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LA
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A TRADITION OF JERSEY.

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LA

HOUGUE BIE DE HAMBIE,

A

TRADITION OF JERSEY;

WITH

HISTORICAL, GENEALOGICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

NOTES.

BY

JAMES BULKELEY, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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1837.

LA

HOUGUE BIE DE HAMBIE.

NOTES TO VOL. I. CONTINUED.

Page 53. (22.)—*My shoeless feet.*

In pilgrimages self-inflicted, or undertaken from some strong emotion, it was an essential condition that the pilgrim should walk his journey barefooted. Henry VIII. walked thus from Barsham to Walsingham, a distance of three miles (enough to make him quarrel with any church). And in a letter, dated as late as July 5, 1626, Mrs. Posy writes to Mr. Mead, alluding to the beautiful Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I., not then twelve months married:—"No longer agon than upon St. James his day last past, those hypocritical dogges made the pore Queen to

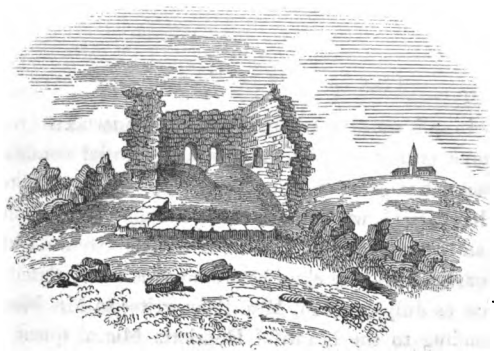
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walke afoot, some add barefoot, from her house at St. James to the gallows at Tyborne, thereby to honor the saint of the day, in visiting that holy place, where so many martyrs, forsooth, had shed their blod in defense of the Catholique cause. Had they not also made her to dable in the durte of a foul morning, from Somerset House to St. James, her Luciferian confessor riding allong by her in his coach! Yea, they have made her to go barefoot to spin, to eat her meat out of tryne dishes, to waite at the table, and serve her servants, with many other ridiculous and absurd penances.”—Ellis’s Letters. Harl. MS.

Page 57. (23.)—*Castle of Lythaire.*



The Castle is picturesquely situated on the point of a mountain bristling with rocks, whence is visible

the Island of Jersey; nor is there a château better known to the navigators of La Manche. Its position, style of architecture, all lead the archaologist to believe it a "Castellum exploratorium," and to behold on its walls the "Excubitores" of the Romans. Le Sire de Litehare was one of the companions of the Conqueror. The Count of Arundel, of the family of Aubigny, M. de Gerville states to have been the possessor at the time of its confiscation by Philippe-Auguste. His memory is still abhorred in the parish, where they relate incredible histories of his cruelty, "but which," observes M. de Gerville, "would probably never have been imagined, had his party been victorious."—Væ victis!

Page 58. (24.)—*Pirou*.

This castle, on the border of the sea, was defended by three enclosures surrounded by deep moats. In the centre stood the donjon, remarkable for the thickness of its walls: the depth and width of the moat, and the extent of the outer works which protected the approaches, must have made it powerful and difficult of access. "Un chevalier de Pirou" accompanied the Conqueror. Orderic Vital mentions that William Pirou perished, 1119, with the beloved and promising Prince William Adelin, when the drunken sailors, excited by the eagerness of the generous Prince, notwithstanding the science of the

son of Stephen Airard, the Conqueror's pilot, who demanded of the king, as a right granted to his family, to steer the vessel, wrecked the *Blanche Nef* on the rocks at *Barfleur* :—

“ Dex ! kel pechié è kel dol fu ! ”

The cries of the lovely Countess du Perche, of the virtuous Countess of Chester, of twenty young noblewomen, and their innumerable female attendants¹, the virtue, beauty, and bravery of many, the rank, gallantry, and misfortune of all, might have protected them from the bitter and unjust anathema of the Abbé Velly. “ Naufrage épouvantable, qui fut regardé comme une juste punition du ciel, qui ensevelissait dans les flots de l’océan une infame jeunesse livrée à l’exécrable crime des villes qu’il avait abimées dans une mer de soufre et de bitume.” However just and necessary the Abbé Velly might imagine this chastisement, the broken-hearted father, the historians, the nobles, and the people did not so receive it. “ Optimates verò seorsum ubertim plorabant, caros parentes et amicos inconsolabiliter lugebant ; sed ante regem ne doloris causa proderetur, vix lacrymas cohibebant. Tandem sequenti die, sollertia Thedbaldi comitis, puer flens ad pedes regis corrui, à

¹ Ibi, ut fertur, decem et octo mulieres perierunt, quæ filiæ, vel sorores, aut neptes, seu conjuges Regum vel comitum floruerunt.— *Ord. Vit.*

quo rex naufragium candidæ navis causam esse luctus edidicit. Qui nimia mox animi angustia correptus, ad terram cecidit ; sed ab amicis sublevatus et in conclavium ductus, amaros planctus edit. . . Sola pietas me compulit ista narrare, diligentiaque stimulator, hæc sequenti ævo certis apicibus allegare : quoniam tetra vorago neminem absorbuit de meâ consanguinitate, cui lacrymas affectu sanguinis effundam nisi ex solâ pietate.”—*Ord. Vit.*

It was a pilgrim from Pirou, who, on his return from Jerusalem, met the Duke Robert ; and though the latter from illness could not

“ . . . *sor cheval munter,*
Ne ne poëtt à piez aler,”

he still continued his pilgrimage, carried on the backs of Saracens. The good pilgrim of Pirou, overcome with grief, to meet his chief thus at a distance from their land, burst into tears and piteously demanded what accounts he should bear to Normandy. “ *Distes à mes amis,*” said the Duke, cheering him by the jocularity of his manner,

“ *Ke as déables trestut vis*
Me faiz porter en paradis.”

“ The Chevalier de Pirou,” who assisted at the battle of Hastings, obtained considerable revenues in several counties, particularly Devonshire and Somerset-

shire. The principal seat of the family was in Devon, and bears to this day the name of Stoke-Pirou. In the thirteenth century, Catharine de la Luserne, daughter of William de Pirou, married Jean du Boys, (dit, le Gascoin) whose ancestors likewise assisted at the Conquest, and with her the château of Pirou passed into that family.

Page 58. (25.)—*Agon*.

The château d'Agon, seated on a hill, protects the small port of that name, formed by the embouchure of the Seine. It belonged to Duke Richard III., who in his marriage contract with Adele, daughter of Robert, gave the castle with many other seigniories to her. According to a register of the high bailiff of Cotentin, (1327,) William Paynel held, by lineage of M. Olivier Paesnel, chevalier, the fiefs of D'Agon and all its appurtenances (*Curtem supra mare quæ dicitur Agons*); which M. Olivier held by homage of the Lord of Fougères by fief of Haubert.

In 1341, William Paisnel, Lord of Agon, appeared at the handsheiw of Robert Bertrand, Sire of Fau-guernon. King John wishing to recompense Guillaume-des-Roches, who had ceded to him the office of Seneschal of Anjou, granted to his lordship of Anjou two fairs, one at Pentecoste, the other in September: these fairs have become the fairs of Caen and of Guibray.

Page 58. (26.)—*Montchaton*.

The Château de la Roque à Monchaton, situated on a hill commanding the embouchure of the Seine on the left, and an arm of the sea, formerly a place of strength, is in point of position one of the most beautiful of La Manche. The etymology of its name, its entrenchment, its position, and proximity to a bridge which tradition makes of Roman origin, lead to the supposition that it also was a post of the Romans. The castle stands on an eminence which is almost perpendicular except to the east, where it is strongly defended by ditches and very high and broad ramparts. Its site forms a parallelogram, having its longer sides running north and south. At the time of the Conquest it belonged to Trustin Halduc, who with his son Eudon [cum Capello] or Odon Capel, gave the church, "*Ecclesiam Sancti Georgii de Rocâ*," with lands in another part of the parish, a tithe of their mill, and fisheries to the Abbey of Lessay, founded by them. In 1126, it belonged to the Barons de la Haie-du-puits. Raoul de la Haie, allied by marriage to Stephen, was long the most dreaded foe of the Plantagenets, but at length was obliged to retire to his Château de la Roque, then considered impregnable. His brother Richard, who commanded for Stephen at Cherbourg, was taken by the pirates. This Raoul, was probably the son of Robert, son of Raoul, of whom great men-

tion is made at the battle of the Conquest. Robert Wace says,

*“ Dunc point li Sire de la Haie,
Nus n' esparne ne ne manaie,
Ne nus ne fiert k' à mort ne traie,
Ne poet garir k' il fèt plaie.”*

He was constable of the castle and county of Nottingham; and with other grants had that of Hainac in Sussex. Robert, in the reign of Henry I., founded the priory of Boxgrove, which he gave to the Abbey of Lessay. A requisition was laid before Henry V. by Robert Dyonis, lieutenant-general of the “ noble homme Hue Spencer, Bailly de Cotentin,” on the petition of Jean de Guéhibert [a Thieuville], 1446, showing the misfortunes he and the château de Montchaton had suffered: “ et n' y demeure qu' une vielle salle qui, par occasion de la guerre, a été arse deux fois.” The act, founded on this requisition, commences: “ Henry, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de France et d'Angleterre, à nos amés et féaulx, les genz de nos comptes, salut et dilection,” &c. By this we learn that the castle was destroyed at the request of the inhabitants, lest it should fall into the hands of the king of Navarre, and the stone of Caen, of which it was built, was employed in aggrandising and strengthening the Castle of Regnieville. The following may be thought curious, respecting the watch and ward of the bridge, 1327:—“ Guillaume

Corbet, écuyer, tient de Jehan Corbet, écuyer, en parage, et ledit Jehan tient du Roy, par hommage, un quart de fief de Haubert, à gage plèges cour et usage à Monchaton; et rend ledit terrain au Roy, N. S. viii livres à la St. Michel, sur quatre des Vavasseurs dudit tenement; aussy s'il venait guerre au pays, ledit Guillaume ayderait à garder dix jours la maître arche du pont de la Roque, et aussy les hommes dudit Guillaume doivent ayder à garder les foires de Montmartin."

Page 58. (27.)—*Regnieville*.

The donjon of this castle yet exists; its walls are eleven feet in thickness. The interior of the château, which was unusually extensive, is defended by extraordinarily thick and high walls. Towards the sea, which has successively swallowed up the site of the town, and devoured piece-meal the fortifications of the castle, the ramparts are destroyed; but on the other sides, many interesting remains exist. The subterraneous passages are reported to extend to a very considerable distance, but are now too much choked up to permit any one to verify the tradition. At the foot of the donjon, there still remain some of the huge marble balls, the usage of which was so well known to the middle ages, which the Turks still employ with success, and which the Saracens, according to Tasso, threw on the heads of the

Christians during the assault from the walls of Jerusalem.

“ *Indi gran palle uscian marmoree e gravi.*”

Regnieville belonged to the Paisnels, and its port began to be much frequented, when Charles the Bad, seeing the advantages he could derive from it, seized and fortified the castle, neglecting nothing to ensure its strength : to defray this expense, he laid a heavy tariff. Fifty years ago it continued in the family of Piennes, who resided in a wing of the ancient castle. Regnieville passed with several other seigniories lying between Coutance and Granville, to the Piennes, in consequence of the marriage of one of these strangers with an heiress of the Paisnels. M. Masseville mentions that in 1627-8, M. de Piennes was accused of holding intercourse with the English who wished to make a diversion on this coast, in order to raise the siege of Rochelle, and that he even offered to surrender to them his Castle. The enraged inhabitants of the neighbourhood were about to sacrifice him and the château, when the news of the death of his son, who served in the king's army, and was killed by a cannon-shot, arrived. Sorrow for the fate of this young man appeased their indignation, and calmed the storm that menaced Regnieville.

The present proprietor has constructed some works round the donjon; but nothing can long defend it

from the ravages of the sea, against which even the church is not in safety.

Page 59. (28.)—*Château de Hambye.*

Although the château spoken of in the text is the ancient one of which M. de Gerville says, “ Il n’existe aucunes traces . . . il n’ y a cependant pas de doute que les Paynels n’en eussent un.” [Plate, frontispiece.] I shall give a description of the position, architecture, and state of the ruins of its successor, in the words of that elegant writer and accurate antiquarian. “ Le château de Hambye étoit un des plus grands, des plus beaux, et des mieux situés du département ; son enceinte étoit encore entière au commencement de la Révolution ; le donjon et une autre tour qui subsistent aujourd’hui suffisent encore pour donner une grande idée de cette forteresse. Sa position domine majestueusement le bourg de Hambye. De tous les côtés ses ruines sont très pittoresques. Le donjon est très bien conservé [1823]. Parmi tous les anciens châteaux du pays nous n’ en avons aucun qui soit comparable à celui-ci. La belle conservation de ce donjon, sa hauteur, les guérites qui en couronnent le sommet, en font un objet à souhait pour un dessinateur. Cette tour est la plus moderne ; je ne serais pas surpris qu’elle eût été terminée par Louis d’Estouville, et Jeanne Paisnel sa femme, dont la magnificence est remarquable dans

toutes ses constructions, surtout à Hambye. Le puits de ce château est d'une largeur et d'une profondeur extraordinaires; il a été entièrement creusé dans le roc avec tant de frais et de travaux, que suivant la tradition locale, la dépense en fut aussi forte que celle de la construction du superbe chœur de l'église abbatiale. Le donjon est carré; il a au moins cent pieds de hauteur; il est flanqué de tourelles dont la plus considérable est celle qui contient l'escalier. Sous le premier palier de l'escalier on voit une chambre qui a probablement servi de citerne. La chapelle étoit au rez de chaussée de cette tour. Les étages au-dessus contiennent chacun un appartement simple, solide, et sans moulures ou décorations. Tous ces appartements sont voûtés. Une platte-forme assez spacieuse est au sommet. Les guérites sont aux quatre angles de cette plateforme; elles ont saillie et sont soutenues par des consoles. Le couronnement de cette tour est encore très entier; ses crénaux et ses consoles sont d'un bel effet. Une autre tour également bien conservée est entièrement ronde. Extérieurement elle est décorée de cordons qui en marquent les différens étages. Le couronnement de cette tour est démoli; intérieurement on ne retrouve ni voûtes ni planchers. Celle-ci est plus rapprochée du bourg que le donjon. Elle est connue sous le nom de Tour de Moyon. Je la crois d'une construction plus ancienne que l'autre."—*Mémoire sur les anciens Châteaux de la Manche*, p. 308.

Page 59. (29.)—*Abbey of Cerisy.*



A monastery dedicated to St. Vigor had existed at Cerisy from the sixth to the ninth century, when it was destroyed by the Normans. About 1030, the Duke Robert, "*Patrum suorum sequax, Cerasiensem abbatiam instaurare cœpit,*" (Ord. Vit.) founded a new abbey there, which he richly endowed, and granted it many privileges, with power of holding a court of high justice.

*" A Ceresie funda maisun,
E mustier de religiun,
Muignes i posa et Abé;
Burcs è viles lur ad duné,*

*E tant franchise lur duna
Cume li Dus en sa terre a :
Cil unt li muldre è li larrun,
Li rapt, l'humicide, l'arsun."*

LE ROMAN DE ROU.

On the death of Robert, William the Conqueror continued the edifice in a manner worthy the magnificence of his sire. The habitation of the monks is built with solidity and taste. The church of the abbey merits the utmost study of the connoisseur ; no edifice offers so beautiful a union of specimens of the architecture commonly denominated ancient and modern gothic ; and it is rare to find a building of such grand proportions which can with so certain a date be traced as far back as the commencement of the eleventh century. M. Auguste le Prévost has in his possession an ancient parchment chartulary confirmed by Henry I., Robert's grandson, dated XI. Cal. December, 1120, a few days before the fatal wreck, in which his son and a hundred of the lords of the court perished. Much of the property given by this charter had been possessed by an abbey on the banks of the sea, supposed by M. De Gerville to have been Nanteuil or St. Marcouf, which had been founded in the sixth century, and had been destroyed by the Norman pirates in the ninth. Among the monks of Cerisy they may boast of the valiant and gigantic Auvray, to whom with Néel of St. Sauveur, Robert confided the castle which he

had built on the Coisnon ¹, to awe the enemy ; while he proceeded to ravage Dol and the adjacent country. Alain, Duke of Brittany, "*curius fu de sei vengier*," and with the élite of his troops attacked Auvray-le-Géant and Néel with the utmost violence. Owing to the valour of these chiefs, who performed prodigies, Alain suffered a signal defeat. Auvray, on the death of the Duke Robert, inconsolable for the loss of his munificent friend, disgusted at the perfidy of the nobles towards the infant William, yet declining to stain his sword in a civil war, bequeathed his immense fiefs to his son William, and his daughter, the benefactress of Caen. He also greatly enriched his brothers, and then from piety and love of its founder, gave Louvières, the church of St.-Laurent-sur-mer, Surrain, and the church of Tessy-le-gras, with all his gold and personalty to Cerisy.

*' A Ceresie et à Saint-Vigor
Pur amistié al Creator,
E pur l'amur de son seignor,
Ki l'abéie a comencie,
L'a mult amée et exhaucie.*

He assumed there the monastic habit, and was no less eminent for devotion and charity, than he had been for valour and affection. Abbots of much celebrity have governed the monastery of Cerisy ; among

¹ See note on Mount St. Michael, vol. i. p. 276.

them the Cardinal Mazarin (1656). Its relative wealth is thus estimated by M. de Gerville :—taking the revenue of Cerisy at 100, the revenue of Mont St. Michel's would be as 60 ; that of Savigny as 52 ; Montebourg 48 ; Lessay 36 ; St. Sauveur 28 ; Cherbourg and St. Lô 24 ; Hambye 18.

Page 59. (30.)—*St. Denis-le-Vetu.*

Rendered in the Latin by “Vetus,” though many places bearing the name of St. Denis appear to boast of greater antiquity ; in the acts of St. Louis it is styled “Sanctus Dyonisius Vetustus.”

Page 59. (31.)—*Quesney.*

The English peerage mentions that Raoul de Kai-neto was at the Conquest. His son Raoul possessed many manors in Dorsetshire, and founded the monastery of Tarent. William his younger son made king Stephen prisoner at the battle of Lincoln. They appear connected with the Earls of Hereford and Somerset. Robert de Chesnet [de Chesneto] was Bishop of Lincoln in 1147. In the register of the fiefs of Philippe-Anguste it paid one knight's fee ; “Domina de Quesneto tenet Quesnetum per servicium unius militis.” It was then held by a female.

Page 59. (32.)—*Trelly.*

Of the ancient château of Trelly no trace now

remains. Brompton and Duchesne name the Sire of Trely as a follower of William at the Conquest. In the commencement of the twelfth century the rich and powerful Meurdracs possessed it. Godwin mentions that Henry Meurdrac, Archbishop of York in 1153, disciple and companion of St. Bernard, was canonized, and that miracles were performed at his tomb. Robert Murdrack signed the confirmation of donations granted by the Conqueror to the Abbey of St. Evroult in 1080; and, according to Domesday-book, possessed considerable lands. Collins's Peerage cites two English barons, Geoffry de Trailly under Henry I., and Gautier his son, whose barony consisted of nine knights' fiefs, and the manor of Verdun. After Gautier they appear to have become extinct.

Page 59. (33.)—*Montaigu-les-Bois*.

However powerful may have been this castle,—the birth-place of the most puissant nobles of England and France,—hardly a vestige now remains. No lofty donjon or crumbling tower, no deep ravine or precipitous promontory, awakes ideas of the feudal grandeur of the olden times, and associates with the historic reminiscences of this classic name. Its site was a plain, without natural means of defence, except a lazy rivulet, which crawls into a pond. Dregon de Montaigu accompanied the Conqueror under the standard of Robert de Mortain; he was greatly beloved by that prince, who named his château in

Somersetshire after his friend. Towards the end of the reign of Henry I., William de Montaigu succeeded Drogon, who in the third year of Henry II. left his possessions to his son Drogon, whose son William paid a great part of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's ransom. The tenth and eleventh heirs of this house, were Earls of Salisbury. William, the second Earl of Salisbury, particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Cressy, was one of the most famous generals of his day, and commanded the rear-guard at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. It was for love of his beautiful wife that Edward III. instituted the most noble order of the Garter, 1349: William de Montaigu was the seventh knight elected at the first installation; he sided with Richard II. against Henry IV., and died on the scaffold. Thomas his son was lieut.-general of Normandy during the reigns of Henry V. and VI.; he reduced many fortresses, defeated the army of the King of France at Crévant, assisted the Duke of Bedford to achieve the victory of Verneuil, and was one of the most victorious generals the English had in France. This family gave to England the duchy of Montagu, not long extinct, and the dukes of Manchester. Many of our noblest families are its scions. In France they distinguished themselves under Philippe-Auguste, Philip the Bold and Philip the Fair, and at Poitiers were the most forward of the combatants to oppose their English relations. The posterity of Drogon possessed Montaigu-les-Bois until the death of Sebastian

de Montaigne in 1715, who dying *sine prole*, it passed to the family de Cresnay [Poilvilain], by the marriage of his sister with George de Cresnay, 1683.

The arms of Montaigne of La Manche are “d’argent à deux bandes de sable accompagnées de sept coquilles de même.” “Where would one end!” exclaims M. De Gerville, “Si on voulait rapporter tous les services des Montaignes! leurs exploits! leurs fondations religieuses!”

Page 60. (34.)—*Gavray*.

The castle stood on a steep eminence near the town. It is surrounded not by a moat but by a profound and narrow valley which it is impossible to choke up, and thus it was nearly inaccessible, and before the invention of gunnery possessed every advantage. The summit of this height commands a magnificent view. At the time of the Conquest it was a royal domain, for which reason no mention is made of its Sire, in the list of William’s companions. Henry strongly fortified it before he lost his Cotentin possessions. Roger de Montaigne, Raoul de Thieuville, Helie d’Amondeville, Raoul de Vir, Richard de Rollos, and many other great seigniors did military service for it. When Philippe-Auguste recovered Normandy, Raoul de Thieuville, seignior of Mesnil-Garnier was bound in time of war to do service at the principal gate. William de Vir and Agnes de Valencé gave also each a knight’s service;

William de Montaigu a quarter of a knight's service only.—*Lib. Rub. Scac.*

In 1322 Philip the Fair confined in this castle, Blanche, wife of Prince Charles his son, convicted of adultery. Du Guesclin, 1378, was about to raise the siege of this castle, which he had undertaken, when its gallant commander D'Evreux, inspecting by candle-light a tower which contained powder, blew up himself and those who accompanied him; this accident caused the reduction of the fortress. The treasures of the king of Navarre had been deposited there, amounting to 60,000 francs (2400*l.*) in gold, three rich crowns, and a quantity of jewels belonging to the king of France. This treasure was given to the Sire Bureau-de-la-Rivière, "*Qui le désirait fort,*" and the castle was dismantled. The fortifications were rased in 1386, by Thomas de Grafart; and thus, in 1418, Gavray fell an easy prey to the English, who during their long residence in Normandy, in part repaired its fortifications. In 1449, the Duke de Richemont retook it; and for his eminent services, Charles VII., by letters dated Tours, 1450, gave him for his life the town, lands, lordship, and viscounty of Gavray.

Page 60. (35.)—*Cerences.*

The château of Cerences, "*Curtem quæ appellatur Cerencis supra fluvium Senæ,*" was one of those which Richard III. gave in marriage portion, 1026,

to his wife Adele. It appears to have been a ducal domain, until made part of the apanage of Robert, Count of Mortain, uterine brother of the Duke William. In the following century it was possessed by a Carbonnel, whose ancestor had assisted at the Conquest. In the reign of Henry II. it appears that there were two fiefs dependent on the Count de Mortain, each of which did service: one held by Hugh de Carbonnel, the other by Oliver de Tracy, probably grandson of Turgis de Tracey, who assisted at the battle of Hastings, and who commanded the Norman troops in 1073. In England Henry de Tracy was distinguished by his invariable devotion to Stephen, and received from him the barony of Barnstaple in Devonshire. The owners of Cerences followed the same line of politics, and their château is enumerated among those taken by Geoffrey Plantagenet, in 1141, from the partisans of Stephen. "Ipse autem movens exercitum Cerentias venit, quo sine ferro recepto ad Bricatim [Avranches] civitatem venit. [joh. maj. mon. gest.]" The spots pointed out as the probable site of the castle, are La Motte Billart, Le Mont de Souris, and on the road to Brehal near the church.

Page 60.—*De Vere.*

Forty years before the Conquest, Ver made part of the ducal domain, and was a portion of Adele's marriage settlement. "Curtem quæ dicitur Ver supra fluvium Senæ." Aubrey [Alberic] de Vere ac-

accompanied the Conqueror; and his descendants have, for six hundred and fifty years, without interruption, been Earls of Oxford. In 1135, Robert de Vere brought the body of Henry I. to England, and in the following year the same baron signed the charter of the grant which Stephen gave to Oxford, on his happy accession. Under Henry II., Raoul de Ver paid the service of one knight; "Radus de Vir, 1 mil. in balliva de Gravreyo." We find in the book of fiefs of Philippe-Auguste, 1208, "Radulfus de Thevilla, Guillelmus de Ver, Agnes de Valencé, et Guillelmus de Montecuto debent servic. trium militum et dimid., ad custodiam Gavray."—*Lib. Feod.*

The judge who imprisoned "Prince Hal," afterwards Henry V., was of the family of Gascoins of Ver, who came into possession after the Louvels, in 1327. A few years before the Revolution, it passed by marriage to M. le Forestier de Mobec.

Page 60. (36.)—*Chanteloup.*

Accustomed to more scientific approaches, and more formidable powers of offence, forgetful that the means of attack and defence are in every age proportionate, and march with equal steps,—we are apt, in our estimation of their force, too much to depreciate the capability of resistance of many of the feudal castles, and not unfrequently feel a contemptuous surprise to find they have withstood sieges, have been objects of jealousy to the sovereign, and have called forth vigorous and often ineffectual efforts

to suppress them. As far as regards their strength, it is to be recollected that their possessors, as in Italy, had “più paura de’ popoli che de’ forestieri.”—*Mach.* They were rather places of security in civil feuds and intestine broils or piratical incursions, than intended to hold out against regular disciplined forces provided with the materials for a siege. With this they were rarely threatened, and indeed the greatest sovereign had seldom the power for any length of time to invest a place, particularly if it belonged to one of his own barons. His vassals stood only forty days at their own charge, and were commanded by officers neither chosen by himself, nor selected with regard to their experience in war, but each baron conducted his own followers: property gave military rank, [hence the officers of the militia, and the origin of commissions by purchase in the English army, money representing property] and even the supreme command was often attached to birth. These chatels were in fact the offspring of civil dissension, or sprang up and multiplied during a weak or troubled reign. The barons in such times increased the numbers of these strong-holds. During the minority of William the Conqueror, many of the nobles fortified themselves, and openly defied the sovereign power. “Sub ejus ineunte ætate Normannorum plurimi aberrantes ab ejus fidelitate in plura loca aggeres erexerunt et tutissimas sibi munitiones construxerunt.” (*Gest. de Duc.*) Robert Courteheuse, in an assembly of the barons at Caen, confirmed and vainly endeavoured

to enforce the "jurisprudence castrale," (established by the Dukes of Normandy, and by them carried into England) which forbad and abolished all castles except those baronies which gave a right to sit at the exchequer. Orderic Vital complains, in painting the miseries of Normandy, that castles erected against all right, covered the land: "*Adulterina passim municipia condebant et ibidem filii luporum ad dilacerandas bidentes nutriebantur.*" During the troubled reign of Stephen, we meet with the same complaint: "*Singuli sibi castella construxerunt et adversus eum tenuerunt. Terram castellis impleverunt.*" [Chron. Sax. Gib.] Keeping this in view, banishing from our ideas all comparison with modern fortresses, and making all allowance for any want of vigour in assault, it is difficult to imagine how Chanteloup, so late as 1594, could sustain a siege of seven months against M. Vignes, chief of the Leaguers. Its governor, Nicholas Frontin, certainly merited the nobility bestowed on him in reward by Henry IV. Several lists of the seigniors present at the Conquest mention a Chanteloup, who, it is not improbable, was William, mentioned in the life of St. Thomas de Chanteloup, as one of the companions of Robert, in 1096, to the crusade. The family possessed estates in Dorsetshire, and, among others, Stokewood, whence sprung the Earls of Hereford and Worcester. Their chief property lay, however, in Warwickshire, where they gave their name to Aston Cantilupe, or Aston Cantlow, on the borders

of Staffordshire. The family vault is at Studely, to which they were great benefactors. William Chanteloup was a great supporter of John, against the barons. Gautier, one of his sons, was Bishop of Worcester. Matthew Paris mentions Thomas, who was Chancellor to the University of Oxford, and being made Bishop of Hereford, died in possession of the see, in 1282: he was canonized the thirty-fourth year of Edward I. M. Rouault and many others have given the "life and geste" of this saint. The peers of Cantipule became extinct in England, in the beginning of the 14th century. The attachment of William Chanteloup to John Lackland, for whom he abandoned the party of Prince Louis, son of Philippe-Auguste, explains the forfeiture of the Lordship which bears their name. Notwithstanding this, it was possessed by a female of the family, who conveyed it by marriage to Fouques Paynel, third of that name, who lived in 1295. In 1449, the Constable Richemont retook Chanteloup from the English. The Norman Chanteloups bore "Losange d'or et de sable."

Page 60. (37.)—*Bréhal*.

While the archers of Vaudreuil and Breteuil sorely wounded the English at the battle of Hastings, by their showers of arrows, the stout vassals of Bréhal, covering their heads with their shields, rushed, undismayed by the havoc of the Saxon battle-axes, to a closer combat.

*" Mielx voleient iloc morer,
Ke à lor dreit seignor faillir."*

R. WACE.

Bréhal belonged from a very remote period, to the Paisnels. In the reign of Philippe-Auguste, Foulques Paisnel was seignior of Bréhal. Its church is of a more remote antiquity than the Abbey of Hambie. Of its castle every trace is now defaced!

Page 60. (38.)—*Bricqueville.*

The flat on which the Castle of Bricqueville stands, could be inundated to such an extent, as to render it inaccessible on every point. Its periphery formed a square, containing about thirty acres. It was flanked by four circular towers at the four angles; two of these without battlements still exist, though in sad decay; their height is about thirty feet: of the depth of the moat it is now impossible to judge. The ruins are visible from a great distance, and are surrounded by at least sixty salt-pits. A branch of the family of Bricqueville accompanied William to England, and from the Conquest to the reign of Louis XIV. held the Château de Laune¹, which it appears

¹ It is more than probable, the Sire de Laune, as well as Aubrey de Vere, followed to the Conquest under the banner of William Seignior de Moyon:

*" Li viel Willame de Moion
Out ovec li maint cumpaignons."*

from the register of the fiefs of Philippe-Auguste, was a dependance of Moyon¹: “Robertus de Briquevill tenet inde [de Moyon] Alnum per servicium unius militis apud Moyon.” The most ancient possessors of Bricqueville of whom any authentic record exists, are the Paisnels. Fouques Paynel in the reign of Philippe-Auguste, held it for a knight’s service of Mont. St. Michaëlis: “Fulco Paganellus tenet inde [de abbate montis] Briquevill, etc., . . . per servicium I. militis.” In 1388, Nicholas Paynel obtained from King Charles VI. the right to rebuild his castle, and finished the towers. He was son of Fouques Paynel the Third (1295) and Agnes Chanteloup, and married (1393) Jacqueline de Verenne. Nicholas Paynel de Briqueville remaining faithful to France, Henry V. confiscated his land and château (1418) to the Earl of Huntingdon.

Seen from the site of the Castle on a fine day, nothing can be more picturesque and interesting than the crowds of small craft and the innumerable vehicles which pursue their active commerce in this harbour and those of Lessay, Portbail, Pont-de-la-Roque, and Mount St. Michael’s. These small

¹ His château to the south of St. Lo still exists. He received from the Conqueror, Dunster in Somersetshire; the castle of which became his residence. His grandson was created Earl of Dorset by Matilda for his services against Stephen; and not until the eighteenth century were the Barons Mohun of Okehampton extinct.

harbours are the source of the agricultural riches of La Manche.

Page 61. (39.)—*Granville*.

The most ancient record extant of the Granvilles, who have been erroneously traced by our genealogists from Magnaville de Montebourg, instead of Granville of Mount St. Michael's, is the cartulaire of Mount St. Michael's, signed by Duke Richard I., and attested by Rainald de Grandville. In 1180, Roger de Granville, who had been under the tutelage of Thomas de Saint Jean¹, on coming of age made his vow at the Abbey of Saint Michael's, and became commander of it. Thomas de Granville, chevalier, (1252,) was seignior of the site on which, two centuries later, they placed the fortress. Lord Scales, seneschal of England (1420), erected considerable fortifications, and constructed the harbour, which was soon after taken by Estouteville, in a gallant sortie from Mount St. Michaëlis. As late as 1792, the inhabitants made a courageous defence against the English. Few towns of its population present a scene of such great activity as Granville.

¹ M. de Gerville corrects Collins in placing the birth-place of the St. Johns near Rouen: "Turrim Sancti Joannis *juxta* Montem Sancti Michaëlis." [*Rob. de Mont.*] Henry I., 1106, when at the siege of Tinchebray, built a Castle de Blocus, and confided it to Thomas St. Jean.

Page 61. (40.)—*Percy*.

The illustrious Percys, like the Veres, and others of the most puissant families of England, have left in Normandy small remains of grandeur, and were the least of the powerful who followed William. To this perhaps, indeed, they owed much of their rise; their fortune was embarked on that adventure, and no divided interest shook their policy or called forth the jealousy of the sovereign. Mainfred, a Danish chieftain, may be regarded as the origin of the family in Normandy. Of his descendants, William and his brother Serlo de Percy accompanied William to the Conquest, and received large possessions in York and Lincolnshire; since which from a remote period the Paisnells were seigniors of Percy until confiscated by Philippe-Auguste. The histories of England and its peerages tell of the fortunes, and bear evidence of the valour, merits, and power of the Anglo branch of the Norman Percys.

Page 61. (41.)—*St. Denis-le-Gast*.

Not a quarter of a mile from the Church, which is of the architecture of the time of the Conquest, to the south-east of the Seine, lay the ruins of the ancient castle of St. Denis-le-Gast. The chapel and parts designed for habitation, within which until the eighteenth century its possessor resided, were far more modern than the entrenchments. It was flanked

by several towers, still tolerably preserved. The place of the drawbridge over a profound moat is yet visible. Nothing can be more romantic than its position on the bold banks of the river, covered with dense woods. Brompton, Duchesne, Masseville, *Chronique de Le Mégissier*, mention the Sire de St. Denis in their catalogues of the Conqueror's companions, and that he received great grants. Among the many châteaux named St. Denis which present themselves in Normandy, M. de Gerville proves with great research and ingenuity that St. Denis-le-Gast had the honour to send forth this champion. At the crusades of Robert Courteheuse, St. Denis-le-Gast and Beauchamp belonged to the same family, and bore the arms of the family of Meudrack. [V. Trelly, p. 67.] "D'azur à deux jumelles d'or au Lion passant en chef." In the red book of the Exchequer, St. Denis is placed in the bailiwick of Cerence: "In balliâ de Cerentiis Hugo de Sancto Dionysio, Hugo de Bello Campo¹." Hughes de Beauchamp was at the battle of Hastings, received many grants in Bedfordshire, and married a daughter

¹ The "Bello Campo" [Beauchamp] must not be confounded with the Campbells, whose Château de Champeaux is near the hamlet of Telliers; they are not on the list of William's companions. In the register of the fiefs of Philippe-Auguste, we find, "Willelmus de Campelles, unum militem per XI. dies de garda ad custodiam Regis." "Robertus de Campell, 1 mil. per 40 dies de garda et posteà ad custamentum Regis."

of Aubrey de Vere. The family of Meudrac possessed this commune in 1250. In 1327, Philip de Saint Denis [Meudrac] was seignior of St. Denis-le-Gast. In 1430, St. Denis being a fortress, the troops of the king of France took possession of it. In 1437, the English, under Sir Thomas Scales, attacked St. Denis-le-Gast; and, after several combats at St. Denis, Beauchamp, Provotière, took it, and in 1440 destroyed the fortifications, which were abandoned. The famous St. Evremond was brother to the seignior of St. Denis-le-Gast, who (1591) changed their name, Marquetal, for that of St. Denis: by marriage it passed (1760) to the Vaillants, to whose descendants it still belongs.

Page 67. (44.)—*Pll to Osmond.*

A small number of Norman pilgrims returning from Palestine landed at Salerno for refreshment; and before their departure the Saracens had arrived to exact their accustomed annual pillage. The fierce northerners, indignant that these infidels should thus insult Christians, threw down the scrip and bourdon, seized arms, and, calling to the timid Salertins to follow, rushed on the Saracens, who little expecting such resistance, were repulsed with slaughter. Guaimar III., grateful to his defenders, offered every thing that could induce them to remain. The love of country prevailed, but on their return it sufficed to recount their exploits, to boast of the sky of Italy,

to relate the dangers to encounter, and the laurels to be won, to inspire their countrymen with desire to fly to the succour of Guaimar. Osmond Drengot, a powerful and favoured baron of Robert, was riding with the Duke and a numerous cortége in the forest of Lyons, when Guillaume Repostel, no less great and favoured, lightly uttered some words offensive to the honour of Osmond's daughter. The indignant father struck the calumniator dead, under the very safeguard of the Duke. However just the revenge, the insult to Robert was too great to expect pardon. Osmond sought an honourable exile, and turned his steps and hopes where glory wooed him, followed by his fond and valiant brothers, Rainulfe d'Aschetil, Rodolphe, and a band of brave adventurers; they arrived at Naples, and founded Averse-la-Normande¹. Success attended them, not less against the Greek Emperors, than the Saracens. Tristan Cistel, Richard de Cartel, Guillaume de Montreuil, Bohemond, Hardoin, a host of restless youths, lovers of enterprise, at the head of whom marched the heroic Tancrede de Hauteville-le-Guichard², and his renowned brothers, all greedy of glory, and burning with desire to signalize their name, hastened to join Osmond. In

¹ About eight miles from Naples, "Citta piccola, ma ben fabbricata ed allegra. La strada principale che la traversa, è bella e decorata di buone fabbriche."

² The ruins of the Castle of Hauteville-le-Guichard exist to the north of the church.

a short time they became the vanquishers of popes, Greeks, and Neapolitan princes, and made a rapid conquest of L'Apouille, Capua, Calabria, and Sicily. Guillaume de Guiscard, named Bras de fer, was in 1043 elected Count d'Apouille. Robert Guiscard, brave, politic, and astute, was invested by Gregory VII., Duke of L'Apouille and Calabria, and pushed his brilliant conquests to the East. By Roger Guiscard was founded the kingdom of the two Sicilies.

Page 67. (45.)—*Paradise.*

The eloquent hermit Cucupiètre promised a certainty of paradise to the brave who fell combating an infidel.

Page 68. (46.)—*Their red shields.*

The left wing of the birds, which in his vision obeyed Rollo, was, le Roman de Rou informs us, red:—

*“ Mult i aveit oisiax, tot li mont porprenoient,
En plusors lieux trovoient nix et altres fesoient ;
Kel part ke il aloient à Rou obéissoient,
E lor eles senestres totes rouges estoient.”*

These, the Christian prisoner interprets to Rollo to be his companions in baptism, who afterwards should build their nests about him, and be subject

to him; their left wings denoting the colour of the shield they bore:—

*“ Par les eles vermeilles ki à senestre sont,
Peuz les escuz entendre, k'a lor cols porteront.”*

I know not if the colour of our military costume originates in the red shields of the Normans.

Page 70. (47.)—*Robert Courteheuse afterwards ran the walls.*

In 1054, when Henry I. of France and Geoffrey Martel passed the Orne, Caen was without citadel, walls, or battlement. Thus Robert Wace sings:—

*“ Encore ert Caem sanz chastel,
N'i aveit fet mur ne quesnel.”*

Robert Courteheuse, however, notwithstanding the wretched state of his finances,

*“ Li Dus n' aveit gaires deniers,
Kar il despendeit volentiers ;”*

began to repair its fortifications :—

*“ A Caëm fist une trenchie,
Ke encor pot estre enseignie,*

*Ki va par la rue Meisine
Ki à la porte Milet¹ fine ;
Une partie d'Ogne i vait,
U li flot monte è retrait."*

The treachery by which the nobles, in 1105, sold Robert Courteuse, and betrayed Caen to Henry I., the price of that business, and the popular indignation, are dwelt on by Robert Wace, and Orderic Vital "Rex autem quatuor primoribus Cadomi Dalintonam in Anglia dedit, quæ lxxx libras per singulos annos reddidit, et Villa-traditorum usque hodie nominatur, licet illis nunc subjecta non sit." The Roman de Rou says, even the garden near St. Marten, by the port Arthur, where the traitors assembled, was struck with sterility, nor has since produced apples or other fruit. Robert Fitz-haimon, the corrupter of the "Cadomenses," received soon after, before Falaise, the reward of his treachery,—a blow on the head depriving him of reason for the rest of his life.

No town, before their suppression, could equal Caen in the number of the spires of its religious edifices.

¹ This port is near Vaucelles, by the river Orne.



WILLIAM, DUC DE NORMANDIE.

Page 70. (48.)—*The beautiful Arlette of Falaise.*

Far extending as the fame of the brilliant achievements of her son, a reproach has been associated with the name of the lovely maid of Falaise, which though it fell with peculiar odium on her, she was in no way more obnoxious to, than Pope, Sprote, or Gonnor, who like herself were married à la Dannois,

then commonly¹ the only conjugal tie in Normandy. Indeed, with the exception of his father, all her son's ancestors merited the appellation of Nothus, by which he was particularly distinguished, not less than himself. Historians differ as to her name and family, since she is variously called Harlot, Herlotta, Herlese, Aillot, Arlieta, Arletta, Hellena, and Bellona; and with respect to her family, since the Chronicles of St. Denis describe her as "*Une pucelle qui avait nom Herlave, fille de Fulboiz, son [Robert's] chambellan;*" and William of Jumièges, as "*Herleva, Fulberti cubicularii Ducis filia nobilibus indigenis, et maxime ex Richardorum prosapiâ natis,*" while

¹ M. Pluquet, in a note on the words "*Filz à putains,*" so often repeated by Robert Wace, and other authors of the middle ages, and which are used in addressing or designating the "*paysans,*" serfs, or villains, is led to suppose the people were not married, and lived in concubinage. The appellation is used generally inoffensively, and without any opprobrious signification. The authority of the church, which now made rapid strides to universal power, and whose usurpations we are more mindful of than grateful for the benefits she disseminated, had soon greater influence than the example of the great, or the custom of the country. Will. of Jumièges says of the Conqueror, "*Despectui erat utpote nothus:*" and the Chro. St. Denis, "*Mult ob grant despit de ce que li enfés Gulliaume estoit entrez en la Duchée et dist, 'Que Bastarz ne devoit pas estre heretier,' et sanz failli li Dux Robert l'avoit engendré en une pucelle.*"

other writers make her the daughter of a bourgeois of Falaise, Herbert, or Vert-pre, a tanner¹ or inn-keeper: "Herleva quæ Herberti, pelliparii Belgiæ et Dodæ filia" [*Gall. Chris.*]; and the MS. of the library of St. Germain de Pres adds, "Et de par sa mère estoit noble lignée." Every chronicler, however, decks her with extreme youth and beauty; which, accompanied with naïve and great artlessness, had charms too powerful for the ardent temperament of the Duke Robert, who, the Abbe du Moulin says, until this had refused the most powerful connexions, and had escaped the masked, roseate, but inextricable enthraldoms of love. Gla. Radulphus [apud Acher. tom. III. spicilegii] indeed alludes to a marriage of Robert with Canute's sister, but no other historian bears him out²: "Quam-

¹ The terrible vengeance William took on thirty-two soldiers of Alençon, by cutting off their feet and hands, for calling, in derision of his mother's family, "Hides! hides! skins for the tanner!" appears conclusive on this point. "La pel! la pel! al parmentier,"—*Wace*.

"Pelles enim et renones ad injuriam Ducis verberaverant, ipsumque Pelliciarium despective vocitaverant, eo quod parentes matris ejus pelliciarii exstiterant . . . illusores vero, coram omnibus infra Alencium consistentibus, manibus privari jussit et pedibus. Nec mora sicut jusserat, triginta duo debilitati sunt."—*Will. Gemet*.

² The "*Gesta Consulium Andegavensium*," repeat the same thing in nearly the same words, evidently confounding the son with his father.

libet sororem Anglorum Regis Canuc manifestum est duxisse uxorem, quam odiendo divortium fecerat; ex concubinâ tamen," &c. &c. At this period, the Chronicles of Tours describe Herletta as "Filiam cujusdam quam ad choros vidit in tantum adamavit," &c. the Chronicles Sithiensi, "Cujus speciem in chorea saltantis concupiscens;" William of Malmesbury, "Cujus speciem in choro saltantis forte conspiciatus." Thus we must present Arlette to our imagination at gambols with her playmates, when, interrupting mighty projects of glory and ambition, softer yet not less imperious sentiments are awakened in the breast of the captivated Duke¹. Robert

"Sees her sporting on the flow'ry green,
And loves the blooming maid as soon as seen :—"

"Le Duc Robert estant un jour à Falaise, une

¹ A window in the donjon of the castle of Falaise is pointed out as the identical one from which Robert first beheld the graceful girl. The tradition of Falaise is, she was standing at a fountain. Beniot de Sante More says, that she was washing there :—

*" Dans le ruissel d'un fontenel
Ou en blanchisseit un cheisnil,
Od outres filles de borgeis,
Dunt aveit od li plus de treis,
Tirez aveit ses dras en sus,
Si cum pucelles ont en us,
Par enveisure è pur geu."*

BIB. HARL.

forte belle fille et gracieuse pucelle, nommée Arlette, fille d'un bourgeois de la ville, la-quelte fut si bien à sa grace, qu'il voulut avoir pour son amoureuse, et parce qu'il la requist affectueusement à son père, à que oncques ne lui estoit venu pour demander, ou avoir feme à espouse, ou outrement, le père de prime face ne luy accorda pas, toute fois il fut par le Duc tant importuné de prieres [non abstinuit quin sibi nocte conjungeret, *Wil. Malm.*] que voyant la grande affection et amitie qu'il portoit à sa fille, il s'accorda, en cas que sa dicte fille le voulast accorder. Laquelle respondit à son pere : ' Je suis votre enfant et geniture, ordonnez de moy ce qu'il vous plaist, je suis preste vous obeir.' " [Croniques de Normandie.] However maidenly this reply, it would appear the munificent and royal suitor had won her virgin affections, for she offered herself up with an abandonment to his embrace which nothing but excess of love can excuse. It would be impertinent with a hand familiar as Robert Wace, to draw aside the curtains, and violate the sanctity of the nuptial couch, or dwell on the delicacy of tact which made Harlot,

" La kemise ad devant rumpue,"

Lest, as she explained,

*" Ke le plus bas de ma kemise,
Ki à mes jambes ftert è tuche
Seit turnée vers vostre buche."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

The oneirocritick might deem it less excusable to omit her dream on that eventful night, since so many historians have related it. The Chronicle of Tours narrates, that in the vision of a tree, taking its root in her, and overshadowing England and Normandy, was prognosticated the future greatness of her embryo: "Quæ cum in primâ nocte jaceret cum Duce, et obdormisset, vidit per somnium intestina sua velut quamdam maximam arborem super Normanniam et Angliam dilatari: quod et factum est."

In the Roman de Rou, Arlot¹ thus accounts to the Duke for having "Geta un plaint è tressailli :"—

" ke songiè ai
K'un arbre de mun cors isseit,
Ki vers li ciels amunt creisseit ;
Del umbre ki entur alout,
Tute Normendie aumbrouit."

At his birth, like all persons who having done great deeds are fortunate enough to have historians to celebrate them, the infant William performed many

¹ A recent Norman historian is angry with Hume calling Arlot, *Harlotta*—a word of such offensive import. Such, however, is the orthography of several chroniclers; and, without doubt, the English language is indebted for the word and its signification, however little merited, to the odium endeavoured to be cast on the Conqueror and his mother.

feats of prowess which it would be beyond the limits of a note to quote. Robert loved the Herculean boy, and bestowed on him the utmost care: "Le Duc Robert fist moult honorablement nourrir, et apprendre Guillaume son fiz, tout ansi comme s'il feust de son épouse, et longuement nourry à Falaise" [MS. Chro. de Nor.] "Filiū piissime et sanctissime educatum." —*Roberto Denylde*. Nor was Arlette less honored by the Duke: "Unice dilexit, et aliquandiu justæ uxoris loco habuit." [*Will. Malm.*] "Eam non conjugem, sed loco conjugis aliquamdiu tenuit." [*Chro. Sithiensi.*] Indeed, the Chronicle of Tours affirms, they were married soon after the birth of William: "Dux vero Robertus, nato dicto Guillelmo in isto eodem anno, matrem pueri quam defloravit, duxit in uxorem." Arlette, cherished and beloved by Robert, and devoted to the education of her boy, tasted for eight years [habebat tunc filium septannum, *Will. Malm.*] that felicity which makes a paradise of earth; when the Duke Robert, whether to fulfil a vow made by his father, or from the zeal of his own devotion, or, as Denylde relates, to conciliate the divine clemency, draw its benediction on his son, and to show his repentance at having in sin begotten him, determined on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre: "Principes solent peccatis indulgere, raro ad pœnitentiam redire. Exemplum pœnitentiæ sumant licet in Duce Roberto, qui ex amore, Guillelium, unicum naturalem filium, heredem futurum habens [qui ideo perpetuum cognomen Nothi

tulit] quo sibi propitiam conciliaret divinam clementiam, et benedictionem cœli super filium in iniquitate conceptum vovit peregrinationem ad Sancta Loca.”—*Rob. Denyldo*.

