de terris castallis libertatibus vel jure suo statim ea ei restituemus et si contentio super hoc orta fuerit tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque baronum de quibus fit mentio inferius in securitate pacis de omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis disseisitus fuerit vel elongatus sine legali judicio parium suorum per Henricum regem patrem nostrum vel per Ricardum regem fratrem nostrum que in manu nostra habemus vel que alii tenent que nos oporteat warantizare respectum habebimus usque ad communem terminum crucelignatorum exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquisitio facta per preceptum nostrum ante susceptionem crucis nostre cum autem redierimus a peregrinatione nostra vel si forte remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra statim inde plenam justiciam exhibebimus Eundem autem respectum habebimus et eodem modo de justicia exhibenda de forestis deafforestandis vel remansuris forestis quas Henricus pater noster vel Ricardus frater noster afforestaverunt et de custodiis terrarum que sunt de alieno feodo cujusmodi custodias hujusque habuimus occasione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per servitium militare et de abbatiis que fundate fuerint in feodo alterius quam nostro in quibus dominus feodi dixerit se jus habere et cum redierimus vel si remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra super hiis conquerentibus plenam justiciam statim exhibebimus Nullus capiatur nec imprisonetur propter appellum femine de morte alterius quam viri sui Omnes fines qui injuste et contra legem terre facti sunt nobiscum et omnia ameriamenta facta injuste et contra legem terre omnino con-

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No. I.

donentur vel fiat inde per iudicium viginti quinque baronum de quibus fit mentio inferius in securitate pacis vel per iudicium majoris partis eorundem una cum predicto Stephano Cant' archiepiscopo si interesse poterit et aliis quos secum ad hoc vocare voluerit et si interesse non poterit nichilominus procedat negotium sine eo ita quod si aliquis vel aliqui de predictis viginti quinque baronibus fuerint in simili querela amoveantur quantum ad hoc iudicium et alii loco illorum per residuos de eisdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi et jurati substituantur Si nos dissaisivimus vel elongavimus Walenses de terris vel libertatibus vel rebus aliis sine legali iudicio parium suorum in Anglia vel in Wallia eis statim reddantur et si contentio super hoc orta fuerit tunc inde fiat in marchia per iudicium parium suorum de tenementis Anglie secundum legem Anglie de tenementis Wallie secundum legem Wallie de tenementis marchie secundum legem marchie idem facient Walenses nobis et nostris De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walensium dissaisitus fuerit vel elongatus sine legali iudicio parium suorum per Henricum regem patrem nostrum vel Ricardum regem fratrem nostrum que nos in manu nostra habemus vel que alii tenent que nos oporteat warantizare respectum habebimus usque ad communem terminum crucesignatorum illis exceptus de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquisitio facta per preceptum nostrum ante susceptionem crucis nostre cum autem redierimus vel si forte remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra statim eis inde plenam justiciam exhibebimus secundum leges Walensium et partes predictas Nos reddemus filium Lewelini statim et omnes obsides de Wallia et cartas que nobis liberate fuerunt in securitatem pacis Nos faciemus Alexandro regi Scottorum de fororibus suis et obsidibus reddendis et libertatibus suis et jure suo secundum formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus nostris Anglie nisi aliter esse debeat per cartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipsius quondam rege Scottorum et hoc erit per iudicium parium suorum in curia nostra Omnes autem istas consuetudines predictas et libertates quas nos concessissimus in regno nostro tenendas quantum ad nos pertinet erga nostros omnes de regno nostro tam clerici quam laici observent quantum ad se pertinet erga suos Cum autem pro Deo et ad emendationem regni nostri et ad melius sopiendum discordiam inter nos barones nostros ortam hec omnia predicta concesserimus volentes ea integra et firma stabilitate gaudere in perpetuum facimus et concedimus eis securitatem

