Rapin's History of England

Book Six

THE NORMAN LINE: FROM THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, TO THE DEATH OF KING STEPHEN, COMPRISING ABOUT EIGHTY-EIGHT YEARS.

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Book Six

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Chapter I

WILLIAM I
SIRNAMED THE BASTARD, OR CONQUEROR

ILLIAM the Conqueror was two and forty years old at the time of the battle of Hastings, and had now been three and thirty years duke of Normandy. It will be necessary, therefore, before we enter upon his reign, to consider by what degrees Providence raised him to the throne of England, of which his birth seemed to give him no manner of prospect.

Normandy, one of the largest and most considerable provinces of France, was possessed by the Normans ever since the forced grant made by Charles the Simple to Rollo the Dane, the first duke. Rollo and his immediate successors, content with this noble acquisition, were less solicitous about enlarging their bounds, than securing the possession to their posterity. By means of numerous colonies of their own nation, who by reciprocal marriages were incorporated with the natives, they soon caused the two nations to become one people, under the common name of Normans; as the French called the foreigners lately settled in Neustria, which from them took also the name of Normandy. The first dukes made it their principal care to gain the affection of their subjects, by causing them to enjoy, as much as possible, the sweets of peace, and governing them with justice and equity. By this prudent conduct they not only destroyed the seeds of rebellion, which might lurk in the hearts of the ancient inhabitants; but also screened themselves from the secret practices of the kings of France, who grieved to see so noble a province torn from their monarchy.

From Rollo to William the Bastard there were seven dukes, among whom Richard II. who was the fourth, was one of the most illustrious. His first wife was Judith of Bretagne, by whom he had three sons, Richard, Robert, and William. After the death of Judith, he made a double alliance with Canute the Great, giving him his sister Emma, widow to Ethelred II. king of England, and taking himself Estrith sister to that prince. How honourable soever this match might be, his love of a young damsel called Pavia, caused him to divorce Estrith and marry his mistress. By this second wife he had William earl of Argues, and Manger archbishop of Rouen.

After the death of this prince, his son Richard III succeeded him, notwithstanding the endeavours of his younger brother Robert to supplant him. Robert, not being able to accomplish his designs, was forced to desist; or rather, as some affirm, went a surer and a more ready way to work. It is said, he procured his brother to be poisoned, who, after a reign of two years, left him the possession of the dukedom, he had so ardently wished for. Whether duke Robert's crime was never fully proved, or his just government blotted out the remembrance of it, he found means to gain the affection of his people at home by his justice and liberality, whilst his valour made him respected abroad. By his aid, it was that Henry I. king of France, took possession of the throne,

notwithstanding the pretensions of Robert his younger brother, who was supported by a powerful party. The intrigues of queen Constance their mother, who espoused the interest of her youngest son, obliging Henry to implore the assistance of the duke of Normandy, he came to him at Rouen, and obtained an aid of five hundred spear-men. This first aid was soon followed by a more considerable supply, led by the duke himself into France, where he placed Henry on the throne, compelling the younger brother to be satisfied with Burgundy. Henry, in grateful sense of so signal a service, protested, he would have it in eternal remembrance: and to give him an effectual proof of his sincerity, annexed to the duchy of Normandy the cities of Chaumont and Pontoise, then in possession of the crown of France.

It is hard to conceive why this prince should never think of marrying, as he might foresee, in case he died without heirs, great confusion and troubles would ensue. It might be thought that his resolution was owing to his insensibility for the fair sex, had we not a proof to the contrary, in his passion for a young damsel, with whose graceful mien he was charmed as he saw her dancing. The damsel, who was called Arlotta[1], a skinner's daughter of Falaise, thinking herself extremely honoured by the duke's addresses, readily yielded to his solicitations.

Robert had by this mistress a son called William, of whom it is related, that, the moment he was born, laying hold of some straws, he held them so fast, that his fist was forced to be un-clinched before he would let them go. This made the good women say, he would one day prove a great acquirer, since he began so early. Robert educated his young son with all imaginable care, designing him for his successor; but, in the meantime, he conceived the idea of going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This act of devotion was looked upon as the effect of his remorse for the murder of the duke his brother, and of his desire to atone for his crime.

Before he set out, however, he took all necessary measures to secure the succession to his bastard son. He summoned the states of Normandy, and communicating to them his design of going to the Holy Land, conjured them, in case he should never return, to receive, after his death, his young son William for their sovereign. The states did all that lay in their power to divert the duke from his journey; but finding he was not to be prevailed upon, gave him their promise with an oath, if any ill accident befell him on the road, they would conform to his will.

To convince him of their sincerity, they swore fealty to William as the presumptive heir of the duke his father. This affair being settled to Robert's satisfaction, he appointed Alain duke of Bretagne, his relation and vassal, Seneschal of Normandy, giving him power to govern, in his absence, with an absolute authority. Then he carried his son to Paris, and delivered him into the hands of the king of France, who took charge of his education. Before he left the court of France, he made young William do homage to the king, as if he had been in actual possession of Normandy: The absence of duke Robert occasioned troubles in his dominions, which obliged the duke of Bretagne to use some, severity, and exert the authority he was entrusted with.

But whilst he was earnestly endeavouring to restore peace and tranquillity, he was taken off by poison. This accident was soon followed with a report of the duke being dead on the road. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of this news, it was the cause of commotions so much the more dangerous, as there was no body in Normandy capable of appeasing them. They who had the administration of affairs in their hands were themselves engaged in factions, which had been forming ever since the duke's departure, and thereby helped to increase the confusion.

Whilst things were in this state, some of the duke's retinue arrived, and confirmed the news of his death. Upon which several of the principal lords, descended from the ancient dukes, began to cabal openly, to exclude the bastard from the succession. Plausible pretences were not wanting; but the states declared, they could not violate the oath, which they had bound themselves by. The resolution being taken of acknowledging William for sovereign, ambassadors were dispatched to the king of France to demand the young prince. After Henry was informed of the duke of Normandy's death, the shame of doing an ill action, and the desire of becoming master

of Normandy, kept him in suspense. He was in hopes the troubles of that dukedom would turn to his advantage, and began to lay his schemes accordingly. However, when he found the states of Normandy had declared in favour of William, he thought proper to defer the execution of his designs, till a more convenient season. He concealed his intentions, and sent home the young prince. As soon as William came to Rouen, the states swore fealty to him, and gave him for governor Raoul de Gace, constable of Normandy.

King Henry, however, not only opposed the young prince himself, but raised up numerous enemies. William, on the other hand, was firm and active; and the vigour and conduct which he displayed, made his subjects conceive great hopes of him. His neighbours began also to consider him as a prince of distinguished merit, and capable in time of giving them trouble. The king of France, in particular, grew extremely jealous, and made a fierce war upon him which lasted several years. In the end, William, gaining two successive battles, Henry and his allies sued for and obtained peace.

During this war, as the duke was besieging Alenson, some of the inhabitants came upon the walls with skins in their hands, by way of reproach, for his mother being a skinner's daughter. He was so provoked at this insult, that he swore by the splendour of God, his usual oath, he would be revenged. Sometime after, becoming master of the town, he accomplished his oath, by putting out the eyes, and cutting off the hands and feet of two and twenty of the insolent burghers.

Henry died soon after this war, and was succeeded by Philip I. his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Baldwin, the fifth earl of Flanders; who had lately given his daughter Matilda in marriage to the duke of Normandy. The relation the regent stood in, as well to the king his pupil as to the duke his son-in-law, made him take all necessary precautions to keep up between the two princes a good understanding, which lasted many years.

William took this opportunity to extinguish all remains of rebellion among his subjects. The duke's relations by his father's side giving him the most disturbance, he obliged almost all of them to quit Normandy; and, their estates being confiscated to his use, he enriched with them his mother's relations, who till then

were but in mean circumstances. Robert, his uterine brother, had the earldom of Mortagne, forfeited by William Guerland. Odor his brother, partook also of his bounty, and, moreover, was made bishop of Bayeux. Two of their sisters were married to the earls of Aumale and Albemarle. Manger his uncle, archbishop of Rouen; was not only concerned in all the plots against the duke, but had the boldness to excommunicate him, on pretence of the too near relation between him and Matilda. his wife[2]. As soon as the duke was in a state of tranquility, he resolved to be revenged on this prelate. To that end, having assembled all the bishops of Normandy at Disieux, he caused him to be accused before them of several misdemeanours, particularly, his selling the consecrated chalices to supply his luxury. Upon these accusations, supported with all the duke's interest, Manger was solemnly deprived, and Maurillus elected in his room.

After William had thus humbled, or dispersed; all that could create him any disturbance, his circumstances were such, that he might have spent his days in profound tranquillity, for he had nothing to fear either at home or abroad. But as he was of a covetous and ambitions temper, this tranquillity was far from contenting him. It was probably with a view to new acquisitions, that he went to visit king Edward his cousin, who had no children, and perhaps had given him some hopes of being his heir. However this be, it is generally believed, that Edward, during the Duke's stay at the court of England, promised him, to make a will in his favour; and, though his will never appeared, it was, according to all the historians, the pretence, used by him, to undertake the conquest of England.

We have seen in the foregoing book, what William did to support his pretended right till the battle of Hastings. It is time now to see, how he improved the success of that day to mount the throne of England, and the methods he used to secure the possession in spite of all opposition.

AD 1066] It is easy to conceive the consternation of the English, after the loss of the battle of Hastings, and the death of their king. They were destitute of men, arms, and ammunition but chiefly of a leader that had a right to command them, and take care of their present wants. On the other hand, the victorious Normans were not far from London, the only place where necessary measures could be taken to prevent the calamities the kingdom was threatened with. Harold's sons were fled into Ireland.

Edgar Athehing was too young, and besides of too narrow a genius, to give them any prospect of assistance in this their pressing necessity. It is true, the earls Morcar and Edwin were still alive, and had retired to London with part of the fugitive army. But to take proper measures on such an occasion, more time was required, than, probably, the conqueror, would afford them. Thus the affairs of the English were in terrible confusion; all the methods proposed to free them from danger, being clogged with insurmountable difficulties.

On the other side, the duke of Normandy, willing to take advantage of the terror of the English, was now marching towards London[3] to increase, by his approach, the trouble and confusion which prevailed in the metropolis. But on a sudden he altered his resolution: he considered, though the loss of a battle had thrown the English into astonishment, there was no likelihood of their being entirely discouraged: that their case not being yet desperate, they might easily bring into the field fresh armies, and try again more than once the fortune of war: that in such a case, should he chance to receive. but one overthrow, he had no where to retreat to, nor any opportunity of sending for supplies from Normandy. These reflections made him resolve to besiege Dover, before he advanced any farther, to secure a retreat in case of necessity, and a port, where his convoys might easily come from Normandy. He marched, therefore, directly to Dover, a place naturally very strong, and become more so by the great number of English officers and soldiers, fled thither after the battle. For this reason, it might have stood a long siege; but the consternation was so great, that it surrendered in a few days. As soon as the duke was in possession, he ordered the town to be more strongly fortified, and spent eight days there, to forward the works. After which he marched for London.

Whilst the duke was before Dover, or on his march towards the Thames, the trouble and confusion at London increased, by the diversity of opinions preventing them from coming to any resolution. Some were for submitting to the duke without loss of time: others believed it more advisable to treat with him first, and procure some assurances for, the preservation of the privileges, not only of the city, but the whole kingdom. Some intimated, that things were not yet desperate: that the winter, which was begun, might give them time to concert measures for their defence: and with this view laboured heartily to get Edgar Atheling placed on the throne.

Edwin and Morcar were at the head of this last party. But, how great soever their credit might be, it was not possible for them to carry their point. All they could obtain of the citizens, was, to shut the gates against the duke, till some resolution was taken. Mean while, the duke approaching the city, encamped in Southwark. He hoped his approach would oblige the Londoners to a voluntary submission, and in that belief lay quiet some days. This proceeding had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. Morcar and Edwin took this opportunity to excite the people to take arms and sally out to surprise the Normans, who were on the other side the bridge.

This sally, which was easily repulsed, convinced the duke that other measures were to be taken. He had, however, properly but one way to compass his ends; which was, to take advantage of the consternation of the Londoners, and oblige them, rather by terror than force, to submit to his laws. With this view, he posted himself at Wallingford, whence he continually sent detachments to ravage the counties adjoining to London, in order to terrify the citizens, cut off their provisions, and prevent them from laying in stores[4]. At the same time, he caused Southwark to be reduced to ashes, to let them see what they were to expect, if they obstinately persisted in the defence of the city. But perhaps all his efforts would have been ineffectual, if the clergy, who were at

London, had not broken all the measures Morcar and Edwin would have taken to crush his designs.

The aim of these two lords, and some other zealous assertors of their country's liberty, was to place Edgar Atheling on the throne. They represented to the people, that the only way to avoid the present danger, was first to come out of that state of anarchy they were in: that, whilst there was no body who had a right to command, it was impossible to take just measures to resist the Normans, now at their gates: but as soon as there should be a king, he would send orders into all parts of the kingdom to levy troops, and the duke of Normandy would then find to his cost, that the gaining a single battle was not sufficient to render him master of England; but in case they continued inactive, they could expect nothing but total ruin, and to see the kingdom fall under a foreign yoke: in a word, that prince Edgar had an uncontestable right to the crown of England, and could not be refused possession without great injustice.

The majority of the people approved the proposal of the two earls: but the clergy openly rejected it, not thinking proper to expose their lands and repose to the chance of war. Edwin and Morcar, despairing of success, retired into the north. They were no sooner gone, but Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, repaired to the duke, then at Berkhamstead. He was quickly followed by Aldred archbishop of York, the bishop of Winchester, and at last by prince Edgar, who suffered himself to be guided by their counsels. The duke received them courteously, granted all their requests, and confirmed his promises by a solemn oath. They in return swore fealty to the duke, as if he were already their sovereign, and induced prince Edgar to do the same.

Meantime, the duke drew nearer London, as if he intended to besiege it. His approach immediately determined the magistrates, who, finding they were in no condition to defend a city, where all was in confusion and despair, chose to present him with the keys of the gates. He gave them a very favourable reception, and, it is said, promised with an oath to preserve their privileges. The duke's conduct discovering he aspired to something more, they, after advising with the prelates and lords, who had now submitted, unanimously resolved to place the duke on the throne.

Accordingly, they all went in a body, and made him an offer of the crown, telling him, they had always been accustomed to live under kingly government, and they knew no person more worthy than him to govern them. The duke, forgetting on this occasion, or pretending to forget, that he entered the kingdom in arms, by virtue of his pretended right to the crown, shewed at first some doubt, whether he should accept of the honour. Easily yielding, however, to the agreeable solicitations, he returned in answer to the English lords and the magistrates of London, that he was ready to consent to their request.

Accordingly, he accepted the crown, as their gift, thus tacitly acknowledging a right of election in the people. He appointed Christmas-day following for the ceremony of his coronation. Meanwhile, as this solemnity was to be performed at London, the inhabitants whereof he suspected, he ordered a fortress to be run up in haste, which he garrisoned with Normans.

Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was then suspended by the Pope, as an intruder into that see, in the room of Robert, who had not been canonically deprived. But notwithstanding this suspension, he exercised the archiepiscopal function, the English not being yet convinced, that the Pope's power was so extensive as he pretended. However, the duke, who was obliged to the Pope, and besides was willing to avoid the objections that might be made to his coronation, if performed by a suspended bishop, would not receive the crown from the hands of Stigand. Aldred therefore, archbishop of York, performed the ceremony.

Before he set the crown on his head, the archbishop, addressing the English, asked them, whether they would have the duke of Normandy for their king? All the people consenting by their acclamations, the bishop of Constance put the same question to the Normans, who answered in

the same manner as the English. This last circumstance evidently was that the duke had even then resolved to make the English and Normans but one and the same people. The archbishop of York, continuing the ceremony, placed the duke on the throne, and administered to him the oath usually taken by the Saxon kings.

As soon as it was known that he was crowned at London, all the rest of England submitted to the new sovereign, without any one offering to dispute with him the possession of a crown, which no body knew by what title he could be crowned.

His first care after his coronation, was to seize on the treasure laid up by Harold at Winchester. He distributed part among the principle officers of his army, and part to the churches and monasteries, to gain the reputation of a pious and religious prince. The Pope had also a share. He had lent the king money, or the king was willing to shew his gratitude for favours received, when he embarked in his enterprise.

At the same time, William sent to Rome the late king's standard, as a sort of homage to the holy see, and a testimony that the conquest of England was undertaken with the Pope's approbation. Harold's treasures being thus distributed, ways and means were to be devised to fill the new king's coffers. To this end, it was intimated to the cities, corporations, and most wealthy of the subjects, that it would not be amiss to gain the goodwill of their new master by some presents. Every one cheerfully consenting, these presents yielded the king a considerable sum.

The king's moderation to the English, at the commencement of his reign, gave them room to hope they were going to enjoy solid happiness under the government of a prince who seemed to have their interest at heart. Indeed he exhorted the principal officers of his army to treat the vanquished with the moderation due from one Christian to another. He entreated them to refrain from all kinds of insults to the English, lest by injuries they should be provoked to revolt. As for the inferior officers and soldiers, he published severe orders against such as should violate the chastity of the women, or give the least cause of complaint to the natives. Then he confirmed by a public edict the people's privileges, and all the promises he had made in that respect.

How great a regard soever the king shewed for the English, he could not forbear mistrusting them, persuaded as he was, that their submission proceeded rather from fear ,than good-will, a few days after his coronation he retired from London to Barking, not daring to stay in that great city, whose fidelity he suspected; as he was not more sure of the rest of the nation, he placed strong garrisons in Hastings, Dover, and Winchester. These precautions had no ill effect on the minds of the people. They considered them as absolutely necessary, in the beginning of so great a revolution, and were not at all alarmed. On the contrary, they who had hitherto refused to acknowledge the new king came and submitted to him in crowds. Edwin and Morcar, who had begun to concert measures for the defence of their country, altered all their projects. As they were convinced of the king's sincerity, like the rest of their countrymen, they went and swore fealty to him at Barking. He neglected nothing that could help to keep them in this mind. He not only assured them of his protection, but even in their presence bestowed on prince Edgar large possessions.

The victory of Hastings was too glorious for the king to neglect to transmit the memory of it to posterity. For that purpose he laid the foundations of a church and abbey, in the very place where Harold was slain, and ordered, when they should be finished, the church to be dedicated to St. Martin, and the monastery to be called Battle Abbey. The desire of prayers for his own and Harold's soul was the pretence he used to make this foundation. The three first months of his reign passed to the mutual satisfaction of the English and Normans. The former believed they were no great losers by the late revolution, and the latter lived in hopes the king would perform the promises made them, when they engaged in his service. King William's precautions procuring him universal submission, he thought his happiness incomplete, if he had not the pleasure to go to Normandy, and appear in his new grandeur. This journey was not only unnecessary, but

seemingly very dangerous, in the beginning of an empire established by arms. He imagined, however, he could prevent all revolts during his absence by two precautions. First, by placing strong Norman garrisons in all the castles.

Secondly, by carrying along with him such of the English lords as were most suspected. Of this number were prince Edgar, Stigand, Morcar, Edwin, Waltheoff son of Siward, formerly earl of Northumberland, with several others of the prime nobility. These lords were not over pleased with the honour he did them, being sensible that he carried them into, Normandy. but as so many hostages, and to add to the glory of his triumph. However, they were forced to comply, for fear of giving him occasion to suspect them by any unseasonable opposition to his will. Before he left England, he committed the government of the kingdom to his brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osborn.

There was no end. of the rejoicings among his old subjects upon his arrival in Normandy. He spent his Easter at Fescamp, where the French ambassador, attended with a numerous retinue of nobles, came to congratulate him in his master's name upon his new dignity. On this occasion, the king affected to appear before the French with all the magnificence he thought capable of advancing the lustre of his glory. He passed all that summer, and part of the following winter in Normandy, where he seemed to forget his new, amidst the acclamations of his old subjects.

Whilst he was giving the Normans marks of his affection by his stay among them, his absence proved fatal to England. Odo his brother, and William Fitz-Osborn, who governed the kingdom, grossly abused their authority. Wholly taken up with enriching themselves, instead of protecting the English who made their complaints to them, they not only suffered them to be grieved with a thousand injustices, but oppressed them by continual acts of tyranny themselves. The most prudent however preserved their allegiance; but others, more impatient, were of opinion, they ought to take the advantage of his absence, to attempt the recovering of his liberty.

The Kentishmen led the way; and called to their assistance Eustace earl of Boulogne, who endeavoured to surprise Dover-castle. But not succeeding according to his expectation, he retired to his ships, leaving the Kentishmen to the mercy of the regents, who treated them very severely. Notwithstanding this example, Edric, an English lord, to whom historians give the sirname of Forester, took up arms in the county of Hereford, and barbarously used all the Normans that fell into his hands. On the receipt of this intelligence, the king immediately embarked for England, committing the government of Normandy to Matilda his wife, and Robert his eldest son. His return appeased the storm; but these two attempts filled him with so many suspicions of all the English in general, that he began from that time to consider them as so many secret enemies, who sought an occasion to revolt.

Not long after the king's return[5], Matilda his queen came into England, and was crowned with great solemnity. This same year she brought into the world a son, named Henry. Her other sons were born in Normandy, namely, Robert, Richard, and William, the eldest of whom was about twelve years old.

AD 1068] The king had hitherto delayed to satisfy those who had voluntarily assisted him in his expedition into England. Besides the stipends due to them, they expected to be rewarded in proportion to their services, and the power he had acquired by their means. His ordinary revenues not being sufficient for this, there was a necessity of having recourse to the English, whose misfortune it was to be vanquished. To this end, he bethought himself of an expedient, which could not but be very ungrateful to them. And that was, to revive Dane-gelt, abolished by the Confessor, which brought to their remembrance the calamities they had suffered under a foreign power. He plainly foresaw the people would be extremely dissatisfied, and therefore endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of their discontent, by caressing the principal English lords, as far as his reserved temper would permit.

He was most apprehensive of earl Edwin, who by his birth, honours, and personal merit, was in great credit with. his countrymen. In order to prevent the earl's using the present occasion to raise new commotions, he thought proper to secure him to his interest, by promising him one of his daughters in marriage. Edwin was pleased with the offer, and instead of fomenting the dissatisfaction of the English, did all he could to appease them. Aldred, archbishop of York, was not so easily managed. This prelate had entertained so great an opinion of the king, that he was continually speaking in his praise. But when. he saw him begin to pull off the mask, by renewing a tax so odious to the nation, he was quite of another mind. He sent one to represent to him in his name, the injury he was doing the English, and the inconveniences that might follow.

The king was offended with this remonstrance, and sharply rebuked the person that dared to deliver it. It is said, Aldred was so sensibly touched with this proceeding, that he could not forbear cursing the king and all his race. There was danger of the archbishop's resentment occasioning some troubles in the north. At least the king seemed to be uneasy on that account, by his sending one of his officers to endeavour to appease him. But the death of Aldred, which happened at that time, freed the king from his fears, and Dane-gelt was levied with all the rigour imaginable. From thence forward nothing was heard but murmurings and complaints.

As matters stood, the English thought it hard to sit still and not endeavour to shake off a foreign yoke, which seemed to them insupportable. The insurrection began in the western parts, where the inhabitants of Exeter refused to take their oath to the king and admit a Norman garrison. William, sensible of what importance it was to put a stop to this evil before it spread any further, marched in the midst of winter to reduce Exeter to obedience. Upon his approach, he was met by some of the principal citizens, to petition him for pardon in the name of the corporation, and give him hostages. But, whilst the deputies were with the king, the ordinary sort of townsmen being superior disapproved of their proceedings, and resolved to stand upon their defence. Githa, mother to king Harold, who was then in the city, encouraged the inhabitants in their resolution, and probably was the person that put them upon it.

Meantime, the king being too far advanced to retire with honour, found himself obliged to besiege the town in form. The approaches being made, and the battering engines beginning to play, the citizens saw no other remedy but to implore the king's mercy. How much soever the king was bent to make an example of them, he yielded to the entreaties of the clergy, who were very urgent for their pardon. Githa had the good fortune to escape into Flanders with a great quantity of money. To prevent a second insurrection, William ordered a castle to be built in the city, and left it to the care and management of Baldwin, son of earl Gilbert, with a Norman garrison.

The king could no longer delay the payment of his debts, and the rewards, so often promised to his troops. The sums raised by the late tax of Dane-gelt, which at first were designed for this use, had been paid into the king's treasury, and he could not bear the thoughts of parting with the money again. He believed it absolutely necessary to have a reserve upon any sudden occasion; especially as the discontents of the English gave him room to dread a general revolt. Therefore, without meddling with that money, other means were to be used. Commissioners were sent into all the counties, to inquire who sided with Harold, and to confiscate their estates.

The English loudly exclaimed against this unjust inquiry. They alleged, when they took arms for Harold, that that prince was in actual possession of the throne, having been elected at a time when William's pretensions to the crown were even unknown. That before the battle of Hastings, they had never taken their oath to the duke of Normandy, and consequently their estates could not be liable to confiscation for bearing arms against him; that besides, supposing they were guilty, they had made ample amends for their fault by a ready submission, which the king had accepted, and even promised to protect them in their rights and privileges. These reasons were strong; but on this occasion, the king acted with a view to politics rather than justice. He wanted a plausible pretence to raise money, and withal to put it out of their power to hurt him, by depriving them of their estates. This was one of the most remarkable events of this reign, as the

confiscated lands passed into the hands of the Normans and other foreigners, who thereby became more considerable in England than the English themselves. From these descended many noble families now in being. These confiscations were of great service to the king; first, as they enabled him to pay his debts, and reward his followers; secondly, as they gave him an opportunity of filling the counties with such as were devoted to him, and whose interest it was to support him on the throne.

Whilst the king was thus guarding against the English, he daily forfeited their esteem and affection, which naturally led them to devise means for the recovery of their estates. Edwin, earl of Chester, one of the most considerable among them, thought it his duty to attempt the restoring of the almost desperate affairs of his country. The king had amused him with hopes of one of his daughters; but there was no likelihood he intended to perform his word. On the contrary, the king seemed to want only some pretence to involve him in the same ruin with the rest. Morcar his brother, earl of Northumberland, readily engaged in the plot.

As these two lords had a great interest in the kingdom, they soon raised an army which was reinforced by Blethwin king of Wales their nephew, with a good number of troops[6]. The king had reason to fear this revolt would become general, unless he timely opposed its beginnings. Accordingly he drew his forces together with the utmost expedition, before the evil spread any farther. In his march towards the rebels, he fortified the castle of Warwick, and made Henry de Beaumont governor, who was also the first earl of Warwick. At the same time he built likewise Nottingham castle, to secure a retreat in case of necessity. Having taken these precautions, he continued his march towards the north, to engage the rebels, or besiege York, which had sided with them.

The two earls hoping the rest of the kingdom would follow the example of the north, were very much deceived in their expectations. The king's great diligence, and the superiority of his forces breaking all their measures, they found themselves unable to resist him. In this extremity, they submitted to the king's mercy. How much soever the king might be incensed, he very readily pardoned them, with a view to reclaim the English by this act of clemency. He pursued however his march towards York, the inhabitants whereof, little able to sustain the burden of the war alone, came out to meet him, and delivered up the keys of their city. By this submission they were pardoned as to corporal punishments; but were forced to pay a large fine, and had the mortification to see a castle built in their city, and garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

Archil, a Northumbrian lord, who had been concerned-in the revolt, was also received into favour upon delivering his son in hostage. Egelwin bishop of Durham made his peace upon the same account.

The king's clemency to the heads of the rebels might have had a good effect, if at the same time that he pardoned some, he had not punished others who were much less guilty. He ordered great numbers to be shut up in prison, who had no hand at all in the late insurrection, and thereby gave occasion to think, the mercy shewn to the leaders was only a strain of his policy. This conduct spread terror throughout the kingdom, which was still increased, when castles were seen building at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, which were evidently designed to keep the English in awe.

Morcar and the other Northumbrian lords, dreading their punishment was only deferred till a more convenient season, retired into Scotland. Earl Gospatric was under the same apprehensions, and instilled them into prince Edgar, who, by his advice, fled to the court of Scotland, with his mother and sisters[7]. Malcolm Canmore, who was then on the throne, received them with the respect due to their rank, and considering their birth rather than their fortune, married soon after Margaret, Edgar's eldest sister. From this marriage sprung Matilda, grandmother to Henry II. king of England, in whose person the Saxon and Norman royal families were united.

AD 1069] The king was not sorry to see himself thus rid of secret enemies, but the flight of these lords discovering how the English stood affected towards him, he resolved to take all possible. measures to screen himself from their resentment. For that purpose he took two precautions. The first was to take away their arms[8]; the second, to forbid them any lights in their houses after eight o'clock; at which hour a bell was rung to warn them to put out their fire and candle, under the penalty of a great fine for every offence.

The sound of this bell, called the curfew[9], was for a long while very grating in the ears of the English. When they reflected on the sweets of liberty, enjoyed under their ancient kings, they could not without extreme grief behold themselves reduced to such slavery. If this order was not most punctually observed, they were sure to be immediately punished as if guilty of some heinous. crime. This bell, therefore, was as a signal, which, being repeated every day, constantly put them in mind of their slavery.

Whilst the king was thus guarding against the secret practices of his subjects, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, sons of Harold, made a descent in Somersetshire. The only opposition, they met with, was from Ednoth, formerly master of the horse to the king their father, who was willing to give king William a proof of his fidelity by encountering these princes. His zeal for the new king proved fatal to him, for he was slain in the battle; after which they retired laden with booty.

If the historians on the side of the English may be credited, England was then in a pitiable state. The Normans, supported by the king's favour and protection, daily committed outrages upon the English, for which these last could expect no redress. Others, more friends to, the Normans than the English, assure us, the English, vexed that the king's measures should put it out of their power to shake off a yoke which they bore with extreme impatience, found fault with the Normans in general. They add, scarcely a day passed but the dead bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the woods or highways, without any possibility of discovering the authors of these murders, so firmly did the English stand by each other. In all appearance, the king was persuaded, the English were wholly to blame, since he published a severe edict, ordering, that when a Norman should be slain or robbed, the hundred where the act was done should be responsible for the crime, and pay a large fine.

About this time, many of the Normans desired leave to return home; and the king readily granted their request, paying the arrears due to them, and rewarding them beyond their expectation. All this was done at the expense of the English.

The turbulent temper of the Northumbrians, and the neighbourhood of Scotland, creating some dread in the king, he resolved to appoint them for governor, Robert Cumin, a Norman lord, whose rough disposition seemed proper to tame their fierceness. They heard this news just as a project of calling in the Danes was about to be executed. Some of them who had taken refuge in Denmark had persuaded king Sweyn, he might easily conquer England. Whereupon Sweyn fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, which was ready to put to sea when Cumin, with seven hundred Normans, came and took possession of his government. As his arrival might prove very prejudicial to the designs formed in the north, the principal contrivers of the plot resolved to rid themselves of so troublesome an inspector, with his attendants. He had notice of their intent, but he thought it so little in their power to hurt him, that he neglected the intelligence.

Meantime the conspirators, privately drawing some troops together, came to Durham, where Cumin lay in a careless manner, and put him and Norman his followers all to the sword. Presently after arrived the Danish fleet under the command of Osbern, brother to the king of Denmark. Upon news whereof all the malcontents went and joined the Danish general, who had now landed his. troops. Edgar Atheling, Gospatric, Merlesweyn, and all the other lords who had retired into Scotland; brought him reinforcements, which rendered his army very formidable. As all Northumberland was for the Danes, and the king had not in those parts any forces capable of withstanding so numerous an army, Osbern marched directly to York.

The Norman garrison, upon the approach of the Danes, resolved to hold out to the last extremity, not doubting but the king would come to their relief with all possible expedition. In this expectation, they set fire to the suburbs at the foot of the castle, that the houses might not be of service to the besiegers. But the fire spreading farther than was designed, a great part of the city was reduced to ashes The cathedral-church, the monastery of St. Peter, and a famous library begun by archbishop Egbert about the year 800, entirely perished in the flames.

Meanwhile the Danes taking advantage of the confusion, caused by this accident, entered the city without opposition. As soon as they were masters of it they attacked the citadel so vigorously that they took it at the first assault, and put the garrison to the sword[10] After this, the Danish general understanding the king was preparing to march against him, went and encamped in an advantageous post, leaving in York earl Waltheoff with an English garrison.

The news of this invasion something shook the king's resolution. He was afraid the Danes were called in by a general combination. Possessed with this notion, he durst not quit the heart of the kingdom, for fear .his absence should give the rest of the malcontents an opportunity to rise. On the other hand, it was no less dangerous to neglect the affairs of the north, which might be attended with ill consequences. In this perplexity, he believed it advisable to endeavour to pacify the English. He recalled several whom he had banished; set others at liberty, and affected by some instances of severity to repress the insolence of the Normans. His fears being somewhat abated by the effects of these proceedings, he sent the queen and the princes into Normandy, and then marched against the Danes; He was so provoked with the Northumbrians, that he swore by God's splendour, he would not leave a soul alive. As soon as he entered Yorkshire, he began to execute his threats by terrible ravages.

Mean time the Danes kept their post, where he durst not attack them, well knowing, by hazarding a battle, he staked his all against little or nothing. To extricate himself out of this difficulty, he believed the best course he could take, would be to bribe the general by presents. For that purpose he sent private emissaries to offer him a round sum of money, with leave to plunder the county along the sea-coast, provided he would depart when winter was over. This negotiation succeeding to his wish, Osbern retired in the beginning of the spring, for which he was banished by the king his brother. The Danes being gone, the king marched to York to besiege the city[11], defended by an English and Scotch garrison, under the command of earl Waltheoff; who, by his courage and conduct, rendered the siege so long and difficult, that the king began to despair of success, when the want of provisions obliged the besieged to capitulate.

The king readily granted honourable terms to this brave governor. Not satisfied with shewing him this mark of his esteem, he also gave him in marriage his own niece, Judith, daughter to the countess of Albemarle. Some time after he made him also earl of Northampton, and Huntington, and lastly of Northumberland. He received likewise into favour earl Gospatric; but punished severely the rest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, laying a heavy fine upon the citizens of York.

As soon as the siege was over, and the king found it in his power to be revenged of the Northumbriaus, he ravaged their country in so merciless a manner, that for sixty miles together, between York and Durham, he did not leave a single house standing. He spared not even the churches and other public edifices. His pretence for thus laying the country waste was, to prevent a second Danish invasion. It is impossible to describe the miseries of the northern counties. The lands lying unfilled, and the houses being destroyed, people died in heaps, after having endeavoured to prolong a wretched life by eating of the most unclean animals, and sometimes even human flesh.

AD 1070] The step lately taken by the English in calling the Danes into the kingdom, thoroughly convinced the king, he should never be in peaceable possession of the crown till he had entirely put it out of their power to execute the projects formed against him. This made him resolve to

humble in such manner all that had any interest with the people, that they should not be able to make any considerable effort.

To accomplish his ends, he suddenly removed the English from such posts as gave them any power over their countrymen. After which he dispossessed them of all the baronies and the fiefs of the crown in general, and distributed them to the Normans and other foreigners who had followed him into England. But as these last were not so many in number as those that, were deprived of their estates, he was obliged to load them with benefits, in order to draw all the crown-lands out of the hands of the English.