Despite the tears and fears of Arletta, too fatally verified¹, and the remonstrances of the barons, Robert, remaining unshaken in his pious resolution, left William under the tutelage of the king of France, [“sub tutelâ sapientis Regis Francorum positum”] and in an address breathing the most touching affection, presented his young boy to the barons. “Il est peti, mais il creistra,” he added, as he received from them the oath of fealty to him. The Duke left Arlette possessed of considerable wealth; and some authors state, that previous to his departure, to ensure for her in case of danger a greater protection, married her to Herluin de Conteville: “Mater ejus ante patris obitum cuidam nobili Herlewino de Vado comiti data in uxorem.” [Chro. Alberie. Trium Fontium]. “Quæ ante patris obitum cuidam Herlewino de Comitibus Villa, mediocrium opum viro, nupsit.” A host of authorities, however, state, on the contrary, that it was not until the intrigues of Robert’s family succeeded in troubling the state, and

¹ “Anno MXXXV. obiit Robertus Dux Normannorum; succedit Willilmus filius ejus spurius, qui, eo quod esset cognatus Regis Edwardi, Angliam acquisivit.” [Chro. Fiscanensi ex veteribus membranis apud Labbeum. A.D. 1246.]

the treachery of the barons aroused a storm which she was unable to encounter, that Harlette sought shelter in a second marriage. William of Jumièges, writes: "Verum postquam Hierosolymitanus Dux obiit; Herluinus, quidam probus miles, Herlevam uxorem duxit." Again, "Arlette fut mariée, apres le décès du Duc, à Hellouin, vaillant home."—*MS. Chro. Nor.*

The *Chroniques de Normandie* [Richard Wace, in 4to. Goth. wanting date] without fixing the exact epoch, content themselves with calling her husband, "Heluyn ung des bourgeois de Falaise." Orderic Vital says, "Herluinus de Contavilla, Herleuam [Herletta] Roberti Ducis concubinam, in conjugium acceperat¹." At whatever period this event

¹ "En ce temps maria le Duc Guillaume Arleite sa mère à Guillebert Crespin et lui donna une partie de la terre Toustain-le-Gois. Celui Guillebert fonda l'Abbaye du Bechelloum." [*MS. Chro. Nor.*] Notwithstanding the error in date, in the name of Arlette's husband, and in the founder of the monastery of Bec, who was the Abbot Herluines: "Abbas Herluinus Monasterium Beccense in honorem St. Mariæ cœpit ædificare:" [*Ord. Vit.*] "Herluinus Beccensis fundator:" [*Chro. Rot.*] "MLXXXII. Ecclesia Beccensi dedicat Lanfranco, Odo, &c. &c. . . . præsentis:"—*Rot. de Monte*, the passage may merit more consideration than I have given it, since William disinherited Toustain le Gois. Gislebert Crispin, Count of Brionne, was related to the Duke, and tutor to him; and another family of similar name, Gislebert Crespin, Constable of Tillières, Lord of Bec-

took place, it in no degree lessened the filial love and duty William always bore his mother: "*Matrem quantum vixit, insigni indulgentiâ dignatus est.*" [*Will. Mal.*] "*Matrem dum vixit honorifice habuit.*" [*Chro. St. Martini, Turon.*] "*Rex matrem suam, quamvis esset inferiori genere orta, multum honoravit.*" [*Chro. Will. Godelli.*] Herluin or Herlouin de Conteville, her husband, shared in this affection and respect. As his power increased, William, both in Normandy and England, enriched and advanced him: "*Guillelmus autem Dux, et postea Rex, Vitricum suum magnis et multis honoribus in Normannia et Anglia ditaverat,*" (which feeling he extended even to more remote connexions,) "*et filium ejus Radulfum quem de aliâ conjuge procreaverat.*" [*Ord. Vit.*] William everywhere acknowledged her sons by this marriage, Robert and Odon, with marks of the greatest respect as his brothers, and promoted them, from the earliest age, to the highest honours, rank, and power: "*Fratresque suos uterinos Odonem et Robertum, maximis possessionibus sublimaverat.*" [*Ord. Vit.*] "*Ex quâ duos filios Odonem et Robertum, qui postmodum præclaræ sublimitatis fuerunt, procreavit.*" [*Will. Gem.*] Arlette, having lived to hear of the achievement of

Crespin, near Montivilliers, was much advanced by William. Toustain, who bore the standard of the Duke at Hastings, was of the family of Bec aux Chauchois, not of Bec Crispin.

the most illustrious event of modern history, and see her sons at the height of human grandeur, died at an advanced age. At a league and a half from Honfleur is the village of Grestain; there, at the foot of a mountain, its walls laved by the clearest rivulet, lie the ruins of an abbey, built by her son and embellished by her husband, in which, surrounded by the remains of these beloved objects, repose the ashes of the beautiful Arlette¹: “ Mo-

¹ Wace describes Arlette :—

*“ Meschine ert uncore è pucele ;
Avenant li sembla è bele.”*

Beniot-de-Sainte-More also much and constantly dwells on her beauty :—

*“ Des pies è des jambes parurent,
Qui si tres beaux et si blans furent,
Que ce fu bien au Duc avis
Que néeys ert pale è flors de lis
Avers la soc grant blanchor :
Merveilles i torna s'amor.
Fille ert d'un borgeis la pucelle,
Sage è corteise è prox è bele ;
Bloi et od bel front è od beaux oïls,
Ou ja ne fust trovez orguilz ;
Mais benignite è franchise,
Si n'en fu nule mieux aprise,*

nasterium St. Mariæ Grestini Herluinus de Contavilla condidit, in quo ipse requiescat corpore et Helena [seu Herleva] uxor ejus. Horum filii fuerunt

*E s'aveit la color plus fine
Que flors de rose ne d'epine,
Nes bien séant bouche et menton ;
Rien n'out plus avenant façon
Ni plus bel col, ne plus beaus bras.
Iteu parole vas en faz
Que gente fu è blanche è grasse,
Eisse que les beautes trepasse
Des autres totes du regné.
Poi vos ait dit de sa beauté,
A ce qu'en est, ce sachez bien.*

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*Son gent corps, aveit bel vestu,
A ce aveit mult entendu
Cum d'une mult bele chemise
E sus d'une pelice grise,
Blanche fresche è lee sans laz,
Seante au corpe, è mieuz as braz
S'out afublé d'un cort mantel,
A li mult covenable è bel ;
Bende son chef qu'ele out mult bloi,
E dunt ele n'aveit poi
D'une bende laschetement
Od un freiscaus de fin argent ;
Sanz s' eslier est si montée [her horse]
Ne sais si bele riens fu née."*

BIB. HAR.

Robertus comes Moretolii qui idem monasterium auxit, et Odo Episcopus Bajocensis." [*Robertus de Monte tractatu de Abbatis Normanniæ.*] "Monasterium St. Mariæ Grestini Herluinus de Contavilla condidit in quo ipse requiescet corpore et Herleva uxor ejus." [*Actis Sanctorum et Illus. Virorum Gestis.*] "Monasterium Grestini Robertus comes Moretolij fecit." [*Will. Gemet.*]

Thus much is known of the history of the interesting Arlette, who gave birth to some of the most remarkable personages recorded by history, men of dignified and commanding appearance; of great activity and bodily prowess, united to minds not less acute and vigorous; of boundless ambition, corrected by the clearest prescience and judgment; of prudence and decision to direct the boldness and valour with which they carried into execution the grand and daring suggestions of their ruling passion. William of Malmesbury paints Normandy's greatest Duke, and England's Conqueror, as tall in stature, stern of look, his forehead bald; of unequalled strength and skill in military exercises, his position, standing or sitting, of the utmost dignity; of an uncommonly robust and hardy constitution; a lover of the chase; among his friends convivial, sumptuous, and magnificent; mild and prepossessing in his reception. "Justæ fuit staturæ, immensæ corpulentiae, facie fera, fronte capillis nuda, roboris ingentis in lacertis; ut magno sæpe spectaculo fuerit, quod nemo ejus arcum tenderet, quem ipse admisso equo pedibus nervo

extento sinuaret; magnæ dignitatis sedens et stans; commodæ valetudinis, ut qui nunquam aliquo morbo periculoso præter in extremo decubuerit; exercitio nemorum deditus; convivia in præcipuis festivitibus sumptuosa et magnifica inibat, nec ullo tempore comior aut indulgendi faciliior erat." Richard of Hovedon, it is true, dashes over the darker shades.

Of Odo, whose early merits far exceeded all their great and far extended reputation, William of Jumièges writes, " Odonem ab annis puerilibus, optimorum numero consona præconia optimorum inseruerunt. Fertur hic in longinquas regiones celeberrimâ famâ; sed ipsius liberalissimi atque humillimi multa et industria et bonitas amplius meretur." While, however, to study, weigh, and describe the character of the Conqueror has employed the ablest pens of every country, Odo has been by modern writers less fairly handled; and his talents, learning, eloquence, valour, vigour of mind and character, liberality, munificence, patronage of the arts and learning, his zeal for the church, and affection for his brother, forgotten. Yet, though differing in his virtues, that he was a man superior to all of his day, and second not even to his illustrious brother, is to be collected from contemporary writers, or those who nearest approach the epoch.

The birth of Odo may be dated about the year 1037. The MS. Cod. Cellæ St. Gabrielis does not fix the precise year, but informs us that Mauger being Archbishop of Rouen, and Johannes abbot of

the monastery of Féchamp, Hugh Bishop of Lisieux, there ordained Odo in deacon's orders: "Tempore Malgerii Archiepiscopi . . . opus fuit Fiscannensi ordinis fieri. Tunc Abbas Johannes Hugonem Lesoiensem Episcopum accersivit, eumque ipsos ordinis facere rogavit, qui et paruit; ibique tunc fuit ordinatus Odo, postea Bajoicensis Episcopus, ad deaconatus officium." In the year 1050, Hugo, (son of Count Rodolphus,) Bishop of Bayeux dying, William recommended his brother to fill that see: "ML. obiit Hugo Episcopus Baiocensis, et successit Odo." [*Roberto de Monte.*] "Circa hæc tempora Hugo filius Rodulphi Comitis, Baiocensis Episcopus, obiit; et Dux prædictum Episcopatum Odoni fratri suo commendavit." [*Will. Gemet.*] The youthful bishop, then in his thirteenth year, ["juvenis adhuc ætate, animi canitie senibus præferendus," *Guill. Pictavensi Cont.*] surrounding himself by men not less revered for wisdom than age, commenced his episcopacy by re-erecting from its foundation the cathedral church of Bayeux, in honour of the Holy Mary, Virgin and Mother,— "Ecclesiam Sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ à fundamentis cœpit." [*Ord. Vit.*] "Ecclesia Baiocensis quam ipse multo studio egregie ordinavit, atque ornavit." [*Guill. Picta.*] "Pontificalem ecclesiam in honorem sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ novam auxit." [*Will. Gemet.*] "Fundamenta ecclesiæ St. Mariæ in Germetico innovata sunt, ML." [*Roberto de Monte.*]—which he completed with not less sumptuous liberality than good taste, presenting it with elaborate,

costly ornaments¹, and much treasure: “Eleganter consummavit, multisque gazis, et ornamentis affatim ditavit. [*Ord. Vit.*] At St. Vigors, which is on Mount Christmas, near the walls, without the town of Bayeux, he also built a monastery; and after a rigid inquiry, selected those monks to inhabit it who were most exemplary in holy living, and most ardent in the pursuit of wisdom, placing them under the direction of the learned and pious Robert of Tumbelene: “Ad ecclesiam St. Vigoris Episcopi Baiocensis, quæ sita est juxta murum urbis, monachos posuit, eisque religiosum et sapientem Robertum de Tumbalenia Patrem præposuit.” [*Ord. Vit.*] Unrelaxing in the diligent execution of his exalted duties, animated by the most laudable spirit, “in quibusdam spiritus ei laudabiliter dominabatur,” &c. not only did the young bishop Odo execute many great works², but he reformed and amended the discipline of the church, “pollens diversa est operatus et res emendavit ecclesiasticas,” [*Ord. Vit.*] giving incontrovertible proofs that he was less chosen to fill his high station from consanguinity to the Duke, than from his own merits, “. fratrem Odonem Baiocarum quorum in electione penes judicium ejus

¹ “Coronam ligneam laminis argentiis coopertam, * * * * dedit.”—*Gal. Christ.*

² Odo cum Herluino parente ad construendum Grestanum operam dedit.—*Gal. Christ.*

probitas ipsorum valuit, non altitudo natalium proximorum ipsi." [*Gest. Guill. Duc.*] Magnanimous, eloquent, magnificent, of undaunted courage, he showed all honour to the pious, and defended his clergy, not less by the weight of his power than the acuteness of his wit: "Erat enim eloquens et magnanimus, dapsilis, et secundum seculum valde strenuus; religiosos homines diligenter honorabat, clerum suum acriter ense et verbo defendebat." [*Ord Vit.*] In synods, where the worship of Christ, in councils, where secular affairs were agitated, he manifested an equal extent of intelligence and soundness of judgment. Public opinion proclaimed him without a rival in generosity throughout France, and not less the ornament of Normandy by his grace, accomplishments, and piety, than useful by his learning, zeal, and example: "In synodis ubi de Christi culturâ, in disceptationibus ubi de seculi rebus agebatur, intelligentia pariter atque facundia enituit. Liberalitate parem non habuit Gallia, ita opinio publica consensit. Omni Normanniæ utilis fuit ac decori." [*Gest. Guill.*] The Duke William appreciated as they deserved the talents of his brother, from whom in war or peace he seldom separated, so great was the affection he bore him: "Quem tanto amplectebatur amore, ut nec inter arma vellet ab illo separari." [*Gest. Guill. Duc.*] Nor were his councils valuable to the Duke in ecclesiastical and secular affairs alone; for while he was fitted to undertake the most difficult and delicate negotiations, ["qui optime negotia

sustinere valeret," *Guill. Pict.*], and soothed by his eloquence the wrath of the pope on his brother's marriage with Matilda, his advice and assistance were of the greatest use to him in war: "Bellum namque utilissimo consilio," &c. [*Guill. Pict.*] It is to be lamented, and one sighs as one meditates on the frailty of the best; not the unsullied purity of his lawn, nor the spotless sanctity of the young bishop, could shield his breast from love. Captivated by the charms of a young lady, unable to subdue the warmth of temperament which stimulated him, ["calidioris pectoris ille," *Will. Malmes.*] he fell a victim to his carnal desires. From the unblest intercourse he had a son named "Johannes," who, contemporary with Orderic of St. Evroult, was one of the most eloquent and virtuous men in the court of Henry: "Verò spiritui caro miserabiliter principabatur. Carnali ergo ardore stimulatus genuit filium nomine Joannem, quem nunc in curiâ Henrici Regis videmus eloquentia magnaue probitate pollentem." [*Ord. Vit.*]

We now touch on the most interesting period of the history of the children of Arlette. It was a fine sharp morning in the commencement of January, a slight sheet of snow, fallen the preceding night, lay crisp on the ground, when William, bent on the chase, and surrounded by a brilliant cortège,

*"Mult aveit od li chevaliers
E dameisels et esquiers,"*

D 3

issued forth from his hunting lodge at Quevilly, built near Rouen by his ancestor William of the Long sword. He was in the act, before the admiring court, of bending his renowned and tough bow, when a breathless messenger, bearing the marks of anxious haste, travel, and fatigue, waving further ceremony than a slight obeisance, proceeded strait to the Duke, and demanded to have audience. The momentous communication, to which the Duke gave profound ear, none caught hint of. They viewed his imperturbable nerves for once agitated, his mantle in fitful moods of absent thought oft thrown round him; on a sudden, without speaking, or others presuming to address him, leaving them to draw the cover, he passed the Seine alone, entered his palace, and throwing himself on a chair, his head bent on his breast, his face concealed by his cloak, he remained in deep meditation many hours. Aroused by his seneschal William Fitz-Osborne, the Duke convened his peers at Lillebonne,—“*conventum magnum apud Lillibonam fecit, singulorum sententias sciscitatus.*” [*Will. Malm.*] Thither came Maurille of Rouen, Odo of Bayeux, Hugo of Lisieux, John of Evreux, and many other bishops and abbots, men pre-eminent in the ranks of prelacy, who shone the light and ornament of Christendom. Foremost among the lay barons appeared Robert, Count of Mortain, William Fitz-Osborne, Robert of Eu, Roger Montgomeri, Roger de Bellemont, and the aged De Vieilles, all of high, valiant, and hardy race, saga-

cious wisdom, prudent in deliberation, powerful in council: "Habuit in consiliis ea tempestate Normannia, præter Episcopos et Abbates, laici ordinis præstantissimos viros: quorum in collegio splendidiora quædam ejus lumina atque ornamenta emicuerunt, Robertus Moritoliensis comes . . . Rogerus de Bello-monte, Rogerus de Monte Gomerici, William Fitz-Osborne . . . in omni deliberatione prudentiæ," &c. [*Guill. Picta.*] "Et alii plures militari stemmate feroces, sensuque sagaci, consilioque potentes." [*Ord. Vit.*] Before them William laid the act by which his relative and friend King Edward had made him heir to England, and the abjurement made by Harold on the holy relics of all pretension to the crown of that rich state. Yet in defiance of these, the saintly Edward being dead, the perjured Harold had usurped the throne to William's loss and dishonour, and Normandy's disgrace. He put it to his faithful barons how he was to act;—would they permit him tamely to submit, or aid him to claim his right? Odo followed; his rich and vehement eloquence, wielded with a giant force every argument which decides the reason or seizes on the hopes and passions of men. He concluded by recommending a legation to the pope in order to ensure to the enterprise the favour of Heaven against the perjured mocker of the holy saints, as well as the apostolical benediction, and the potent secular co-operation of his Holiness. But despite this, and a powerful appeal to the courage and cupidity of his ambitious order, by William Fitz-Osborne,

the barons remained doubtful, and looked with apprehension on the hazards of so bold an undertaking. The deliberations which followed, and the deceit by which at length Fitz-Osborne obtained the consent of the great lords, it is not for me to detail. The invasion resolved on, Odo employed every means his great resources and wealth presented, to furnish aid to his brother. Robert Wace states this levy to have amounted to forty ships :—

*“ De son frère l'Eveske Odun
Reçut quarante nes par dun.”*

And adds, in another place,

*“ Granx esforz mena od son frère
De Chevaliers è d' altre gent.”*

Les Croniques de Normandie, perhaps after Wace, say: “ L'Evesque Odon son frère lui acorda xl nefes furnies,” but the manuscript list published by Taylor, states Odo to have equipped a hundred vessels for this expedition; “ Ab Odone Episcopo Baios., C. naves.” At St. Valery-sur-Somme, where the fleet was long detained to the annoyance of William, who dreaded the increasing discontent of the barons, Odo turned their thoughts from home to heaven. He ordered and led a procession to the shrine of Saint Valery, which was exposed to view on a carpet, placed in the centre of a large plain. The murmurs

of the discontented were soon lost in the hosannas of the pious. The corpse of the Saint was literally covered by the gemmed and rich offerings of the assembled hosts. Moved by their entreaties and presents, the zealous intercession of Saint Valery grew more importunate; through which, aided by St. Michael, heaven relented, and a propitious breeze ushered in the morning of the tutelary saint of Normandy. Never, however, did the Bishop Odo lift up his heart in more fervent thanksgiving, than when seated by William he blest the meat of their first joyous repast in England, served upon a rock for a table at St. Leonard's. Wherever the warlike Duke moved, at his side was Odo, his faithful, constant, and acceptable counsellor; who, though not a soldier, knew all that was necessary for success, and what war required better than a veteran: "Unice constantissimeque fidelis fuit . . . libenter enim obsequabantur ut acceptissimo domino Normanni . . . bellum namque utilissimo consilio, cum necessitas postulaverit, juvabat." [*Guill. Picta.*] But the important and anxiously awaited day of battle, it was evident approached; the preceding night, by direction of the pious bishop, had been passed in prayer and mutual shrift; each soldier in the Norman ranks who could not reach his priest, unburthening his conscience by confession to his comrade:—

"*E ki n'en out proveires prez,
A son veizin se fist confex.*"

ROMAN DE ROU.

The long looked-for morning broke. The Duke commanded all who were in the camp [for many were out on forage] quickly to arm, and assisted with the utmost devotion at the holy mystery of the Mass; then partaking of the sacred elements administered by his reverend brother, he fortified his spirit and strength by the body and blood of Christ; and while he still knelt humbly at the altar, the bishop hung on his neck the holy relics on which Harold had sworn to renounce the crown of England, which oath he had profaned, and for which violation he was now to account before God and man: “Dux properè quotquot in castris inventi sunt [pleraque enim sociorum pars eo die pabulatum ierat] omnes jubet armari. Ipse mysterio Missæ quàm maximâ cum devotione assistens, corporis ac sanguinis Domini communicatione suum et corpus et animam munivit. Appendit etiam humili collo suo reliquias, quarum favorem Haroldus abalienaverat sibi, violatâ fide quam super eas jurando sanxerat.” [*Ex Gestis Guill. Duc.*] Odo mounted on a lofty pulpit, [“precibus pugnare disponitur,” *Guill. Piot.*] “Au bien matin chascun se ordonna à oyer messe par grant devotion, et ce fait, Odon, Evesque de Bayeux, monta sur ung eschaffault et prêcha au Duc Guillaume et à ses gens, et leur remonstra, et dist moult de belles parolles.” [*Chro. Nor.*] He addressed the duke, the barons, and the soldiery. He pointed out that Heaven had shown its favour to its own peculiar people, by rearing up to them a constant succession

of valorous generals, even as it had vouchsafed unto Normandy; that as for those it had put back the raging wave, and stayed the sun in its course, so it had led forth the Normans, a small tribe of a dreary land, until by miraculous victories, in which its potent hand was visible [and he expatiated largely on, and recalled to their recollection the many glorious battles won by the Normans, in which Divine providence had most beneficially interposed in their favour], they possessed a land flowing with milk and honey; but the treasures of grace were inexhaustible, nor, though overflowing, had they received the measure to be meted to them. He again beheld his brethren as the troops of Joshua, brought through many perils and dangers, the chosen army of righteousness, to punish barbarous idolaters, and profaners of their oaths, a wicked generation whom no covenant with God or man could bind. These they were to drive forth, and inherit the fatness of their land. Led by a captain of Heaven's own selection, the most valiant and successful of any age,—who could prevail against them? A chief not less munificent than brave; one not less ready to do a deed of valour, than reward it in others; one ever the most ready to offer up his life for his country, and who only esteemed power and wealth as it enabled him to pour down such blessings on others. Happy were the soldiers led by such renowned princes of the earth as those by whom he was surrounded! Thrice happy, the soldiers who followed the banner

of the magnanimous and valorous William. Blessed indeed the troops who marched forth in the cause of justice and of truth; one for which angels and archangels would mingle in their ranks. If not a sparrow droops its wings without divine permission, how much more especially were they under its protection and objects of its care? He proved then by innumerable texts, how high and honourable a name the soldier bore throughout the sacred writings; that for them signs and wonders had been wrought in heaven and on earth; that for a centurion, in whom he found more faith than in all Israel, Christ had wrought his greatest miracle; that St. Paul likens all the christian virtues to the soldier's war-gear; that the name of Jehovah is that of the Lord of Hosts; and the highest of the archangels the victorious St. Michael; that as the glorious army led by that celestial champion, so the blessed men whom he addressed (and he pointed to the pure and holy symbol which floated over their heads, charged in a crimson field) fought under the immediate eye and shield of Heaven. The consecrated banner, odorous with the benediction of St. Peter's successor, Christ's vicegerent, as the ark before the Israelites, went before them insuring victory, glory, honour while they bravely defended it, but dishonour, disease, plague, pestilence, and eternal perdition to those who like renegades deserted it. But, behold! the God of victories had delivered the enemy an easy prey into their hands; all the preceding night they

had wallowed in obscene debauchery, and now more like infuriated worshippers of a pagan idol than Christian soldiers, they reeled to and fro, the cup of intoxication, instead of the keen brand, in their palsied hands! With their eyes bleared, their hands and bodies filthy with the stain of their red drink; scarred, enfeebled, and bleeding from their drunken brawls and squabbles, their lines looked more like the unstable washing of some filthy stream, than the compact, firm ranks of disciplined warriors. Had their chiefs excited this excess among their deluded partizans, to blind them to their danger? or to steep in sinful levity the thought, that the excommunication of Heaven's apostle was on them, and the curse of the holy church weighed down their souls? 'Go forth to battle,' he exclaimed, 'sons and fathers of the brave, remembering whose soldiers you are; purified by confession, absolved of all sin, go to receive glory and riches from your earthly master, or the Euge and celestial beatitude of your heavenly Father!' He concluded by counselling that to mark how different the followers of the true Christ were from the infidels who opposed them, they should in future offer up that day to God; devoting it thenceforth to his honour and glory, and in commemoration that He had passed with them as a flaming sword through the ranks of the enemy, abstain for ever on such anniversary from flesh, or any meats in which the blood had part: "En la fin leur conseilla qu'ilz prommessent à Dieu que en tel jour il estoit [c'est assavoir le samedi] jamais

char ne sain ne mangeroient." [*Chro. de Nor.*] Throughout the innumerable living host no breath was heard, as in deep and moving tones, like the swell of the solemn organ, Odo gave his blessing and called down the benediction of Heaven on their prostrate heads. A pause, silent as death, ensued ; then, with the rending crash of arms, up rose the soldiers, and rushed where duty called them.

The pious bishop, his sacerdotal functions performed, laid aside his pontifical robes, and passing his alb over a slight hauberk, his head defended only by his priestly coif, a short staff in his hand, mounted on a magnificent cream-coloured charger, rode forth among the cheers of the soldiers, to where his brother had summoned his chief barons to receive his last commands :—

“ *Un haubergeon* ¹ *avait vestu,*
De sor une chemise blanche,
Lé fu li cors, juste la manche ;
Sor un cheval tot blanc séeit,
Tote la gent le congnoisseit,
Un baston teneit en son poing.”

ROMAN DE ROU.

While pens from the eaglet's plume have in rapid flight followed the carnage and marked the steps of

¹ M. le Prevost remarks, that the canon of a council, cited by Ducange, forbids prelates to travel on horseback, or even on foot, without wearing a garment of this nature under a surplice.

the terrible Conqueror, my humbler quill presumes only to trace a feeble sketch of Odo's conduct on that decisive day.



Unarmed, “*arma neque movit unquam, neque voluit movere, valde tamen timendus armatis,*” [*Gil. Pict.*] conspicuous in his person, dress, and horse, known by all the army, his baton directed to the

sacred banner, borne by the young and undaunted Toustain, "Tustinus, filius Rollonis, vexillum Normannorum portavit," [*Ord. Vit.*] near the valiant William, in the thickest carnage, pointing to the high prize of their calling, exhorting and encouraging, Odo rode amidst the ranks, keeping alive the spirits and courage of the men; now as necessity required leading on to the attack; now cool and collected restraining the excessive ardour of too impetuous valour:—

*" Là à vèit li grant besoing,
Faseit les chevaliers torner,
E là les faseit arrester ;
Sovent les faseit assaillir,
E sovent les faseit férir."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

The Normans having passed one of the deep ditches ["foveam quandam cautè et ingeniosè," *MS. Ann.* "prærupti vallis et frequentium fossarum," *Guill. Pict.*] which in various parts bisected the plain, were repulsed by the wedged and immoveable phalanx of the English. The first ranks driven back, fall with confusion on the rear; men and horses precipitated over each other in attempting to reclear the dyke, stop the retreat; while the English slaughter them, thus in disorder, with easy carnage. The baggage guard, attendants, and retainers observe this temporary defeat; giving up all

as lost, they commence a flight, and by their cries and example increase the danger, and spread a contagious and more general panic. The moment was critical. Odo, swift as a white cloud borne by the wind, launching from his brother's side, spreads renewed spirit through the doubting ranks, rallies the retreating troops, and calling to the terrified guards and menials, his voice more commanding than their terrors, stays them in their flight. He assures them by God's help the troops are victorious, and themselves in perfect safety. These reassured, again he turns his fiery courser to where, dismayed or enfeebled by carnage, the troops relax; or where amidst the fiercest havoc his appearance may cheer the spirits, and his counsel and vigilance may aid his brother:—

*“ Issi furent asséuré,
Ne se sunt mie remué.
Odes revint puignant arrière
U la bataille esteit plus fière.”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

The dark clouds had spread a funereal mantle over the dead-strewed plain, ere William, his fourth horse wounded, [“equi tres ceciderunt sub eo confossi,” *Guill. Pic., Will. Malm.*] his armour bruised and rent, covered with gore and dust, returned from the pursuit of the oft-rallying foe, [“rediit tamen fugientibus confidentia,” *Guill. Pict.*] to receive

Odo's congratulations. Though dusk¹ he hoisted the consecrated banner over the gemmed and golden standard of Harold: "Memorable quoque vexillum Haroldi hominis armati imaginem intextam habens ex auro purissimo," [*Guill. Pic.*] "Vexillum illud . . . quod erat in hominis pugnantis figura, auro et lapidibus arte sumptuosâ contextum," [*Will. Malm.*] and whilst they removed the bodies of the slain to pitch his tent and prepare his supper,

"*Entre li morz fist son tref tendre.*"

.

"*Et aparaillier son souper.*"

ROMAN DE ROU.

the fierce exulting brow of the Conqueror relaxed under emotions of pity, as silently pressing his brother's hand, he pointed meditatively to the far extending heaps of the fallen brave: "Ad aream belli regressus, reperit stragem quam non absque miseratione conspexit." [*Guill. Pict.*]

Odo, though he had aided his brother as far as religion permitted to the utmost, ["quantum potuit religione salvâ," *Guill. Pic.*] with a contrite and stricken spirit rose with the light of day to perform the ceremony of holy Mass, and pay the pious offices

¹ William of Jumièges makes it midnight before the Duke returned; but this, from various passages in other authors, appears considerably too late an hour.

of religion, and offer prayers for the souls of those who through angry wounds had taken flight amidst the hellish din of battle to more peaceful regions : “ Lendemain matin Odon chanta la Messe pour les trespassez.” [*MS. Chro. Nor.*] The muster roll called over, [“ par ung clerk qui les avait tous mis par escrip quant ils avoient este mist en la mer à St. Wallery,” *MS. Chro. de Nor.*] the melancholy silence which alone responded for many an absent brave, fell with mute oratory pathetic on the heart, as all found how many valiant friends they had to mourn¹; while weeping ladies amidst the grim and deformed corpses, sought a husband, or son, or father :—

“ *Li nobles dames de la terre
Sunt alées lor maris querre ;
Li unes vunt quérant lor pères,
U lor espos, u filz, u frères.*”

ROBERT WACE.

¹ “ Quinze mille Normands, et près de soixante mille Anglais, payèrent de leur sang, confondu dans la même poussière, le désir qu’ avait eu Guillaume de ceindre le bandeau royal.”—*His. Nor. L. Du Bois.*

Most authors agree in the loss of the Normans, while in that of the English they much differ ; in all probability it was never known with any thing like accuracy. Sixty thousand, as stated by M. Du Bois, would, however, have amounted to the whole of the army Harold had in the field.

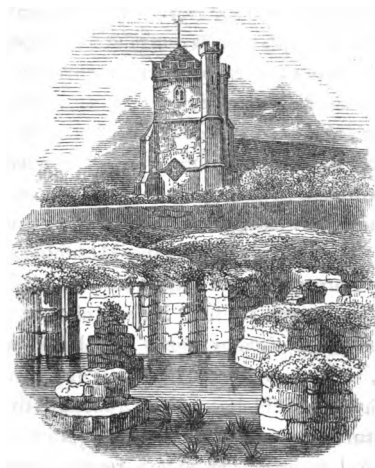
“ Volentibus ad humandum eos colligere liberam concessit potestatem.” [*Guill. Pic.*] And now a reverend group of pious monks approach, and with humble obeisance claim the intercession of the Bishop with the Duke, that he would permit them to seek the body of England’s fallen chief, offering to ransom it with treasure, so they might give his revered remains sepulchre at Waltham, in their Abbey which he had founded. The petition granted, the aged Osegod Cnoppe, and Ailric the childemaister, proceed with faltering steps and trembling hands to seek the royal corpse, where chiefs and soldiers, friend and foe, forgetful of all passions, lie in appalling confusion mingled. But among such heaps of slain, their lineaments distorted by wounds and pain, however diligent the search, however vigilant the eye prompted by duty, it needed that unweariness which affection alone can prompt when wrapt but in the thought of one loved object, it heeds not aught beside to go through with the toilsome task. The swan-necked Editha, the blondin locks which Harold loved falling wildly where they list, her soft blue eyes swollen with gushing tears, a deadly paleness having chased away the slight roseate tinge wont to blush upon her cheek, the playful smile that revelled there all gone,—came and sought, attended by these pious men, through the hideous spectres, her royal lover. To Edith the fair, his adored brow, or hand, or foot, or hair, had been sufficient to distinguish the majestic Prince from out the vulgar herd; but in the tender

familiarity of love what peculiarity or grace of feature could escape the glance which oft had hung with adoration on that bravest and most accomplished Prince, the leader of the valiant who appreciate all that is noble and daring, and the beloved of the fair who best render homage to the tender virtues and the softer graces. In Editha Pulchra¹, William saw, and parental sorrow and remorse oppressed his breast, the image of his own fair daughter, the love-sick Agatha; who, sacrificed to a barbarous policy, hating the Spaniard, faithful to her first love the graceful Englishman, broken-hearted at her approaching nuptials with other than the gentle and high-spirited Harold, whom she had seen and loved, sickened, and with tearful eyes praying Heaven to take her pure spirit ere so great a calamity befel her, died! Over her fragile remains stands a sarcophagus, erected by her uncle Odo in his cathedral at Bayeux. “*Porro Agatha, Regis filia, quæ prius fuerat Heraldo desponsata postmodum Amfurcio Regi Gothicæ per procos petenti missa est desponsanda. Sed quæ priori sponso ad votum gavisa non est, secundo sociari valde abominata est. Anglum viderat et dilexerat, sed Hiberno conjungi nimis metuit, quem numquam perspexerat. Omnipotenti ergo effudit precem lacrymosam ne duceretur ipsa in Hispaniam, sed ipse potius susciperet eam. Oravit et exaudita est: obiterque defuncta est. Deinde corpus*

¹ So named in many entries of the Domesday Book.

ejus ad natale solum à ductoribus relatum est, et in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Mariæ perpetuæ virginis in urbe Bajociensi sepultum est." [Ord. Vit.] The royal corpse, the right eye out, a tremendous gash upon the head, a large wound piercing to the bone in the upper part of the thigh, discovered at length, though so disfigured, by particular marks known to Editha, is, under the protection of Guillaume Matlet, conveyed by the monks and a long train of Norman nobles, to receive sepulchral honours in the Abbey of Waltham¹. On the spot where Harold fell, and the altar where stood his standard, William built *ad votum* the Battle Abbey, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The stone he had conveyed from Caen, the monks he invited from St. Martin of Tours.

¹ The Norman historians say William refused all the entreaties of Ghita, Harold's mother, and even its weight in gold for the body of that Prince, but delivered it in right of battle ["victoris jussu traditus est," Ord. Vit.] to Guillaume Mallet. William of Malmesbury, on the contrary says, the Conqueror refusing all Ghita's presents, instantly sent her the body of her son. Robert Wace, while he states the burial of Harold at Waltham Abbey, confesses his ignorance as to who conveyed it, or who directed its interment. The writer of the MS. Chronicle of Waltham Abbey, likely to know the fact best, gives the account followed in the text. The charter of Edward the Confessor's confirmation of this Abbey, founded by Harold, bearing date 1062, is preserved in the Monast. Anglic.



A large field now opened itself for the exercise of those talents so peculiarly possessed by the Bishop of Bayeux, and his eloquence, policy, generosity and reputation of piety, speedily conciliated and brought over the interest of the Church, so necessary to the permanent success of William. All yielded before arms and policy. In December William was crowned; and received from Odo, Eustache of Boulogne, his brother Robert of Mortain, William of Evreux, Godfrey of Montagne, Robert of Eu, and his principal

barons, their oaths to govern the people and the land, according to the ancient usages, without increase of impositions or harsher service : “ Il ordonna Eudes son frère, Evesque de Bayeux, et à ses gens à gouverner le pais et leur fist jurer de gouverner les gens et le pais selon leur anciens usages sans les grever ne dommager.” [*Chro. de Nor.*] He then granted them, according to affection, rank, and achievement, those extensive possessions which the sword, confiscation, and banishment had put in his power : “ Eustachius quoque Boloniensis et Robertus Moritoliensis, Guillelmus Ebroecensis et Robertus Aucensis atque Godfredus Rotronis filius Mauritaniansis alterique Comites et Optimates, quos sigillatim nominare nequeo, magnos redditus et honores in Angliâ receperunt à Rege Guillelmo : sic extranei divitiis Angliæ ditabantur, pro quibus filii ejus nequiter interficiebantur, vel extorres per externa regna irremeabiliter fugabantur.” [*Ord. Vit.*] To Odo he gave Dover Castle and the principality of Kent, (which Ethelbert, son of Umbrick, Edbald, Ercombert, Egbert and his brother Lothaire long had governed) considered the richest province in England, and its inhabitants among the bravest, not alone from their signal services at the battle of Hastings, but that from time immemorial in every battle, the king present, they led the van. Besides their reputation for wealth and valour they were considered, from their commerce with Flanders, and the intercourse which their fertile fields attracted from the opposite coast of France,

as the most polished of the native islanders: "Castrum verò Doveram Odoni fratri suo commisit, cum adjacente orâ australi, quæ nomine vetusto Cantium dicta, Galliam propius spectat; unde et à minus feris hominibus incolitur: consueverant enim merces cum Belgis mutare. Perhibetur etiam attestante paginâ vetustatis, maritimam hanc regionem à Gallis olim fuisse possessam, quibus eò transvectis prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ agri fertiles placuere." [Guill. Pict.] "Principatum super omnes Comites, et regni Optimates habuit, et cum thesauris antiquorum Cantiam possedit, in quâ jamdudum Edelbertus, Irminrici filius, Eadbald, et Ercombertus, et Egbert, atque Lothario frater ejus regnaverunt." [Ord. Vit.] Hume expresses a well-founded astonishment that "whether from vanity or from policy nothing appears more strange than that the Prince, in less than three months after the conquest of a great, warlike, and turbulent people, should absent himself in order to revisit his own country, which was in profound peace, and unmenaced by any of its neighbours, and should so long leave his jealous subjects at the mercy of an insolent and licentious army." There is a chronicle, too ill-vouched to give credit to, and too scandalous to repeat, since it might affect the legitimacy of Henry's birth, that certain levities of the Queen Matilda, generally esteemed the most virtuous princess, and of so coy a nature, that William, irritated at her various refusals, beat her till she consented to wed, recalled William thus sud-

denly, and, to historians unaccountably and puzzlingly, from cares of state to near domestic duties ¹.

¹ However willing to exempt the fame of the exalted Matilda from any frailties, one is obliged to admit the tender weaknesses of many of the noble dames; since it appears the amorous ladies, wearied of a solitary couch, dispatched urgent messengers candidly to inform their lords, that unless they immediately returned, they would supply their places as fancy dictated. For, unused themselves to sea voyages, their timidity prevented them risking their delicate frames in search of their absent spouses; nor did a residence in England suit their habits,—a country wherein, instead of festive galas, all were constantly under arms, and daily disturbances cost the spilling of much blood on either side ere quelled. William, desirous among a hostile people to keep around him his brave companions, to counteract the influence of such solicitations, offered with prodigal generosity his favours, wealth, and rank, and honours, and lands. The barons, however, who were anxious to generate legitimate, valiant offspring, felt all the force of a *sine quâ non*, which menaced their honour in the tenderest point. In vain would the wreath of glory encircle their brows if their wanton wives polluted the nuptial couch, and stigmatized and spurious heirs should reap the reward of all their toil. Under the dominion thus of the passions of their wives, Hugo de Grentmesnel, his brother-in-law Humphrey de Teilleul, Governor of Hastings, and many others reluctantly deserted the king amidst the difficulties of his new conquest, and returned to their libidinous spouses. Those honours and estates which for such a cause they abandoned, were by the Conqueror confiscated;

It is difficult among contradictory statements to arrive at a correct judgment of the government of Odo, left joint-viceroy with Fitz-Osborne, during the different absences of the Conqueror. His contem-

nor were they or their heirs ever after reinstated therein. Had the Conqueror been gored by the horns of this dilemma, would he have been so merciless?

"His temporibus quædam Normannicæ mulieres sævâ libidinis face urebantur, crebrisque nunciis à viris suis flagitabant, ut citò reverterentur; addentes quod nisi redditum maturarent, ipsæ sibi alios conjuges procurarent. Non enim ad maritos suos propter inusitatum sibi adhuc navigationem transfretare audebant, nec in Angliâ eos expetere, ubi jugiter in armis erant, et quotidianas expeditiones, non sine magnâ sanguinis utriusque partis effusione, frequentabant. Rex autem, inter tot bellorum motiones secum milites suos retinere cupiebat, et terras cum redditibus et magnis potestatibus eis amicabiliter offerebat, et majora dum totum regnum ab adversariis undique liberatum esset promittebat. Legitimi Barones strenuique pugiles multipliciter anxiantur. . . . Rursus honorabiles athletæ quid facerent, si lascivæ conjuges thorum suum adulterio polluerent, et progeniei suæ perennis maculæ notam et infamiam generarent? Unde Hugo de Grentemaisnil . . . et sororius ejus Unfridus de Telliolo . . . alique multi discesserunt et regem inter externos laborantem tristes et inviti deseruerunt. Deinde famulari lascivis dominabus suis in Neustriam reversi sunt; sed honores, quos jam nactos hâc de causâ reliquerunt, ipsi vel heredes eorum nunquam postea recuperare potuerunt."—*Ord. Vit.*

porary, the inmate of the Conqueror's palace, the sharer of his toils, an eyewitness of all he wrote, the correct and elegant William of Poitiers, the Sallust of the historians of the middle ages,—“*Librum politi sermonis et magni sensus profundè præclarum edidit . . . et ea quæ oculis suis viderit, et quibus interfuit, longo relatu vel copioso indubitanter enucleare studuit.*” [*Ord. Vit.*] “*Si quis verò plenius illa nôsse desiderat, librum Willelmi Pictavensis Luxoviorum Archidiaconi eadem gesta sicut copioso ita eloquenti sermone affatim continentem legat,*” [*Will. Gem.*] writes, that Odo, universally acknowledged as the most generous, was no less applauded as the justest of men: that the sincere and cordial friendship which subsisted between William Fitz-Osborne and himself gave double force to the prudence and activity of their government; for, burning with a mutual desire to rule justly, and preserve peace throughout the country, united in council, and free from jealousy in the administration of their authority, swayed but by the interest of the king and people, as particularly exhorted by William, they corrected and gained over the turbulent and seditious, and by every means seconded to the utmost each other's efforts in the beneficial course of their administration. Nor did they suffer the Subprefects to be less vigilant than themselves; strenuously protecting them in the zealous discharge of their arduous duties. Nor was there, he adds, a Briton, however barbarous, that could be ignorant how much

this prefect merited to be loved, revered, and feared :
 “ Liberalitate parem non habuit Gallia, ita opinio publica consensit : nec minus æquitatis amore meruit laudem. . . . Victoriosus Rex in Normanniâ patriam præsentia suâ illustraret. Interea Baiocensis Præsul Odo, et Guillelmus Osberni filius præfecturam in regno uterque suam laudabiliter administrabant . . . interdum simul agitantes, modo diversi siquando necessitudo postulabat, festinam alter alteri ferebat opem. Per amicitiam, quâ sincerâ voluntate concordabant, amplius valuit prudens eorum vigilantia ; mutuo sese, regem æqualiter diligebant ; affectu ardebant pari ad continendam in pace gentem Christianam ; consilio alter alterius equanimiter assentiebatur ; æquitate utebantur maximâ uti Rex præmonuerat, quâ homines efferi et inimici corrigerentur et benevoli fierent. Item præfectos minores ubi quisque in munitionibus locatus fuerat strenui curabant. . . . Nec Angli adeò barbari fuerunt, quin faciliè intelligerent hunc præsulem, nunc præfectum, meritò timendum esse, venerandum quoque ac diligendum.—*Guill. Pict.*

The generally impartial Orderic Vital, who yields with such reverence to the authority of William of Poitiers, differs altogether from him in his opinion of the conduct and character of the Bishop of Bayeux. He wrote nearly a century after : did the veil of time hide from him the motives and necessity which forced those actions from which he draws the character of Odo, and which, though not abstractedly good, might

be the best left by circumstances to his choice? Or having no passion or interest to sway him, and the results and consequences being apparent, did the truth shine clearer on him? It is true he allows much liberality and great worldly ability to Odo, and confesses that with his vices were mingled virtues; but he asserts that his deeds possessed more of earthly leaven than spiritual doctrine: "*Qui multâ liberalitate et industriâ seculari pollebat . . . permixta, ni fallor, in hoc viro vitia erant cum virtutibus: sed plus mundanis inhærebat actionibus, quam spiritualis theoriæ charismatibus*"—*Ord. Vit.*

In another place, indeed, he softens this opinion; for he says that though the Bishop Odo was much entangled in secular affairs, yet many laudable were intermixed with reprehensible actions: "*Sic Odo Pontifex licet secularibus curis admodum esset irretitus, multa tamen laudabilia permiscebat illicitis actibus*" [*Ord. Vit.*] Odo was certainly no favourite with Orderic Vital, and he draws a frightful picture of England during his government. "Odo and Fitz-Osborne," he writes, "puffed up with excessive obstinacy, refused to hear the reasonable complaints of the English, and administer equal justice. Their followers, indulging in rapacious plunder and unlawful violations, were protected by force; and on those who sought redress for such grave insults, greater excesses and debaucheries were wreaked:"—"Odo nimirum Episcopus et Guillelmus Osborni filius nimîa cervicositate tuebant, et clamores Anglorum rationabiliter

audire, eisque æquitatis lance suffragari despiciebant, nam armigeros suos immodicas prædas et incestos raptus facientes vi tuebantur; et super eos qui gravibus contumeliis affecti querimonias agebant, magis debacchabantur." [*Ord. Vit.*]

Under all the circumstances,—a victorious and licentious army allured to the banner of William but by the hope of plunder and rapine,—a nation more defeated by the divisions in the councils of their leaders, and the imbecility of Atheling, than subdued—a nation lulled and deceived by William's manifestos, that near by connexion to the throne of which he had justly taken possession by the will of the late king, by the vowed abdication and ultimate fall of the usurper Harold, by the invitation of the principal nobles, by the award of the supreme and infallible arbitrator, the Pope, his right acknowledged by all other powers and kings, he came to heal their wrongs, conciliate their differences, unite their dissensions, and remove the malediction of the church; crediting his oath, "that every man should hold the land he possessed in peace, free from every unjust exaction and all tollage, nor any thing be exacted or desired, save such free service as should by common council of all the kingdom, be conceded, given, and enacted;" [*Fæd. N. E.*] and that the country should throughout be governed by its ancient usages, and the laws of Edward of blessed memory;—entrapped by policy, but not forgetful of their rights, or supine in exacting them,—between rapacious adventurers whom no

law or feeling bound, and inhabitants each of whom thought his life well sold so Norman blood paid the price :

*“ Ne chaut chescun de sa vie
Ne li chaut poiz ki l'ocie
Mais ke il ait un Normant mort.”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

—legislature was a task, which to fulfil with universal satisfaction was beyond mortal power. William of Poitiers proceeds to say, “But the English, whom neither benefits nor necessary severity could induce to prefer peace and tranquillity to tumult and change; not confident enough to appear in open arms, but treating of their wrongs by petty conspiracies, sent delegates through the land, to the Danes, or where-soever help was hoped: others, self-banished, flew to foreign shores free from the power of Normandy; thence, with increase of strength, they returned to harass the country: “Verum Angli, neque beneficio neque formidine satis coërceri poterant, ut quietem serenam quam res novas ac turbidas mallent; consurgere palam in arma non confidunt, sed regionatim de parvis conspiracyibus tractant, si quibus fortè dolis prævaleant ad movendum; ad Danos vel alio, unde auxilium aliquod speratur, legatos missitant: ultro in exilium aliqui profugiunt, quo extorres vel à potestate Normannorum sint liberi, vel aucti opibus alienis contra eos revertantur.” [Guill. Pict.]