curitatem subscriptam videlicet quod barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno quos voluerint qui debeant pro totis viribus suis observare tenere et facere observari pacem et libertates quas eis concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus ita scilicet quod si nos vel justiciarius noster vel ballivi nostri vel aliquis de ministris nostris in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut securitatis transgressi fuerimus et delictum ostensum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos vel ad justiciarium nostrum si fuerimus extra regnum proponentes nobis excessum petent ut excessum illum sine dilatione faciamus emendari et si nos excessum non emendaverimus vel si fuerimus extra regnum justiciarius noster non emandaverit infra tempus quadraginta dierum computandum a tempore quo monstratum fuerit nobis vel justiciario nostro si extra regnum fuerimus predicti quatuor barones referant causam illam ad residuos de viginti quinque baronibus et illi viginti quinque barones cum communa totius terre distringent et gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt scilicet per captionem castrorum terrarum possessionum et aliis modis quibus poterunt donec fuerit emendatum secundum arbitrium eorum salva persona nostra et regine nostre et liberorum nostrorum et cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis sicut prius fecerunt Et quicumque voluerit de terra juret quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum et quod gravabit nos pro posse suo cum ipsis et nos publice et libere damus licentiam jurandi cui libet qui jurare voluerit et nulli umquam jurare prohibebimus Omnes autem illos de terra qui per se et sponte sua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de distringendo et gravando nos cum eis faciemus jurare eosdem de mandato nostro sicut predictum est Et si aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus decesserit vel a terra recefferit vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit quo minus ista predicta possunt exequi qui residui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus eligant alium loco ipsius pro arbitrio suo qui simili modo erit juratus quo et ceteri In omnibus autem que istis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda si forte ipsi viginti quinque presentes fuerint et inter se super re aliqua discordaverint vel aliqui ex eis summoniti nolint vel nequeant interesse ratum habeatur et firmum quod major pars eorum qui presentes fuerint providerit vel preceperit ac si omnes viginti quinque in hoc consensissent et predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia

No. I. antedicta fideliter observabunt et pro toto posse suo facient observari Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo per nos

nec per alium per quod aliqua istarum concessionum et libertatum revocetur vel minuatur et si aliquid tale impetratum fuerit irritum sit et inane et numquam eo utemur per nos nec per alium Et omnes malas voluntates indignationes et rancores ortos inter nos et homines nostros clericos et laicos et tempore discordie plene omnibus remisimus et condonavimus Preterea omnes transgressiones factas occasione ejusdem discordie a pascha anno regni nostri sextodecimo usque ad pacem reformatum plene remisimus omnibus clericis et laicis et quantum ad nos pertinet plene condonavimus Et insuper fecimus eis fieri litteras testimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cant' archiepiscopi domini Henrici Dublin' archiepiscopi et episcoporum predictorum et magistri Pandulfi super securitate ista et concessionibus prefatis Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit et quod homines in regno nostro habeant et teneant omnes prefatas libertates jura et concessionem bene et in pace libere et quiete plene et integre sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in omnibus rebus et locis in perpetuum sicut predictum est Juratum est autem tam ex parte nostra quam ex parte baronum quod hec omnia supradicta bona fide et sine malo ingenio observabuntur Testibus supradictis et multis aliis Data per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Runingmed' inter Windelesorum et Stanes quinto decimo die Junii anno regni nostri septimo decimo.

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N U M B E R II.

Translation of the Great Charter of King John,
granted June 15th, A. D. 1215, in the se-
venteenth Year of his Reign.

JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England lord of No. II.
Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl
of Anjou, to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls,
barons, justiciaries, foresters, sheriffs, commanders, of-
ficers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, *wisbeth*
health. Know ye, that we, from our regard to God, and
for the salvation of our own soul, and of the souls of our
ancestors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God, and
the exaltation of holy church and amendment of our
kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen
archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and
cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbishop of
Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Joc-
eline of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter
of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Ro-
chester, bishops, master Pandulph, the pope's subdeacon
and familiar, brother Eymeric master of the knights-
templars in England, and of these noble persons, Wil-
liam Marischal earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salis-
bury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Arundel,
Allen of Galloway constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-
Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh steward
of Poictou, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert,
Thomas Basset, Allan Basset, Philip de Albany, Robert
de Roppel, John Marischal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of
others of our liegemen, have granted to God, and by this
our present charter, have confirmed, for us, and our
heirs for ever:—First, That the English church shall be
free, and shall have her whole rights, and her liberties
unhurt; and I will this to be observed in such a manner
that it may appear from thence, that the freedom of elec-
tions,

No. II. tions, which was reputed most necessary to the English church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and obtained the confirmation of it from pope Innocent III. before the rupture between us and our barons, was of our own free will. Which charter we shall observe; and we will it to be observed, with good faith, by our heirs for ever.—We have all granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under-written liberties, to be enjoyed and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.—If any of our earls or barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at his death his heir shall be of full age, and shall owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance for the ancient relief, viz. the heir or heirs of an earl, a whole earl's barony, for one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, a whole barony for one hundred pounds^a; the heir or heirs of a knight, a whole knight's fee, for one hundred shillings at most; and he who owes less, shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.—But if the heir of any such be under age, and in wardship, when he comes to age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.—The warden of an heir who is under age, shall not take of the lands of the heir any but reasonable issues, and reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of the men or goods: and if we commit the custody of any such lands to a sheriff, or to any other person who is bound to answer to us for the issues of them, and he shall make destruction or waste upon the ward-lands, we will recover damages from him, and the lands shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we have assigned them: and if we granted or sold to any one the custody of any such lands, and he shall make destruction or waste, he shall lose the custody; and it shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer to us, in like manner as was said before.—

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Besides the warden, as long as he hath the custody of the lands, shall keep in order the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to them, out of their issues; and shall deliver to the heir, when he is at age, his whole estate provided with ploughs and other implements of husbandry, according to what the season requires, and the profits of the land can reasonably afford.—Heirs shall be married without disparagement, and so that, before the warriage is contracted, it shall be notified

^a This is *warks* in Matthew Paris, which is probably the right reading. M. Paris, p. 178. col. 1.

notified to the relations of the heir by consanguinity.— No. II.

A widow after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage goods and her inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her marriage-goods, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held on the day of his death. And she may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned. No widow shall be compelled to marry herself while she chuses to live without a husband, but so that she shall give security that she will not marry herself, without out consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.—Neither we nor our bailiffs shall seize any lands or rents for any debt, while the chattels of the debtor are sufficient for the payment of the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, while the principal debtor is able to pay the debt: and if the principal debtor fail in payment of the debt, not having wherewith to pay, the sureties shall answer for the debt; and if they please, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until satisfaction be made to them for the debt which they had before paid for him, unless the principal debtor can shew that he is discharged from it by the said sureties.—If any one hath borrowed any thing from the Jews, more or less, and dies before the debt is paid, the debt shall pay no interest as long as the heir shall be under age, of whomsoever he holds; and if that debt shall fall into our hands, we will not take any thing, except the chattels contained in the bond.—And if any one dies indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and shall pay nothing of that debt; and if children of the defunct remain who are under age, necessaries shall be provided for them, according to the tenement which belonged to the defunct; and out of the surplus the debt shall be paid, saving the rights of the lords of whom the lands are held. The same rules shall be observed with respect to debts owing to others than Jews.—No scutage or aid shall be imposed, except by the common council of our kingdom, but for redeeming our body,—for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these only a reasonable aid shall be demanded. This extends to the aids of the city of London.—And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties, and its free customs, as well by land as by water. Besides, we will and grant, that all other cities and burghs, and towns and sea-ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.—And to have a common council of the kingdom, to assess an aid, otherwise