We may be satisfied by the following instances, how profuse the king was in this distribution. Robert, his uterine brother, had the earldom of Cornwall, in which were two hundred and eighty-eight manors, besides five hundred and fifty-eight, which he possessed in other counties. Ode, bishop of Bayeux, his other brother, was made earl Palatine of Kent, and judiciary of England. This prelate had one hundred and eighty fiefs in Kent alone, and two hundred and fifty five in several other places.

William Fitz-Osbern was rewarded with the whole earldom of Hereford, and the Isle of Wight. Hugh Lupus of Almonches, the king's sister's son, was presented by his uncle with the county palatine of Chester, with all the royal prerogatives, to hold it in full sovereignty as the king himself held his crown. Alan Fergeant duke of Bretagne, the king's son-in-law, had all earl Edwin's estate, with the same privileges as were granted to the earl of Chester. Roger de Montgomery had first Arundel, Chichester, and afterwards Shropshire.

Walter Giffard had Buckinghamshire, and William Warner, the county of Surrey. Eudes, earl of Blois, was put in possession of the lordship of Holderness. Ralph de Guader, a Breton, was made earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and lord of Norwich. Henry de Ferrariis received Tutbury-castle. William, bishop of Constance, was possessed of two hundred and eighty fiefs, which he left at his death to Robert Mowbray his nephew.

It would be endless to mention all the donations granted by the king to the foreigners at the expense of the English. Those above-mentioned are sufficient to shew, that the intent of this profusion was chiefly to deprive the English of their estates. It may easily be conceived, the lords, to whom the king distributed so many estates, suffered none to hold of them but those of their own nation, Accordingly from that time, we hear no more of ealdormen or thanes, but of counts, or earls, viscounts, barons, vavassors, esquires, and other titles taken from the Norman or French tongue, which began to be introduced into England instead of the Saxon names.

So that England may be truly said to have become Norman. Perhaps even its old name would have been changed for that of Normandy, if some things, spoken of in the following reigns, had not made the Normans, settled in England, desirous of being considered as Englishmen, and even taking the name. From the foreigners, however, who were then put in possession of these lands, are derived a great part of the most eminent families this day in the kingdom.

It was not only the English nobility that were sufferers by the conqueror's new plan. The clergy met with no better quarter. The Saxon kings had granted to several bishops and abbots lands exempted from all military service, denouncing in their charters imprecations against such of their successors as should dare to violate these privileges. But William cancelled all these immunities; and church-lands, as well as the rest, were obliged to find, in time of war, a certain number of horsemen, notwithstanding the clauses in their ancient charters to the contrary. Such of the clergy as refused to comply, only gave the king what he wanted, a pretence to dispossess them and place foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quartered upon the monasteries, almost all his troops, and obliged the monks to find them in necessaries. By this means, he kept his army without any charge, and had spies in all the religious houses.

Some of his emissaries informing him that many persons had lodged their money and plate in the monasteries, he took occasion to order all the religious houses to be searched, and every thing of value to be seized, on pretence it belonged to the rebels. Some historians affirm, he did not spare even the shrines of the saints and the consecrated vessels. The great credit of the bishops and abbots still making him uneasy, he resolved to be rid of the most suspected. To proceed in the least blamable manner, he sent for two legates from Rome, who convened a council at Winchester, where every thing passed to his wish.

Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was degraded for intruding into the see, Robert his predecessor not having been canonically deposed. The same council also deposed Agelmer, bishop of East-Anglia, whose see was at Helmham. Ageiric, bishop of Selsey, and some others, whom the king did not like, were also sacrificed. As for others, against whom the council had nothing to allege, the king, by his sole authority, banished some the kingdom, and threw the rest into prison, without any legal proceedings.

After he was thus clear of all that gave him any uneasiness, he placed in their room Normans or other foreigners. He promoted Lanfranc an Italian, abbot of a monastery at Caen, to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Thomas, a canon to Bayeux, to that of York. Three of his chaplains were made bishops of Winchester, Helmham, and Selsey, and Norman abbots were placed in the monasteries, whence the English were removed.

The king's whole conduct demonstrating to the English that his design was to reduce them so low that they should never more be able to hold up their heads, some of the principal among them thought now was the time or never, to make a vigorous effort to prevent their utter ruin. Fretheric, abbot of St. Albans, was one of the most zealous to inspire his countrymen with this resolution, and by means of his interest and riches it was that a fresh combination was formed to drive the king and the Normans out of the kingdom.

Matters were carried on with that secrecy, that the conspirators suddenly drew an army together, before the king had any notice of it. This army growing very numerous, the abbot of St. Albans sent for Edgar Atheling out of Scotland, and put him at the head of the malcontents, by whom he was acknowledged for king, and. proclaimed in all the places they were masters of. This bold enterprise made the king extremely uneasy. He communicated his thoughts to Lanfranc, who advised him to deal more gently with the English; intimating the absolute necessity of a speedy negotiation with the revolters, lest the flame, already kindled, should overspread the whole kingdom. The king took his advice, and after many fair promises, found means to engage the heads of the malcontents in a conference at Berkhamstead. He calmly heard all their complaints, and promised to redress their grievances.

He even swore on the holy evangelists, to establish the ancient laws of the realm, which went under the name of Edward his benefactor. This condescension satisfying the malcontents, they returned to the army to dismiss their troops. But the king had not the least thought of keeping an oath, which he looked upon as extorted. Presently after, he ordered a great number of those that had taken up arms against him, to be apprehended, some of whom were put to death, and others banished or imprisoned. Upon this Edgar fled into Scotland, and the rest took refuge in Ireland, Denmark; and Norway. The abbot of St. Albans retired to the Isle of Ely, where he died with grief. As soon as the king heard of his death, he seized the goods of the monastery, and took from thence all the valuable effects.

AD 1071] The king's behaviour to the malcontents variously wrought on the minds of the English. Some, terrified by his severity, resolved to endure all things, for fear of increasing their afflictions by, fruitless attempts. Others, not so passive, determined to try all ways to free themselves from a yoke they could no longer bear.

These retired to the Isle of Ely, where was a rich monastery, the abbot of which was their friend. This place, called an isle from its being Surrounded with a morass, was very strong, and seemed proper to shelter them from the king's rigours, when filled with a sufficient number of men to defend it. Edwin and Morcar joined them.

Some time after, Edwin resolving to go into Scotland, where he thought he might be more serviceable to his party, was murdered on the road by his own treacherous followers. Morcar his brother found in the Isle of Ely many persons of quality, with Egelwin and Walter, bishops of Durham and Hereford, all determined to oppose to their utmost the despotic power assumed by the king.

Their number being considerably increased by multitudes of malcontents flocking to them, they chose for their leader Hereward, nephew to the abbot of Peterborough, who was looked upon as the bravest and best soldier in the kingdom. He was banished in the reign of king Edward for some outrages committed in his neighbourhood, and retired into Flanders, where his valour gained him great reputation, and raised him to eminent posts. The death of his father obliging him to return into England, he found his estate given to a Norman. He demanded restitution; but, not obtaining it by a legal process, drove out the foreigner by force, and took possession. It was precisely at this juncture that, coming to Ely to avoid the king's resentment, he was chosen general by the malcontents.

Knowing whom he had to deal with, marched with all possible speed to attack him, in expectation to surprise him. But Hereward, had already taken care to oppose his entrance into the isle, by ordering a castle of wood to be run up in the morass, which could not be assaulted, and which defended the only passage to the besieged; In spite of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, the king was bent, upon a siege, or rather a blockade. With this view he built a bridge over the morass two miles in length, by means of which he deprived the besieged of all hopes of relief.

However, though he had now spent a great deal of time in the siege, he seemed very little the nearer, since the rebels had provided great store of provisions. This delay made him very uneasy, as well upon account of the affair in hand, as because it prevented him from marching against the king of Scotland, who had taken this opportunity to make an inroad into the northern counties. At length, when he began to despair of the success of his enterprise, a happy thought made him master of the place.

The monastery of Ely holding without the limits of the isle many manors, whence the greatest part of their revenues arose, the king was advised to seize them; in order to reduce the monks to obedience out of fear of losing them. He had no sooner put this advice in practice, and distributed the lands to his courtiers, but Thurstan the abbot, not, being able to withstand the clamours of the monks, sought means to recover their estates. With this:view, he privately sent and offered to put the king in possession of the isle of Ely with all that were in it, and pay him a thousand marks, on condition the seized lands were restored, to the monastery.

This offer was gladly accepted; and the malcontents were constrained by the abbot's treachery to submit to the king's mercy. Hereward alone escaped, having opened a way with his sword through the guards that defended a certain pass. Of those that were taken in the isle, some had their eves put out, or their hands cut off; others were shut up in divers prisons. Among these last were earl Morcar, with Egelwin bishop of Durham, who, having been so hardy as to excommunicate the king, was sent to Abington, and there starved to. death. The monks of Ely were likewise chastised, though they had taken all imaginable care to perform their capitulation. When they came to pay the stipulated sum, for the want of a groat only, they were forced to pay another thousand marks[12]. Moreover, the king quartered upon them forty knights, for whom they were obliged to find all necessaries.

Whilst the king was employed in the siege of Ely; Malcolm continued his ravages in the north, with a barbarity unworthy a Christian prince. Gospatric, who was then governor of Northumberland, not being strong enough to resist the king of Scotland, made an incursion into Cumberland, where he revenged on the Scots the calamities inflicted by their countrymen, on the English. This expedition served only to inflame the king of Scotland's resentment, who took occasion from thence to increase his ravages in Northumberland. As soon as the siege of Ely was over,[13] marched into Galloway.

Malcolm, who had retired into Scotland, endeavoured to prolong the war, in hopes, some new troubles, of which he might take advantage, would arise in England. The same reason obliged the king to put an end to it as soon as possible. The readiest way to succeed, as he thought, was to follow the Scots into the heart of their country, that the dread of a battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to a peace. This resolution procured him the expected advantage. Malcolm, unwilling to hazard a battle in his own kingdom, offering to accommodate matters by a treaty, he was of opinion, he ought immediately to end a war, which the circumstances of his affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. The bounds of the two kingdoms were accordingly settled, by the treaty, and Malcolm did homage.

The good reception which Malcolm gave all the English fugitives drew great numbers into his dominions, where some procured settlements which obliged them to continue there. From these are derived. several considerable families at this day in Scotland[14]. Among the chief of these refugees was earl Gospatric, who had been deprived of his government, under colour of his being concerned in the death of Cumin, though he had since that done the king signal services. He was succeeded by earl Waltheoff.

AD 1073] The French had afforded king William sufficient time to settle himself on the throne of England, without giving him the least molestation. He hoped, therefore, as they had not taken advantage of the late troubles in England, they would be still less inclined to disturb him, after the entire education of his English subjects. But on a sudden Philip's jealousy reviving, he could not bear to see the king of England in so prosperous a condition. He blamed himself for being so impolitic as not to assist the English malcontents; and resolving to retrieve his error, he suddenly invaded Normandy, without any declaration of war. Upon which, the king went over with an army chiefly consisting of English, not daring to carry his Norman troops out of the kingdom. With these forces, he retook Mans and all the province of Maine, which had lately revolted. Philip, not succeeding according to his expectation, soon grew weary of the war, and put an end to it by a peace.

Shortly after this treaty, prince Edgar, tired with living like a fugitive in a foreign country, came to the king, and submitted to his will. He met with a favourable reception, and was allowed a pound of silver a day. From that time he ever remained in obedience, without giving the king the least cause of uneasiness.

Whilst the king was in Normandy, Gregory VII the boldest and most enterprising Pope that ever sat in the papal chair, sent his nuncio to summon him to do him homage, pretending that England was a fief of the holy see, He demanded likewise the arrears of Peter Pence, which had not been paid for several years. William plainly told the nuncio, he held his crown only of God and his sword, and would not make it dependent on any person living. He even went further: for, upon the nuncio's daring to threaten him, he published an edict, forbidding all his subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he allowed of, and receive any orders from Rome without his leave.

This was to make Gregory sensible, who had then a competitor, how great a risk he run of being soured in his turn, if he persisted in his claims. As for the arrears of Peter-Pence, he promised to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the future. This firmness induced the Pope to desist from his pretensions.

AD 1074] The king's long stay in Normandy occasioned in England a fresh conspiracy, so much the more dangerous as the most considerable of the Norman lords were the contrivers. Ralph de Guader, a Breton, earl of Suffolk, and Roger de Bretevil earl of Hereford, resolving to unite their two families by the marriage of Ralph with the sister of Roger, the king, for reasons unknown, put a stop to their proceedings.

The earls, who durst not complete the marriage whilst the king was in England, took the opportunity of his absence to accomplish their design. They made a splendid entertainment upon this occasion, to which were invited several persons of quality, and, among the rest, earl Waltheoff. As they knew the king's temper, they formed at the same time the project of a conspiracy to depose him, perceiving no other way to avoid the effects of his anger.

The present occasion seeming favourable to draw their guests into their plot, as soon as they saw them heated with wine, they began to talk of the king, and dwelt upon such subjects as were most likely to exasperate them against him. They pretended to pity the English, who, from being always a free people, were now reduced to a shameful servitude. As for the Normans, they stirred them up with the consideration of the king's severe government, who by the excessive impositions laid on estates, took from them with one hand what he had given them with the other in fine, perceiving they were heard with pleasure, they openly declared, it was unworthy of persons of honour to be governed by a bastard who had usurped the two crowns he possessed. Their discourse had so sudden an effect upon men who in their cups thought nothing difficult, that with one consent they resolved to take arms and oppose the king's return.

Earl Waltheoff, warmed with wine like the rest, came into the plot without reflecting on the consequences. But on the morrow, the fumes of the liquor being dispersed, he considered more maturely, that he had embarked in an enterprise, which, instead of freeing the English from oppression, could not but increase their misery. Moreover, he considered, in case the conspirators were crushed, which was very probable, the vengeance would all fall on his head. He could not also forbear acknowledging, he was much indebted to the king, who not only pardoned him once before, but distinguished him by many favours from all his countrymen. He, therefore, ingenuously went to Lanfranc, and imparted to him all that had passed; alleged that his drinking too much permitted him not to reflect on what was proposed to him, and entreated him to intercede for his pardon. The archbishop commended his repentance; advised him to repair to the king, and inform him of all the circumstances; and even wrote to the king in his behalf. Waltheoff taking this advice, set out immediately, and threw himself at the king's feet, who received him kindly, and pardoned his imprudence.

The king was much alarmed at this news, and resolved to return into England. But his presence was not necessary. The conspiracy was stifled almost in its birth by the vigilance of the bishop of Bayeux the regent. The two earls had concerted their measures so ill, that they could not even join the forces each had assembled. So that Ralph de Guader found himself constrained to retire to Norwich castle, Where he was immediately besieged. As he despaired of pardon, in case he fell into the king's hands, he did not think fit to wait the issue of the siege; but, finding means to escape, fled into Denmark. After his departure, his countess defended the castle some time, but at length surrendered. She had liberty to follow the earl her husband, who had now procured a powerful aid from the king of Denmark to support the revolters. And indeed, soon after, a Danish fleet appeared on the coast of England, but not finding the English inclined to rise, sailed back immediately.

William on his return to England, was informed, there were still some remains of the conspiracy in the western counties. To prevent the fire from rekindling, he marched to those parts, and severely punished all whom he suspected to be concerned in the plot. Even earl Waltheoff was apprehended,[15] carried to Winchester, publicly beheaded and buried under the scaffold.

His riches are said to have been the principal occasion of his death. Others add, that Judith his wife did not a little contribute to his ruin, exasperating the king by false reports, that she might be at liberty to marry elsewhere. Be this as it will, the unhappy fate of this brave earl was universally lamented. Every one thought he was too severely dealt with for so slight a crime, even supposing he had not obtained his pardon. Some time after his body was removed to Croyland-abbey, where it was reported to work divers miracles. The abbot of Croyland, encouraging this belief, was turned out of his monastery, by the king's order, and Ingulphus, a monk of Fontevraud, was put in his room.

The precautions taken by the king, to remove from the English all thoughts of a revolt, rendering him easy, he went beyond sea, to be revenged of Ralph de Guader, who had retired to his city of Dol in Bretagne. Not satisfied with seizing all his estates in England, he resolved to deprive him also of his hereditary possessions. For that purpose, he laid siege to Dol, which, however, he could not take, the resistance of the besieged giving the king of France time to come to their relief. William missing his aim,[16] returned to England.

AD 1077] The king then enjoyed a tranquillity which seemed to promise a long continuance. Robert his eldest son, however, encouraged by the king of France, pretended that his father ought to resign Normandy to him, in pursuance of a positive promise made him, as he said, to that purpose[17]. Upon this pretension[18] he attempted to render himself master of the dukedom, and even treated very ill such as refused to own him for sovereign.

The king, surprised at this audaciousness, immediately drew an army together consisting entirely of English, and passed into Normandy. Robert was not deterred from his design by his arrival; but vigorously opposed his father, who saw himself forced to carry on the war in form. He happened one day to fall into an ambush, where he was obliged to expose his person. He distinguished himself so by his valour, that Robert, who knew him not, deeming him the most formidable of his enemies, assaulted him, and wounding him in the arm, dismounted him with his lance.

The king was in great danger of losing his life, if, by good fortune, Robert had not known him by some mark on his arms. Then the young prince, hastily alighting, raised him up, and set him on his own horse, to rescue him from the present danger. Meantime, the English troops being roughly handled by the Normans, the king was obliged to retreat in disorder. Robert's being likely to kill his father, made such an impression upon his mind, that, to shew the sincerity of his sorrow, he submitted entirely to his mercy.

But this generosity was not sufficient to recover the king's favour, who never after had any affection for him. It is even said, in the first emotions of his passion, he denounced his curse against him, which all the submissions of the young prince could not prevail with him to retract. At length he was reconciled, but carried him into England, on pretence to send him at the head of an army, against Scotland. Accordingly, next year[19] Robert was commissioned against the Scots, who had renewed the war.

He did nothing remarkable in this expedition, except founding the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, in the same place where the abbey of Monkcester stood, famous for the austerity of the monks. This war ended in a treaty between the two nations.

Before the army was disbanded, the king being desirous to make himself some amends for the charges in raising it, turned his arms against the Welsh, in order to chastise them for some incursions into his dominions. The Welsh princes finding themselves unable to withstand him, voluntarily submitted, and obliged themselves to pay an annual tribute to the crown of England. About this time William built the famous tower of London, to keep the citizens in awe, whose fidelity he had ever suspected. Some pretend, that this citadel was founded by Julius Car; but it

would be difficult to prove that Caesar was ever at London, and more so, that he undertook this work, of which he makes no mention in his commentaries.

The peace with Scotland, and the submission of the Welsh, introduced a state of tranquillity, which lasted some years. The king took the opportunity of this calm to settle the affairs of the kingdom. Since his accession to the crown, England had been in extreme confusion, by reason of divers alterations as well in the government, as in the laws and methods of administering justice. But this confusion was still increased with regard to the debts of private persons: The creditors imagined that they who were put in possession of the lands were to pay the debts of those that were turned out, and accordingly to them were they sent by the debtors.

But the possessors refused to meddle with matters, that were liable to so many frauds; and maintained, that the king granted them the lands free from all demands. Besides, the jurisprudence of the Normans being different from that of the English, there was no knowing how to proceed, the king not having yet determined any thing on that subject. If he had made any regulations it was in cases where his own advantage and interest were concerned.

William was never weary with inventing new clients to gratify his covetous temper: He ordered an exact survey to be taken of the lands; goods and chattels of all his subjects. This survey contained the number of acres in each man's estate; what he was wont to pay in the Saxon reigns, and how much he had been taxed of late years since the revolution.

Moreover what stock each had of horses; cattle, sheep; &c. How much ready money. in his house, what he owed, and what was owing to him. All this was set down in great order in a book called Doom's-day book; that is, the book of the Day of Judgment, apparently to denote that the means of the English were sifted in that book, as the actions of mankind will be at that great day. This general register, which some term the Great Terrier, or Land-Book of England; was laid up in the Exchequer or King's Treasury, to he consulted upon occasion; that is, as an historian expresses it, when it was required to know, of how much more wool the English flocks might be fleeced.

The king's strict orders to take this survey with all possible exactness, were punctually executed, the commissioners as well as private persons, having cause to dread an exemplary punishment, in case they used any fraud, or were guilty of the least connivance on this occasion[21].

We may easily conjecture, that this survey was not taken merely to satisfy the king's curiosity. The taxes laid afterwards upon almost all the effects of private persons, were a clear evidence that his intent was to leave the English no more than what was absolutely necessary for their subsistence.

This monarch, considering England as a conquered country, imagined himself proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom, and that the vanquished were to receive what he was pleased to leave them, as a signal favour. According to this rule, it is easy to see, his revenues were to be proportionate to the estates of the English, and his own avariciousness. Not to enter into a particular account of the several branches of his revenues[22], it will suffice to observe, that it amounted annually to four hundred thousand pounds pounds sterling, which sum, according to a moderate computation, was equal to six millions now.

Besides these settled revenues, he had a great many perquisites, as mulcts and fines, which were very frequent in those days. But what is farther remarkable in this matter is; that none of this money was employed in paying the army that was kept on foot. In the distribution of the lands taken from the English, the king had taken care to charge them with the maintenance of his troops. The new proprietors were very willing to accept of the estates upon that condition, since having no right, they were wholly indebted to his liberality for them. By this means, he maintained, without any manner of charge to him, threescore thousand men, ready to march upon the first notice. It is not at all strange, that he passed for the richest prince in his time, since his incomes vastly exceeded

the expense of his household, in which he spent but a small part of the yearly profits of the whole kingdom.

After the king had thus settled his revenues, he sought means to gratify another passion, Which was almost as strong as the former. This was his fondness for hunting, which caused him to commit a multitude of unjust acts. By these acts are not meant those severe laws he made on that account[23], though they were exceedingly rigorous. This does not properly distinguish him from many other princes, who look upon the breaches of the game laws as a most capital offence, and more readily pardon the killing of a man than a stag. What is here alluded to was the prodigious desolation William ordered to be made in Hampshire, by dispeopling the country for above thirty miles in compass, demolishing the churches and houses to make a forest for the habitation of wild beasts[24]. If we May believe certain historians, he did not make the owners of the lands or houses the least amends. This tract of land, called before Ytend, was afterwards termed the new-forest. It is remarkable, that two of his sons[25] and one of his grandsons lost their lives in this very forest.

The king's great affection for Normandy was another of his governing passions. Every thing practised there was, in his opinion, the pattern of perfection. Accordingly he endeavoured to abolish the Saxon laws, and establish .the Norman in their[26] room[27]. But the true motive was, because he had a mind to deprive the bishops of their share of the fines and mulcts.

He also[28] erected several courts before unknown to the English[29], and which were very incommodious to them. They were not only ignorant of the rules and practices of these courts; but, as they always attended the prince, the suitors were obliged to follow him wherever he went to prosecute their suits. Amongst these courts there was one, however, which became very advantageous to the people; since it was designed to moderate the rigour of the laws by equity: this was the Court of Exchequer[30].

William was not satisfied with obliging the English to try their causes in these courts, but forced them also to make use of the Norman language, and did all he could to abolish the English tongue. With this view it was he erected in all the cities and boroughs schools where Norman was taught, and obliged parents under heavy penalties to send their children thither. All public acts also were in Norman till Edward the Third's time[31].

AD 1082] Odo bishop of Bayeux, William's half-brother, after an abode of fifteen or sixteen years in England, thought-himself rich enough to purchase the papacy. To that end, he bought a stately palace at Rome, where he designed to reside and convey all his treasures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's death to put his design in execution. Meantime, as he was willing to conceal his intentions, he took the opportunity to begin his journey during the king his brother's absence in Normandy, and went to the Isle of Wight, where his ships lay ready for him. Contrary winds preventing him from embarking so soon as he expected, he was forced to remain some time in the isle. His stay there broke all his measures.

The king having intelligence of his design, came over with all speed, and surprised him just as he was going to sail. He ordered him-to be seized immediately. But finding fear and respect hindered his officers from doing their duty, he laid hands on him himself. In vain did the prelate plead the privileges of his order. The king told him, he seized him not as bishop, but. as earl of Kent, and commanded him to prison. This seizure was quickly followed with a confiscation of all his effects to the king's use, the prelate being convicted of numberless extortions and rapines[32]. In the year 1084, we meet with the death of queen Matilda[33] and the king's preparations against an invasion he was threatened with. The English, who had taken refuge in Denmark, persuaded king Canute that their countrymen waited only for an opportunity to throw off the Norman yoke. The present juncture seeming very favourable, he formed a project to conquer England, to which he had some pretensions, which being supported with force, appeared very plausible.

To this end he fitted out a fleet, consisting of above 1600 ships, and levied troops, whose numbers plainly shewed he had some great design in hand. Those preparations gave William some uneasiness. As he durst not confide in the English, he brought into the kingdom a numerous army of foreigners[34], and laid upon his subjects a tax of six shillings upon every hide of land, which was three times as much as Dane-gelt used to be. Whether Canute was diverted from his purpose by the preparations in England, or by some other unexpected affairs, he gave it over without making any attempt. The king, on his part, disbanded his army but the money, levied for their pay, was not restored. On the contrary, he imposed a new tax, on account of the order of knighthood, which he intended to confer on Henry his youngest son[35].

Edgar Atheling still subsisted entirely upon his pension from the king.[36] An historian even assures us, he was in some measure stupid. And for proof alleges that for a horse presented him by the king, he remitted the pension given him for his livelihood. This seems undeserving of credit. The ill state of his affairs, and perhaps the fear of falling a sacrifice to the king's suspicions, made him resolve to go into the east and bear arms against the infidels[37].

The king readily giving him leave, he set out attended with two hundred knights, who, having lost their estates in England, were willing to seek their fortune elsewhere. Having spent two years in the eastern parts, where he is said to have signalised himself by many brave actions, he returned to England, regardless of the estates and honours offered him by the emperor of Constantinople.

AD 1086] Edgar's departure freeing the king from all uneasiness on his account, every one imagined, that monarch would for, the future turn his thoughts to peace, to which he was a stranger almost from his birth. Besides, he was grown so corpulent and unwieldy, that a quiet life seemed absolutely necessary for him. But he was far from any such thought. Suddenly he made extraordinary preparations, which plainly shewed he was meditating some great undertaking. Philip, king of France, easily guessed this armament was designed against him. And indeed, quickly after, king William set out for Normandy, in order to make fierce war with France[38]. But Philip prevented the impending storm, by offering proposals, which were followed by a truce.

The king, whose corpulence was extremely troublesome to him, taking this opportunity to go through a course of physic, a jest of king Philip occasioned the breaking of the truce. This prince asking one that was come from Rouen, whether the king of England was delivered yet of his great belly? King William, being informed of it, sent him word[39], as soon as he was up again, he would come and offer in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris, ten thousand lances by way of wax lights[40]. His words were soon followed by deeds[41]; for marching in the very hottest time of the summer, he ravaged Le Vexin in a terrible manner, and then laid siege to Mantes.

He was so provoked, that after taking the city, he reduced it to ashes, without sparing the very churches, in one of which two hermits were burnt[42]. The warmth of the season, and the great fire, which he stood very near to see his orders executed, threw him into a fever, which interrupted his progress. This was attended with another accident, which proved fatal to him. Whilst he was on the road in his return to Rouen, leaping a ditch on horse-back, he so bruised the rim of his belly against the pummel of the saddle, that the violence of the blow greatly increased his fever.

After this accident, not being able to mount his horse, he was carried in a litter to Rouen. As soon as he found he was near his end, he began seriously to reflect on all the past actions of his life. He ordered large sums to he given to the poor and the churches, particularly for rebuilding those he had burnt at Mantes. He set at liberty all the prisoners, among whom were Morcar, Ulnoth, Roger, and Siward. Ulnoth, brother to king Harold, had been detained in prison in Normandy from his childhood, when he was given in hostage by earl Godwin to Edward the Confessor. it was much more difficult to obtain the like favour of the king for the bishop of Bayeux his brother, because he had sworn never to release him. However, he was prevailed upon by the importunities of the bishop's friends. His distemper, which daily increased, leaving him

no hopes of recovery, he ordered his principal officers to stand round his bed, and notwithstanding his weakness, made a long discourse, wherein he greatly extolled the reputation he had gained by his warlike actions.

Nevertheless, he could not forbear owning, he had unjustly usurped the crown of England, and was guilty of all the blood spilt upon that occasion. Adding, as he would not presume to bequeath a crown, which of right did not belong to him, he left it to God's disposal: but if he might have his wish, William, his second son, should wear it after him. In his will, which he made just before he died, he left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, not so much out of affection, as because he foresaw great obstacles in the execution of his will, should he have ordered it otherwise. Henry, his third son, had for share an annuity of five thousand marks, with all his mother's effects; this was all his portion.

Though the dying king left his crown to God's disposal, he did all that lay in his power to procure it for his second son. He wrote upon that subject to Lanfranc a very pressing letter, which he ordered his son William, even before his death, to carry himself. Having thus settled his temporal affairs, he caused himself to be removed to Hermentrude, a village near Rouen, that he might be more at liberty to think of his spiritual concerns. Here this prince ended his days on the 9th of September, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-two years in Normandy, and twenty-one in England. if some of his historians are to be credited, he expressed on his death bed a hearty sorrow for all the injuries he had done the English.

His body was removed to Caen without any ceremony, and deposited in the abbey-church, built by himself, where he had chosen to lie. Robert his eldest son, being then in Germany, and William in England, his youngest son Henry took care of his funeral. The corpse was but meanly attended for so great a prince, his principal officers having abandoned him before he expired, some to make their court to Robert, others to William.

An extraordinary adventure rendered the funeral of this monarch very remarkable. Just as they were going to lay him in his grave, Anselm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, stood up and forbade the burial in that place, claiming the ground as his inheritance, and alleging, the deceased had built the church upon it, without paying him for it. Whereupon, they were forced to stop, according to the laws of the country, in order to examine this pretension; which proving well grounded, Henry was obliged to make the gentleman satisfaction, and then the corpse was interred[43].

Thus lived and died William I sirnamed the Bastard and Conqueror. This prince's character is variously drawn by historians, according to the different lights in which they were pleased to view him. Some, considering him only as a conqueror of a great kingdom, extol him to the skies for his valour and prudence, and slightly pass over the rest of his actions. Others considering the same conquest as a usurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the means he made use of, to preserve it, scruple not to represent him as a tyrant. There was in this monarch a great mixture of good and bad qualities.

He was reckoned one of the wisest princes of his time. Ever vigilant and active, he shewed as great resolution in executing, as boldness in forming his designs. He saw danger at a distance, and generally endeavoured to prevent it. But when that could not be done, no man faced it with greater intrepidity. On the other hand, his extreme covetous temper, and partiality to his countrymen, led him to the commission of many things, which cannot be justified. In his younger years he was handsome and well proportioned. He had rather a stern and majestic, than a mild and pleasing countenance; however, he could sometimes put on such sweetness and gentleness in his looks, as were hardly to be resisted. His strength and vigour were such, that none but himself could bend his bow. According to some, he was much addicted to women in his youth; others tell us the contrary.

Some affirm, after he was married, he never gave his queen cause to be jealous. Others assure us, he kept for his mistress a clergyman's daughter, whom Matilda ordered to be ham-stringed. Be this as it will, after he was on the throne of England, hunting was observed to be his sole diversion. His household was perfectly well regulated: but his expenses were not answerable to his greatness and riches. Nevertheless, upon solemn occasions, he loved magnificence, and took a pleasure in appearing in all his grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crowned every year[44] at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, which he generally spent at Gloucester, Winchester, and Westminster. During these festivals he kept a splendid court, and was much more easy of access and liberal of his favours. The, great men of the kingdom were usually about him whilst these solemnities lasted; yet we can hardly believe it was in order to hold a Wittena-Gemot or Parliament, as some pretend[45].

King William had by Matilda, daughter to the earl of of Flanders, four sons and five daughters. Robert was duke of Normandy. Richard was killed by a stag in the New Forest, or as others say by a distemper caught in hunting of which he died in his father's life-time. William mounted the throne of England, and was succeeded by Henry his brother. Cicely his eldest daughter was abbess of the Holy-Trinity at Caen. Constance was married to Alan Fergeant duke of Bretagne. Adela was wife to Stephen earl of Blois, and by him had a son of the same name, afterward king of England. Adeliza, promised to Harold, died young. Alphonso king of Galicia married the fifth, whose name was Agatha. She is said to have remained a virgin after marriage; and, being entirely devoted to the service of God, spent her days in the constant exercise of prayer[46].

Notes to Chapter 1

1) From whence it is said came the word harlot.

2) She was his first cousin, being daughter to Eleonora Duke William's father's sister.

3) He marched in the first place to Rumney, where he revenged himself of the inhabitants for having killed some of his men, who by mistake landed at that place.

4) He reduced to his obedience, and wasted, the counties of Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire, and did not cease burning towns and killing men, till he came to Beckhamsted.

5) The next year after Easter. She was crowned on Whitsunday, 1068, by Aldred, archbishop of York,

6) Blethwin's or Bliden's father married Editha, Edwin's sister, after whose death she was married to Harold

7) He embarked, with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, in order to return into Hungary, his native place; but was driven by a storm into Scotland, where he staid. M. Paris. Brompt. Knighton.

8) From the French Couvre-feu or Cover-fire. It seems hardly fair to regard this as a mark of servitude of the English; for, in fact, it was a law or police, which William had previously established in Normandy.

9) In, the time of the Danes, when the body of an unknown person was found murdered, it was taken for granted it was a Dane, and the hundred paid the mulct. Thus William only revived an old custom, by changing the name of Dane into that of Norman.

10) More than three thousand Normans were killed. William Malet, the Vice-count, and his wife and children, with Gilbert de Gaunt, and some few others were spared.

11) But he took Oxford in his way, which had revolted against him, and soon reduced it. From Oxford he marched on by Nottingham towards York: when he came into Yorkshire he slew the greatest part of the people, and laid the country waste, and engaging the enemy at York, he put the strongest to flight, and destroyed all the rest with the sword.

12) According to some accounts, the original sum was only 700 marks, and they were only forced to pay three hundred more, to make it up one thousand; to raise which they were forced to sell their plate, to strip their images of the gold and silver they were covered with. Hector Boetius says that, in memory of this peace, there was a stone cross erected in the middle of the mountains of Stanemore in Yorkshire, which we call Rey-Cross, and the Scots Rey-cross, that is, Royal-cross, having the arms of both kings engraved on the several sides of it, which was for the future to serve as a boundary to the two kingdom's; the remains of which cross are still to be seen. Camden.

13) AD 1072.

14) Of those who came into Scotland at this time are derived the families of the Lindsays, Towers, Ramsays, Prestons, Sandilands, Bissets, Wardlaws, Maxwells, Fowllises, Lovells, &c. About the same time Came several people out of Hungary, at the request of queen Margaret, of whom were the sirnames of Crighton or (Chrichton) Fotheringham, Borthwick, and, Gaud. As also out of France and Normandy came the sirnames of Fraser, Sinclair (or St. Clair,) Boswell, Mowbray, Mountgomery, Campbell, Boise, Beton, Talziour, and Bothwell.

15) A. D. 1075.

16) A. D. 1076.

17) When the inhabitants of Mans submitted to duke William, one of the conditions was, that the county of Maine should be given to Robert; and king Philip made William likewise promise, immediately before his expedition into England, that he would leave the dukedom of Normandy to Robert: accordingly the great men and barons of Normandy did the young prince homage. But William meant, that he would leave it him after his death, and in case he were slain in his attempt upon England. Robert, thinking it long, could not forbear once to put his father in mind of his promise; but king William gave him no other answer, than, that he never used to strip till he went to bed.