Orderic Vital admits that the English vehemently bewailed their lost liberty, and secretly discussed among each other the means of shaking off their intolerable and hitherto unknown yoke: “*Amissâ itaque libertate, Angli vehementer ingemiscunt, et vicissim qualiter intolerabile jugum, sibique hactenus insolitum, excutiant, subtiliter inquirunt.*” [*Ord. Vit.*] Nor from his account were the plottings and insurrections unprovoked, since having stated that to enrich foreigners, the sons of England were iniquitously slain or banished, and wandered, never to return, through foreign lands, he concludes a long catalogue of their wrongs as follows: “*Noble damsels, the jest of despicable squires, and wronged by lewd profligates, deplored their lost honour. High-born and elegant matrons wept over the desolating sight, and bereft of their husbands, deprived of the solace of nearly all their friends, far more than life desired death.*” “*Nobiles puellæ despicabilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ, dedecus suum deplorabant. Matronæ verò elegantîâ et ingenuitate spectabiles desolatæ gemebant. Maritorum et omnium penè amicorum solatio destitutæ magis mori quam vivere optabant.*” [*Ord. Vit.*] William also accused his brother of exciting discontent and revolt by his oppression of the poor. But without entering on the long and dark history of the unjust and violent confiscations made by the Conqueror to reward his greedy followers, and other acts of himself and lord lieutenants, who daily devas-

tated their provinces, and encouraged riot, hawking, and hunting more than the duties of religion and the peaceful cultivation of the land,—“*Terram suam quotidie devastabant, et plus aucupibus ac venatoribus, quam terræ cultoribus, vel cœli oratoribus applaudebant, ventris ingluviei serviebant,*” [*Ord. Vit.*] by the single order to seize the property, destroy the churches and convents, and drive out many thousand rural inhabitants from their dwellings,—[“*multa millia ejectis habitatoribus silvescere juberet,*” *Will. Mal.*] to create antres for wild beasts, which he might amuse himself by hunting, William, more than the whole administration of Odo’s rule, alienated the affections of the English. The immense wealth Odo is said to have possessed, and which William of Malmesbury informs us was so great, that it surpassed the estimation of the age how so much specie could be got together, was, according to the same authority, wrung by threats from his dependents: “*Clientes ejus minis impulsī, tantam auri copiam prodidere, ut nostri seculi æstimationem superaret fulvi congeries metalli.*” [*Will. Mal.*] Indeed the general example as well as that of the king, of whom (not to follow the horrid accounts Roger of Hovedon gives of the means he employed to get at wealth) William of Malmesbury says, that when occasion offered, no other thought occupied him than to amass it, “*Pecuniæ cupidus, quam undecunque captis occasionebus, nihil unquam pensi habuit quin corrogaret,*

faceret," &c. [*Will. Mal.*] gives colour to the charge usually brought of Odo's cupidity. Orderic Vital, however, admits that his wealth, if not always as virtuously acquired as employed, was generously distributed among the clergy and the poor: "Quæ facinorosè aggregarat, largitus est ecclesiis et pauperibus." But Odo's great liberality, so much praised by William of Poitiers, cannot be advanced in extenuation of his extortionate acts, since to be prodigal of one's own yet greedy of another's, has been from the time of Catiline not uncommon. Orderic Vital also complains that Odo did great injury and damage to the monasteries, violently and unjustly seizing to himself those funds which had been from remote periods given to them by the faithful in England: "Cœnobia sanctorum valdè conqueruntur quod multa eis Odo detrimenta fecerat et fundos sibi antiquitus datos à fidelibus Anglis violenter et injustè abstulerat." [*Ord. Vit.*] However this may be, says a monkish historian, as regards England, many of the monasteries in France acknowledge his benefactions: "Ita sit de monasteriis Angliæ, multa autem Galliæ monasteria eum erga se beneficium agnoscunt." Nor can we here forget, that he rebuilt the Cathedral of Bayeux, the monastery of St. Vigors, so respectable for the men of eminence who matriculated there, and that the monastery of St. Benignus of Dijon, enumerated him among its principal benefactors: "Hujus anniversarium diem inter præcipuas benefactorum nos-

trûm memorias meritò numeramus." — [*Ex veteri Martij Rol. S. Benigni des. apud Labbeum.*]

The chronicles of Worcester appear to reconcile these conflicting opinions, and it seems the fact was, Odo took much more delight in the monasteries of ["Odo monasterialem ordinem valdè dilexisset," *Ord. Vit.*] native Normandy than in those of England. For William having granted all the lands rightfully belonging to the Abbey of Worcester to the Bishop Odo," ["omnes terras quæ justè ad abbatim pertinerent à Rege fratre videlicet suo postulavit et accessit," *Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicorum Chro.*] Walter, a learned and erudite monk of Cerisy, was sent there by the king in 1077, and through the unjust authority and power of Odo deprived the abbey of Worcester of twenty-eight farms: "MLXXVII. Misit Rex huc quendam monachum de monasterio quod vocatur Cerasii, Walterum nomine, litteris tam liberalibus quam grammaticis undecumque eruditissimum; iste abbas per iniquam potentiam Odonis fratris Regis, Bajocensis episcopi, viginti octo villas amisit." [*Wigorniensis Registro ac Evesham.*]

Of the vigilance, courage, and success of the military part of Odo's government, both after and during the existence of Fitz-Osborne, who having been sent to assist the Queen Matilda, died in an expedition to succour Count Arnoul, the queen's nephew, in Flanders in 1071, no historian speaks but in praise. Besides Hastings, and divers castles which William

built: [" Il fit bastir li chateaux en divers lieux d'Engleterre, par especial cel as Hastingue, auquel il mist forte garnison," *MS. Cro. de Nor.*] Odo erected many others: " Fratrem suum . . . Angliæ custodem



relinquens, castella per loca firmari præcepit. [*Roger de Hovedon, annalibus.*] Eustace of Boulogne was the first to take advantage of the Conqueror's absence, and passing the narrow straits in the night, he landed a considerable force and besieged Dover. The soldiers of Odo and Hugo de Montforte, dauntlessly commanding the gates to be thrown open, rush on the enemy. Eustace driven back to the sea, escapes with a few shattered vessels; but the rest flying to the steep and rugged mountains of craggy rock which overhang the sea, precipitate themselves

from the heights below : “Eustachius Boloniensis Comes in noctis conticinio mare transfretans diluculo cum copioso exercitu eorum illud obsedit, totisque viribus expugnare cœpit. Porro milites Odonis Baiocaginis Præsulis, atque Hugonis de Montforte quibus custodia Doroberniæ credita erat, perspicientes absentibus dominis suis se inopinatò obsessos, liberalibus animis accensi mox portas patefaciunt, unanimiter foras proruunt, consertoque certamine cunctos cum dedecore ab obsidione abigunt. Eustachius autem ad mare devertens, cum paucis indecenter navigiis aufugit. Ceteri verò ad devexum montis, qui rupibus et scopulis asperrimis mare imminet, fugientes, omnes sese inde dejecere deorsum præcipites.” [*Guill. Pict.*] Orderic Vital describes the defeat of Eustace in nearly similar terms : the Bishop of Bayeux with a strong force suddenly comes on them, when, flying through the pathless rocky precipices as men deprived of reason by fear, they throw themselves over, and more dishonourably perish thus than by the sword : “Fugientes verò Bajocensem Episcopum cum agmine copioso subitò supervenisse rati sunt; eâque formidine velut amentes per aviæ rupis præcipitium se dejecerunt; et tali compendio fœdius quam ense virorum perierunt.” [*Ord. Vit.*]

A formidable conspiracy next claimed his attention; in which many of the Norman as well as Saxon nobles took part. The powerful Roger, Earl of Hereford, second son of his late colleague Fitz-Osborne, and Raoul de Gael or Guader Earl of Norfolk,

under displeasure of the Conqueror for his marriage with Hereford's sister, were at its head. Roger of Hereford pointed out, that the king being absent, this was the favourable moment for action; since William, surrounded by difficulties on the continent, was not only attacked by foreigners but by his nearest relatives, and deserted amidst perils by his own offspring. His injustice, he continued, ought to be made known through the whole world, since for a single word he disinherited William Guarlingum (Werlincus,) Count of Mortain, and drove him in poverty out of Normandy. The sudden appearance of Odo so disconcerted the plans of the conspirators, that the Earl of Hereford fled; Raoul of Norfolk, vigorously besieged in Norwich, escaped also to his château of Montfort in Brittany. The Countess of Hereford, in the absence of her husband, gallantly defended the castle for a considerable time, nor yielded to Odo except on the honourable terms of a safe conduct for herself and retainers to leave the country. The Earl of Hereford was subsequently taken and imprisoned; and, with his brother-in-law of Norfolk, remained immured until the Conqueror at his death released them: "*Transmarinis conflictibus undique circundatur, et non solùm ab externis, sed etiam à suâ prole impugnatur, et à propriis alumnis inter discrimina deseritur. Hoc ejus nequitiam promeruerunt, quæ per totum orbem nimis propalata sit; nam ipse Guillelmus, Guarlengum Moritolij Comitum pro uno verbo exhæredavit, et de Neustriâ*

penitùs effugavit.” [*Ord. Vit.*] “At verò Rodulpho Comiti, Odo Baiocensis Episcopus occurrerunt. . . . Ipse autem de Angliâ ad minorem Brittannorum fugit. . . . Dein principes castellum tamdiu obsederunt, quod pace datâ, permissu Regis Comitissæ cum suis exire de Angliâ liceret. . . . Roger in custodiâ posuit.” [*Rogeri de Hovedon, annal.*]

The revolt of the Northumbrians¹ shook the whole kingdom. The terrible devastation William made of that ill-fated land is well known ; but it was to the talents of Odo, whom he accordingly sent with a powerful force, that he confided the conciliation and subjection of that valiant and hardy people : “MLXXX. Rex Willielmus eodem anno devastavit

¹ A recent history of Normandy treats William's ravages of Northumberland as a fabrication of Hume. The author must have read the historians cited in his title-page with little attention ; since there is no chronologer who treats of this epoch in England, prior or subsequent to Hume, but has drawn a more frightful picture still of William's horrible and barbarous policy in that county: “Innumeros maximè in pago Eboracensi fame seu ferro mortificavi. . . . Trans Humbranse . . . unde immoderato furore commotus in Boreales Anglos ut vesanus leo properavi, domos eorum jussi, segetesque, et omnem apparatus atque supellectilem confestim incendi, et copiosos armentorum pecudumque greges passim mactari. Multitudinem itaque utriusque sexus tam diræ famis mucrone mulctavi et sic multa millia pulcherrimæ gentis senum juvenumque, Proh dolor ! funestus trucidavi.” —*Ord. Vit.*

Northymbriam, misso illuc Odone Episcopo Bajocensi cum multo militari manu."—[*Sim. Dunelm. Chro. Anglo-Sax.*]

To trace, however, the numerous military exploits of Odo would be beyond my limits. The quarrels between Pope Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. at this time convulsed Europe. The Emperor sent ambassadors to remove Hildebrand from the Apostolic chair; who in return excommunicated the emperor and absolved all from their oaths of allegiance to him. During the contentions which ensued, certain divinations were sought at Rome by the superstitious and those interested as to Gregory's successor, should the issue be unsuccessful to him. The answer was, that, Gregory dead, Odo of Bayeux would assume the papal tiara. This prediction speedily reaching Odo, gave new direction and vigour to the ambition of the prelate, who, though he governed England and Normandy as a second king, yet nothing esteemed this wealth and power in the west, unless he could add the authority and dominion of the Pope. He prepared the way by the purchase of a palace at Rome, which he fitted up in the most sumptuous and extravagant manner, ingratiated himself with the people by his liberality, and by letters and great presents conciliated the friendship of the Roman senators: "Quidam sortilegi Romanorum, quis in Papatu succederet Hildebranno, indagarunt: et quòd post transitum Gregorij VII., Odo Romanus Papa foret, compererunt. Hoc audiens Odo Præsul Bajocensis,

qui cum fratre suo Guillelmo Rege Normannis dominabatur et Anglis, parvipendens potestates et divitias regni Occidentalis, nisi jure Papatus dominaretur latius et omnibus terrigenis, Romam misit, Palatium sibi emit, senatores Quiritum, magnis muneribus datis, sibi amicitia copulavit, Palatiumque suum multis sumptibus et superfluis apparatus exornavit. [*Ord. Vit.*] “Ubique cunctis Angliæ habitatoribus formidabilis erat, ut veluti secundus Rex passim jura dabat.” [*Ord. Vit.*] “Peras peregrinorum epistolis et nummis infarciens cujus futuri itineris opinione cum certatim,” &c. (*Will. Mal.*) He at the same time gained over the daring, powerful, and prodigal Hugo, Earl of Chester and a great body of the best troops, and adding the most energetic prayers to the most prodigal promises, invited them to set out for Italy with him. The Normans, inconstant and lovers of foreign adventure, quickly assented to the proposals of the ambitious prelate, whom no principality in England and Normandy could content. They decided on deserting their great wealth, and engaged themselves by oath to Odo to cross the Po: “Hugonem Cestrensi Comitem, magnumque cohortem præcipuorum militum ascivit, ut secum in Italiam proficiscerentur obsecravit, et ingentia precibus promissa prodigus addidit. Illi verò, quia Normanni leves, et externa videre cupidi sunt, protinus præsumptori Episcopo, cui Principatus Albionis et Neustriæ non sufficiebat, assenserunt: ingentes quoque fundos quos in Occiduis climatibus possidebant

deserere decreverunt, ac ut præfato Præsuli trans Padum comitarentur per fidem sponderunt.” [*Ord. Vit.*] “Ad eum milites concurrerent.” [*Will. Mal.*]
The prudent William had notice of these preparations, but disapproved of them; and unexpectedly interrupted Odo, desirous of sailing to Normandy with great pomp. The principal nobles were instantly congregated in the Conqueror’s palace, who thus addressed them: “Peers! ranking highest among my great and faithful, this day I have convened you to give me sage and wholesome counsel on matter most important. Nobles! I claim your attention! Formerly, when my presence was necessary in Normandy, I entrusted the government of England to my brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. In Normandy many had conspired against me; foreigners, I had information, were prepared to invade my dominions; Robert, my own son, youths whom I had nourished and first led to the glorious field, rebelled; to them, faithless subjects and neighbouring foes gladly united themselves. But Almighty God, whose servant I am, protected me; nor did he permit that they should prevail against me. Anjou in arms, ripe for cruel war, I pacified. I put down rebellion in Maine. Occupied and detained over sea by these matters, I laboured during my stay to serve the public good. In the meantime my brother violently oppressed England, the church of her rents and funds despoiled, and sacrilegiously took away those ornaments bequeathed to her by our pious

ancestors. He seduced my troops whom I had left to protect England against the Danes, the Irish, and other enemies; and in contempt of me prepares to lead them across the Alps into foreign countries. But more than all is my heart grieved by the mischief he has inflicted on the temples of the Omnipotent. The Christian kings, my predecessors, were lovers of the church, and with honours and gifts enriched her. Hence they are now, we hope, seated in paradise among the blessed, enjoying felicitous retribution in peace. Athelred, Edwin, and saintly Oswald, Ethelbert, and Alfred, Edward the Elder, Edgar, and my kinsman and dearest Lord Edward gave dower to the holy church, which is the mystical spouse of God. But my brother, to whom I confided the safety of the whole kingdom, has violently seized this wealth, cruelly oppressed the poor, debauched with idle hopes my troops, and the whole kingdom, vexed by his unjust exactions, is in a state of agitation and excitement. Peers! cautiously deliberate, and freely and boldly give me your counsel how to act!" Since all feared the powerful Odo, and hesitated to pass sentence on such a man, the magnanimous king said: "Pernicious and presumptuous persons must ever be repressed; nor can one detrimental to the state be excused by any favour; let this man therefore be arrested, and lest he should persist in wrong doing, speedily be imprisoned!" None daring, however, to lay hands on a bishop, the king himself seized him by the hands, and drew him forward. But Odo

protesting said, "I am a priest and minister of God! nor is it lawful to condemn a bishop except by authority of the pope." To which the ready king replied, "I condemn no priest or bishop; but one of my earls, whom as my lieutenant I placed over the kingdom, and whom, willing that he give an account of his vexatious administration, I arrest. "*Apparatum hujusmodi prudens Rex Guillelmus edidicit; sed non approbavit, . . . ac Odoni Episcopo cum grandi pompâ navigare in Normanniam cupienti, ex insperato obviavit. Ibi nimirum congregatis in aulâ regali Primoribus regni, Rex ita locutus est: 'Egregii Proceres, verba mea diligenter audite, et salubre consilium mihi, quæso, tribuite. Antequam transfretassem in Normanniam, regimen Angliæ fratri meo Bajocensi Episcopo commendaveram. In Normanniâ multi contra me surrexerunt, et ut ita dicam, inimici et forensici me invaserunt. Robertus filius meus et tyrones, quos enutrivî et quibus arma dedi, contra me rebellaverunt; eisque mei malefidi clientes et finitimi hostes gratanter adhæserunt. Verùm Deo cujus servus sum me protegente, nil profecerunt, nec de meo aliquid, nisi ferrum in vulneribus suis obtinuerunt. Conglobatos in me Andegavenses paratos ad bellum terrore compressi, parique modo rebellantes Cenomannos armis et viribus compescui. His nimirum occupationibus ultra mare irretitus fui; ibique diu moratus, publicis utilitatibus laboriosè deservi. Interea frater meus Angliam vehementer oppressit, et ecclesias fundis et redditibus exspoliavit,*

ornamentis ab antecessoribus editis nudavit, militesque meos, qui contra Danos et Hibernenses, et alios hostes mihi nimis infestos Angliam tutare debuerant, seduxit et trans Alpes in extera regna, me contempto, pertrahere disponit. Nimius labor cor meum angit, præcipuè pro ecclesiis Dei quas afflixit. Christiani Reges qui ante me regnaverunt Ecclesiam Dei amaverunt, honoribus et xeniis multis locupletaverunt: unde nunc, ut credimus, in amœna sede felici retributione gaudentes requiescunt. Athelredus et Edwinus, ac sanctus Oswaldus, Ethelbertus ac Alfredus, Edwardus senior et Edgarus, cognatusque meus et carissimus dominus Edwardus dederunt opes Ecclesiæ sanctæ, quæ est sponsa Dei: et frater meus pauperes oppressit, frivolâ spe milites mihi subripuit, totumque regnum injustis exactionibus concutiens exagitavit. Quid indè agendum sit cautè considerate, et mihi, quæso, insinuate.' Cùmque omnes tantum virum timerent, et sententiam in illum proferre dubitarent; magnanimus Rex ait: 'Noxia temeritas semper comprimenda est, nec uni ad detrimentum reipublicæ pro aliquo favore parcendum est. Hunc ergo virum qui terram turbat comprehendite, et ne in deterius prævaleat, solerter custodite.' Cùmque nullus in Episcopum auderet injicere manum, Rex ipse primus apprehendit eum. Illo autem reclamante, 'Clericus sum, et minister Domini, non licet Pontificem damnare sine iudicio Papæ:' providus Rex ait: 'Ego non Clericum nec Antistitem damno, sed Comitem meum, quem meâ vice præposui regno,

et rationem commissæ villicationis audire volens, comprehendendo." Robert Wace and the Chronicles of Normandy state, that Odo was captured in the Isle of Wight, whither he had fled, having previously been summoned to render an account of the revenues received during his government ; that a ship being in readiness and the wind fair, he was put on board and conveyed forthwith to the tower of Rouen :—

" En l'isle de Wic l'aveit pris

.

Por son compte k'il ne volt rendre

De sa rente k'il out éue

D'Engleterre k'il out tenue,

.

Prez fu la nef, boen fu li venz

E li Eveske fu mis enz :

A Roem fu par mer menez."

ROBERT WACE.

" Et qu'il lui devoit rendre compte des revenues due lui, des temps qu'il l'avoit eu en government . . . ils n'obéirent pas si n'avoit passé la mer le Duc Guillaume, et prins lui propre ce dit Odon [car nul des ses gens n'y osait mettre la main] à l'isle de Wit, où le dit Odon s'en étoit fui, et l'avoit Guillaume emmené et mis en prison à Rouen." [*Chro. MS. de Nor.*] The Chro. Anglo-Sax. thus laconically dates this event in 1082. "MLXXXII. Hoc anno prehendit Rex Odonem." Henry of Huntingdon places it

in the fifteenth year of his reign; "Annus XV. Odonem Episcopum fratrem suum in carcerem posuit." Roger of Hovedon looks on this as one of the most arbitrary and violent acts of the Conqueror's tyranny; and in fact the display of piety and respect for the church William made while he attacked its greatest and dearest privilege, causes one to doubt his sincerity in the charges he brought against Odo; for in all ages the most flagrant injustice has been ever attempted to be masked by the greatest zeal for the honour of God. The oppression of the English was too universal and too much countenanced to be fairly made a subject of accusation. Of Odo's great liberality to the church, and love of learning, many endowments bear evidence to this day; while the records collected in the *Gallia Christiana* give ample testimony to his active and zealous discharge of his pontifical duties. In the means of amassing wealth, we are told by William of Malmesbury, he greatly erred: "In aggerandis thesauris mirum tergiversari" [*Will. Mal.*]; and though general guilt can in no way excuse individual delinquency, such an accusation comes with a bad grace from William's lips. From himself downwards few were more exempt than Odo; none who by an excess of generosity offered such amends. Certainly, in a military point of view, to throw up his government unsanctioned by his sovereign, and to alienate and lead off the troops, were the facts so, was culpability sufficient, and for which no excuse can be offered

further than that such adventures were then not uncommon; nor does William seem to view it in the same light in which it would be regarded at this day. If the troubled state and doubtful issue of the Pope's affairs, the divisions as to whom should be his successor, and the affection borne to Odo, offered prospects of success to his enterprise, would it not have been an object consonant with the policy of William to have had his brother seated in the apostolical chair? Did he fear the farther designs of his ambitious brother, and that he really, as mentioned by Wace and others, looked to the throne of England for himself? Or did William foresee that Odo's attempt would embroil him with the Emperor, or draw on him the displeasure of the Pope? The haughty and enthusiastic Gregory, however, either did not credit the object, or loved the honour and power of the church more than he feared the issue of Odo's expedition. After sending to William the apostolic benediction, reminding him how long their mutual devotion to the blessed Peter had joined them in friendship, and the same love and zeal of virtue united them, though distant, by its delicious cement; he writes, in the fragment of his letter still extant (see Appendix): "But one of us thou hast laid hands on, and by so doing thou hast offended and overshadowed the joy my friendly heart felt at the favourable auspices it drew of thy virtues. In arresting thy brother, the Bishop, thou hast put worldly caution and consideration before Divine laws,

and with little heed attended to the reverence due to the priesthood, or what was befitting thine own honour. I cannot believe thee ignorant that it is written [the which is to be understood as concerning priests] ‘Whoso touches ye touches the apple of mine eye;’ and again, ‘Thou mayest not touch mine anointed.’ As sinful is it to refuse honour to the lowest and most unworthy of his priests as to deny it to the Lord himself. Look at the example of Constantine, of pious memory, who at the council of Nice refused to presume to interfere with the bishops, saying, ‘Ye are God’s, by a true God instituted; nor is it meet for man to dare to judge what is the Lord’s!’ Learn of the blessed and learned Ambrosius what is the dignity of a priest, how exalted the bishop, who in his Pastorals, says, ‘Nothing can be equalled to them; as far inferior are royal splendour and diademed princes, as leaden ore to effulgent gold.’” To the Bishop of Lyons, of which epistle but a small part remains, (see Appendix) Gregory writes: “Doubtless it has come to your knowledge that the king of the English has against all right and decency dared to lay hands on our co-bishop and brother of Bayeux; has, contrary to his respect for me and reverence due to the priesthood, impudently arrested him, and more impudently still retains him in custody.” We can indeed but ill appreciate at this day the boldness of William’s act in imprisoning so powerful a bishop as Odo; for it must be recollected how long and severely he had suffered under the displeasure of the

Vatican; at what expense its wrath was appeased: how to be dreaded and deprecated, unsettled as his new and ancient dominions were, was a bull of excommunication, and that the Pope whose resentment he risked was the undaunted, haughty, presumptuous, and implacable Gregory, whose foot had trodden on the neck of the Emperor. The captivity of Odo struck panic to his clients. The monks deserted the convents he had endowed; and the learned and pious Robert of Tombelaine¹, Abbot of St. Vigors, leaving every thing, sought refuge with the Pope, who honourably received him; and he doubtless urged the willing Gregory to those remonstrances so ineffectually repeated in behalf of his patron: “*Postquam præfatus pontifex, ut prædictum est, clausus fuit in carcere, prædictus abbas, relictis omnibus, perrexit peregrè, veniensque Romam à Gregorio VII. Papa detentus est honorificè. . . . Fundatore itaque Episcopo vinculis mancipato, et Abbate in Latias partes abeunte, novitius grex monachorum dispersus est.*” [*Ord. Vit.*] In Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was no less prized by the Pope than by William, Odo had, however, a powerful enemy; and that prelate, suffering his great zeal for the church to be extinguished by personal enmity, lulled not less the jealous interference of Gregory with one hand, than he fanned the

¹ Orderic Vital goes on to say, “*Usque ad mortem Romanæ fideliter servivit Ecclesiæ:*” but Robert de Monte calls him “*Roberto postea Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo.*”

resentment of William with the other. The dislike of these great prelates had been exasperated first by a difference between them on the miracles of St. Dunstan, and afterwards by a variance on certain points of custom and power which the one claimed as Archbishop of Canterbury, the other as Earl of Kent: "De conflictu quem habuit idem Lanfrancus contra Baiocensum Episco. Odonem, habetur in miraculis St. Dunstoni." [*Chro. Alberii Trium Fontium.*] "Querelam habuit cum Lanfranco Cantuariensi Archiep. de consuetudinibus comitatus Cantuariensis quem Rex ei dederat." [*Gallia Christiana apud Penen.*]

The position which rendered first the advancement and then the sacrifice of Ramiro d'Orco necessary to the Duke Valentine, as related by Machiavelli, is so parallel to that in which the Conqueror found himself, as to force a surmise that, in the imprisonment of Odo, the same policy actuated William which is described by the astute secretary to have influenced the Duke Valentine. For Valentine having freshly acquired Romagna, finding it commanded by nobles who despoiled rather than corrected the people, and gave greater cause for dissension than union, so that the land was full of all manner of insolence, judging it necessary, in order to reduce it to peace and bring it under obedience to his rule, to put over it a strong government, yet not wishing to draw on himself the odium of any harsh measures, placed Ramiro d'Orco with unlimited powers at its

head,—a severe and able man, who had no sooner established order than the Duke, to purge from the minds of the people the hate the late rigour had generated, to gain them entirely over to him, and to show that whatever cruelty had been committed sprang not from him but from the harsh disposition of the governor, had him seized and at once beheaded and gibbeted in the market-place of Cesena, with a block and bloody axe by his side; the ferocity of which spectacle blinded and satisfied the people: “ Preso che ebbe il Duca la Romagna, e trovandola essere stata comandata da’ Signori impotenti, i quali più presto avevano spogliato i loro sudditi che corretti, e dato loro più materia di disunione, che di unione, tanto che quella provincia era tutta piena di latrocini, di brighe, e d’ogni altra ragione d’insolenza, giudicò fusse necessario a volerla ridurre pacifica, ed obbediente al braccio regio, darle un buon governo. Però vi prepose Messer Ramiro d’Orco, uomo crudele ed espedito, al quale dette pienissima potestà. Costui in breve tempo la ridusse pacifica e unita con grandissima reputatione. Dipoi giudicò il Duca non essere a proposito sì eccessiva autorità . . . e perchè conosceva le rigorosità passate avergli generato qualche odio, per purgare gli animi di quelli popoli e guadagnarseli in tutto, volle mostrare che se crudeltà alcuna era seguita non era nata da lui, ma dall’ acerba natura del ministro. E preso sopra questo occasione, lo fece una mattina mettere a Cesena in duo pezzi in su la piazza, con un pezzo di legno e un coltello san-

guinoso a canto. La ferocità del quale spettacolo fece quelli popoli in un tempo rimanere sodisfatti e stupidi.”—[*Il Principe*, cap. vii.]

Whatever may be the motive that determined William, he was as relentless in his execution as fearless of any consequence; and even on his death-bed, when in the hope that heaven would so remit his sins as he remitted the offences of others he ordered the prison-doors to be thrown open, his brother alone remained a solitary exemption to this deed of clemency. Robert of Mortain, who hung over the dying William, was overwhelmed at the sentence which doomed their brother to perpetual imprisonment; and not alone by himself, but by friends, urged with long and constant entreaties the suffering monarch to have compassion on Odo: to which the king said, “Behold, you make supplications without discreetly considering for whom;—is it not for one who long was a contemner of religion, and keen exciter of deadly seditions? Is it not for that bishop you beg whom four years I have imprisoned, because whilst he should have been the most just and merciful ruler of the English, he became the worst oppressor of the people and the destroyer of the monasteries and convents? In liberating the seditious, evil ye would do, and great injury ye seek to draw on yourselves! That my brother is ambitious and full of levities, inheriting the lusts of the flesh, and immense cruelty, and never to be turned from noxious and dissolute vani-

ties, is too indubitably evident. Of this I was in many matters fully made acquainted; and therefore have chained up not a bishop but a tyrant. If he be loosened, I have no doubt he will disturb the whole kingdom, and be the promoter of innumerable pernicious things. I state this my conviction not as an enemy from hate, but as the provident father of a Christian people; for had he been virtuous and modest, and conducted himself everywhere as becomes a priest and minister of God, it would have occasioned unimaginable joy to my heart." The Earl of Mortain, with augmented manifestations of sorrow, joined by those round William's couch, reiterated with increasing earnestness their intercessions to the exhausted Conqueror, and made assurances of Odo's reformation. Wearied by their supplications, the languid king continued, "I am willing, notwithstanding, that your petition be granted; since when I am no more, violent changes suddenly will ensue. I concede against my conviction, that my brother be liberated from prison. But know, that many on his account will suffer death or grave penalties."

Orderic Vital concludes this interesting passage as follows: "Thus it was permitted the king, although suffering severe pain from his hurt, to enjoy a calm mind and unembarrassed speech, promptly to discuss the affairs of state and to impart useful counsel."

The Chronicles of Normandy, however, go on to state, that the king sent for Odo to St. Gervais, where he lay, and thus addressed him: "Brother,

you desired to foment a conspiracy against me, and gave out that should I die, you would take the crown of England to the prejudice of my children. You have also refused to render an account of such revenues as you have received for me. But know, if I could imagine that the crown of England could ever come to you, the moment of such belief would be your last. I am, however, convinced to the contrary, for your order as priest would not permit it; and I am aware the English so hate you, that there is not that man in Normandy they would not desire to reign over them preferably to you: for which reason, and to the end that you might repent of your evil ways, although ill meriting such grace, I have allowed you to live, and delivered you from prison. Moreover, if henceforward you will lead a new life, and perform your duty towards God, towards your neighbours and your nephews, I will command them to succour and aid you in your necessities. As to your having held that I should be excommunicated for having laid hands on you, know that I could lay hands on any man who had been my receiver, and arrest him without offence, until such time as he had faithfully rendered me an account of all sums of mine he had received."

" In articulo mortis positus, sicut opto salvam, et per misericordiam Dei à reatibus meis absolvi, sic omnes mox jubeo carceres aperiri; omnesque vinctos, præter fratrem meum Baiocensum Episcopum, relaxari, liberosque pro amore Dei, ut ipse

mihi misereatur, dimitti. Cùmque Rodbertus Comes audisset regali sententia, fratrem suum perpetuo vinciri, multum contristatus est, cumque multi, obnixè, pro Bajocensi Præsule rogarent; tantorum supplicatione fatigatus, Rex ait: 'Miror quod prudenter non indagatis, quis, vel qualis est vir, pro quo supplicatis! Nonne pro tali viro petitis, qui jamdiu contemptor extitit religionis, et argutus incentor lethiferæ seditionis? Nonne hunc jam coercui quatuor annis Episcopum; qui dum debuerat esse justissimus rector Anglorum, factus est pessimus oppressor populorum et Monachilium destructor Cænobiorum? Seditiosum liberando malè facitis, et vobismetipsis ingens detrimentum quæritis. Evidenter patet quod Odo frater meus levis est, et ambitiosus, carnis inhærens desideriis et immensis crudelitatibus, et nunquam mutabitur à lenociniis et noxiis vanitatibus. Hoc perspicue in pluribus expertus sum; ideoque constrinxi non Antistitem sed tyrannum. Absque dubio si evaserit, totam regionem turbabit, et multis millibus perniciem subministrabit. Hæc non ex odio, ut hostis, profero; sed ut pater patriæ plebi Christianæ provideo. Si enim castè et modestè se haberet, sicut sacerdotem et Dei ministrum ubique condecet, cordi meo major quam possim referre, lætitia inesset. . . . Unde præfatus Moritolii Comes admodum mœrebat et pro fratre suo, per se, et per amicos suos suppliciter interpellebat, precibusque languentem fatigabat. Spondentibus autem cunctis emendationem Pontificis, Rex iterum ait: 'Velim, nolim, vestra fiat petitio;

quia me defuncto vehemens subito fiet mutatio. Invitus concedo ut frater meus de carcere liberetur; sed scitote, quod multis per eum mors seu grave impedimentum incutietur. Sic Guillelmus Rex, licet nimio ilium dolore graviter angeretur, sanâ tamen mente, ac vivaci loquelâ efficaciter fruebatur, et in omnibus de negotiis regni poscentibus promptum, et utile consilium impartiebatur.”—[*Ord. Vit.*]

—“ Apres ces choses ainsi dites le Roy et Duc Guillaume, fist amener devant lui, Odon, son frère, l'Evesque de Bayeux, que il tenoit en prison, et lui dist : ‘ Frère, vous avez cuidie farre conspiration contre moy, et dist si je moroie que vous tendriez la regne d'Angleterre, devant mes effans ; et avez disobey à moy rendre compte du mien que vous avez reçu ; si sachiez, que si je cuidoie que vous peussiez venir à tenir la royaume, je ne vous lairoie pas vivre. Mais je suis certain que non ; car vostre estat de prelat ne le peut porter ne souffrir, et je sçay bien que Anglais vous hant tant, que je cuide qu'il n' y ait homme en Northmandie qu'ils n' amassent mieulx à seigneur que vous ; et pour ces causes et aussi affin que vous adreciez vos meffais, je vous laisse vivre et vous delivre de prison, combien que vous ne l'avez pas deservi. Toutes voives, si vous vouillez laisser vostre mauvaise vie, et faire votre devoir vers Dieu, vers le monde, et vers vos nepveux, je leur commande, qu'ils vous securent et aident à vos necessitez ; et pour ce que vous avez tenu que je estoie excommencié, de ce que je mis la main à vous, sachiez

que à tout homme, que aura este mon receveur, je puis mettre le main et arrester sans offense, jusques à ce qu'il me rendre compte de ce qu'il à reçu du mien loyalement."—*Chro. de Nor.*

Robert Wace, whom the *Croniques de Normandie* generally follow, makes no mention of this interview. He is silent, also, on Odo's attempt to gain the Papal dignity, as William of Malmesbury and Orderic are on his affecting the throne. In the annals of Roger of Hovedon is the following notice of the liberation of Odo, as well as of other prisoners, by order of William, on his death-bed: "Fratrem suum Odonem, Bajocensem Episcopum, et omnes quos in Normanniâ, vel in Angliâ custodiâ manciparat laxavit, MLXXXVII.

No sooner free, Odo reappears in the zenith with all his former splendour. Having paid the last duties of his office and affection to his valorous brother deceased, those treasures which his own foresight and his followers' fidelity had concealed under the beds of rivers and in caves were drawn forth: "Odo Baiocensis Episcopus postquam de carcere liber egressus est, totum in Normannia pristinum honorem adeptus est." [*Ord. Vit.*] "..... Denique ad sepeliendum maximum ducem, et patrem patriæ, congregati sunt omnes Episcopi et Abbates Normanniæ, Guillelmus Rotomagensis Archiepiscopus, Odo Bajocensis . . . omnes hi ad exequias famosi Baronis convenerunt, ipsumque in Presbyterio inter chorum et altare sepelierunt." [*Ord. Vit.*]

“ . . . Denique et cullei plures è fluviis extracti, quos per certa loca, sublati consciis, infoderat plenos auro molito. Post mortem fratris absolutus,” &c.—[*Will. Malm.*]

The will of the Conqueror, by which he bequeathed Normandy and Maine to Robert, his eldest son; solicited¹ England for William, his second; and left

¹ It is curious and worthy of remark, that two contemporary authors, ignorant in all probability of each other's works, and living near the epoch of which they write, should both insist on William's scruples to nominate an heir: “Neminem Anglici regni constituo heredem, non enim tantum decus hæreditario jure possedi sed diro conflictu. Fasces igitur hujus regni, quos cum tot peccatis obtinui, nulli audeo tradere nisi Deo soli.”—*Ord. Vit.*

“Guillelme ki çï est mis filz,
 Ki mult est nobles è gentiz,
 Voldreie jo mult avancier,
 Se Dex le voleit otréier.
 Engleterre à son oex coveit,
 K' il en fust Rei s'estre poeit;
 Maiz jo nel poiz fere par mei;
 Raisnablement savez por kei.
 Engleterre cunquis à tort,
 A tort i out maint hoem mort,
 Les eirs en ai à tort ocis,
 Et à tort ai li regne pris:
 E ço ki j'ai à tort toleit,
 Oû jo n' en aveie nul dreit

to Henry 5000 livres with some additions to the dower of his mother, equitable as it appears, contained the elements of the long and devastating wars which desolated England and Normandy. Bursting asunder the ties of consanguinity, it turned the sword of parent against parent, engendered the monstrous spectacle of three brothers in arms, each seeking the ruin of the other by deeds of blood and by deceit, and claimed the impossible allegiance of one servant to two masters. The acute prescience of Odo pointed out to him all the evils which really ensued; to obviate which, his policy presented but this remedy, that William, the accepted king of the English, should be tributary to, and hold his elder brother Robert, possessed in right of the ancient estate of Normandy (then considered the strongest and most civilized), as his Suzerain; and at a meeting at which Eustache de Bologne, Robert of Bellesme, and many barons holding possessions in both territories assisted, he thus emphatically describes their position: "Im-

*Ne dei mie à mon filz doner,
Ne à tort ne l' deit ériter.
Maiz ultre mer l'enverrai,
A l' Archeveske préirai
Ke la corone li otreit;
Se il le pot fere par raison,
Io preie k'il l'en face le don."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

possible, in fine, it is we can diligently serve two masters so different in every quality and disposition, and so remote from each other. If we dutifully serve Robert, Duke of Normandy, we offend his brother William, King of England; attainders and confiscations will ensue, and our hard-earned honours and estates will be rent from us: "Quomodo duobus dominis tam diversis et tam longè ab invicem remotis competenter servire poterimus? Si Roberto Duci Normannorum dignè servierimus, Guillelmum fratrem ejus offendemus; unde ab ipso spoliabimur in Anglia magnis redditibus et præcipuis honoribus." [Ord. Vit.] William of Malmesbury, it is true, who generally finds motives, and makes men ruled by passions rather than circumstances, though perhaps in political events the contrary may be most frequently the fact, says, that Odo, finding all things not as formerly under his rule, since William, Bishop of Durham, was now the adviser in public matters, was moved by envy, and on that account espoused the opposite interests of Robert: "Cum omnia non suo arbitrato ut olim in regno disponi videret [nam Willelmo Dunelmensi Episcopo commendata erat rerum publicarum administratio] livore ictus, et ipse à Rege descivit, et multos eodem studio infecit." [Wil. Malm.] Robert eagerly took advantage of the favourable disposition of the nobles; and having obtained from Henry, by pledging the Cotentin, 3000 livres, and promise of aid from the powerful Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, Clare, Earl of Tone-

brigg, and others in England; the advance corps of his armament sailed under Odo and Bellesme. The difficulties the Conqueror had to encounter, though with careful preparation, and with a stupendous force against a divided kingdom, might have warned them of their fate. They trusted, however, to the support of the Norman settlers, and reckoned little on the assistance Rufus could obtain from the English; while Robert was to second this first blow, on the rapidity of which much depended, with the whole force, money, policy, promises, hope, and love of adventure could collect and enlist on the continent, before the king could raise sufficient bucklers among his new and oppressed subjects to offer formidable resistance. Success attended their landing; and Odo, as Count Palatine of Kent, having many powerful barons enfeoffed of their demesnes to him, and being received with acclamations throughout his province, raised that part of the country, and possessed himself of, or wasted, those towns dependent on the king, or archbishop, which held out against him: "Odo Præsul Bajocensis, princeps et moderator Angliæ, in Cantia seditionem exordiens, Regis et Archiepiscopi villas invasit et combussit." — [*Hen. Huntingdon.*]

The king in the mean time was not inactive; with those liberal promises and flattering proclamations with which tyrants are wont to cajole the people when in need of them, he threw himself into the arms of the English, and called on all of them who would not

be branded with the name of "Nidering," to aid him to drive out the invaders. The English, who esteemed nothing so opprobrious as that disgraceful word, flocked to the king in eager crowds, and became an invincible army: "Anglos suos appellat, jubet ut compatriotes advocent ad obsidionem venire, nisi si qui vellent sub nomine *Nidering*, quod nequam sonat, remanere; Angli qui nihil miserius putarent quam hujusce vocabuli dedecore, adeo catervatim ad Regem confluunt, et invincibilem exercitum faciunt." [*Will. Malm.*] At the head of this force, the king hastens to Rochester, whither the victorious Odo had advanced, and was now anxiously awaiting the promised junction of Robert; for Rufus felt assured that the enterprising prelate, the head and soul of the enemy, once in his hands, the rest would be easily defeated: "Prodibant deinde versus Rocceasterum, volentes Episcopum Odonemprehendere, arbitrabantur enim, si eum ceperint qui princeps fuit conspiratûs, posse se faciliûsprehendere omnes reliquos." [*Chro. Anglo-Sax.*]

The intention and movements of the king reaching Odo, he called a council, and, accompanied by a few nobles, proceeding to his brother, Earl of Mortain and Cornwall, who held the strong castle of Pevensey, urged him (far from warm in the cause) by diversions in their favour, to distract the attention and divide the forces of the king. He exhorted him to prepare for such a defence as might delay Rufus; and promised that if he could remain

there in security whilst the king wasted himself before Rochester, the Duke of Normandy would soon arrive at the head of a great force to liberate them and their followers, and, dividing great wealth among his partizans, mount the throne : “ Fama volans dicta provehit Odonis ad aures ; et cum sociis inito consilio, relinquens Rovecastrum, cum paucis adiit castrum fratris sui Roberti Moretunensis Comitis, quod Pevensea dicitur, fratremque reperiens, eum, ut se teneat, hortatur, pollicens si securè ibi posset esse, et dum Rex ad expugnandum Rovecastrum intenderet, Comitem Normanniæ cum magno exercitu venturum seque suosque liberaturum, et magna fautoribus suis dando præmia regnum accepturum.” [*Wigorniensis Chro.*] Robert of Mortain, seeing so many ancient companions in arms, was gained over by his brother, and vigilantly preparing Pevensey, commenced operations against the neighbouring towns : “ Ejus instinctu Robertus Moritolij Comes Penevesellum tenuit.” [*Ord. Vit.*] “ Comes de Moretiel circa Pevensa idem [villas invasit et combussit] incessit.” [*Hen. Huntin.*] Rufus, constant to his policy of putting down his redoubtable uncle, marched on Pevensey in his route during Passion Week, 1088, and besieged the Castle of Tunbridge ; taking which almost at the first assault, he reduced the Anglo-Norman brothers, Gilbert and Roger de Clare to obedience, and proceeded vigorously to invest Pevensey Castle. The fierce assault of the king’s troops was sustained with unshaken courage, and returned

by daring sallies from the besieged. Their provisions failing, Odo effected a retreat for himself and followers to Rochester; while the Earl of Mortain, making terms with his royal nephew, capitulated and received into the fortress a garrison of the king's troops. A mutual reconciliation took place, and friendship ever after united them: "Rex inde progrediens ad Pevense, obsedit ibi Odonem. Igitur qui erant in Pevense deficiente cibo . . . Odo Rovcestriæ rediturum." [*Chro. Angl.-Sax.*] "Gislebertus quoque filius Richardi cum Rogerio fratre suo Tonnebrugiam munivit; sed Paschali hebdomada Rex oppidum obsedit, quod ei mox in primo assultu cessit." [*Ord. Vit.*] ". . . Robertus Moritolij . . . sed post modum cum Rege obsidente, qui nepos suus erat, pacem fecit; et reddita munitione in amicitiam rediit." [*Ord. Vit.*] Rufus rapidly followed up his success, and having enclosed within the walls of Rochester all the heads of his brother's faction and a phalanx of five hundred veterans, sat down in form before the city. The aid promised to Odo fell before the vigorous William; the disaffected barons withdrew within their castles, and allowed themselves to be tampered with by the king; while the Duke Robert, instead of obeying the ardent instigations of his natural impetuous valour, and rushing at once to the assistance of his friends, listening to the seductions of luxury and dissipation, prodigally wasted the sums so dearly obtained, and indolently contented himself by ordering some ill-directed supplies

which were cut off by his active brother: then, ever unstable of purpose, thought no more of an enterprise big with such fortune to him.

Deserted by his Prince and betrayed by his friends, Odo found himself with his valiant adherents shut up in the confined and crowded town of Rochester, destined to endure all the miseries of a siege; while Rufus hung over, and as a tiger certain of his prey, enjoyed the delay that increased the appetite of his revenge, and provoked by the obstinacy of their struggles fresh incentives to hatred. To overwhelm the besieged by every species of pestilence, a plague like that of Egypt broke out in the crowded and ill-provided city; innumerable flies were hatched by the heat of the summer, from the corruption and filth of so many men and horses, and wormed themselves into their eyes, nostrils, and disgustingly infested their food and drink: “Innumerabiles ergo muscæ hominum et equorum cæno nascebantur, et tam æstatis quam anhelitus cohabitantium calore confovebantur, et oculis ac naribus et cibis ac potibus inclusorum horribiliter ingerebantur.” [*Ord. Vit.*]

The resolution of Odo yielded to pity, and the thinned and exhausted troops being unable much longer to hold out against such a complication of foes, ambassadors were sent to Rufus, but the king's heart was obdurate; and it was not until after repeated attempts they could obtain an audience. They then endeavoured to move Rufus by every argument to take compassion on the town; and in

pleading for Odo, thus expressed themselves : “ Humbly we pray that you will consider for whom we with such solicitude beg. Odo of Bayeux is thy uncle ! and the sanctified mitre shields his venerable brow ; with thy father he subjugated the English, and shared with him in many an anxious peril. What indignity would you offer so great a man ? God forbid you should lay your hand on a minister of the Lord, or that his blood should be shed in such a cause : ” “ *Humiliter oramus ut consideres qui sunt pro quibus tantopere rogamus. Bajocensis Odo patruus tuus est, et Pontificali sanctificatione præditus est. Cum patre tuo Anglos subjugavit, eique in multis anxietatibus periculose subvenit. Quid tanto viro agendum est ? Absit ut in sacerdotem Domini manus injicias, et sanguinem ejus effundas in tali causâ.* ” [*Ord. Vit.*] Pressed by repeated missions and the solicitations of Odo’s ancient companions, men renowned in William’s camp, the king yielded at length a reluctant consent, and granted the besieged permission to retire with their arms and horses from the city, but forbid any hope of being hereafter permitted to hold lands and hereditaments in the kingdom during his reign : “ *Et de oppido exeundi facultatem cum equis et armis concessit, sed omnem spem habendi hæreditates et terras in regno ejus, quamdiu ipse regnaret, funditus abscidit.* ” [*Ord. Vit.*] Ill did it suit Odo, used but to victories, and deeply mortifying it was to him to behold the hitherto invincible soldiers who followed his fortunes, evacuate the

city with the stigma of defeat. He vainly endeavoured to obtain from Rufus that they should be allowed to withdraw with all the honours of war, and that on the king's entry into Rochester, no martial music or demonstrations of victory (such as is usual when an enemy is conquered and a city capitulates by force of arms) should be suffered. The king, irritated at the request, denied it; and although the tenacious Odo offered on the instant a thousand marks of gold for the concession he persisted in his refusal: "Tunc Odo Pontifex a Rege Rufo impetrare tentavit, ne tubicines in eorum egressu tubis canerent, sicut moris est, dum hostes vincuntur et per vim oppidum capitur . . . Rex autem iratus quod petebatur omnino denegavit, nec se concessurum etiam propter mille auri marcas palam asseruit." Saving thus nothing but their lives, amidst the pomp, circumstance, and exultation of the conquerors, Odo and his partizans in shame and sorrow left the city: "Oppidanis ergo cum mœrore et verecundiâ egredientibus," [*Ord. Vit.*]; whilst the cries of 'a rope! a rope!' 'To the gallows with the traitor Bishop and his accomplices!' 'Why, renowned king, will you permit the instigator of evil to escape in safety from the country?' 'The perjured homicide, whose deceit and cruelty has made many thousands to perish, should not be left alive!' and other opprobrious insults afflicted the ear of the dejected Odo: 'Torques, torques afferte, traditorem Episcopum cum suis complicitibus patibulis suspendite! Magne Rex

Anglorum, cur sospitem pateris abire incentorem malorum? Non debet vivere perjurus homicida, qui dolis et crudelitatibus peremit hominum multa millia? Hæc et alia probra mœstus Antistes cum suis audivit.' ” [Ord. Vit.] Odo, disconcerted in his plans by the supineness or treachery of his coadjutors, baffled by the vigilance of Rufus and the valour of the English, in a policy which he imagined would have united the kingdoms, and healed the feuds springing from divided interests, deprived of all his honours and power in England, his estates there confiscated, quitted her fertile shores never more to return; and condemned by her historians as the author of every thing detestable, retreated with his adherents to Normandy: “ Confusus Bajocas rediit, nec in Angliam post modum repedavit.” [Ord. Vit.] “ Episcopus Odo cum viris qui in castello erant, trans mare ibat, atque ita Episcopus reliquit dignitatem quam in hac terrâ habuit.” [Chro. Anglo-Sax.] “ Hujus execrandæ rei principes extiterunt Odo Episcopus Bajocensis qui etiam Cantuariensis. . . frater fuerat Willelmi regis senioris, sed tantum de matre.” [Florentii Wigorniensis.]