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No. II. otherwise than in the three foresaid cases, or to assess a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, personally, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us in chief, to a certain day, at the distance of forty days at least, and to a certain place; and in all the letters of summons, we will express the cause of the summons; and the summons being thus made, the business shall go on at the day appointed, according to the advice of those who shall be present, although all who had been summoned have not come.—We will not give leave to any one, for the future, to take an aid of his freemen, except for redeeming his own body, making his eldest son a knight, and marrying once his eldest daughter; and that only a reasonable aid.—Let none be distrained to do more service for a knight's fee, nor for any other free tenement, than what is due from thence.—Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place.—Assizes upon the writs of Novel disseisin, Mortdancester (death of the ancestor), and Darrein presentment (last presentation), shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in this manner.—We, or our chief justiciary when we are out of the kingdom, shall send two justiciaries into each county, four times a-year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall take the foresaid assizes at a stated time and place within the county.—And if the foresaid assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county-court, let as many knights and freeholders, of those who were present at the county-court remain behind, as by them the foresaid assizes may be taken, according to the greater or less importance of the business.—A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but only according to the degree of the offence; and for a great delinquency, according to the magnitude of the delinquency, saving his contentment^b: a merchant shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his merchandise, and a villain, saving his implements of husbandry. If they fall into our mercy, none of the foresaid amerancements shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest men of the vicinage.—Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and that only according to the degree of their delinquency.—No clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the quantity of its ecclesiastical benefice.—Neither a town nor a particular person shall be distrained

^b See p. 359. of this volume.

trained to build bridges or embankments except those who
 anciently, and of right, are bound to do it.—No she- 24
 riff, constable, coroner, or bailiff of ours, shall hold pleas
 of our crown.—All counties, hundreds, wapontacks, 25
 and trithings, shall be at the ancient rents, without any
 increment, except our demesne-manors.—If any one 26
 holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the sheriff or our bai-
 liff shall shew our letters-patent of our summons for a debt
 which the defunct owed to us, it shall be lawful for the
 sheriff or our bailiff to attach and register the chattels
 of the defunct found on that fee, to the amount of that
 debt, at the view of lawful men, so that nothing shall be
 removed from thence until our debt is paid to us. The
 clear overplus shall be left to the executors to fulfil the
 last-will of the defunct; and if nothing is owing to us
 by him, all the chattels shall fall to the defunct, saving
 to his wife and children their reasonable shares.—If any 27
 freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed
 by his nearest relations and friends, at the view of the
 church, saving to every one the debts which the defunct
 owed to him.—No constable or bailiff of ours shall take 28
 the corn or goods of any one, without instantly paying
 money for them, unless he can obtain respite from the
 free will of the seller.—No constable (governor of a 29
 castle) shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-
 guard, if he is willing to perform it by his own person,
 or by another good man if he cannot perform it himself,
 for a reasonable cause. Or if we have carried or sent
 him into the army, he shall be excused from castle-guard,
 according to the space of time he hath been in the army
 at our command.—No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or 30
 any other person, shall take the horses or carts of any
 freeman, to perform carriages, without the consent of the
 said freeman.—Neither we, nor our bailiffs, shall take 31
 another man's wood, for our castles or other uses, without
 the consent of him to whom the wood belongs.—We 32
 will not retain the lands of those who have been convicted
 of felony, above one year and one day, and then they shall
 be given up to the lord of the fee.—All kydells (wears) 33
 for the future shall be quite removed out of the Thames, the
 Medway, and through all England, except on the sea-coast.
 —The writ which is called *Precipe* for the future shall not 34
 be granted to any one concerning any tenement by which a
 freeman may lose his court.—There shall be one measure 35
 of wine throughout our kingdom, and one measure of ale,
 and one measure of corn, viz. the quarter of London; and
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one breadth of dyed-cloth and of ruffets, and of halberjects,
 viz. two ells within the lists. It shall be the same with
 36 weights as with measures.—Nothing shall be given or taken
 for the future for the writ of inquisition of life or limb; but
 37 it shall be given *gratis*, and not denied.—If any hold of us
 by fee farm, or foccage, or burgage, and holds an estate of
 another by military service, we shall not have the custody of
 the heir, or of his land, which is of the fee of another, on
 account of that fee-farm, or foccage, or burgage, unless the
 fee-farm owes military service. We shall not have the cus-
 tody of the heir, or of the land of any one, which he
 holds of another by military service, on account of any pet-
 38 ty sergeancy which he holds of us, by giving us knives, ar-
 rows, or the like.—No bailiff, for the future, shall put any
 man to his law, upon his own simple affirmation, without
 39 credible witnesses produced to that purpose.—No freeman
 shall be seized, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or
 any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor will we
 fend upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or
 40 by the law of the land.^c—To none will we sell, to none
 41 will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice.—All
 merchants shall be safe and secure in coming into England, and
 going out of England, and staying and travelling through
 England, as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell,
 without any unjust exactions, according to ancient and right
 customs, except in time of war, and if they be of a country at
 war against us. And if such are found in our dominions at the
 beginning of a war, they shall be apprehended without in-
 jury of their bodies and goods, until it be known to us, or
 to our chief justiciary, how the merchants of our country
 are treated in the country at war against us; and if ours are
 42 safe there, the others shall be safe in our country.—It shall
 be lawful to any person, for the future, to go out of our
 kingdom, and to return, safely and securely, by land and by
 water, saving his allegiance, except in time of war, for
 some short space, for the common good of the kingdom,
 except prisoners, outlaws according to the law of the land,
 and people of the nation at war against us, and merchants,
 43 who shall be treated as is said above.—If any one holdeth
 of any escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Notting-
 ham, Boulogne, Lancaſtre, or of other escheats which are
 in our hands, and shall die, his heir shall not give any
 other relief, or do any other service to us, than he should
 have done to the baron, if that barony had been in the
 hands of the baron; and we will hold it in the same manner
 44 that the baron held it.—Men who dwell without the forest,
 shall