18) He received an affront from his brothers William and Henry; upon which he repaired to Rouen, and attempted to seize the castle: but Roger d'Ivry the governor frustrated his design. In the mean time, William having been informed of the whole matter, hastened to Rouen; whence Robert escaping, began to make incursions in Upper Normandy; and to gather forces together, which daily increased by means of the supplies the king of France sent him underhand; and for the maintenance whereof his mother Matilda, who loved him better than the rest of her children, furnished him with money privately. Finding himself pursued by his father, he desired king Philip to give him some safe place to fly unto, and he granted him Gerberoi in Beauvoisin. Here his father attacked him, and in a sally that was made, Robert wounded him, &c.

19) A. D. 1078.

20) Gundulph bishop of Rochester was the chief surveyor of the building.

21) This survey was begun in the year 1080, and finished 1086. It was made by verdict or presentment of Juries, or certain persons sworn in every hundred, wapentake, or county, before commissioners, consisting of the greatest earls or bishops, who. enquired into, and described as well the possessions and customs of the king, as of his great men. They noted, what, and how much, arable land; pasture; meadow, and wood every man had, and what was the extent and

value of them in the time of Edward the Confessor, (expressed by the letters T. R. E. i.e. Tempore Regis Edwardi) and at the time of making the Survey. This Survey was made by counties, hundreds, towns or manors, hides, half-hides, virgates, and acres of land, meadow, pasture, and wood, Also they noted what mills and fisheries, and in some counties what and how many freemen; soemen, villains, bordars, servants, young. cattle, sheep, hogs, working horses, &c. in every town and manor, and who they belonged to. Always setting down the king's name first, then the bishops, abbots, and all the great men that held of the king in chief. All England (except Westmorland, Cumberland, and Northumberland;) was described, with part of Wales; and the description or survey written in two books, called the Great and Little Doomsday Book, now in the Exchequer. The little book contains only Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. This being the highest record in the kingdom; it was then, (and is to this day) a decisive evidence in any controversy in which there may be occasion to make use of it.

22) They are set down by Brady as follows: I. A Land-tax, called Hidage, which he found here before his arrival in the time of Edward the Confessor, or rather which he set up again. 2. Reliefs, or fines for giving the possession of hereditary fees, assignation of Dower out of the husband's estate, composition for licence to marry, and to have the wardship of heirs, or entrance upon farms due to him from all tenants in capita. Also penal fines, forfeitures of goods, and pecuniary mulcts for crimes, &c. Tolls and customs for passage and pontage, for liberty of buying and selling, excise, besides the ancient customs upon merchandize. 3. Crown-lands, being fourteen hundred and twenty two manors or lordships in several counties, besides abundance of farms and lands in Middlesex, Shropshire, Rutlandshire, in the last of which he had also a hundred and fifty pounds of rent in white money. To which finally add escheats and forfeitures.—In short, his revenue was so great, that Ordericus Vitalis says, it was reported to be one thousand and sixty pounds of sterling money, thirty shillings and a penny half-penny of the just rents and profits of England every day of the year, besides his gifts and presents, and pecuniary punishments, which if we reckon ten times as much now according to the rate of things in his time, his yearly revenue amounted to £3,874,497, 16s, 3d. But allowing it to be fifteen times as much now as then, as may very well be done, and not over-rate it, then his yearly income was £5,811,746. 14s. 4d. half-penny, besides free gifts, fines, and amerciaments for offences.

23) Namely, that whoever killed a Deer should have his eyes put out.

24) There were thirty six parish churches demolished. In this forest are now nine walks, and to every one a keeper, two rangers, a bow-bearer, and a lord-warden. Camden Add. to Hamp.

25) Richard his second son; William Rufus; and Richard son of Duke Robert.

26) A. D. 1079.

27) This is more than is advanced by the ancient historians; William had indeed the laws translated into French; but still these were the laws of the land, and the Statutes of the English kings. Sir Edward Coke says, king William I. liked the English law so well, that he caused it to be written in the Norman tongue, and established great part of it in Normandy. But there is no authority for this, it not being mentioned by any coeval historian or other writer, either of England or Normandy. It will not be amiss to insert here the observation or conjecture of a learned gentleman as related by Madox, p. 123. Hist. of Excheq. It seemed to him by the course of the English history, and otherwise, that after the Norman Conquest there ensued a great alteration in the old English laws; manners, and usages. Nevertheless, that alteration, with reference to the laws, was not completely brought about and settled till the reign of Henry II. The reign of William I. was mostly employed in quelling the discontents and insurrections of his English subjects, and in getting and securing to himself and his heirs, a full and fast possession of the regal and other revenues of England. The next king (viz. William II.) reigned under a title controllable by the just pretensions of his elder brother Robert; yet being a stately, resolute and subtle prince, partly by power, and partly by policy, he kept the English under the yoke, and continued to strengthen

himself in the new acquests, and to form the laws and. manners of this country after the Norman fashion. The next king (Henry I) was a mild book learned prince, and reigned likewise for several years under a disputed title: He continued; as far as his affairs would permit, to establish the Norman laws and customs, as William I. and William II. had done. In his time many of the Anglo-Norman lords, who had great estates in Normandy as well as in England, might probably be, and were inclinable to favour the title and interests of Robert earl of Normandy, which might give umbrage to king Henry, King Henry, to win the affections of the English natives; who made the bulk of the people, and thereby to check or balance the Angle-Norman lords, commanded a body of laws to be compiled, which were agreeable to the laws of the old English, or Anglo-Saxon kings, and called the laws of Henry I. However, these laws of Henry I. relate chiefly to criminal matters, and were never, for aught that appears, duly published, much less put in practice amongst the English. The reign of the next king (viz. Stephen) was nothing in effect but a state of war. Henry II the next successor, came to the crown by an undoubted title, and surpassed all his ancestors in power and extent of dominion; he was king of England, earl or duke of Normandy, lord of Ireland, Anjou, and the Aquitanic tract of land; insomuch that he was at that time the greatest king in Christendom. This prince did put the last or finishing hand to the Norman establishment, or in special to the alteration thereby made in the English laws; as will in some measure appear from these considerations following; namely, the Statutes or Constitutions of Clarendon, made in, or about, the eleventh year of Henry II. are, both for phrase and substance, more entirely Normannic than any laws or public acts from the Conquest to that time. And Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury, who was the first native Englishman that had been archbishop of that See, since the Conquest, opposed certain articles of those constitutions, as they were, in his opinion, prejudicial or derogatory to the supposed rights of the clergy, and to the old laws and usages of the English nation. The Norman laws and customs were settled by constant use during the reign of Henry II. and at the latter end of his reign Ranulf de Glanvil, a great man in the law, drew up a compendium of the laws of England, fitted for public use; which he probably did by the king's command; that it might serve as a code or system for the direction of such as dealt in law-proceedings; and this system of Glanvil's, is in effect nothing but a transcript of the Norman law. In fine, this Normannic model of laws continued, and was indeed firmly settled in England during the reigns of Henry II and his two sons Richard and John, and of the succeeding kings; abating the alterations that were made therein, at the end of the reign of .king John, in the reign of Henry III and in subsequent ages.

28) A. D. 1080.

29) The King's Court, and the Exchequer.

30) At, and sometimes after the Conquest, it does not appear that there was more than one supreme ordinary Court of Judicature, viz. Curia Regis, or the King's Court, which was always at the place of his residence. At his court, more especially at some solemnities of the year, the king held his great councils, and transacted affairs of great importance, attended by his great lords and barons. There coronations, &c. were celebrated there was placed the throne, a sovereign ordinary Court of Judicature, wherein justice was administered to the subjects: and there the affairs of the royal revenues were managed. To the king's Court belonged the following great officers. **1**: The Chief Justicier. He was next the king in power and authority, and in his absence governed the realm as Viceroy. If the king was not present in person, in Curia Regis, he was chief Judge both in criminal and civil causes. **II.** The Constable, or Constabularius Regis, or Angliæ. He was a high officer both in war and peace. This office was anciently hereditary. III. The Mareschal. This office was hereditary. As an officer in the King's Court he was to provide for the security of the King's person in his palace, to distribute lodgings there, to preserve peace and order in the king's household, and assist in determining controversies there, &c. **IV.** The Seneschal or Steward. This office was likewise hereditary. **V.** The Chamberlain, or Camerarius Regis. It may be observed, the great offices are' distinguished from the subordinate offices of the same name, by the epithet of Magistratus, or Magisterium. **VI**. The Chancellor, who was usually stiled Cancellarius Regis, to distinguish him from the inferior Chancellors of Dioceses,

&c. Little is said of his office. However, we find he was wont to supervise the charters to be sealed. by the king's seal, and likewise to supervise and seal the acts and precepts that issued in proceedings depending in Curia Regis. He was one of the king's prime counsellors.. **VII.** The treasurer. He was for the most part a prelate or ecclesiastical person. For some time after the Conquest, the Justicier used to do many acts, afterwards pertaining to the treasurer's office. The Curia Regis, where all the liege-men of the kingdom repaired for justice, was undoubtedly established in England by the Normans, there being no notice of any such court in the Anglo-Saxon times. All pleas or causes then were determined below in a plain manner, in the courts within the several counties, towns, or districts. And indeed at first there were but few causes reserved to the King's Courts after the Conquest, till the Norman lords who were possessed of large seigneuries, carried it with so high a hand towards their vassals and neighbours, that the latter could not have right done them in the ordinary way, and so were constrained to seek for justice in the King's Court. And this was likewise done when contentions arose between the great lords themselves. However, few or no causes were brought thither without permission, and the party's making fine to the crown to have his plea in Curia Regis. These were sometimes called Oblate, or voluntary fines. When the pleas in the King's Court became very numerous, there were certain Justiciers appointed to go there so through the realm, to determine pleas and causes within several counties. These were vested with great authority. It is not known when these were first instituted: but they were new modelled, and their circuits appointed by Henry II. A branch. of the King's Court was the Exchequer. It was a sort of subaltern court, resembling in its model the Curia Regis. For in it presided and sat the great officers abovementioned, and sometimes the king himself. It was called Scaccarium, because a checquered cloth, figured like a chess-board, was wont to be laid on the table in the court. This court is thought to have been first instituted about the time of the Conquest: The great persons that assisted at this court were called Barones Scaccarii. To these were left the care and management of the crown revenue, &c. The chief Justicier let to farm the -king's manors, held pleas at the Exchequer, and made due allowances to the accomptants. The other great officers had likewise their part in affairs transacted at the Exchequer. As to causes, -the Exchequer at first was also a court having jurisdiction in common-pleas. Matters remained in this posture till the division of the King's Court, and separation of the common pleas from it.

31) Till the thirty-third of that king. As for pleadings in French, they were in. use only in the king's own court (now called the king's bench) or else in the exchequer; but in inferior courts in the country, where far the greater part of the law business of the kingdom was dispatched, it was otherwise. The ancientest law-books we have, viz. Glanvill, Bracton, and Fleta, are in Latin; the first that we can find in French being Breton, and Horn's Mirror of Justice, both. which were written in the time of Edward I when it became very much the fashion to write, not only our laws in French, but our very Parliament-rolls of Edward III. and great part of Richard lInd's reign in that language.

32) Odo had engaged Hugh earl of Chester, with a great many knights and other persons of quality, to attend him on his journey to Rome. He was sent prisoner to Normandy, and being set at liberty after the death of William 1 went along with duke Robert to Jerusalem, where he died at the siege of Antioch.

33) She died on the first of November, after a lingering illness; and was buried in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity near Caen, which she had founded.

34) Of French and Normans, which he quartered all about England; and ordered the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, viscounts, &c. to find them in provisions. He ordered at the same time the maritime places to be laid waste, that the enemy, at their first landing, might find no sustenance.

35) He was knighted in Whitsun week, at Westminster, where the king held his court. Soon after king William ordered the archbishops bishops, abbots, earls, barons, viscounts, *cum suis militibus*, to attend him at Salisbury, on the first of August, where he made them all swear fealty to him.

From thence he went into the Isle of Wight, in order to pass into Normandy; and whilst he lay there, he extorted a great sum of money from his subjects. He then went into Normandy.

36) A. D. 1085.

37) Along with Robert, earl Godwin's son. His sister Christina was, before this, veiled a nun in the monastery of Romsey in Hampshire.

38) He would have been, long before, revenged of the king of France, for assisting his son Robert, and exciting him to frequent revolts; if he had not been afraid of a civil war in Normandy, which might have been attended with another in England; both which would have found him more work than he could well have dispatched. But at last, in the year 1087, they came to blows. Robert was the occasion of it; for he revolted again, and retired to the king of France, who furnished him with troops, wherewith he ravaged Normandy.

39) Swearing by the resurrection and splendour of God, his usual oath.

40) Alluding to the custom of lying in women in those days, who were wont to offer lighted candles at their churching.

41) A. D. 1087.

42) Huntingdon and others say two nuns.

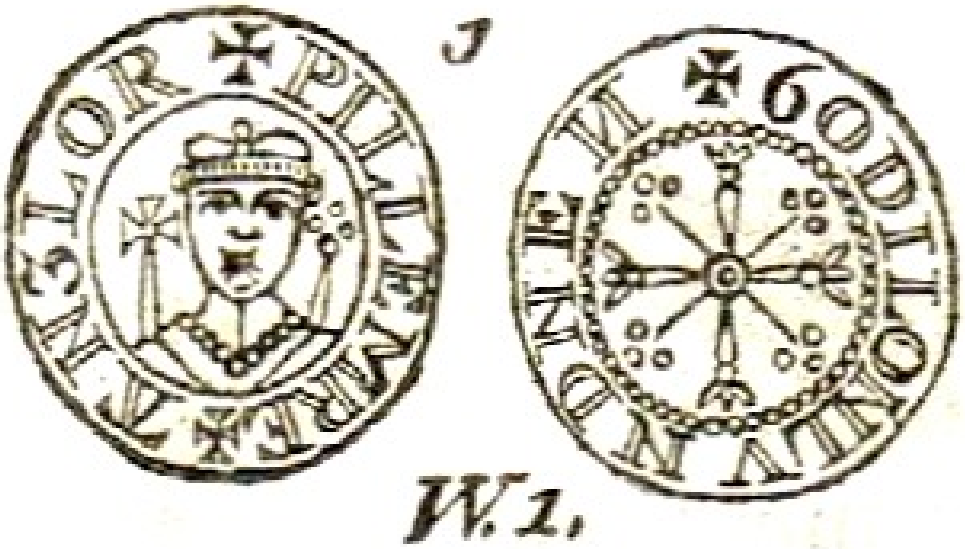
43) William Rufus caused a most stately monument to be erected for his father, before the high altar of St. Stephen's monastery, which was adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. This stately monument stood till the year 1562, and then Chastillon taking the city of Caen, certain soldiers opening it, and not finding the treasure they expected, broke it to pieces, and threw about William's bones; some whereof were afterwards brought into England. But the monks in the year 1642 in the place thereof, caused a plain altar tomb to be built.

44) He wore his crown; that is, kept his court, or great councils then.

45) And yet this is what Brady, who was no great friend to those assemblies, thinks fit to own. The conqueror, says he, commonly kept the Easter at Winchester, &c. as above, at which time were present in court all the temporal nobility, bishops, abbots, &c. through all England; so that at those festivals he could call a great council or synod, at a day's warning, and at those times were commonly held the great councils for all public affairs. The same is also confirmed by the late learned Mr. Madox. At his court, and more especially at some solemn times in the year, the king held his great councils, and ordinarily transacted such affairs as were of great importance, or required pomp and solemnity, according to the custom of the times. The baronage attending on his royal person made a considerable part. of his court. They were his homagers; they held their baronies of him; he was their sovereign or chief lord, and they were his men as to life, limb and earthly honour. With them the king consulted in weighty affairs, and did many solemn acts in their presence, and with their concurrence.

46) I. The justiciarii regis, or barons of the exchequer during the reign of William I. were: 1. Odo bishop of Bayeux. 2. William Fitz-Osbern. 3. Goisfrid bishop of Coûtance. The most remarkable occurrences in this reign, not mentioned by Rapin, are these: I. king William brought the Jews from Rouen to inhabit in England. 2. In his reign, or much about that time, sirnames came first to be used. 3. Trial by Battail was introduced into this kingdom. 4. The Normans brought in a new way of creating knights; and also the use of seals and witnesses in all deeds and instruments. Before that time, or at least before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the persons concerned only set down their names, with a cross before them. Lastly, the Normans brought in the shocking vice of common swearing. In the year 1076, there was an earthquake in

England; and a frost from the beginning of November, till the middle of April. In 1077. Aug. 14, there was a very great fire in London. And again in 1087, the greatest part of that city was burnt down (with St, Paul's cathedral;) as were also most of the chief towns in England.



As it is intended to give a short account of the coin in every reign, we here commence with observing, that, probably, the Britons never coined any money, but in Caesar's time used only iron rings and shapeless pieces of brass; and that even their tribute money was the ordinary current coin brought in or minted here by the Romans, as long as this island continued a province. For among the many thousand Roman coins, there was never one undoubted British coin yet produced, those of Cunobelin being liable to unanswerable objections. After the Saxons were settled in England, their silver coins were generally all of a size and ill minted, which they called pennies, worth about three-pence of our money. They had also half-pennies and farthings, (as appears from the Saxon Gospels,) and half-farthings, called sticas. Of which kind bishop Nicolson takes those brass pieces to be that were found some years since at Rippon Yorkshire, and communicated by Sir Edward Blacket the owner to several curious antiquaries. After the Norman conquest, a pound of gold being divided into twenty four carats, (or half ounces,) and every carat into-four grains, the old sterling, (as it was afterwards called,) or right standard of gold, consisted of twenty three carats, and three grains and a half of fine gold, and half a grain of alloy of copper or silver. Again, a pound of silver being divided into twelve ounces, and every ounce into twenty penny-weights, and every penny-weight into twenty-four grains, a pound weight of old sterling consisted then (as it does now) of eleven ounces two penny-weights of fine silver, and eighteen penny weights of alloy. The first eight kings after the Conquest continued to coin money much like their Saxon predecessors, only a little lighter; for of the Saxon pennies there are some at this day that weigh more than a penny-weight, whereas few of those of the Norman kings reach twenty-two grains till Edward I. when the English pennies were to weigh a penny-weight. The Normans also continued the like method with the Saxons as to inscriptions, having round the king's head his name and stile, which was very short, only REX or REX ANGL. and on the reverse the name of the mint-master and place of coinage. The coins of the Williams were very rare till a nest of them was accidentally found at York 1703-4. On their coins they both appear in a pearl diadem with L at each ear, and an arch cross the head, consequently they are impossible to be distinguished. Mr. Thoresby indeed ascribes those with a full face to the Conqueror, and those with the half face and sceptre to Rufus. The inscription on the conqueror's money is, WILLEM. WILLEMV. (mistaken by Dr. Nicolson for WILLEM or WILLEMVS. PILLEM. PILLEMV. PILLEVS. (P being the Saxon W) REX. REX. A. ANGL. ANGLO. or ANGL or reverse, a cross fleurée with four sceptres quarterly, or a cross with four pellets in each quarter, the name of the mint-master and place of mintage, as HEREFORD. LVNDEN. LOND. LVNDRE. LVNDR. for London; C for Canterbury; EO or EOFER for York; LINDCULN. EXETER. LEOYNC. for Lancaster; PINC. for Winchester; DEOTFORD for Thetford. See the coin in the

foregoing page, which hath on one side PILLEM REX ANGLOR. and on the reverse GODICON LUNDNEN.

St. Paul's Cathedral Burnt Down in 1087 & 1066

Chapter II
WILLIAM II Sirnamed Rufus

HILST the Conqueror was taken up in Normandy with the thoughts of dying, William his son was concerting in England all necessary measures to secure the crown, pursuant to his father's intention. Dispatch was so much the more necessary on this occasion, as he had reason to fear, in case his brother Robert could come in time, he would gain the people to his side; his business, therefore, was to secure the Normans to his interest, who, being possessed of all the fiefs and places in the kingdom, were properly to dispose of the future election.

However, the English were by no means to be neglected, lest joining to Robert's friends, they might turn the scale to his side. Meanwhile, young William was beloved by neither. The English thought him too like the king his father, and the Normans, who knew him still better, dreaded his rough temper. On the other hand, Robert had birthright to plead in his favour; whereas William could support his pretensions only by his father's bare desire of having him for successor. But this bare indication of his will, in all likelihood, would never have produced the effect, the dying king promised himself, if, before the news of his death reached England, care had not been taken to dispose men to a compliance.

It was with this view, be sent over his son with all speed, to endeavour, with Lanfranc and some other lords, to accomplish this project. Endo, high-treasurer, and Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, were very serviceable to young William on this occasion. The first had secured Dover, Winchester, Pevensey, Hastings, and other places on the south-coast. Moreover, he delivered to him the late king's treasures, which amounted to sixty thousand pounds in money, besides plate and jewels of a much greater value. Lanfranc, who was esteemed and beloved as well by the English as Normans, used all his credit in his favour.

His pains were crowned with such success, that in a little time he drew to his party the leading lords of both nations. To these were added other means, which helped to incline people to William's side, It was rumoured among the English, that this prince had made a firm resolution to govern in a very different manner from the king his father: that he would hearken to their just complaints, and abolish the too rigorous laws enacted since the revolution, particularly those laws relating to the game.

In short, it was promised in his name, that they should be restored to a part of their estates and to their ancient privileges. On the other hand; the Normans were told, the. best way to preserve their possessions, was to confirm the Conqueror's choice; that the young prince, being placed on the throne; would be led by his own interest to support them, since his and their rights would stand on the same foundation, namely, the will of the late king. Robert, being absent, had but few friends to speak for him. As it was uncertain, how he would behave, after his return, those that would have been inclined to favour him did not dare to declare for him openly. They foresaw the ill consequences of such a proceeding, in case he should not think fit to support them. Besides,

this party had no head, William had taken care to keep Ulnoth and Morcar in prison, notwithstanding his father's orders to the contrary, for fear they should head the English, whom he did not take for his friends. All these circumstances well managed by Lanfranc and other adherents to prince William, concurring to pave his way to the throne, he was crowned the 27th of September, eighteen days after his father's death[1].

This prince, sirnamed Rufus from being red-haired[2], was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne. The only good quality remarkable in him, was his great courage, which, however, was hardly to be distinguished from a brutish fierceness. He was of a very ill disposition, which being never corrected by education, frequently led him to actions unworthy a prince. Bred up to arms from his youth, and at a court where he continually beheld instances of severity and absolute power, he became a perfect brute in his behaviour and manners.

To these ill qualities he joined a great indifference for religion, and his whole conduct shewed him to be regardless of honour or honesty. He was as greedy of money as his father, but with this difference, the father heaped up money merely for the sake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the son loved it only to squander it away in vain expenses, in which he was guided more by caprice than reason.

However, in the beginning of his reign, as it was his interest to hide his inclinations for fear of alarming his subjects, he put on a mask. It was even observed with pleasure, that he affected to be guided by the counsels of Lanfranc, who was universally esteemed and beloved. It was chiefly the respect which he at first paid this wise counsellor, that filled the English with hopes of a happy change in their fortune, and prevented them from giving ear to the solicitations of those who would have engaged them in Robert's cause.

AD 1088] But whilst the confidence he placed in this prelate was serviceable to him with regard to the English, it occasioned such troubles from another quarter as shook him on his throne. Odo his uncle, bishop of Bayeux, who was lately released out of prison, could not bear to see Lanfranc in so great favour[3]

This enmity, joined to a desire of ruling again as he had done formerly, threw him upon the project of dethroning the king, and setting the crown on the head of Robert, who was lately returned to Normandy. As soon as he had taken this resolution, he drew into his plot some of the principal Norman lords. In order to confirm both English and Normans in the resolution, he represented to them, there was no living happily under the government of a capricious and brutish prince, without religion or honesty; that they had reason to dread the worst, if they gave him time to establish himself on the throne, and that should they delay to take proper measures to deliver themselves from the impending evils, it would perhaps be too late, when they had a mind to undertake it. He added, justice itself required the crown to given to the first-born, to which he had a lawful right, and of which he had not deserved to be deprived.

These considerations were strengthened With assurances of the uprightness and generosity of Robert. He set forth his mild and gracious disposition, which put them in hopes of enjoying, under his government, the tranquillity they so earnestly longed for.

Whether birthright had any weight with these lords, or William's ill temper made them wish for a new master, they readily came into the prelate's measures. Each promised to do his utmost to promote the design, provided Robert also would exert himself, and bring over supplies from Normandy. The Norman lords, who were in the conspiracy, bestirred themselves so effectually, that they quickly gained almost all the leading men of their nation. As soon as the bishop was secure of the assistance of his countrymen, whom he judged much more capable of serving Robert than the English, he sent that prince word, that nothing was wanting but his presence, with a body of Norman troops, to recover the crown usurped by his brother. The duke immediately subscribed to the proposal; but, as he had no money sufficient to defray the expenses of so great

an undertaking, he borrowed three thousand pounds of his brother Henry, for which he mortgaged to him the country of Cotentin[4]

He then sent his uncle word, he would not fail of coming to England, as soon as possible, desiring him to prepare every thing for the execution of their design. As soon as the Norman lords were certified of Robert's resolution they began to stir. The bishop of Constance, with his nephew Mowbray, made themselves masters of Bath and Berkley castle, and stored Bristol with ammunition, intending that place for their chief magazine. Roger Bigod in Norfolk, and Hugh Grantmenil in Leicestershire, seized several places. Roger de Montgomery, William Bishop of Durham, Bernard of Newark, Roger Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer, secured Worcestershire. Had Robert arrived at that time, probably he would have dethroned his brother; but his natural slothfulness, and unnecessary expenses, made him lose so fair an opportunity.

On the contrary, the king, who was of a quite different temper, omitted nothing to stifle the conspiracy, whilst his brother's indolence afforded him time. The most effectual means, he made use of, was the gaining. the English to his side, in which Lanfranc's interest was very serviceable to him. By his solicitations and pains he reclaimed the conspirators, and persuaded others to continue firm to the king. So that, in a very short space, William was enabled to send out a fleet, whilst with an army he marched against Odo his uncle, whom he justly considered as the ring leader of the rebels.

The prelate had fortified himself in Kent, where he had made himself master of Rochester and Pevensey. As soon as he heard of the king's approach, he shut himself up in Pevensey, where he was in hopes to hold out a siege, until the duke of Normandy should come to his relief. The town, however, was taken in about six weeks, by the furious assaults of the king. Odo could obtain his pardon upon no other terms but the procuring the surrender of Rochester, where the chief of the Norman lords were shut up, under the command of Eustace earl of Boulogne.

To this purpose he was conducted to the gates of Rochester, where he feigned to persuade the governor to deliver up the city. But, Eustace observing by his looks, that he did not speak from his heart, detained him prisoner, and so furnished him with a plausible excuse for the breach of his promise.

William next besieged Rochester; and a contagious distemper, which daily weakened the garrison, compelled them to desire a capitulation. Durham also surrendered. The bishop of Bayeux, reduced to a very low ebb, retired to the duke of Normandy, who committed to him the administration of his affairs. The siege of Rochester had furnished the duke with a fair opportunity to make a diversion in some other part of the kingdom; but, by an inexcusable negligence, he lost the advantage of so favourable a juncture. Thus this conspiracy was crushed.

As the English had shewed themselves ready to assist the king in his necessity, they expected a suitable reward. But it was not long before they perceived they flattered themselves in vain hopes. As soon as he saw himself well settled in the throne, he forgot his promises. He even began to oppress them with several impositions; in which he shewed still less moderation than the late king. He was gently admonished of these proceedings by Lanfranc, who could not forbear putting him in mind of what he had promised.

How careful soever this prelate might be to make use of the most respectful terms, William was extremely offended, and asked him in an angry tone, and with an oath, whether he thought it possible for a king to keep all his promises? From that time the archbishop was quite out of favour. But his disgrace was of no long continuance. He died quickly after, lamented by both nations. William now gave a loose to his natural desire of heaping up money in order to squander it away in a vain and extravagant manner. Avaricious without frugality, at once covetous and prodigal, continually scraping up money without ever filling his coffers, he was always in want,

and under a perpetual necessity of inventing new ways and means of raising money. One of his methods, never before practised in England, was to seize the vacant benefices.

He was not satisfied with having the first-fruits, but appropriated the whole profits to himself for several years together without filling them. And after conveying away every thing that was convertible into money, he sold them so pilled to such as bid highest, without regarding their merit or capacity. As soon as the archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant by Lanfranc's death, he seized the temporalities, and kept them in his hands four years. He did the same with the bishopric of Lincoln, and all others that became void in his reign.

These proceedings occasioned loud clamours among the clergy; but they were disregarded by the king. It was in vain that they carried their complaints to the Pope. The court of Rome, as matters then stood, durst not inter-meddle. The church was rent by a schism, wherein England was yet unengaged. Besides, Urban II. to whom the English clergy made application, was then projecting the recovery of the Holy-Land, in which enterprise he intended to engage all the princes of Christendom. It was not possible therefore for the Pope, nor consistent with his interest, to fall upon William at such a juncture.

AD 1090] Neither duty nor brotherly affection could balance in the king's mind the desire of becoming master of all his father's dominions. He no sooner saw himself settled on the throne of England, but he formed a design to conquer Normandy. Perhaps, to his avidity was added the desire of being revenged for the duke his brother's attempt to dethrone him. After making extraordinary preparations, the intent of which Robert never suspected, he made a descent in Normandy. He immediately became master of St. Valori, Albemarle, and some other places, whilst. Robert was unprovided with forces to oppose him.

The pressing necessity, the duke was in, of applying to a foreign power, obliged him to implore the protection of the king of France, who came in person to his assistance. But William, who understood how to use cunning as well as force, found means to make Philip his friend, and he retired without doing anything, leaving Robert exposed, as before. By the king of France's retreat, the duke's affairs were in a worse condition than ever. William took from him several other places, and bribed certain Burghers of Rouen, who promised to deliver the metropolis of Normandy into his hands[5].

Meantime, Robert was in great straits[6]. He had no other refuge than the assistance of Henry his youngest brother; but he had little reason to expect any favour from him. Henry was exasperated at the duke's taking possession of Cotentin without paying what he owed him, and was preparing to do himself justice by force. Nevertheless, Robert's promise to make him satisfaction as soon as the war was ended, disarmed him, and even engaged him in his quarrel. This aid came very seasonably; to free the duke from his present danger. Henry, hearing of the plot that was contriving at Rouen, suddenly entered the city, and seizing Conan chief of the conspirators, threw him headlong from a tower. By this bold action, he quashed the conspiracy, which, had it taken effect, would have robbed the duke of his capital, and, probably, of all his other dominions.

AD 1091] The. union of the two brothers, and the ill success of the Rouen conspiracy, put a stop to William's progress, who, quickly after, was obliged to conclude a peace with the duke. The articles of the treaty were, that Robert should deliver up to the king the country of Eu and the towns of Fescamp and Cherburgh, with all the places he had taken on the coast of Normandy. William on his part, obliged himself to assist him reducing the province of Maine which had revolted, to restore to the Normans all their confiscated estates in England, and to grant certain fiefs to his brother in the same kingdom. Lastly it was agreed, if either of the two brothers died without heirs, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. This treaty was solemnly sworn to by twelve barons on each side; and the brothers seemed perfectly reconciled.

But if these two princes were pleased, their younger brother was not so. He was not only omitted in this treaty, but found Robert by no means disposed to keep his word with him. Incensed at this treatment, he thought he might lawfully right himself some other way; and, on a sudden, surprised Mount St. Michael: This unexpected blow startled Robert, who not caring to leave a place of that importance in the hands of his brother, desired William's assistance to retake it. Though William had no concern in this affair, he readily accompanied Robert to the siege, or rather blockade of this place, situated on a rock, which the sea, by flowing round it twice a day, rendered inaccessible.

Whilst the two brothers lay before Mount St. Michael; William, as he was riding alone at some distance from the camp, chanced to see two horsemen coming from the town. As he was of an impetuous temper, he rode up to them to try to take one of them prisoner, that he might be informed of the state of the place. The soldiers, finding themselves attacked by a single person only, stood upon their defence, and in the first encounter his horse was killed under him, and himself thrown on the ground with his foot entangled in the stirrup. This accident would have cost him his life; if, the moment one of the soldiers was going to kill him; he had not cried out, Hold, rascal, I am the king of England, upon which, they were struck with fear and respect; and helping him up, gave him one of their horses. He nimbly leaped into the saddle, and then addressing himself to the person that dismounted him, Come, said he to him, thou shalt be my soldier for the future; and enjoy the reward of thy valour.

Though the siege went on but slowly. Henry was driven to great straits for want of water. However, as he knew Robert's good nature, he did not despair of some relief by representing to him, it would be more glorious to subdue him by arms than by thirst. Robert; who was naturally generous, sent him immediately tun of wine, with leave to supply himself with as much water as was necessary. William upbraiding him as guilty of folly in this complaisance, what, replied he, is the quarrel between us and our brother of that importance, that we should desire he should die with thirst?

We may have occasion for a brother hereafter: but where shall we find another when we have destroyed this? But William not at all pleased with this, as he thought, unseasonable generosity, quitted the siege and returned to England. However, Robert persisted, not withstanding all difficulties, to carry on the siege, until the place was surrendered upon terms. Henry, having liberty to go where he pleased, wandered up and down for some time without any fixed abode, attended only by a chaplain and three or four domestics.

About the same time Robert banished Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and William forbad his ever returning into England. The cause of his disgrace is unknown; it is only said, he retired into Scotland, his only refuge in his misfortunes.

Whilst William was employed in Normandy, Malcolm king of Scotland took advantage of his absence; to make an incursion into Northumberland, whence he had carried away a great booty. The Northern people loudly complained of the king's amusing himself beyond sea, whilst his frontiers were being plundering by foreigners. These complaints. apparently hastened his return, he was no sooner arrived, but he made great preparations to be revenged of the king of Scotland. But fearing his brother Robert, who was become master of Mount St. Michael, would take advantage of his absence and seize his castles in Normandy, he desired him to come and join him. He pretended, his valour and experience were absolutely necessary to put an honourable end to the war. But to engage him by a more powerful motive, he promised as soon as the affair was over, he would punctually perform his part of their late treaty. Robert being prevailed upon by his promise, and the good opinion the king his brother seemed to have of him, speedily repaired into England and attended him to Scotland.

The success of the war did not answer William's preparations. The greatest part of the fleet, fitted out to annoy the coasts of Scotland, was destroyed by a storm. His army suffered no less in

marching over the morasses and mountains. Malcolm, however, choosing rather to oblige William to leave Scotland by fair means, than venture to drive him thence by force, sent him proposals which being gladly accepted, were soon followed by treaty of peace.

The conditions were, that Malcolm should pay William the same homage his father had done: that twelve manors, held by him in England before the rupture, should be restored to him, and that William should pay him yearly twelve marks in lieu of all other claims. Prince Edgar, who was employed in this negotiation, behaving to the satisfaction of both parties, William and Robert received him into favour, and he had leave to return into England. The Duke of Normandy was in hopes, the war being over, that the king his brother would seriously think of satisfying him. But perceiving that he sought only to amuse him, he returned home in great anger, taking Prince Edgar with him.