On his return, Odo found the curb of despotic authority relaxed, the turbulent and insubordinate spirit of that land, since called, “ Pays de Sapience,” manifesting itself by every species of insolence among the greedy and ferocious barons, whose castles, like the dens whence issue hordes of ravenous wolves, bristled over the land: “ Adulterina passim

municipia condebant et ibidem filii luporum ad dilacerandas bidentes nutriebantur.” [Ord. Vit.] whilst the worst of vices polluted and degraded the church, in which the most flagrant simony and odious compacts made its highest dignity a matter of traffic, or secured its descent among infants as a family possession: “In terrâ Normannorum ita manifestè prostituta est Ecclesia, ut de ea illud propheticum dici possit—peccatum suum sicut Sodoma prædicaverunt, nec absconderunt. Quod in Ecclesiâ Lexoniensi paternitas vestra poterit agnoscere, quam per plures annos Rainulfus cognomine Flammerdas, Demelmensis Episcopus, inaudito invasionis genere occupavit. Qui duos filios vix duodenos accepto pastoralis baculo à comite Normannorum prædictæ Ecclesiæ intrudi fecit eâ conditione ut si primogenitus moriretur, Judaïco more in Episcopatum alter alteri surrogaretur.” [Ivo Carnotensis to Pope Pascal II.] Nor do the morals of the more angelic part of the creation, the tender and elegant women, in silk and ermine delicately clad, [“locupletes heras sericis vestibus et canusinis pellibus delicatè indutas,” Ord. Vit.] escape the virulent animadversions of the unsparing historians or the stern preachers. The Duke Robert, brave, generous, eloquent, of great kindheartedness, but inconsiderate, without decision or command of himself, fickle and easy of persuasion, readily yielded up ostensibly any part or the whole of the cares of government to his uncle; by his fitful activity or ill-judged interference marring always,

however, those measures which the prudence of Odo had matured, or the exigencies of the times demanded: "Episcopus veniens Normanniam, statim à Roberto comite totius provinciæ curam suscepit." [*Simeon Dunelemensis.*] "Consiliarius Ducis, videlicet nepotis sui, factus est." [*Ord. Vit.*] The prelate of Bayeux, still indignant at the utter discomfiture of his designs for Robert on England, was occupied in the sacred duties of his diocese: "Turgidus Odo de Angliâ ejectus Bajocensem diocesem repetivit." [*Ord. Vit.*] when the Duke called his attention and claimed his counsel on the suspicious conduct of his brother, Henry Clito, then Count of Cotentin, who soon after Odo's return had gone to England to demand of Rufus lands due to him in right of his mother, and had been (notwithstanding the former variance between him and the king, the object of his journey, and the sums of money he had lent Robert to enable him to invade England) received with the most brotherly love by that vindictive monarch. But more than all, it merited attention that his companion was Robert of Bellême, the principal coadjutor of Odo in his late attempt against Rufus, and who, despite the recent anger of the king towards him, his disgrace, banishment, and confiscation of property, was retaken thus quickly into favour; nor were there wanting malevolent lovers of discord, who, blending falsehood with truth, denounced to the Duke that the compact of peace between Henry, Bellême, and Rufus, was the sworn confederation to

overthrow and ruin him; "Interea quidam malevoli discordiæ satores eos anticipaverunt; et falsa veris immiscentes, Rodberto Duci denunciaverunt quod Henricus frater suus et Rodbertus Belesmensis cum Rege Rufo essent pacificati, ac ad Ducis damnum sacramenti etiam obligatione confœderati." [*Ord. Vit.*] The cause of the lukewarmness of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Alençon, father of Robert of Bellême, which had been one of the principal occasions of the failure of his enterprise, now appeared plain to Odo. He and the Duke Robert had been sold. More to be feared than the haughty tyrant Rufus, was the wily, politic, ambitious, and merciless Henry. Robert of Bellême inherited all the craft, treachery, valour, abilities, address and accomplishments of his hated race; from their friendship, backed by the implacable Rufus, provided with increased means, and all the resources which an overflowing exchequer offers, Robert had every thing to dread. The moment was critical, but Odo was equal to it and decided. Robert obeyed his counsel; and as they landed from their ships, a strong and incorruptible detachment of troops seized the Prince and his colleague, and well guarded under the command and custody of Odo, one was borne off to Bayeux, the other to Ouilly: "Cum securi ad litus maris de navibus egrederentur, validâ militum manu missâ, illos comprehendit, vinculis coarctavit et unum Bajocis aliumque Noilleio sub manu Bajocensis tyranni custodiæ mancipavit." [*Ord. Vit.*] The conspiracy thus

cut off ere fully ripe for explosion, nevertheless in part burst forth ; Alençon and the retainers of the powerful estates of the Bellêmes, appeared in arms ; Maine threw off the mask and bared the sword ; while the Earl of Shrewsbury with a considerable force, aided and encouraged by Rufus, landed in Normandy and commenced with success a campaign, which would have ended fatally to the slothful and voluptuous Robert, who, surrounded by parasites and concubines at Rouen, relapsing into his wonted indolent security, heard nought but the lascivious lute, nor saw fiercer enemies than the timid tenants of the sylvan Rouvray and Raumare, had not the vigilant Odo burst on this luxurious ease, held before the infatuated Duke a frightful picture of the state of Normandy, and thus aroused him to action : “ Since it has pleased God to permit to different men different dispositions, it is necessary that he who would hold the helm of government should be able justly to temper his conduct with mildness or severity ; to the good, obedient, and humble on all occasions, gentle as a lamb ; terrible as a lion to the wicked, rebellious, and insolent. My lord Duke, as thou wouldst in honour rule Normandy, which by Divine permission thou dost inherit, I implore thee wisely to ponder on this, and with courage and firmness to act. Behold ! ruffians and outlaws riot with unbridled licentiousness through the land ; the worst and most violent deeds are committed, as among pagans ; and every enormity of crime is

suffered. Afflicted monks and desolate widows cry aloud to thee and thou sleepest! Complaints of the foulest crimes are laid before thee, and thou makest light of them! Not thus acted the holy David, or the great Alexander; not so Julius Cæsar, or Severus; nor the Carthaginian Hannibal, nor Scipio Africanus, nor the Persian Cyrus, nor the Roman Marius. But wherefore do I look into the history of barbarians? Their names, as their conduct, may be forgotten by thee;—we will turn to our own country, and view the deeds of those whose blood flows in our veins, and recal to remembrance our fathers and ancestors whose magnanimity and valour subdued the warlike people of France. I speak to thee of Rollo, and William of the Longsword, and of the three great Richards, and of Robert thy grandsire, and lastly of thy father, the sublimest of thy ancestors. Emulate, I conjure thee, the firmness and hardihood of these, as those who by immense labour have obtained to rule the world have imitated the vigour and diligence of their predecessors; have put down tyrants, and tamed savage nations. Throw off this effeminacy! Robert, arouse thyself! Call together thy unconquerable Normans! lead them to Maine, where the fortified towns thy father built, and the citizens, and their pious Bishop Hoël still gladly obey thee. Order that there the chiefs of Maine attend thee, and with becoming complaisance, affable discourse, and benevolence greet them; but with courage and vigour call to order the contumacious, and unless they

quickly submit, forthwith compel them. Mans subdued,—Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, seize ; altogether banish him and all his progeny from the confines of Normandy. In the justice of God put your trust ! Do not fear manfully and valourously to exert yourself, and to follow the counsels of wisdom ! Robert, the eldest son of the Earl Roger, thou already holdest in prison ; now if thou wilt persist resolutely, as becomes an intrepid and wise Duke in this struggle, thou mayest expel the turbulent, seditious family of Talvas in penitence from Normandy. Accursed is this race, nursed in crime, and, as though by hereditary right, the machinators of evil ; this their horrid deaths of a certainty testify, since none of them come to a common and wonted end like other men. Unless thou now eradicate the family of Talvas, I forewarn thee, noxious will it be to thee ; and beyond thy controul. The strong castles of Bellême, Alençon, Domfront, St. Ceneri, Exmes, Tillières, are held by them ; besides Mamers, Mont London, and many others fortified by the audacious Hugo, which William Bellême, and Robert, and Ivon, and Gaurin, and other of their impious successors have built, or by force or fraud possessed themselves of from their rightful lords. Deceit, wickedness, and intrigue dwell on their lips ; nor do they ever keep any faith with their friends or allies. By murders and imprisonment destroying their weaker neighbours, they excessively enrich themselves, and, with unrelaxing assiduity and labour, erect throughout the

land powerful castles, strong in fortifications. Lawfully, illustrious Duke, of all these you may deprive them, if thou art ambitious to emulate thy magnanimous father, and his boldness and resolution. For thy sire held during his life all their garrisons, and gave them in command to whom he pleased. But Robert, whom thou hast in chains, no sooner heard of the king thy father's death, than he arrogantly dared to expel thy troops from thy fortress; and as though he would disinherit thee, subjected the citadel to his own authority. Are exhortations necessary? On the bare recital of such things, wilt thou not, inflamed with an ardent courage, gloriously arise, and mightily confound all resistance? Break the horns of the first who dared to lift up his head against thee! The rest of the herd, from their hiding-places, abashed and trembling will fear thee, and unhesitatingly obey all thy commands. Then, under the ægis of thy protection, the people of God will live happy in security and peace, and their supplications for thee will be perpetually poured out before the omnipotent God. His worship throughout thy dominions will be devoutly celebrated, and his laws be diligently obeyed to the universal prosperity:" "Præsul Odo ad Ducem Rotomagum venit, et consideratis totius provinciæ negotiis, Duci ait: 'Quisquis gubernaculum regni debet tenere, populoque Dei qui diversis in moribus diffusus est præeminere, mitis et asper, prout ratio expetit, sit; ubique sit mitis ut agnus bonis, et subjectis, ac humilibus; asper autem ut

leo pravis; et rebellibus, ac contumacibus. Hoc, Domine Dux, sagaciter perpende, ut benè nobili præsis Ducatui Normanniæ, quem divinitus suscepisti ex paternâ successionem. Confortare et viriliter age! Ecce, protervi et exleges per totam terram debacchantur, et pessimis assiduisque actionibus penè Paganis assimilantur, et enormitate scelerum, si dici fas est, adæquantur. Clamant ad te monachi et viduæ, et dormis! Inaudita facinora frequenter audis, et parvipendis! Non sic egit sanctus David, nec magnus Alexander; non sic Julius Cæsar, nec Severus Afer; non sic Hannibal Carthagensis; nec Scipio Africanus, nec Cyrus Perses, nec Marius Romanus. Quid moror in relatione barbarorum, obscura quorum etiam nomina tibi incognita? Replicemus notiora, et sanguini nostro propinquiora. Reminiscere patrum et proavorum, quorum magnanimitatem et virtutem pertimuit bellicosa gens Francorum. Rollo nem dico et Guillelmum Longamspatam, atque tres Richardos, et Robertum avum tuum; postremò Guillelmum patrem tuum cunctis antecessoribus sublimiorem. Horum, quæso, rigorem æmulare, et efficaciam; sicut illi prædecessorum tuorum sectati sunt vigorem et industriam, qui regna mundi per immensos labores obtinuerunt, tyrannos compresserunt, et sævas gentes domuerunt. Expergiscere, et invictum aggrega exercitum Normanniæ, et in urbem Cenomannicam proficiscere. Ibi sunt municipes tui in arce quam pater tuus condidit, et tota civitas cum venerabili Hoëllō Episcopo tibi gratanter obedit.

Jube ut illuc omnes Cenomannensium Proceres veniant ad te, et obsecundantibus lætis affatibus, et benevolâ mente congratulare. Contemnentes vero cum virtute militari aggredere et munitiones eorum, nisi citò dederint se, protinus obside. Cenomannensibus subjugatis, Rogerium Comitem aggredere, et ipsum cum progenie suâ de finibus Normanniæ funditus exclude. Ne timeas, sed in virtute Dei confidas. Virile robur arripe, et consiliis sapientium utere. Jam Rodbertum Rogerii primogenitum tenes in carcere. Jam si pertinaciter, ut bonum Ducem decet, perstiteris in agone, Talavaios subversores de ducatu tuo poteris penitus expellere. Maledicta est prosapia eorum, alit nefas, et machinatur, quasi jus hæreditarium. Hoc nimirum horrenda mors eorum attestatur, quorum nullus communi et usitato fine, ut cæteri homines, defecisse invenitur. Talavationa propago, nisi nunc eam eradicaveris, adhuc, ut opinor, noxia tibi erit, et inexpugnabilis. Habet quidem fortissima castella, Bellesmum, Lubercionem, Axeium, Alencionem, Damfrontem, Sanctum Cerenicum, Rupem de Jalgeio, pro qua ab audaci Hugone digladiata est Mabilia, Mamercias, et Vivacium, et alia plura, quæ Guillelmus Bellesmensis, et Robertus, Jvo, et Guarinus, aliique successores eorum superbe construxerunt; aut vi, seu fraude, dominis suis vel finitimis subriperunt. Dolis et scelestis machinationibus semper inhiaverunt, nec ulli amicorum vel affinium fidem servaverunt. Simplicibus itaque vicinis nece, seu captione, supplantatis, admodum creverunt, et

ingentes domos, ac fortissimas munitiones, cum nimio sudore pagensium condiderunt. Nunc omnia, optime Dux, jure illis auferre poteris, si magnanimi patris tui, et operum ejus fortis æmulator extiteris. Pater enim tuus omnia predicta munimenta in vitâ suâ habuit, et quibuscumque voluit, ad tutandum commendavit. Verùm Robertus quem ligatum coerces, mox ut Regem defunctum audit, municipes tuos de munitionibus tuis per superbiam suam expulit, suæque ditioni, ut exhæreditaret te, munimina subegit. Hæc omnia quæ dixi sapienter inspice, ac ut bonus Princeps pro pace sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, et pro defensione pauperum debiliumque laudabiliter exurge, et resistentes virtute contere. Confractis cornibus primorum, qui cervicem erexerunt contra te; reliqui visâ dejectione contubernalium formidabunt te, et jussis tuis famulabuntur sine contradictione. Tunc populus Dei sub tutelâ protectionis tuæ securus in pace lætabitur, et pro salute tuâ omnipotentem Deum piè deprecabitur. Cultus Divinitatis in regione tuâ cunctis ab ordinibus jugiter celebrabitur, et lex Dei cum securitate communi salubriter observabitur." [Ord. Vit.]

At the address of Odo, through the conscious blush of shame, the spirit of his father flamed from the eyes of the aroused Duke; while clouds of anger rolled in dark and deep lines on his front. He threw aside the newfangled ridiculous boots, curling at the toe like a ram's horn, which a certain worthless coxcomb of Rufus's court had introduced; doffed the effeminate,

training robe, with its large and cumbersome sleeves, and buckling on the frowning helmet, ["galea"] and the stern cuirass, ["lorica"] with all his natural impetuosity of courage, marshalled his forces to the field. Odo having thus excited the Duke, his unquenchable hatred to Rufus rankling in his breast, as a dragon vomiting flames passes through the land and stirs up the people to crush the king of England's troops, his emissaries and his allies, assumes the command of the forces, elects for his lieutenant William, Count of Evreux; and Mans, where fell the handsome and valiant Osmond de Gaspeiro, and St. Ceneri, in which was the family of Bellême, quickly capitulate. On every side, as the waves driven by a mighty wind, the enemy recede in confusion before his path: "Porro Bajocensis Odo, velut ignivomus draco, projectus in terram nimis iratus contra Regis . . . Agminibus verò Normannorum præerant Præsul Bajocensis et Guillelmus Comes Ebrocensis . . . Cenomanenses, Sancti Cerenici," &c. [*Ord. Vit.*] Robert no less (ever in battle prodigal of his person) compelled victory to follow him. Balon, which the Earl of Shrewsbury and the élite of his troops defended, offered however an obstinate resistance to his progress. Against its stubborn walls no chivalrous tilting could give zest and brilliancy to the war; and to ward off its ponderous missiles, the agile brand of the expert warrior was unavailing. The proud and neighing chargers pawed restless and useless in their stalls; while lines were drawn, and fosses

wisdom and piety were the ornaments of the twelfth century : “ Dociles quoque Clericos Leodicum mittebat, et alias urbes ubi philosophorum studia potissimum florere noverat; eisque copiosos sumptus, ut indesinenter et diutius philosophiæ fonti possent insistere, largiter administrabat. De discipulis quos iste nutriebat fuerunt Thomas Eboracensis, Vigorniensis, Fiscoconnensis, Glastoniensis, multique alii qui nostris temporibus in ecclesiâ Dei floruerunt.” [*Ord. Vit.*] In 1095, Odo, with Gilbert, Bishop of Eyreux, the eloquent and severe moralist, Serlo of Savigny, and other prelates of equal authority, attended Urban II. at the great council held by him at Clermont. On his way thither, he was received and entertained at Dijon, by the Abbot Jarenton and the brotherhood of St. Benignus with the utmost honour; in return for which courtesy, and to prove he held them in no less affection than the princes of Normandy with whom he was connected, Odo gave St. Vigors with all its appendages to the monastery of St. Benignus; since which, his anniversary has been held there with the grateful solemnity due to one of their most generous benefactors: “ Quippeque devotionem erga nos habitam, et à suis progenitoribus traxit, et ipse hanc fructu uberiori hæres non degener augmentavit. De stirpe siquidem Comitum Normanniæ extitit oriundus, qui hanc Divionensem ecclesiam affectu amico dilexerunt, eamque rebus et possessionibus plurimum provexerunt. Quorum iste imitator ita eorum affectuo suo tempore studuit renovare, ut et sui et

illorum memoria apud nos semper nova merito debeat perdurare. Cujus devotionis indicia ut ex parte tangamus, cum Concilium Urbano Papa intra Gallias constitutum expeteret, Divionem veniens, à D. Jarentoni et fratribus hujus loci, tantâ honorificentia exceptus est, ut sibi nimis incompetens videretur, si non tanto eorum obsequio tali vicissitudine responderet, per quam suum erga eos affectum perenni testimonio comprobaret dedit St. Benigno Divionensis Ecclesiæ patrono, per manum supra memorati Abbatis, monasterium St. Vigoris, extra urbem Bajocensum, Monte Chrismatis situm, cum omnibus appenditiis suis." [*Martij Rol St. Benigni apud Labbeum.*]

Odo, having taken a conspicuous part at this famous council, returned with the apostolic benedictions of Urban, and synodal letters to the Norman Bishops; on the receipt of which, the Archbishop of Rouen congregated his suffragans. The Trêve de Dieu was insisted on at this council, as during the reign of William the Conqueror; the interference of the laity in church matters condemned; the laws on simony enforced¹; and the fashion of the hair regulated. [Vide vol. i. p. 265, note 1.]

¹ The trial of simony consisted in obliging the accused to repeat "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto;" the culprit being unable to articulate "Spiritui Sancto," gave evidence of his own guilt.

The other councils worthy of note, held during the episcopacy of Odo, and at which he assisted, were,—one summoned at Rouen by the Archbishop Maurille, at which attended John of Avranché, Hugh of Lysieux, William of Evreux, Geoffrey of Coutance, and Ives of Seez (at this council Humfrey, the pope's legate, presided); one held in 1074, by the Archbishop John, at which the Conqueror presided, and Odo, Hugh of Lysieux, Michel of Avranché, Gilbert of Evreux, and Robert of Sens assisted, “MLXXIV. congregatum est concilium in Rotomagensi urbe, Presidente Willelmo Anglorum Rege, Normannorum Principe et Joanne Archiepiscopo cum suis suffraganis Odone Bajocensis Episcopo,” &c. [*Chro. Rot.*]; and one held in 1080, by Archbishop William, at Lillebonne, at which likewise the Conqueror presided. In this synod the chastity of the priests was insisted on, and many regulations of the church decreed. Orderic Vital, about this period, bursts forth into an emphatic exclamation of indignant sorrow: “Oh woe! the throne of France is soiled by the perpetration of an abominable crime!” The accomplished Bertrade, Countess of Anjou, maddened by the licentiousness of her husband to a forgetfulness of her honour and reputation, her amorous and haughty disposition working on her to prefer criminally to seduce the husband of another woman, rather than with virtuous resignation to bear the desertion of her own, conscious of her charms and beauty, offered herself to Philip

of France. The inclinations of the passionate and lascivious woman being disclosed by faithful emissaries to the voluptuous Prince, he flagitiously consented, and abandoned for her his own noble and virtuous wife, seeking to bless their union by the consecration of the church¹. Orderic Vital here too rashly condemns the Bishop Odo, and says, "That of all the Bishops, he alone was found, who spurning the laws of heaven and canons of the church, would perform the execrable espousals; and that, in recompense for this unholy service, he received the Church of Mantes:" "Abominabile crimen mœchiæ in solio regni Galliæ! Proh dolor! perpetratum est. Bertrada enim Andegavorum Comitissa, metuens ne vir suus quod jam duabus aliis fecerat sibi faceret; et

¹ Orderic Vital gives the Countess credit for the ability with which she not only pacified the dissensions she had occasioned, but brought the potent rivals, her husband and the king, to partake with the greatest intimacy of a splendid banquet, at which she assisted with the utmost complacency: "Versipellis mulier inter rivaies similitatem compescuit, ingenioque suo in tantam pacem eos compaginavit, ut splendidum eis convivium præpararet et aptè prout placuit illis, ministraret." [*Ord. Vit.*]

By the MS. memoirs of the Queen of Sweden, their intimacy and her complaisance appeared to have been carried to an excess: "Ambosque simul ad mensam discumbere faceret, et nocte sequenti ambobus in uno conclave strata pararet et aptè, prout placuit, illis ministraret." [*MS. Cod. Regina Sueciæ.*]

relicta contemptui cui vile scortum fieret; conscia nobilitatis et pulchritudinis suæ fidissimum legatum Philippo Regi Francorum destinavit, eique quod in corde tractabat evidenter notificavit. Malebat enim ultrò virum relinquere aliumque appetere quam a viro relinqui, omniumque patere despectui. Denique mollis Princeps, comperta lascivæ mulieris voluntate, flagitio consensit. . . . Odo Bajocensis hanc execrandam desponsationem fecit, idoneoque dono mœchi Regis, pro recompensatione infausti famulatûs, Ecclesiam Medanti oppidi aliquandiu habuit. Nullus enim Francorum Præsulum execrabilem consecrationem dignatus est facere; sed in rigore stantes Ecclesiasticæ," &c. [*Ord. Vit.*] Hugo of Verdun, on the contrary, accuses the Bishops of Troyes and Meaux; while Pope Urban, in his letter to Rainald, Archbishop of Rheims, thus writes: "Thee also, dearest brother, this crime greatly concerns; since the Bishop of Senlis, subject to thee, has, we understand, confirmed by his approbation this adultery; and with benedictions laid his priestly hands on the polluted pair: "Te autem, carissime confrater Renalde, noxa hæc maximè impetit, pro eo quod Silvanentensis subjectus tibi Episcopus hoc publici adulterii crimen, suo, ut audivimus, firmavit assensu, et mœchis illis cum benedictione sacerdotales manus imposuit." William of Malmesbury, to all appearance the most correct (for the Pope writes but from rumour) states it to have been William, Archbishop of Rouen. The Archbishop was certainly long inter-

dicted his sacerdotal functions; for which no other reason can be assigned than this act; and to *him*, Philip (perhaps to revenge himself on Ives of Chartres for refusing to officiate) gave the church of Mantes, formerly belonging to that see. [*Will. Malm., Gall. Chris., Benedic. St. Maur.*]

The embarrassments of Robert now daily increased; his brother William had placed his foot firmly on the Norman soil; the subtle Henry possessed Domfront, and was reconciled to him. The greater part of the Norman Barons influenced by fear or cupidity, attached themselves to the increasing power of the successful Rufus: “*Baronibus cupiditate seu timore ad eum flexis magnam portionem Normanniæ*” [*Ord. Vit.*]; while Robert, eclipsed by the superior character of the king, even in his own dominions sank into general insignificance. Still the Duke Robert had the love, or rather perhaps Rufus the bitter hatred, of many of the most powerful barons. Helié la Flèche, his son-in-law, who married his natural daughter by Helena, possessed great military talents; and the Duke might have made an effort to retrieve his fortunes, which whether successful or not, would have plunged England and Normandy into all the horrors of a civil war; when, happily for the people, his love of adventure and chivalry was captivated by the brilliant field offered to Christian valour in the Holy Land. His religious enthusiasm had been fired by the energetic and eloquent preachers; but, above all, the expedition offered to his indolent

disposition, ever shunning the fatigues of business, an easy and honourable escape; he pledged his Dukedom to Rufus for ten thousand marks of silver, and

"Robert joios è liez,"

R. WACE.

set forth in the month of September 1096, accompanied by Rotrou, son of Geoffery, Count of Mortagne, Walter of St. Valery-sur-Somme, Bernard his son, William of Ferrers, Girard of Gournay, two sons of Hugh of Grentemesnil, and thousands of thousands of armed men, who for the love of Christ left all to confound the Pagans and restore the Christians: "*Cum millibus mille armatorum pro amore Christi sua reliquerunt et exilium ad confutandos Paganos et relevandos Christianos libenter petierunt.*" [*Ord. Vit.*] Between Rufus and Odo, an irreconcilable hatred existed: that vindictive monarch never forgot an injury or forgave one unatoned. His uncle Odo had been the first to oppose him, and had since fostered every conspiracy; "*Tantus enim erat rancor inter ipsum et Regem pro transactis simulatibus, ut nullatenus pacificari possent ab ullis caduceatoribus. Rex siquidem magnanimus et iracundus et tenacis erat memoriæ, nec injuriam sibimet irrogatam facile obliviscebatur sine ultione. Tumidus nimirum Princeps acerbe secum recolebat quod Odo Præsul, qui patruus suus erat, in primordio regni sui primus illi restiterat, et ingentem Magnatorum fre-*

quentiam in rebellionem contra ipsum contraxerat.” [Ord. Vit.] The Bishop Odo, on his part, from the bottom of his heart despised all who now fawned around the king, opposed to the utmost the vileness and venality of the nobles, and refused, until all hope of assistance was at an end, to yield up his authority. At length, beholding the policy acted upon which he had marked out as the only remedy for the ills of Normandy, though in other hands than he had desired, and Rufus everywhere triumphant, sooner than submit to his inimical nephew, he chose banishment and the glory of the crusades: “Bajocensis Odo totis viribus illi diu restitit, nec Consuli, donec esse sibi deficeret, auxilium defuit. Unde Præsul, postquam Rex Guillelmus, ut dictum est, prævaluit, peregrinari quam inimico subjici maluit.” Odo, together with Duke Robert, was for some time entertained by Pope Urban at Rome, and thence having received his benediction, set out to winter at Palermo. At this city a fatal disease attacked him, and in February 1097, after having nearly fifty years borne the crosier of Bayeux, Odo passed to another world. Gilbert of Evreux assisted at his last moments, and in the metropolitan church of St. Mary’s buried his venerable remains; over which Roger, Count of Sicily placed a superb mausoleum: “Romæ cum Urbano Papa, Præsul et Dux locuti sunt, et percepta benedictione ab eo, Tiberim transierunt, et in Apuliâ hyemaverunt. Inde Pontifex in urbem Panormitanam, quam vulgo Palermam vocant, secessit; ibique

[1097] Februario mense ex hâc vitâ migravit, et in Metropolitanâ Sanctæ Dei Genetricis Mariæ basilicâ Gislebertus Ebroicensis Episcopus eum sepelivit." [Ord. Vit.] "Hierosolymam aggressus intra Apuliam vitæ suæ cursum in sancto vitæ proposito consummavit." [Martij Rol. St. Benigni.] "Tandem nutu Dei omnipotentis; Dominicæ incarnationis anno MXCVI., Indictione IV., omnia reliquit et iter Hierosolymitanum cum Roberto Duce nepote suo arripuit et præsentem Gisleberto Ebroicensium Episcopo in urbe Panormitanâ obiit; corpus verò ejus in basilicâ St. Mariæ sepultum est super quod insigne opus à Rogero Comite Siciliæ factum est." [Ord. Vit.]

From his youth, Orderic Vital remarks, Odo had possessed the highest dignities of the church, enriched it with great wealth, and honoured the priesthood; and that which oppressively he took from others, lavishly bestowed on them: "Hic ab adolescentiâ suâ promotus, ecclesiæ gubernaculum suscepit, fere 50 annis tenuit, multis honoribus et ornamentis episcopalem ecclesiam ditavit, clerum honoravit et exspoliavit, aliisque ablata prodigus donavit." [Ord. Vit.]

Odo's history has led me so far astray from the immediate object before me—a simple note on Harlette—that I should not dare to venture a word on his elder brother Robert, did not William of Malmesbury's unsparing and testy character of him tempt a remark in his defence: "Crassi et hebetis ingenii hominem." [Will. Malm.] A stupid and

heavy witted man certainly does not convey the idea of one early distinguished by many military achievements; one to whom William confided a command in many famous battles, where he always acquitted himself with applause; one whom William of Poitiers, well and personally acquainted with Robert, ranks first of the pre-eminent, and of great esteem for his wisdom in counsel; and Orderic Vital, among those of valiant race, sagacious, and prudent to advise: "Personæ nihilominus præminebant, Rodbertus Moritoliensis . . . et alii . . . militari stemmate feroces, sensuque sagaci consilioque potentes." [*Ord. Vit.*] The occasion and manner of William's confiscating Mortain from his cousin, and granting it to his brother Robert, as related by William of Jumièges, has so much of the jealous vigilance of the young Duke, as to bear repetition. William, named Werlencus, [Guarlengus, *Ord. Vit.*] of the race of Richard, was then Count of Mortain, and a certain tyro of his family, Robert Bigot, one day thus addressed him: "Poverty, my lord, oppresses me; and in this land I know not how to gain a sufficiency to maintain me; I purpose therefore to go to Italy, where by my sword I may honourably live." The Count demanded, "Who has persuaded thee to this step?" and he replied, "The penury which I suffer;" to which the Lord of Mortain said, "If thou wilt be advised by me, here with us thou wilt remain; for such times, ere eighty days, there will be in Normandy, that whatever thy eyes may desire thy hands

may with impunity seize." The youth, wishing to show obedience to his kinsman, remained. Now it happened not long after, that Richard, Count of Avranché, a relation and intimate of the Duke, conversing with him privately on divers matters, related to him indiscreetly this anecdote. At which the Duke, much irritated, sent forthwith for the Count of Mortain, and thus addressed him: "With seditions and tumults thou art resolved to disturb Normandy, and dost design to rebel against me, and wickedly to dethrone me, and times of rapacity thou hast promised to hungry adventurers. To us, however, with its other gifts, Heaven, as we need it, will preserve constant peace. But for thee, as quickly as possible, get out of Normandy, and whilst I live never more return!" William Werlencus, thus banished, and in poverty, with a single squire sought Italy; while the Duke on the instant conferred on his brother the dignity of Mortain¹: "*Eâdem tempestate Willelmus cognomento Werlencus, de stirpe Richardi magni, Comes erat Moritolij. Ad eum aliquando quidam tyro de familiâ suâ, nomine Robertus*

¹ Among the distinguished counts of Mortain have been Stephen de Blois; William his son; John, Duke of Bedford, who demolished the castle; Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, named by Henry VI. The castle commands the town, standing boldly on the summit of a rock. The lofty donjon is destroyed; the ruins of four towers, and another in the centre are still existing.

Bigot accedens ait : ‘ Paupertate premor, domine mi, et in hâc patriâ nequeo quæstum mihi necessarium lucrari. Quapropter ibo nunc in Apuliam ut ibidem honorabilius vivam.’ Cui Willelmus ait : ‘ Quis tibi persuasit ?’ et ille respondit, ‘ Penuria quam patior.’ Comes dixit, ‘ Si mihi credere vis, hic nobiscum remanebis, nam tale tempus octaginta diebus in Normanniâ habebis, ut quæque tibi necessaria oculis videris, impunè manibus rapere poteris.’ Ille verò domini monitis adquiescens remoratus est, et non multo post per Richardum Abrincatensem cognatum suum familiaritatem Ducis consecutus est. Qui dum quâdam die privatim loqueretur cum Duce inter alia præscriptum Willelmi Comitis verbum ei rettulit Ob hoc iratus, Dux ait : ‘ Seditiosis tumultibus Normanniam perturbare decrevisti et contra me rebellans me nequiter exhæredare disposuisti, ideoque rapacitatis tempus egeno militi promisisti, sed nobiscum dono creatoris ut indigemus, maneat pax perennis. Tu autem Normanniâ discede quantociùs et huc dum vixero ne redeas ulterius.’ Willelmo itaque expulso, et Apuliam miserabiliter petente, cum uno tantum armigero, Dux confestim Robertum fratrem suum sublimavit, eique Moritoliensem Comitatum tribuit.”

[*Will. Gem.*] This act was urged against William as one most arbitrary by the Earl Roger of Hereford, in his harangue to the discontented barons : “ Nam ipse Guillelmum Guarlengum Moritoli Comitem pro uno verbo exhæredavit et de Neustriâ penitus effu-

gavit," [*Ord. Vit.*]; and Orderic Vital considers the cause slight for so severe a penalty: "Guillelmus cognomento Werlengum Mortitolij Comitum filium Malgerii Comitis, pro minimis occasionibus de Neustriâ propulsaverat." [*Ord. Vit.*] "Thus," concludes William of Jumièges, in his account of this matter "the Duke relentlessly prostrated his proud relations by his father's side, and honourably exalted the humble kindred of his mother:" "Sic tumidos sui patris parentes asperè prostravit, humilesque matris suæ propinquos honorabiliter exaltavit." [*Will. Gem.*] The Chronicle of St. Denis also makes the same observation on the downfall of William of Mortain: "En Pulle à un seul Escuier, et il Dux dona la con-tée de Moreuil à son frère Robert. Ensi humiliavit le Dux ses orgueilleus parens, qui li venoient de son père; et ceus qui li appartenoient de par sa mère, qui humble estoient et debonaire alvoit et essaucoit." [*Chro. St. Denis.*] But had not the Conqueror good cause for this preference, which did not exist till he had proved their hatred? Did his paternal relations merit other than such rigour from him? Despite their oaths to his father, and the munificent grants he made them, by their machinations, poison, and the poignard of the assassin beset his infant steps; by the latter fell Osberne, son of Herfaste, Great Seneschal, Théroulde, his preceptor, his relation and guardian Gilbert de Brionne, "Pater Patriæ;" and he himself owed his life to the vigilance of his

fool, who arousing him from his sleep, scarce appalled, conjured him instantly to fly, if ever he wished to behold dawn another day :—

*“ Et il meisme se gieseit,
 Maiz jo ne sai se il dormeit ;
 Al prime some vint un fol,
 Golet out nun, un pel el col,
 A l' us de la chambre criant,
 E li pareiz del pel batant :
 Ourez, dist il, ourez, ourez ;
 Jà morrez tuit, levez, levez.
 U gies Willame ? por kei dors ?
 S'ateinz i es, jà seras morz ;
 Tes anemix se vunt armer ;
 Se cil te poent jà truver,
 Jà n' iestras mez de Costentin,
 Ne ne verras tresqu'al matin.
 Willame fu mult effrêez,

 En braies ert et en chemise,
 Une chape a à sun col mise,
 A sun cheval mult tost se prist,
 Et à la veie tost se mist ¹. ”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

¹ According to tradition, the road by which William made alone this rapid flight from Rye to Falaise, he had afterwards raised and levelled at the expense of his enemies. It is true the “Chemin Haussé,” still exists in good repair between Ouilly-le-Tesson, Centheaux and Fresné-le-Pueux ; but the most erudite antiquarians consider it rather a work

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His uncle William, whom he had gratuitously made Count of Arques, and to whom he had granted great possessions, not less illegitimate than himself, in open revolt assumed a right to the Dukedom; Guy de Bourgoyne, his cousin, to whom he had recently given Vernon and Brionne, and loved as a brother, pretended to the rich inheritance to which William, son of the Count of Eu, endeavoured to establish a claim, and suffered the same punishment as we have seen follow the latent intentions of William of Mortain. Nor, when more firmly established did their malevolence cease; since his uncle Mauger, Archbishop of Rouen, worked on the cupidity of the church, till from the Vatican was hurled its excommunication on the youthful Duke. William of Poitiers bears testimony to the affection between William and Odo, particularly during their younger days; and no difference in politics, ambition, or years, had influence on the love of Robert and William :—

*“ Robert frère li Dus esteit,
Ki en grant chierté le teneit.”*

ROBERT WACE.

Even William of Malmesbury, who denies him the qualities of the head, accords him a fond and grateful attachment to his brother. At the great battle of

of the Romans than of the Duke. However, to this day, it bears the name of “ La Voye le Duc.”

Val-des-dunes, where Guy de Bourgoyne, Néel St. Sauveur, Hamon-aux-dents, Grimoult de Plessis, Renoulf de Brequessart, and other rebellious barons, suffered a complete overthrow, and either fell in the battle, or escaped, deprived of their estates, into banishment, Robert performed for his brother feats of valour.



Néel of St. Sauveur, “Chief de Faucon,” son of the favourite of the Duke’s father, after fighting to the last with invincible courage, and sustaining the shock of the whole body of French allies, led by the king in person, who was struck down by one of Néel’s men—

“ *De Costentin iessi la lance,
Ki abati le Rei de France,*”

was at length obliged to retreat,

“ *Quant Néel parti de l'estur,
Onç graignur duil n'out à nul jour,*”

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and saved himself from William's wrath by flying into Brittany. Deprived of his estates, and the command of Cotentin, confided to his father by the Duke Robert, William gladly conferred such trust and dignity on his brother.

Among the first whom William summoned at Lillebonne, to counsel and aid him on his meditated attempt on England, was Robert of Mortain:—

“ E Robert ki Moretoin ere :”

“ Willelmi Ducis uterinus frater Robertus Comes Moretoliensis.” [*Eccl. Pol.*] Under him the whole of Cotentin embarked; he aided William with a hundred and twenty ships: “ A Roberto de Moretain C. et XX.” [*MS. Taylor.*]; and on the eventful day of battle bore the holy banner of St. Michael, through blood and carnage, till it floated victorious on England's rich soil. His valour and affection to William on that day, Robert Wace thus extols:—

*“ Li Quens Robert de Moretoing,
Ne se tint mie del Duc loing;
Frère ert li Dus de par sa mère,
Grant aïe fist à son frère.”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

Nor was the Conqueror forgetful of it, but rewarded him with Cornwall, and an extensive grant of nine

hundred and seventy-three fertile manors, situated in eighteen counties : "Robertus Moretoliensis, &c. . . magnos redditus et honores in Angliâ receperunt." [*Ord. Vit.*] Without dwelling on the numerous other eminent services the Earl of Mortain and Cornwall rendered his brother in England, it must not be omitted, that having been left by William at Lincoln to repress the invasion of the Danes, the terror of his name long intimidated and kept them in check. However, gaining courage with time, and imagining all safe, they made a descent on the coast, when the watchful Robert unexpectedly fell upon them, and with excessive slaughter pursued them to their ships: "Cum Rex Guillelmus à Lindesse reverteretur, reliquit ibi germanum suum Robertum Moretoliensem et Robertum Aucensum, qui Danorum excursiones reprimerent. Dani aliquandiu delituere, verum postquam omnia tuta sunt opinati, conviviis provincialium [quæ vulgo firmam appellant] illecti ad terram aggrediuntur. Ambo Comites ex improvise eos invadunt, repulsos cruore confundunt, instantes trepidis; ad naves usque cædendo fugientes persequuntur." [*Ord. Vit.*] Robert appears peculiarly the favourite of fortune, since not only he was blessed with constant successes, wealth, and honours; but heaven vouchsafed by a miracle, through the instrumentality of Saint Firmatus, to declare to him its will. Baldwin, Count of Bologna, afterwards King of Jerusalem, a man not less great in virtues and arms than reputation, being made prisoner by the noble Robert, Earl of Mortain, was secured in prison with

fetters and chains. As he lay ill at ease in his dungeon, he implores for aid the blessed Firmatus, with assiduous prayer: "In diebus illis, Baldoinus, vir magni nominis, moribus et armis præclarus, Boloniæ Comes erat præsens, Jerusalem Rex futurus, qui captus à nobilissimo Comite Moretonensi Roberto compedibus et catenis vinctus carcerali reclusus est ergastulo. Qui B. Firmati precibus assiduís implorans auxilium," &c. The tender-hearted Saint could not long turn a deaf ear to the distresses of so great a man; but with a white, long, and flowing beard, appeared before him as a venerable old man, and directed the suppliant count on the morrow at noon, at the church of St. Ebrulfus, to pray for his soul, and for the souls of those who had departed in the odour of sanctity. Baldwin was allowed to offer up his devotions at St. Ebrulfus, and as he knelt at the tomb of St. Firmatus, on a sudden his chains are rent asunder with a violent noise. The priests and people shout, "a miracle! a miracle!" But Robert of Mortain still doubts: "If these chains," he said, "are rent by Divine force, what it once has broken it can break again; nor am I willing to release so great a man on so fallacious a redemption;" and with new and heavier chains Baldwin is again committed to his cell: "Si sunt," inquit Comes Roberto, "hæc divinâ fracta virtute, quæ semel confregit, iterum confringere poterit; nolo enim tantam redemptionem viri tanti fallaci disperdere præludio; afferantur graviores nexûs strigoris compedes, et redeat Baldoinus

Comes ad carcerem ut promisit." With fervent prayer once more the pious Baldwin calls on St. Firmatus; again the condescending Saint appears, and reiterates his former orders. At the same place, on the same hour, Robert and all present, with a stupendous sound the massive chains and fetters are burst asunder. The Count Robert rejoices at the miracle; and with much honour releases the joyful Baldwin. But the chains, in memory of so great a miracle, are to this day preserved in the church of St. Ebrulfus; "Omnibus videntibus, fracti sunt cum sonitu compedum nexus. Lætus Comes Robertus de miraculo Comitem Baldoinum ad propria remisit lætum maximâ honorificentîâ . . . Compedes autem in tanti memoriam miraculi usque hodie in eâdem reservantur ecclesiâ." [*Ex vitâ S. Guillelmi Firmati, auctore Stephano Pidonensi Episcopo.*]

A subject worthy the pencil of the President of the Academy, would be the suffering and collected Conqueror expiring in the arms of his brother Robert, who at that awful moment urges the forgiveness of their immured brother Odo, which William cedes to his affectionate solicitations. Mortain's love for Odo, as we have seen, led him subsequently into great peril, when, listening to his counsel, he espoused the cause of the Duke Robert. Fortunate for him was his reconciliation with the successful Rufus; happy for his gallant and able son William had it been, had he followed the course of his prudent sire; but, seduced by his uncle, the restless Robert of

Bellême, [“ Robertus enim de Bellesmo, Regi quem hostiliter oderat profecto nimis invidens, contristatus est, et cum Guillelmo nepote suo Moretoliensi Comite et omnibus aliis quos seducere poterat, regios fautores bello urgere conatus est,” *Ord. Vit.*;] or, as William of Malmesbury will have it, jealous of his glory, and discontented because Henry, after various delays and excuses, did not grant to him his uncle Odo’s sequestered possessions in Kent: “ Filius Roberti regis patru, is semper a puero Henrici gloriæ invidus, tum maximè in adventu Normanni [Roberti Ducis] pravum animum extulit; non enim contentus duobus comitatibus Moretolii in Normanniâ et Cornugalliæ in Angliâ, comitatum Cantiae, quem Odo patruus habuerat, à Rege exigebat: infestus et improbus adeo, ut infami arrogantia se devotaret non induturum clamydem, nisi à patruo, ut dictitabat, sibi refusam consequeretur hæreditatem. Sed tunc quidem suspensi calliditate responsi frustratus est Rex prudentissimus hominem. Discussis verò turbinibus, serenaque pace reddita, non solum quæ petebat non annuit, verùm etiam indebitè retenta repetere cœpit: modestè tamen et judiciali placito, ut nihil quod faceret videretur resultare juri et calcitrare ab æquo. Tunc verò Willelmus sententia judicii expunctus, indignabundus et fremens Normanniam abiit,” [*Will. Mal.*] he forsook the stronger party, took up arms in favour of the feeble Robert, long sustained his falling fortunes, and with him suffered total wreck at Tinchebray: “ Omnia castella Comitum Moretolii in suum domi-

niun suscepit . . . et rediens in Angliam Comitem Moretolii et quosdam alios quos ei placuit secum advexit." [*Will. Gem.*]

The other children of the Earl of Mortain and Cornwall by Matilda, daughter of Roger de Montgomery, and Mabila [whom we may name the Bad] were married to André de Vitré, to Guy de Lovel, and the Count of Toulouse. To his piety we are indebted for the college of Mortain, founded in 1082; for the priory of St. Michael in Cornwall, which he affiliated to St. Michael's of the Mount; and for enriching and embellishing the monastery of St. Grestain. In 1090, Robert sought the peaceful realms of another world; mingled with the ashes of his mother and his sire, his remains repose at Saint Grestain.