^c See p. 356, 357. of this volume.

shall not come, for the future, before our justiciaries of the forest, on a common summons, unless they be parties in a plea, or sureties for some person or persons who are attached for the forest.—We will not make men justiciaries, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, unless they understand the law of the land, and are well disposed to observe it.—All barons who have founded abbeys, of which they have charters of the kings of England, or ancient tenures, shall have the custody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have.—All forests which have been made in our time, shall be immediately disforested; and it shall be so done with water-banks which have been made in our time, in defiance.—All evil customs of forests and warrens, and of foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by twelve knights of the same county, upon oath, who shall be chosen by the good men of the same county; and within forty days after the inquisition is made, they shall be quite destroyed by them, never to be restored, provided that this be notified to us before it is done, or to our justiciary, if we are not in England.—We will immediately restore all hostages and charters which have been delivered to us by the English, in security of the peace, and of their faithful service.—We will remove from their offices the relations of Gerard de Athyes, that, for the future, they shall have no office in England, Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyone de Cygony, Geoffery de Martin, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers; and Geoffrey his grandson; and all their followers.—And immediately after the conclusion of the peace, we will remove out of the kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bow-men, and stipendiary soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the molestation of the kingdom.—If any have been disseised or dispossessed by us, without a legal verdict of their peers, of their lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will immediately restore these things to them; and if a question shall arise on this head, it shall be determined by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, who shall be mentioned below, for the security of the peace. But as to all those things of which any one hath been disseised or dispossessed, without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrants, we shall have respite, until the common term of the Croisaders, except those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken, by our precept, before our taking the cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition, or if, by chance, we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice therein.—

But

No. II.