Whilst William was in Scotland, Robert Fitz Hamon, gentleman of the bed-chamber, conquered Glamorganshire, in South Wales. He had served Jestin, lord of Glamorgan, against Rees king of Wales, on certain terms, which the Welsh lord refused to execute, after the war was ended. This breach of faith causing Fitz-Hamon to resolve to right himself by arms, he drew his friends together, attacked-Rees, slew him in the fight, and seized his country. Twelve knights, who accompanied him in his expedition, were rewarded, each with a manor, which they and their posterity enjoyed.

AD 1092] The next year, prince Henry took by surprise Domfront, a small town in Maine, whither he retired in expectation of better fortune.

The frequent irruptions of the Scots into the northern parts of England, convincing the king of the necessity of stopping their progress by a strong barrier, he ordered the city of Carlisle upon the Tyne to be rebuilt. This city which had been destroyed by the Danes, and lain two hundred years in ruins, was peopled again, and endowed with great privileges which it enjoys to this day.

AD 1093] This monarch was become so absolute, that he met with no opposition to his will. The people expected no remedy for their evils, but the death of the king, which they heartily prayed for in private. A distemper, which seized him at Gloucester, gave them hopes their prayers were going to be heard. The approach of death, which to the king himself seemed certain, and the exhortations of the bishops about him, induced some signs of repentance.

The bishops improving these good motions, admonished him to fill the vacant benefices. The condition he was in made him readily comply with whatever was desired. He nominated Robert Bloet, one of his counsellors, to the bishopric of Lincoln, and for archbishop of Canterbury, made choice of Anselm, abbot of Bee in Normandy, who was then at the English court. It was with great difficulty that Anselm was prevailed upon to accept of this dignity. He was a zealous asserter of the rights of the church, and as he knew William was not very scrupulous in these matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a burden, which seemed to him too weighty in such a Reign.

However the persuasions of the bishops, and seeming repentance of the king, brought him to a compliance. Before he was consecrated, he requested the king, to restore to the church of Canterbury all that belonged to it in Lanfranc's time; which was positively promised. Mean time, William finding he was out of danger, and perceiving he daily gathered strength, used delays, to avoid restoring the church-lands. At length, as the archbishop pressed him continually upon that subject, he frankly declared his intent was, that the persons to whom he had granted the lands should enjoy them, they and their posterity. He even told the archbishop, he expected his consent. But Anselm would never be brought to this compliance.

William, whose repentance proceeded entirely from the fear of death, finding himself perfectly recovered, forgot all his promises, and fell to his former courses. The prisoners, commanded to be freed, were, by his order, more closely confined, and those that had been set at liberty, were

again thrown into prison. Extortion, injustice, and rapine, were as prevalent as ever. The administration of justice was in the hands of such as took more care to enrich themselves, than discharge the duties of their respective offices: all were poor, but those who had the fingering of the public money.

To be in favour with the king, it was necessary to be without honour or conscience. None but informers met with encouragement. These disorders forced many honest men to resolve to quit the kingdom and seek elsewhere that tranquillity they could not find in their native country. But even this liberty, which they imagined they could not be abridged of, was denied them by an edict, forbidding all persons to go out of the kingdom without the king's leave.

Whilst England was in this wretched condition, Malcolm, king of Scotland, came to Gloucester, to settle some affairs that were left undetermined in the late treaty. The king sent him word, that he expected before all things, to receive his homage. Malcolm replied, he was ready to do it on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, according to custom. William, not satisfied with this answer, would have it done in Gloucester, the vassal not being to appoint where he was to do his homage. Malcolm, regarding this as a pretence to affront him, returned home without seeing the king.

He began his revenge with invading Northumberland, Robert de Mowbray was then Governor of the northern parts. He was a person of courage and conduct; and, finding the king's forces were too remote, took upon him speedily to remedy the evil his government was inflicted with. He drew together a body of troops with such diligence, that he fell on the Scots when they thought themselves most secure. This unexpected attack throwing the Scots into disorder and confusion, they ran away without making scarcely any resistance.

Malcolm, and Edward his eldest son, endeavouring to rally them, were both slain on the spot. This fatal battle was the occasion of numberless evils to Scotland shortly after. Malcolm had with him a general called Walter, to whom, in reward of his services, he had given the office of steward or great master of his household. From this officer sprang the family of the Stuarts, who long swayed the sceptre of Scotland, and for a century that of England[7]. Margaret, king Malcolm's queen, and sister of Edgar Atheling, survived the melancholy news of the death of her husband and son but three days. Though Malcolm left three other sons of fit age to govern, the Scots placed the crown on the head of Donald his brother. This prince was no sooner on the throne, but he expelled all the English out of the kingdom. Among whom was Edgar Atheling, who, taking with him the sons of Malcolm his nephews, retired into England.

The Scots delayed to take vengeance of their defeat only whilst they were employed in the coronation of their new king. Towards the end of the summer, Donald, at the head of his army, made an irruption into England,where he cruelly revenged Malcolm's death.

William then sent an army into the north under the command of Duncan, natural son of the late king of Scotland. At the approach of these forces, Donald hastily retired into his kingdom; but was so closely pursued that he could not avoid coming to a battle. As his army was much inferior to that of the English, he was defeated and forced to betake himself to one of the Hebrides. or western isles of Scotland. This misfortune throwing the Scots into great consternation, Duncan improved the juncture, and got himself crowned in the room of Donald.

About the same time, new troubles arising in Wales, the English army marched thither. This war proved fatal to the Welsh, who lost part of their country, with Rees their king-slain in battle[8].

AD 1094] The duke of Normandy, displeased that the late treaty was not executed, was now making -preparations, which made William apprehensive, he designed to retake the places yielded to him by the treaty. He resolved, therefore, to lead an army into Normandy to secure his fortresses, and make new conquests.

As he went to embark, he passed through Hastings, where he visited Battle Abbey, and caused the church to be consecrated, which was dedicated to St. Martin, as the king his father had ordered. Upon his arrival in Normandy, he wished to hold a conference with his brother, wherein he endeavoured to amuse him with fresh promises. This proving ineffectual, they agreed upon a second meeting in the presence of the twenty-four barons, who had sworn to the treaty.

William's aim was to intimidate these barons that they might lay the fault on his brother. But finding that, instead of blaming Robert, they openly declared in his favour, he broke off the conference and began hostilities. He immediately became master of some places, the governors whereof he had bribed. But afterwards,, Robert, receiving assistance from France, retook Argentan, and made the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, prisoners. After that, he besieged the castle of Holms, which surrendered at discretion.

These successes made William sensible, he should find it difficult to be clear of this war without loss, if the French troops continued in his brother's service. Having learnt by experience that Philip was not proof against presents, he resolved to try the same way that had formerly succeeded so well. But after the excessive taxes laid on the kingdom, it seemed impracticable to raise the sum he then wanted. However, under pretence that there was an urgent occasion for supplies, he sent orders into England to levy with all possible speed twenty thousand men. In raising this army, such were purposely taken for soldiers to whom it was very inconvenient to leave their families. When these levies were going to embark, the king's treasurer told them, by his order, that they might every man repair to his own home upon the payment of ten shillings each. By this means William raised the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, with which he bribed the French to retire.

The departure of the auxiliaries put Robert's affairs in a very bad state. Probably, it would have occasioned the loss of all his dominions, if the, king had not been obliged to return into England to quell the Welsh who were ravaging Shropshire and Chester. Never could a diversion come more unseasonably. He left Normandy therefore with extreme indignation, after a reconciliation with his brother Henry, who crossed the seas with him.

On his arrival in England, he marched into Wales, Where he rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, that had been demolished. At his approach, the Welsh retired to the mountains, where it was impossible to reach them. As that difficult country was unknown to him, he lost so many of his men in obstinately pursuing the enemy in their lurking holes, that he was at last compelled to retire without doing them much damage:

Robert de Mowbray had done the king signal service by his victory over the Scots. Inflated with this success, he imagined William could not sufficiently reward him: But the king, who had no generosity; expressed so little gratitude, that the earl's haughty spirit led him to devise means to make him repent of this contempt. Nothing. less would satisfy his revenge than the dethroning of William and setting the crown on the head of Stephen, earl of Albemarle, nephew to William the Conqueror.

He drew into this conspiracy a great number of lords. William received the first news of this conspiracy as he was again marching into Wales. But this war seeming to him of little importance in comparison of the gathering storm, he altered his course, and marched with all speed to the north. The conspirators foreseeing he would march that way, laid an ambush. for him, which he would have certainly fallen into, if Gilbert de Tunbridge, one of the rebels, had not given him notice of it. This stratagem failing, William continued his march, and besieged the castle of Bamborough where Mowbray was. This place, holding out longer than was expected, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade, that he might go in quest of the other conspirators. To this purpose, he built, near Bamborough, a fortress which he called Malvoisin, or bad neighbour, because it took away all possibility of throwing any succours into the castle. Some time after,

Mowbray going out upon false information, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the besiegers.

As soon as the king heard of it, he ordered the prisoner to be carried to the foot of Bamborough-walls and, in case the besieged refused to surrender, to have his eyes put out before their faces. This order producing the expected effect, the castle was surrendered upon terms, and Mowbray confined in Windsor Castle, where he remained a prisoner thirty years. His companions in the revolt met with no better treatment. Roger Lacy was dispossessed of all his lands, which were given to his brother Hugh.

Hugh earl of Chester redeemed his life with the sum of three thousand pounds sterling. The count of Eu chusing to vindicate his innocence in single combat against his accuser, and being overcome, was condemned to lose his eyes, and be castrated. William of Ardres accused of the same crime, was sentenced to be hanged though he protested his innocence with his last breath. All the rest were condemned to divers punishments, not one escaping.

The king was no sooner out of this trouble, than he fell into another, occasioned by the renewal of his differences with the archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate had presumed to acknowledge Urban II. for lawful Pope, though he well knew the king was rather inclined to Clement his antagonist. In vain was it represented to him, that by a law made in the late reign, no person was to acknowledge a Pope without the king's consent. This argument was of no force with him who pretended the king had no right to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs.

The king, not willing, to give way to his subjects, began to treat him a little roughly, and Anselm desired leave to go to Rome. William at first denied him, but at length consented. However, he sent an officer after him, who, overtaking him just as he was going to sail, ransacked. his baggage, and took away all the money he could find, pretending it was against the law to carry the coin out of the kingdom. After Anselm's departure the king seized the temporalities of the archbishopric, and enjoyed them as long as he lived. This prelate continued some time at Rome, where he did all that lay in his power to stir up the Pope against the king. But at length, finding Urban did not care to engage in his quarrel, he retired to a monastery at Lyons, where he remained till William's death.

AD 1096] Urban II. was then going to discover the grand design which he had been long revolving in his mind. This was. the famous Crusade, undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracens. It is here proper to remark, that after Mahomet had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabians under one head, they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes and being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government they made deep impression on the eastern empire, which was far in the decline. With regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerusalem, by its situation, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places, consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possession of the infidels.

But the Arabians or Saracens were so employed in military enterprises, by which they spread their empire in a few years from the banks of the Ganges to the Streights of Gibraltar, that they had no leisure for theological controversy: and though the Alcoran, the original monument of their faith, seems to contain some violent precepts, they were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the several articles of their religious system.

They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every man, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans or Turks, a tribe of Tartars, who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having in the year 1065,

made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusion attending their unsettled government exposed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions: and these zealots, returning from their meritorious fatigues and sufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation against the Infidels, who profaned the holy city by their presence, and derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion. Gregory VII. among the other vast ideas which he entertained, had formed the design of uniting all the western Christians against the Mahometans; but the egregious and violent invasions of that Pontiff on the civil power of princes, had created him so many enemies, and had rendered his schemes so suspicious, that he was not able to make great progress in this undertaking.

The work was reserved for a meaner instrument, whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with the prevailing principles of the times.

Peter, commonly called the hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of oppression under which the eastern Christians laboured, he entertained the bold, and, in all appearance, impracticable, project of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the west, armies sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations which now held the holy city in subjection.

He proposed his views to Urban II. who filled the papal chair, and who, though sensible of the advantages which the head of the Christian religion must reap from a religious war, and though he esteemed the blind zeal of Peter a proper means for effecting the purpose, resolved not to interpose his authority, till be saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Lacentia, which consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand seculars; and which was so numerous that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain.

The harangues of the Pope, and of Peter himself, representing the dismal situation of their brethren in the east, and the indignity suffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, here found the minds of men. so well prepared, that the whole multitude suddenly and violently declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform their service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God, and religion.

But though Italy seemed thus to have zealously embraced the enterprise, Urban knew, that, in order to ensure success, it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement; and having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates+ nobles, and princes; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, not moved by their preceding impressions, exclaimed with one voice, it is the will of God, it is the will of God! words deemed so memorable, and so much the result of a Divine influence that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers.

Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and an exterior symbol too, a circumstance of chief moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The sign of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the Pagan world, was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder, by all who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare. The heads of the Croises, or Crusaders, were, Hugh of France, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raimund of Toulouse count of St. Giles, Robert earl of Flanders, Baldwin earl of Hay vault, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, Tanered his nephew, and Robert duke of Normandy[9]. This

last burned with a desire of distinguishing himself in this war; but money was wanting to defray the necessary charge. The only means he had to supply this want was to borrow 10,000 marks of the king his brother, and give him Normandy for his security, for three years. William gladly received the proposal. But as his kingdom was exhausted by the great levies of money already raised, he was forced to recur to new methods. The readiest way, as he thought, was to desire the richest of his subjects, particularly the nobility and clergy, to furnish him with the sum required.

His request being equivalent to a command, the compulsion gave the lords a pretence to treat their vassals in the same manner, and oblige them to contribute to the king's wants. Several ecclesiastics not having by them what was demanded, were, or pretended to be, under a necessity of melting down the church-plate, and even the shrines of the saints[10].

As soon as Robert was gone, William taking possession of Normandy, demanded of the king of France the French Vexin[11], which he pretended belonged to the dukedom. This occasioned a war, which ended the next year in a treaty of peace.

In 1097, William made another unsuccessful attempt against Wales.—In 1098, a new revolution in Scotland, made him resolve to send an army thither under the command of Edgar Atheling. Donald, who was driven out of Scotland, finding means to re-enter, compelled Duncan to leave the kingdom, and establish himself on the throne. Edgar Atheling, however, by help of the English army, placed young Edgar his nephew on the throne of his ancestors.

About the middle of November, the revolt of the province of Maine obliged the king to go thither, and lay siege to the capital.

During his absence, Wales was again exposed to the insults of the English, or rather Normans, who began to be confounded with the English. Owen, a Welsh lord, father-in-law of Griffith and Cadagan, kings of Wales, having been disobliged by his sons-in-law, privately invited the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury into his country, promising them a great booty. The two earls levying some troops, were received by Owen into Wales, where they committed unspeakable cruelties.

The two kings, surprised by this unexpected attack, were forced to fly into Ireland, and leave the country to the mercy of the English. Their flight giving their enemies an opportunity to continue their march; they penetrated as far as the Isle of Anglesey, where they destroyed with fire and sword. Whilst they were exercising their cruelties, Magnus king of Norway, who had lately made himself master of the Isle of Man, advanced as far as Anglesey. As he offered to land, the English endeavoured to hinder him, and the earl of Shrewsbury was slain in the skirmish. His death was looked upon as a just judgment for the horrid barbarities committed by him in the isle. This accident causing some disorder among the English troops, they were constrained to abandon the shore.

Magnus landing in the island, and finding the English had left nothing to plunder, re-embarked, and the English retired laden with spoil. This was the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learned the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home.

AD 1098] These little advantages were not capable of balancing the evils the English suffered this year. Besides a great scarcity, occasioned by bad weather, which lasted several months, the king laid heavy taxes upon them, so much the more grievous, as the money was to be expended in works that were unnecessary, or at least might have been deferred to some other time. He not only rebuilt London Bridge, which had been carried away by an unusual flood, but chose this time of scarcity for other works; which required vast sums of money. He raised a new wall round the tower, and built a great hall at Westminster two hundred and seventy feet long and seventy broad. How spacious soever this hall was, William, at his return from Normandy, thought it too

little, and said it hardly deserved to be called a bed chamber, in comparison of the extent he designed it. It is affirmed, he undertook this building merely to raise money, and for the same reason resolved to pull it down and build it larger, but was prevented by other affairs.

AD 1099] About midsummer the next year, William, as he was hunting in New Forest, was told by a messenger that Helias, Count de la Flesche, had surprised and taken the city of Mans, and was then besieging the castle, which would soon be forced to surrender, if not timely relieved. This news obliging him to break off his sport, he sent the messenger that instant, ordering him to tell the besieged he would be with them in eight days.

At the same time, he turned his horse's head towards the sea-side, crying out, he that loves me, follow me, and arrived at Dartmouth that very day, where he would have embarked immediately, but the wind was so contrary, that the master of the ship represented to him, he could not put to sea without, manifest danger. Tush, replied the king, set forward, thou never yet heardst of a king being drowned: and compelling him to sail, he safely arrived at Barfleur. On the morrow he sent for the troops he had in Normandy, to attend him on the road to Mans, and in a few days marched to the relief of the besieged.

By this diligence, he surprised the besiegers in such a manner, that he not only relieved the castle, but took the count of Flesche prisoner. Exulting at his success, he could not forbear jesting on the misfortune of his enemy. But the count, far from being cast down at what had happened, fiercely replied, He had no reason to glory in an advantage which he had gained by surprise; adding, were he at liberty again; he would let him see, it would not be so easy a matter to vanquish him another time. The king, piqued with these bold words, set his prisoner free upon the spot, telling him, he desired no return, but exhorted him to do his worst. After this, he returned to England.

The same year the crusaders took Jerusalem by storm, and put forty thousand Saracens to the sword. When they came to elect a king to govern the country conquered upon the infidels, the majority of the leaders of the Christian army are reported to have given their votes for Robert duke of Normandy. But this prince, for reasons unknown; is said to have refused this dignity. Whereupon, the famous Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen, who, by his valour and conduct, had greatly contributed to the success of that expedition.

AD 1100] Having acquired the possession of Normandy by a happy chance; which he had no room to expect, an opportunity was put into William's hands of also becoming master of the Duchy of Guienne and earldom of Poitou. William earl of Poiton, animated by the example of so many princes engaged in the Holy War, resolved to join them, and lead a powerful reinforcement to the Croises. As this design could not be executed without great expense, he applied to the king of England for the sum he wanted, offering to mortgage his dominions for his security.

William, readily closing with so advantageous a proposal, speedily raised the money: He designed to carry it himself to the earl, that he might, at the same time, take possession of his dominions, consisting of Guienne and Poitou, two of the richest provinces of France. Whilst he was preparing for his voyage, he had a mind to take the diversion of hunting in New Forest, where an unforeseen death put an end to all his projects.

It is said, as the king was going to mount his horse he was told a certain monk had dreamt a dream which portended some great misfortune to him. As he gave but little heed to such presages, he answered jestingly; he plainly saw the monk wanted money, so ordered him a hundred shillings, but however sent him word to dream better dreams for the future[12]. Towards the evening, however, William having wounded a stag, was pursuing him full speed, when Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, shooting, at the same stag, pierced the king through the heart, and he fell down dead without speaking. Tyrrel, though innocent, fled, without any one endeavouring

to seize him. Every one was busy about the king, whose body was laid in a cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to Winchester, where it was buried the next day. Henry his brother, fearing the measures, which he had taken to secure the crown, might be retarded, dispatched the funeral as soon as possible, which was performed with little ceremony, no one lamenting the loss of a prince so little beloved.

Thus fell William Rufus on the second of August of the year 1100, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. His tragical death, in the very place where his brother and nephew perished by no less extraordinary accidents, gave occasion for many reflections.

This prince had all the vices of his father without his virtues. William I. balanced his faults, by a religious outside, a great chastity, and a commendable temperance. But his son appears to have been neither religious, nor chaste, nor temperate. He was profuse to his favourites and soldiers, and magnificent in his buildings and deaths.

If we may believe historians, he had neither honour, nor conscience, nor faith, nor religion, and he took a pride in appearing so. It is related that one day fifty English gentlemen, accused for hunting and killing the king's deer, having passed through the trial of the fire Ordeal untouched, he swore, He could not believe God was a just judge, since he protected such sort of people. Eadmer, who lived in his time, says, the king took money of the Jews at Rouen, to compel such as were baptized to return to Judaism[13]. Malmsbury adds, William ordered some bishops and rabies to meet together, and dispute. in his presence upon religion, promising the rabbles he would be circumcised, if their arguments seemed to him stronger than those of the Christians. Indeed, the historian says, it is to be supposed this promise was only in merriment. He is charged With denying a Providence, and maintaining that prayers addressed to saints were vain and impertinent.

But to judge impartially of the testimony of these historians, who were all either monks or ecclesiastics, it must be considered they may very possibly have drawn him in blacker colours than he deserved. For he was the first king of England that seized the church's revenues, without regarding the clamour of the clergy.

His ordinary revenues were probably the same with his father's. But as he ran into many more needless expenses, he often increased them by extraordinary impositions, which were very frequent in his reign. To these were added the profits of the vacant benefices, which brought him very large sums. At the time of his death, he had in his hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and twelve rich abbeys, besides many other benefices of less value.

When, after enjoying the incomes some years, he thought fit to dispose of the benefices, he never regarded the merit of the persons, but only the sum they bid for them. However, it is related, that one day two monks striving to out-bid one another for a rich abbey, he perceived a third standing by, of whom he demanded how much he would give?

The monk replied, he had no money, and, if he had, his conscience would not suffer him to lay it out in that manner; whereupon the king told him, swearing by St. Luke's face, his usual oath, that he best deserved and should have it for nothing. Ranulph Flambart, a man of mean birth, was his treasurer, and the contriver of most of the extraordinary ways practised by the king to extort money from his subjects. He was rewarded for his services with the bishopric of Durham, conferred on him by the king a little before his death. Among his charitable works are reckoned, the hospital he founded at York, and a church in Southwark for the use of the monks called de Charitate[14].

This prince was of a middle stature, but being very fat, looked shorter than he was. His hair a deep yellow, inclined to red; his eyes of two different colours, speckled with small black spots. He was generally of a very ruddy complexion. Though he was very far from being eloquent, he talked much, especially when angry. His countenance was severe, and his voice strong, which he would exalt sometimes on purpose to frighten those he was speaking to. He is said, however, to have conversed affably enough with his courtiers, who easily found the way to soften his fierce temper.

Historians relate several extraordinary accidents in this reign, as earthquakes[15], comets, and a spring which apparently ran blood three days together. But what caused the most damage was, first a great fire in 1092, which burnt down a great part of London. In the next place, the sea rising to an extraordinary height, overflowed the coast of Kent, and swept away abundance of people and cattle. This inundation covered the lands that belonged formerly to earl Godwin in the reign of Edward the Confessor. This place, called at this day Godwin's Sands, is famous for shipwrecks innumerable.

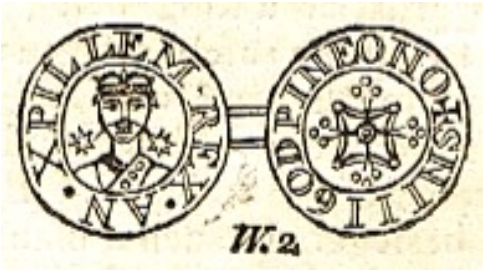
Malmsbury observes of the reign of William Rufus, that notwithstanding men's minds were turned to war, yet excess and sensuality prevailed in a very scandalous manner among the nobility, and even among the clergy. Vanity, lust, and intemperance, reigned every where, says that historian. The men appeared so effeminate in their dress and conversation, that they sheaved themselves men in nothing but their daily attempts upon the chastity of the women.

As there is but little to say of this king's coin, it may not be amiss to show how the king's revenue was paid in those ancient times. At first, the tenants of knight's fees answered to their lords by military services; and the tenants of socage lands and demesnes in great measure by work and provisions: afterwards, the revenue of the crown was answered in gold and silver, and sometime in Palfreys, Destriers, Chaseurs, Leveriers, Hawks, &c. (that is, in horses, dogs, and birds of game,) and the like. Sometimes in both together.

These payments were made ad Scalam and ad Pensum; and in blank silver and numero by tale. Ad Scalam was by paying sixpence over and above each pound or twenty shillings, which at first was thought sufficient to make good the weight. Ad Pensum was the person's making good the deficiencies of weight, though it was more than six pence per twenty shillings. But as the money might be deficient in fineness as well as weight, a third way of payment was by combustion, or melting down part of the money paid in, and reducing it to plate of due fineness. When the ferm was melted down, it was said to be dealbated or blanched.

As suppose a ferm of a hundred pounds was paid into the exchequer, after the combustion, it was said to be a hundred pounds blank. Frequently the twentieth part, or one shilling, was accepted in lieu of combustion, to save trouble and .charges. The payment by numero or tale needs no explanation. Payments, or at least computations, were made by marks, and half-marks; ounces, and half ounces of gold: and in pounds, marks, half-marks, shillings, pence of silver.

The mark of gold was equal to a hundred and twenty shillings of silver. The ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen shillings of silver. The pound of silver by tale was twenty shillings; the mark thirteen shillings and four-pence; and the shilling consisted of twelve pence; and a penny was the twentieth part of an ounce, equal to our three-pence.



The coins of William Rufus are exceedingly rare, if, as is believed, all those with the full face are to be ascribed to the Conqueror: However, several authors place one with the full face to this king, inscribed **PILLEM. REX. AN**. a cross on each side the king's head: reverse, a cross composed of double lines, as in the figure here annexed.

Notes to Chapter 2

1) After his coronation he went to Winchester, and distributed his father's treasure, according to his last will; viz. to some of the chief cathedral-churches and monasteries ten marks of gold a-piece, -to some six, and to others less, besides rich crosses, candlesticks, &c. and to smaller churches in the country five shillings a piece; he also sent a hundred pounds to each county to be distributed amongst the poor.

2) Or from his red complexion.

3) He was come over to England, and had been confirmed in the possession of his earldom of Kent.

4) The country of Cotentin was then the third part of Normandy.

5) William came over to England, and kept his court at Christmas at Westminster, grievously oppressing his subjects with taxes; and then at Candlemass went back to Normandy.

6) King William had come over with a great fleet, on purpose to deprive him entirely of Normandy.

7) Camden says, Malcolm made Walter steward of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and that he was son to Flean by Nesta daughter to Griffith ap Llewelin prince of North-Wales. Flean was the son of Banquo, slain by Macbeth.

8) From this time there Were no more princes in South-Wales but the kings of England were accounted their chief governors.

9) The chief head of the crusade was Adhemar bishop of Pui in France.

10) He took at that time four shillings upon every hide of land; from which the ecclesiastics themselves were not exempted.

11) The Norman Vexin is seated between the river Andelle and the river Epte. The French Vexin lies between Epte and the Oyse.

12) The monk dreamed that he saw the king gnaw a crucifix with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite off its legs, the image spurned him to the ground, and as he lay grovelling on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke. Malmsbury.

13) This story is thus related: young Jew being converted, as is said, by a vision of a saint, his father presented the king with sixty marks, entreating him to make his son return to his old religion. The king sent for the young man, and commanded him without more ado to turn Jew again; which he refused to do, and wondering, the king who was a Christian, should propose such a thing to him, he was told to be gone. The Father perceiving the king could do no good upon his son, desired to have his money again. Nay, said the king, I have, taken pains enough for it, however, that thou mayest see how kindly will use thee, thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou cannot in conscience deny me for my pains.

14) Also of an old monastery in the city of York, he founded an hospital for the support of poor persons, and dedicated it to St. Peter. This hospital was afterwards augmented by king Stephen, and by him dedicated to St. Leonard.

15) In the year 1089, followed by dearth. In 1091, there was also so terrible a storm at South-west, that it blew down above six hundred houses, and several churches in London. it took off the

whole roof of St. Mary le Bow church, and carried it a considerable distance. There were four beams in it twenty-six feet long, that fell with such force in one of the streets (which were not then paved, but a moorish ground,) that they sunk above twenty feet in the street. As they could not be pulled up again, people were forced to saw them even with the ground.

King William II

Chapter III
Henry - Sirnamed Beau-Clerk

HE English considered the death of William Rufus as a great deliverance. But the Norman yoke was not broken by the death of this prince, since there still remained two sons of William the Conqueror. Robert duke of Normandy, by his birth, seemed to have an incontestable right, which was further strengthened by his late treaty with William Rufus, wherein it was agreed that the survivor should be heir to all their father's inheritance. Besides, his mild and generous temper, which had gained him a strong party in England, seemed to give him a great advantage over his brother Henry, whose disposition was unknown. On the other hand, his slothfulness and negligence formed a disadvantageous prejudice against him. Even his friends were backward to declare in his favour, fearing he was not ready to prosecute his right.

His departure from the Holy Land was known, but where he was at present none could tell. On the contrary, Henry had the advantage of being born in England[1] whilst his father was on the throne. His pretensions were also strengthened with his presence, and by his positive promise both to the Normans and English to abrogate all rigorous laws made since the Conquest, to restore the government as in the time of the Saxon kings, to abolish all unjust and arbitrary taxes, to reinstate the clergy in their privileges, to fill the vacant benefices, and recall the banished ecclesiastics.

But all these promises would not perhaps have produced the effect he expected, if his diligence and vigour had not added weight to his reason, Immediately after the death of William he posted to Winchester where the crown and sceptre were kept with the royal treasure, and would have taken possession, but was stoutly opposed by William de Breteil, one of Robert's adherents. This lord alleged, they were both bound by oath to acknowledge the duke of Normandy for their king in case William died without heirs. That, besides, the law of nature gave Robert a right, which could not be justly disputed. During this contest, several other lords being come to Winchester, there was quickly a great concourse of people, flowing in from all parts to know what was transacting.

If the choice of a king had solely depended upon the lords, then at Winchester, the duke of Normandy's right would doubtless have been preserved. But Henry gave them not time to take necessary measures to execute such a design. As he observed the people were in his interest, he improved that advantage, and drawing his sword, swore, no man should take possession of the crown. The dispute still growing warmer, the lords that were present retired into a private room, to consult more calmly together what was to be done.

Whilst they were debating, the people made the name of Henry resound in their ears by their loud acclamations, and gave them reason to dread, it would be extremely dangerous to declare for Robert. So preferring their own safety to justice and equity, they resolved to place Henry on the throne. This was enough to satisfy the prince that his right was sufficiently established.

Without staying for the confirmation of the estates, he set out immediately for London. On the morrow after his arrival, Maurice bishop of that city, in consequence of this hasty and irregular election, put the crown on his head, administering to him the usual oath.

As Henry's pretended election interrupted the natural order of the succession, it was to be feared, it would make dangerous impressions on the minds of the people. It was, therefore, highly necessary he should enter upon his reign in such manner as might give his subjects room to hope well of his government. The performance of his promises being the test that was to demonstrate the sincerity of his intentions, he began his reign with that, in order to gain the people's affection. He set about, in the first place, reforming his court, where the king his brother had suffered many abuses to creep in.

The courtiers, for the most part, sure of impunity, were wont to tyrannize over the people in a shameful manner. Not content with oppressing them by unjust and violent methods, and secretly attempting the chastity of the women, they publicly gloried in it, instead of dreading a punishment. To cure these disorders, Henry published a very severe edict against offenders in general, but particularly against adulterers. As for those that abused their power, in oppressing the people, he ordered them to be put to death without mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that account, were driven from court, and Ranulph bishop of Durham, the detested minister of the late king, was thrown into prison.

To convince the people of his real intent to perform what he had promised, Henry next abolished the Curfew. This favour was followed by another of much greater importance; which was a charter, confirming divers privileges enjoyed under the Saxon kings, and renouncing all those unjust prerogatives usurped by the two late kings. By this charter, Henry restored the church to her ancient liberties, and freed her from all those oppressions, she had for some time been subject to, particularly during the vacant sees and abbeys.

He consented that the heirs of earls and barons, upon their death, should not be obliged to redeem their estates, but pay only a lawful relief. And at the same time required the lords to deal in like manner with their vassals. He agreed that the nobles might marry their daughters without asking the king's consent, provided it was not to the enemies of the state. He appointed the mothers, or nearest relations, guardians to minors. He made a standard for weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and ordained that coiners should be punished with loss of limbs, in fine, having granted a general pardon for all crimes committed before his coronation, and remitted all arrears and debts due to the crown; he added a very material article, which was no less satisfactory to the Normans than English, which was, the confirmation of the laws of king Edward, that is, of the laws in force during the empire of the Saxon kings, and entirely laid aside or expressly abolished since the Conquest.

The native English could not but be extremely well pleased to see their ancient laws restored. And the Normans were no less gainers by it. Hitherto they held their estates at the will of the Conqueror, consequently were liable to be dispossessed at his pleasure. But by this charter, which confined the royal authority within its ancient bounds, they were settled in their possessions, and screened from the violence of arbitrary power. This charter being approved and signed by the lords spiritual and temporal, several copies were transcribed and deposited in the principal monasteries to be consulted upon occasion[2].

This beginning of government gave the people room to hope a happy continuance: But still one thing was wanting to complete their satisfaction, namely, the recalling of Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, who had gained their esteem and affection, by his vigorous opposition to the late king's oppressions. Henry, unwilling to refuse them this pleasure, wrote a letter to the archbishop, who was still at Lyons, to invite him to return to his diocese; intimating withal, he designed to be guided by his directions, and entrust him with the administration of affairs. Anselm, to whom this news gave wings, immediately returned into England, to the great joy of the people.

The arrival of this prelate was no less agreeable to the king. He had need of him in an affair which could not be managed without his assistance. As his design was to attach the English to his interest, he believed nothing was more capable to gain their affection, than his marrying Matilda, daughter to Malcolm king of Scotland by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling. Indeed this alliance could not but be very grateful to the nation, since it would be the means of restoring the Saxon royal family to the crown.

Henry had demanded the princess of king Edgar her brother; but there occurred a great obstacle to the execution of this project. Matilda had been educated in England in the monastery at Wilton, where she had put on the veil. Indeed, it was alleged she had not taken the vow, and had been veiled only to preserve her chastity, supposed to be in danger in the beginning of the Conquest. But this reason did not appear to the two kings sufficient to authorise any farther proceedings, though they were both equally desirous of the match. The decision of this affair, which appeared so difficult, being left to the archbishop of Canterbury, he would not undertake it alone, but called in the assistance of a council; which met at his palace at Lambeth.

This assembly being entirely inclined to the king's side, the arguments for Matilda's liberty to marry were so well managed, that the council declared the intended marriage to be good and lawful. Pursuant to this declaration it was shortly after solemnized to the general satisfaction of both kingdoms.

AD 1101] Whilst these things were transacting, duke Robert had returned to Normandy, and had taken possession of his dominions without opposition. In his way home from the Holy Land, he made some stay in Apulia, where he married a wife[3], which delay helped his brother to rob him of the crown. he no sooner arrived, but he openly shewed his resentment at being supplanted, and a firm resolution to attempt the recovery of what he had been deprived of.

The bishop of Durham, who, finding means to escape out of prison, had retired into Normandy, did not a little contribute to confirm him in that design. Moreover, several Norman lords, who had consented to Henry's election by a sort of compulsion, began to contrive how to place Robert on the throne. They had already been tampering with some of the principal English lords, to draw them into their plot. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natured prince, they promised themselves much greater happiness under his government than under Henry's, who appeared to have more vigour and resolution.