According to many historians, Arlette and Herluin de Conteville had a daughter whom Robert Wace names Muriel, and marries her to Yvon-au-Chapel:—

*" E lwun manda al Chapel,
Ki à fame aveit Muriel,
Soror li Dus de par sa mère,
E Herluin aveit à père ;
Ne sai se enfex d'els naski,
Mais unkes parler n'en oï."*

On which M. A. le Prevost remarks, that " the uterine sister of the Conqueror was named Adeles, or Adélaïde, and was married to Eudes de Champagne; but as some historians give her a prior husband, he may have borne that name." Notwithstanding this

great authority, and that William of Jumièges expressly calls the mother of Judith, Countess of Huntingdon, uterine sister of the Conqueror: "Roberto autem filio Richardi successit filius suus primogenitus natus ex quâdam filiarum Waldevi Comitissæ Huntingdoniæ; habuit tres filias ex uxore suâ, [Juditha] filiâ [Adelaides] Comitissæ de Alhamarlâ, quæ Comitissa fuit soror uterina Willelmi Regis Anglorum senioris," [*Will. Col. Gem.*] and in another place, "Stephanus Comes de Alab filius Odonis Comitissæ de Campaniâ, Willelmi autem Regis Anglorum senioris ex sorore nepos," [*Will. Gem.*] I am inclined to believe Adelaide was not sister to the Conqueror by his mother, and that the love the Duke Robert bore Arlette, was not so exclusive as to forbid an infidelity to her, from which sprang Adelaïs. Robert's affection for her mother might indeed have been prior to his being *épris* by the charms of Arlette; and this may have influenced those chronologists who state him to have discarded a prior lady for Arlette. [*Vide Gla. Rad. Gest. Consul. Andegav.*] In no direct enumeration of the children of Harlette, do we find the name of Adèle joined to William, Robert, and Odo; nor in their projects, politics, ambition, and advancement, does there ever appear any connexion. The correct Robert of the Mount expressly says, that, besides William by Harlette, Robert left a daughter Alelez by another concubine:

Qui Willelmum de Herlevâ, non sponsatâ, qui postea Angliam conquisivit, et unam filiam Alelez

de aliâ concubinâ.” [*Roberti de Monte.*] Orderic Vital also says, that Odo of Champagne had in marriage a sister of the king, that is to say, a daughter of the Duke Robert: “Odoni verò Campaniensi nepoti Theobaldi Comititis, qui sororem habebat ejusdem Regis, filiam scilicet Roberti Ducis.” [*Ord. Vit.*] A charter of grant to the Abbey of St. Trinity at Caen runs as follows: “I William, King, and Matilda my wife, Queen, give to the aforesaid Church the Bourg of Hulme, with its rents; Adelisa my aunt, whose hereditament it was, kindly consenting, and the Countess Adelisa de Albamarle conceding, with the following agreement; that she hold it during her life, but on her death the Holy Church possess it, in provision for the nuns:” “Ego Willelmus, Rex, et uxor mea Mathildis, Regina, Ecclesiæ prænominatæ donavimus burgam de Hulmo cum redditibus suis Adelisâ amitâ meâ benigniter annuente cujus hæreditas erat, sed et Comitissa Adelisa de Albamarlâ concedente, eo videlicet pacto, ut ipsa teneret in vitâ suâ, post obitum verò suum ad victum sanctimonialium Sancta possideret Ecclesia.” [*Gal. Christ.*]

Adele, the aunt of William, was married previously to 1023, to the Duke of Burgundy: “Guido Rainaldi Burgundionum Ducis ex Adelizâ amitâ meâ filius” [*Ord. Vit.*]; and it is difficult to imagine any interest the Countess of Albemarle could have in the inheritance of that lady. Is it too daring to presume it to be the mother herself of the Countess

Adeles, that William thus graciously names? The family of Herlouin had, however, also property in the neighbourhood of Caen; as in a charter of donation to the Abbey, William grants to it certain lands bought of Richard of Herlouin: "Emi à Richardo filio Herluini terram Texilli et in Monte Boani." [*Gal. Chr.*]

Adeles, be she the daughter of the Conqueror's father or of his mother, shared in the favours he heaped on the heads of his humbler relatives; she was married to his relation Odo, son of Stephen, the second Count of Champagne; who, driven by his uncle Theobald, third Count of Chartres, from his possessions in 1050, fled to him for protection. Odo or Eudes sailed with William for England, and was rewarded for his valour with Holderness in England, and Albamarle [Aumale, near Neuchatel] in Normandy, which was obtained for him, under certain conditions, from the Archbishop of Rouen. On the death of the Conqueror, Odo of Champagne, subject from his estates to both his successors, felt all the difficulty of this position, and long held out hopes to both without declaring for either brother. At length, obliged to decide, he declared for the King of England, and admitted an English garrison into his castle of Albemarle. Unfortunately for him, he did not adhere to this policy; but, deluded by ambition, listened to the proposals of Robert de Mowbray and the disaffected Barons, who proposed that William Rufus driven forth, his own son Stephen should mount the throne. Rufus, however, having

timely notice of the conspiracy, threw Odo de Almarle into prison, where he passed the rest of his days. The offer of the English Barons to crown Stephen, the son of Adeles, might furnish another argument, that she was rather the daughter of the Duke Robert than of Herlouin of Contaville; since, although "not nice to a hair," the Barons in all such revolts bolstered up some title; by being the immediate descendant of Robert, she had in a degree a claim as good as William himself, to back the legitimate relationship of her son; while as simply the daughter of Herlouin and Arlette, any connection she might claim would have been offensive to the Barons, and act negatively on the pretensions of her son, by advancing those of the Earl of Mortain and Cornwall. Besides Stephen, the Countess Adeles bore her husband a daughter, named Judith, married to Waldero, Count of Huntingdon. There is a curious letter from Ives, Bishop of Chartres, to Adele, daughter of the Conqueror, and Countess de Eloit and Chartres, upbraiding her that forgetful of the purity of her blood on both sides, she with so much assiduity labours to defend, cover, and countenance the adultery of her beloved cousin Adele with William, not sufficiently caring for their nor her own heavenly safety, or heedful of the danger and infamy which he by such crimes incurred. Who this Adele is, then a name so favourite at court, it is difficult to decide: "*Ivo Dei gratia Carnotensium humilis Episcopus Adelæ nobili Comitissæ, &c. Recte*

in Christo sapere Regius in excellentiâ vestrâ sanguis ex utrâque lineâ descendens Unde miror quâ ratione consobrinam vestram Adelaïdem sicut vosmet amare dicatis, cujus adulterinos cum Guillelmo complexus vel defendere vel protegere tanto studio laboratis, nec salute vestrâ vel illorum satis commode providetis, neque quantum periculum vel quanta infamia mihi super hoc immineat aliquatenus præcavetis." It would appear that either Judith, Countess of Huntingdon, had a sister of that name, or bore it herself in addition to that of Judith. William de Britoleo, eldest son of the famous and renowned William Fitz-Osborne, to whom the Bishop is presumed to allude, since his estates of Breteuil, Pacey, and others, lay in the diocese of Chartres, had no issue by his wife, daughter of Hugo de Montefort; but his natural son Eustace had sufficient interest to obtain his possessions against the more legitimate claims of William de Gaïl, and Raymond de Draco, his nephews, a Norman though a bastard being preferred ["Sed Normanni Eustachium ex concubinâ filium ejus susceperunt quia compatriotes nothum," &c. *Ord. Vit.*] to a Breton or a Burgundian. This Eustace we may then suppose to be the son of that Adele whom Ives of Chartres censures. William, Count of Magnaville, subsequently obtained the dignity of Albemarle by marriage with the daughter of Stephen: "Guillelmus Comes de Magnaville, ducta filia Stephani Comitis Albemarlæ factus est Comes Albemarlæ." [*Robertus de Monte.*]

Of Muriel, sister of Duke Richard III., there is frequent mention in the different charters granted to Trinity of Caen, and the property derived from whom, William grants to his daughter Cecily, a nun, afterwards Abbess of that convent: "Et in Willon decimam quam ipse à Muriel sorore Richardi Principis dedit pro filiâ suâ in eodem cenobio monachâ factâ." [*Gal. Christ.*] It is this Muriel M. le Prevost imagines Wace to have confounded with Adeles of Albemarle. "*L'Histoire littéraire de France*" gives some verses, "*Ad Muriel Sanctimonialem*," by Serlon, Canon of Bayeux.

Page 71. (49)—*Built a handsome palace.*



It would be difficult to determine which is most amusing, the eager, sapient look of the traveller, as

he makes his inquiry, or the stupid *sang froid* of the questioned; the look of contempt with which the travelled treats the *insouciance* of the native, or the ridicule which curls the lips of the denizen at the idle important petulance of the stranger. I felt this at Caen most laughably; yet, in all its disappointment, when not a passer-by could point out to me the ruins of the palace of the Conqueror, I lifted up my eyes and behold before me was the "Rue Guillaume Le Conquerant." In the vista stood the Abbey and Basilica of St. Stephen's¹. Further direction was unnecessary; as Belisarius in rags, its elegant arches and turrets presented themselves, disgraced by adaptation to indigent hovels, and mean purposes of vulgar use. The Abbey of St. Stephen and that of St. Trinity still remain; they were built to appease the anger of the church on William's marriage with Matilda, (see note 5.) which cost the Duke the support of one hundred prebends, one hundred poor to clothe and feed, one hundred sick and impotent to maintain, and one hundred maimed and blind to provide for, at Cherbourg, Rouen, Bayeux, and Caen,

¹ There is a curious enamelled pavement in the "Salle des Gardes" of the Abbey St. Etienne, bearing heraldic blazonings long supposed to be those of the companions of the Conqueror. The learned Abbé de la Rue has corrected this idea, by recognizing in them the arms of the different noble families who furnished to the monastery its officers and dignitaries.

besides the rich endowment of these two Abbeys, which, with the church now named "Du Sepulchre," are monuments of the munificence and taste, not less than of the piety of the Conqueror. "Remember," he says, "O ministers of Christ, in your prayers, how tenderly I have loved you, and how strongly against every rival I have defended you:" "Vos, O sacerdotes et ministri Christi. Debetis enim recolere quam dulciter vos amavi, et quam fortiter contra omnes æmulos defensavi!" [*Ord. Vit.*] He enriched nine abbeys and one convent; and built, assisted, or encouraged the erection of seventeen monasteries and six convents. Yet the gold, and silver, and precious stones with which, by order of his son Robert, the able goldsmith Otho, with cunning-wrought devices ornamented his rich and wonderful mausoleum,— "hic auri et argenti gemmarumque copiam Othoni aurifabro erogavit, et super patris sui [Robert] mausoleum fieri mirificum memoriale præcepit," [*Ord. Vit.*—have long since vanished: the tomb itself, placed, according to Orderic Vital, between the choir and the altar, ["in presbyterio inter chorum et altare sepelierunt,"]—so razed, as to leave the site doubtful. The mausoleum of Matilda, in the Church of the Sepulchre, though shorn of ornament, with a religious awe awakens recollections sweet and sad. [See Appendix.]

Page 71. (50.)—*His great acquirements.*

Professing originally to claim the crown of England as his right, treating Harold always as an usurper, never allowing him even the name of king, calling him in every existing document simply Earl Harold, and affecting to consider the adherents of Harold as rebels against his own just authority as sovereign, William claimed no higher title than the "Acquirer¹;" and is thus frequently styled in the older chronologists. Bound by these pretensions to respect the Saxon institutions of the country of which he claimed to be king by lawful title, he convened all the magnates from every part of the land, and received them with the utmost courtesy, indulgence, condescension, munificence, and generosity: "Omnes eò cujuscunque professionis magnates regium edictum accersebat, ut exterarum gentium legati speciem multitudinis apparatusque deliciarum mirarentur; (nec ullo tempore comior aut indulgendi facilius erat;) atque advenæ largitatem ejus cum divitiis conquare ubique gentium jactitarent," [*Will. Mal.*] and granted them on their demand the laws of Edward:—

¹ "Eo quod esset cognatus Regis Edwardi Angliam acquisivit." [*Chro. Fiscan. ex Vet. Mem. apud Labbeum.*] Judges were wont to correct counsel who designated William I. "the Conqueror."

*" Poiz fist toz li Baronz mander,
 E toz les Engleiz asembler :
 A Choiz les mist kels leis teindreient,
 E kels costumes il voldreient
 U des Normanx u des Engleiz,
 De kels Seignors è de kels Reiz ;
 E cil distrent : Del Rie Ewart,
 Li soes leis lor tienge è gart.
 Li costumes k'il cognosseient,
 K'al tems Ewart tenir soleient,
 Celes voldrent, celes requistrent,
 Celes lor plorent, celes pristrent :
 Issi lor fu à volenté
 Et li Reis lor a graanté."*

ROBERT WACE.

" Hoc quoque præcepimus, ut omnes habeant et teneant leges Edwardi Regis, in omnibus rebus, adauctis his quæ constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum." [*Fædera.*] He made his bishops and principal officers swear to govern the people according to their ancient usages without exactions or impositions: " Leur fist jurer de gouverner les gents et le pais selon leur anciens usages sans les grever ne dommagier," [*Chro. Nor.*] guaranteed the charter which professed to secure their liberties,— " Volumus etiam et firmiter præcipimus et concedimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius monarchiæ regni nostri predicti, habeant et teneant terras suas et possessiones suas, bene, et in pace, liberas ab omni exactione injustâ,

et ab omni tallagio ; ita quod nihil ab eis exigatur, vel capiatur, nisi servitium suum liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent, et facere tenentur, et prout statutum est eis, et illis à nobis datum et concessum jure hereditario, in perpetuum, per commune concilium totius regni nostri predicti,” [*Lib. Rub. Scac. ; Fæd. N. E.*]—and conceded to them the right of arms, with which brave men may lawfully defend it : “ Statuimus et firmiter præcipimus ut omnes Comites, et Barones, et milites, et servientes, et universi liberi homines totius regni nostri predicti habeant et teneant se semper bene in armis et in equis, ut decet et oportet ; et quod sint semper prompti, et bene parati ad servitium suum integrum nobis explendum et peragendum, cum semper opus adfuerit, secundum quod nobis debent de feodis et tenementis suis de jure facere, et sicut illis statuimus per commune concilium totius regni nostri predicti, et illis dedimus et concessimus feodo, jure hereditario. Hoc preceptum non sit violatum ullo modo.” [*Lib. Rub. Scac., Fæd. N. E.*]

But, at the head of an army, the greater part of which had joined his standard for the purposes of plunder, governing a turbulent, discontented, and unsettled people, frequently for the sake of confiscations goaded by his lieutenants to revolt,—surrounded by haughty, rapacious followers, whom he had as much difficulty to keep in order as the people in submission,—to rule required the utmost vigour and decision : “ Vel amotis, vel debellatis, vel conciliatis

sibi adversariis." [Ord. Vit.] He became a conqueror, whose yoke weighed not less equally on the Norman than the Saxon; and although towards the latter end of his reign an almost total subversion of title to the landed property of the kingdom transferred the principal Saxon estates to Norman invaders, they were watched with a jealousy not less vigilant than that which scrutinized the motions of the islanders, and confiscations swiftly followed the slightest dereliction from duty; nor were the new settlers more exempt than the older inhabitants from such service and exactions as the Conqueror proclaimed the exigencies of government to require.

Page 71. (51.)—*His successor was obliged to purchase.*

The sun rose cloudlessly on the morning of the 9th of September, and diffused its healthful beams throughout the joyful world, ["Jam Phæbo per orbem spargente clara radiorum spicula," Ord. Vit.] but inexorable death overshadowed with his sable wings the suffering Conqueror, waiting impatiently to bear his spirit hence. The deep-toned bell of the cathedral, ushering in the eventful dawn, vibrates for the last time on the slumberless monarch's ear, who languidly demands, "What sounded?" "It is, my lord," replied the attendants, "St. Mary's, which strikes the first hour of morn!" Then the king, with deepest devotion lifting his eyes to heaven,

and stretching forth his hands exclaimed, "O holy virgin, to thee I commend my spirit! imploring thy intercession to reconcile my sinful soul with thy beloved Son our Lord, Christ Jesus!" which said, he yielded up the ghost: "Excitus Rex sonum majoris signi audivit in metropolitanâ Basilicâ. Percunctante eo, 'Quid sonaret?' responderunt ministri, 'Domine, hora prima jam pulsatur Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Mariæ.' Tunc Rex cum summâ devotione oculos ad cælum erexit, et sursum manibus extensis, dixit, 'Dominæ meæ Sanctæ Dei genitrici Mariæ me commendo, ut ipsa suis sanctis precibus me reconciliet carissimo filio suo Domino nostro Jesu Christo;' et his dictis protinus expiravit." [*Ord. Vit.*] The physicians and assistants were as if deprived of reason; the higher personages mounted their horses in all haste, and fled to provide against danger, leaving the still warm monarch to the mercy of a venal, menial crew, who carried away every portable article, his arms, vases, clothes, and, robbing the very linen, left the royal corpse on the pavement deprived of covering. "O worldly pomp! vain and unstable!" exclaims Orderic Vital, "how despicable art thou!" "Archiatri præsentēs . . . velut amentes effecti sunt. Porro ditiores ex his illico ascensis equis recesserunt, et ad sua tutanda properaverunt. Inferiores vero clientes, arma, vasa, vestes et linteamenta, omnemque regiam suppellectilem rapuerunt, et relicto regis cadavere penè nudo in area domûs aufugerunt. O secularis pompa! quam despicibilis es! quam nimis vana

.... es! Ecce potentissimus heros [see text] cui nuper plusquam centum millia militum serviebant avidè, et quem multæ gentes cum tremore metuebant, nunc à suis turpiter in domo non suâ spoliatus est." As the news of the great William's decease is spread, the inhabitants of Rouen became panic-struck, and stupified as though from drink, "velut ebrii desipuerunt;" and the intelligence is borne from mouth to mouth with incredible swiftness to the confines of the world: "Nam mors Guillelmi Regis ipso eodem die quo Rothomagi defunctus est, in urbe Romæ et Calabriâ quibusdam exhæredatis nunciata est, ut ab ipsis postmodum veraciter in Normanniâ relatum est." In the meantime, the venerable remains lie from the first to the third hour deserted: "à primâ usque ad tertiam super nudam humum derelictus est." The Archbishop of Rouen at length directs that the body, as William had desired, should receive sepulchre at Caen; but not one of the many who had followed him with idolatry and adulation living, was now solicitous that decent rites should be offered his remains; till the young Herluin, an equerry, perhaps related to the Conqueror by his mother, moved by compassion at this neglect of the august deceased, provided funeral attendants from his feeble means, had the corpse embalmed, and, hiring a conveyance, conducted the hearse to Caen: "Unde nec unus de satellitibus regiis est inventus, qui curaret de exequiis corporis ejus. Tunc Herluinus, pagensis Eques, naturali bonitate compunctus

est, et curam exequiarum pro amore Dei et honore gentis suæ, viriliter amplexatus est. Pollinctores itaque et vespillones, ac vehiculum mercede de propriis sumptibus conduxit " [Ord. Vit.] To make amends for their former scandalous abandonment, and with a solemnity befitting the occasion, William, Archbishop of Rouen, convenes all the Bishops, Abbots, and Barons to perform their last service to the King-Duke, and bear the father of the country to his sepulchre: " Denique ad sepeliendum maximum Ducem et patrem patriæ congregati sunt omnes Episcopi et Abbates Normanniæ. Guillelmus Rotomagensis Archiepiscopus . . . omnes hi ad exequias famosi Baronis convenerunt." [Ord. Vit.]

*" N'out nul Eveske en la province,
 Abé, ne Comte, ne haut prince,
 Ki ne fust al cors enterrer,
 Por ço ke il péust aler ;
 Mult i out muignes revestuz,
 E proveires è clers menuz."*

The deep cadence of " Libera me" mournfully swelled on the air, as the bier was solemnly borne along ; at the very portico loud cries arrest the supporters, and shouts of fire resound through the abbey—clergy and laity rush from out the church, and the corpse-bearers, listening but to their terrors, throw the body indecently on the earth, to lie there forsaken by all his kinsmen : " Omnes igitur ad ignem

comprimendum Clerici cum laicis cucurrerunt . . . in areâ jacuit nudus, et à suis quos genuerat vel aluerat destitutus." The fire extinguished, the sacred offices are resumed. Gilbert, Bishop of Evreux, ascended the pulpit: "*Gislebertus Ebroicensis Episcopus in pulpitem ascendit.*" In a pathetic oration, he dwelt on the virtues of the great deceased, on those sublime ["*magnificum*"] talents, and prodigies of valour, which had been dedicated to his country, extended its narrow confines ["*fines Normannici strenue dilataverat*"] rendered it more glorious than all his ancestors, and raised Neustria pre-eminent among the states of Christendom. Terrible to their enemies and to evil doers, where was so great a lover of piety, peace, and justice? Where in munificence and charity his equal? The bells, now tolling his requiem from the innumerable pious edifices which he had erected throughout the land, made manifest his devotion. His bounty as manna had fallen on and fattened all who surrounded him. Every one throughout his dominions lay down in tranquillity and awoke in security: "*Justitiam et pacem sub omni ditione suâ tenuerat.*" He was an invincible sword of defence to the servants of God, a stern avenger of the widow on the offender, or of the virgin on her despoiler: ["*fures et prædones virgâ rectitudinis utiliter castigaverat,*"] and spread a strong shield of protection over the unarmed, the aged, and the feeble. ["*Et inermem populum virtutis ense fortiter munierat.*"]

The people wept : their sobs gave a mournful assent to the truths which fell from the lips of the preacher : "Plebem rogavit, et pro pietate multis flentibus ac verba ejus attestantibus." "Alas !" resumed the orator, "man cannot pass through this valley of sin undefiled ["quin nullus mortalis homo potest in hâc vitâ sine peccato vivere"]. Let us pray, that the sins of this Prince be remitted : ["In charitate Dei nos omnes precemur pro defuncto Principe ;"] and as we implore mercy for the trespasses of others, so hope our own trespasses may be forgiven to us : ["Eique si quid in vobis deliquit benigniter dimittite."] Uprose then the bold young yeoman, Arthur, the son of Asselin, "Hold !" with a loud voice he exclaimed, "on the spot on which you stand was the house of my father ! He for whom you pray, then Duke of Normandy, seized it by violence, denied retribution, and on its site erected this edifice. The land therefore in presence of the ravager I claim ; and in the name of God forbid to rest the body of the oppressor beneath my turf, or his tomb to encumber my estate : " "Arturi Ascelinus . . . et voce magnâ querimoniam hujusmodi cunctis audientibus edidit, 'Hæc terra, ubi consistitis, area domûs patris mei fuit, quam vir iste pro quo rogatis, dum adhuc esset Comes Normanniæ, patri meo violenter abstulit, omniumque denegatâ rectitudine, istam ædem potenter fundavit. Hanc igitur terram calumnior et palam reclamo ; et ne corpus raptoris operiatur cespite meo, nec in hæreditate meâ

sepeliatur, ex parte Dei prohibeo.'” Enquiry is made; Asselin is soothed by entreaties; sixty sous instantly given for the bare spot of land: “*Precibus blandis lenierunt . . . nam pro loculo solo sepulturæ sexaginta solidos ei protinus adhibuerunt;*” compensation promised for his further claims, and the oft-interrupted ceremony again proceeds. The stately corpse, of no common proportions, swollen by delay, is attempted to be placed in the too narrow sarcophagus; with this violence the coffin bursts; some air escapes, and a pestilential effluvia spreads nausea and sickness throughout the church, overpowering the incense and odoriferous herbs: “*Cum jam sarcophagum in terrâ locatum esset; sed corpus adhuc in feretro jaceret . . . dum corpus in sarcophagum mitteretur et violenter, quia vas per imprudentiam cæmentariorum breve structum erat, complicaretur, pinguissimus venter crepuit . . . intolerabilis fætor.*” The fainting assistants all rush to the doors to escape its influence, except a few inferior priests, who with precipitation and in trembling accents conclude the service: “*Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias perficere et actutum sua cum pavore mappalia repetere.*” Alas! that the most powerful monarch, lately possessed of the abundance of superfluous wealth, should owe to the generosity of a simple soldier his winding-sheet and shell; and that his corpse should repose on the turf of a churlish stranger! “*Ære alieno in funebri cultu, ope gregario pro sandapilâ et*

vespilionibus conducendis eguit, qui tot hactenus et superfluis opibus nimis abundavit :—

*“ Tel chose à grant merveille tienent
Del Rei ki tant aveit cunquis,
Tantes citez, tant chastels pris,
N'en a de terre quite tant
U sis cors giese al morant.”*

ROMAN DE ROU¹.

Page 74. (51*.)—*In a storm-baffled expedition.*

Hume, and the English historians who follow him or his authorities, state the expedition alluded to, in favour of the children of Ethelred, to have been undertaken by Duke Richard II. “ the Good.” Hume, writes of Canute, “ He had no further anxiety except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were protected and supported by their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy. Richard even fitted out a great armament in order to restore the English Princes to the throne of their ancestors ; and though the fleet was dispersed by a storm, Canute saw the danger he was exposed to from the enmity of so

¹ Robert Wace is so perfectly in accord with Orderic Vital in the details of the funeral of William, that M. Le Prevost can only account for such similarity by imagining they must have drawn their information from the same source.

warlike a people as the Normans ; in order to acquire the friendship of whom, he paid his addresses to Queen Emma, daughter of Richard and widow of Ethelred, promising to leave his issue by her in possession of the crown of England." William of Malmesbury, however, states the contrary ; and expressly informs us, that though their uncle Richard protected his nephews, who disgusted with and dreading the consequence of their mother's nuptials with their enemy, fled to him in Normandy, he would undertake nothing in order to restore them to their dominions, since his sister had married the invader : " Fratres ex Emmâ Elfredus et Edwardus toto tempore quo Cnuto vixit in Normanniâ tutis fovere latebris ; de illorum in patriam restitutione Richardum Avunculum nil egisse comperimus, quin et sororem suam Emmam hosti et invasori nuptum collocavit." [*Will. Mal.*] Robert, however, he asserts, congregating a powerful armament, was determined to obtain justice for his nephews, had not heaven in its wisdom by contrary winds baffled such attempt : " Porro Robertus quem superius diximus Ierosolymam ivisse, multoties congregatis navibus et impositis militibus profectionem paravit, subinde jactans se nepotes suos coronaturum ; et procul dubio fidem dictis explêssset, nisi quod, ut à majoribus accepimus, semper in ventis adversabatur contrariis per occultum scilicet Dei judicium." [*Will. Mal.*] William of Jumièges also states, that Robert, on the return of his ambassadors from their fruitless mission to Canute,

convoked his nobles, commanded a great naval force instantly to be equipped, collected a fleet from all the ports of Normandy, anchored it in a short space of time near Féchamp, and hastily embarked his best troops: "Sed legatos infectis rebus nihil lætum portantes remisit. . . . Tunc Dux vehementissimi furoris rubore succensus, convocatis Ducatus sui Principibus, jussit magnam navium classem festinate fabricari. Quam ex omnibus Normannici maris portibus coactam, et infra exiguum temporis spatium anchoris, armis, hominibusque robustissimis diligenter instructam, stare apud Fiscannum in litore prompte fecit." [*Will. Gem.*] On the signal given, big with expectation they hoist their spreading sails; but a furious gale springing up, they are forced, with great danger, to make for the island of Jersey: "Inde quoque signo dato, et velis in sublime expansis, nimiâ tempestate acti ad insulam quæ Gersus vocatur, cum magno periculo pelagi, demum sunt devoluti." This the pious monk of Jumièges thinks to have been ordained by God, the author of all good, for Edward; who he had decreed should reign without the effusion of human blood: "Quod puto ita factum esse Deo auctore pro Edwardo Rege, quem disponebat in futuro regnare sine sanguinis effusione." Though a failure, this expedition accomplished much that it had purposed; since to free himself from the impending danger, Canute, then suffering under serious indisposition, offered, on condition of peace being ratified for his life, to resign half the kingdom

to the children of Ethelred. These terms being accepted by Robert, anxiously bent on his projected journey to Jerusalem, he dismantled his armament : “ Quibus ad liquidum perductis, en adsunt legati Roberto Duci à Chanuto Rege, directe nunciantes illum medietatem Anglici regni velle reddere filiis Ethelredi Regis pacis ratione diebus suis, eò quòd valide gravaretur in commoditate corporali. Idcirco Dux, intermissâ navali expeditione, distulit inceptum, prius cupiens ad Hierosolymam redire.” [*Will. Gem.*] The anonymous and contemporary author of the “*Encomium Emmæ reginæ*,” although he dilates on the protection afforded by Robert to the English princes, is silent on any such formidable demonstrations being made by the Duke in their favour. The “*Chroniques de Normendie*” relate it as follows : “ Si manda le Duc Robert au roy Kenut qu’il rendist à ses cousins leur héritage, et le roy Kenut respondi, qu’il n’en feroit riens. Lors le Duc Robert assembla son navire, et se mist en mer pour aler en Engleterre ; mais il n’ot guaires singlé que orage sourdy qui par force le mena en l’ille de Gerzy.” By the “*Chroniques de St. Denis*,” we are offered this account of Robert’s operations : “ Mes cil ne vot oïr ses prières et s’en retournerent li message sans riens faire. De ce fu li Dux mult corrociez et mult honteus. Tous ses Princes manda tantost, et fist appareillier grant navie de touz les porz de Normendie, les nès empli de bone chevalerie et de gent toute eslue et fist toute assembler à Fescan [à Leure] sor le rivage de la mer. Lors

s'espandirent en mer voiles tendues, et furent bouté par tempeste qui leva, jusques à une yse qui a nom Gersi En ces entrefaites, vindrent li messages Cunic qui tenoit le roiaume d'Angleterre, et mandait au Duc, qu'il estoit touz prez de rendre à ses II. neveues la moitié du royaume d'Angleterre ; car il estoit grevez de grant maladie ; et le Dux fist tantost mander la partie de sa navie que il avoit envoieé ; si ne vot pas movoir en Angleterre, si come il avoit commencié, jusques à tant que il fust retornez d'outre mer, ou il desirroît à aler, sor toutes riens pour visiter le St. Sepulchre de Jerusalem." [*Chro. St. Denis.*]

That Richard, who was obliged to call in the two Scandinavian princes Olaus and Lockman to succour him in his own dominions, and who was constantly at war with his rebellious states, should ever seriously have thought to invade so great and powerful a monarch as Canute, may much be doubted; nor even in the ostentatious accounts given by the historians I have quoted of Robert's armament against him, am I disposed to see more than a ruse the Duke might employ to cover his designs on Brittany, and take the Count Alain *ex improviso* ; for it is little probable that Robert, not less prudent than his son, should leave his own states in revolt, draw off his best troops, and wage a doubtful war in behalf of his nephews, with preparations so insignificant in comparison to William's ; who, though against a Prince newly mounted on the throne, with half his kingdom ripe for insurrection, his northern coasts

threatened by the Danes¹, his principal officers slain, his army discontented and wasted by constant battle—and, although invited by a powerful body of Norman settlers under the Confessor, the way prepared by the address of the Archbishop of Canterbury, nevertheless moved heaven and earth, to obtain a sufficient force; and, with due preparation, used every precaution human wisdom could suggest to an accomplished general².

¹ Some authors have attributed this diversion, which obliged Harold to keep his Cheshire and Staffordshire bowmen, headed by Bulclogh de Penwycke [the loss of which he so much felt in the disposition of his battle] and a great part of the élite of his forces in the north, to the warrior abilities and strategy of William.

² It is worthy of remark, that his friends in England and Normandy still urged him to desist from an attempt they deemed impracticable and hopeless, (Robert, the son of Guimau, charged with such a mission, even on his landing waited on the Duke) and in all probability the issue would have proved them correct, had Harold, as he would have done but from the false intelligence of his suborned spies, met the invading army, and attacked it on its landing before it could be formed:—

*“ Quant Willame vint el rivage
Bien defendisse li passage.”*

Or even, when that was too late, had he listened to the counsels of prudence rather than his indignation; and, as advised, not risked all on one battle, but drawn the cautious

In the sequel of the expedition of the Duke Robert, as related by Robert Wace, who also agrees in ascribing to that Duke the honour of this bold and generous undertaking, may perhaps be seen the true design of the politic and warlike Robert :—

*“ E li Dus out grant marrement,
K'il n'out respondu autrement.
Tutes li nés de Normendie,
E la boene Chevalerie,
Esturmans è boens mariniers,
E boens serjanx è boens archiers
Fist tost à Fescam asembler.*

.

*Bel ore orent al muvéir,
E bon le kuidoent avéir,
Mais or oez forte adventure :
La nuit devint neire et obscure,*

William, who waited on the coast, up the country, raised the population in masses, and assailed the enemy by every species of warfare to which an army without supplies or means of recruiting itself is exposed to in a hostile country. He might then, too, have counted on the restless spirit of the Conqueror's companions, who reluctantly engaged in the attempt, were ever anxious to return to their estates, and who would, if harassed by delays, have soon drawn off their vassals ; to prevent which, no uncommon occurrence, rather than from any doubts of their courage, or to render them desperate, it may be imagined (if true) William burnt his shipping on their debarkation.

*Li ciel nerchi, la mer trobla,
 Li tems mua, li vens turna,
 Ne porent terre avoir ne port,
 Ne sai s'il orent west u nort.
 Deus issi l'aveit provéu,
 Ainz ke pis i out puis éu,
 Kar mult i out grant ocise,
 Ainz ke la terre fust cunquise.*

*.
 Ke en l'isle de Gersui vindrent.
 Gersui est prez de Costentin,*

*.
 Une méitie de sa navie
 E de sa gent une partie
 Livra li Dus à un vassal,
 Ki asez sout è bien è mal ;
 Tavel out num, mult par fu Ber.
 Pruz fu à terre, pruz fu à mer :
 A terre fu bon chevalier
 E à mer fu bon marrinier.
 Pur ço l'ad li Dus apelé
 Préié li ad è comandé
 Ke par mer en Bretagne past
 La terre Allain, destruite è gast,
 E il dist ke par terre ira,
 E par terre guerréira.
 Tavel¹ mist à la mer ses nés
 Cil ed li ki furent remés,*

¹ " Rabel." [Will. Gem.] M. Le Prevost believes him to have been of the Tancarville family, the father or brother

*E li Dus plus ne demora ;
 Vers li munt Saint Michel sigla,
 En Bretagne s'en trespassa,
 De terres prendre se pena.
 Tute ert Bretagne en grant trepeil,
 Tant ke Alain prist un conseil
 K' à sun cosin s'acordereit ;
 Tort li out fait, dreit li fereit ;
 Manda li k' à li parlereit,
 El conseil Robert sei metereit."*

ROBERT WACÉ.

Some historians not only give to Robert the credit of this expedition, but are of opinion he meditated another on his return from Jerusalem; there is the same disagreement also as to whether Guernsey or Jersey afforded him protection.

Page 74. (52.)—*The rash confidence of his great grand-sire, William Longue-Epée.*

Arnold I. Count of Flanders, named the Old, without just cause or honourable challenge, surprised the Castle of Montreuil, and obliged the Count Herloin, little prepared for such an attack,

of Raoul de Tancarville, governor to William the Conqueror.

to retreat from that citadel. Herloin, indignant at this dishonourable breach of the usages of war, an afflicted at the loss of his fine and powerful fortress, flew to Hugo the Great, his suzerain, for assistance ; but the cautious Hugo received him coldly, informed him he could not take up arms against his friend, yet wished him better success elsewhere. The Count Herloin then carried his complaint to Louis Outremer of France, whom he had so often aided. The king pointed out that it was a delicate matter for him to intermeddle with Arnold, who was powerful and his vassal ; but that it would give him no pain to hear that Herloin had found some other friend to espouse his cause. Herloin, then repairing to William of the Long-sword, his brother-in-law by marriage with Alix de Vermandois, threw himself on his knees and implored his succour. The brave and generous Duke of Normandy, ever the friend of the oppressed, summoned his Normans and his Bretons, and led them without delay before Montreuil. Every one who has seen Montreuil, knows its advantageous position, and that " no place stands better on the map of the world " for defence.

Arnold had seized every capability that nature offers ; and art supplied where nature failed to render it impregnable. The Flemings defended with the utmost courage a place which merited and seconded so well their efforts. The Duke assailed it on his side with the utmost fury ; and when it withstood these fierce assaults, he called to the Cotentinois,

“ Hark ye, my lads! you are named the bravest of my brave; and, to do you justice, they are right stout men who stand where you have turned your backs! Carry me yon entrenchment! and the sooner you do it, the sooner we will go to dinner!” What human ingenuity has built, human valour will overcome. Despite the courage of the besieged and the strength of the fortifications, they fall before the men of Cotentin, and William quickly forces a surrender. His quarters taken on the highest part of the citadel, as he sat at table, and Herloin full of joy served him, the Duke turned round, and gaily said: “ Herloin, I give you Montreuil; guard it a little better for the future!” The Count of Flanders could not forgive the defeat, or the loss of Montreuil. He masked the hatred, however, which rankled in his breast, and sent a legation to the Duke, which with prayers invited him to grant a conference that should for ever settle all their differences. Herloin knew the deceit of Arnold, and advised William to refuse. The Duke, however, too noble to admit suspicion, too brave to listen to fear, and anxious to restore peace to Normandy, granted the request. The perfidious heart of Arnold rejoiced when his emissaries reported to him William’s favourable answer. Surrounded by his myrmidons, he occupied Corbie, on the eastern banks of the Somme; while the Duke William drew up a large body of his choicest troops, about three leagues from Amiens, near Péquigny, on the opposite plains: “ Tunc verò Dux Willelmus

perversæ dolositatis legationi credens precibusque fraudulentis, . . . suarumque legionum exercitum illuc ire coëgit. Est Arnulphus super renunciatis lætus et hilaris ; et super ripam Somenæ fluminis hic martyrizandus, . . . ille dolosus et perfidus ultrà, uterque residet.” [*Dudon St. Quentin.*] “ Cupiens quoque Dux suum Ducatum reddere pacatum, eò quòd monasticum toto conatu sitiret habitum, determinato loco apud Pinchiniacum cum innumerâ manu electissimorum super Somenæ fluvium tanti ob negotii spem proficiscitur, ubi Arnulphi ex unâ parte fluminis, Willelmi verò ex alterâ è regione, sedet exercitus.” [*Will. Gem.*]

There is a small island that rises midway on the Somme, which the divided waters, with a murmuring sound, profoundly lave. The perfidious Arnold, darkly weaving his subtile web, with courteous embassies greeting the Duke's arrival, points out the amenity of the spot, and entreats that being sorely troubled by the gout, which prevents him mounting his horse, the Duke will vouchsafe that thither, each attended by a staff of twelve, their interview should have place:—

“ *Dex ! porkei vint li Dus entre sis anemis ?* ”

The Duke consents. Arnold, to appearance lame, supported by two attendants, hastens to meet William on landing ; he embraces him, and then, with deceitful words and humble propositions, makes this

address : " I come, great Duke, to conjure that thou wilt be reconciled to me ; for in good truth I need thy friendship. Behold, from my infirmity I am unable to rule, and on all sides rebellious subjects rise up against me ! Thou hast to the king, by thy wisdom saved France. Be also over me and mine, lord marquess ! Be thou our defender and advocate against Louis and Prince Herbert, and the powerful Duke Hugo, and I will be tributary to thee, and my people shall serve thee ; and when, my lord, it shall please heaven to take me hence, my fair estates I here bequeath to thee ! In what Herloin thy Count has offended me, I freely forgive, and henceforth bear to him peace, good-will, and love." The magnanimous and pious William, above all guile himself, imagined it not in others. He believed in the integrity of Arnold, and with the utmost frankness reconciled him and Herloin. The day was passed in friendly intercourse and amicable protestations, and the treaty, as arranged between the Duke and the Count Arnold, before the witnesses, was solemnly ratified, signed, and sworn : —

*" Hé Dex ! com male paiz ço out corte durée !
Ne dura mie un jor, ne une hore achevée."*

WACE.

The kiss of peace exchanged, William embarked alone in a light, swift wherry, with a single rower ;

the twelve barons of his suite preceding him. When at some distance from the Isle, Boza-le-Court, son of the Count of Cambresis, Riault, formerly Count of Cotentin, Henry, and Robert, run to the beach and hail the Duke: "My Lord, my Lord Duke William, our master the Count Arnold prays thee to please return. 'The gout prevents him coming hither; but, without detaining thee long, matters of the greatest import, forgotten by him, he would consult thee on :"

" Alas ! kel felonie ! Dex ! porkei retorna !"

William, giving heed to their request, turns the boat, and quickly comes to shore. When the four sons of Belial, burning with the fury of ferocious rage, draw forth poignards concealed beneath their leathern jackets, and strike with hellish hatred the unarmed, innocent William. Berenger, Alain, his whole army behold the murderous deed ! see the most virtuous and valiant leader slain before them !

" Hé Dex, kel duil font !"

Their unavailing cries and lamentations rend the air ; furious and desperate they run along the shore ; but the deep rolling water opposes its barrier to their vengeance ; nor boats, nor bridge, nor ford give means of succour or revenge. The vile assassins and their

viler lord quickly cross the flood, gain the army, and commence retreat. With lamentation the corpse of the pious Duke is prepared for funeral rites; from his neck is found suspended a small silver key; the coffer opened, it contains for all his royal wealth, a monk's frock and cowl; for he did intend, if heaven had granted that alive from this conference he should return, tranquillity secured to Normandy, his son in peace invested with the ducal honours, to have reposed himself from the cares of state, eased his limbs harassed from early youth by the continued weight of arms, amid the peaceful shades of that earthly paradise, Jumièges; and in the convent which he there so richly constructed and endowed, to have dedicated his remaining years to acts of devotion, charity, and wisdom.

Amidst the mournful procession of troops, the bier of the virtuous Duke is borne to Rouen; the afflicted priesthood and weeping people of both sexes line the road to the city gate; and, with heart-rending sobs, repose it in the Cathedral of Holy Mary; while messengers are dispatched with the melancholy intelligence to Bayeux, to bring the youthful Richard to pay the last honours to his deceased sire: "*Est namque ibi insula parvula exæstantis Someniæ gurgite hinc inde et altrinsecus circumdata, quam petit navigio Arnulphus cum quatuor perfidis, simulans se cum Willelmo Duce sanctissimo concordari, misitque ad Ducem Willelmum in dolo verbis pacificis, ut veniret illuc, cum duodecim militibus suis. Trans-*

gredienti nave Willelmo cum duodecim suis, venit Arnulfus obvius claudicans, et subnixus duobus suis, coepitque illi dicere simulando et decipere cum propositionibus humillimis: 'Ad te venio supplex, ut meos tuosque concilies, sisque mihi adjutor adversus meos infideles, quia infirmitate subactus, nequeo dominari, et opprimere hujus terræ rebelles. Totius enim Galliæ monarchiæ salubri concilio dominaris, ideoque super me meosque Dux et Marchio desidero ut habearis. Esto mihi defensor et advocatus contra Ludovicum Regem Herebertumque Principem, atque Hugonem præpotentissimum Ducem. Et quamdiu superstes fuero, ero tibi tributarius, meique servient tibi, ut Domino servi; et post meum è vita excessum possidebis meæ ditionis regnum. Herluino tuo comiti quæ contra me offendit voluntate dimittam, eique pacificus et benevolus omni tempore existam.' Dux verò Willelmus, putans quod corde benevolo et perfecto, fideque integrâ, non perfidio loqueretur, pacificavit Herluinum cum Arnulfo perfido et suis omnibus; pactâque pace ab utroque Principe, Willelmo scilicet fide, atque ab Arnulfo perfido corde, tùm à cæteris Principibus, Willelmus cum duodecim regreditur, dato osculo Arnulfo, intratque cum remige classem solus, duodecim Comitibus alterâ antecedentibus. Tunc Ericus Balzoque, et Robertus, atque Ridulphus, perfidi cœperunt, subdolâ reciproquâque voce dicentes, Willelmo Duci dolosè fari, 'Domine! Domine! meliori consilio utere, torque parumper precamur navim, quia volumus te

paucis : noster senior nequit te amplius aggredi, quia podagræ infirmitate scis eum detineri, sed mandat mirabile, cujus oblitus est, tibi.' Tunc Willelmus fide integerrimus, perfidorum precatibus dolosis compulsus, torquet navem celerius, venitque ad ripam fluminis, armorum securus sine suis, cum eis locuturus : at illi, sub pellium tegmine jam absconsis quatuor mucronibus celeriter extractis, rabie immanissimi furoris accensi, diabolicoque spiritu exagitati, percutiunt et occidunt, heu dolor ! innocentem Willelmum, videntibus cunctis. Hincque cum Domino omnium nequissimo, celeri classe transvecti, suoque exercitu annexi, præpite equitatu potiuntur, Northmanni verò et Britones morte Willelmi sui senioris nimium lugubres, ulcisci præoptantes nusquam reppererunt vada, hac et illac celeriter discurrentes. Sic pretiosus Marchio Willelmus, testis Christo gloriosissimus fide martyris consecratur." [*Dudon St. Quentin.*] "Erat quippe insula in medio alvei, in qua libatis osculis ambo Duces consulerunt de rebus pro quibus venerunt tractaturi, Arnulpho etenim proditoris Judæ morem imitato, næniis et ambagibus diutius telam arachnæ texante novissimè, post jurata amicitiarum sacramenta et plurima pacis oscula, sole ruente ad occasum ab invicem dirimuntur. Sed ecce, meante Willelmo fluvium, Henricus, necnon Balzo, Robertus quoque, atque Ridulphus, quatuor diaboli filii, clamoribus illum revocantes, referunt dominum suum, melioris consilii omisisse secretum. Quem navem ad ripam retorquentem,

mox ut terram tetigit, extractis gladiis, proh dolor ! interimunt innocentem, nullum juvamen de suis habere valentem, ob decurrentis aquæ profunditatem ; inde protinus petentes subsidium, fuga corpus piissimi viri reliquerunt exanime. Berengerius, atque Alannus, Bretones, necnon Normanorum Principes, Dominum suum cernentes perimi, clamore et ululatu litora implentes, nullo juvamine valuerunt illi subvenire. Cujus corpus post paululum ad se relatum cùm devestirent argenteam clavem ex ejus strophio dependentem satis ditissimum thesaurum sub se habentem, stamineam scilicet, et cucullum monachilem. Quæ, si Comes cum vita fuisset ab hoc conventu rediens, apud Gemmeticum, factus monachus procul dubio sumpsisset. Imponentes autem illum feretro, quantocius cum multiplici luctu retulerunt Rotomagum. Cui obviàm procedens clerus et populus utriusque sexus ad portam urbis, cum mœstis singultibus intulerunt eum in Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ perpetuæ virginis. Mittentes itaque ad Baio-cannum urbem, puerum Richardum adducunt ad patris tumulationem." [*Will. Gem.*]

To complete this tragic tale, it must be told that Arnold vainly endeavoured to exculpate himself to Louis from the stain of this assassination, and narrowly escaped being delivered by Otho, Emperor of Germany, to the Duke Richard ; nor did he reap other advantage from the murder of William, than being harassed by continual wars, until his death in

965, which more or less directly may be traced to have origin in this savage revenge. Herloin, Count of Montreuil¹ and Ponthieu, made the basest return to the young Richard for the services and friendship of his father; he aided Louis Outremer in his attempts to despoil the infant Duke of his estates. At an interview between the French and Norman leaders, an honest trooper of Coutance, seeing the Count Herlouin in arms for France, rebuked him for this black ingratitude; and a Danish soldier, who stood by and heard the merited reproach, in a fit of indignation, with a blow from his battle-axe, laid the Count dead at his feet.

Dudon and William of Jumièges date William's assassination the one on the 20th, and the other on the 18th of December, 943; his epitaph [the second] at Rouen says, "Proditorie occisus DCCCCXXXIV." M. Le Prevost mentions an epitaph that states his death to have been 18th December, 942; but that Frodoard appears to decide in favour of the Norman historians.

¹ Frodoard gives a different account from the Norman historians, and tells us Louis appointed Herlouin governor of Rouen, who immediately made war on the Count of Flanders, killed the assassin of William in battle, and had his hands cut off and sent to Rouen in expiation of his crime; and that it was not till the end of 944, that this reconciliation and joint attack on Richard took place.

Page 74. (53.)—*Nor the rights of hospitality.*

Among other barbarities related of this epoch, is that of William II. Count of Alençon, who inviting his intimate friend William Geroie, to whom he was under the greatest obligations, to his nuptials, had him seized on his arrival, and mutilated in the most horrible and disgusting manner. Left in this dreadful condition, he must have perished but for Raoul Male-Couronne his brother, who had learnt the healing art at Salerno. The same monster strangled his wife, represented to be of extreme beauty and virtue, in the open street before the people.

Page 75. (54.)—*Osborne Herfaste, the grand seneschal.*

Osbern, son of Herfaste, was brother to the Duchess Gonnor, second cousin to the Duke; and again connected, by his marriage, with the daughter of Ralph D'Ivey, son of Sprote de Vermanmois, and Asperling of Vaudreuil. To Herfaste, the father, the Duke Richard I. on his death-bed confided the care of his children; and Osberne his son, the grand seneschal of Normandy, enjoyed no less the favour of the Duke Robert. He was one of the few barons who remained faithful to their oaths to him, to receive as liege lord the infant William. This fidelity cost him his life; he fell a sacrifice, as all the early friends of the Conqueror did, to

the profligate ambition of his kinsmen, and was assassinated by William Montgomeri as he slept in the very bed-chamber of the Duke at Vaudereuil : " Osbernus quoque procurator principalis domûs, Herfasti Gunnoris fratris filius, quâdam nocte dum in cubiculo Ducis cum ipso in Valle-Rodoile securus sopiatur, repente in stratu suo à Willelmo Rogerii de Mont-Gomeri filio jugulatur," [*Will. Gem.*] William on his death-bed, ceased not to bewail his loss : " Osbernum Herfasti filium Normanniæ Dapiferum, Comitemque Gislebertum patrem patriæ, cum multis aliis reipublicæ necessariis, fraudulentè interfecerunt." William Fitz-Osberne, grand seneschal, on the decease of his father, enjoyed all his confidence ; and by his valour and fidelity eminently assisted the Duke in all his early wars. It was Fitz-Osberne who bore the Duke's challenge to Geoffry Martel before Domfront, and who first presumed to arouse William from the perplexity into which the death of Edward the Confessor had thrown him, counselled him to decide, with the remark that there must be no half measures :—

*" U comencier et à chief traire,
U tut laissier sanz noise faire."*

Among the first at the council at Lillebonne was the lord seneschal Fitz-Osberne de Breteuil, Pacey, Ivrey, &c.

" Guillaume out non, plain fu d'orguil."