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No. II. But we shall have the same respite, and in the same manners, concerning the justice to be done about disforeſting or continuing the forests which Henry our father, or Richard our brother, had made; and about the wardſhip of lands which are of the fee of ſome other perſon, but the wardſhip of which we have hitherto had, on account of a fee which ſome one held of us by military ſervice; and about abbeys which had been founded in the fee of another, and not in ours, in which abbeys the lord of the fee hath claimed a right. And when we ſhall have returned, or if we ſhall ſtay from our expedition, we ſhall immediately do complete juſtice in all theſe pleas.—No man ſhall be apprehended or impriſoned on *the appeal of a woman*, for the death of any other man than her husband.—All fines that have been made with us unjuſtly, or contrary to the law of the land; and all amerçiements that have been impoſed unjuſtly, or contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be remitted, or diſpoſed of by the verdict of the twenty-five barons of whom mention is made below for the ſecurity of the peace, or by the verdict of the major part of them, together with the foreſaid Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he may think fit to bring with him; and if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs ſhall proceed notwithstanding without him: but ſo, that if one or more of the foreſaid twenty-five barons have a ſimilar plea, let them be removed from that particular trial, and others elected and ſworn by the reſidue of the ſame twenty-five, be ſubſtituted in their room, only for that trial.—If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed any Welſhmen of their land, liberties, or other things, without a legal verdict of their peers, in England or in Wales, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them; and if a queſtion ſhall ariſe about it, then let it be determined in the marches by the verdict of their peers, if the tenement be in England, according to the law of England: if the tenement be in Wales, according to the law of Wales: if the tenement be in the marches, according to the law of the marches. The Welſh ſhall do the ſame to us and our ſubjects.—But concerning thoſe things of which any Welſhman hath been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrant, we ſhall have reſpite, until the common term of the Croiſaders, except thoſe concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquiſition taken, by our precept, before our taking the croſs. But as ſoon as we ſhall return from our expedition; or if, by chance, we ſhall not go upon our expedition, we ſhall immediately do complete juſtice

tice therein, according to the laws of Wales, and the parts
 aforesaid.——We will immediately deliver up the son of
 Leweline, and all the hostages of Wales, and charters which
 have been given to us for security of the peace.——We shall
 do to Alexander king of Scotland, concerning the restora-
 tion of his sisters and hostages, and his liberties and rights,
 according to the form in which we act to our other barons of
 England, unless it ought to be otherwise by charters which
 we have from his father William late king of Scotland, and
 that by the verdict of his peers in our court.——But all these
 foresaid customs and liberties which we have granted in our
 kingdom, to be held by our tenants, as far as concerns us,
 all our clergy and laity shall observe towards their tenants, as
 far as concerns them.——But since we have granted all these
 things aforesaid, for God, and to the amendment of our
 kingdom, and for the better extinguishing the discord arisen
 between us and our barons, being desirous that these things
 should possess entire and unshaken stability for ever, we give
 and grant to them the security underwritten, viz. That the
 barons may elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom
 they please, who shall, with their whole power, observe and
 keep, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which
 we have granted to them, and have confirmed by this our
 present charter, in this manner. That if we, or our justici-
 ary, or our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall have in-
 jured any one in any thing, or shall have violated any article
 of the peace or security, and the injury shall have been shown
 to four of the foresaid twenty-five barons, these four barons
 shall come to us, or to our justiciary if we are out of the king-
 dom, and making known to us the excess committed, re-
 quire that we cause that excess to be redressed without delay ;
 and if we shall not have redressed the excess, or, if we have
 been out of the kingdom, our justiciary shall not have re-
 dressed it, within the term of forty days, computing from
 the time in which it shall have been made known to us, or to
 our justiciary if we have been out of the kingdom, the fore-
 said four barons shall lay that cause before the residue of the
 twenty-five barons ; and these twenty-five barons, with the
 community of the whole land, shall distress and harass us by
 all the ways in which they can, that is to say, by the taking
 of our castles, lands, and possessions, and by other means in
 their power, until the excess shall have been redressed, ac-
 cording to their verdict ; saving our person, and the persons
 of our queen and children ; and when it hath been redressed,
 they shall behave to us as they had done before : and who-
 ever of our land pleaseth, may swear, that he will obey the
 commands