Anselm's assistance was now of great use to Henry in fixing the English, who seemed to be wavering. The archbishop assembled the principal English and Norman lords, and so positively assured them, that the king would punctually perform all his promises, that they seemed well satisfied. Yet, no sooner was it known that the duke of Normandy was going to embark for England, but the greatest part of the nobles declared for him, and part of the fleet followed their example.

This defection gave the duke opportunity to land at Portsmouth, where he was received without opposition. He was not ignorant how the English stood affected. Such as came to him every day assured him of the good wishes of their countrymen. They made him hope, the king would quickly be deserted by the whole nation, who looked upon their oath of allegiance as involuntary. Meantime Henry took all the measures he thought requisite to frustrate the designs of his brother, by making use of Anselm's credit, in whom the people seemed much to confide.

As soon as the. army was ready to march, the archbishop came and called the principal officers together, to whom he so sensibly represented the heinousness of breaking their oath, that he confirmed them in their duty; so that they unanimously promised to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of the king[4] Robert, who expected the contrary, plainly saw this change would prove very prejudicial to his affairs. he relied not on his own forces, but on the assistance of the English. In expectation that the majority would abandon the king and join him, he had proceeded so far

as to threaten such as persisted to support the usurper, as he stiled his brother. But when he found the bulk of the nation declared for the king, and the army had just renewed their oath of allegiance, he perceived the execution of his design was impracticable.

Thus, falling suddenly from all his hopes, he closed immediately with the proposals of peace sent him by the king. The two brothers equally wishing to come to a treaty, the lords of both parties met to consider of the means. Robert did not expect to obtain by treaty a crown, which he could not acquire by arms; so, in consideration that Henry was already crowned, and born in the kingdom after his father was on the throne, the result of the conference was, that he should keep possession of the crown.

Henry promised to resign to Robert the castles in Normandy garrisoned with English, and to pay him the yearly sum of three thousand marks. It was stipulated also, that if one of the brothers. died without children, the other should succeed him. This agreement being signed and sworn to by twelve lords of each side, the armies were disbanded, and Robert staid two months at the court of England, living in perfect union with his brother.

AD 1102] This accommodation not only secured Henry the crown, which he was in some hazard of losing, but rendered him more feared and esteemed, when it was seen that by his prudence and steadiness, he got clear of so dangerous an affair. However, as he was apprehensive his enemies might hereafter make fresh attempts to dethrone him. Whenever an opportunity offered, he resolved to prevent them. It was no hard matter for him to make them feel, by turns, the effects of his resentment.

Soon after the treaty, he attacked, on divers pretences, Hugh de Grantmesnil, Robert de Pontfract, and some others, who easily perceived, their greatest crime consisted in their good-will to the duke of Normandy. He was particularly exasperated with Robert de Belesme, because he had shewn him the least respect, and still continued to discover his desire of exciting new troubles: This young lord, son to the late earl of Montgomery, publicly declared, Henry was an usurper, and that it was dishonourable for the Normans as well as the English to suffer him to take the crown from his elder brother.

He was not satisfied with talking thus indiscreetly, but rendered himself formidable, by storing and fortifying his castles in Shropshire. The king, who had determined his ruin, was glad he gave him so fair an opportunity by these imprudent proceedings. To complete his destruction, spies were set upon him, who, feigning to come into his measures, observed all his actions, and took care to talk to him, before suborned witnesses, of things that served to render him criminal. When the king thought he had sufficient evidence against him, he ordered him to be accused of five and forty articles, the least of which was enough to condemn him.

Belesme being ordered to appear in court, desired time to prepare his answer; which being granted, he took the opportunity to make his escape and retire to Shrewsbury, where he hoped to defend himself by the assistance of the Welsh, who espoused his cause. When he took this resolution, he relied on the assistance of several other lords, who seemed to be entirely of his sentiments. But whether he was deceived, or not deemed a fit person to be head of such an enterprise, he found himself abandoned by all; and thereby saw, though too late, the vanity of his projects.

The king proclaiming him a traitor, marched against him with so superior a force, that in a few days he became master of Shrewsbury, where the rebel did not dare to expect him. After which, he took all his other castles, and compelled him to relinquish whatever was held by the earl his father in England, and retire to Normandy. Henry confiscated all his lands, and involved his brothers in the same punishment, notwithstanding their innocence, so desirous was he of expelling this family out of his dominions.

AD 1103] The insolence of this lord did not give the king so much trouble, as the haughtiness of archbishop Anselm, with whom he had a contest that threw him into great perplexities. The archbishop had conceived two projects, which could not, in all likelihood, be accomplished without great difficulties. The first was, to oblige the clergy to live unmarried, and the second, to wrest from the king the investiture of bishops and abbots.

To attain his ends, he convened a synod, where, in the first place, he caused all the married priests to be excommunicated, though they were then very numerous in England. Henry, who was not much concerned in this affair, being unwilling to give the archbishop any distaste, the decree passed in the synod, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the inferior clergy, who in vain tried to ward off this blow.

Anselm seeing his first project succeed, undertook the execution of the second, and would have proceeded to excommunicate the bishops invested by the king. But here the king was too much concerned not to oppose to the utmost of his power the abolishing a prerogative his predecessors had quietly enjoyed. But how vigorously soever he exerted himself, he could not prevent some bishops, who had received their investitures from him, from resigning their bishoprics out of fear of excommunication. On the other hand, Anselm refused to consecrate such as were nominated to their sees by the king, unless he would give up the right of investiture.

This new claim, which the archbishop, finding himself supported by the court of Rome, very boldly asserted, occasioned a long continued quarrel between him and the king. As Henry would not depart from his prerogative, Anselm pretended he could not submit without betraying the cause of God. All hopes of accommodation being taken away by the obstinacy of both parties, the archbishop resolved to carry his complaints to Paschal II. who was then Pope.

He was attended on his journey by the prelates that had resigned their bishoprics, and upon his arrival at Rome instantly demanded of the Pope that he would be pleased to restore them by his authority: then, says an historian, the holy see, whose clemency is open to all the world, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling metal, restored the bishops, and sent them back to their respective churches. The king being informed that Anselm was gone to Rome, sent also three agents to plead his cause, namely, Gerard archbishop elect of York, Herbert bishop of Thetford, and Robert bishop of Chester, with William de Warelwast, an ecclesiastic of great learning, to assist them with his advice.

Though these agents maintained the king's cause with great zeal and resolution, Paschal would abate nothing of his pretensions. The affair was carried so far, that the king was going to be excommunicated. On the other hand, the archbishop was deprived of his temporalities, during his absence from the kingdom. At length, after many contests for near three years together, the king and pope happening to be in such circumstances, as made them equally wish to see an end of the quarrel; the Pope permitted the bishops to do homage to the king, and Henry gave up the right of investiture.

AD 1104] Though the king's contest with the court of Rome gave him much trouble whilst it lasted, it did not hinder him from minding his other affairs. Robert his brother, who was then in England[5], found by experience how attentive he was to whatever might turn to his advantage.

The reason of the duke of Normandy's visit was to press the payment of his pension. But Henry knowing his brother's mild and generous temper, so caressed him, and gave him such good words, that he insensibly drew him in to desist from his demands. This unseasonable generosity cost the imprudent duke very dear. We have already seen, in the beginning of the reign of William Rufus, how ill he consumed the money lent him by Henry, instead of employing it in keeping up his party in England. Afterwards, he borrowed ten thousand marks of king William for his voyage to the Holy-Land, This sum not sufficing to defray the great expense he was at, he contracted so many debts during the voyage, and since his return, that he was forced to mortgage

almost all his demesnes. He had nothing left but the city of Rouen, which he would have also mortgaged, if the burghers would have given their consent. His wants, which daily increased, soon made him sensible of his oversight in not insisting upon the pension he might justly demand of his brother. He complained, that his easy nature was abused; and, adding to his complaints some imprudent menaces, gave Henry a pretence openly to act against him.

It has been related, that Robert de Belesme, after the loss of his estates in England, retired into Normandy. He no sooner arrived there, but he endeavoured to be revenged on the king, by fiercely falling upon such of his subjects as had lands in that country. The duke's indolence rendered this lord the more fierce and presumptuous. He committed so many violences, that complaints were brought against him from every quarter.

At length Robert, roused by the people's murmurs, resolved to chastise him, and levied an army to put a stop to these disorders; but had the misfortune to be defeated. The rebel, exalted with this success, carrying his boldness and ambition still farther, formed a project of becoming master of the whole dukedom.

Whilst he was pursuing this design, he saw himself strengthened with the assistance of another malcontent lord: namely, William earl of Mortagne, son of duke Robert, the eldest of William the Conqueror's half-brothers. This lord not being satisfied with the earldom of Cornwall, pretended that the king ought to give him also the earldom of Kent, which his uncle the bishop of Bayeux had enjoyed. But meeting with an unexpected denial, his insolent behaviour caused the king to dispossess him even of the earldom of Cornwall, He consequently retired, in great discontent, into Normandy, where he joined Robert de Belesme, and so strengthened his party, that the duke was obliged to conclude a peace with them on terms very dishonourable to a sovereign prince.

AD 1105] This peace, instead of restoring tranquillity to the country, served only to increase the insolence of the two earls; who, contemning the duke's orders, continued daily to commit insupportable ravages. At length, some of the chief men of the country finding themselves thus oppressed, without any hopes of protection from the duke, resolved to apply to the king of England for relief.

Their suit was welcome to Henry, who only wanted a pretence to interpose in the affairs of Normandy, in order to have an opportunity of seizing the duchy. But as this design was in itself very odious, he first wrote a letter to his brother; and, afterwards, passing over into Normandy, he represented to him, that his conduct gave the Normans just cause of complaint, since he protected persons who ought to be deemed enemies to the public: that the peace, he had made with them, leaving the country exposed to their ravages, his subjects could no longer consider as their sovereign, a prince from whom they could expect no protection: he entreated him, therefore, to redress the grievances complained of by the Normans, or not think it strange, that upon his neglect, he should himself espouse the cause of those that applied to him. To these remonstrances, he added complaints of certain injuries, which he pretended to have suffered himself, and demanded speedy satisfaction.

Whilst Henry feigned to have no other design but to relieve the distressed Normans, he himself oppressed his own subjects, by an exorbitant tax, to go and wage a war wherein the English were wholly unconcerned. As soon as his preparations were finished, he passed into Normandy with a numerous army, carrying with him large sums of money, with which he bribed the nobles and governors of the castles.

He seized upon Caen, and some other cities. The duke of Bretagne and the earl of Anjou even permitted him to garrison some of their frontier towns, for fear of drawing upon themselves the burden of the war, designed against Robert. On the other hand, they that had invited him to their assistance, plainly foreseeing, if the quarrel was made up, it must be to their prejudice, never

ceased exhorting him to push his conquests, and make himself master of all Normandy. The bishop of Seez, sworn enemy of the two earls, who had turned him out of his diocese, blew up the flame to the utmost of his power, and lost no opportunity to excite Henry to pursue his undertaking. At length he conjured the king to take upon him the government, and free the Normans, the ancient subjects of his family, from the wretched state they were reduced to. Henry, who only wanted a cloak for his injustice, pretended to be touched with compassion for the Normans, and promised to exert his utmost to procure the relief they expected. However, he expressed an extreme concern that he was forced to deprive his brother of his dominions, who by his incapacity was running headlong into destruction.

Pursuant to this resolution, which he pretended to take purely out of necessity, and in compliance to the entreaties of the Normans, he continued the war. Robert made but a weak defence; for, not suspecting the king's designs, he had no time to prepare. Henry, therefore, put his affairs upon so good a footing in this first campaign, that he returned to England with intent to raise, during the winter, the money and forces, which he wanted to finish the work, so happily begun.

AD 1106] The duke of Normandy was then in a very deplorable condition. In this perplexity, he resolved to repair to the king his brother. He accordingly came to England, and sued for peace, in a manner suitable to his condition, but unbecoming the son of William the Conqueror. Henry was deaf to all his entreaties, and Robert full of rage and vexation.

The king is said to have felt some remorse for the injury he was doing his brother; but if he had any such reflections, they were very short lived. The only effect they produced was to inspire him with a dread, that his brother's wrongs would move the compassion of the English, and revive the affection they had formerly shewn for that prince. This thought giving him some uneasiness, he judged it necessary to prepossess his subjects in his favour, by renewing his promises. To this end, he convened the great council, or Parliament, and endeavoured, in a studied speech, to demonstrate the justice of his undertaking.

He represented to them, that Robert's refusal of the kingdom of Jerusalem had drawn down on his head the vengeance of God; by whom, ever since, he had been visibly forsaken, as a prince unworthy of his care, after despising so great a favour. He aggravated the oppressions which the Normans groaned under, and strove to make the English believe, it was incumbent on them to take in hand the defence of a miserable people.

He desired the lords to consider his own peaceable temper, and how patiently he had taken his brother's menaces, to which he had made no other return but brotherly and gentle admonitions. He enlarged upon the duke's ill qualities. He displayed his excessive profuseness, which made him a continual burden to all the world. Moreover, he accused him of extreme arrogance, and of sheaving on all occasions an utter contempt for the English nation. He assured them, for his part, he still persisted in his resolution to govern by just laws, of which the charter, he had granted, was an undeniable argument.

In fine, he added, provided he was sure of the hearts and affection of the English, he valued not any thing his enemies could do against him. This speech had the effect he expected. All the lords thinking themselves honoured by the confidence he placed in them, and flattering themselves, that be would perform his promises, unanimously declared they would live and die in his service. He immediately made use of this declaration, to obtain a grant of fresh supplies, by means of which he made a considerable addition to his troops.

As soon as the season permitted, he crossed the sea with a numerous fleet, in order to complete the conquest of Normandy. He opened the campaign with the siege of Tinchebray, where the earl of Mortagne had thrown in a strong reinforcement. As this place was of great strength, and well provided with necessaries, it held out long enough for Robert to come to its relief. Ever since the duke parted from the king his brother without being able to prevail with him, he had

joined with the earl of Mortagne, and Robert de Belesme, who had led all their forces to his assistance. The king of France had also sent him some troops, and several Norman lords came to him with considerable bodies, as soon as they perceived that Henry was not acting for them but for himself.

All these succours enabling the duke to give his brother battle, he marched towards him with great resolution. The two armies were almost equal in number. Robert had more foot, but not so many horse, as the king. However, the battle, which was fought under the walls of Tinchebray, did not last long.

The Norman horse being thrown into disorder at the first onset, and the foot not being able to maintain the fight without their aid, the whole army was entirely routed, and the English had only to kill or take prisoners. The duke of Normandy perceiving there was no possibility of rallying his troops, and resolving not to turn his back, chose rather to be taken than shew the least signs of cowardice.

Edgar Atheling, the earl of Mortagne, three Norman barons, four hundred knights, and ten thousand soldiers, had the same fate. As the battle of Hastings made the Normans masters of England, so this put the English in possession of Normandy. Prince Edgar, who had often been the sport of fortune, was immediately released, and went and passed the residue of his days in England, where he died of extreme old age.

The Duke of Normandy, and earl of Mortagne, were not so favourably treated. The earl was shut up in the tower of London, and the duke in Cardiff Castle in Wales, where he remained a prisoner to his death, which happened not till twenty-six years after. Some say, this unfortunate prince attempting to make an escape, Henry ordered his sight to be taken away by applying a burning hot brass basin to his eyes. But the silence of the best historians renders this statement improbable.

The victory of Tinchebray having acquired the king the possession of all Normandy, he returned in triumph to England in Lent, 1107. Upon his arrival, his first care was to make some regulations for his court, where several abuses had long since crept in which called for reformation. In the former reign, when the king took a progress, those who followed the court, committed all manner of outrages in the places where they lodged.

They shamefully extorted what they pleased from their hosts, and attempted the chastity of the women, without any restraint. Coiners of false money were grown very numerous and bare-faced, being secure of the protection of the great, who set them at work in their houses, where no body dared to search for them. These disorders not ceasing upon the king's edict, in the beginning of his reign, he published a second with still greater penalties[6].

AD 1108] Immediately after his return, Henry was observed to be more haughty, and less popular, than before. He treated the nobles with intolerable arrogance, even to the using, when speaking to them, very abusive language. Anselm was the only person he shewed any value for. But Anselm became more haughty and imperious than before the contest. The archbishop perceiving the king, for fear of being engaged in fresh disputes, refrained from meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, took the opportunity to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, the priests who obstinately persisted in keeping their wives. Some time after his return, he called a synod, where, at his instance, severe penalties were decreed against all clergymen, who lived in the state of matrimony. There were even some that were deprived of their livings. But so far was this rigour from having any good effect, that it only proved the occasion of the clergy's committing real crimes, in order to avoid the pretended excess they were engaged in before.

Lewis the Gross, king of France, who had just succeeded his father Philip, looking upon Henry, since his acquisition of Normandy, as a very formidable neighbour, was now seeking means to humble his overgrown power.

To execute this project, he designed to make use of William, sirnamed Crito, son of Robert, a young prince of great hopes, but under age. How careful soever he was to conceal his designs, Henry had notice of them, and passed suddenly into Normandy; where he ordered his nephew to be taken into custody, to prevent any insurrection upon his account. Lewis, by this proceeding, perceiving his design had taken air, deferred the execution of it to a better opportunity. Mean' time, the young prince having made his escape, was carried to Paris, and other courts, where he in vain solicited assistance to recover the duke his father's dominions.

AD 1109] Henry having spent the winter and part of the summer in Normandy, returned to England, where soon after ambassadors came to him from the emperor Henry IV. to demand his daughter Matilda in marriage, He joyfully received the proposal, and, as soon as the articles were agreed upon, the Wedding was celebrated by proxy. But as the princess was very young, she continued in England till the year following, when she was sent to the emperor her spouse with a magnificent retinue, and a considerable sum for her portion.

The necessity of paying his daughter's marriage portion furnished the king with a pretence to lay a tax of three shillings on every hide of land. This tax brought him in an immense sum[7].

Before the marriage was solemnized, death took out of the world Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, a learned prelate of that age, but haughty and bigotted to the last degree. As soon as he was laid in his grave, the king seized the revenues of the archbishopric, and kept them in his hands for five years. The year 1110 was memorable for the revival of learning at Cambridge[8], whence it had been long banished.

AD 1111] The following year Henry crossed the sea, to stop the progress of Fulk earl of Anjou, who had caused the city of Constance in Normandy to revolt. Elias earl of Maine, having espoused the interest of Fulk, and being taken prisoner in a battle, was put to death.

AD 1112] Before the king went to Normandy, he admitted into England great numbers of Flemings, who, by the inundation of the sea in their own country, were compelled to seek for new habitations. He planted them at first in the waste parts of Yorkshire. But upon the complaints made to him after his return, be removed them to the country conquered from the Welsh, about Ros and Pembroke, where their posterity continue to this day.

AD 1113] Henry had not time to make a long stay in England. The year after, he was obliged to pass into Normandy, where the king of France had kindled a fresh war, by persuading the earl of Anjou to take up arms again. This war gave him some trouble, but he happily surmounted all difficulties. Lewis had even the mortification to see the earl of Anjou desert him, who, by that defection, reaped the advantage of marrying his daughter to prince William, son of king Henry. During the king's stay in Normandy, he had the satisfaction of having .his most inveterate enemy Robert de Belesme fall into his hands, who was sent into England, and kept prisoner all his life. These troubles being over, Henry returned into England, where he lived in peace the five following years.

AD 1114] During this calm, the Pope and Clergy at last prevailed upon him to permit the vacancies in the church to be filled, particularly the see of Canterbury, the revenues of which he had enjoyed five years. A synod was accordingly convened, where Ralph bishop of Rochester was unanimously chosen archbishop Thurstan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the see of York. At the same time all the other vacancies were filled, but with such partiality to the Normans, as gave the English just cause to complain.

The Welsh growing more and more troublesome on the borders, Henry determined not to chastise them only, but root them out entirely. To execute this barbarous resolution, he entered Wales with a numerous army but at last finding there was no drawing them from their retreat, he consented to make peace.

AD 1115] Shortly after, Henry passed once more into Normandy, where he caused the states to swear fealty to prince William his son, who was then twelve years of age. The next year, he took the same precaution with regard to England in order to secure the crown in his family.

AD 1117] Since Lewis the Gross came to the crown of France, he had never ceased to disturb Henry, either by countenancing the malcontents in Normandy, or stirring up the neighbouring princes against him. Theobald earl of Blois, Henry's nephew, son to his sister Adela, being displeased with the king of France, Henry excited him to revenge; and persuading him to take up arms, lent him a powerful aid. Lewis, on his part, invested William Crito, son of Robert, with the duchy of Normandy, promising to assist him with all his forces to take possession.

Supported by France and Baldwin earl of Flanders, the young prince attempted to wrest Normandy from the king his uncle. Lewis did not now proceed underhand but openly. He claimed, as sovereign lord of Normandy, a right to dispose of that duchy, and especially in favour of the only son of duke Robert, unjustly detained in prison. His army[9] being reinforced by a considerable body of troops, brought him by the earl of Flanders, he entered Normandy with design to put William in possession.

AD 1118] As soon as Henry was informed of his enemies' projects, he made great preparations for the war. When all was ready, he joined forces with the duke of Bretagne and earl of Blois, and advanced towards the enemies to give them battle, But Lewis, not thinking proper to meet him, retired, covered with confusion at his own ill measures, and the ruin of his projects by Henry's diligence. Instead of maintaining what he had undertaken, he sent proposals of peace to Henry, which were accepted on condition he restored Gisors, then in his hands. After signing the treaty, Henry speedily returned into England, to prevent the entrance of a legate, sent by the Pope without his permission. Queen Matilda died some months after[10], generally lamented.

Henry neglecting to demolish the castle of Gisors according to the late treaty, Lewis took occasion from thence suddenly to invade Normandy, and commit great ravages. Henry, soon after with a powerful army; offered his enemy battle. Lewis accepting the challenge; the two armies engaged. During the fight, a French Cavalier, named Crispin, personally attacked the king of England, and struck him twice on the head with such force, that, notwithstanding his helmet, the king was all over blood, However he continued this single combat.

The sight of his blood rousing his courage, he discharged so furious a blow at his adversary, that he tumbled him from his horse and took him prisoner, This action raised such emulation among his troops, that at last, after a sharp engagement, the enemy was obliged to quit the field.[11] The standard of France was taken and sent in triumph to Rouen[12].

AD 1119] Whilst hostilities continued on both sides with equal warmth, Lewis endeavoured to take advantage of the residence of Pope Calixtus II. then in France; to embroil his enemy in new troubles. He was in hopes, the Pope, being of the house of Burgundy, would be easily induced to favour his designs. Therefore, without discovering his intentions, he prevailed with him to convene a council at Rheims, to which the English bishops were summoned. Henry, not mistrusting any thing from that quarter, readily permitted them to be present at the council. He only ordered them, when they took their leave, to salute the Pope in his name, to hearken to his apostolic precepts, but to take care to bring none of his new inventions into the kingdom.

The council consisted mostly of French bishops, some of whom being entrusted with their king's secret, made heavy complaints against Henry. They even proposed to excommunicate him, for unjustly detaining the person and dominions of the duke of Normandy his brother, who, as one of the Crusade, was under the church's protection. This motion would, doubtless, have been approved by the majority, had not the Pope, who was unwilling to break with Henry, evaded it, by undertaking to exhort himself to do justice to his brother. Some time after, Calixtus came to Gisors, where he had a long conference with the king, intimating, it was the council's desire that

Robert should be restored to his dominions. Henry replied, he had not taken Normandy from his brother, but from dissolute men and robbers, that were consuming the inheritance of his ancestors, given up to them by Robert. Adding, he had not proceeded by his own accord, but by the solicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy, who earnestly besought him to prevent the utter desolation of the church. He took care to strengthen these reasons with magnificent presents, which wrought so upon the Pope and the cardinals his attendants, that at their return, they reported that they had never seen a more eloquent prince. Thus Calixtus, relinquishing the interest of the imprisoned duke, used his endeavours to procure a peace between the two kings[13], in which he succeeded the next year.

A D 1120] As soon as the peace was concluded, Henry, impatient to return to England, embarked at Barfleur with a numerous retinue of nobles. William his son, who was then near eighteen years of age, took with him in his vessel all the young nobility, to render his passage more agreeable. As he sailed last, he had a mind to overtake the king his father, and promised the seamen a reward if his ship arrived first. This idle emulation was probably the cause of the misfortune that befell him. As the pilot, in order to get before the king, kept too near the shore, the ship touched upon a rock, called cat-race, and split. In the alarm caused by this accident the seamen's first care was to hoist out the boat, in order to save the prince, and indeed, by their diligence, he was now out of danger. But as he was making off, the cries of Matilda, countess of Perche, his natural sister, prevailed with him to row back to take her in. His approach, giving others opportunity to leap in, the boat sunk with its load, without any possibility of saving the prince. Of all that staid in the ship there was only one, a butcher, who escaped by keeping hold of the rigging, till he was picked up next morning. From him the circumstances of this tragical accident were known. Among those that perished in the waves, were, besides the prince, one of his natural brothers called Richard, Matilda his sister, Lucia the king's niece, the earl of Chester, and several lords[14].

A. D. 1121] This unexpected accident made such impression on the king, that he was never after seen to smile. However, his extreme desire to repair his loss made him resolve to marry Adeliza daughter of Geoffrey earl of Louvain. But he had not the satisfaction he expected from this marriage, she never proving pregnant.

The same year the Welsh made an incursion into Cheshire, under the conduct of Griffin prince of North Wales. They burnt several castles, and committed such ravages that drew the English arms into their own country. Henry, at the head of his troops, made some progress at first, but one day, wanting to seize a certain pass, he fell into an ambush, where he lost many of his men, and was shot himself by an arrow on his breastplate. This accident, and the fear of not ending the war so successfully as he expected, preventing him from proceeding any further, he made a peace with Griffin; obliging him to give hostages, and a thousand head of cattle, to defray the charges of the war.

AD 1122] Shortly after, death took out of the world Ralph archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate was of an un-blameable life, but so great a stickler for the prerogatives of his see, that he could not bear the least infringement, even in things of the smallest consequence. For instance, on the solemn festivals, when the king was wont to wear his crown, he would not suffer him to put it on himself, pretending that office belonged, on all occasions, to the archbishop of Canterbury. The metropolitical see continued vacant till the next year, when Curboil, priory of St. Osith's, in Essex, was elected by a synod held at Gloucester for that purpose[15].

AD 1123] Henry imagined by the peace with the king of France, he had removed all occasions of war beyond sea, and that none would dare for the future to dispute with him the possession of Normandy. Nevertheless, Robert de Mellent, lord of Pont-Audemer, created him fresh troubles, which obliged him to pass once more into that duchy. This lord, who was in great credit with the Normans, and secretly countenanced by the king of France, undertook to restore William Crito to his dominions. This project was in such forwardness, that the country was going to revolt, if the king had not speedily repaired thither.

On his arrival, he laid siege to Pont-Audemer and took it. After which, he added some works[16] to the castles of Caen, Rouen, and Argues, and reinforced the garrisons. These precautions put a stop to the Normans, who did not think themselves able to execute their designs. However, Robert. de Mellent, and the earl of Montfort his associate, kept the field with some troops. But being drawn into an ambush, they were both taken prisoners, and the rest remained quiet.

AD 1125] Whilst the king was in Normandy, cardinal John de Crema, the Pope's legate, came into England. The design of his coming was to complete the reformation of the pretended great abuse of the clergy's marrying, which they still did, notwithstanding all the precautions to the contrary. The legate was received with great pomp, though the people were little pleased with it, not being used to see legates exercising their authority in the kingdom. A synod being convened by the legate at London, he caused several rigorous canons to be passed against such ecclesiastics, as persisted in keeping their wives[17]. These canons, however, were not capable to stop this pretended licentiousness, though the king affected to enjoin their observance.

AD 1127] The king had now for six years been expecting in vain that God would bless him with children, by his second wife. When he found there was no likelihood of obtaining what he desired, he was quite out of hopes. However, to secure this succession in his family, he resolved to have his daughter Matilda, who; since the emperor's death, was returned to England[18], acknowledged the presumptive heir to the crown.

The advantage which this princess had, of being descended by the mother's side from the ancient Saxon kings, endeared her to the English, who were not yet inured to the Norman yoke. On the other hand, for want of a prince of their own nation, it was the interest of the Normans to place on the throne a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to whom they were indebted for all their possessions in England. The case standing thus, the king assembled all the immediate vassals of the crown. Among the lords, present at this great council, were, Stephen earl of Boulogne, the king's nephew, and David king of Scotland, on account of the fiefs he held in England. All the members of the assembly consenting to the king's proposal, David and Stephen were the first that took the oath to Matilda, in case the king her father died without issue male.

This affair being transacted to the king's satisfaction, he married the empress to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk earl of Anjou[19], who had resigned his dominions to his son, in order to go and take possession of the crown of Jerusalem, upon the death of Baldwin II his father-in-law.

The king, in making choice of earl Geoffrey for his daughter, consulted his own interest more than Matilda's inclination. This princess, widow to an emperor, thinking it a disparagement to marry the earl of Anjou, very unwillingly gave her consent, and not without some compulsion from her father. As he was in continual apprehensions that William Crito his nephew, would take Normandy from him, he thought he could not do better than secure Geoffrey in his interest, that he might be always ready to assist that duchy in case of attack.

AD 1128] Henry was very justly apprehensive of a league between Lewis and William Crito. The king of France no longer concealing his design of putting the young prince in possession of his father's dominions, had now invested him with the earldom of Flanders, the better to enable him to wage war with the king his uncle. To prevent his enemy's designs, Henry used two methods with equal success.

The first was, to carry the war into France. The second, to engage the Flemings to rise against their new earl, and join with Theodoric of Alsatia, who pretended to Flanders. Pursuant to his scheme, he entered France with a powerful army, whilst, on the other hand, the towns of Flanders openly declared against his nephew. Alost was the first that William undertook to reduce to obedience by a siege, which lasted long enough to give his rival time to come to its relief.. William having intelligence of Theodoric's approach, went to meet him; and, gaining a complete victory,

returned to carry on the siege. The defeat of the landgrave of Alsatia would have disabled the besieged to hold out any longer, if in one of their sallies William had not received a wound[20], of which he died in a few days. This young prince was endued with courage, and several other good qualities. But, to avoid the misfortunes, which the duke his father had drawn upon himself by his profuseness, he ran into the contrary extreme. This failing, joined to some acts of violence committed by him in Flanders, and his immoderate love of women, gained him the hatred of the Flemings, and disposed them to listen to the solicitations of the king his uncle.

This prince's sudden death, and the presence of the English army in France, obliged Lewis to desist from his projects, and conclude a peace with Henry. From that time to the day of his death, the king had no more quarrels with France. In the residue of his reign, which lasted six years longer, were very few occurrences worth notice.

AD 1130] In the 30th year of his reign, being also the 30th of the century, Henry went over to Normandy, where he spent the best part of a year. His main business was an interview with Pope Innocent IL whom at length he owned—for the true Pope, though Anacletus his rival was master of Rome. The chief difficulty of this affair consisted in the acknowledgment of Innocent by France ; and, in Henry's inclining, for that reason, to Anacletus. But Innocent managed him so artfully, that he was owned by him for Pope, which did not a little turn to his advantage.

Henry, when he returned to England, brought with him his daughter Matilda, who upon some disgust had parted from the earl her husband. Upon his arrival, he called a general assembly, where the oath of fealty to the empress was renewed, after which she returned to her husband.

The year 1131 was remarkable for the founding of an episcopal see at Carlisle, and the burning of a great part of London.

AD 1133] The next year, a new occasion of joy blotted out the remembrance of this misfortune. Matilda was brought to bed of a prince, named Henry, after his grand-father. Immediately after the birth of this prince, the king assembled all the great men, and caused them to renew the oath of the succession, in which the new-born prince was included. This was the third time he made them take this oath. Matilda had two sons more, namely, Geoffrey and William, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Towards the latter end of the summer, the king went over for the last time to Normandy. The day he embarked, there was an eclipse of the sun, and two days after a great earthquake, flames of fire issuing out of the clefts of the earth with great violence. Robert his eldest brother died before him at the castle of Cardiff, and was buried in the cathedral at Gloucester[21].

AD 1135] The death of Robert was soon followed by that of the king his brother. He was seized with a violent illness, which carried him. off in seven days. It is said, he was the occasion of it himself, by eating to excess of some lampreys, of which he was very fond. He was then at the castle of Lyons near Rouen, a place he much delighted in. When he found, he was near his end, he sent for the earl of Gloucester his natural son, and earnestly recommended to him the concerns of the empress his daughter, without mentioning the earl of Anjou his son-in-law, with whom he was displeased.

After this, he made his will, leaving to his domestics above sixty thousand pounds sterling. He ordered his debts to be punctually paid, and all arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the first of December, in the sixty-eighth year of his age; and the thirty-sixth of his reign. His body was cut in pieces in order to be embalmed[22], after the rude manner of those days, because he was to be buried in England, in the abbey of Reading[23].

We find in this prince a great mixture of good and bad qualities. He was very courageous, and of a great, capacity, both in military and civil affairs. His prudence in the administration of his

government appeared chiefly in that during his frequent voyages to Normandy there was never any insurrection in England, though the kingdom did not want malcontents. He was exceedingly regular in his diet.

Never was he known to be guilty of any excess in eating or drinking, except that which cost him his life. He was inexorable to all malefactors, being persuaded, severity was absolutely necessary to curb the licentiousness introduced in the late reign. His education was the reverse of that of William Rufus. Henry was brought up to letters, and made great progress in his studies. Hence he acquired the sirname of Beau-Clerc, that is, the scholar, for in those days none but ecclesiastics troubled themselves about books, and princes least of all others.

He retained all his life long a relish for the sciences, imbibed in his youth. He had even built a palace at Oxford, where he often retired to divert himself with the conversation of the learned. His handsome face, his sweet and serene looks, his free and open countenance, his affable carriage and agreeable conversation, prepossessed at first sight all the world in his favour. These fine qualities would have rendered him an accomplished prince, had they not been sullied with many faults, among which, cruelty, avarice, and an inordinate love of women, were most predominant.

The first appeared in his barbarous usage of his elder brother. The second, in his exorbitant and frequent taxes on the people. The third, in the great number of illegitimate children by several mistresses. In order to repair in some measure his errors, he founded the episcopal sees of Ely and Carlisle, and the abbeys of Reading, Hyde, and Chester, with the priory of Dunstable[25].

Henry left only one legitimate daughter, namely, the empress Matilda, and twelve natural children. Among whom Robert earl of Gloucester made the greatest figure, as well on account of his personal merit, as for his steady adherence to the empress his sister, as will be seen in the following reign.

The most memorable occurrences in this reign, not mentioned by Rapin, are these. In the year 1112, there was a plague in England. In June, 1113, Worcester was burnt to the ground. In 1144, October 10, the water was so low in the Thames, for near twenty four hours, that people could not only ride through between the bridge and the tower, but great numbers of men and boys even passed it there on foot, the water hardly reaching up to their knees. It was the same in the Medway, at Yarmouth, and other places. In 1119, and 1122, there were two earthquakes in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire. In 1122, king Henry ordered a wall to be built round Carlisle. In 1123, May 19, the city of Lincoln was almost all burnt down. In 1124, there was a great dearth in England. In 1131, January 11, there was a remarkable Aurora. Borealis.