Again, at the meeting of the barons, he used every argument that love and duty to their suzerain, respect for their own honour and reputation, and desire of riches could adduce to persuade them to consent, and lend such aid to the Duke as might enable him to claim his right. The barons were, however, unmoved; and the seneschal was commissioned by them to bear to William their respectful refusal to serve beyond seas. The determined Fitz-Osborne, however, instead of a refusal, assured the Duke of their love to him and willingness to embark:—

*“ . . . Sire, Sire, tornez vos ça
Soz ciel, dist il, tel gent ne a
Ke Sire deie tant amer,
Ne ke tant face à énorer
Come la gent ke vos avez ;
Amer è garder la devez ;”*

made in their name the most brilliant offers of assistance, and reported that each proffered to bring into the field double the number of knights to what his fief was charged at. The barons were outrageous when they heard how Fitz-Osborne had changed the purport of the embassy with which they had charged him. The Duke, however, sending for each separately assured him of the greatest rewards, and that the aid thus given should never be made a precedent. Fitz-Osborne set the example by bringing to the station sixty ships fully manned and equipped. While

William on the field of battle addressed the barons, Fitz-Osborne, who commanded the light-armed infantry, archers, and slingers, observed the enemy in motion, and hastened on a powerful horse, which Wace describes, "*Tot covert de fer*," to give the Duke notice. For his achievements on that day, he received the County of Hereford and the Isle of Wight. On the Duke's return to Normandy, he left William Fitz-Osborne joint-viceroy with Bishop Odo of the newly-conquered land; and in speaking of that Bishop allusion has been made to the different opinions passed by historians on their government. The highest praise of which it is susceptible is that it was as merciful and just as distrust and suspicion would permit rapacious tyrants towards a wronged and exasperated people. Fitz-Osborne did not long enjoy his honours in England; being ordered by the Conqueror to assist the Queen Matilda in the government of Normandy, he entered into an alliance with the King of France; and, marching with that monarch to assist the Count Arnold of Flanders, nephew to Matilda, he perished in the expedition in February 1071. His remains were buried in the Abbey of Cormeilles, which, as well as that of Lyre, he had founded. His eldest son William inherited Breteuil, and his Norman possessions, which in default of issue by his wife, daughter of Hugh de Monteforte, went to his natural son Eustace [Vide latter part of Note on Arlette, relating to Adele sister of the Conqueror] a formidable opponent to the pre-

tensions of Henry I. Roger, his second son, inherited the Earldom of Hereford, and the great English estates. Roger's successful rebellion, in 1073, against the Conqueror, its cause, and his captivity, have been mentioned in the note on Odo.

Page 75. (55.)—*The constable Gislebert Crispin.*

Eudes, Count of Chartres, having obtained in marriage from the Duke Richard II. his lovely sister Maud :—

*“ Richart out une altre sorur,
Ki n'aveit pas encor seignur :
Maheut out nun, gente pucele,
En nule terre n'out plus bele ;”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

received with her the seignories of Dreux and other considerable domains. Maud, however, dying without issue, Richard repented having alienated this portion of his estates from his posterity, and having seized Eudes, no longer connected with him, with such powerful castles and fertile lands. The Duke therefore sent ambassadors to Eudes, to treat of the restitution of his sister's dower. The Count of Chartres would listen to no such proposition, and dismissed the plenipotentiaries very cavalierly :

*“ Odes n'en volt pur li rien fere,
Orguil respundi è cuntrere :*

K 2

*Drewes, ço dist, tiendra è tient
Sis manaces ne lui ne crient."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

All hope of accommodation by peaceful means having failed, Richard felt justified in recurring to arms. He summoned his barons, and drew out his forces over against Dreux, on the opposite banks of the Avre; to command the passage of which river he erected in proof the Castle of Tillières :—

*" K'il i a fet un fort chastel,
Ne creint mangunel ne perrieres ;
Metre li fist cest nun Tuillieres."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

And of such consequence did he hold the position, that he confided its defence to Néel-de-Saint-Sauveur, to Ralph, and his son Roger de Toesny and De Couches. The Count of Chartres, who beheld a high road thus secured, and the invasion of his dominions threatened, allying himself to Valeran de Meulan, and Hugh, Count of Maine, with a considerable reinforcement of French troops, concentrated his operations against the fortress. The valour of the constables disdaining the security of their entrenchments, they drew out their forces on the plain :—

*" Hunte sereit è kuardie,
De tant noble chevalerie,*

.
Se cum en fraude erent enclos."

ROMAN DE ROU.

Néel commanded the centre, which defended the main road to the castle; Ralph, the right wing; Roger, the left, covered by high enclosures. The enemy formed also three divisions: the troops of Chartres and Blois were led by the Count Eudes; those of France and Maine by Hugh; those of Meulan by Valeran. Without noticing the wings of the Norman array, the whole effort of their attack was directed to break the centre line; nor was a bow drawn, nor missile exchanged, the impetuosity of the troops being restrained, till arrived at about a stone's throw from the steady columns of the Normans; then covering themselves well with their shields, and couching their lances, the order to charge being given, they rushed at utmost speed on the lines of Néel, which received the fury of the onset compact and unshaken. The left wing beholding Néel thus pressed, burned with impatience to succour their companions, and as Roger gave the word, like hounds from the leash, charged the French and Mainois flank and rear with such impetuosity, that man and horse were overthrown, and more rode over and trodden down than dispatched by sword or battle-axe. The enemy having failed to pierce Néel's column, and surprised by the double attack, bravely attempt to rally and form; but the division of Ralph

de Toesny, fresh, and in high spirits, fiercely falling on them, the enemy was completely routed, and each trusted for his safety more to the swiftness of his horse than the strength of his arm. The Count of Chartres and the Lord Valeran were so closely pursued that their rear guard, the élite of the troops, was cut to pieces as they entered the city of Dreux. The Count of Maine valiantly fighting, seeing this total overthrow and himself deserted, turned at length his noble courser's head, and followed by a poor remnant of his troops, fled the field, hotly pursued by the Normans. His generous steed soon outstripped the speed of his companions and pursuers, when straining up a hill with heaving flanks and gasping nostrils, utterly exhausted, his heart burst; and having rendered this last service to his master, the brave animal expired! The Count leaped on his feet, in haste divested himself of his richly embossed armour, which he concealed beneath the turf, and entering a low mud hut, persuaded a miserable peasant to exchange his garb of rags for his princely gear. The exchange was hardly made, and he, shepherd's staff in hand, on the way, than the Norman troopers, their gored horses reeking with sweat, eagerly demanded "Which way a knight had fled?" The wondering shepherd, pointing with hand and staff, exclaimed, "Yonder! yonder! I saw him fly! spur hard, and you will come up with him anon!" As the Count lingered near some sheep, uncertain which way to take, the disappointed troopers, cursing their luck

and loss of ransom, on their return again passed him. Then, trusting to night-fall and his boor's disguise, with shoeless feet he accomplished his escape.

The castle of Tillières, whose erection cost this valiant blood, and whose possession gave the command of the banks of the Avre, and an entrance into France and Chartres, became of double consequence to Robert, as he extended his dominion on the territory of his powerful neighbour. He gave the command to the noble Gilbert Crispin, Lord of Bec-Crispin, who by his valour and fidelity proved how well he merited such trust. Henry of France, in the transport of youthful gratitude, had ceded much territory, as we have seen, to the Duke Robert; but as years rolled on cupidity increased. The recollection of the important service that Duke had rendered him faded on his recollection; and the sentiment of gratitude chilled on his colder heart. He was the first to see in the feebleness of his infant son a means of repossessing himself of those estates; and his ward became an object of indifference, or rather enmity to him, when his interest was to be advanced by the boy's downfall. Supported by the whole power of regal authority, [*"Henricus regali potentiâ fretus,"* *Ord. Vit.*] Henry advanced a powerful army on Dreux; and demanded, as the young William would hold dear his affection or dread his animosity, that he should instantly render up Tillières; for until that fortress should be rased to its foundations, nor peace nor treaty for a day would he allow; but pro-

mised on condition of its destruction, a guarantee for four years' peace ; during which period, on neither side should attempt be made to re-erect the château. The disaffected barons, who saw the advancement of their own ambitious projects in weakening the power of the Duke, joined their treacherous counsel to the king's threats to persuade William to dismantle the fortress. When the constable Crispin heard of the perfidious treaty, indignation seized him ; he increased the garrison of the castle and its preparations for defence, and conjured William not to listen to the traitors who beset him ; pointed out to him, in what estimation the Duke Robert, his father, held the place ; that to him he had sworn never but with life to render up this fortress ; by which oath bound, to the last he would defend it, nor deliver it to any other than his prince in person. Henry enraged, assaults Tillières ; but, though joined by the Norman barons, their united efforts could not overcome the brave resistance of the besieged, or the virtuous obstinacy of the faithful Gilbert Crispin. As he had promised, he surrendered his command when summoned in person by the youthful Duke ; who, however moved by the representations of his valiant constable, felt his word passed, and his honour pledged, and delivered it to Henry. Instantly, laughing with delight, Henry, before their eyes, enveloped it in flames, crumbled to dust its impregnable donjon, and rased its foundations : " *Quod sub oculis omnium cum maximo dolore cordis confestim igne*

concremari perspexit." [*Will. Gem.*] Then joyfully with his court he returned to Paris, to brood over fresh insults to his charge, the first of which, despite the treaty and all kingly faith, was to rebuild and garrison Tillières. Days were, however, as years in giving increase of valour and wisdom to young William. Though often after, with great pomp and terrible threats, Henry attacked William, never again in gladness or without shameful defeat, did he return to his capital: "Cum grandi pompâ minisque terribilibus plerumque fines meos intravit; sed nunquam lætus, nec sine dedecore ad sua repedavit." [*Ord. Vit.*] On the re-occupation of the castle of Tillières, ceded by Henry ["Amicitiam quoque Ducis consideratâ ejus probitate requisivit, et Tegulense castrum quod dudum abstulerat, illi tradidit," *Will. Gem.*] to William after the battle of Veraville, the Duke, who never forgot the fidelity of the father, rewarded his second son, named also Gilbert, by making him constable of that fortress. Gilbert followed the Duke to the Conquest, and rendered on the battle-field those services to be expected from his valiant race.

William, the eldest son, Lord of Bec-Crispin, which gives the name to two communes, Nôtre Dame and St. Martin-du-Bec-Crispin, near Montivilliers, also of great estate in the Vexin, commanded with Robert, Count of Eu, one of the divisions of William's army in the sanguinary battle of Mortimer, which at once arrested the pretensions of Henry. To the

achievement of the Conquest he led a powerful aid, and was proportionally rewarded, since his second son, Milon, in 1086, at the completion of the Domesday-book, possessed eighty-eight manors, and was Lord of Wallingford in Buckinghamshire. He died without posterity. William, the elder brother of Milon, possessor of the Norman estates, with the fidelity which graces this family, was faithful to Robert Courteuse, and warmly espoused his son William's cause against Henry I. Twice beneath William Crispin's arm, at the battle of Bremulle, that monarch fell : the importance of this single combat arrested both armies ; till either severely wounded and drenched in gore, fortune at length sided with the king, and the noble Crispin became his prisoner. About the middle of the thirteenth century, William Crispin, fifth of that name, Marshal of France, and who attended St. Louis to the African crusade, became possessed of the great estates of the family of Mortimer and the barony of Varanquebec, to which estate was attached the hereditary title of Constable, by marriage with the young heiress, Jeanne de Mortimer of Normandy. Their son William died in 1330, leaving no male issue ; the eldest daughter married William de Melun, Count of Tancarville, and carried to that family Varanquebec and other seignories.

Page 75. (56.)—*Ralph de Warrenne.*

Ralph de Varrenne, Guarenne, or Warrenne, a

remote connexion of Duke Robert by marriage with his second cousin, a niece of the Duchess Gonnor, took his name from the fief of Varenne, situated in the commune of St. Aubin-le-Cauf, Dieppe. He is mentioned among the great benefactors to the Abbey of St. Trinity-du-Monte. William de Warrenne, his eldest son, laid a powerful levy in aid of the Conqueror¹; and among the noble band of the Conqueror's companions, was remarkable for his majestic and martial port :—

“ Mult li sist bien el chief li helme.”

ROMAN DE ROU.

He received from his grateful suzerain, two hundred and ninety-eight manors principally in Surrey, Sussex, and Suffolk. In 1073, William de Warrenne

¹ With the utmost deference to the opinion of the profound and accurate M. de Gerville, I cannot but look for the cradle of the Pierreponts, the origin of the Earls of Manvers, who have given their name to Pierrepont in Sussex, and Holme Pierrepont, Nottinghamshire, and are named in the list cited by Hollinshed, of the Conqueror's companions, to be rather Pierrepont, in the arrondissement of Neuchatel, than Pierrepont in that of Coutance; since, as they held their lands in Sussex and Suffolk, soon after the Conquest, immediately of William de Warrenne, it is most probable his vassals or followers had their rise and birth-place in the former, not in the latter.

was named Chief Justice of England with Richard de Bienfaite. In 1089, Rufus created him Earl of Surrey. He founded the Abbey of Lewes, wherein his remains were interred.

William de Warrenne married Guinfred, sister of Gervaye, [*“Guillelmo de Guarenna qui Gundridam sororem Gherbodi conjugem habebat,” Ord. Vit.*] and by these nuptials had William, who enjoyed much consideration at the court of Rufus, of which prince he was a great favourite. Henry, during his stay at his brother William Rufus’s court in England, devoted much of his time to the chase, in the craft of which he was deeply versed. He also possessed many dogs, though no land to hunt on withal. This afforded a topic for the wit of William de Warrenne, who often amused Rufus by exercising it on Henry, rallying him, now on his success, now on his disappointments in the chase; often with mock gravity when they perceived the print of deer’s feet, asking the prince “how many horns the buck was of?” and other such impertinencies; he even permitted himself to go so far as to nickname Henry, “Deersfoot,” which from his political position, bore an additional sting. It was a dangerous amusement; and De Warrenne purchased dearly a laugh of Rufus, by the smothered anger and resentment of Henry, whose first act on coming into power was to confiscate the possessions of that lord, and oblige him to seek security in Normandy with Courteheuse. There, breathing nothing but revenge against Henry,

he instigated Robert to make his weak and ill-fated descent on England. He powerfully aided Robert and Walter de l'Aunay in opposing Henry in Normandy, but was finally reconciled to him-

Roger, the second son, Lord of Mortimer-sur-Eaulne, on the following memorable occasion fell into disgrace with the Duke William, and suffered for a time all the terrible effects of that severe monarch's displeasure. Henry of France, burning with resentment for the defeat he suffered before Arques, determined to invade Normandy with his utmost force. He assembled the troops of Rheims, Soissons, Laon, Noyons, Melun, Vermandais, Ponthieu, Amiens, Flandres, and Beaumont; those also of Bric and Provins, and all the Gallic Belgians he could command between the Rhine and Seine, ["inter flumen Rhenum et Sequanam collecti quæ Gallia Belgica nuncupatur," *Guill. Pict.*] at Beauvais, and giving the command to his brother Odo, Guy of Ponthieu, Rainald of Clermont, and Ralph of Montdidier, ordered these chiefs to lay waste the whole of Normandy, between the lower banks of the Seine and the sea. While at Mantes, summoning his vassals of Touraine, Blois, Orleans, Gatinais, Perche, Chartres, Bourges, Berry, Estampes, Monthéry, Gray, Chateaudun, Seules, Châtillon, the Celtic Gauls, who move obedient to him between the Garonne and the Seine: "ut quantus miles inter Sequanam et Garumnam fluvios colligeretur, quas gentes multas uno nomine Celtigallos appellant," [*Guill. Pict.*] He pro-

ceeded in person to invade the country of Evreux, subjugate the Roumois, and lands of Lisieux, march to the sea, and returning carry chains and fetters through the country of Auge. The Duke William, not intimidated by the greatness of these menaces, and preparations equal to carry them into effect, performed the duties of a valiant and wise Prince. He ordered the cattle, under convoys of armed peasants, from all sides to be driven into the interior. The churls were instructed by every method to harass the enemy's foragers and commissariat. His forces he divided into two divisions; one under command of Robert¹, his cousin, Count of Eu, as great in valour as in birth, [*"ut natalibus ita virtute magnâ,"* *Guill. Pict.*] old Hugh de Gourney, Walter Giffard, William Crispin, and Roger de Mortimer, was, with the utmost celerity and secrecy, concealing its numbers and movements in the immense forests of the Caux, to attack the French division of Odo and

¹ In giving the command of this division to Robert "brother of the Duke," M. De Bois, in his agreeable History of Normandy, through an inadvertency appears to confound Robert, Count of Eu, grandson of Richard I., with Robert of Mortain, son of Harlette; by making also this the last attempt of Henry on Normandy, and omitting the "*Rursum pace solutâ*" of William of Poitiers, he robs the Duke William of the laurels of Varaville; in consequence of which, and not as he states, of the battle of Mortimer, the castle of Tillières was surrendered to the Duke by Henry.

Rainold; the other, consisting of the troops of Cotentin, Mortain, Vère, Avranches, led by Raoul Tesson of Cinglais, the Counts of Auge and of Wismes, [Exmès] and commanded by the Duke himself, proceeded to arrest the progress of the king, who was advancing on Evreux. The second division of the French had been not less active; deceived by the precaution of their opponents, misled by the information they obtained from the inhabitants, which was that the Duke William, alarmed by the formidable approaches of the king, had with the whole of his force crossed the Seine, and which report the information of their spies appeared to authenticate, they already counted on an easy and glorious campaign. Neuchâtel at a short distance was before them; Rouen itself lay at their feet: to fall on the rear of William and hem him in between both armies would be but the work of a day. They enter Mortimer, flushed with success and hope; already they taste of the fat pasturage of the banks of the Seine, and they give themselves up to those excesses to which previous privation and emancipation from danger communicated a new zest. As a mere formality the careless videttes lazily patrol; some riotous comrade roaring from a carousal, or brawling with a wench, alone interrupts the tedium of their rounds. Is it coming Aurora that thus early tinges with its ruddy beams the vaults of heaven? But more like yawning hell, ten thousand fires burst through the flaming town; and, midst the flaring

beams and falling battlements, the terrified and unarmed French feel the stern grasp and keen brand of the avenging Norman. Some, rather facing the angry flames than their fiercer foe, spring into the fire; others, wildly throw themselves on their unbridled steeds, and rush on certain death: every pass and issue of the town is strongly guarded by the Normans, athirst for their foes' blood. Amidst this surprise and panic, a determined body of men, ignorant how to yield except in death, ["*usque ad mortem cedere nescii*," *Guill. Pict.*] coolly form and offer to the Normans a dear-bought victory. They, lured by the love of plunder, ["*hinc sæviunt Galli pro cupidine acquirendi*," *Ord. Vit.*] fight now desperately, lest they lose life itself. Yet, although each thrust bears on its point a Norman soul, their ranks are hewn down. The few who still resist offer but slight opposition to the universal carnage. From day-light until noon does the butchery continue; and the paths, and lanes, and fields, are choked up with the burnt, the wounded, the supplicating, the groaning, expiring, and the dead. Guy of Ponthieu was made prisoner; his valiant brother slain; the Prince Eudes, and Rainald de Claramonte, too happy, amidst the confusion saved by the fleetness of their horses, to escape with life. The gallant Ralph de Montdidier, like a noble stag at bay, entrenched by slain, with unsubdued valour still offers a desperate resistance, but hosts oppose him; he falls. Already had the greedy hand of the trooper seized the lordly

prize; when Roger de Mortimer, flushed with victory and vengeance, leading on with example and animating shouts his vassals where show of fight exists, or urging their not slow and merciful brands to the massacre of the fugitives, [*“urgebat namque cervices eorum non minus lenis mucro,” Guill. Pict.*] rides up. Why does the blood forsake the gore-stained cheek of the ruthless victor? Careless of his own life, he trembles with apprehension for his friend; at once he throws himself from his horse, and interposes his breast between the soldiery and Montdidier. The feelings of friendship and affection have overcome the duties of a chief and the ties of loyalty. The growling soldiers reluctantly draw back, while he gives Montdidier, the friend of his youth, safe conduct to his castle of Mortimer. There for three days he secretes him, ere he can give him protection to Amiens. The Duke William loved Roger de Mortimer, and though to his valour on that day he owed so much, for this breach of discipline and duty at once he banished him, and confiscated all his estates. Roger de Mortimer, afterwards taken into favour by William, he restored to him his lands, except the castle of Mortimer, wherein he had lodged his enemy: [*“ceteros honores reddidi, castrum tamen Mortui Maris in quo inimicum meum salvavit, illi jure, ut reor, abstuli,” Ord. Vit.*] and this the Duke, not to enfeeble a family in all else faithful to him, gave to the elder brother, William de Warrenne. In consequence of the wealth which Roger de Mor-

timer and his wife Hadvise bestowed on the priory of Saint Victor-en-Caux ; at their request it was in 1074, elevated to the rank of an abbey. Ralph, eldest son of Roger and Hadvise de Mortimer, assisted at the Conquest with sixty ships, and signalized himself by dislodging the English from a height on which they were strongly posted. After the battle of Hastings, he greatly assisted in reducing the county of Hereford to subjection, and received with other grants the castle of Wigmore, in that county. His uncle also, William de Warrenne, by permission of the king, ceded to him the castle of Mortimer in Normandy. Roger followed the politic course of being one of the first lords who in 1089 attached themselves to the party of William Rufus ; and in 1104 joined Henry I. on his arrival in Normandy. He founded in England the priory of Wigmore, which he affiliated with other considerable donations in England and Normandy to the Abbey St. Victor-en-Caux. He was succeeded by his son Hugh, from whom are descended the Counts of Mortimer, Earls of March. Robert de Mortimer, who died 1277, was by his marriage with Julia, co-heiress of Jourdain de Hommet and Dame of Varenquebec, hereditary constable of Normandy. Leaving no male issue, the barony of Varenquebec and his other possessions, passed, by the marriage of his daughter Jane to William Crispin. Sybelle de Mortimer, daughter of Roger and Hadvise, married the puissant Robert Fitz-Haimon, Lord of Thorigny,

Crelly, &c. : their daughter Mabilie, one of the greatest heiresses in the kingdom, carried their estates to Robert, Duke of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I.

His descendants, Earls of Warrenne and Surrey, for a long period were among the most illustrious, as well in Normandy as in England. They possessed with other domains the castle of Ballencombe, near Dieppe.

Page 77. (57.)—*Sang the romantic episodes, &c.*

Robert Wace, in relating an anecdote of William of the Longsword, says: "I know not said they true, but in my youth I have heard the minstrels sing—

“ ‘ *A juleors oi en m’effance chanter*
Ke Willame ’ ”

Page 77. (58.)—*From costly bowls.*

“ Hi tantum ex poculis aureis bibebant, aut cornibus bubalinis metallo decoratis eodem circa extremitates utrasque.” [*Gest. Guill.*]

Page 77. (59.)—*Rustic ones were erected.*

The first bivouac of the Conqueror at Pevensey is represented on the tapestry of Bayeux, as described in this and the preceding paragraph.

Page 78. (60.)—*Coulance.*



The Cosedia and Constantia of the Romans. It was taken by the Normans, by Plantagenet, by Philippe-Auguste, by Geoffrey D'Harcourt, by the English, by the Count of Richmond, by Louis XI., by the Huguenots. In the twelfth century, the puissant Paisnells had a château there, and restored the aqueduct. Its cathedral is one of the most beautiful specimens in Europe of Gothic architecture. It lies on the right of the Soule.

Page 78. (61.)—*Holy relic of St. Lo.*

This venerated and canonized prelate was in 473 consecrated Bishop of Coutance by Saint Gildard, alias Godard. In the commencement of the ninth century his bones were borne to Rouen to protect them from the profanation of the Norman freebooters, little respecters of such things. The church of St. Sauveur, in which they were deposited soon after, took its name from the precious relics confided to it; and in 1145, Algarus, Bishop of Coutance, founded regular canons for the church of St. Lo, at Rouen. Coutance, notwithstanding the religious rapacity of this Rome¹ of Gothic architecture was ever treated

¹ Lord Byron, in "The Two Foscari," terms Venice "Rome of the Ocean;" and in a note politely disputes with Lady Morgan, who also in her "fearless work" on Italy uses the same phrase, its originality. But Sannazarus, three hundred years before, had given the idea in the following epigram. Nor is it necessary to be versed in the poets of the sixteenth century to have hit on it, since it is quoted where all who run may read, the Italian book of roads, "Itinerario Italiano":—

"Viderat Adriacis Venetum Neptunus in undis
Stare urbem, et toto ponere jura mari.

Nunc mihi Tarpeias quantumvis, Jupiter, arces
Objice, et illa tui mœnia Martis, ait.

Si pelago Tibrim præfers, urbem aspice utramque:
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos."

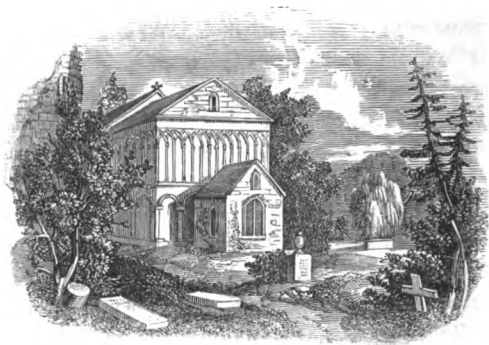
by the Church of Rouen with favour and generosity. She not only, on humble supplications, when the dread of those "apostolos crudeles et immanissimos Christianitatis persecutores," [*Concil. de Milden*, A.D. 745.] was passed, returned to that see a part of the relics of St. Lo, but also the middle finger, and a vertebra of the back of the head of St. Sever: "St. Severii Episcopi [of Avranch] et confessoris, cujus corpus in basilicâ metropolitana beatæ Mariæ Rothomagensis in capsâ venerabili conditur, et populis hâc die reverenter ostenditur." [*Molanus Martij.*]

Page 80. (62.)—*The venerable De Courcy.*

Robert, Lord of Courcy, (which is situated about a league from St. Pierre-sur-Dive, in the arrondissement of Falaise,) was son of Baudry-le-Teuton, by a niece of the famous Gislebert de Brionne, "Patrem patriæ," tutor to the Duke William, who was assassinated at the instigation of Ralph de Gacé, of the Ass's head. Richard, son of Robert de Courcy, after the battle of Hastings received from the Conqueror the barony of Stoke in the county of Somerset, and several lordships in Oxfordshire; he contributed greatly to the rebuilding of St. Trinity of Caen, after the death of the Conqueror. In 1091, Robert de Bellême having undertaken, in behalf of Robert Courteuse, to ravage the country of Houlme, and bring to order the refractory barons, laid siege to the Castle de Courcy; but Richard de Courcy and

Hugh de Grentmesnil offered so resolute a resistance, that although the Duke Robert brought at the call of Bellême all his force before the castle, and used every artifice of war, they made little impression after three weeks' incessant assault; for such was the valour of the garrison, that when a breach was effected, they not only stoutly defended, but made from it furious sallies; in one of which, William de Rupieus and William de Ferrers were made prisoners. Girard, Bishop of Sees, grieved to behold his diocese drenched in the valiant blood of his countrymen, came to the Abbey of Dive, and used every means with supplications to both parties to bring about a peace. William Rufus, however, at this juncture, landing with a powerful force, the Duke Robert and Bellême were obliged to raise the siege. Prior to this, Richard de Courcy had obtained in marriage for his son Robert, Rohais, daughter of his friend and neighbour Hugh de Grentmesnil. Robert, lord steward to the household of Henry I. and to that of his daughter Matilda in Normandy actively espoused the cause of Plantagenet. William de Courcy was lord steward to Henry II.; but the most illustrious of this family was John de Courcy, one of the principal commanders under Henry II. in Ireland, of which he was made governor, and created by him Earl of Ulster. He was champion to that monarch; and in a contest relative to Normandy, obtained for the king the victory. It was to John de Courcy that king John granted the privilege to him and his heirs of wearing

their hats in the royal presence. Lord Kingsale of Courcy and Ringrone, premier baron of Ireland, descends in direct line male from this nobleman. The family of De Courcy for many centuries was not less distinguished in Normandy than in England.



The Castle De Courcy stands on a plain to the south of the village; it is flanked by round towers still existing; the greatest extent within the walls is about 300 paces. Near the gateway lies a small sheet of water; in the thickness of one of the walls is worked a curiously decorated oratory; in that of another are several arches, which conduct to a postern gate. The village church of De Courcy is of singular beauty and of rare architecture. [See tail-piece, Vol. I.]

Page 80. (63.)—*Pommeroy.*

Ralph de Pommeroy, La Pommeraye, or Pomeroy, received from the liberal Conqueror fifty-eight manors in Devon and Somersetshire. Bury-Pomeroy became the chief residence of his heirs; who, in the reign of Henry VI. were barons of the kingdom. The Viscount Harberton claims descent from John Pomeroy, of Stokely-Pomeroy, Devonshire. Of the château de Pommeraye, no vestige now remains; its very existence would be apocryphal but for the following passage, "De honore de Mort. de baillivâ Hosâ," of the red-book of the exchequer, which proves that in the reign of Henry II. this family possessed one in the bailiwick of the Heussé, in the lordship of Mortain: "Henricus de Pomariâ tertiam partem mil. de feodo de Vado, et tenet castrum de Pomariâ . . . de Rege."

Page 80. (64.)—*His uncle the Count D'Eu.*

William, natural son of Richard I., not by the Duchess Gonnor. Richard II. gave him the county of Exmes. Of a hot and turbulent disposition, he soon appeared in arms against his brother and benefactor. But the Duke quickly defeating his partisans, made William d'Exmes prisoner, confiscated his estates, and lodged him in the tower of Rouen. After five years' captivity, he prevailed on a certain knight secretly to convey to him a rope, which,

fixing to the window, he descended by it, and gained an adjacent wood. The first transports of regained freedom over, in the most miserable condition, and trembling under the constant apprehension of being recaptured, hiding by day, and travelling during the night, he gained the French borders. Warned however, if he entered that territory, he would be delivered up to Richard, he vainly essayed to move the Counts of Bretagne, of Anjou, and of Ponthieu, to succour him; but they, from love or dread of the Duke of Normandy, equally refused him protection. Reduced to the most abject state, driven to desperation, esteeming it better to deliver himself up than that another should obtain the credit of his capture, he decided on throwing himself on Richard's generosity. Journeying with this resolution, he reached the Bois-du-Serney, forming part of the forest of Bur, about two leagues from Bayeux. The Duke Richard, then at his château at Noron, the ruins of which still exist, had devoted the morning to the relaxation of the chase; he had been fortunate, and was in the height of gaiety and good humour, when a wretched being, covered with a miserable cloak, suddenly threw himself at his feet, embraced his knees, and supplicated mercy. "Who art thou?" demanded the Duke. D'Exmes bared his squalid front, and the Duke, moved to see his brother, though his ungrateful enemy, in this state of misery, raised him up, embraced him, and, throwing round him his mantle, placed him on horseback, and led

him to his palace. He not only forgot his offences, but treated him with the utmost honour, and created him Count D'Eu. Among the beautiful virgins who adorned the Duke Richard's court, was Esseline, nor less noble, spiritual, and wealthy, than beautiful. She was sister of Amschetil, the puissant lord of Harcourt; and the Duke selected her for his brother's bride. In due time she bore to him three sons; to her piety the abbey of St. Pierre sur Dive owes its foundation. Robert, the eldest son, succeeded his father to the honour of Eu. In speaking of the battle of Mortimer, it has been mentioned that the Duke William gave him a principal command. In 1059, he founded the abbey of Treport. At Lillebonne, he was of the Duke's council, and with sixty ships aided the establishment of William's right to England: "Ob adquirendum regnum jure sibi debitum habuit à Roberto, comite Augi, LX naves;" [*Apud MS. Taylor*] nor by men and ships alone, but by deeds of great valour and personal prowess:—

"E li Quens d' Ou bien i feri."

ROMAN DE ROU.

The proof of the Conqueror's gratitude for which, is evinced by the large domains he granted him in his newly acquired kingdom. In 1069 left in command with Robert of Mortain to repress the ravages of the Danes, he repulsed them with great slaughter. On the death of the Conqueror, he attached himself

to William Rufus. Fortunate had it been, and unstricken by sorrow would have been his grey hairs, could his son William have guided his course equally void of offence to that cruel monarch. But Rufus, instigated by Hugh, Count of Chester, who hated the young William D'Eu for his infidelity to his sister, whom he had married, not only had his eyes put out, but inflicted on him other horrible deprivations: "Quem Rex luminibus privavit et amputatis testiculis eviravit. Hoc nimirum Hugone Cestrensi Comite pertulit instigante, cujus sororem habebat sed conjugalem fidem ei non servaverat, quia secus eam trinam sobolem de pellice genuerat." [*Ord. Vit.*]

Despite this barbarity to his son, the loyal old Count remained faithful to his sovereign. In 1095 he was still living.

William, the second son of William D'Eu and Esseline, inheriting the turbulent ambition that marked the younger days of his sire, joined in the plots and revolts that vainly aimed to mar the ascendant fortune of the young Duke William. His estates confiscated, obliged to fly Normandy, he sought asylum at the court of France. No offence it appeared to Henry to have meditated the downfall of his ward the valiant bastard; he created him Earl of Soissons, and from him sprung a race, who inherited all the father's valour, with greater virtue and far more loyalty.

Hugh, the third son, bore the crosier of Lisieux. He was eminent for piety, and of great authority

in the various councils held by the Archbishops Maurille and John :—

“ *Bien fu leïtrez è bien sachant.*”

ROMAN DE ROU.

Page 80. (65.)—*Alain of Bretagne.*

Richard II., previously to his marriage with Judith, had honoured her brother Geoffrey, Count of Bretagne, with the hand of his sister Hadwige, a damsel who bore the reputation of being not less *par excellence* discreet than beautiful. The espousals were celebrated with a magnificence equal to the rank of the bride. Richard himself reconducted Geoffrey and his happy bride to Coisnon, and at his departure presented them with the finest wrought clothes and richest furs, vessels of gold and silver, and a stud in which the stately war-horse, the fleet courser, and ambling palfrey were of surpassing beauty. Nor was his generosity confined to Count Geoffrey alone; to all his suite costly presents of a like nature were made, nor did the veriest varlet of the train lack largess and his boon. From this stock sprung three sons. Alain, the eldest, third count of that name, inherited of his father Brittany. Despite this double cousinship, the interests of the Duke of Normandy and the Count of Bretagne were too opposite to suffer the tie of consanguinity which bound Robert and Alain to be cemented by friendship. Alain not

less proudly and obstinately refused to do homage to the Duke Robert, than Robert rigorously and pertinaciously determined to enforce it. The valour exhibited by both Normans and Bretons during the sanguinary contests to which the pretensions of their sovereigns gave rise, has been frequently mentioned in these notes. The constant success of Robert inclined at length the Count of Bretagne to lend a willing ear to the intercessions of their mutual uncle, Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, by whose mediation a peace was ratified; this was the more easy, since no personal enmity existed; on the contrary, Robert highly esteemed the valour and talents of Alain:—

“ *Li Quens Alain fu forz è fier,
Vaillant è noble chevalier :
.
Kar nul vivant puis Karlemaigne
Ne out tenu si fermement
Bretaigne tute entièrement.*”

ROMAN DE ROU.

The punctilios of honour satisfied¹, the smiles of

¹ “ Il fut accordé” [that the barons of Bretagne should not be obliged to] “ entrer dans Rouen pour faire hommage au Duc de leurs terres et seignories . . . Ils feroient ledit hommage devant la porte du Château du Pont de Rouen, sur laquelle porte seroient affichées les armoiries de Bretagne, en signe d’obéissance.” [*Chro. de Nor.*]

Adele, Alain's graceful sister, soothed every resentment, and they cordially embraced each other. Alain from this moment became the constant companion of the Duke; and when he decided on his pilgrimage, Robert entrusted to Alain the protectorship of Normandy on behalf of his infant son, and created him grand seneschal of the duchy. Need it be added,—such certain assassination followed the guardianship of William,—that poison was administered to him; from the effects of which, while carrying on the siege of Montgomery, he died at Vimoutier, 1040, about five years after the Duke Robert's death. The Abbey of Féchamp contains his ashes. Eudon, brother to the ill-fated Alain, succeeded to the rule of Bretagne, and the son of Eudon, the valorous Alain the Red of the iron gauntlet, assisted his kinsman William at the Conquest, with a levy great in number, greater in valour:—

*“ Bien se cumbat Alainz Ferganz,
Chevalier fu proz è vaillanz;
Li Bretonz vait od sei menant,
Des Engleiz fait damage grant.”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

With Aimery de Thouars, he commanded the second division of the army, and received in reward 442 manors, with the title of the Earl of Richmond in Yorkshire; the castle of which, commanding the river Swale, he built. To Alain the Red, William

L 4

in 1085 gave the command of the Norman army in Maine, on his return to England. Alain died without children in the reign of Rufus, and was succeeded in his honours by his brother Alain the Black, who, with another brother, Bryan, shared in the glory of the battle of Hastings. By Bryan's valour the sons of Harold were repulsed at Exeter in 1068.

Page 81. (66.)—*The Boteiller D'Aubigny.*

Roger¹, the son of William D'Aubigny, holding the important office of cup-bearer to the Duke of Normandy, left to his wife, the beautiful and spirited Avitie, sister of the potent and ambitious Roger de Mowbray, the defence of the castle of Aubigny, and followed by his valiant sons William and the renowned Néel, accompanied his illustrious master, the Duke William, to the subjugation of England. The double moat, the outerworks advancing near to the church of Remilly, the mountain of ruins, the extent and solid walls of the foundation, and the situation of its circular towers present to this day evidences of the former strength of the château D'Aubigny. Amidst its numerous subterraneous passages and profound cells, the imagination is a prey to the

¹ Though the facts related are in the main the same, in point of names there are several discrepancies in the accounts given by M. de Gerville, M. A. Le Prevost, and the English genealogists of this family.

gloomiest impressions, which, on returning to the light of heaven, yield to gentler sensations under the soft influence of the far-extending prospect of the surrounding plains, bathed by the Vaulouette and the neighbourhood of Périers. The château lies about a league to the east of the latter town. Among the large grants made to D'Aubigny in Norfolk, after the victory of Hastings, was the barony of Buckenham, and to this lordship was attached the hereditary office held by the family in Normandy, of Pincerna, Buticularius, lord butler to the king. William D'Aubigny held this office at the coronation of the Conqueror at Westminster. Néel D'Aubigny rendered signal service to the Conqueror in Northumberland. To his valour Henry I. owed the victory of Tinchebray; and he received in recompense from that monarch, three hundred seigniories, chiefly confiscated by Rufus from Roger de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, his cousin. His signature is attached to a charter granted by Stephen to Oxford; at the commencement of the reign of which prince, having looked on near a century, he died. This branch took the name of Bretons to distinguish them from the Butlers, and his descendants assumed the title of Barons of Mowbray. William, son of William the elder brother, Lord of Arundel, married Adelais of Louvain, the Queen dowager, and at a council held at Northampton in 1177, was created Earl of Sussex by Henry II., for the services he had rendered his mother, the Empress Matilda. But on

the illustrious branches of this family, the chief of which are the Dukes of Norfolk and Arundel de Wardour, so much has been written, that to attempt a detail would be to write volumes. It may however be worthy of remark, that while the English branch of Aubigny offered such service to the cause of Plantagenet, the Norman branch espoused as warmly the pretensions of Stephen. They were beneficent benefactors to several monasteries, especially Lessay, and had a great predilection for the Templars, to whom they made magnificent donations. Aubigny was confiscated in 1216 by Louis VIII., from Philip D'Aubigny, who quitted his party for that of Henry III. Louis united Aubigny to the royal domains. Its market was transferred to Périers.

Page 81. (67).—*Pious Prince Edward.*

Afterwards Edward the Confessor; protected in Robert's court during the life of Canute.

Page 81. (68.).—*While Gremouville.*

The present amiable Count de Gremouville is not less celebrated in the neighbourhood of Bayeux for his miraculous cures, than his illustrious ancestor is here recorded to have been.

Page 81. (69)—*So poor in estate.*

Guiscard on his death-bed says, "Ecce nos de pauperibus et infimis parentibus processimus, et sterile rus Constantini vacuosque necessariis rebus penates reliquimus." [*Ord. Vit.*]

Page 81. (70)—*Athletic De Gourney.*

The valiant and stout-hearted Hugh, though called the *Old* at the battle of Mortimer, with the vigour of first youth led his vassals of Braie to the Conquest. He received from the Conqueror considerable grants, but he determined on achieving a greater conquest—the victory over ambition and worldly passions; to ease his aged shoulders from the weight of arms; assume the cowl; and turn his hand, inured to the brand and bloody deeds, to the service of the altar and acts of piety. He ended his days in the Abbey of Bec. To his descendants, who, by their loyalty to king John lost their estates in Normandy, that monarch gave the barony of Wherwhilton in Yorkshire, and appointed them sheriffs of the counties of Buckingham and Bedford. Girard de Gourney accompanied Robert Courteheuse to the Crusade.

Page 95. (71.)—*The gigantic and massy Poquelaye.*

Poquelaye, or rather Poque-Lée; Leach, Lech, Leh, Lee, Celtic, signifying a flat stone, a termination in

all countries adjoined to the word designating these druidical monuments. Thus in Scotland there are the Carnleh, or angular flatstones; in Ireland, the Cromleh, or flatstones placed in circles; at Ferte-Tresnel, and the forest St. Sever, La Pierre Couplée, or sacred flatstone; near Evreux, La Pierre Courcoulée, &c. &c. The Poquelaye is a Dolmen, or altar of the Druids; one of those enormous masses, the transportation of which, aided by all the help of mechanism, appears beyond the effort of human force. It is supported horizontally by smaller angular blocks, and easily admits a man to creep beneath. I regret not having taken its dimensions. In its neighbourhood are more than one Menhir, and Peulvan; stones having a vertical direction, and consecrated to other uses of the druidical worship. On the opposite coast, particularly the wild and savage neighbourhood of Cherbourg:—

*"Hic terræ steriles et vinea nulla superstes,
Silva caret foliis; desunt sua pascua pratis."*

ELEG. JONAS.

the mysteries of the druids were solemnized with the greatest veneration. Carneville, Fermanville, Martenest, Flamanville, are rich in curious remains of Celtic antiquities.

Page 100. (72.)—*Dries up the source of vegetation.*

More than once the spot on which a murder had

been committed has been pointed out to me; and I was told "the herb refused to grow, since blood had been spilt thereon, and that it was blasted with barrenness." I have looked on the plains where thousands had been murdered, and all was smiling and verdant, and I was told "the manure of human blood had fertilized it!"

Page 153. (73.)—*Over the sea-gate's portal.*

"Les têtes des trois chevaliers Tesson, Bacon, et Percy, qui furent décapités in 1344, retrouvées quatre siècles après dans le sanctuaire de l'église de l'Abbaye [de St. Lo] offrirent des curiosités d'un autre genre, et qui excitèrent alors l'attention publique, beaucoup plus que ne l'auraient pu faire tous les plus beaux détails sur l'architecture du Moyen âge. Ces trois têtes portaient une plaque de fer au dessous du menton, traversée par une broche du même métal, qui passait au travers du crâne et avait été courbée à l'extrémité, de manière à pouvoir être accrochée à des anneaux de fer sur la porte de la ville." [*M. de Gerville, Recherches sur les Abbayes.*]

Page 154. (74.)—*It was Garin.*

Son of the powerful William de Bellême, Count of Alençon. The good curé de Maneval informs us,

that Garin ¹ was strangled by devils. Robert Wace goes further, and informs us that devils thus finished their victim before the eyes of his attendants :—

*“ E deables tuit errament
L'estrangla, tut véiant sa gent.”*

Without presuming to doubt their veracity, between the *vraisemblance* of the historians and the text, the acute reader must decide. The handsome, eloquent, valiant, and talented race of Bellême, are the objects of peculiar hatred to the monkish historians. William of Jumièges, Orderic Vital, Wace, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, &c., with the utmost complacency doom them to perdition, bestow on them every epithet of ancient and modern execration ; and to relate all the horrors they are accused of, would make a pretty legend of atrocities ². It may however be recorded, in mitigation

¹ There is a slight anachronism in giving to the elder brother the distinctive appellation of the younger ; but this race is better known by its sobriquet, than by its name or title. Thus, Orderic Vital styles them, “ Talvationa propago,” “ Talvatio subversores.”

² With Robert the Magnificent and Robert Courtheuse, Robert de Bellême has borne the odium of the exploits imagined in the romance of [“ *La*

of their crimes, that to Ives de Bellême, Europe is indebted for a portion of the true cross which he brought from Jerusalem to reconcile himself with Pope Leo IX., who, in a full council at Rheims, thus angrily reprimands that Bishop for burning the Cathedral of Sees, in which thieves had sought refuge. "What hast thou done, oh perfidious and disloyal wretch? By what torture art thou to be punished, parricide! who hast dared to burn thy mother!" Ives relaid at his own expense the foundations of the Cathedral so munificently, that it took his successors forty years to finish it.

William de Bellême, who, during the reign of Richard III. had drawn on himself the anger of Robert, inflamed by fresh revolt the Duke's hatred. Vigorously besieged in Alençon, he was obliged to submit to the humiliating condition¹ of suing for

*"La vie du terrible
Robert le diable;"*

whose deeds were, however, of the seventh century, in the reign of Pepin. The moats dug about Mamers by Robert de Bellême, are called by the people, "Fossés de Robert-le-diable." There is a castle of the name near Rouen, of uncertain origin and unknown history, which was demolished by king John.

¹ Such capitulations were not very rare; Ralf de la Haie, when besieged by the Count d'Anjou in his château de la

pardon before Robert in his shirt, barefooted, and carrying a saddle on his back, offering himself in this most abject position ready to bear, serve, and obey his offended master. As William De Bellême lay sick in bed, the news was brought him that his sons had been defeated by the Duke Robert, near Blavon, ["intra saltum Blavonis," *Will. Jum.*] that his son Fouques was killed and Robert wounded; stricken by which tidings, the Count of Alençon yielded up the ghost:—

*"L'alme li est del cors sewrée ;
Ne sai s'el est bien u mal alée
Kar mal veski è mal fina
Ne paiz ne quist, ne paiz n'ama."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

Robert of Bellême dying in prison at Balon, near Mans, from a blow on the head, William, the fourth son, named Talvas from his ferocity, succeeded to the immense possessions of the family.

Orderic Vital, it may be recollected, thus speaks of the house of Bellême: "Maledicta est prosapia eorum, alit nefas, et machinatur quasi jus heredita-

Roque à Montchaton, [see note 26.] was reduced to such extremity as to be obliged to surrender, and pass through this degrading ceremony; the Count de Chalons performed it. Many other such instances could be cited.

rium. Hoc nimirum horrenda mors eorum attestatur, quorum nullus communi et usitato fine ut cæteri homines defecisse invenitur."

Page 155. (75.)—*The loyal and aspiring Amschetel D'Harcourt.*

When all the world deserted William of the Long Sword, and his mighty spirit began to despond under the ingratitude and treachery which beset him, Bernard the Dane, the great ancestor of Amschetel, or Anchetel, was true to the Duke, encouraged him to give instant battle to his enemies, and shared with him in the dangers and labour of the sanguinary contest which confirmed to William the Duchy of Normandy:—

"Bien i fêri Willame, é Bernart ensement."

When in 944, the youthful Richard I., hardly ten years of age, girded on the sword of his sire, he created Bernard the Dane grand seneschal of Normandy; nor could he have confided the custody of himself and duchy to more safe and valiant keeping. Louis Outremer, with hypocritical signs of grief for the assassination of his benefactor, William Longue-Epée, hastened to Rouen to succour and console the young Duke, and under the mask of tender care possessed himself of the boy's person. Osmond de Centyilles, Richard's tutor, penetrated the insidious

designs of the king, and hastened to inform the seneschal of the plot. Bernard le Danois, at the head of the armed citizens of Rouen, promptly made that appeal to Henry, which teaches the most powerful despot that there is a will beyond his own. Richard was instantly restored. How Henry at length succeeded in entrapping the Duke; the manner of his escape, aided by the faithful Osmond, in a truss of hay; the policy of Bernard, his defeat of Henry's projects; the re-instatement of Richard, Bernard's defeat of the French army, and capture of Henry himself, are subjects of history rather than of genealogical anecdote; it is sufficient to point out, that from this pure fountain sprang the rich branches of the Harcourts, which have embellished Normandy, France, and England. Torf, Lord of Torville, which town he built, succeeded Bernard in all his honours, and from Tourode de Pont-Audemer sprang the seigniories of Vevilles, Beaumont, Meullent, Leicester, Warwick, Neubourg, and Tunchâtel, Lord of Turqueville, the Sire of Amschetel, Lord of Harcourt, and Esseline, Countess D'Eu. I do not meet with the Lord of Harcourt, in the noble muster-roll of "Tellman Hill";¹ though Robert, Lord of Har-

¹ Wace states that the Lord of Harcourt was at the battle of Hastings. The English genealogists also make the Harcourts to have descended from their brothers Gervais, Geoffry, and Arnold, who assisted the Conqueror. M. le Prévost asserts this to be pure invention. Laroque states

court, was killed in 1068, at the battle of Dover. From Robert sprang Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, and William D'Harcourt, who, by his valour at Tinchebray, long held the victory doubtful; nor was he less signalized at the battle of Bourgtheronde, against his cousin, Valeran de Meullent. In 1124, he went over to the party of Henry I. This family, so well known by its exploits, has filled the most important offices in England, France, and Normandy; and its history is interwoven with that of all the puissant families.

Page 155. (76.)—*Walter Giffard*.

Count de Longueville, in Caux¹. In mentioning the battle of Mortimer, Walter Giffard has been

that it was Ralph, second son of Robert II. Lord of Harcourt, who, attaching himself to John, quitted France and became the root of the English Harcourts.