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No. II. commands of the foresaid twenty-five barons, in accomplishing all the things aforesaid, and that with them he will harass us to the utmost of his power: and we publicly and freely give leave to every one to swear who is willing to swear; and we will never forbid any man to swear. But all those of our land, who, of themselves, and their own accord, are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five barons, to distress and harass us together with them, we will compel them, by our command, to swear as aforesaid. And if any one of the twenty-five barons shall die, or remove out of the land, or in any other way shall be prevented from executing the things above said, those who remain of the twenty-five barons shall elect another in his place, according to their pleasure, who shall be sworn in the same manner as the rest. But in all those things which are appointed to be done by these twenty-five barons, if it happen that all the twenty-five have been present, and have differed in their opinions about any thing, or if some of them who had been summoned, would not, or could not be present, that which the major part of those who were present shall have provided and decreed, shall be held as firm and valid, as if all the twenty-five had agreed in it. And the foresaid twenty-five shall swear, that they will faithfully observe, and, to the utmost of their power, cause to be observed, all the things mentioned above. And we will obtain nothing from any one, by-ourselves, or by another, by which any of these concessions and liberties may be revoked or diminished. And if any such thing hath been obtained, let it be void and null; and we will never use it, either by ourselves or by another. And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, rancour, and resentments which have arisen between us and our subjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement of the discord. Besides, we have fully remitted to all the clergy and laity, and as far as belongs to us, we have fully pardoned all transgressions committed on occasion of the said discord, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, to the conclusion of the peace. And, moreover, we have caused to be made to them testimonial letters-patent of my lord Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, my lord Henry archbishop of Dublin, and of the foresaid bishops, and of Mr. Pandulf, concerning this security, and the foresaid concessions. Wherefore, our will is, and we firmly command, that the church of England be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the foresaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things

things and places for ever, as aforesaid. An oath hath been taken, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all these things mentioned above shall be observed in good faith, and without any evil intention, before the above-named witnesses, and many others. Given by our hand, in the meadow, which is called *Runingmed*, between Windsor and Stains, this fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign. No. II.

N U M B E R III.

A D P E T R U M A M I C U M M E D I C U M.

ARGUMENTUM.] Indicat Petro Medicinæ perito se ex itinere ægrum nobilem virum invisisse, & medicinam illi fecisse: rationem morbi & medicinæ exponit; ac de cætero ægrum illius curæ committit.

Charissimo amico suo PETRO, Magister P. Blesensis, salutem in vero salutari.

NUPER ingrediebar Ambaziam, ubi vir nobilis Geldewinus graviter ægrotabat: occurritque mihi dominus castri, rogans humiliter & obnixè, ut diverterem ad infirmum. Asserebat enim quod etsi manum curationis ei non apponerem, haberet tamen ex visitatione mea qualecumque solatium. Ad instantia mitaque magnatum, qui pro infirmo devotissime supplicabant, triduum ibi feci. Et quia propter occupationes meas, quas ipse novistis, moram non poteram ibi facere longiorem, consilium meum fuit, ut vocarent vos; pinguique retributione vestram circa infirmum diligentiam excitarent. Licet autem sitis circumspectus in his, tanquam similia frequentur expertus: quia tamen testimonio Hippocratis est experimentum fallax, & quandoque uni revelat Dominus, quod abscondit