The manner of paying in and computing the king's money being shewn at the end of William Rufus's reign, it may not be amiss to shew here how the royal revenue was levied, and the manner of issuing it. First, as to the levying, the person principally intrusted was the sheriff of each county, who in those days was an officer of great authority. However, there were several other stated collectors and accomptants, namely, the Escheators, the Fermers, (or Custodes of such towns and burghs as were not within the sheriff's receipt,) the Custodes Cambii, or customers; the keepers of the wardrobe, and, in general, all persons who held bailywicks from the king, or received any of his treasure or revenue by imprest or otherwise, were obliged to render an account thereof, and in succeeding times the collectors of Tallages, Dismes, quinzimes, &c. But in case these officers could not enforce, the king's debtors to make payment, the sheriff was armed with sufficient power to do.

The most ancient process made use of was the Summonce of the exchequer, which issued twice a year into all the counties of England, and was returnable against the times of holding the Duo. Scaccaria, namely, the Scaccarium Paschæ, or Exchequer of Easter, and the Scaccarium St. Michaelis, or Exchequer of Michaelmass, which were the general terms for the sheriffs and other accomptants to pay in their fermes or rents, and other issues of their bailywicks.

This was the ordinary process, but upon urgent occasions the king sometimes issued special writs to the sheriffs and others concerned in collecting the revenue, commanding them to levy debts, &c. with all speed. Secondly, as to the manner of issuing the king's money: this was done several ways. Whilst the money remained in the hands of the sheriff, fermers, and others, it was usual for the king, his chief justicier, great officers of his court, treasurer or barons of the Exchequer, to order them by writ to make provisions and payments out of the money in their hands.

This writ was sometimes called warrantum, the sheriff's warrant, for, upon producing it, he had allowance made to him de tanto upon his accompt. Sometimes the king's money was issued by way of prest or imprest, de præstito, either out of the receipt of Exchequer, the Wardrobe, or other of the king's treasuries. lmprest seems to have been of the nature of a concreditum or accommodatum, and when a man had money imprested to him, he became accountable to the crown for the same. In the fifth year of king Stephen, an accompt was rendered at the Exchequer of certain monies imprested to the accomptant, when the empress came into England.

According to ancient usage, the king's treasure was to be issued by virtue of a writ or mandate under the great or privy seal, and directed sometimes to the chief justicier and barons of the Exchequer, but most commonly to the treasurers and chamberlain of the receipt. And the writ was founded upon a bill or certificate from the Exchequer or wardrobe, or other matter of record. But the usual writ for issuing the king's money out of the Exchequer was the Liberate, (so called from that word used in it,) directed to the treasurer and chamberlain. This writ was of two sorts: a Liberate for paying a sum *hac vice* only: and a Liberate current or dormant for paying in continuance or more than once.

H 1.

The coins of Henry I. are of the same shape and size with those of the Conqueror, and inscribed **HENRIC. REX ANGL**. The king's full face, sceptre and cross, and an open crown with three flower-de-lis (which distinguishes his coin from those of Henry II.) on one side; and the reverse, a cross potent in each quarter of a large cross, as in the figure annexed.

Notes to Chapter 3

1) He was born at Selby in Yorkshire about 1068, or 1070.

2) There were as many copies as counties, which were sent to certain abbies in each county and yet there was scarcely one to be found in the reign of king John, whose Magna Charta was founded upon it. There is a copy at this day in the red book of the Exchequer.

3) Sibilla daughter to Geoffrey, and-sister to William earl of Conversana, a prince of Italy, with whom he had a fine fortune.

4) Henry encamped with a very large army, near Hastings, about Midsummer.

5) He came over in the year 1103.

6) Counterfeiters of money were punished with loss of eyes and genitals.

7) This was one of the ancient aids due to the king from all his tenants; and was practised in Normandy, and also in Naples, where the Normans settled. It was no otherwise introduced by Henry I. but as he happened to be the first Norman king that married his eldest daughter.

8) This same year king Henry married Robert his natural son to Maud, daughter and heir of Robert Fitz-haymon, late earl of Gloucester, and then invested him with that earldom. He also held his court at New Windsor which he had built, and there disinherited Philip de Brause, William Mallet, and William Bainard, because they had sided with Heltas Earl of Maine.

9) A. D. 1118.

10) She died the first of May, and was burled in Westminster Abbey. She was a pious and charitable princess. Among other works, she built an hospital for Lepers in London; and the priory of Christ Church within Aldgate.

11) The French lost a hundred and forty horse.

12) The king gave twenty marks to the man who brought it. His horse was also taken, and sent back to him next day by Henry. Lewis was left alone, and lost himself in a wood, whence a countryman conveyed him, without knowing him, to Andely, where the remains of his army were retired.

13) The articles of which were, 1. That all castles which had strong holds taken in the late war should be mutually restored, and the prisoners on both sides set at liberty without ransom. 2. That Henry should do homage for Normandy. But Henry thinking it a diminution of his royal dignity to do this homage in person, he made his son William do it; who then received the investiture of that duchy from the hands of the king of France; and all the great men of Normandy swore fealty to him. Prince William went in the year 1119, in May, to his father in Normandy, and there married in June the same year, Matilda, daughter of Fulk earl of Anjou; the marriage was solemnized at Lisieux in the county of Burgundy.

14) There also perished in this shipwreck a hundred and forty officers and soldiers; and fifty sailors, with the officers belonging to the ship, about three hundred in all. Most of them were said to have been in a state of intoxication. The loss of this young prince was not very unhappy for the English nation, if it be true as related, that he had such an aversion to the English, that he threatened, if ever he came to be king, he would make them draw the plough like oxen.—By this accident, the persons, honours, and estates of the heirs of most of the great men were in Henry's power; by which means he strengthened his interest in England by marrying their widows, daughters, and sisters, to his courtiers and officers.

1**5)** The same year king Henry cut a dike from Torksey, to Lincoln, between the Witham and the Trent, seven miles in length. It is called Foss-dike, Camden. The same year also Ralph bishop of Durham laid the foundations of Norham Castle, upon the Tweed.

16) A. D. 1124.

17) The legate having severely inveighed against the priests marrying, alleged, it was a horrid sin for a priest to rise from the side of a harlot, and then to make the body of Christ; yet the next

night, (having said mass that very day) he himself was taken in bed with a courtesan. Huntington, who was himself a priest, and the son of a priest, and living at this very time, (after an apology for making so bold with the fathers of the church,) is the first that gives us this story at large, and concludes, that the thing was too notorious to be denied; neither ought it to be concealed. The legate, completely abashed, immediately quitted the kingdom in privacy.

18) She went first to the king her father in Normandy; and, in 1126, came over to England along with him.

19) He sent her, after Whitsuntide, to Normandy, where she was attended by Robert earl of Gloucester, and Brian, son of Alan Fergeant earl of Richmond, with orders that the marriage ceremony should be performed by the archbishop of Rouen. Henry himself went over into Normandy, August 26, to see the marriage concluded. Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, was but fifteen years old.

20) Taking hold of a man's lance, he was wounded in the ball of the thumb; which turning to a gangrene, he died five days after in St. Bertin's monastery, on July 27.

21) He was buried in the middle of the choir, where, not long after, was erected for him a tomb of wainscot in the form of a chest, with his image thereon cross-legged, carved in heart of oak. Upon the panels of the chest were penciled the arms of several of the worthies, and at the foot, the arms of France and England quarterly. The parliament soldiers in Charles l's. time tore it to pieces, but the parcels (ready to be burnt) were bought of the soldiers by Sir Humphrey Tracy of Stanway, and after the restoration, put together again, and beautified at his own charge, and defended with a wire-skreen.

22) Gervase of Canterbury gives us the barbarous manner of embalming the king's body. They cut great gashes in his flesh with knives, and then powdering it well with salt, wrapped it up in tanned ox hides to avoid the stench, which was so infectious, that a man who was hired to open his head died presently after.

23) Though there is no mention of this king's monument, the monks, of Reading are thought to have erected a tomb answerable to the dignity of the founder. Upon the suppression of the abbeys, his bones are said to have been thrown out to make room for a stable of horses.

24) Among his other buildings was a magnificent palace at Woodstock to which he adjoined a large park, enclosed with a stone wall,

Chapter IV
The Reign of King Stephen

HENRY imagined he had taken such just measures to secure the succession to the empress his daughter, that he could not believe they would ever fail. The triple oath, by which he had bound the lords spiritual and temporal, seemed to him a sufficient fence against their ambition. Yet this tie, which appeared so strong, could not hinder those whom he least mistrusted, from contriving, even before his death, how to render all his precautions ineffectual.

We may have observed, in the three foregoing reigns, with what partiality riches, honours, and places, were .bestowed upon foreigners, particularly upon those that had any relation to the royal family. The three last kings, by excluding the English from their favours in order to lavish them on the Normans, were in hopes, by that means, to secure the crown in their family. But on the contrary, by heaping estates and honours on their relations, instead of gaining their children friends, they created them rivals. By strengthening the foreigners against the English, they unadvisedly cherished the ambition of the former, and put it out of the power of the latter to support the royal family, when most in need of protection.

Among those that shared. the late king's favours, Stephen earl of Boulogne, his nephew, was the most considerable. Adela his mother, daughter of William the Conqueror, brought the earl of Blois her husband four sons, of whom Theobald, the second, succeeded his father, the eldest being incapacitated by some natural defects. Stephen, the third son, was sent into England to the king his uncle. Henry, the youngest, was a monk in the monastery of Clugni. Stephen's noble qualities soon gained him the esteem and affection of the king, who took pleasure in making him rich and powerful. Besides, he thought he could do no better than enable his nephews to support his family.

With this view, he conferred on Stephen the lands, taken from the earl of Mortaigne, and sending for Henry from the monastery of Clugni, made him abbot of Glastonbury and, some time after, bishop of Winchester. The king's favour gaining the two brothers great credit and interest in England, they formed so strong a party, that they thought themselves able to take advantage of the disaster befallen the royal family, in the death of prince William. It is true, when the late king was desirous to secure the crown to Matilda, Stephen was the first who swore to that princess. But, besides that could not be excused, it was not yet time to discover his designs.

Perhaps too he hoped the king might give him his daughter. However this might be, his hopes, if he had entertained any, vanished with Matilda's marriage with the earl of Anjou, and he turned his thoughts to the accomplishing of his project. By means of secret emissaries, he fomented the discontent caused by this marriage among the nobility, and made sure of the assistance of those, who were best able to place him on the throne after the king's death. He acted, however, with so much caution, that his uncle never suspected his intentions. On the contrary, a little before his

death, he gave him a fresh mark of his affection, by marrying him to Matilda, only daughter and heir of the earl of Boulogne.

As the king's last sickness appeared at first very dangerous, Stephen, who attended him into Normandy, sent speedy notice to the bishop of Winchester his brother, that he might renew his intrigues to procure him the crown. This prelate had now gained to his interest the archbishop of Canterbury and Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had both great influence on the clergy.

The last was the wealthiest subject in England, having had opportunity to amass vast riches in the administration of affairs ecclesiastical and civil, which the late king had entirely entrusted him with. The occasion of his rise was something particular. Whilst he was only a parish priest in Normandy, Henry, who had then no prospect of mounting the throne, chanced to come into the church, where he was saying mass. The great care with which the priest performed the service so pleased the king, that he desired to have him for his chaplain.

Roger did not want much entreaty to accept of an honour he so little expected. Though he was no scholar, he was naturally of so pliable a disposition, and so much a courtier, that he quickly gained the good graces of his patron, who loaded him with favours. As soon as Henry came to the -crown, his first care was to prefer his chaplain, by promoting him to the see of Salisbury. But not stopping there, he committed to him afterwards the management of all important affairs in church and state, and made him his chief justiciary.

It was a great advantage to Stephen to have for him three prelates whose interest secured him the suffrages of all, the clergy. This body was then so powerful, that the lay-lords that were not in the plot did not think themselves able to oppose the design of placing Stephen on the throne, as all the bishops declared in his favour. Not one attempted to speak for Matilda; so great an influence had the example and authority of the clergy over the minds of the nobles and people. In the mean time, Henry dying in Normandy, Stephen repaired into England to support his pretensions with his presence[1].

Supported as be was, he found no great difficulty to carry the prize from an absent princess, whose capricious and haughty temper had already excited a great prejudice against her. If the nobility had really that attachment for religion, which they affected to shew, their repeated oaths to Matilda would have been an insuperable obstacle to Stephen's election. But they were skilled in the art of evading the most solemn oaths by distinctions and mental reservations.

The archbishop of Canterbury affirmed, that the oath taken to Matilda, was null and void, as being directly contrary to the customs of the English, who had never suffered a woman to reign over them. The bishop of Salisbury maintained, that the oath was not binding, because Matilda was married out of the realm, without the consent of the barons, whose intent, when they swore, was, not to give themselves a king, but of the race of William the Conqueror. In fine, to remove all scruples, Hugh Bigod, the late king's steward, swore on the holy Evangelists, that Henry before he died disinherited Matilda, and nominated his nephew Stephen for his successor.

On these weak grounds the barons rejected Matilda's right, which they had thrice sworn to, maintain, and crowned Stephen on the 26th of December, twenty-four days after Henry's death[2].

Stephen was then one and thirty years old, and his great esteem with the nobility. But his awe and noble qualities were no addition to his right, His title was so weak, that, to engage the barons to support it, he was forced to promise them more privileges under his government, than they had enjoyed in the reigns of the Norman kings his predecessors, and, doubtless, more than he ever intended to grant. This was the sole motive of concurring so heartily in his election.

They imagined, his being indebted to them for the crown would always dispose him to be grateful. But they could not expect the like from Matilda, who, having a dearer title, would not think

herself under the same obligations. Stephen, therefore, willing to spare nothing for a crown, that might so justly be disputed with him, promised to reform whatever was amiss in the three foregoing reigns; and the bishop of Winchester, his brother, passed his word for him. This juncture was too favourable for the barons to let it pass without improvement.

When the oath came to be administered to the new king, much more was required of him than of his predecessors. The import of the oath was, that he would, within such a time, fill the vacant bishoprics, and leave the temporalities in the hands of some ecclesiastic, who should take charge of them till the vacancy was filled. That he would not seize the woods of any clerk or layman, upon frivolous pretences as his predecessors had done; but be content with the forests, which belonged to the two Williams; and make restitution of such as Henry had usurped. Lastly, that he would abolish Dane-gelt, which was insupportable to the nation, and having been taken away by king Edward, was restored by the Norman kings.

The bishops, on their part, took an oath which was no less uncommon, for they swore allegiance no longer than he should continue to maintain the church in her privileges. The lay lords acted with the same caution, if we may judge by the oath of the earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king. He swore fealty to the king, but on condition he would preserve his estates and honours entire, and observe the covenants made with the barons. Stephen promised to do whatever was required of him, and moreover to grant an authentic charter for the security of the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church.

The coronation being over, the new king posted to Winchester, to take possession of the treasure of the late king, which amounted to a hundred thousand pounds besides plate and jewels. With this money be levied an army of Britons, Picards, Flemings, and other foreigners. At his return from Winchester, he went to meet the corpse of the late king, which was coming from Normandy, in order to be interred at Reading according to his own directions.

AD 1136] Hitherto Stephen had met with no opposition. But he plainly foresaw it would be otherwise hereafter. It was very likely Matilda and Geoffrey her husband would not fail to attempt the recovery of a crown taken from them. It was requisite, therefore, to endeavour to gain the good-will of the people. With this view, he convened a general assembly at Oxford, where he signed the promised charter; the chief articles of which were as follows: he acknowledged his being elected king, by the assent of the clergy and people. He confirmed all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the church, and consented that all ecclesiastical causes and persons should be tried by the clergy.

He promised, not to meddle in any manner with the temporalities of vacant bishoprics, or estates belonging to the ecclesiastics He abolished all laws relating to hunting and the forests enacted since the Conquest. Lastly, to gain entirely the affection of the English, he revived the ancient Saxon laws.

This charter was very advantageous for the people, had it been punctually observed; but, as the English elected Stephen purely for their own interest, so he granted all they required, rather to amuse them, than to bind himself with these parchment chains. The justness of this remark appeared a few months after; when, the archbishopric of Canterbury becoming vacant by the death of Curboil, the king seized the revenues, and kept them in his hands above two years. Neither did he rest there. As the archbishop died intestate, he seized his effects, pretending it was the prerogative of the crown. It is true, he only followed the example of the three former kings. But, supposing him possessed of that right, he had promised so positively to give it up, that this proceeding could not be considered but as an express breach of his charter and oath.

The beginning of this reign was peaceable; but the tranquillity lasted not long. The barons, grown insolent, set too high a value on the service they had done the king. There were some also, who, being forced to comply with the sentiments of the majority, were waiting for an opportunity to

take away the reproach the nation lay under for the breach of their oath. Stephen, perceiving how matters stood, did all he could to gain the people's affection; and, with that view, he conferred titles and honours on several persons, and alienated many of the crown lands to such as might be serviceable to him. But this bounty had not the effect supposed.

Those who partook of his favours considered them as their due reward; whilst others who were neglected entertained a jealousy, which in the end proved fatal to him. But his greatest, oversight was in suffering the barons to fortify their castles[3], which put it in their power to revolt whenever they pleased. In a short time, there were above a thousand fortified castles in divers parts of the kingdom.

AD 1137] The insolence of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devonshire, soon made Stephen sensible of his error. The earl taking it as an affront, that the king should deny him some favour, openly declared he would obey him no longer. Pursuant to this resolution, he fortified his castle at Exeter, where he acted as sovereign, exercising a tyrannical power over the citizens.

This revolt was the more dangerous, as the Welsh at the same time made an irruption into the frontiers, and carried away a great booty. The king, judging Baldwin's affair to be of greater importance than the inroads of the Welsh, went and laid siege to Exeter, which took him up a considerable time. At length, becoming master of the place, he pursued the rebel to the Isle of Wight, and compelling him to fly from thence, banished him the realm, but pardoned all the other offenders. This indulgence proved very prejudicial to him, as it served to embolden the discontented party.

The Welsh war ended not so successfully. In a battle fought near Cardigan, the king's troops were so roughly handled, that very few escaped[4].

AD 1137] Whilst the English arms were employed in Wales, David king of Scotland, made an incursion into the northern counties of England, under pretence of revenging the wrong done to the empress his niece. He immediately became master of Carlisle and Newcastle, and advanced as far as Durham. As soon as Stephen could get clear of the Welsh, he marched into the north, to repel the king' of Scotland.

This war ended in a treaty of peace, whereby the king of Scotland was to have Carlisle, and prince Henry his son the earldom of Huntington, for which he did homage to the king of England. The reason of the son's being invested, was, because the father refused to accept it on that condition, alleging he had sworn to acknowledge no other sovereign in England but Matilda, in case king Henry died without issue male. Stephen had no sooner returned from his northern expedition, than he fell into a lethargy, which made it thought his death was at hand.

The supposed certainty thereof caused in England, as well as in Normandy, such troubles as were not easily allayed. The king's friends were disheartened, and Matilda's party considerably increased, by the rumour of the king's having resigned his last breath. On the other hand, the Welsh looking upon this as a favourable juncture, renewed the war; whilst the earl of Anjou entered Normandy, to take possession of that part of the king his father-in law's inheritance. But this prince had become so odious to the Normans, that, to avoid falling under his government, they called in Theobald earl of Blois, Stephen's elder brother.

Theobald accordingly came to Lisieux, where the earl of Gloucester delivered him the keys of Falaise. This earl remembering the last commands of the king his father in behalf of Matilda, had with great reluctancy taken the oath to Stephen. But as it was not in his power alone to support the empress's right, he chose to dissemble in expectation of a favourable opportunity to declare in her favour. He believed he had found one by introducing the earl of Blois into Normandy; imagining this prince, who looked with an envious eye on his brother's greatness, would raise such troubles, as might turn to Matilda's advantage.

Meantime, Stephen having recovered, found his affairs in the utmost confusion, The great men, who had depended upon the king's death, had already entered into several factions, whence he foresaw, it would be difficult to disengage them. Theobald his brother, creating him most uneasiness, he resolved to attack him first, before he was strengthened with the assistance of the king of France, who alone was able to support him. To this end, he went into Normandy, carrying with him large sums of money, with which he prevailed upon the chief men of the country to abandon the earl of Blois.

This was a great advantage to Stephen, who next employed part of his money in gaining the French king to his interest. This expedient succeeding, he made an offensive league with France, which put it out of the power of his enemies to hurt him. However, as Lewis could not, without some uneasiness, see England and Normandy in the hands of the same person, Stephen resigned the latter to Eustace earl of Boulogne his eldest son, who did homage to the king of France for it. Theobald finding he was not strong enough to stand against the two monarchs, thought fit to retire. However, he sent word to the king his brother, that although he was forced to give way, he did not desist from his pretensions, as eldest, both to Normandy and England. But he acted not according to this stout message. For shortly after he renounced his pretended right for the annual pension of two thousand marks.

The union of the two kings had the same effect with regard to the earl of Anjou, whose pretensions, as husband to Matilda, were much stronger. It is true, he made some farther attempts upon Normandy. But after trying in vain to gain it by arms, he was forced to accept, as a favour, a pension of five thousand marks.

AD 1138] Affairs being thus settled in Normandy, Stephen hoped to enjoy some repose in England, when advice was brought him that the king of Scotland had made an irruption into Northumberland. Whilst David was ravaging the northern borders, some English lords seized Bedford, and probably did not intend to stop there. Upon this news Stephen speedily returned into England; and, though it was in the midst of winter; laid siege to Bedford, never quitting it till he was master of the place: After which, he marched towards Scotland, whither David had retired.

Whilst he was employed revenging on the Scots the mischiefs they had done the English, he was recalled, by an insurrection of almost all the barons. At the head of the revolters was Robert earl of Gloucester, who had artfully improved these dispositions to form a party in favour of the empress his sister, strong enough to place her on the throne. He is said to have embarked in this enterprise at the instance of certain Monks; who represented to him how much he hazarded his salvation in obeying an usurper, contrary to his oath to Matilda. Hence it is evident, that the monks were deeply concerned in the plot. As soon. as Robert was sufficiently supported, he went to the empress and informed her of what he had done for her.

After that, he wrote a severe letter to Stephen himself, upbraiding him for the breach of his oath to Matilda, and charging him with drawing him, by his seducements, into the same crime. To this letter he added a manifesto, calling Stephen an usurper, and declaring war against him. The king re-turned him no answer, but confiscated all his estates in England.

Matilda's party daily growing stronger by the junction of the most powerful among the barons, the earl of Gloucester came into England, and got possession of Bristol. At the same time other lords seized upon several castles which the former kings had caused to be fortified for the security of the crown. Stephen finding himself thus forced to wage war with his own subjects, retook and razed several of these castles; shewing on all occasions an extraordinary courage, and a steady resolution to lose his life with his crown:

The king of Scotland fomented these troubles in favour of the empress his niece, though he was also uncle to Stephen's queen[5]. When he found matters ripe, he once more entered

Northumberland, and cruelly ravaged that country, which generally felt all the effects of the quarrels between England and Scotland. As Stephen could not then leave the heart of the kingdom, to go to the relief of the north, Thurstan archbishop of York undertook to oppose this invasion.

He assembled the barons and gentlemen of the northern parts, and represented to them, that, in this emergency, they were to depend upon themselves, it not being in the king's power to send them assistance. this consideration having the effect he expected, they unanimously engaged to exert their utmost to repulse the enemy. shortly after, each appearing with his troops at the general rendezvous, they all ranged themselves under the command of Walter de Espec and William earl of Albemarle, and advanced as far as Alverton[6].

Having resolved to expect the enemy in that place, they set up a mast; on the top of which they placed a silver Pix, with a consecrated host, and the banners of St. Peter and St. John of Beverly, to serve as an ensign where they were to meet again and rally in case of need. Hence this was called the battle of the standard. The Scots, much superior in number, attacking the English in their entrenchments, were repulsed with the loss of twelve thousand men. Though the king of Scotland: and Henry his son gave on this occasion astonishing proofs of their valour, they could not prevent their army from being entirely routed.

Whilst his affairs were thus prosperous in the north, Stephen spread the terror of his arms in the heart of the kingdom. The malcontents not daring to keep the field, gave him time to reduce their castles one after another without opposition. These conquests, joined to his late victory over the king of Scotland, astonished the earl of Gloucester. He expected quite another issue of this war, but when he saw his party daily diminishing, he had no other resource but to solicit the empress to come into England, and encourage her friends by her presence.

The retreat of the earl of Gloucester, and the flight of some other lords of his party, procuring the king some respite, he resolved to pursue the Scotch war, so successfully begun. A peace, however, was shortly afterwards concluded; and David swore never more to concern himself in the quarrel between Stephen and the empress.

The king now returned into his dominions, attended by the prince of Scotland, who, by his noble and generous carriage, had so won the heart of Stephen, that he loved him as if he had been his own son[7].The king's caresses to the young prince raised the Jealousy of the earl of Chester and some other lords; but Stephen continued to shew him marks of his esteem, particularly in a case which demonstrated his sincerity. This young prince, who had accompanied the king to the siege of Ludlow, approaching too near the walls, was likely to be pulled from his horse by an iron hook at the end of a rope, if Stephen, with the hazard of his own life, had not rescued him.

This same year Alberic, the Pope's legate in England, called a synod, where Theobald abbot of Bee was elected archbishop of Canterbury, to the great satisfaction of the English, the metropolitan see having been vacant for two years.

AD 1139] Stephen's late peace with Scotland; and his advantages over his domestic enemies, procured him a tranquillity which seemed likely to continue. And probably it would not have been disturbed, if an unseasonable quarrel with the clergy, had not hurled him down from the height of grandeur and glory, to the most deplorable state a sovereign could possibly be reduced to.

The bishops had been very instrumental in placing him on the throne. From that time their power was so-much increased, that it was no less dangerous for the king to make them his enemies, than it was advantageous to have them in his interest at the time of his election. Nevertheless, his jealousy of their power suffered him not to consider, with his wonted prudence, the danger he exposed himself to, in resolving to humble them. Roger bishop of Salisbury had two castles

as strong as they were stately, one at the Devizes, and the other at Sherburn, and he was building a third at Malmsbury. Alexander his nephew, bishop of Lincoln, had built one at Newark; not scrupling to declare openly, it was deigned as much for the security as the dignity of his Church.

Nigel, bishop of Ely, another of Roger's nephews, imitating the state of his uncle and cousin, affected a magnificence in his retinue and house, that excited the envy of some, and the indignation of all. When these three prelates came to court, they were attended with many armed followers, as though designed rather to brave the king, than to pay him their respects. This pomp and grandeur procuring to them an abundance of enemies, there were some that took occasion to whisper in the king's ear, that he could not be safe as long as the bishops were so powerful.

His suspicions were further confirmed by the rumour of Matilda's preparing to come into England, where she had a strong party. Though the bishop of Salisbury had been a principal instrument of Stephen's election, he fancied him gained by Matilda; and in this belief formed a design to humble the pride of the bishop and his nephews. It was not long before an opportunity offered.

In a general assembly held at Oxford, the retainers of the bishop of Salisbury quarrelling with those of Alan Bretagne, earl of Richmond, one of the earl's knights chanced to be killed in the scuffle, and many wounded on both sides., The bishop's men had the advantage, being assisted by those of the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and of the chancellor, who passed for Roger's nephew, though in truth he was his son[8].

The king, willing to improve this occasion to mortify the whole family, summoned them all four to appear at his court, and answer for this riot of their domestics. This summons was just and legal, but the satisfaction demanded by the king was excessive. He was not content with the penalty enjoined by the law in the like cases; but insisted upon the bishops delivering into his hands all their castles, as a security for their future allegiance. This demand seeming too exorbitant to the prelates, they desired time for consideration.

Whilst the king waited for their answer, the bishop of Ely absented himself, and retired to Roger his uncle's castle at the Devizes. This flight breaking off the accommodation, the king immediately laid siege to the castle, where was also Matilda, wife or concubine of the bishop of Salisbury. This place being very strong, the king, who foresaw the difficulty of the siege, bethought himself of an expedient to put an end to it without loss of time.

He ordered the bishop of Salisbury and the chancellor to be led up close to the wall; and sent word to Matilda, unless she delivered up the castle, the chancellor should be immediately hanged, neither should the bishop eat or drink till it was surrendered. These threats producing the effect he expected, she delivered up the castle, where he found forty thousand marks in ready money. The bishop of Lincoln purchased his liberty, by surrendering to the king his castle of Sleaford. Shortly after, Stephen became master likewise of the castles of Salisbury, Malmsbury, and Sherborn. With the money, found in these places, where the bishops kept their treasures, he purchased the friendship of the king of France, and made an alliance with him. This alliance was cemented by the marriage of Eustace, son of Stephen, with Constantia sister to Lewis the Young, who succeeded Lewis the Gross, his father.

The king's severity to the bishops very much displeased all the clergy, who made loud complaints. The archbishop of Rouen, being then in England, was the only one not offended at it. He was of opinion that, without striking at the immunities of the church, the king might dispossess the bishops of their fortified castles, which concerned not their privileges as churchmen. But the bishop of Winchester, lately made legate for England, was not of his mind. This prelate was secretly displeased with the king his brother, for not admitting him into the administration of affairs. He expected otherwise, when he laboured so heartily to place him on the throne. But finding there was no likelihood of his having for the future any share in the government, he eagerly embraced this opportunity of creating him trouble, under pretence of maintaining the

rights of the church. To that purpose he called a synod, at Winchester, and summoned the king to appear and give an account of his actions.

At the opening of the synod, he aggravated all that Stephen had done against the three bishops. He exhorted the prelates vigorously to maintain the rights of the episcopal dignity, and the privileges of the church; protesting be would put in execution the decrees of the council, though it cost him the friendship of the king, the loss of his estate, and even life itself. Stephen had sent to the council some lords, with Alberic de Vere a famous Civilian[9]

As soon as the legate had ended his speech, these lords demanded, why the king was summoned thither. The legate answered, to give a reason for his imprisoning the bishops, and despoiling them of their estates; a crime, added he, hitherto unheard of in the Christian world. Alberic replied, the prelates were punished not as bishops, but as the king's servants. The bishop of Salisbury, displeased with that distinction, told him, the bishops could not, in any respect, be considered as the king's servants.

The majority of the synod being much of the same opinion, the archbishop of Rouen, who thought the episcopal dignity did not render a subject independent, demanded whether they could clearly prove by the canons, that bishops ought of right to have fortified castles? But, suppose, (said he,) you can prove such a right by the canons, ought you not to commit your castles to the king's disposal, when the kingdom is threatened with an invasion. Is it not the king's business to take care of the safety of the state? And can subjects refuse to admit him into their castles without incurring the guilt of rebellion?

These arguments not prevailing. with the bishops to desist from their pretensions, the legate moved to excommunicate the king, and send deputies to Rome to carry their complaints to the Pope. The lords sent, by the king thought it time to speak in a higher tone. They declared, if the synod offered to excommunicate the king, the bishops would soon have cause to repent; and if any presumed to go to Rome, on such an occasion, their return would be very difficult.

This declaration made such an impression on the bishops, that none of them were willing to expose themselves to the king's resentment, to gratify the legate. Accordingly, the synod being satisfied with ordering a deputation to the king to demand a suitable reparation, broke up after a three days' session. Pursuant to this resolution, the legate and archbishop of Canterbury went to the king, and earnestly besought him to prevent a rupture between the ecclesiastical and secular powers. Which was, in plain English, requiring him to make ample satisfaction to the clergy, otherwise a rupture was unavoidable.

The people were all in combustion upon this occasion, as if themselves had been deprived of their liberties. The whole kingdom swarmed with malcontents, who only wanted a leader to command them. In fine, the clergy's faction was so strong, that most of the lay lords came over to their side, and espoused their cause. The empress thinking this a favourable juncture, resolved to improve it and go into England, though she had but one hundred and forty men to accompany her. She relied, however, on a powerful aid from the malcontents.

She took up her first quarters at the castle of Arundel, belonging to the queen dowager, as part of her dowry. The earl of Gloucester, who came with his sister, thinking her safe in a place where she was received with all the respect due to her rank, left her and went to Bristol. Meanwhile, Stephen, who was besieging Marlborough, being informed of Matilda's arrival, suddenly raised the siege, and marched towards Arundel. Upon the king's approach, the queen dowager repented of admitting Matilda, fearing it might occasion the loss of her castle, with all the privileges she enjoyed in England.

On the other hand, honour and honesty would not suffer her to deliver up her guest into the hands of her. enemy. In this perplexity, she sent the king word, if he insisted upon the delivery of the

empress, she was no less determined to protect her, till some one should come to her relief. But desired him to consider she had not entertained her as an enemy to the king, but as her daughter-in-law, widow of a great emperor, to whom she could not be excused from paying the respect due to her. In fine, she proposed to the king, that Matilda might have leave to retire to some other place, where it would be as easy to besiege her as in Arundel Castle. That by this generosity he would oblige a queen, widow of a great monarch, his uncle and benefactor, without the least detriment to himself.

Whether Stephen was sensible it was not in his power to take the castle before it was relieved, or thought himself bound to oblige the queen so far, he gave his word, that Matilda should be safely conducted to Bristol; which was accordingly done. But he had too much reason to repent afterwards of his being so generous: Matilda, after some stay at Bristol, removed to Gloucester. Whilst she remained in those cities, she so artfully managed in her favour the discontents of the clergy and nobility, that she gained them both to her interest, and by their means almost the whole body of their people[10].

AD 1140] Whilst this civil war lasted, the whole kingdom was divided, every city, county, and person siding with the king or empress, accordingly as they were swayed by their passion or interest. The lords, nearest in neighbourhood and blood, fell upon each other in a most cruel manner, burning the houses, and pillaging the vassals of each other, so that a terrible confusion was quickly spread over the whole kingdom.

In this fatal anarchy, the barons, acting as sovereigns, grievously oppressed the people, and were even so presumptuous as to coin their own money. Moreover, the foreign soldiers, of whom Stephen's army entirely consisted, occasioned still further disorders. As the king was not able to pay them duly, he was forced to suffer them to plunder the people, who, though innocent, felt the greatest share of the calamities which such a war brings with it.

At length, the bishop of Winchester, sensible of his error in raising a storm, which he foresaw would infallibly overwhelm the king his brother, suddenly changed sides. He reflected, that being brother to Stephen, he himself would certainly be involved in the same ruin with him, and, consequently, it was his interest to support him, instead of promoting his destruction. Desirous, therefore, of regaining the king's confidence by some important service, he drew to Winchester a number of lords, friends to Matilda, and detained them prisoners, till they delivered their castles to the king.

Amidst all these difficulties, Stephen shewed a firmness which kept many from deserting him; daily endeavouring to remedy, by his valour and prudence, the evils which he suffered by the revolt of his subjects. He even hoped to put an end to them at once, by laying siege to Wallingford, where Matilda and the earl of Gloucester were shut up. But meeting with more difficulties in this siege than he expected, he turned it into a blockade. He had no sooner retired, but the earl of Gloucester got out of the castle, and went and seized Worcester, whilst the barons of his party ravaged the counties of Chester and Nottingham.