¹ The *Chroniques de Normandie* give to Walter Giffard the command in Caux, at the time of the Count D'Arques' revolt; of which event, and of the French aid, informing William,—the Duke, with that celerity which is peculiarly the characteristic of, and furnishes remarkable traits in the history of every great general, appeared before the château D'Arques; having made his way from Cotentin with such unrelaxing speed, that but six of his suite could keep pace with their vigorous chief: “Guillelmo è Constantino pago

named as having a command; and as ambassador to the king of Galicia, to him was entrusted the delicate negotiation of a union between that monarch and the disconsolate betrothed of Harold, the heart-broken Agatha, daughter of the Conqueror. At the great council held by the Duke William at Lillebonne, Giffard was summoned,

*“ E Gautier Giffart a mandé,
Ki done esteit de grant bonté ;*

and he aided his suzerain by a levy of a hundred soldiers and thirty ships: “ A Waltero Giffardo, XXX. cum C. militibus.” [*MS. List Taylor.*] On so important an occasion as the battle of Hastings, every thing becomes interesting; nor must it be forgotten, that the first charger mounted by the Conqueror was the magnificent horse brought by Giffard from St. James in Galicia, a present from the King to the Duke. Imposing was the spectacle when the colossal Conqueror bestrode that proud and fiery steed. The Viscount Thouars burst forth in exclamations of rapture as he beheld them, which Wace thus records :—

ubi certiozem nuntium accepit, properabat cum tantâ celeritate, ut equi comitantium, præter sex, omnes priusquam perventum sit Arcas lassitudine defecerint.” [*Guill. Pict.*]

*“ Sun boen cheval fist demander,
 Ne poeit l'en meillor trover ;
 D'Espaingne li out enveié
 Un Reis par mult grant amistié*

*.
 Tendi sa main, li regnes prist,
 Pié en estrieu, de suz s'asist ;
 Li cheval poinst è porsailli,
 Torna è point è s'esverti.
 Li Visquens de Toarz guarda
 Coment li Dus armes porta ;
 A sa gent a entor sei dit :
 Hom mez si bel armé ne vit,
 Ki si gentement chevalchast,
 Ne ki si bel arme portast,
 N' à ki haubert si avenist,
 Ne ki lance si bien brandist,
 Ki en cheval si bien séist,
 Ki si tornast, ne si tenist
 Sox ciel tel Chevalier n'en a
 Beau quens è beau rei sera ;
 Cumbate sei, è si veincra ;
 Tot seit honi ki li faldra.”*

The holy banner, bearing the white symbol of salvation on a crimson field, sent expressly by the Pope, with a ring containing a hair of St. Peter, was now unfurled by the Duke, who, calling to Ralph de Couches, hereditary Gonfalonier, presented it to him, and bade him protect the sacred charge with the valour of his ancestors which had won him such

distinction; but the valiant Ralph entreated to be released from such service on that day, for the force of twenty men nerved his arm, and he longed to wreak havoc on the English with his thirsty brand. The Duke then called to him, Walter Giffard: "Sire," exclaimed Giffard, "look on this furrowed front, and head grey and bald; still have I force to lead my numerous vassals in the thickest fight; nor have you a more willing or dexterous hand to use the keen sword or manage the impetuous destrier; but I pray you give this charge to some youngster long of wind and equal to bear its burthen through the day." "By the splendour of God!" exclaimed the ruffled Duke, "I believe, my lords, you would betray me!" "Ah, sire!" replied De Longueville, "I seek but the place where I can render best service; and be it needed, am ready on the instant to offer my heart the breast-plate to thine, and pour out my life's blood for thee!" "On my faith," rejoined the Duke, "I know it well; ever have I loved thee, Giffard; and henceforth, if I come out of this *mêlée* alive, dearer thou wilt be to me. Here, young Toustain¹, I have heard of thy valour, bear this banner where I ride." Giffard's exploits were equal to his vaunt. The hot old man, at the close of the glorious

¹ A noble and distinguished family of that name, of Haute-Normandie, in memory of this circumstance, have for supporters to their escutcheon, two angels, each bearing a banner.

day, came spurring in all haste to congratulate the Duke ; but when he found the Conqueror's tent erected on the battle-plain, he, with the prudence of age, besought him to seek the security of some spot unencumbered by the bodies of the fallen, since some of the foe but slightly wounded or lurking expressly amidst them, might during the night, with an assassin's blow, destroy the life they dared not openly attack. "That God, Giffard," replied the Conqueror, "which has protected me through the day, will be my guardian against treason through the night ! Let us unarm and to our repose." The Conqueror, in the dispensation of his favours, forgot not the valiant Walter ; he was rewarded with the dignity of Earl of Buckingham, and great grants in that county : "Gualterio quoque cognomento Giffardo Comitatum Buckingham." [*Ord. Vit.*] He lived not long to enjoy such honours ; in 1070, his son, Walter Giffard, entered on the rich inheritance. His remains were conveyed from England to his patrimonial church, Longueville ; the priory of which owes to him its foundation¹. To the ambitious

¹ There is a charter of grant in the Monast. Anglic. by Walter Giffard, of tithes of Buckingham, Burton, Norton, Lamport, Lillingston, Lechampstide, Bechampton, Singlebury, Bradewelle, Lupton, Molesho, Blackelai, Brichille, Badeslesdon, Burslai, Sauneburn, Litecote, Chilton, Wutton, Dorton, Nesington, Edingrave, Policote, Archecot, Dumanne, Tulkesworth, Romulo, Chekeshende, to this Priory.

intrigues of Agnes, widow of the second Walter, is attributed the poisoning of the lovely and virtuous Sibylle of Conversana, wife of Robert Courtheuse.

Page 155. (77.)—*The moody Grimoult du Plessis.*



When in 1046, Guy of Burgundy, listening to the dictates of ambition, forgot the sacred obligations of gratitude, stifled the sentiments of friendship, and burst through all the ties of consanguinity,—among the first to whom he disclosed his project of disinheriting the young Duke William, was Grimoult du Plessis. He found that powerful baron, who despised the beardless bastard, ripe for this purpose :—

*"Et à Grimoult del Pleisseiz
Ki Willame serveit à envieiz."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

Grimoult hastened promptly to put in a state of defence his château of Plessis, between Coutance and Quérentan, Plessis-Grimoult in Calvados, and other strong holds; and then gave his gonfalon to the wind, openly defying his superior, and in firm alliance with the revolted barons. But beyond this perjury of his oaths to the Duke Robert, there is by common fame a blacker deed that stains the reputation of Grimoult. He was suspected of being, if not a participator in the murders which disgraced his party, a principal among the assassins who broke with murderous design into the chamber of the slumbering Duke, at Volognes. At least, he was privy to the foul intent, the perpetrators were his friends, and the execration and curses of the country fell on him.

*"Grimoult del Pleisseiz maldient
E cels ki en Grimoult se fient."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

It would be difficult to assign reasons for the policy of Henry; but whether the example of revolt was offensive to him; that some passing recollection of the obligation he was under to the Duke Robert moved him; or that Normandy, weakened by intestine conflicts, and governed by a boy under his tutorship, was nearer to his grasp than if ruled by

the Duke of Burgundy, aided by Néel, Hamon-with-teeth, [Haymon Dentatus] and Grimoult du Plessis,— he listened with affected horror to the Duke's representation of his meditated assassination; readily lent the aid he sought; and, marching in person, formed a junction with the troops of the Duke, encamping on the banks of the river Laison, between Argencés and Mezidon; while the Duke, leading his vassals of Cauchoise, Rouen, Auge, Lisieux, Evreux, and Exmés, occupied the ground where the Muancé runs by Argencés. The Duke of Burgundy in the mean time, joined by Néel, Grimoult du Plessis, and their friends, lost no time in drawing out his forces at Val-des-Dunes, between Argencés and Cinqueleiz [Cinglas]. The country consists of extensive plains, uninterrupted by rise or valley, slightly inclining on the south-west, towards the river Orne.

The king having heard mass in the church of St. Brice at Valmeray, began to draw out his lines; while the Duke, having strongly posted the troops furnished by the seigniors of the neighbouring villages along the banks of the river, turned Argencés, passed the road of Berangier by the side of the river, and united his army with that of France. The Normans occupied the right, the French the left, facing the west, where lay the enemy. While the King and the Duke, completely armed, and each with a bâton, rode along the ranks and made disposition for the battle, in the distance appeared a richly caparisoned leader, followed by twenty seven knights, their lances

borne erect, and each wearing guimples. The King eagerly enquires of William, who and of what party was that rich reinforcement? "By his gonfalon," said the Duke, "it is Ralph Tesson; his heart is mine, though by the great promises held out, his interest lures him to oppose me." In the meantime, the troop drawing up, as though undecided on which side to array themselves, halted. A colloquy took place, in which the knights besought the Baron Tesson¹ to remember his oaths of allegiance to Robert, the duties of his fiefs, and the demands of honour,—all of which he would transgress, if he appeared in arms against his seignior. "Friends," replied Tesson, "you say rightly;" and spurring up to the Duke, struck him with his mailed hand; then throwing himself on his knees, exclaimed, "Sire, I swore on the first battle-plain to strike you; my oath is accomplished; forgive my only act of treason; receive my repentance and allegiance." But now came on the shock of battle. The French and the Cotentinois encounter breast to breast in a terrific charge. The lances are riven, and sword to sword the desperate fight continues. The King himself was so closely engaged as to be struck down by Hamon-aux-dents², who paid with his life this at-

¹ So rich was Tesson, that his estates were equal in value to a third of Normandy.

² Notwithstanding the proverb quoted, p. 147, and the *Chronique de Normandie*, which states that it was Guil-

tempt to decide the fortune of the day, and was borne off on his shield dead. The heedless William ["adhuc imberbis," *Ord. Vit.*] on that day performed prodigies of prowess and of valour; Hardy, nephew of Grimoult du Plessis, and several others of note, he killed with his own hand. Ranulf de Bayeux, when he beheld the slaughter of his party, gave up all for lost, and lightening himself of lance and shield, with outstretched neck, fled the plain. The valorous Néel and stern Grimoult, overpowered, long, stubbornly yielded, inch by inch, the ground; but at length the rout became general. The fugitives, closely pursued, are massacred on every side; many fearing to cross the Orne, vainly attempt a pass by Alemaigne and St. André de Fontenay; others are slaughtered in endeavouring to traverse the river; and so numerous are the killed and drowned that the mills of Borbillon are obstructed by the carcasses. Néel fled to Brittany. Guy, wounded in the battle, retreats to his castle of Brionne, where, besieged and taken, he is banished Normandy. The other barons, less implicated, offering oaths of fealty and hostages,

lesen, uncle to Hamon, the Lord of Thorigny, Maissy, and Creully, who unhorsed King Henry,—William of Malmesbury expressly states, "Haimo in acie cæsus, cujus insignis violentia laudatur, quod ipsum regem equo dejecerat, quare à concurrentibus stipatoribus interemptus pro fortitudinis miraculo regis jussu egregiè tumulatur."

and to demolish their castles, are pardoned. But Grimoult du Plessis made prisoner, and accused of attempting the assassination of the Duke, is conveyed to the tower of Rouen. Grimoult declares his innocence, and against the chief impeacher, Salle, son of Huon, one of his own knights, appeals to the ordeal of battle. The day is fixed; the morn appears; the lists are called; Grimoult is found dead in his dungeon; and as he lay, with fetters on his feet, the body is conveyed without the town, and buried in the chapel of St. Mark. His castles were rased; his possessions divided; one half rewarded the adherents of William at the battle of Val-des-Dunes, the other enriched the cathedral and diocese of Bayeux. The ruins of the demolished château du Plessis, picturesquely placed about a league to the east of Lythaire, near Moncastre, still offer evidence of the possessor's power and guilt, and William's anger; of which the charter of grant of the lands of Grimoult, and the foundation of a priory built by that Prince on the site of the demolished castle of Plessis-Grimoult in Calvados, bear not less imperishable record.

This curious document, dated 1074, runs thus:—
“Ego Willelmus Rex Anglorum et Normannorum dominus, pro absolutione peccatorum meorum, et pro reginâ conjuge meâ Mathilde et pro filiis meis, necnon et pro amore Bajocensis Episcopi, fratris mei Odonis, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Bajocensi in honorem beatæ Dei genetricis Mariæ constitutæ, dono terram quæ dicitur

Placitis quietam ab omnium consuetudinum exactione et omnia appenditia ejus et terram in quâ mansit Grimoldus in civitate Bajocensi quæ omnia olim tenuit supradictus Grimoldus et de quibus eidem Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, quam supra diximus, servivit; nunc verò quam ipse perfidus pro reatu infidelitatis suæ et crimine insidiarum suarum quibus adversum me perjuraverat, jure justitiæ, sibi et hæredibus suis perdidit, do illa sanctæ supradictæ Ecclesiæ in dominium quietum, ejusque Episcopo, fratri meo Odoni, omnibusque ejus successoribus Episcopis in futura tempora; omnia ea prorsus intentione ut Deus pater, omnium creator, ejusque unigenitus filius Dominus et redemptor noster Jesus Christus, amorumque amor, et Spiritus Sanctus in resurrectione sanctorum perenniter regnaturus, eam partem mihi in gloriâ futurâ tribuat ipse trinus et unus Deus, omnipotens et pius, vivens et regnans per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Hoc scriptum confirmo Ego Willelmus Rex manu meâ: et conjux mea Mathildis regina, et filii mei Robertus et Willelmus, et Principes regni mei, ut sit firmum et ratum in omni futuro tempore adversus omnes calumnias usque in finem sæculi. Amen. Signum Willelmi, regis Anglorum. Sig. Mathildis, reginæ. Sig. Roberti, comitis Cenomannensium. Sig. Willelmi, filii ejus. Sig. Johannis, archiepiscopi. Sig. Hugonis, Luxoviensis episcopi. Sig. Gisleberti, Ebroicensis episcopi. Sig. Rogerii de Bellomonte. Sig. Roberti Moritonii. Sig. Rogerii, comitis Salopesberiensis. Sig. Ricardi, vice-

comitis. Sig. Nicolai, abbatis Sancti Andoëni. Sig. Gerberti, abbatis Sancti Wandregesili. Sig. Durandis, abbatis de Troarno. Sig. Vitalis, abbatis Sanctæ Mariæ Bernaio. Sig. Roberti de Bello monte. Sig. Osmundi, capellani regis Willelmi. Sig. Osberni Gifardi. Sig. Ricardi de Corceio. Sig. Reginaldi *de Nonant*. Sig. Radulphi de Monte Pinconis. Sig. Roberti, filii Hamonis. Sig. Balduini, filii comitis Gisleberti. Sig. Willelmi Paganelli. Sig. Gervasii *de Damfront*. Sig. Eudonis, dapiferi." [*Gall. Christ.*]

Page 156. (78.)—*Robert de Grentmesnel*.

In the battle which overthrew the presumptuous Roger de Toesny and his partizans in revolt against the boy-duke William, Robert de Grentmesnel, or Grandmesnil¹, in the arrondissement of Lisieux, received a mortal wound. While life still remained, he sent for his beloved Hadvisa, and his sons Hugh and Robert, between whom he divided his land equally, earnestly conjuring them to love as himself their infant brother Arnold, and with brotherly solicitude protect him, until arrived at man's estate. Linger- ing thus three weeks the noble Robert died. "Ibi Robertus Grentemaisnil lethale vulnus accepit; qui

¹ With some adjunct "Mesnil," derived from "Mansio," a sort of post-house or station, the most important of which were placed near towns, forms throughout Normandy the appellation of small boroughs.

post tres hebdomadas XIV. kal. Julii obiit. Porro ante mortem suam, &c." [*Will. Gem.*] Hugo and Robert, influenced by that pious feeling which pervaded many of the Norman nobles, and induced them either to found monasteries or rebuild those which their unbaptized ancestors had destroyed, determined to erect a cænobium at Noireau, near Falaise; but their uncle, William de Giroie, who since the horrible mutilations inflicted on him by William of Bellême, [see note 53] ["unde pro tanto facinore perosus cunctis factus est," *Ord. Vit.*] had entered the convent of Bec, pointed out to them as a more fitting site, the spot where the angel had conducted the venerable St. Evroult, when that holy man sought a place in which he could best wrestle with Satan; a spot whereon Saint Evroult had raised two from the dead, and rendered famous by the performance of many other miracles. In a discourse of some length, William de Giroie maintains, that no spot so merited the attention of his nephews. There were the sacred hermitage of St. Evroult, and the ruins of the pious edifices built by Sigebert, Chilperic, and Childeric; its soil, too, enriched by the ashes of numerous saintly bodies, who at the resurrection of the just would appear in glory; it was exactly suited also to the meek in spirit, to whom heaven was promised; barren, uncultivated, the land wanting vines and olives, the rivers fish; but the Lord was able to spread a table in the desert, and there was plenty of room for improvement. These arguments prevailed; magnificent

grants, with permission of the Duke William, subsequently confirmed by a diploma of Henry I. were by Hugo and Robert made to St. Evroult, and the erection of that monastery forthwith commenced: "Normanni interea procures ubique nova erigebant monasteria, seu antiqua quæ majores eorum destruxissent redintegrare nitebantur. Eadem cupido Hugonem et Robertum filios Roberti de Grentmaisnilio et Hadvisæ filiæ Geroii subiit, consilioque inito apud Nuceretum prope Falasiam monasterium ædificare decreverant; sed avunculus eorum Willelmus Beccensis Monachus eos à sententia dimovit, induxitque ut cænobium olim à Sancto Ebrulfo constructum renovarent." [*Gall. Christ.*] "Uticensis locus, ad quem Deus venerabilem Ebrulfum per angelum suum direxit, pauperibus spiritus quibus regnum cælorum promittitur satis congruit. Nam spiritu Sancti Petri Basilica ibidem adhuc permanet; et amplius ager ubi hortus et viridaria fieri possunt circumjacet, terra quippe inculta et sterilis est, sed Dominus servis suis parare mensam in deserto potens est; piscosa quidem flumina et uberes vineæ desunt, sed densum nemus, et habiles ad bibendum fontes præsto sunt. Multorum quoque sanctorum corpora ibidem requiescunt, quæ cum ingenti gloriâ in extremo die resurrectura sunt." [*Will. Gem.*]

Hugo de Grentmesnil's first military exploit on record was under the eye of William, against Soranges, who had wasted the country, and turned the cathedral of Sees into a stable: "Ac proximum

pagum transiit Hugo de Grentmasnilio; aliosque barones cum turmis suis secum adduxit et Sorengos in turri monasterii fortiter expugnare fecit Grasantibus in monasterii prædia Sorengianos milites Ivonis pontificis, Hugo de Grentmasnilio viribus repressit ac dissipavit." [*Gall. Christ.*] He fell, however, in 1063, through the intrigues of Roger de Montgomery and his artful wife Mabil, under the displeasure of the infatuated Duke: "Tunc Rogerius de Monte-Gomerici et Mabilia . . . blandis adulationibus sibi Ducem alliciebant et contra vicinos suos callidis factionibus commotum acrius ad iram concitabant." [*Ord. Vit.*] Nor did Robert de Grentmesnil, who, quitting arms, had assumed the frock and become abbot of St. Evroult, escape; both were banished. Orderic Vital holds Hugo void of all offence: "sine probabilibus culpis." The Gal. Christiana attributes, however, to Robert certain inconsiderate expressions, "De quibusdam improvide dictis accusatus. Quibus auditis Dux irâ excanduit, &c." Robert flew to the Pope; who, sending by two cardinals his letters to the Duke, succeeded in reconciling them, in which grace it is probable Hugo also partook. William of Poitiers informs us, that Hugo accompanied William, and greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Hastings; where an accident, which drew on him the attention of the whole army, nearly cost him his life. In manœuvring his horse, the bit snapped; and the powerful, high-mettled animal, finding himself free, leaped one of the fosses which defended the English position,

and bore his rider amidst the ranks of the enemy. A hundred axes are uplifted to fell the audacious Norman; but scared by their gleam, with a sudden bound, the fiery charger carries his rider out of danger, and disappoints the foe of their noble prey. William, who ever noted valour, rewarded Hugh de Grentmesnil with above a hundred manors, the government of Hampshire, and created him Viscount of Leicester: "Hugono verò de Grentemaisnilio municipatum Leyrecestræ." [*Ord. Vit.*] He was also associated with the Bishop Odo and William Fitz-Osborne in the administration of justice. Pressed however by the solicitations of his wife Adelede Beaumont, the disorders which his protracted absence caused throughout his baronies, and perhaps glad to escape from the butchery of his post,—regardless of the Conqueror's bribes and menaces, he decided with his brother-in-law, Humphry de Teilleul, Governor of Hastings, to return to Normandy. It has been already said, [page 74, vol. II.] that this desertion of his master cost him his newly-acquired estates in England. Hume, and the English historians state Alberic his son to have fomented the quarrel which unsheathed the sword of Robert against his august father. The Norman writers, however, give Hugh no son of that name, and Hugh de Grentmesnil sided not with the party of that luckless Prince; since in 1091, we find him with his venerable breast still labouring beneath the cuirass, aiding the veteran De Courcy to hold out his château against Courteheuse, until the

arrival of Rufus should raise the siege. A very few years after this period, and the turmoil of the world



and all its interests were closed on De Grentmesnil. His body, preserved in salt and carefully enveloped in a bullock's hide, [*“salitum et corio bovis optimè consutum”*] was conveyed by Bernard and David, monks, from England to St. Evroult, where with much pomp he received burial. Besides William, married to the daughter of the duke of Apulia, and another son, Hugo, who accompanied Robert to the Crusade, he had two daughters, Rohais, married to Robert, son of his ancient friend Richard de Courcy, and Agnes, the wife of Robert de Moulines, banished by Henry I. In 1136, Robert, the eldest son of Hugh, paid the debt of nature, and lies with two of his wives buried at St. Evroult;—the only one, Orderic

Vital remarks, of this numerous and handsome family, to whom long life was permitted : “ Tantam progeniem et tam speciosam multifida sors involvit et nulli ex his præter Robertum ad canos usque vivere permisit . . . nec placida felicitate diutius potiti sunt.”

Page 156. (79.)—*Montbray*.

Roger de Montbray, or Mowbray, according to the English orthography, brother to Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutance, [who, according to Orderic Vital, was more fitted to form heroes for the fight, than saints for the altar] and father of Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. To Robert, his uncle, the Bishop Geoffrey bequeathed 248 manors, granted to him by the Conqueror. The ambition of De Mowbray increased, however, with his power; he leagued with many of the most powerful nobles to overthrow Rufus, and establish Stephen d'Albemarle on the throne. Rufus making timely discovery of this plot, confiscated the immense possessions of Robert de Mowbray, which passed with his name to his cousin Néel d'Aubigny, (note 15.) and threw him into prison; wherein, after a lingering captivity of thirty years, he expired. The ruins of the castle of Montbray overlook the town of that name, which lies at a short distance to the right of the high road between Villiedieu-les-poeles and Pont-Farcy.

Page 158. (80.)—*Dex Aïe ! Monjoe, &c.*

“Dex Aïe!” the war cry of the Normans, to which William added, “et mon droit,” at the battle of Hastings. “Montjoie!” the war cry of the French; “Asraz!” of the Flemings; “Valie!” of the Angevins. To these it may not be unamusing to add, “Maslon ! maslon !” the cry of the Bretons; “Chartres et passe avant !” the counts of Chartres; “Saint Amant ! Sire, Saint Amant !” the lords of Thorigny; “Saint Michel !” the Cotentinois; “Saint Sever ! Sire, Saint Sevoir !” the counts du Bessin. Wace tells us, the English at the battle of Hastings charged, crying, “Ut ! ut !” “out ! out !” probably calling to their companions to leave their entrenchments, or addressed to the Normans, expressive of their determination to expel them :

“*La gent Englesche : Ut s'escrie.*”

They also frequently invoked the holy cross, and the name of God :—

“Olicrosse sovent crioent,
E Godemite reclamoent :
Olicrosse est en Engleiz
Ke Sainte Croix est en Franceiz,
E Godemite altretant
Com en Franceiz Dex tot poissant.”

This cry might also mean, that by "God's might," power, and help, they would conquer.

M. Pluquet considers the cry of "Tur äie !" used at the battle of Val-des-Dunes, by the Normans under Ralph Tesson, as an appeal to the god Thor, a curious vestige of the Scandinavian worship. M. A. Le Prévost sees in it, however, nothing more than "Thury," probably the capital of Tesson's estates.

Page 158. (81.)—*Quens*.

A title frequently given by Wace to the Dukes of Normandy. M. Pluquet remarks on this word, that until William the Conqueror, the Dukes of Normandy took indifferently the titles of Duke or Count. "Quens," however, bears an evident affinity of derivation with "Koing," "Köning," "King," from the word "Gyning," cunning, the title of all the ancient German monarchs; and hence more equivalent to "Rosch," "Resch," "Reix," "Rex," "Rey," "Roi," than "Comes," "Comtes," "Conte," "Count," which in its origin has rather a civil than a military dignity. Wace also gives to the Duke the title of "Li Cunte."

Page 172. (82.)—*Famous and honoured*.

The Dukes of Normandy were great patrons of literature and the arts, nor less lovers of poetry. Henry I. and Richard Cœur-de-Lion did not disdain

to mingle with the victorious laurel the poetic bay. As early as Richard I. the poets and musicians were of such importance, that Ralph Torte, his seneschal, is accused of turning the court to destruction, and drew on himself universal indignation, because in his parsimony, which induced him also to diminish to eighteen and twelve deniers per diem the salaries of the officers, he dismissed them :—

*“ Ne lessoit en la cor jugléor ne garchon,
La cort en fu tornée à grant destrucion :
Raol en deservi mainte malèichon.”*

Dudon St. Quentin commenced his history as a mark of his devotion to Richard I. ; and in gratitude for the innumerable benefits he had received from that Duke. Hardly commenced, he is afflicted by the news of Richard's death, 966, and abandons his work, until again entreated to take it up by Richard II. William of Jumièges, in a letter to William the Conqueror, dedicates to him his history. William of Poitiers, the companion of the Conqueror, was long his chaplain. Ingulphus, from his learning, was much loved by William, who made him his secretary. Robert Wace was made a prebend of Bayeux by Henry II., and as well as Benoît de St. More, who wrote at that monarch's request his poem of “ *L'Estoire et la Généalogie des Ducs ki unt esté par ordre en Normendie,*” was high in his favour.

Page 172. (83.)—*The Island.*

This beautiful and fertile appanage of the kings of England has remained unstained by disloyalty, or its soil polluted by hostile tread, since the Conqueror attached it to the throne. It can hardly be excepted to this, that once a bold coup-de-main was essayed by France with momentary success; for in a few hours the presumptuous adventurers found their grave. The valour of the exploit affords a brilliant page in the annals of the island's history. The tombs of the patriots, defenders of their country, ennoble the land, and the shot which remains immured in the houses of St. Hillier, bear record of the fury with which such aggression was repulsed. Independent of both houses of British legislature, acknowledging but the jurisprudence of the king in council, Jersey obeys the ancient laws of Rollo, and retains the Norman dialect; that dialect which monarchs were fain to study, and in whose first accents the Trouvères sang the wild strains of their heroic poetry. The intermixture of purely pronounced English names of modern household, and manufactured articles, greatly increase its original *naïveté*.

In its organization, no state can be more warlike, since all its inhabitants, from the age of sixteen to sixty, are enrolled and drilled in the use of arms; even the old, sick, and halt, unable to bear their burthen, are obliged to pay a quota for the equipment of the rest, and are placed in the different bu-

reaux of the military offices, or employed in copying orders.

To enjoy the full protection of the Island's independence, an inhabitant must be a native, or possess there *bonâ fide* property.

It is now some years (and then my stay was but of a few days) since I visited this charming spot. Without notes, or ever having been able to consult any work that might refresh my memory, much, the description of which would have given an interest to this tale, must have escaped my recollection. On its records are, however, indelibly engraven the hospitality I met there, and the charms of its amiable women. Should this story remain deficient of a view of the Hougue Bie de Hambie, it owes its loss to the hurry of the packet's sailing, which prevented my receiving a sketch by her own tasteful hand promised by the accomplished daughter of the grand Bailiff, on whose paternal estate the monument stands. I have waltzed at many courts, but in none have met a partner in that enchanting dance, who possessed in like perfection with this young lady the natural unattainable grace and sentiment of dance.

Page 177. (84.)—*Bound by oath in common cause.*

“ Contigit quoddam pestiferi oriri seminarium dissidii. Nam rustici unanimes per diversos totius Normannicæ patriæ comitatus, plurima agentes

conventicula, juxtà suos libitus vivere decernebant.”
 [Will. Gemm.] Robert Wace also, as far back as the reign of Duke Richard II. informs us, that the peasants and vilains formed commons¹, and by twenties, thirties, and hundreds, held several parliaments:—

“ *Par vinz, par trentaines, par cenx,
 Unt tenuz plusurs parlemenx,*” —

ROMAN DE ROU.

wherein they enumerated their griefs, which they insisted sprung from the state of the laws, that in every way favoured and protected the cupidity of their superiors, from whom they received nothing but oppression and exaction. To hope for any terms was idle; they were defrauded of the just value of their daily labour, and each hour but increased the misery of a condition which was one of absolute penury and exhaustion. The past year had been bad, but the prospect of the present was worse, since

¹ M. Henault agrees with Basnage in believing that previous to the cession of part of Neustria to the Normans, many of the towns, burghs, and even villages had the privilege of holding commons; and hence sprang the rights of freehold (franc aleu) and burgage tenure. The burgage tenure he makes to differ from franc aleu, in that it admits a lord: “In tenure autem par burgagium sciendum est quod possunt vendi et emi ut mobile.” [Vet. Consuet.]

each day their cattle were distrained for taxes and rates, themselves distressed by lawsuits and quarrels, and overburthened by old and new imposts; nor could they enjoy one hour of rest and repose, so were they vexed by writs and summonses,—tollage of wood, tollage of water, tollage of roads, tollage of miles, tollage of money, tollage of canals, tollage of fealty, tollage of war, tollage of aids, so many and to such extent had the imposts arrived, that no man could call his soul his own. The country was overrun with lawyers, bailiffs, and constables, all greedy of exacting their fees, and by force making seizures of what little they possessed. Since then they could not defend their cabins or themselves against their lords and their agents, who kept no covenant with them, they had better at once abandon the land, and emigrate, than live in such slavery. “Whoresons,” a stout labourer addressed them, “whose fault is it if you are thus wronged? Are you not men as well as your oppressors? are your hands less hard? your arms less sinewy? your bodies less gaunt and square, or are you more delicate and afraid of a scratch? Courage is all you want, Men, to at once break their yoke and release yourselves from bondage! Let us by oaths unite, stick to one another, defend our firesides and ourselves; and if they dare to oppose us, we can bring thirty or forty stout, active peasants, fit for fight, to every noble. The devil’s in it if twenty or thirty fine young lads, an’ they have a mind, can’t defend themselves against one! Arm

yourselves, then, with pitchforks and staves, with pikes and shillelahs, with bows, with hatchets, and scythes; let them take stones who can find no better weapon! Why our very numbers are enough to daunt our masters; and thus we will march to the woods. If any one wants a fine timber, let him fell it, a fat buck, let him knock it on the head, take what fish he pleases from the stews and rivers; or, if he likes it better, let him stick the first sleeky ewe or portly bullock he meets in the pastures. With every thing we will do as we please, and all that moves in wood, water, and plain, we'll enjoy in common."

*" Filz à putain, dient auquant,
 Pur kei nus laissum damagier ?
 Metum nus fors de lor dangier ;
 Nus sumes homes eum il sunt ;
 Tex membres avum cum il unt,
 Et altresì granx cors avum
 Et altretant sofrir poum
 Ne nus faut fors cuer sulement.
 Alium nus par serement
 Nos avoir è nus desfendum
 E tuit ensemble nus tenum ;
 E se nus voilent guerréier,
 Bien avum cuntre un Chevalier
 Trente u quarante païzans,
 Maniables è cumbatans.
 Malveis serunt se vint u trente
 Bacheler de bele juvente*

*Ki d'un ne se porrunt desfendre
 S'il volent ensemble prendre.
 A machues è a grant peus,
 A sajetes et as tineus,
 As arcs, as haches, as gisarmes,
 Et as pierres ki n'ara armes ;
 Od la grant genz ke nus avum,
 Des Chevaliers nus desfendum
 Einsi porum aler as bois
 Abres trenchier è prendre à chois
 Es viviers prendre i peissuns,
 Et as forez li veneisuns
 De tut ferum nos volentex
 De boiz, de ewes, è de prez."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

" Quatenus tam in sylvarum compendiis, quàm in
 aquarum commerciis, nullo obsistente ante statuti juris
 obice, legibus uterentur suis." [*Will. Gem.*] Moved
 by this and such addresses, they bound themselves
 by oaths, and electing from out their number those
 whom they deemed most able, and the best speak-
 ers, sent them through the land to organize clubs and
 receive oaths :—

*" Eslig unt ne sai kels ne kanz
 Des plus kuint, è des miex parlanz
 Ki par tuit li paiz irunt
 E li seremenz recevrunt."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

“ Quæ ut rata manerent, ab uno quoque cœtu furentis vulgi duo eliguntur legati, qui decreta ad Mediterraneum roboranda ferrent conventum.” [*Wil. Gem.*] In the garrulity of drunkenness or passion, or by the indiscretion of some coward, the existence of such assemblies, and that the “vilains cumune fasoient,” was soon discovered to Richard, who put in commission his uncle, Ralph d’Ivry, to suppress them. The Count d’Ivry, by the vigilance of his spies, soon marked out the delegates, and the most daring of the leaders; these he had seized, had many impaled, drew out their teeth, tore out their eyes, cut off their hands;

“ *A plusurs fist traire les denz,
E li altres fist espercer,
Traire les oils, li puings colper.*”

ROMAN DE ROU.

“Cunctos confestim legatos cum nonnullis aliis cepit, truncatisque manibus ac pedibus, inutiles suis remisit,” [*Will. Gem.*] and those who murmured he had burnt alive, or thrown into boiling lead. Thus these miserable persons became horrible to look on, and known wheresoever they went. Terrified by the active and sanguinary measures of Ralph d’Ivry, the commons broke up, and desisted from their enterprise; the richer were mulcted of all they possessed, the others obtained pardon from their lords on the best terms in their power.

Page 183. (85.)—*Gislebert de Tracy*.

An old charter, bearing date 1082, preserved in the Gallia Christiana, was digested at Tracy, before Gislebert de Tracy, and Gislebert his nephew. Wace says that the Lords of Lassay, Vitre, and Tracy, formed a battalion in the army of the Conqueror. Turgis de Tracy, in 1073, commanded the Norman army in the Maine. The ruins of the magnificent château de Tracy, near Vire, still offer to the painter, poet, and antiquarian, an interesting object of contemplation and research. A natural son of Henry I. bore the name of William de Tracy: M. Le Prévost thinks it probable, from his having been born in the château. Henry de Tracy signalized himself by his devotion to Stephen, from whom he received the barony of Barnstaple, in Devonshire.

Page 185. (86.)—*William de Moulins*.

Lord of Moulins-la-Marche, arrondissement of Mortagne, son of Walter of Falaise. "E dam Willame des Molins" led his vassals to the battle of Hastings, and held a command in the Norman troops (1073) sent to succour John de la Flèche. In recompense for his services, the Duke married him to Alberée, daughter and heiress of Guitmond, Lord of Moulins-la-Marche, by whom he had William and Robert. In a qualm of conscience on account of their relationship, he divorced this lady, and contracted a marriage with

Dude, daughter of Valeran de Meulan, niece of Roger de Beaumont: he died, at a very advanced age, in 1099. His son and successor Robert¹, it has been mentioned, married Agnes, the daughter of Hugh de Grentemesnil; but having offended Henry I. was obliged to fly with her to Calabria. The estates passed then to Simon, son of William de Molines by his second marriage. He died without posterity, and Hughes the youngest became the heritor. He was drowned in the fatal wreck of the *Blanche Nef*.

The English genealogists derive the family of the Lords Molyneux and Sefton, from William de Molines. M. Le Prévost remarks: "*Il y a eu une famille noble de ce nom en Angleterre; mais il paraît qu'elle était originaire du Limousin.*" There is a picturesque village named Molineaux near La Bouille on the Seine: it was here John decided on the assassination of Arthur, and left it at night for Rouen to execute his diabolic project. [*Guil. Breton. Philippide, Chant, vi.*]

Page 185. (87.)—*Hugh d'Avranches*.

It is not quite clear if Osmond Gorts, cited in a charter of Duke Richard II., as giving his portion of the land of Vimoutier to the Abbey of Jumièges, "*dedit*

¹ It would appear there was a double alliance in these families, since Ord. Vital states Arnold, third son of Robert de Grentemesnil, to have married Agnes, daughter of Rohan de Molines.

quoque Vimonasterium Osmundus Gorts et omnes qui cum illo partem habebant!" is a descendant of the noble Osmond de Centvilles¹, the faithful, able, and courageous tutor of the young duke Richard I., and who, in spite of Louis Outremer's gentle menace, "senioris tui poplitibus sectis, privabo te oculis, si forsan eum quoquam ampliùs duxeris," [*Dudon St. Quentin*,] procured the escape of that prince. [*Note 73.*] From Osmond Gorts, however, sprang Tous-tain, or Trustin, Goz, the elegant and witty Count of Exmés, the favourite of Judith, mother of Robert, and lord chamberlain to that Duke. In the discharge of his office, the Count of Exmés, or Hyèmes, accompanied Robert to the Holy Land, and to him the expiring monarch gave in charge, to bear to the Abbey of Cérisy, those relics and bones of the holy saints and martyrs, which had been presented to him through the friendship of Saladin, or by his munificence and diligence procured. Was it that old friendships made the Count of Hyèmes listen to the pretensions of other branches of the ducal family, and forget his vows to his late Suzerain, or that ambition blinded him, Toustain Goz saw not in the boyish Duke William, the germ of the greatest cap-

¹ The house of Osmond in France, now wearing a ducal coronet, claim descent from this Osmond; and in memory of the deliverance he effected for the young Duke Richard, bear on their escutcheon a wing of ermine on a field of gules.

tain modern history has on record, or those talents which make Polydore Virgil exclaim: "Virum inter viros, prudentem inter prudentes;" and William of Nebrunge: "Armis acrem, animo ingentem, successu felicem, singulare nothorum genus." He intrigued with Henry of France to hoist the standard of revolt at Falaise, and distract the operations of the Grand Constable Vesci, while the King invaded Normandy by the passage of Dreu. The Constable prepared forthwith to watch the motions of the King already advancing, but who "mœstus propter milites amissos cum dedecore recessit," and for the first time, before his natal town, William, then only fourteen, "in armis enim ab infantiâ nutritus sum" [*Ord. Vit.*] but vigorous as a young lion loosed in the Nemæan games, commanded in person, buckled on that armour, "ex quo tempore usque nunc semper subii pondus armorum," [*Ord. Vit.*] which was unclasped but for the repose of death, and bared the sword never sheathed ingloriously. As amidst the admiring troops, with impetuosity William led on the assailants, and exposed himself in the deadly breach, the veterans beheld the promise of the future hero, and from that hour loud-tongued fame sounded throughout the world his reputation. Beneath the efforts of the engines, directed by the energetic boy, the astute and valiant Toustain beheld the massy walls of Falaise rent. That night the citadel must have surrendered, but that the intense darkness obliged William to defer the storming. It was a night of anxious suspense, as

besiegers and besieged lay, sleepless at their quarters, waiting that dawn which many were never again to hail. Toustain d'Exemes, as amidst huge piles of stones, gigantic beams, and falling fragments, amazed he beheld the cruel slaughter of his bravest, with the extensive breach, and yawning scissures of the tottering walls, gave up all for lost, and only demanding a safe-conduct for himself, surrendered at discretion. Thus were the estates of Toustain Goz confiscated; with a part of which the Conqueror increased his mother's portion, dedicating to her the spolia opima of his first victory. Richard, the son of Toustain Goz, by his loyalty and services, cancelled and obliterated from the memory of William his father's faults, brought about a reconciliation between them, and by his frank valour obtained far more than the intriguing ambition of his sire had lost: "Post hæc Richardus Toustini filius optime duci servivit, et sic patrem suum duci reconciliavit, et ipse multò majora, quam pater perdiderat, adquisivit." [*Will. Gem.*] The chief of his possessions was Ingena, the ancient capital of the Abrincatui, since named Avranches, whose antique castle claims Childeric as the founder in 460. Hugh D'Avranches, "the Wolf," son of Richard, was one of the most remarkable of William's captains; for his services at the conquest he received the county of Chester, with this title¹, that he held it

¹ "Conferebantur etiam primo multa prædia nuda verbo atque scripto, vel chartâ, tantum cum domini gladio, vel

as freely by the sword, as the King himself held England by the crown : " ita liberè per gladium sicut ipse rex tenebat Angliam per coronam." Sent to subdue the hardy mountaineers of Wales, the slaughtered Cambrians, " multum Guallorum sanguinem effudit," [*Ord. Vit.*] paid with rivers of blood the price of " the Wolf's" great military reputation. Yet ever greedy of fame, and eager for adventure, we find Hugh, Earl of Chester, " Hugonem Cestrensiū comitem magnamque cohortem præcipuorum militum," [see Note 47, p. 133.] ready to leave all his possessions in England and Normandy, and lead an army across the Alps to support the wild claims of Odo to the Papal chair. Again, we meet him entertaining the fugitive Henry at his castle of Avranche, counselling him to fortify himself in Mount St. Michael, and thence defy the Duke Robert and king Rufus; yet with crafty policy, deserting the Prince in the war he had instigated : " Verum Hugo Cestrensis comes, aliiq̃ue fautores ejus paupertatem perpendentes . . egregium Clitonem in bellico angore deseruerunt." [*Ord. Vit.*] Unforgiving to his enemies, terribly he visited the offences offered to all in any way connected with him. The unhappy Wil-

galeâ vel cornu, vel craterâ, et plurima tenementa cum calcari, cum strigili, cum arcu et nonnulla cum sagittâ; sed hæc initio regni sui, posterioribus annis immutatus est iste modus." [*Ingulfi Abb. Hist.*]

liam D'Eu was faithless to his sister ; and the terrible punishment he instigated Rufus to wreak upon his victim has been mentioned : “ Hoc nimirum Hugone Cestrensi comite pertulit instigante, cujus sororem habebat, sed conjugalem fidem ei non servaverat.” [Ord. Vit.] I have particularly cited these instances, since in them we see Hugh ready to desert the strict and severe William ; abetting the enemy of the vindictive Rufus, and betraying the implacable Henry. Yet did they fear “ the Wolf,” or had need of his military talents. We read of no confiscations or imprisonments, which for less offences had been dealt to other barons. On the contrary, the Conqueror ever loaded the Earl of Chester with benefits : Rufus we see counselled by him, staining his own glory become the instrument of his private revenge, and Henry confide to his son the government of his children. Thus has the portrait of Hugh d'Avranches been drawn by one nearly a cotemporary with him : “ He was not sumptuous, but prodigal ; not a family, but an army always followed him. In giving and taking he held no medium ; his land he daily devastated, and applauded and delighted in hawking and hunting, more than the cultivation of the land and the duties of religion : devoted to the excesses of the table and the wine cup, his corpulency became so burthensome as almost to prevent his taking exercise. He had by various paramours many children of both sexes, who perished by different misfortunes :” “ Hic non dapsilis, sed prodigus erat ; non familiam, sed ex-

ercitum semper ducebat. In dando vel accipiendo nullam rationem tenebat. Ipse terram suam quotidie devastabat, et plus aucupibus ac venatoribus, quam terræ cultoribus, vel cœli oratoribus applaudebat; ventris ingluviei serviebat, unde nimiae crassicie pondere prægravatus vix ire poterat. E pellicibus plurimùm sobolem utriusque sexus genuit, quæ diversis infortuniis absorpta ex toto periit." [*Ord. Vit.*] However, therefore, rigorous in exacting fidelity from his unhappy brother-in-law, he deemed such virtue unnecessary in himself, and with less excuse, since his wife, the fair Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clermont, near Beauvais, bore him Richard, who yet young, with his wife, sweet infants, and brother Otho, perished with Prince William Adelin, in the fatal wreck of the White Ship, November 25, 1120: "Ermentrudem filiam Hugonis de Claromonte Belancensi uxorem duxit, ex quâ Ricardum Cestrensis Comitatus heredem genuit, qui juvenis adhuc cum Guillelmo Adelino Henrici Regis Anglorum filio et multâ nobilitate VII. kal. Nov. naufragio periit." [*Ord. Vit.*] Weary at length of the fatigues of a military life, and hoping, ere it was too late, to reconcile himself with heaven, he founded the Abbey of St. Sever in Normandy, and assumed the cowl in the Abbey of Chester, which also he had re-erected: in these pious offices Hugh d'Avranches died August, 1101. Ranulf d'Avranches, Earl of Chester, was one of the most redoubtable enemies of Stephen, whom he made prisoner at the battle of

Lincoln, deciding by his bravery the victory in favour of Matilda ; besides Chester, Richmond, and Lincoln, he had great possessions in Lancashire. Ralph, his successor, married the famed Constance, Duchess of Bretagne, widow of Geoffrey, son of Henry II., whom, for certain indiscretions, seizing as she passed through Pontorson, he imprisoned in his castle of Saint James.

Page 185. (88.)—" *Gautier de Lacy.*"

Lord of Lassy, on the road from Vire to Aulnay. Gautier and Ilbert de Lacy both did service to their Suzerain in England ; nor did he fail to bestow on them the rewards he held forth. To Ilbert he gave Pontefract and one hundred and sixty-three manors, for the most part situated in Yorkshire. Gautier de Lacy did not long enjoy his honours ; Roger, his son, however, held one hundred and twenty-five seigniories from the royal munificence ; but entering into Mowbray's conspiracy to dethrone Rufus in 1093, he was banished and his estates confiscated. He afterwards recommended himself to Robert Courteheuse, who, in 1102, advanced him to the command of his army.

Page 185. (89.)—" *Montacute.*"

See Note 33. " Montagu-le-bois."

Page 185. (90.)—" *D'Aubigny.*"

See Note 66.

Page 185. (91.)—" *Mortimer.*"

See Note 56. " *De Warrenne.*"

Page 185. (92.)—" *Robert Fitz-Ernest.*"

A noble ambition fired Robert Fitz-Ernest at the battle of the Conquest. The standard of Harold struck would spread a panic through his army, and be the signal of a general rout. To accomplish this, the gallant Robert devoted himself; but that standard was defended by the King in person, by a staff of valiant nobles, and the bravest of his veterans. Undismayed at the unequal combat, Fitz-Ernest, couching his lance, and well covering himself with his shield, urging with both spurs his gallant charger, made direct for the spot, and drove at full speed amidst them,

" *A l'estandart en alout dreit
Por ço k'abatre le voleit.*"

ROMAN DE ROU.

His lance pierced through and through the first Englishman who opposed; out flew then his ready

sword, another and another falls beneath his powerful arm and well-tempered brand ; but hemmed in, and entirely surrounded by the enemy, he falls beneath the simultaneous blows of innumerable heavy battle-axes. At this glorious post, within a few yards of Harold's standard, after the battle, was found the body ; through twenty gushing wounds his soul had fled :—

*“ La fu trov  quant il fu quis,
Lez l'estandart mort et occis.”*

ROMAN DE ROU.

Robert was son of Ernest, brother of Ralph Tesson, mentioned at the battle of Val-des-Dunes, and Hacvise D'Aunou. His cousin Raoul accompanied him to the fatal plains of Hastings ; and it is supposed that, emulous of his valiant kinsman, he perished in the same attempt, since the family of Tesson, so opulent in Normandy, had no possessions in England. Robert Fitzernest left a wife, also named Hacvise, and a son Robert, who assumed the name of Fitz-Ernest, which became a patronymic of this branch of the Tessons. In a charter preserved in the Gall. Christiana, Robert Fitzernest, the son, thus alludes to his father's death, “ Eodem vero patre meo in Angli  occiso.”

Page 187. (93.)—“ *Wearing apparel.*”

Dudon St. Quentin informs us, that by the refor-

mation Ralph Torte introduced at the Court of Duke Richard I., the salaries of the officers of the household were reduced to eighteen deniers; William of Jumiéges says twelve, but he and his convent¹ had a particular dislike to Ralph. Richard the Second, who held a magnificent court, appointed nobles to fill all the offices of his establishment; for state occasions he gave them dresses,

*“Chescun jur urent livreisuns,
Et as granz festes dras è duns.*

ROMAN DE ROU.

and it is therefore not improbable increased their salaries, or placed them on the footing they stood before the economic shears of Tourte had clipped their perquisites. The Duke Robert, who far surpassed all his ancestors in charitable donations and in magnificence, doubled the emoluments of his household. It appears, therefore, incredible, that during the reign

¹ “Qui paganis deterior, cuncta monasteria ab ipsis exusta quæ circa Sequanæ littora erant, diruens è fundamentis, ad reparandam Rotamagensem civitatem petram adportavit. Ad Gemeticum verò cùm accessisset, Sanctæ Mariæ monasterium invasit, illudque evertit. Quod à fundamentis diruisset nisi quidam clericus nomine Clemens ab operariis duas turres pretio redemisset, quæ usque ad tempus Roberti Archiepiscopi, qui illam restauravit Ecclesiam, remanserunt stabiles.” [*Guil. Gem.*]

of these dukes, any appertaining to the Court, and receiving such salaries, should know pecuniary embarrassments, did not history vouch for the contrary. An old Norman knight in an ancient ballad sings :—

*“ Je n'ay porpoinct, ne robbe, ne çaincture,
Que tout ne soyt engagé par uzure.”*

VAUX DE VIRE.

and from the following anecdote it would seem such expedients were far from uncommon.