No. III. abscondit ab aliis : non tædeat vos audire hujus ægritudinis modum : symptomata etiam, quæ plenius vos instruent : et quibus auxiliis in ægritudine sit utendum. Commune quidem medicorum vitium est, semper circa ægritudines variare : unde si tres aut quatuor ad infirmum veniunt, nunquam in assignatione causæ, vel exhibitione curæ conveniunt. Porro, sicut nos duo sumus conformes in votis, sic & decet, ut identitas sit in nostris operibus, & in verbis. Ego siquidem primitias curationis adhibui : certusque sum, quod assequetur de facili sanitatem, si sit qui prudenter continuet manum suam. Noveritis autem certissime, quia medium hemitritæum patitur : cum enim patiatur continue de tertio in tertium, magis affligitur. Scitis autem quod si minor hemitritæus esset, cum habeat generari ex phlegmate putrefacto in vasis, & extra, suos nunquam tertiare affultus. Quod si major hemitritæus esset, propter putrefactionem melancholiæ intus & extra in motu materiæ interioris, æger etiam motum & aptitudinem membrorum amitteret : dentes etiam ipsius ad se invicem clauderentur. Quæ omnia, quia in hac febre minime accidunt, constat medium esse hemitritæum proveniente ex cholera in vasis & stomacho putrefacta. Nam si in hepate putrefacta esset, quod quandoque solet accidere, urina rubea & tenuis minaretur adustionem, & ad nigredinem pertineret : quod, quia non accidit, videtis materiam in vasis & stomacho residere. Ex quo igitur veni, quia ipsa die eum febris invaserat, feci ei venam hepaticam aperiri. Et quia, dum morbus in augmento est (quod ex eo liquet, quia adhuc est urina rubea & tenuis), nondum est purgatione utendum, usus sum repressivis, oleumque violaceum super cor & hepar, ac fronti ejus apposui. Restat igitur, ut cum urina spissior plenæ digestionis tempus nuntiaverit, detis ei frigidum caphonis, quod dare tutius est, quam oxi, vel aliud : nam in illo tota malitia scammonæ beneficio decoctionis evanuit. Optima etiam ei esset decoctio cassiæ fistulæ myrobalanorum citrinorum cum capillis Veneris et feminibus citroli, cucurbitæ, & melonis : si tamen infirmi vires hæc videritis posse pati. Dietam, sicut scitis, oportet esse pertenuem : pitisanam scilicet, & micam panis ter in aquis aut quater ablutam, fomentationesque de maluis, & violis, & papavere, non deficient circa pedes : nam ibi calor plurimum invalescit. Si vero vehemens calor arcem capitis, sicut evenire solet, invaserit, radatur caput, atque aqua rosacea, & succo solatri, ac semper vivæ, crassulæ etiam, & vermicularis, atque plantaginis, pannorum intinctione, caput, frons, & tempora mulceantur. Propter ingruentiam sitis lingua lavetur, sicut scitis, cum psyllio, lignoque radatur. Ad insomnitates, papaveris nigri, malux, violæ hyoscyami decoctio pedibus, herbæque

herbæque decoctæ capiti apponantur. Contra inobedientiam ventris fiat suppositorium, aut clystere. Hæc ideo scribo vobis, non ut indigeatis instrui, sed ut vobis securior, & ægroto acceptior sit medicina, quæ de nostra communi deliberatione procedit. Frequenter enim ex aputudine medici gratiosa, ex quadam confidentia quam ægrotus inde concipit, natura jam deficiens convalescit. Oportet igitur vos circa hunc circumspectum esse ac strenuum, de cujus convalescentia, & magni titulus honoris vobis accrescet, & utilitas respondebit ad votum.

No. III.

N U M B E R I V.

Permission of Richard I. for holding tournaments in England.

RICHARD, by the grace of God, &c. to the reverend father in Christ, Hubert, Arch. of Cant. &c. greeting. Know, that we have permitted turnaments to be held in England, in five places; between Sarum and Wilton, between Warewicke and Kenelingworthe, between Stamford and Warrinford [Wallingford], between Brakeley and Mixebery, between Blic and Tykehill; yet so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor justice hindered, nor damage done to our forests. And an earl who shall turney there, shall pay us 20 marcs, and a baron 10 marcs, and a knight who has land, 4 marcs, and a knight who has no land, 2 marcs. No foreigner shall turney there. Wherefore we command you, that on the day of the turnament you shall provide, at each place, two clerks and [your] two knights, to receive the oaths from the earls and barons, for their satisfaction, concerning the aforesaid sums, &c.

No. IV.

Q q

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