Matilda, also, though closely pent up in Wallingford, found means to get from thence and retire to Lincoln. As soon as the king had notice of it, he formed the design of surprising her; well knowing, that Lincoln, where he had many friends, could not be defended by the few troops Matilda had with her. He would have taken his rival into that place, which held out but a short time, had she not contrived to escape, whilst the articles of the capitulation were drawing. Stephen missing his aim, retired without leaving a garrison in the town for fear of weakening his army. He was hardly gone, when he was informed that the earl of Chester, son-in-law of the earl of Gloucester, had come thither with his wife and brother, to keep their Christmas. His great desire to have these three persons in his power, made him march back with such speed that the earl had but just time to retire into the castle, which was immediately invested. However, be found means to escape and get to the earl of Gloucester, to desire him to come to the relief of the besieged,

who could not hold out long. The earl of Gloucester, willing to deliver his daughter, drew all his troops together, and marched to Lincoln, with that speed, that he almost, surprised the king. Having forded the river Trent, a thing the king thought impracticable, he came on a sudden so close to the royal army, that neither side could possibly avoid fighting. The two armies being, drawn up, the battle began, and for a long time was fought on both sides with equal bravery. At length the king's horse, consisting of Flemings and Bretons, giving ground, they were so vigorously pressed, that they could never rally more. The earl of Gloucester improved this advantage, not to pursue the flying horse, who were incapable of hurting him, but to fall upon the king's infantry, who, being destitute of the assistance of the cavalry, took to flight also.

Meantime Stephen, who could not bear the thoughts of flying, was left almost alone, and on foot, in the midst of the field of battle, assaulted by multitudes, but resisting. all their efforts with an astonishing valour. If the horse had rallied in the mean while, he might have freed himself from this danger; but, destitute of all assistance, he was forced at length to yield to numbers. However, it was not till the last extremity; for his battle-axe breaking by the force of his blows, he drew his sword, and defended himself for a considerable time, foaming with rage to see himself thus abandoned by his army.

At length, after performing more than could naturally be expected from a single person in his condition, his sword flying in pieces, and little more than the hilt remaining in his hand, he was knocked down on his knees with a stone. William de Mains, a valiant knight, then ran in, and seizing him by the helmet presented his sword to his throat, threatening to kill him unless he yielded himself prisoner. Notwithstanding the extreme. danger he was in, he refused to surrender to any but the earl of Gloucester, who by good fortune was near at hand. As soon as the earl had him in his power, he conducted him to the empress, who ordered him to be confined in the castle of Bristol, where he was ignominiously laid in irons.

AD 1141] Whilst this unfortunate prince was in so deplorable a condition, Matilda improved the advantages gained by her arms. All England deserted the captive king, except London and Kent, where he had still some friends left by means of the queen his spouse, Eustace his son, and William de Ypres his favourite. The barons, that preserved their allegiance, retired to London, where they had interest enough to gain admittance, and prevail with the citizens to make a confederacy with them in favour of the king. Normandy soon followed the example of England.

No sooner had the earl of Anjou received the advice of the king's imprisonment, than he repaired to Normandy, to cause the empress his wife to be acknowledged, which he easily accomplished. At the same time, the king of Scotland breaking the late treaty, invaded the northern counties, under pretence of assisting the empress, but in reality for his own private advantage.

The victory of Lincoln seemed at once to place Matilda on the throne: but there was one obstacle more to surmount, before she could hope to enjoy the fruits of her success; which was, to gain the bishop of Winchester. With this view she went to him at Winchester.

He made some difficulty at first to hearken to her proposals. But upon her offering him the disposal of all the church preferments, he threw up the cause of the king his brother, and promised to use his endeavours to procure Matilda the suffrages of the clergy. He even took his oath to her beforehand, but with this limitation, that it should be binding no longer than she kept true to her promises. On the morrow, he received her with great pomp in the cathedral church, where he solemnly excommunicated all the king's friends, and absolved all those that should abandon his party and come over to the empress.

Shortly after the archbishop of Canterbury swore likewise to Matilda. There was nothing more wanting to Matilda but the seal of public authority to be really queen of England. But, though she was sure of the consent of the temporal lords, she was apprehensive of meeting with opposition from the clergy, who, probably, would be more scrupulous on account of their oath

to the king. The legate taking upon him to accomplish this affair, called a council at Winchester, where all the bishops and abbots were present, with the archdeacons as representatives of the inferior clergy.

The day before the opening of the synod, the legate privately conferred first with the bishops, then with the abbots, and lastly with the archdeacons. It is not known what passed at these private conferences, but it was plain, next day, what use the legate was willing to make of them. As soon as the council was assembled, he made a long speech, endeavouring to shew that the mal-administration, insincerity, and tyranny, of Stephen, had been the sole cause of all the troubles in the kingdom.

He owned that indeed he had pledged his faith for him, when the necessity of his affairs had, as it were, compelled the English to place the crown on his head: adding, he was deceived the first, and with extreme grief saw himself obliged to revoke his engagement; He insisted upon his former oath to Matilda, adding it was more reasonable to regard the orders of his eternal Father, whose will it was that justice should be done to the empress, than the interests of a natural brother.

Then he said, he had done all that lay in his power to make Stephen sensible of his errors, even to the summoning him before a synod; but that all his brotherly and kind admonitions had proved ineffectual. That this obstinacy was a clear evidence to the English, what calamities they would have been exposed to under the government of such a prince, if it had not pleased Divine Providence to give sentence against him by suffering him to be imprisoned. In fine, since God's judgments were now fallen on the king whom they had elected, they were to atone for their fault, by restoring the crown to the princess, to whom of right it belonged.

I have therefore, continues he, convened you, by virtue of the apostolic power committed unto me, to consult about the means of appeasing the troubles of the state. This affair was debated yesterday in the presence of the greatest part of the clergy, who beyond all dispute have a principal share in the election of the kings. And therefore, after mature deliberation, we have determined to acknowledge Matilda, daughter to the incomparable king Henry, for queen and sovereign of England.

Most of those that were present were extremely surprised at this speech; and much more to see an election transacted in private by the clergy after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheless, every one kept a profound silence, which was interpreted for approbation. The legate told them further, he had summoned the magistrates of London, and that they had promised to send their deputies. And indeed on the morrow the deputies arrived, but instead of consenting to what the council had done, they declared they were ordered by the city and the barons that had retired thither, to petition for the king's liberty.

The legate replied, it became not the Londoners to side with the barons, who had basely deserted their king in battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the kingdom in fresh troubles. This answer not being satisfactory to the deputies, they demanded one more direct, but in vain. Before the end of the synod a chaplain to Stephen's queen offered to the council a letter, which he delivered to the legate. But because the prelate, after perusing it himself, would not communicate it to the assembly, the chaplain boldly took it out of his hand, and read it. aloud. This letter, wherein the queen earnestly entreated them to set the king at liberty, proving of no effect, the council broke up, after excommunicating all Stephen's adherents.

This affair being thus ended, the empress wanted only the consent of the Londoners, in order to her coronation. For that purpose, she was obliged to enter into a negotiation with the city, which lasted some time. Meanwhile, Matilda advanced as far as Reading, where Robert de Oyly, governor of Oxford, came and offered her the keys of his castle, humbly interacting her to honour that city with her presence. She readily complied with his request; and, after receiving the oath

of the inhabitants of Oxford, and the adjacent country, removed to St. Albans, where she waited for the resolution of the Londoners.

The city was then overrun with troubles and confusion. Some were for continuing steadfast to the king, though a prisoner: others for giving way to the times, and recognizing Matilda. The latter prevailing, the empress came to London, where she was magnificently received amidst the great numbers of barons that attended her. The city of London declaring thus for Matilda, there was no farther opposition, and now the preparations for her coronation were begun. Meanwhile Matilda was every where acknowledged for sovereign.

During this interval, Stephen's queen came to the empress, to try to prevail with her for some indulgence: to her husband. As she despaired of ever seeing him on the throne again, she desired nothing more than his liberty. She promised, in the name of that unhappy prince, that, content with living as a private person, he would renounce the crown, and, to remove all suspicion, depart out of the kingdom, and pass the residue of his days in a monastery. He even offered to swear never to return more, and give hostages for the performance of his promises. But such were the times, that there was no reliance on words or oaths, and Matilda rejected all these proposals with great haughtiness, forbidding the: unfortunate queen ever to come into her presence again.

The bishop of Winchester became also a petitioner to her, but had as little reason to be satisfied. He desired some favour for Eustace his nephew, which was proudly denied him[11]. His turbulent and vindictive temper not suffering him to rest under these circumstances, he began from that instant to plot against Matilda, burning with desire to make the ungrateful princess know, it was no less in his power to pull her down, than to set her up. But perhaps he would have found it difficult to accomplish his project, if the empress herself had not furnished him with the means, by her extreme pride, which made her regard her subjects as so many slaves.

She drew upon herself chiefly the hatred of the Londoners, by refusing to grant the only thing they petitioned, and which the king her father had positively promised, namely, to mitigate the severity of the Norman laws, and revive those of King Edward. This ill-advised princess thought herself so far above all contradiction, that she neglected to imitate the conduct of her predecessors, in amusing her subjects with promises at least, till her authority was more firmly established. The bishop of Winchester, by secret emissaries at London, stirred up the citizens to revenge the contempt Matilda had shewn them.

His cabals were carried so far, that he drew them into a plot to seize the empress's person. What care soever was taken to conceal this design, she had timely notice of it, and left the city in such haste that her palace and goods were exposed to the fury of the populace[12]. Though the legate missed his aim, he thought he had not a little forwarded the execution of his project, in engaging the Londoners against Matilda. Secure of their assistance, he privately concerted measures with the queen his sister-in-law. After which, he sent word to Eustace to be ready to march with the Kentish men, promising him, he should soon be at the head of a more considerable army. Having taken these measures, and secretly gained to the king's party several lords that were displeased with the empress, he ordered the castle of Winchester, and some others that were at his disposal, to be stored with provisions and arms.

As all this could not be transacted without Matilda's knowledge, she put herself at the head of her troops, attended by the earl of Gloucester, and the king of Scotland, who had come into England to assist at the coronation. At Winchester, she sent the bishop word, she had something to communicate to him, and therefore desired him to come to her. The prelate suspecting that she was informed of his proceedings, easily perceived this was only an artifice to ensnare him. Accordingly, instead of waiting upon her, she sent her an ambiguous answer. At, the same time he stole out of the town at an opposite gate, and drew his friends together, who only waited his orders to put themselves in motion. As they were all ready, they were quickly in arms. The Kentish-men joining the Londoners, Stephen's queen, Eustace his son, and William de Ypres

headed them, and marched to Winchester with the utmost speed. They nearly surprised the empress, who scarcely had time to retire into the castle. As the inhabitants of Winchester appeared a little too zealous in her cause, the bishop out of revenge, set fire to the city, though the capital of his diocese. Twenty churches were burnt to ashes, with a nunnery, which bore the name of St. Grimbald.

The bishop's care to provide the castle well with ammunition, rendered the siege very long and difficult. The besiegers applied themselves closely to it for two months, in hopes of putting an end to the war at once, by taking the heads of the contrary party. The same reason obliged the besieged to think of their safety. When they found there was no possibility of holding out any longer, they resolved to hew themselves a passage with their swords, and run all risks to secure the empress's person. To that purpose, they sallied out in good order, Matilda and the king of Scotland marching in the front, and the earl of Gloucester bringing up the rear.

They were no sooner out, but the king's troops closely pursued, endeavouring by frequent attacks to retard their march, whilst the rest of the army was advancing to surround them. In all these little skirmishes; the earl of Gloucester vigorously opposed his enemies, and gave signal marks of his conduct and valour. But his efforts, which indeed were very serviceable to Matilda, as they gave her time to retire, proved fatal to himself. As the empress's danger made him neglect his own safety, he marched the last through a narrow defile, where his troops were hard pressed by the enemies, and himself unfortunately taken prisoner. William de Ypres, to whose charge he was committed, ordered him to be forthwith conducted to Rochester in Kent, where the king had more friends than in any other part of the kingdom.

Meantime Matilda, making all possible speed, escaped with a few followers to, the castle of Lutgershall, and from thence to the Devizes. There she reposed herself a little, thinking she had time enough to reach Gloucester. But when she came to pursue her journey, she had intelligence, the road was lined with the king's soldiers. She is said to have escaped their vigilance, by being carried to Gloucester in a coffin.

Whilst the empress was devising expedients to resist her enemies, the bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the king's friends, were endeavouring to disengage the earl of Gloucester from his sister's party. But all their solicitations, and the considerations of his present state, could not shake him. He firmly persisted in the allegiance which he had sworn to her, and would not even dissemble to procure his liberty. After six months' imprisonment Matilda, who had a tender affection for him, and besides could not well proceed without him, consented he should be exchanged for the king.

After the bishop of Winchester resolved to abandon the empress, he wrote to the Pope, to entreat him to authorize his proceedings in behalf of the king his brother. As the Pope had no information of what passed in England, but from his legate, he did not fail to answer him according to his wish. Supported with this authority, the legate summoned a council at Westminster, where the Pope's letter was read; and, in a rhetorical harangue, he endeavoured to justify his late conduct and the frequent breach of his oaths. But he would have found it very difficult to purge himself, had he not been favoured by the present juncture.

He concluded his speech with excommunicating all the adherents of the empress as so many enemies to the public peace. The people were not pleased to see themselves thus liable to such opposite excommunications, according to the humour of the legate. No one dared to complain; but a lay-messenger of the empress; by her order, charged the legate to his face, that it was by his invitation she came into England. He had even the boldness to tell him, his brother's hard treatment in his imprisonment was owing to his advice. The legate made no reply to these reproaches, but resolved to complete his revenge by entirely ruining Matilda's affairs.

AD 1142] Upon Stephen's recovering his liberty, Matilda's party declined so visibly, that the earl of Gloucester was afraid it would come to nothing, unless supported by foreign aid. This apprehension made him resolve to pass into Normandy, and solicit the earl of Anjon, to maintain his wife the empress's fight, which was also his son's. But the earl was too much embroiled in domestic troubles to send any great succours into England.

The Anjouvin nobility were dissatisfied with him, and the Normans were not yet sufficiently settled in his obedience, for him to venture to remove from them, or leave their country unprovided with troops. He contented himself therefore with sending between 300 and 400 men to Matilda, with Henry his eldest son, to try whether his presence would have any influence on the English.

During the earl of Gloucester's absence, Matilda retired to Oxford, where she thought herself safe, till the succours, expected from Normandy, should arrive. The king looking upon this as a favourable juncture, resolved to lay siege to that city, in expectation of having his rival in his power, before the earl's return[13].

The siege was carried on with all possible vigour and diligence, and resisted in the same manner by the empress. The approach of winter gave her some hopes, the king would he obliged to retire. But Stephen being resolutely bent to continue his attacks, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, she was at last reduced to the necessity of desiring to capitulate. As she dreaded, above all things, the same lot she had inflicted on her enemy, she did not think fit to wait the issue of the capitulation, which could not but prove fatal to her.

Whilst she amused the king with demands that he would never grant, she took advantage of a dark night, and went out of her abode clothed in white, to deceive the sentinels, as the ground was then covered with snow. She passed the Thames on the ice, and walked about six miles on foot, with the snow beating in her face all the way. In spite of these difficulties, she came to Abington, and taking horse rode that same night to Wallingford. The king was extremely surprised to find himself thus disappointed.

Prince Henry and the earl of Gloucester, who were just arrived in England, being informed of the empress's happy escape, waited upon her at Wallingford, where the sight of her son[14] blotted out, for a time, all remembrance of her misfortunes.

In the beginning of the year 1143, the legate summoned a council at London, where the king was present. He made a. long speech, tending to convince the bishops of the necessity of exerting themselves more vigorously than they had hitherto done, in order to put a speedy end to a war so prejudicial to the kingdom. He declared, he was ready to persevere in exposing his life for the service of the state; but added, he could not flatter himself with any hopes of success, without the assistance of his subjects. He therefore required, that those who were able to bear arms, should attend him in his military expeditions, and the rest furnish him with moneys.

This was addressed particularly to the clergy, who, being entirely guided by the bishop of Winchester, promised to grant an aid. It was however upon this condition, that the church should be better protected for the future. The king assuring them, it was his intention, and that the canons should be strictly observed, the council passed two relating to the times. By the first it was declared, whoever killed an ecclesiastic, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself. The second ordained, that the husbandman and plough should be under the same protection as was enjoyed by those that were retired into a church or church-yard.

The rest of this year's occurrences consist only of a tedious account of the civil war, which laid waste the kingdom. We meet with nothing but taking and surprising castles, some little skirmishes of no consequence, and many barbarities committed on both sides. In this and the three next years[15], Stephen's party visibly prevailed; to which the death of the earl of Gloucester, and of

Milo Earl of Hereford, her chief counsellors and most faithful friends, greatly contributed. After the loss of these two earls, Matilda, seeing no way to defend herself any longer, left England and retired to Normandy, whither she had already sent the prince her son.

AD 1147] Upon the empress's departure Stephen finding himself in peaceable possession of the crown, thought of means to secure it, after his death, to Eustace his eldest son. For that purpose, he caused some of the barons to take the oath to him.

Towards the latter end of the year 1147, he kept his Christmas at Lincoln, where he affected to wear his crown, notwithstanding a certain prophecy, foretelling great misfortunes to the kings, who should venture to appear crowned in that city.

Whilst Stephen was enjoying the repose procured by Matilda's retreat, the zeal of the Christian world rousing itself again, a fresh crusade was undertaken against the Saracens. Lewis, the young king of France,[16] signalised himself in this expedition, by the great number of troops he led in person to the Holy-Land. He was accompanied by Eleanor of Guyenne his queen, heiress of the house of Poictiers, with whom he had the earldom of Guyenne, with its appurtenances, and all Poictou. During the voyage, which lasted near two years, Lewis fell out in such a manner with his queen, upon some suspicion, well or ill-grounded[17], that he resolved to divorce her as soon as he returned to France.

AD 1149] Since Matilda had in a manner relinquished all pretensions to England, Stephen thought only of reaping the fruits of his labours, and repairing the mischief's, which the kingdom had suffered by a long war. But a new rival, who was preparing to dispute the crown with him, soon made him sensible, he was still far enough from the tranquillity he had flattered himself with. Henry, eldest son of Matilda by the earl of Anjou, a young prince of sixteen years of age, and of a lively and enterprising genius, thought he should not be discouraged by the difficulties which the empress his mother met with in England.

He accordingly went to the king of Scotland his great uncle, and concerted measures with him to accomplish this design. David, having notice of the Prince's coming, met him in Northumberland. After conferring with him about their affairs, he knighted him according to the custom of those days, when this ceremony was deemed necessary for all that took upon them the profession of arms. Meantime, Stephen, who had received intelligence of this interview, fearing they had some design upon York, speedily marched thither, and reinforced the garrison.

Upon his. approach the two princes parted, David returning to Scotland, and Henry to Normandy. He had scarcely arrived at Rouen, when Geoffrey his father died, leaving him the earldom of Anjou, till the empress his mother's death should put him in possession of Normandy, after which he was to resign Anjou to Geoffrey his younger brother.

AD 1115] Lewis had deferred parting with Eleanor, his wife only till he had brought her back to France. Immediately after his return, he put his resolution in practice, and generously restored to her Guyenne, Poictou, Saintonge, with all the dominions she had brought him in marriage, providing also for the two daughters he had by her. As soon as this divorce. became public, Henry, who with his mother's consent had assumed the title of duke of Normandy, considered how to secure the possession of this rich heiress. Matters were carried on with such secrecy, that the first news Lewis heard was, that the duke was gone to the queen at Bourdeaux, where their nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary magnificence.

This was a great mortification to that monarch, who could not bear to see another decked with his spoils, though voluntarily relinquished by himself. Besides, he was sensible how formidable Henry would be to France, in case he should one day add to his present dominions the kingdom of England, to which he had so just a claim. On the other hand, this marriage made Stephen no less uneasy. The jealousy of these two monarchs being roused on this occasion, it was not long

before they made an alliance, the design of which was to humble a prince who was grown very formidable to both. Lewis raised him disturbances in Anjou by means of Geoffrey his brother, who thought he had a right, by virtue of his father's will, to take. possession of that earldom. At the same time he invested once more Eustace, son of Stephen, with Normandy; that Henry, attacked from two quarters, might afford the king of England time to establish himself on the throne.

On the other side, Stephen took all the measures he thought capable of ruining the duke's party in England, in order to destroy his hopes of ever coming to the crown. The most proper means to this end was, in his opinion, to cause his son Eustace to be crowned beforehand. But he met with unexpected obstacles.

The archbishop of Canterbury refused to comply with his request, and his reason was still more offensive than the denial itself. He told him, the Pope had expressly forbidden him to crown the son of a prince, who, contrary to his oath, had usurped the kingdom. The king, incensed at the obstinate denial of the bishops, caused them all to be shut up in one house, resolving to keep them there till they complied with his will. This was an extraordinary way to obtain his desire; accordingly it proved unsuccessful. The house, where the. bishops were detained, not being carefully guarded, the archbishop found means to escape and fly into Normandy. By his flight, the king's project entirely vanished.

AD 1152] Stephen, as he did not question but the duke of Normandy had gained the bishops to his party, thought to bring them back to their duty, by seizing some castles, still in the hands of the duke's friends, in order to deprive the clergy of that protection. At the same time, he sent his son Eustace into Normandy to join the king of France and invade that duchy. Stephen's aim was to prevent Henry from coming into England, to the assistance of his friends.

But this war lasted not so long as he expected. Henry, by his extraordinary courage and diligence, drove out of Anjou his brother Geoffrey, who was become master of some places. Then he marched back to Normandy, where he found means, by making him some satisfaction, to conclude a peace with the king of France. After that, it was easy to drive out Eustace, who was not yet firmly settled in that duchy. Eustace, finding no farther refuge there, returned to England, and joined his father, who was then besieging Wallingford.

This was one of the strongest places in the kingdom. Accordingly, the king spent so much time in the siege, that the duke had leisure to come to its relief, after settling his affairs in Normandy. The young duke, perceiving of what importance it was to relieve his friends in England, led over so considerable a number of forces, that he gave new life to his party, which, since Matilda's departure, seemed to be quite discouraged. Several barons immediately joined him, and put into his hands thirty fortified castles, whose garrisons he reinforced.

Then he hastened to the relief of Wallingford, which was vigorously pressed, through the absence of the king, who was gone to London to make fresh preparations. Henry approaching the town, and finding it very difficult to assault the besiegers in their entrenchments, contented himself with securing the avenues, through which they were supplied with provisions. This precaution would soon have been fatal to them, had not Stephen posted to their succour. He approached the duke of Normandy, and without attacking him, brought him into the same straits, as the besiegers had some days laboured under.

It was scarcely possible for the armies to part without fighting. Accordingly the two leaders were preparing for battle with equal ardour, when, by the prudent advice of the earl of Arundel, who was on the king's side, they were prevented from coming to blows. He represented to the king the miseries the kingdom was about to be exposed to, by a battle, which must be very bloody, and almost as fatal to the vanquishers as vanquished. Adding, it would be more becoming Christians to try, whether matters could not be adjusted by a treaty, which would restore peace

to the unfortunate kingdom. In fine, he plainly told him, it was not reasonable, that a whole nation should be exposed to the greatest calamities, on account of two princes who aimed more at gratifying their own ambition, than at the happiness of the English.

Whether Stephen was moved by these remonstrances, or apprehensive of being deserted, he consented that an accommodation should be proposed to the duke. The young prince, who had prepared for battle, was with difficulty brought to hearken to the king's proposal. But perceiving, that the English lords pressed him very earnestly to it, he thought proper to yield to their importunity, and consent to the interview desired by Stephen. In a short conference between these two princes on the opposite banks of the Thames, they agreed upon a truce, in order to have time to negotiate a peace.

AD 1153] Earl Eustace could not see this truce without trouble, knowing it would probably end in a peace which must be prejudicial to him. Indeed, it was not to be supposed, that the duke of Normandy, being unconquered, would depart from his pretensions to the crown. To be excused from signing the treaty, or perhaps to•try to obstruct it, Eustace suddenly left the army, and retired into Suffolk. Shortly after, as he was going to sit down at table in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, he fell into a frenzy, and died in three days, being eighteen years of age. He was buried in the abbey of Feversham with the queen his mother, who died a few months before.

Constantia his widow, daughter of Lewis the Gross, was afterwards married to Raymond earl of Thoulouse. Stephen was extremely concerned for the loss of his queen and son, which seemed to portend some farther misfortunes. Indeed, the nobility openly abandoned him, and went over to the duke of Normandy. As there were few barons but what were guilty of disloyalty, their dread that the king might think of being revenged, made them judge it necessary for their safety to put themselves under the duke's protection.

Their suspicions were confirmed by what had lately happened to the earl of Chester. This earl, waiting on the king to offer his service, was taken into close custody, whence he could not free himself but by the delivery of Lincoln castle into the king's hands. It was not, however, without cause that the king was willing to secure himself against the earls who had entered into private engagements with the duke of Normandy. It is probable, therefore, Stephen had some intelligence of this matter. But whether he neglected to publish the reasons of his suspecting the earl, or could not convict him, this action was considered by the rest of the barons, as a presage of what they themselves were to expect. Indeed many of them, having entered into the like engagements with the duke, believed it safer to declare for him openly, than expose themselves to the king's resentment by staying at court.

David king of Scotland died this year, leaving only some grandchildren by Henry his son, who died before him. Malcolm, and William, the two eldest, successively mounted the throne, and David their brother was earl of Huntington.

The truce between Stephen and Henry was renewed several times, by reason of the great difficulties which occurred in the negotiation of the peace. The main obstacle sprung from Stephen's desire to settle the succession on his son William, to which Henry would never consent. He was willing, Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life: but, after his death, insisted upon succeeding him.

At length, Stephen reflecting on the state of his affairs, and seeing the great obstacles in his way, resolved to purchase peace by relinquishing. his design. He was sensible, that the duke's noble qualities, and a title to the crown, a title powerfully supported, were difficulties that could not be easily surmounted.

The inclination of the nobles and people gave him further occasion to dread, that they would not stay for his death, to put the sceptre into the hands of the young prince. These considerations at

last induced him to consent to the peace, as proposed by Henry. As soon as it was signed, Stephen performed the ceremony of adopting the young duke, who paid him the respect due to a father. On the other hand, William, the king's son, did homage to the duke; who promised on his part to maintain him in the possession of the estates of his family[18], and of those, granted him by the king his father, since his accession to the crown[19].

This treaty was concluded and signed at Winchester, in an assembly, convened for that purpose, of all the lords spiritual and temporal. After this, the two princes made their public appearance together in the principal Cities, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy. The people could not sufficiently press their satisfaction at seeing peace and tranquillity at length restored to the kingdom, after so many years of troubles and confusion. An historian affirms, that amidst these rejoicings, Henry discovered a conspiracy against him by William the King's son; and adds, the plot would have been executed, had not William accidentally fallen off his horse, and broke his thigh. To this he attributes the sudden departure of the duke of Normandy; who, without shewing any signs of mistrust, took his leave of the king, and returned to his dominions, till Stephen's death should put him in possession of the throne of England.

Although, after his agreement with Henry, Stephen could have no hopes of leaving the crown to his son, he was so touched .with the miseries which the kingdom. endured, that he resolved to use all his endeavours to repair them. He even seemed to take proper measures to that end. But death prevented. him from executing so generous a design. He died[20] in the fiftieth year of his age, on the 25th of October 1154, eleven mouths after the treaty with Henry. He was buried by his queen and son Eustace, in the abbey of Feversham, which he himself had founded[21].

if this prince's character be considered in general only, he may be said to have been worthy to live in better times, and his good qualities to outweigh his defects. However, it would be difficult to justify his proceedings in acquiring the crown, and particularly the breach of his oath. His breaking his word on certain occasions is, moreover, a stain to his memory. But the commendations due to his valour, clemency, and generosity, cannot be denied him. The first of these virtues appeared chiefly at the battle of Lincoln, where he was taken prisoner.

The other two must be owned, when it is considered that throughout his reign there is not a single instance of severity to be found, though several of the barons, whom the chance of war had put in his power, had given him but too much reason to use them with rigour. It is true, there are historians that made it their business to blacken his reputation. But, it must be observed, most of them wrote in the reign of Henry II. or his son's.

As for William of Malmsbury, who was contemporary with Stephen, he is known to have been the earl of Gloucester's creature. The troubles during this reign furnished the clergy with a favourable opportunity to exalt. the mitre above the crown. The court of Rome improved also these junctures, to introduce into England new laws, which the English doubtless would have opposed at any other time.

The canon law compiled by Gratian in 1151, by the authority of Eugenius III. was brought into England, on occasion of the contests between the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester, about the legateship. These differences gave the Italian canonists opportunity to settle in England, and introduced by degrees the study of the canon law into the university of Oxford, where Vacarius was the first professor, Stephen left one legitimate son, called William, who was earl of Boulogne in right of the queen his mother. He had also one daughter named Maria, who, after she had put on the veil; was, notwithstanding, married to Philip of Alsatia; but upon the death of her husband returned to the nunnery[22].

A natural son of Stephen's, called also William, has given occasion to some, deceived by the likeness of names, to affirm this prince left behind him only a bastard son[23]. The most remarkable occurrences in this reign were these: in 1136, there was a great fire in London, which

consumed part of that city, from Aldgate to St. Paul's church; and also the bridge, which was then of timber. In 1137, June 3, the cathedral of Rochester was burnt down as was also, the next day, the whole city of York, with the cathedral, and thirty-nine churches: and so was also the city of Bath, on the 27th. In 1150, and 1151, there was a great famine in England.

Having shewn before; how the money was paid in and issued out of the Exchequer, it may not be amiss now to set down the particular branches of the royal revenue; namely, I. The demesnes of the crown. II Escheats. III. Feudal and other profits arising out of the demesnes and escheats. IV. The yearly ferms of counties and towns. V. Fines and amerciaments. VI. Aids, scutages, foliages, and customs. VII. Casual profits of divers kinds.

These particulars will give great light to several parts of the English history. First, of the ancient demesne of the crown: it appears, at the time of the Conquest and afterwards, the Demesne lands were considerable for extent and income. Doomsday book shews what they were in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and serves to distinguish the king's demesnes from his escheats and other lands, and from the lands of other men. II. The second branch of the revenue arose by escheats, under which term are comprehended not only those lands most properly so called, but those also which at sundry times after the Conquest became vested in the crown, either by devolution, forfeiture, seizure, or perhaps by some other title. By the revenue rolls of the pipe of the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. (which next to Doomsday are the most ancient rolls of records now extant) and likewise by those of the next succeeding kings, we find the crown then in possession of several great honours, baronies, and lands, of that which are usually stiled Honour, Baronia, or Terra of such a one, with the addition sometimes of *quæ est in manu Regis*, without expressing by what title they became vested in the crown.

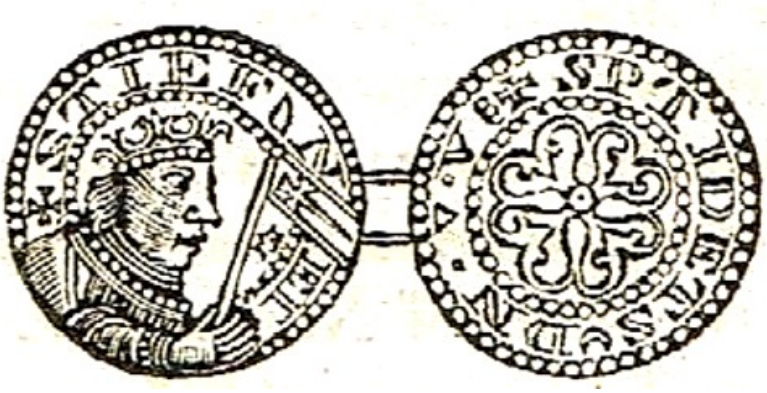
These great escheats were anciently committed, usually by the king, to certain persons in fermi or custody, who answered at the Exchequer yearly for the issues or ferm thereof. Besides these. great fees, the lands of lower persons, and sometimes of hereditary offices and serjeanties, with the lands appertaining thereto, became forfeited to the crown. As the king had the full dominion in all these escheats, after they had been long vested in the crown, they were hardly to be distinguished from the king's ancient demesne. About the latter end of Henry II’s reign, they began to form an escheatry, which in subsequent times was managed by officers called at first Custodes Escaetriæ, and afterwards Escheators.

However, some of the smaller escheats were. usually holden by the sheriffs. When escheats first came to the crown, the justices itinerant took care within their several circuits, to have them seized to the crown, and put in charge to the sheriffs or other officers to the king's profit. III. Some revenue likewise accrued to the crown from vacant bishoprics and abbeys of royal. foundation and patronage. *Ordericus Vitalis* ascribes this practice first to William II.

He says before the Norman invasion, the bishop of the diocese took care of the revenues of a vacant abbey, as the archbishop did of those of a bishopric till filled. In 1164, (10 Hen. II.) by the constitutions of Clarendon, an archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation becoming void, the same was to be in the king's hands, and he might receive the issues thereof as if he had held them in demesne. And so, it seems, the usage was, both before and after the council of Clarendon.

In the 5th of Stephen, the manors of the bishopric of Durham then vacant are said, in the roll, to be in *Dominio Regis,* and, therefore, discharged of Dane-gelt. In the statute *de Provisoribus* (25 Edward III.) it is declared, that the kings, earls, barons, as lords and advowees, had and ought to have the custody of vacant prelacies, &c. This power was often abused by the king, as well as private lords and patrons, by keeping the benefices void several years together. However this be, the crown was wont to take into its hands the temporalities of vacant bishoprics and abbies, which were at first committed to a *Custos*, who accounted to the crown for the same. And afterwards; when the office of escheatry was settled, the escheators used, upon a voidance, to

seize them for the king, and answer for the same as part of their escheatry. The succeeding bishop could not meddle with the temporalities thus seized, without a writ to give him possession, called a writ of restitution of temporalities, which continues in use to this day. The kings, in five or six successions after the Conquest, made a considerable revenue this way, as appears by the revenue rolls. The rest of the branches will be continued in the following coin remarks.



In king Stephen's time there seems to have been a great deal of money coined; the barons coining money as well as the king. And yet we have very few remains of their treasures. His penny, in Speed, is no bigger than his predecessors. It is the first after the Conquest that is half-faced, with this inscription, **STIEFN EI**. and, on the reverse, **SPTIDETS DN. V** which Nicolson takes to be the blundered name of some of his above mentioned royal lords.

Different from this is another which gives both his eyes, though even here the face is somewhat sideways. The crown is much the same with Henry I. only the flowers are raised higher. Tanner met with one, which instead of the king's head, bore two angels with **STIEFEN RE.** with a reverse like that of William the Conqueror. Mr. Thoresby had one with both the figures of Stephen and Henry, and likewise of **EISTAOTHIVS** (Eustatius son of Stephen) with a horse on one side, and a large cross of fleur-de-lis on the other. Another of Eustatius, with a sword in his hand: reverse, **EBORACI. ED. TS.** a pellet in each quarter of a cross, surrounded with a rose. (See the figure on the preceding page.

Notes to Chapter 4

1) He took a light ship at Witsands, and proceeded to London.

2) March 21, 1136, Matilda, Stephen's queen, was crowned.

3) This he did in order to secure himself against any attempts from Matilda. He not only gave the barons leave to fortify their castles, but also to build new ones on their estates.

4.) Above three thousand of them were slain on the spot, with two barons, Robert Fitz-Roger, and Pain Fitz-John, besides a great number drowned by the fall of a bridge over the river Temd. After this victory, the Welsh princes over-ran the English territories, and returned home with a great booty.

5). Mary of Scotland, sister to the empress's mother, married Eustace earl of Boulogne, by whom she had Matilda, wife of Stephen.

6.) Now North-Allerton in Yorkshire.

7.) He married, during his stay in England, Ada sister of William earl of Warren, Waleran earl of Mellent, and Robert earl of Leicester, by whom he had three sons, Malcolm, William, and David.

8.) Roger, the king's chancellor, was the bishop's son by Maud of Ramesbury his concubine,

9.) Ancestor of the earls of Oxford.

10.) This year, one Ralph, a clergyman belonging to the bishop of Ilya formed a conspiracy to kill all the Normans in England.

11.) The bishop petitioned the empress to confirm the titles of earl of Mortagne and Boulogne to Eustace, whose mother was daughter and heir of the earl of Boulogne.

12.) She fled to Oxford, and from thence in great haste went to Gloucester, whence, having conferred with Milo, she returned to Oxford; and, after some time, advanced towards Winchester, Where she came about August 1, but finding the city was against her she took her lodging in the castle.

13.) He burnt that city, September 28, and then laid siege to the castle.

14.) At a back-gate attended only with four persons. The Sax. Annuals say, she was let down from a tower by a rope.

15.) A. D. 1144, 1143, 1146.

16.) A. D. 1148

17.) He suspected her of adultery with a young Saracen; but the pretence he made use of to divorce her was, that they were cousins in the fourth degree.

18.) The earldom of Warren, county of Norfolk, Pevensey, Dover; and Feversham.

19.) This agreement is recited and confirmed by Stephen's charter or declaration under his seal, in Brompton's chronicle, directed to all the faithful people of England. The articles of the treaty were I. That king Stephen should enjoy the crown during life. II That after his decease, duke Henry should succeed him as his lawful heir to this Hoveden adds, that the king appointed the duke judiciary of England under himself.

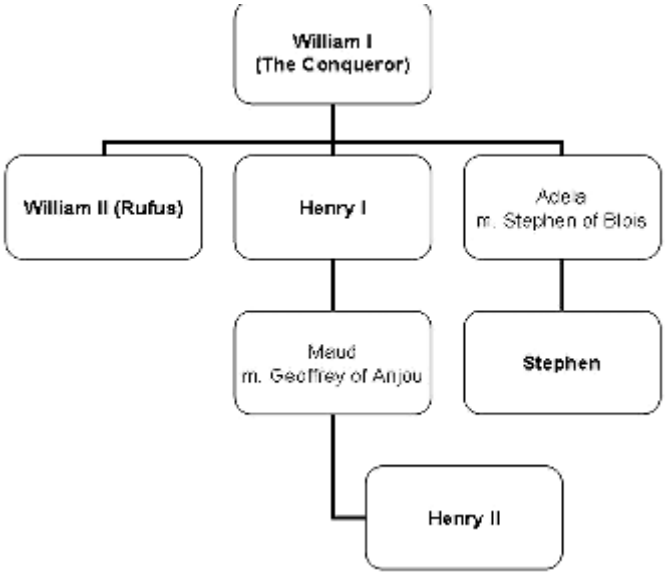
20.) Of the colic and piles, at Canterbury, where he was come to have an interview with the earl of Flanders.

21.) And there he lay till the suppression of the abbeys, when for so small a gain as the leaden coffin, wherein his body was wrapped, it was taken up and thrown into the next water.

22.) King Stephen's legitimate issue was as follows: I. Baldwin, bearing the name of his mother's uncle, king of Jerusalem. He died an infant, and was buried in the priory of the Trinity, without Aldgate in London, now called Duke's place. II Eustace earl of Boulogne, he married Constance, sister of Lewis VII. who died and was buried, as before related. III. William, Earl of Mortagne and Boulogne; lord .of the honour of Eagle and Pevensey, and (in right of Isabel his wife) fourth earl of Warren and Surrey; she being heir of William, III the third Earl of Warren and Surrey. He died accompanying king Henry II. at the siege of Thoulouse 1160, without issue. IV. Maud, who died young, and was buried with her brother Baldwin: she is reported by some to have been wife of the earl of Milan. **V**. Mary, first a nun and abbess of Ramsey nunnery in Hampshire, afterwards secretly taken from thence and married to Matthew of Flanders younger son of Theodoric earl of Flanders. After her brother William's death, she was countess of Boulogne and Mortagne, and had two daughters, Ida (wife of Reginald de Trie, earl of Dammartin, with whom he had the earldom of Boulogne,) and Maud, wife of Henry the first, duke of Brabant. Mary, by the censure of the church, was separated from her husband, and sent back to her monastery; but her children were legitmated by Parliament, 1189.

23.) His natural issue were: **I.** William, who is distinguished from the legitimate son William, earl of Boulogne, in an ancient charter of the earl's now extant, where the earl names him for a witness, and calls him brother. II. Gervase begotten of a gentlewoman named Dameta, born in Normandy, and brought into England by his father in 1149, and made the same year abbot of Westminster; and so continued for twenty years.

The End of Chapter 4



King Stephen

Chapter V

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH, DURING THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. HENRY I AND STEPHEN

HE revolution in England by the Norman conquest introduced a great change both in church and state. More especially, the pope and clergy were considerable losers by it. Instead of the devout and submissive Saxon princes, who were ready to embrace all opportunities, of augmenting the privileges and revenues of the church, there arose in England a race of Norman kings of quite a different character. Solely employed in grasping at arbitrary power, they could not bear any distinction between the clergy and laity as to point of obedience. They challenged an equal authority over both.

What schemes soever the church of Rome had formed to render the clergy independent of the crown, the reigns of the two Williams were not thought to afford any favourable opportunities to hasten their execution. The Normans, from motives of interest, were entirely attached to their sovereigns, and the English, in their low condition, were no proper instruments to promote the cause of the court of Rome. This probably was the reason that obliged Gregory VII. with all his haughtiness, to stoop to the resolute and steady temper of William the Conqueror.

This monarch, not content with boldly refusing the homage required by Gregory, openly contemned the papal decrees. He governed the clergy of his kingdom like the rest of his subjects, with an absolute sway. If he suffered the pope's legates to preside at a council, it was only to be freed with more ease from some bishops that gave him disturbance. But when he found this same synod unwilling to come into all his measures, he exerted his absolute power. By his sole authority, he banished or imprisoned such bishops as he did not like, without staying for a canonical sentence.

On the other hand, whilst the pope was thundering out anathemas against the emperor, and compelling him to dishonourable homage, William peaceably enjoyed, in his dominions, the right of investiture, which was the subject of the quarrel between the emperor and the court of Rome. He made the church lands liable to the same services with the lay-fees. He seized the gold and silver deposited in the monasteries, and spared not even the consecrated vessels. Nothing was transacted in the church but by his direction and the synodal constitutions were no longer in force than during his pleasure. He went still further, and set himself, in some measure, above the popes, by forbidding his subjects to receive their orders, or acknowledge their authority, without his permission.

William Rufus had no greater regard to the church's immunities. All the pope's menaces were ineffectual to prevent him from keeping the vacant bishoprics and abbeys in his hands, and to dispose of them afterwards to the best bidder. It thus appears, that the court of Rome owed the progress and growth of its power purely to its political prudence. The popes wisely gave way to

princes of resolution and steadiness, but they vigorously proceeded against those whose circumstances would not permit them to oppose their designs. We have a plain instance of this policy in the different behaviour of the court of Rome with regard to the four first Norman kings. After yielding to the two Williams, she struggled a long time with Henry I. But when she saw, he was not to be conquered, she contented herself with what she would have scorned, in the beginning of the contest. She compounded the matter with that monarch, and consented that the bishops and abbots should do him homage; at the very time she obstinately refused the same terms to the emperor, whose affairs were in a less prosperous state.

As for Stephen, she knew how to improve the troubles in his reign, by the help of the bishop of Winchester. As she was ready to make use all the advantages that offered, she took occasion from these troubles to appoint a legate, different from the archbishop of Canterbury, which she durst not have done at any other time. This encroachment seemed at first of little consequence, but had afterwards too great an influence upon the affairs of England. By the means of these legates it was that at length she set her foot on the necks both of the kings and the clergy.

We have a remarkable proof of this design in the haughty treatment of Lanfranc by the court of Rome, when nominated to the see of Canterbury, upon St. Band's deprivation. Lanfranc was a prelate of distinguished worth, equally esteemed by the king, the English, and the Normans, and consequently of very great credit in England. And yet, he could never prevail to be excused going to Rome in person, to receive the pall at the pope's hands.

Hildebrand, then archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards promoted to the papal chair, under the name of Gregory VII. wrote him a letter on that subject, endeavouring to soften the refusal. He told him, if there had been any instance of the like favour being granted to his predecessors, it would not have been refused. But, either he was not well versed in the ecclesiastical history of England, or else, supposed Lanfranc not to know of the pall's being sent to Austin,

Justus, Honorius, all three archbishops of Canterbury. It was not, therefore, from a scruple to introduce a new custom, that Lanfranc was denied this favour, but for fear the archbishops should by degrees forget their dependence on the pope. We shall frequently see, in the course of this history, how much the Roman pontiffs abused their exorbitant power over the clergy of England. It is not yet time to insist on this point. But, in order to give a general knowledge of the most material ecclesiastical affairs in England during the interval we have passed through, it is necessary to shew the rise of the dispute between the archbishops of Canterbury and York. This long contest is one of the chief articles of the ecclesiastical history of England.

Whilst Lanfranc was preparing for his journey to Rome, Thomas, canon of Bayeux, one of William the Conqueror's chaplains, was nominated to the see of York. Shortly after, the new prelate came to Canterbury to be consecrated according to custom. But Lanfranc requiring him to make a profession of canonical obedience to him in writing, he refused to comply, and went away without consecration.

This contest making a great noise, the king wanted to be informed of the matter, suspecting Lanfranc had carried his prerogatives too high. But after several English lords had shewn that Lanfranc had custom on his side, William, without taking upon him to decide the dispute, found an expedient to satisfy the two archbishops. This was, that Thomas should return to Canterbury, and deliver a written profession of obedience to Lanfranc, as senior; and that the settling the rights of the two sees should be referred to the pope.

This expedient being approved of, the two prelates set out together for Rome to receive the pall, and cause this controversy to be decided. Alexander II. who was then pope, not wishing to offend either of the prelates, or to disoblige the king of England, declared that the point ought to be determined by an English synod. Accordingly, two great councils were holden in England, one at Easter and the other at Whitsuntide, in the year 1072, in which this important question was

debated with great warmth, in the presence of the king, queen, and all the court, and at length determined in favour of Canterbury. Thus, for a time at least, this controversy seemed to be determined. In the time of Anselm, however, another Thomas, nominated to the see of York, refused to take the oath, but at length was constrained to it.

Notwithstanding these two precedents, Thurstan being elected archbishop of York in the reign of Henry I. refused to make the customary submissions to the archbishop of Canterbury. But the king gave him to understand, he must either comply, or renounce his archbishopric. Thurstan, however grievous it might be to him; chose the latter. Nevertheless, he caused the chapter of York to send deputies to Paschal II. to represent the wrong done to their see.

These deputies remonstrated, that the king had exceeded his power, in compelling Thurstan to renounce his election, for refusing to subject the see of York to an obedience, which was never canonically enjoined. This argument prevailing with the Pope, he wrote to the king, exhorting him to restore Thurstan; adding, that in case the archbishops had any dispute about privileges, he himself would equitably decide it. Paschal being dead, and Gelasius II. succeeding him, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his agents to Rome to sound the new Pope's sentiments concerning this contest. These agents reported, that they found by what the Pope said, he designed to send a legate into England to decide the controversy. But he was prevented by death, which surprised him as he was travelling to France.

Calixtus II. successor to Gelasius, repairing to Rheims to hold a council, Thurston obtained the king's leave to go thither; but upon condition he would not receive consecration from the Pope or any other bishop. However the king, not confiding altogether on this prelate's word, sent a letter to the Pope, protesting, if Thurstan was consecrated by any but the archbishop of Canterbury, he should never more set foot in England. Notwithstanding this protestation, Calixtus himself consecrated Thurstan in the presence of the council.

The archdeacon of Canterbury would have opposed it, but was told by the Pope, he designed no manner of injury to the see of Canterbury. Henry not having been able to prevent Thurstan from being consecrated, banished him the kingdom with his whole family. But he did not long remain in exile. The Pope, willing to stand by what he had done, threatened the king with excommunication, and his kingdom with an interdict[1].

The Pope's resoluteness caused Henry to yield at length, that Thurstan should be installed, without making the customary submission to the see of Canterbury. Thus the see of York recovered, in some measure, part of the ground it had lost. This contest was afterwards revived several times; but there is no necessity for pursuing the subject any farther.

It has been seen, how zealously Dunstan and the partisans of Rome laboured to introduce the celibacy of the clergy, and how the Danish wars obliged them to suspend their design. From that time to the Norman Conquest, the English priests lived on in a state of marriage, notwithstanding the sundry attempts of the Popes to put a stop to that pretended licentiousness. It is difficult at first to conceive why the Popes were so obstinately bent upon this undertaking, because one sees not immediately how much the interest of the court of Rome was concerned in the case.

But our wonder at their labouring so heartily in this affair will cease, when we consider it was a great step towards executing the project, of rendering the clergy independent of the civil power, and making them a separate body to be governed by their own laws. And indeed, whilst the priests had children of their own, it was difficult to prevent them from depending on the princes, whose favour has so great an influence on the fortune of private persons.

But being without families, and consequently with little expectation from their sovereign, they were more free to adhere to the Pope, who would be considered as the sovereign of the clergy. Gregory VII. who came to the Papacy in the reign of William the Conqueror, set his heart more

upon This affair than any of his predecessors. He called a council at Rome, where the clergy were forbidden to marry under heavy penalties.

The Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans, submitted at length, after long struggles. But the English not being of opinion, that a council, consisting mostly of Italian bishops, had power to enact laws for all Christendom, were much more difficult. However, Lanfranc, either to make his court. to Gregory, or because he was persuaded of the justice of the thing, endeavoured to introduce into England the decrees of the council of Rome.[2]

To this purpose he convened at Winchester, a national synod, where this affair was debated. He met with so strong opposition, that he was going to desist from his design. Nevertheless, finding he could not bring the synod to prohibit all the clergy in general from marrying, he procured a decree that all priests who had their cures in cities should put away their wives. But the country incumbents were not so rigorously used. However, to prevent for the future the married priests from holding any cures, the synod ordained, by Lanfranc's suggestion, that none should be admitted into orders, without a solemn declaration against marriage.

This restraint discouraging many persons of merit from taking orders, the church. of England was, in a little time, so ill provided with able ministers, that there was a necessity of relaxing a little on this point. This evidently appears in a letter of Paschal II. to Anselm, Lanfranc's successor. But instead of making use of the dispensing power allowed him, Anselm, who was of an inflexible temper, summoned a synod at London, where the marriage of priests was condemned. This was incapable of entirely redressing the pretended disorder. But, doubtless, Anselm would have carried matters much farther, if his contest with king Henry, and his death, which happened in 1109, had not hindered him from prosecuting his design.

To complete the work so far advanced by Lanfranc and Anselm, Honorius II sent cardinal de Crema into England, with the character of legate; but, as has been already seen, the incontinence of the legate prevented him from rendering much service to the cause.

Five years after, William de Curboil archbishop of Canterbury summoned another council, where an expedient was adopted to cause the canons relating to this subject to be strictly observed. This was, to put the execution of them in the king's hands, who very readily took the trouble upon him. But it was merely with a view to increase his revenues, by selling to the priests a dispensation to keep their wives. Accordingly we find numbers of the inferior clergy married in England, after the priests of other countries had submitted to the Pope's decree.

Celibacy was not the only grievance inflicted by the court of Rome on the English clergy. To reduce them to an entire obedience, another expedient was used, which at first was not minded, but in the end was seen to have terrible consequences. This was the frequent sending of legates. Henry I. was hardly warm on his throne, when the Pope sent Guido archbishop of Vienne to reside at London, with a legantine power over all Great Britain.

The clergy of England looked upon this commission as an attempt upon their privileges; neither could the king and council be prevailed with to allow the legate to exercise any part of his office in the kingdom. Henry had some farther contests with the court of Rome upon the same occasion. Paschal II. sending into France a legate, called Cono, this prelate convened several councils, at which, he pretended, the bishops of Normandy were obliged to be present; and upon their refusing to obey his summons, excommunicated them. Henry, offended at the legate's rashness, sent the bishop of Exeter to complain to the Pope.

In the year 1116, king Henry being in Normandy, abbot Anselm, nephew to the archbishop of the same name, came to him, and produced a. commission from the Pope as legate for England. But the king would not suffer him to go over in that character. The English bishops, whom the king consulted on this occasion, unanimously declared, this legateship was contrary to the

privileges of the church of England. They desired the archbishop of Canterbury, as the person most concerned, to wait upon the king with their answer; and, in case the king should think proper, to go on to Rome, to remonstrate against these encroachments.

The archbishop actually set out for Rome; but hearing that the Pope, hard pressed by the arms of the emperor, had retired to Beneventum, he pursued not his journey. He contented himself, therefore, with representing to him in a letter, what he designed to tell him by word of mouth. The circumstances of Pope Paschal's affairs at that time, would not permit him to insist on his pretended right, as he would doubtless have done at any other time. He was unwilling to disoblige the English; but, on the other hand, could not resolve to give up the privilege of sending legates, when he should think proper.

He chose therefore to return an ambiguous answer, which, without binding him to any thing, might afford them a seeming satisfaction. This answer was not satisfactory to the bishops. But the king taking advantage of the Pope's circumstances, chose to understand it in a sense most favourable to the church of England, and prevented the legate from executing his commission. At an interview some time after with Calixtus II. at Gisors, he very earnestly pressed the Pope on this head; but to no purpose. All the satisfaction he could obtain, was, that the Pope gave his word to send no more legates into England, except in a case of necessity.

Some years after, Honorius II sent cardinal John de Crema into England with the character of legate. He conducted himself with the utmost haughtiness, until the incident which we have related compelled him to leave the kingdom. However this did not prevent in the reign of Stephen, Alberic, bishop of Ostia, from being received in England in quality of legate. Stephen was not firmly enough fixed on his throne to venture to disoblige the court of Rome.

During this reign, the Pope conferred the dignity of legate on the bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, in prejudice of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury. This distinction occasioned between the two prelates a contest, of which the court of Rome made great advantage. For, on this occasion it was that the two parties frequently appealed to Rome, a thing very rarely practised in England before. At length, after long disputes, the legateship was taken from the bishop of Winchester by Pope Celestine II and given to the archbishop of Canterbury, not as his right, but as the free gift of the holy see. We shall now see in what manner the four first Norman kings behaved with regard to the Pope, during the schisms which happened in their reigns.

England acknowledged Gregory VII. who came to the papacy in the reign of William the Conqueror. And yet the election of the Anti-pope Clement III. was no sooner over, but William resolved to stand neuter, till the affair was decided. On occasion of this schism it was, that he forbad his subjects to own any Pope without his permission.

Gregory VII. was succeeded by Victor III. who died in 1087, about a year before William the Conqueror. Urban II. was chosen in his room; and shortly afterwards William Rufus ascended the throne of England, whilst the schism still continued between Urban and Clement. The English may be said to have been for some years without a Pope, since they recognized neither of the two competitors.

When Anselm would, by his own authority, have owned Urban II. William opposed it, until, by an artifice, Urban gained him to his obedience. This step being made, England remained under the jurisdiction of this Pope, and his successors Pascal II. Gelasius II. and Honorius II. After the death of this last, a fresh schism was formed, by the double election of Innocent II. and Anacletus. These two Popes, having each their adherents, divided all Europe. Innocent stood in need of all the credit and eloquence of St. Bernard to be acknowledged in France, where was a strong party against him. It was a long time before that kingdom, as well as England, declared for either of the rivals, so difficult was it to judge which had the best title.

If the Popes lost ground by these schisms, the loss was amply repaired by the crusades, which furnished them with opportunities of extending their authority. The project of wresting from the infidels the country bedewed with the blood of Christ, seemed so noble and meritorious, that all the princes of Christendom gloried in promoting it with their wealth and forces, and some even with their persons. The people, in imitation of their sovereigns, blindly engaged in this undertaking upon Peter the Hermit's setting forth the miseries to which the Christians in Palestine were exposed under the empire of the Saracens.

The Saracens were at length driven out of Palestine, and a Christian kingdom founded, which lasted but fourscore and ten years. The infidels becoming masters of the country again, the Popes never ceased exhorting the Christians to recover what the church had lost in those parts. This occasioned several fresh crusades, which procured the Popes many advantages. In the first place, as they declared themselves heads of these expeditions, they took into their protection all that were willing to embark in the same. By this means they had opportunity to interpose in all affairs.

In the second place, as these expeditions could not be undertaken without an immense charge, the Popes took occasion to impose on the clergy, under the name of tenths, taxes, of which they had the whole disposal. In the next place, after once they were possessed of the privilege of publishing a crusade whenever they thought fit, they drew from thence a consequence of very great use to them. They pretended, that the extirpation of Heretics, tended as much to the glory of God as that of infidels and, as they assumed to themselves the power of declaring what was heresy, the moment any prince offered to oppose their encroachments, they pronounced him heretic; excommunicated him; and published a crusade against him.

In proportion to the growth of the Pope's authority, the power of the bishops, archbishops, provincial or national synods, visibly decreased. The reason is, because their decrees and canons were liable to be annulled upon the least appeal to the Pope. Accordingly, in the interval we are now going through, we find but very few councils worth notice.

In 1075, Lanfranc called a synod, at London, where it was ordained, that for the future provincial and diocesan synods should be held more frequently, the use of them being discontinued since the Conquest. The precedence of the sees was also regulated according to the decrees of the Vlth council of Toledo and others, and every prelate was to take place according to the priority of his ordination.

It was agreed, that in the councils, the archbishop of York should be seated on the right, and the bishop of London on the left hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester, next the archbishop of York. Some canons were also passed; the most remarkable of which are as follow: The VIIth is against Simony. In all appearance this disorder was become very common; or perhaps it was to prepare the way for the prohibition of taking the investiture of benefices from the hands of lay-men, to which Simony served for pretence.

The VIIIth is levelled against sorcery and divination, and the like superstitious practices.

By the XIth no ecclesiastic is to give his vote to sentence a person to die, or lose his limbs. In the year 1102, in the reign of Henry I. Anselm summoned a national synod, to which the temporal lords were invited, to be witnesses of the proceedings. Some canons were passed, the principal of which are the:

The IVth forbids archdeacons, priests, deacons, and canons to marry, or live with their wives if already married. This was the first general prohibition against the English priests keeping their wives.

By the VIth, sons of priests were not to succeed to their father's churches.

The XIIIth forbids the abbots to make knights, though they had, till then, enjoyed that privilege[3].

The XIVth declares all promises of marriage made without witness to be void, in case either of the parties denies the engagement.

The XVth forbids monks or nuns to be godfathers or godmothers.

The XVIIth confirms the prohibition of marrying within the seventh degree.

The XVIIIth forbids the burying the dead out of their parish[4].

The XXth was against Sodomy. It is remarkable, that canons against this crime were never thought of till the clergy were obliged to celibacy, it being scarcely heard of in England before. As, after the Conquest, we find the names of some bishoprics to disappear, and others, unknown in the Saxon time, to arise, it will not be improper to mention those alterations, in order to avoid obscurity.

In 1075, the see of Sherborn was removed to Salisbury that of Selsey to Chichester; and that of Lichfield to Chester.

In 1092, in the reign of William Rufus, the see of Dorchester was removed to Lincoln, and the see of Wells to Bath.

In 1108, in the reign of Henry I, Ely monastery was erected into a bishopric, with the approbation of the Pope, and consent of the bishop of Lincoln, who resigned part of his diocese, for that purpose.

In this same reign Carlisle, called by the Romans Luguballia, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and rebuilt by William Rufus, was made an episcopal see, Adelwalt being the first bishop. This Diocese was taken from that of Durham.

Battle Abbey was founded by William the Conqueror, as was said in his life. In 1101, Henry I. founded the monastery of Clerkenwell, and the priory of St. John of Jerusalem. The abbey of Reading was also of this king's founding.

Toward the end of the eleventh, or in the beginning of the twelfth century, were instituted the orders of the Carthusians[5], Cistertians[6], and Præmonstratenses[7], who afterwards settled in England. To these may he added the regular canons reformed by Ivo of Chartres in 1098[8].

In this period, the famous controversy respecting transubstantiation was revived; and, at length, the affirmative of that doctrine was solemnly decreed.

To finish what we have to say concerning the state of the church, during the four first Norman reigns, nothing remains, but to subjoin a brief account of the most noted bishops and other ecclesiastics.

Aldred archbishop of York, who crowned William the Conqueror, was a good and pious prelate. He had been bishop of Gloucester, where he built the cathedral. Afterwards he purchased several estates in the neighbourhood of York, and annexed them to his archbishopric. He was likewise a great benefactor to the abbey of Beverley[9],

Though Stigand, according to the pretensions of the court of Rome, intruded himself into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and was for that reason suspended by the Pope, he performed the functions of a metropolitan, during the reigns of Edward and Harold. If William the Conqueror refused to be crowned by his hand, it was merely to avoid a contest with the court of Rome; for

otherwise he treated that prelate at first with great distinction. When Stigand attended him into Normandy, the clergy there, without regarding the Pope's censures, paid him all the respects due to his rank and dignity. Afterwards, the Conqueror had quite other thoughts of him, and caused him to be deprived by the council of Winchester.

As soon as this prelate was removed from his dignity, the king no more regarded him, but threw him into prison to force him to discover his hidden treasures, which were very considerable. But nothing being able to wrest this secret from him, he ended his days in prison. After his death a little key was found about his neck, with a note directing to the place where his money was lodged, which was all seized to the king's use.

Marianus Scotus, born in Scotland in 1028, when thirty years of age, retired to a monastery at Cologn. He was afterwards removed to the Abbey of Fulde, where he wrote a general history of Europe from the creation to the year of our Lord 1082. He died four years after in 1086. The Scots at that time were very well received in Germany, where a prince of that nation, who had served under Charles the Great, founded fifteen monasteries, whose abbots were all to be Scotchmen.

Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, had a great character for his piety, which some have carried too far. It appears however, that Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, had no great opinion of this prelate's merit, since he would have had him deprived by a synod for insufficiency and want of learning.

Lanfranc was born at Pavia. After finishing his studies, he turned monk, chusing the abbey of Bee Normandy, where he taught logic, and gained great reputation. His frequent reproaching the rest of the fraternity for their ignorance, was the cause of his fortune. The monks preferring a complaint against him to William the Bastard, who was then only duke of Normandy, he was obliged to go to court to justify himself. In his conversation with the duke, that prince was so charmed with his merit, that instead of punishing him, as his accusers expected, he made him abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, whence he afterwards promoted him to the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc's credit, which was very great in the Conqueror's reign, declined under William Rufus, for whom however he had procured the crown.

His death, which happened soon after, in 1089, saved him, perhaps, much trouble. He rebuilt the church of Canterbury, burnt by the Danes in archbishop Elphegus's time, and fixed the number of the monks of St. Augustine at one hundred and fifty, which before was not limited. He gave them also a prior, instead of a chorepiscopus. A famous trial, wherein he got the better of Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, put him in possession of twenty-five manors, which that bishop had seized. He passed for a great statesman, as well as for an able and learned divine.

Anselm, who was abbot of Bee before he was archbishop of Canterbury, was the most famous of all the English bishops, for his contests with William Rufus and Henry I. He was born in the year 1033, at Aost, a small town in Italy. At seven and twenty years of age he turned monk in the abbey of Bee, of which Lanfranc was prior. When Lanfranc was made abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, Anselm became prior, and afterwards abbot of Bee, from whence he was promoted to the see of Canterbury. He composed several theological treatises, of which father Gerberon published the largest edition in 1676.

His writings were full of metaphysical questions, argued with the appearance of a great deal of logic. His letters were written in a less elaborate style than his other works. He was also the first who composed long prayers, in the form of meditations. He passed for a prelate of great learning and an unblameable life. Anselm died in 1109, and was canonized in the reign of Henry VII. at the instance of cardinal Morton, then archbishop of Canterbury. Gilbert, bishop of London, was famous in the reign of Henry I. chiefly on the account of his learning, which gained him the

appellation of universalist. He wrote a commentary on David's psalms; and an exposition on the lamentations of Jeremiah, which are still extant in manuscript.

Osmund bishop of Salisbury, by birth a Norman, was earl of Dorset, and privy counsellor to William the Conqueror, when he was made a bishop. As in those days every diocese had a different liturgy, Osmund undertook the correcting that which was used in his. He rendered it more pure than it was before, by discharging many barbarous and rude expressions, and digesting the whole in a more commodious method. This liturgy, *Secundum usum Sarum,* with these emendations, was quickly received in the other dioceses, and at length became common to all the churches of the kingdom.

Malachv, archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, is famous for his prophecy, concerning the popes which were to succeed to the papal chair after his time. He died in 1150, at the monastery of Clareval in France.

Ingulphus was known to William the Conqueror, when that prince, then duke of Normandy only, came into England to visit king Edward. He attended him into Normandy as secretary; but some time after, resigning this office, he went in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his return, he turned monk in the abbey of Fontevrand, from whence he was sent for and made abbot of Croyland by William the Conqueror. He died in 1109, after writing the history of his monastery, which is inserted in the collection of the ancient English historians[10].

Joffiid abbot of the same monastery, and immediate successor to Ingulphus, was the first, as some pretend, that erected schools at Cambridge, where he settled four of his monks as professors[11].

Godfrid, prior of Winchester, was one of the best writers of his time, if we may believe William of Malmsbury, who affirms, he wrote with great elegance and taste. He composed, amongst other things, a panegyric upon the English primates. But what is more considerable, he reformed the breviary, by discharging all the barbarous terms, and making the stile more pure and neat. Alford conjectures, this prior had a principal hand in correcting the liturgy of Sarum, which went under Osmund's name.

The principal writers during the four first Norman reigns not mentioned by Rapin, amongst his persons of note, are:

William of Poictiers or Pictaviensis, who, though a foreigner and chaplain to the Conqueror, has given us so fair an account of the Norman revolution, that he has found credit with most of our historians.

Florence, a monk of Worcester, Wrote a chronicle, which ended with his life in 1119 ; but was continued fifty years farther by another monk of the same monastery. He epitomized or transcribed Marianas, adding very many collections out of the Saxon chronicle, and other writers with much care and judgment. He is blamed for adhering so scrupulously to his authorities as sometimes to retain their mistakes.

Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, in his Historia Novorum, &c. has given us the story of the two Williams and Henry I. from the year 1006 to 1122. It is a work (as bishop Nicolson observes) of great gravity and unquestionable authority. Though he was intimately acquainted with Anselm, he has given a fair account of the mighty dispute about investitures. Selden says, his style equals Mahnsbury; his matter and composure exceed him.

Ordericus Vitalis was a monk of St. Eurole's in Normandy, where he lived fifty-six years. He wrote an Ecclesiastical history in thirteen books, wherein he has intermixed a great many things relating to our history. He is said to be immoderate in the praise of his friends, and the dispraise

of his enemies and to be too large in his description of little matters, whilst he passes too cursorily over things of moment.

William (monk and library-keeper) of Malmsbury, in his account ***de Gestis Regum Anglorum*** in five books, with an appendix in two more, which he stiles Historiæ Novella, has made a judicious collection of whatever he found on record, from the arrival of the Saxons, .to the eighth year of the reign of king Stephen, 1142. He is called elegant, learned, and faithful. Usher stiles him the chief of our historians.

The most noble monument extant is the old Saxon chronicle, or annals. It begins from the birth of our Saviour, and ends with Stephen's death in 1154, By the difference of the style, and other infallible marks, it is plain these annals were composed at several times. To the year 731, they chiefly follow Bede as to church affairs. But their account of the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons is borrowed from no writer that we know of, and, therefore, to them it is that we are indebted for the relation of what passed in those days. Asserius's history of Alfred and the annals correspond in so many things, that the one seems to be a translation of the other. In a word, they have been the foundation of all our histories to the Norman Conquest.

Notes to Chapter 5

1.) By virtue of this interdict, all Divine service was to cease, and no part of the sacerdotal office to be exercised, unless in the baptism of infants and absolution of dying penitents,

2.) A.D. 1076

3.) Brand, abbot of Peterborough, knighted his nephew Hereward, in the reign of William the Conqueror. The manner was, by confession of his sins, and watching, and praying in the church, the whole foregoing night; then in the morning, before mass, he offered up his sword on the altar, and after reading the Gospel, the priest having first blessed the sword, put it over the new knight's neck; and so having communicated, he was ever after held a lawful knight. The word knight, signifies a servant, attendant, or soldier; hence knights, or knights fees, for such as held their estates by military service, and were obliged to attend the king in his wars. But the honorary knights were such as were Gladio Cincti, as above. And we find not only princes but subjects, both ecclesiastical and lay, had power to confer knighthood. Lanfranc knighted William Rufus., and John, duke of Bedford, gave the same dignity to Henry VI. As gilt spurs were used on this occasion, they were Milites Aurati.

4.) In order not to deprive the minister of the parish of his dues.

5) So called from Chartreuse in Grenoble, where they were first established in 1086, by one Bruno of Cologn, canon of Rheims.

6.) They had their name from Cistercium or Citeaux in the diocese of Chalons, where they first assembled under Harding an Englishman, in 1097. St. Bernard was soon after received into their society, whence they were stiled Bernardines. They came hither in 1128, being brought in by William Gifford, bishop of Winchester; and were first settled in the abbey of Waverley in Surrey. In 1151, their chapter made an injunction, that there should be no more monasteries of that order founded; there being already five hundred at that time.

7.) This order was founded by St. Norbert of a noble family in Cologne in 1120, at a place said to be pointed out to him by the Blessed Virgin, thence called Prmonstratum, that is, foreshewn. They were brought into England in 1146, and settled at Newhouse in Lincolnshire.

8) The canons were distinguished into regular and secular; the former reforming upon the latter gave them that name by way of reproach. In this reign also was founded the famous order of

Sempringham, whose origin was this: Joceline, a knight of Lincolnshire, having a son named Gilbert, whom, for some imperfection in his limbs, he thought unfit for the world, he made him a priest, and gave him a benefice in a town of his in Lincolnshire, called Sempringham. This Gilbert was founder of the order of the Gilbertines, or of Sempringham. He enclosed within one house both men and women; but separated them with walls, that they might neither see, nor hear, one another. This order, in his life-time, increased to ten houses, containing in all seven hundred brethren, and one thousand five hundred sisters.

9). He went in pilgrimage through Hungary to Jerusalem, which no English bishop was ever known to have done.

10.) Published by Dr. Gale. Ingulphus was born at London in 1030. His father was one of king Edward the Confessor's courtiers. He was the first of our English historians after the Conquest. In his history of Croyland, he has occasionally intermixed the story of our kings from the year 664 to 1091. Bishop Nicolson observes, that the relation he bore to the Conqueror manifestly biasses him in the ail account he gives of Harold.

11) This Joffrid, about the year 1114, began a custom which was afterwards practised by the monks. Upon Good Friday, stripping himself every year to the waist before all the Convent, he was severely scourged. This was done as a penance for their sins, and to make a deeper impression of our Saviour's sufferings.

The End of Chapter 5 & Book 6

Lanfranc at St Dunstan's, Canterbury

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