“ Now it happened on a certain day while the Duke Richard sojourned at Bayeux, that he entertained many of his barons and chief knights; and as they sat at dinner, a dish was served which required that the guests should be provided with spoons, to enable them to partake thereof. An attendant, in consequence, was about to deliver one to each of the company, when a brave and noble knight, who was seated at the table, and had a post at court, facetiously took them, and in handing them, adroitly slipped one up his sleeve; this was the more easy, since they wore in those days large sleeves, white shirts confined at the waist, and long training habits. The knight who purloined the spoon, could not so dexterously pass it under his vest, but that the Duke perceived it; he made, however, no remark, nor by any movement hinted at what he had seen. The chamberlain who had delivered the spoons, counted

them over. When he had collected them, he found one missing, for which he anxiously inquired, and sought everywhere. Now he who had taken the spoon said not a word. -But the Duke exclaimed : 'Peace! this is no place to arrange your service in. Be silent, nor let me hear more of this, for without doubt it is you who have miscounted.' The chamberlain, therefore, being commanded silence, feared to say more. When the evening was come, at about the hour at which the nobles supped, the Duke called the chamberlain, and naming the chevalier who had taken the spoon, bade him hie speedily and secretly to his house, and observe what he was doing. This he did accordingly, and found the knight drinking and eating gaily, and feasting many of his friends, whom he had invited to supper, all which the attendant faithfully recounted to the Duke. 'Take,' said the Duke, 'these deniers ; and in private tell his servants, that if they will bring to you the pledges given to them by their master, and hint to him nothing of the matter, you will give money for them.' The chamberlain, who was quickwitted, did as the Duke commanded, and paid to all the money for their gages ; but what was his surprize, when he beheld among them the very spoon which he had missed at dinner. He straightway informed the Duke that he had obeyed his orders and obtained the pledges, adding, in a whisper, he had seen a miracle, for among them was the identical spoon he had lost. 'Indeed,' replied the Duke, 'but say nothing of

this matter to other than myself.' Now the squires were in high content, and told their lord that their pledges had been bought, and they well paid. 'Should the spoon be discovered,' exclaimed the knight, 'woe's me! wheresoe'er I go this reproach will follow me; never will I again see the Duke, or so dishonoured present myself before him!' Thus did the knight distress himself; and after a restless night, rising early, he bade farewell to those he most loved; but to his bosom friend would not disclose the cause of his hasty departure, nor could all their prayers prevail on him to remain. The Duke Richard, who had early information of his intention, ordered his horse; and putting him into a round pace, soon overtook the knight, and bringing him back, led him to his palace, where publicly he bestowed on him such presents as enabled the knight, for the future, to enjoy himself, without taking from others what did not belong to him; and not only did the Duke bestow on him his favour and wealth, but never did he hear a reproach for the folly and baseness of this act." Wace gives us another instance, during the reign of Robert, not of that poverty which avileth by its sordid greediness for wealth, but of that poverty which ennobleth by its contempt for riches. The feast of Christmas arrived; and the Duke Robert, with much ceremony, prepared to celebrate it, and mass having been heard, the time of the offering was come. The Duke first made his oblation, then all the Court crowded round to offer up

theirs also. Now the Duke perceived that a certain knight, whom he much esteemed, did not approach the altar with the rest. He called, therefore, a page, and directed him to take a hundred livres to the cavalier, under pretence that it was sent to him for an offering. The knight no sooner received the money, than he proceeded directly to the altar; and although a small sum would have been sufficient, offered up the whole; and when there was a wonderment at the richness of the offering, and a question who could have had the munificence to make it, the knight, coming forward, said: "The Duke gave it for an offering; it did not, therefore, befit me to retain any part." The Duke Robert was so pleased with the greatness of this act, that he made him take a hundred livres for himself, and greatly favoured him.

Page 209. (94.)—" *Troubadours and Trouvères.*"—
" *Songs of Charlemagne and Roland.*"

. The heroic song, which told the deeds and lamented the fall of Roland, the supposed nephew, and renowned captain of Charlemagne, who, with his Paladins, in repassing the Pyrenees, perished in the ambuscades of Roncevaux, notwithstanding the laborious researches of the Abbé de la Rue, Paulmy, Tresson, and Laravallière, is considered as lost. The inspiration its martial notes produced we still have on record; and it was this warlike ballad which the gigantic and dexterous Taillefer, minstrel to William,

and not less able to do a deed of valour, than powerfully and melodiously to recount one, at full voice chaunted, in advance of the Norman lines at Hastings, its noble chorus being repeated by sixty thousand men determined on death or victory. As the last chorus thundered through the air, the impatient Taillefer hurled his sword amidst the astonished English, and struck an ensign dead: "Quidam verò nomine 'Taillefer, diu antequam coirent bellatores, ensibus jactatis ludens coram gente Anglorum, dum in eum omnes stupuerunt, quemdam vexilliferum Anglorum interfecit" [*Henr. Hunting*]; then rushed on the foe, and was hewn down, but not before he had sent three quivering ghosts to await his coming on the Stygian shore. Of the Romanz, or poems, the Serventoiz, or smaller pieces, both pious and profane, the Rotuenges, or songs, as well as of the ballads and Provenceaux, many specimens have been published. The instruments which frequently accompanied them were the veille, or sort of hurdy-gurdy, and the rote, the most primitive of instruments, a pipe.

The Troubadours found the majestic and harmonious language of Cicero and Virgil deprived of its grandeur and pathos; and, like the mighty empire of the Romans in ruins, a prey to every barbarous violation; they caught its evanescent sweetness, and bound it with the rude ties of their wild rythm; they found its sonorous desinences mutilated, and they supported it by the artful introduction of particles,

and other ingenious helps. The language of the Troubadours assimilates to that spoken under the reign of Charlemagne in France, in the North, in Italy, and in Spain, when the division of his empire left each state to work separately on the primitive language; and they, in fashioning, changing, and perfecting, according to their ideas, the vulgar idiom, constructed a diversity of tongues owning the Latin as their mother. The Troubadours have preserved the greatest number of words found in the most ancient document extant, the oaths in 842; and for the three centuries, in which they acquired and held their celebrity, adhered with little variation to their own peculiar grammatical constructions. Bearing the venerable traces of almost coeval antiquity, and intimately connected with the language of the Troubadours—that dialect warmed and spiritualized by the genial sun of the south—comes the idiom of the tuneful poets of the north, the harmonious Trouvères. The resemblance between them is so great, that in changing the *e* of the Trouvère into *a*, you have almost the dialect of the Troubadour¹.

In proof of the antiquity, acknowledged individuality, and usage of the Romaine in the north of France, the author of the “Grammaire comparée des

¹ See Observations Philologiques, &c. de la Langue des Trouvères.

Langues de l'Europe Latine, &c." cites the following passages from Paschase Ratbert, and Gérard de Corbie's life of D'Adhalard, Abbé de Corbie, born in 750 : " Quem si vulgo audîsses, dulciffuus emanabat ; si verò idem barbarâ, quam Teutiscam dicunt, linguâ loqueretur, præminebat caritatis eloquio."—" Qui si vulgari, id est Romanâ linguâ loqueretur omnium aliarum putaretur inscius . . . si verò Theutonicâ, enitebat perfectius;" and such was the idiom used throughout Neustria on Rollo's arrival, who, it appears, spoke but Danish; since Rainaud, Duke of France, sent with Hasting, his countryman, " Duos milites Daciscæ linguæ peritos," [*Dudo St. Quentin*] to treat with him. Notwithstanding, however, the continual intercourse with the mother country, Rollo and the new settlers were so far from engrafting the Scandinavian dialect, that " gentilem linguam omittens, Latino sermone assuefacta est;" [*Chro. Ademari*]; and William of the Long-sword, who was anxious for his son, afterwards Richard I., to be acquainted with the language of his ancestors and allies, was obliged to send that prince to Bayeux to study it, so forgotten was it at his capital, Rouen; " Quoniam quidem Rotomagensis civitas Romanâ potius quàm Daciscâ utitur eloquentiâ, et Baiocensis fruitur frequentius Daciscâ linguâ quàm Romanâ, volo igitur ut ad Bajocensia deferatur quantocius mcenia." [*Dudo St. Quentin.*] This fact is thus corroborated by Bénédict de Sainte-More :—

*“ Si à Roëm le faz garder
 E norir gaires longement,
 Il ne saura parler neient
 Daneis ; kar nul ne l'i parole ;
 Si voil qu'il seit à tele escole
 Que as Daneis sache parler ;
 Ci ne savent rien fors Romanz :
 Mais a Baiues en a tanz
 Qui ne savent si Daneis non.”*

BIB. HAR.

And Robert Wace informs us, that Richard I. not only “une chartre sout lire, è li parz deviser,” since “Li père l'out bien fet duire e doutriner,” but also that “Richart sout en Daneiz, en Normant¹ parler.”

The use of the Romaine was not confined to France, but must have been understood by the learned, at least, in Denmark, England, and Germany ; since at the council of Mouson-on-Meuse, in 995, the Bishop of Verdun harangued them in that idiom : “Aimo Episcopus surrexit et Gallicè concionatus est.” [*Harduin Concil.*]

One of the chief accusations against Arnoul, archbishop of Rheims, was, that he made a treaty with the enemies of Hugh Capet in the vulgar tongue : “Ad-

¹ Wace, a native of Jersey, and at Henry's court, gives here the name by which the English naturally designated the language spoken by their Norman invaders.

debat etiam de pactis et constitutis in vulgari linguâ cum eodem habitis, &c" [*Du Chesne.*]; and the Emperor Henry sent to William of the Long-sword, his ambassador, "Conan," who "sout en Thioiz et en Normant parler." [*Wace.*] Its introduction into England is generally attributed to William; and the vestiges of it to be met with, are described as so many collar marks wrung on our necks: it may, in a degree, efface the dejection with which we are wont to hear these proofs of humiliation pronounced at Westminster, and in judicial courts, to recollect that, in all probability, they owe their origin to a much older date and happier epoch; and may have sprung from our boasted King Alfred, who attracted to his court the most learned of the French, and not only obtained from them a perfect knowledge of the belles lettres, but adopted such of their proceedings and customs as he judged to be improvements. What would particularly facilitate and bring into use the Romaine, was the preference he gave to the French manner of writing, as more legible and agreeable, and the total disuse which followed of the Saxon character: "Manus etenim Saxonica ab omnibus Saxonibus et Merciiis usque ad tempora regis Alfredi, qui, per Gallicanos doctores omnibus literis apprimè instructus erat, in omnibus chirographis usitata. à tempore regis dicti desuetudine viluerat, et manus Gallicana, quia magis legibilis et aspectui perdelecta-

bilis præcellebat, frequentius in dies apud omnes Anglos complacebat." [*Ingulfi Hist.*]

Learning, then chiefly to be derived from foreign travel, was also the greatest recommendation to Alfred's favour and promotion; and in the public acts and revision of the laws made by that able Prince, he may be supposed to have received assistance from the French juris-consulti, and his predilection for foreign knowledge, or rather his absence from that prejudice which makes men demand, "Are not Abana and Pharpar better than all the waters of Israel?" would have led to his borrowing terms and forms from them. Prior even to that great monarch, the learned king Ethelwolf had visited Rome in 847, not less for political and religious purposes, than in the pursuit of knowledge; and had twice resided for a considerable time at the court of Charles the Bald, from which he brought his Queen, the young, beautiful, spiritual, and amiable Judith, daughter of Charles, who came attended by a large suite of French nobles; nor did her influence extend only over Ethelwolf and his court, but also over that of his son and successor, whom she likewise married. It is true that the influence of a princess might only extend to the immediate circle which surrounded her, and fade without a trace among the people; but it is precisely within the influence of such circle that the vestiges of the Romaine are to be met, in edicts, authors, and poets, but not in the remote provinces. And here we may remark, *en passant*, that where a

language is indigenous the contrary happens, and we should listen in vain in the salons of the Tuilleries for the antique words of the Trouvères still common in the markets of the Bessin. On the death of Alfred, a close intimacy and intercourse continued between the courts of France and England; for Edward the Elder gave Charles the Simple his daughter Ogive in marriage, and she during the imprisonment of her husband sought the protection of England, and thither led the Prince Louis, heir to the throne of France, who with his attendants would assist in perpetuating the fashion of a language so much patronized by Alfred. It appears indeed to have been the language of the court of Edmund I., since Malcolm I. of Scotland, who was bred in England, adopted French, the court language of the country, and not his native Gaëlic¹. Again, Ethelred II. married Emma, daughter of Richard I. of Normandy, sought an asylum with his Queen for a time in that country, and left there his two sons, Alfred and Edward for education: "Duo verò filii in Normanniæ finibus ad nutriendum traditi, cum propinquo suo degebantur Roberto." [*Emmæ Angl. Reg. Encom.*] Edward the Confessor, who had resided nearly thirty years in Normandy, during a period of its greatest brilliancy, sought by every means to induce Normans to flock to his court; evinced for them, their manners, and language the

¹ See Essay on Origin of Scotch poetry.

greatest preference, and appointed them to fill the highest offices: "Rex autem Edwardus natus in Angliâ, sed nutritus in Normanniâ et diutissimè immoratus, pene in Gallicum transierat, adducens ac attrahens de Normanniâ plurimos, quos variis dignitatibus promotos in immensum exaltabat." [*Ingulfi Hist.*] He sent his kinsman Harold to be educated there, not only from his own predilection for the country, but as it was the custom of English nobles to send their children to France to be exercised in arms, and to lose the barbarity of their native dialect: "Dum pueriles ageret annos, ex mandato regis avunculi sui, apud ducem Neustriæ quam vulgò Normanniam vocant, educatur; eò quod apud nobilissimos Anglos usus tenet filios suos apud Gallos nutriri, ob usum armorum et linguæ nativæ barbariem tollendam." [*Gerv. Till.*] and under the influence of the king and the example of the nobles, the whole country began to abandon the English customs and imitate those of France, while the barons in their particular courts and halls spoke French, as the more elegant language: "Cœpit ergo tota terra, sub rege et sub aliis Normannis introductis, Anglicos ritus dimittere et Francorum mores in multis imitari; Gallicum idioma omnes magnates in suis curiis tamquam magnum gentilitium loqui." [*Ingulfi Hist.*] Any temptation, therefore, that the temperate Alfred might have had to borrow from his neighbours, the prejudiced Edward would have yielded to in excess;

so that when William paid a visit in England to the Confessor, instead of arriving at a court whose idiom he did not understand, he found that the almost universal language of Charlemagne, although it had not entirely superseded the native dialect, had usurped its place in the halls of justice, the court, and among the fashionable. Among the learned and distinguished persons who had access to William, was the historian Ingulphus; the affairs they had to transact together gave the Duke an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with his merits and virtues, and he was so delighted with him that he invited him to Normandy, appointed him his secretary, and Ingulphus informs us he governed his court. It might be adduced as some compliment to the literature of England, that so judicious a Prince should have selected this young foreigner to fill the office of secretary in preference to any of his own countrymen. The language of Ingulphus, we may presume, was as pure as that of William himself; and, without doubt, the Romaine, so generally planted and watered by courtly and universal favour, could not have failed to be disseminated through the land, if left to its natural workings; but William, by afterwards enacting ordinances in its favour, created an abhorrence of the dialect. The attempt to control the form of speech was the most repulsive and odious tyranny, and finally crushed its propagation. That we speak not at present Romaine is therefore stronger evidence

of our ancestors' detestation and resistance of oppression, than the few words which remain are proofs of their submission and subjection.

As the subdivision of France into duchies and counties produced almost as many dialects as there were provinces, so its union under one monarch effected an uniformity of tongue, and all spoke the language of the king's court, called French. In this, the idioms of the Troubadours and Trouvères were confounded and became merged, and their syntaxes so totally forgotten, that in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Villon attempted to imitate them, he, by one incongruity or another, only proved his ignorance. It may be, therefore, they never had any written grammar; yet it would be difficult to conceive works uniformly written, and the language taught, without determined and fixed rules, the neglect or contempt of which, with the learned self-sufficiency which makes Marot say, "Force pluriers pour singuliers, et plusieurs autres incongruitéz dont estoit plein le langage mal lymé d'icelluy temps:" and the judicious Abbé de Fleury repeat, "Je n' y trouve point de distinction du plurier et du singulier, ni de construction uniforme; en un mot aucune régularité,"—blindly noting faults and absurdities where they should have found correctness and beauties,—has lost for the French poetry a flexibility, a perspicuity, and a variety of graceful transpositions, which Fenelon, Rousseau, Florian, St. Pierre, and Mad. de Staël eagerly and

vainly desired, but with which the Troubadours and Trouvères had the art, facility, and taste to adorn their poems: "Ce que nous oste encore davantage la cognoissance de ceste ancienneté," complains the learned Pasquier: "c'est que s'il y eust un bon livre composé par nos ancestres, lors qu'il fut question de la transcrire, les copistes les copioient, non selon la naïsve langue de l'auteur, ains selon la leur . . . aussi chacun copiant changeoit l'ancien langage à celui de son temps . . . ce vieux Roman de la Rose, mais aussi en l'ordonnance de Saint Louys, je voy diversifié en autant de langages comme il y a eu de diversité de temps." [*Recherches de la France.*]

Page 210. (95.)—*To work in tapestry.*

We have existing a beautiful and curious example of this conjugal industry, affection, and fond zeal to celebrate and perpetuate her lord's renown, in "the Bayeux tapestry;" wherein the Queen Matilda, has wrought the epic of her husband's exploits, from Harold's first landing in Normandy and vow to cede the throne of England, to his fall at Hastings and William's Conquest. The scrupulous fidelity, the admirable taste, selection, and increasing interest of each successive scene, the detail and merits of the work, have been eulogised by many correct, learned, and elegant pens. A painting of a document so intimately connected with English history would grace

the British Museum, or Somerset House, and be a donation worthy of a royal or munificent patron.



QUEEN MATILDA.

Page 212. (96.)—*Vauquelin de Ferriers*

“ Nam Hugo de Monteforte filius Tustini cum Walchelino de Ferraris certavit, et in eo conflictu uterque occisus occubuit.” [*Will. Gem.*] The feud between Vauquelin, or Walkelin de Ferrières and Hugh de Montforte, in the commencement of William’s reign, offered an example of the most vindic-

tive animosity, and defied every mediation of the Archbishop of Rouen and their mutual friends to appease. Both of equal power, courage, and pride, they met, and both in the deadly conflict fell. Vauquelin de Ferrières left William and Henry, who distinguished themselves at the Conquest, and received commensurate rewards. William strongly espoused the party of Robert Courteuse; he was made prisoner at the siege of the château de Courcy, and again at Tinchebray. The commandant of Falaise had orders to render to none but William de Ferrières the keys of that city; this Courteuse, when in prison disclosed, and thus afforded Henry easy means of possessing himself of that fortress. To Henry, Lord of St. Hilaire de Ferrières, William, on acquiring England, granted Tutbury Castle, Salisbury, Ashby, and great possessions in Nottingham, Hereford, and Essex. This family did not become extinct in Normandy until the seventeenth century. Its descendants in England were Earls of Derby and Nottingham, and the title of Earl Ferrers is still extant. While Tutbury castle offers one of the most picturesque ruins in England, the ancient château of the lords of Ferrières on the Charentonne, between Bernay and Chambrais, by its magnificent position, magnitude, and profound and wide moats, still rivals it. The dependencies were of large extent. From their antiquity and the importance of their forges, the lords of Ferrières took the title of the Baron-Fossiers of Normandy: "*Silvæ Uticensi jus ferrariæ*

adjunctum ut cudendo ferro scindendoque ligno consumatur. Sed inter barones fossarios nancariosque primus tenet abbas Uticensis : Ferrarii autem vocantur, ut hoc interim explicem, ad quos scilicet ferrariæ seu fossæ carbonariæ, nam hæc promiscue usurpantur, pertinent. A fossis itaque fossarii nominati sunt. Nancarios verò plures appellatos volunt à Naca, vel Nacesternia, hoc est à vase quo aqua continetur, eo quod aquarum domini eos quibusdam veluti refragatis coercent ut post hac emissæ ferrariæ rotas implendo exegerint." [*Gal. Christ.*]

Page 212. (97.)—*The spirit Thoret.*

An imp of the Scandinavian god Tor, or Thor, was a kind of devil, though Wace is not quite sure of what fashion, or whether hobgoblin or not. The principal attributes of the spirit Thoret, were obedience, invisibility, and an imperfect prescience, of that nature,

“ That palter with us in a double sense,
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope.”

Thus when called he came ; he was heard of many but never seen ; and warned the Archbishop Mauger, of whom he was a familiar, while sailing along the Norman coast, that on that day some one on board the vessel would perish ! The Archbishop, [“ di-

vino judicio ignoratur," *Ord. Vit.*] duly admonished the crew. The wished-for port was in view, they stood boldly in for Cherbourg harbour, but lo ! the Archbishop, who was sitting near the taffarel, without shoes and stockings, and his breeches down,

*" Sor ses piez ses braies liés,
N'aveit mie chaucès chaudiè,"*

ROMAN DE ROU.

was knocked overboard by the mainsail, and going down head foremost, despite all their efforts, was drowned. On the tide going out, the Archbishop was found between two rocks, well covered by his small-clothes : he was duly buried at Cherbourg. Among other popular superstitions of the epoch, were the wonders of the fountain of Berenton, in the forest of Brecheliant; a favourite abode of fairies, and whose waters during the great heats, thrown up and sprinkled by the horns of the hunters, produced sweet and refreshing showers for the adjacent country. Wace himself had the intrepid curiosity to visit the forest of Brecheliant in search of these preternatural rarities ; he was not permitted to find other than very rugged ways, a deserted country, and an abundance of deer,

*" La alai jo marveilles querre,
Vis la forest è vis la terre :*

*Merveilles quis, mais nes trovai,
 Fol m' en revins, fol i alai,
 Fot i alai, fol m' en revins,
 Folie quis, por fol me tins."*

ROMAN DE ROU.

Duke Richard I. of equal hardihood with the poet, was more successful; and although he saw and met many ghosts, none could frighten him, or so intimidate him, but that he went about as boldly in the darkness of night, as in the light of day. He had also the goodly custom, be it either night or day, of praying (without, if shut) at every church he chanced to pass by. Now it happened one night, that according to this pious usage, arriving at a church, he left his attendants, and hanging his horse's bridle up at the portal, entered it. There stood in the aisle a bier containing the body of one deceased; passing close by which, throwing his gloves on a desk, the Duke knelt before the altar, kissed the ground, and commenced his prayer. He had not remained long thus, when behind him he heard the coffin crack, and the corpse move; turning thereupon, undismayed, he said, "Be thou a good or evil thing, lie in peace and move not!" then proceeded to finish his orison, and having made the holy sign of the cross on his face, he pronounced,

*"Per hoc signum Sanctæ Crucis
 Libera me de malignis
 Domine Deus salutis:"*

O 4

concluding his prayer with, "To thy keeping, O Lord, I deliver up my soul!" Then taking his sword, he was about to return, when lo! the devil upright stood before him, directly in his path, and with arms extended, as though he would seize the Duke, defended the door-way. Richard, baring his sword on the instant, clave him in twain, and he fell across the bier. Whether the devil made noise or cry, it is not said. The Duke, issuing from the church, had already taken his bridle, when he re-

Another adventure which befell
The pious Richard, here I'll tell;
A fact so marvellous and rare,
One scarce to give it credit dare.
If so many of good repute,
Did not it vouch beyond dispute,
And men discreet have told it me,
Who had it from their ancestry.
For oft it chances through negligence,
Through idleness or ignorance,
That curious facts remain unwrit,
Though pleasant, good, and full of wit.

10

In the Abbey of Saint Ouen¹,
That superb church of old Rouen,
This time sojourned a holy man,
The zealous, careful Sacristan;

¹ Celebrated for the extreme beauty of its architecture, and the exquisite colouring of its painted windows.

membered his gloves, and not willing to lose them he went back, passed the chancel, (how few men would have again entered there!) and taking up his gloves returned. On this account it was that the Duke Richard had it proclaimed and cried in every church and market-place, that henceforth, until its final interment, no corpse was to be left unattended. The which ordinance is duly observed unto this day. [*Wace.*]

*Altre adventure li avint,
 Ke la gent à merveille tint,
 E ki à paine fu créue
 Se ele ne fust de tant seue.
 Cunter l'ai oï à plusors
 Ki l'oïrent de lur ancessors ;
 Mez mainte feiz par nunchaloir, 5500
 Par perece è par non savoir
 Remaint maint bel fait à escrire,
 Ki bon sereit è bel à dire.
 En l'Abéie Saint-Oain
 Out à cel tens un Segrestain ;
 Tenus esteit pur léal muine,
 E mut aveit boen testimuine :*

Nor monk in all the monast'ry,
 Was so esteemed for probity.
 But more that virtue man exalts,
 The more the devil fiercely assaults. 20
 The saints most grieving in probation,
 By all species of temptation.
 The good Sacristan during prayer,
 Attending duly on his care,
 Mov'd by the working of the foe,
 Beheld a lady, lov'd her so,—
 So hotly burnt the lustful fire,
 He must obtain her or expire ;
 Nor could any vows religious,
 Deter him from the act flagitious ; 30
 With force of promise, prayer, and oath,
 Did he subdue the lady loth ;
 And she consents, when night was come,
 To him receive, by stealth, at home.
 But to approach her on the sly,
 A plank must he cross, which did lie
 O'er the Robec ¹, a puny river,
 Whose stream many mills makes quiver.
 When hop'd-for night was far advanced,
 Drowsy monks sound in sleep entranc'd, 40

¹ It has its source in the village of Fontaine-sous-Préaux,
 and running through the eastern quarter of Rouen, dis-
 charges itself into the Seine, at Jean-le-Cœur. In its course
 of about a league and a half, it sets in motion thirty corn-
 mills, one of oil, three of paper, three of indigo and madder,
 one for tan, four for stamping and pressing stuffs, eighteen

Mez de tant com home plus vaut,
De tant plus déable l'assant ;
Tant le vait il plus agaitant, 5510
E de plusurs guises tantant.
Li Segrestain ke jo vus di,
Par aguaitement de l'anemi,
Alout un jour par li mostier,
Pernant garde son mestier ;
Une Dame vit, si l'ama ;
A merveille la coveta :
Mort est se il sun bon n'en fait.
Ne remaindra pur rien k'il ait.
E tant il mist, tant li promis, 5520
Ke la Dame terme li mist
Ke la nulst à l'ostel alast,
E par la planche trespasast
Ki desuz Roobec esteit,
Une ewe ki de soz cureit ;
N'i poeit par aillors passer,
Ni autrement à lié parler.
La nuit kant fud bien asséri,
Ke muines furent endormi,

spinning-mills, and fourteen mills for printing cottons, besides a great many others employed by the dyers. Bourgueville, in 1588, thus truly describes it: "Aucunes fois iaulne, autres fois rouge, verte-bleuë, violée, et autres couleurs, selon qu'un grand nombre de teinturiers qui sont dessus, la diuersifient par interualles, en faisant leurs manœuvres."

Our Sacristan, trembling with lust,
Who wish'd no comrade, none would trust,
Alone arrives, the slight plank gains,
Can fate now mock his anxious pains?
Alas! from haste, slip, or stumble,
In the water he did tumble,
And was drown'd; his soul for peace hop'd,
Pinioned rudely ere it elop'd,
The devil seized; drags it forth the trunk,
To hell sped the amorous monk. 50
When lo! an angel staid their flight,
The soul demands, and claims his right;
Each did stoutly the soul contend,
Each did ably his cause defend.
Exclaim'd the devil, "You do me wrong
To claim the soul I bear along;
Angel! 'tis mine you know right well,
The monk was sinning when he fell.
His soul with wickedness was fraught,
In wicked act his soul was caught; 60
Ungodly walk'd the sinner's way,
In path ungodly made my prey.
' As I shall find thee when smitten,
' So I will judge thee,' 'tis written.
That he of crime was the lover,
His vile pursuit doth discover;
Nor can we better prove a fact,
Than taking in the very act.
When he fell, the path he then trudged
Had him mine already adjudged." 70

Li Segrestain fu en friçon, 5530
Ne vout ne ne quist cumpaingnon ;
A la planche vint, sus munta ;
Ne sai dire s'il abuissa,
U esgrilla, u meshanéa,
Mais il chaï si se néia.
Un deable l'alme scisi
Si tost cum el del cors issi ;
En enfer la voleit ravir,
Mez un Angle li volt tolir :
Chescun volt tirer l'alme à sei, 5540
E chescun dist raisun pur kei.
Deables dist : Tu me faiz tort ¹,
Ke me tout l'alme ke jeu port.
Dunc ne sai tu ke l'alme est meie
Dex k'ele est prise en male veie ?
En male veie esteit entrée,
E en male ovre l'ai truvée ;
En veie de mal s'esteit mise,
E en veie de mal l'ai prise.
Iloc à jo te truverai, 5550
Hoc, dist Dex, te jugerai.
Li muine ai truvè en male ovre,
La veie à il ert le descuvre ;
N'i estuet avoir altre prueve,
Dex ke l'um a méfet le trueve.
La veie à il ert de péchie,
Kant il chaï l'ad jà jugie.

¹ " Ma un de' neri Cherubini
 Gli disse ; nol portar ; non mi far torto."
 DANTE, *Inferno*, c. xxvii.

The angel from on high replied,
 " No more ! you argue but one side,
 As fits monk, while in his convent,
 He on chant and sermon was bent.
 Religious he was always held,
 Nor guile in him was e'er beheld.
 Both right and justice do decree,
 Holy scripture doth too agree,
 To godliness its just reward,
 Or punishment to crime accord. 80
 Guerdon to this one refuse not,
 Then, for the good things that we wot ;
 For what avails his doing well,
 If him you bear away to hell ?
 Nor was yet done the naughty deed
 For which your judgment is decreed :
 The Abbey he had left, 'tis true !
 Had reached the plank, admitted too !
 Yet might the sin have repented,
 Had not return his fall prevented. 90
 And for a fault thus not yet done,
 One can't be harsh with any one.
 Yet you, for a thought most idle,
 A longing he could not bridle,
 A monk would judge, and damn to howl !
 Thou art wrong ! let in peace his soul !
 Yet since some strife may still remain,
 That neither cause have to complain,
 Richard we'll make our referee,
 And both abide by his decree. 100
 We know Duke Richard ever just,
 We both may to his honour trust ;

Li Angles Dex li respundi :
Tais tei, dist-l, n'iert mie issi ;
Li muine fu de bone vie, 5560
Tant come il fud en l'Abéie ;
Bien è léalement ad vesku,
N'avum de li nul mal véu.
Ceo testimuine l'Escripture,
E raisun est bien è dreiture
Ke tut bien iert guereduné,
E chescun mal sera pené :
Cil deit avoir li gueredun
Des biens k' a fet ke nus savun.
Ke sera li bien devenu 5570
Ke il ad fait, s'il est perdu ?
Unkor n' aveit fait li péchié
Dunc tu l'as jà prix è jugié.
De l'Abéie esteit iessu,
Et à la planche esteit venu ;
Uncore se poust il retraire,
S'il ne chaî, del péchié faire ;
E de la malice k'il ne fist,
Si ne pot estre tant reprist.
Pur solement sun fol pensé 5580
E pur un poi de volenté
Le veuls jugier è veus dampner.
Tu as grant tort, lait l'alme ester ;
E pur l'estrif ke il remaine
Ke l'un de l'autre ne s'en plaingne
Alun ça el Cunte Richart
Si nus metum en son esgart.
Il nus jugera léalment,
K'il ne fet nul faus jugement ;

We'll stand by his arbitration,
Sans dispute, sans litigation."

The devil said, "Oh, with all my heart !
Come of the soul help to bear part !"

Straight to Richard went they flying,
In his bedroom found him lying.
The Duke had slept, yet wakened then,
And pondered o'er the ways of men. 110

Their strife to him they did relate,
Each matter of their long debate ;—
How the monk had, lured by folly,
Stolen out of Saint Ouen's Abbey,
On fornication doubtless bent,
Though unachieved the foul intent ;
Since missing on the plank his way,
Drowned in the river he did lay.
They judgment seek, and judgment pray,
Which the monk's soul should bear away. 120

"Go quickly," the Duke briefly said,
"Conjoin'd be soul and body laid ;
The monk, sans deceit and palter,
On the plank without the water,
Where he stood when he rolled nigh hell,
Place upright, as before he fell ;
If in advance a step he goes,
Step or foot, or the intent shows,
Off with him, devil, naught will atone ;
No further cavit, he's your own ! 130
But if the monk penitent seems,
And turns back, his soul he redeems."

A ço k'il dira nus tenum, 5590

Sainz cuntredit et sainz tençum.

Li deables dist : Jo l'otrei,

Si seit l'alme entre mei è tei.

Sempres sunt à Richart venu

En une chambre ù sun lit fu ;

Dormi aveit, mez dunc veillout,

De plusurs choses purpensout.

La parole li unt cuntée

Si cum ele ert entrels alée :

Del muine ki par tele folie 5600

Esteit iessu de s' Abéie,

En la veie esteit de péchié

Mais n' i aveit encor tuchié ;

De la planche esteit trèsbuchié.

Et en l'ewe de suz néié,

Jugement face è die veir

Ki deit l'alme del muine avoir.

E Richart lur a dist briefment :

Alez, dist-il delivrement,

Metex al muine l'alme el cors, 5610

E de l'ewe le metex fors ;

Ne seit decéu ne surpris ;

De sor la planche reseit mis,

Iluec tut dreit dunc il chaï

Quant il trèsbucha è péri ;

E se il vait plain pié avant,

U pié, u pas, u tant, u quant,

Aut li deables, si la prenge

Sainz cuntredit è sainz chalenge ;

E se li muine se retrait 5620

E turne arrere, sa paiz ait.

At the Duke's pronounced decision,
They most humbly bowed submission.
When the body the soul did gain,
The monk began to breathe again ;
Erect he rose, and straight was bore,
Exact where he had stood before.
Now when the good monk firmly found
That on the plank he'd footing sound, 140
He turn'd, and ran with greatest fear,
As man who flees a serpent near.
He turned direct, and homeward fled,
As man who flies some murder dread.
Once more let loose, away he flew,
Nor to his keepers bade adieu.
To the abbey in haste he sped,
There doff'd his clothes, and crouch'd in bed ;
With fears of death he shakes throughout,
If truly alive has great doubt. 150

Duke Richard near the break of day,
To Saint Ouen's church repairs to pray ;
The friars summoned, meet in hall,
For our good monk the Duke did call.
He came, his gown and cowl were wet,
For he hadn't time to dry them yet.
No sooner did the monk appear,
Than Richard called the Abbot near :
" Brother," said he, " o' thyself what think'st thou ?
Last night thou wert oddly caught, I trow ! 160

Li jugement ke Richart fist
Ne cil ne cist ne cuntredist :
L'alme unt ariere el cors portée
E li muine l'ad recovrée ;
Dunc leva sus è reveski,
E fu mis là dunt il chaï.
Dèz ke li muine s'aparcheut,
E sur la planche en piez s'estut,
Ariere mist plus tost sun pié 5630
Ke hoem ki a serpent marchié.
Delivrement fu al retor
Cum hoem ki de moot a poor,
E cil k'il tindrent l'unt lessié,¹
Unkes ne prist de els cungié,
En l'Abéie tost se enfui,
Ses drax escut è se tapi ;
Uncore là morir creismeit,
Et en dote ert se il viveit.
Quant Richart leva al jur cler, 5640
A Saint-Oen ala urer :
Li covent fist tut asemler,
E li muine fist demander ;
Li muine vint sex drax muilliez
Nes' aveit uncor pas séchiez.
Le Quens l'ad à sei apelé,
Venir le fist devant l'Abé :
Frère, dist-il, ke vus est vis ?
Cument futes vus entrepris ?

¹ The period at "lessié," as pointed in the printed copies, adds to the force and beauty of the idea ; yet I fear the context will not admit it.

Take heed ! Prithee look well before,
 When a slight plank you next cross o'er !
 Come to my lord Abbot, tell true,
 How the last night has fared with you ?"
 The monk turned red, was full of shame,
 He feared the Duke's and Abbot's blame ;
 Yet rightly all he straight did own,
 How he went forth, how he was drown ;
 How by the devil was ensnared,
 How he was delivered by Richard. 170
 All his disaster he confess'd,
 Its truth the Duke did full attest.
 The fact was proved thus past gainsay,
 To the public thus found its way ;
 And long after in Normandy,
 The people cried in raillery,
 ' Sir Monk, take heed, look well before,
 When a false plank you next cross o'er !'

Page 224. (98.)—" *The Saint Voul.*"

Malfort appears choice in his oaths, and uses those which maintained their fashion for many years. "By the splendour of God,"—"Par la resplendor Dé,"—was the favourite adjuration of the Conqueror; and his son Rufus used habitually "Par li vo de Luche." "Per vultum" ait "de Luca" [*Will. Mal.*].—"By the holy visage of [painted by] Luke." M. E. H. Langlois remarks, that the "Saint Voul" is a representation of Christ crowned with thorns, and bathed

Gardez vus miez altre feiz, 5650
Quant à la planche passereiz ;
Cuntez a l'Abé la vérité
U vus avez à nuit esté.
Ruvi li muine et out hunte
Pur sun Abé è pur li Cunte,
E nequedent tut regéhi,
Cument ala, cument péri,
Cument deable l'engina,
Cument li Quens li délivra,
Tute la vérité cunta, 5660
E li Quens tut testimunia.
Issi fu la chose séue,
E la vérité cognéue.
Lunges fu puis par Normendie
Retraite ceste gaberie :
Sire Muine suef alez,
Al pusser planche vus gardez.

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in tears and blood, as presented on the veil of Saint Veronica or Bérénice ; but that the "Saint Voulte de Lucques" is a Christ in sumptuous garments, and crowned with jewels. William of Malmesbury constantly repeats this asseveration of king William Rufus, which has been misinterpreted, to intend "the face of St. Luke." The oath of the Duke Robert, "Par li cuer de mon ventre," was neither so emphatic nor euphonic as his son's and grandson's.

Page 229. (99.)—" *Ever greedy of turbulence.*"

On his death-bed, according to Orderic Vital, William the Conqueror thus expressed his opinion of his subjects: "Normanni, si bono rigidoque dominatu reguntur, strenuissimi sunt, et in arduis rebus invicti omnes excellunt, et cunctis hostibus fortiores superare contendunt. Alioquin sese vicissim dilaniant atque consumunt, rebelliones enim cupiunt, seditiones enim appetunt, et ad omne nefas prompti sunt. Rectitudinis ergo forti censura coerceantur et fræno disciplinæ per tramitem justitiæ gradiri compellantur. Si verò ad libitum suum sine jugo ut indomitus onager ire permittuntur, ipsi et principes eorum penuriâ et confusione probrosâ opperientur. Pluribus hoc expere-mentis jamdudum edidici; proximi consanguineique mei, qui debuissent contra mortales me omnis modis tutari frequenti conspiratione factâ in me surrexerunt, et pene omnem patris mei hereditatem mihi abstulerunt."

Page 229. (100.)—" *Protection of Henry of France.*"

Robert himself conducted the infant William to Henry, at Paris. That monarch received them with the utmost cordiality and magnificence, and promised his benefactor, the Duke Robert, during his life, to protect and assist the young boy in every circum-

stance. How this vow was fulfilled, if we may credit the Norman historians, there has been frequent occasion, in these notes, to allude to. M. Le Prévost, [after throwing much doubt on Henry's attack on Tillières,] when speaking of that monarch's alliance with the Count of Exmés [see Note 85], with great candour makes the following notable and exculpatory observation : " Cette seconde expédition du monarque Français en Normandie ne nous est également garantie par aucun témoignage contemporain autre que celui de Guillaume de Jumiéges, et nous paraît assez douteuse. Nous avons de la peine à nous expliquer 1. Quels obstacles ont pu arrêter le roi parvenu à Argentan, et l'empêcher de faire sa jonction avec le vicomte d'Exmés, qui avait levé l'étendard de la révolte dans Falaise. 2. Comment après une offense aussi grave et qui devait être assez récente, Guillaume va lui-même demander et obtient si facilement, en 1047, la protection de Henri contre ses sujets révoltés. 3. Comment Orderic Vital n'a fait aucune mention d'événemens dont le pays qu'il habitait aurait été le théâtre. Nous sommes portés à penser que ce ne fut qu'après la bataille des Dunes qu'il y eut rupture entre le jeune duc et le roi de France, sous la protection duquel son père l'avait placé, et à qui il aurait été, ce nous semble, si facile de s'emparer d'une province livrée à toutes les horreurs de l'anarchie, et d'un prince qu'il fallait souvent cacher dans les retraites les plus obscures pour le soustraire au poignard de ses sujets."

Page 230. (101.)—" *Reginald.*"

Reginald, the son of Onfroi de Carteret, Collins's Peerage informs us, accompanied Robert in this pilgrimage. According to Wace, Onfroi and Mauger de Carteret, in the arrondissement of Volognes, accompanied the Conqueror to England. This family long since extinct in Normandy, continues to flourish in Jersey and in England, where the Thynnes, Marquises of Bath, and Lords of Carteret, derive their descent in the female line from Onfroi.

Page 230. (102.)—" *Many of his choicest friends.*"

"Robertus Normannorum Dux cum ingenti multitudine suæ gentis Hierosolymam proficiscens, detulit secum plurima auri et argenti donaria." [*Glabri Rodulphi.*]

Page 242. (103.)—" *Sorrow.*"

"Qui quamvis circa rebelles fuerit ferocior moribus, benevolus tamen extitit lenis et benignus, et erga Dei cultum pius ac devotus." [*Will. Gem.*]

Page 242. (104.)—" *Raoul de Tancarville.*"

This family were hereditary chamberlains to the Dukes of Normandy. The statements of the English

genealogists, that Raoul, the tutor to William, had three sons, who accompanied the Conqueror, and from one of whom are descended the Clintons, Dukes of Newcastle, M. Le Prévost considers more than apocryphal. He was, in all probability, too old, his children too young, for that expedition, and remained in Normandy, to assist the Queen Matilda in the administration of the duchy. The circumstance which might induce the error alluded to, is, that both Geffroi de Clinton, and William de Tancarville, held the office of chamberlain to Henry I.; in explanation of which, it is suggested that the office passed to the Clintons on William de Tancarville's disgrace in 1118. It was this William, the fifth son of Raoul, whose consolations so mitigated the grief of Henry I. on the loss of his son William Adelin, as to prevail on him to take sustenance.

Among the monuments which have escaped the destruction of time, war, and revolutions, is the abbey church of St. George de Boscherville, founded by Raoul in 1066. In 1114, William de Tancarville obtained the authority of Henry I. to place there ten monks from Saint Evroult. A charter of Richard Cœur-de-Lion to this abbey, sealed with a large seal of red wax, is still extant. The whole of the edifice deserves the utmost attention of the antiquarian and amateur; nor will they feel less gratification at the cordial reception and extensive information of its present amiable curé, M. l'Abbé Défer.

A charter of donation, by Raoul de Tancarville, of

the church of Mireville to Jumiéges, proves that he was still alive in 1079.

Page 242. (105.)—" *Freed from their imposts.*"

Numerous are the anecdotes related of the Duke Robert during his travels to Jerusalem : among them, the extreme patience with which he bore his cross. For having to leave a town in Burgundy at day-break, and being last of his suite, the surly warder of the gate, anxious to return to bed, in order to hasten his pace, struck the Duke. In an instant, a hundred pilgrims' staffs threatened to chastise this insolence; but the Duke defended the man, saying, "Remember we are pilgrims, no longer men of war; much it behoves us to suffer for the expiation of our sins: the blow of this ruffian is now more valuable to me than my good city of Rouen." The cheerful resignation with which he endured sickness, has been noticed in Note 24; but these anecdotes chiefly exemplify his great generosity, munificence, and sumptuousness, not unfrequently, as that of the Pilgrim of Pirou, mixed with wit and satire. At Rome, which city he entered with great magnificence, on being shown the superb bronze equestrian statue of the Emperor Constantine [*Quære*, Marcus Aurelius], he said it was disgraceful that the Roman princes did not clothe their monarch; and on the night of his de-

parture, had it covered by the richest mantle that could be procured. Nothing could surpass the pomp of Robert's entrance into Constantinople; his mule's feet were loosely shod with gold, which, detaching itself, fell a prey to the lucky finder¹. On being admitted to an audience with the Emperor, not admiring the reclining position of the Greeks, he doubled up his rich and gemmed mantle to sit on; this example was followed by his retinue. On rising, the Emperor's attendants offered to help them to their cloaks; but the Duke said,—“It was not the custom of the Normans to carry their seats with them;” and he and his court retired without cloaks. On arriving at his hotel, he directed his attendants to take, in lieu of the mantles so left, the richest he possessed. The Emperor, anxious to show a respect equal to the rank and character of Robert, commanded everywhere the greatest honours should be paid him; and that all his and retinue's wants should be satisfied from the royal treasury. This, however, did not suit the munificent disposition of Robert: he declined it, preferring to pay largely for everything. The Emperor determined that Robert should be under some obligation to him, had it forbidden, in any manner, to sell wood for the use of the Normans. The magnificent Robert, therefore,

¹ This was imitated by the ostentatious De Richelieu, when ambassador at the Court of Vienna.

ordered all their fires to be made with nuts, which gave not only a greater heat, from the oil they contained, but an agreeable odour. The Emperor was delighted at this ingenious and extravagant expedient, and soon rescinded his orders. In remembrance of the Normans, he ordered rich seats in all the public gardens and places of entertainment, for the use of strangers. On arriving at Jerusalem, the Duke found the suburbs crowded with miserable pilgrims, who, unable to pay the tribute of a bezant, (demanded from such as desired to approach the holy sepulchre,) remained in the utmost wretchedness, their vow unaccomplished, and unable to receive the reward of their long travel and fatigue. "Heart of my body," exclaimed the Duke, "but ye shall all enter the city; and, by the help of God, content your pious desires." He ordered, therefore, immediately, a bezant to be given to each pilgrim; nor would he enter the city, until, with shouts of joy, and praying blessings on him, the whole of the multitude had passed before. The pagan governor, not less generous than the Christian, directed the whole sum instantly to be returned to Robert, who forthwith again divided it among these poor people. Indeed, during the whole of the Duke's sojourn at Jerusalem, there was a constant struggle of rival generosity, between the Syrian governor and the Norman Duke :—

*“ Ne vus puis cunter le noblesces,
 Ne li honurs, ne li hautesces,
 Ne li despences ke il fist,
 Ne li offerendes k'il mist
 Al sepulchre en Ierusalem.”*

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Page 242. (106.)—“ *At Nice.*”

“ Porro invictus Dux pius et Deo amabilis, adorato Christo cum internorum singultuum suspiritu, et peragratis sanctorum locis felicissimum convertens iter ad Nicenam regressus est urbem.” [*Guil. Gem.*] Robert Wace agrees with many of the historians, in attributing the Duke Robert's death to poison given to him at Nice by one of his domestics. The supposition that poison was administered is corroborated by the statement, that the Count Drogon, and some other nobles, perished immediately after partaking of the same repast :—

*“ Sun repaire fist tresk' à Niche,
 Iluec fu mort par un toxiche
 Ke li duna par félunie
 Un Pautonier, ke Deus maldie.*

.

*Li quens Drogen od li morut
 Del beuire dont li Dus but.*

P 3

The Duke was buried at the Cathedral of Nice, Saint Mary's, where no one, previous to him, had received the honours of sepulchre. William the Conqueror gave orders for the remains of his father to be disinterred, and conveyed to Cérisy, the spot so loved by him ; but the officers who were entrusted with the execution of this pious mission, hearing, on their return to La Pouille, of the Conqueror's death, gave there a second burial to the ashes of the Duke Robert: [See Notes 29 and 87.] "Patris memoriam quantis poterat occasionibus, extollens, ossa olim Niceæ condita sub extremo tempore per legatum transferebat ; sed ille prospere rediens, auditâ morte Willielmi, apud Apuliam resedit, sepultis ibi illustris viri exuviis." [*Will. Mal.*]

APPENDIX.

THE epoch at which this tale is laid, led me, whilst engaged in the foregoing Notes, to speak of, and weigh an event, which, though of undoubted importance, and of the utmost interest, impresses me with results far different from what I anticipated. Without going the length of those writers who deny altogether the Conquest, and regard the whole as summed up in the words of the laconic chronicle of Fécamp, “MLXXII. Willelmus, Dux Normannorum, Rex fit Angliæ, occiso Haroldo.” [*Chro. Fiscanensi apud Lab-bian.*] I cannot but consider there is an universal proneness¹ to magnify the consequences wrought

¹ A recent French author has even attributed to Norman blood the English love of liberty. The Normans, who in France, and wherever they got a footing, attempted to root out everything like freedom in the institutions they found; who had no ideas of polity beyond military despotism and feudalism, and whose utmost liberality was to force, with increased oppression on others, the manacles which wrung themselves, and the bondage under which they groaned!

throughout England by the victory of William ; that the effects of the rapacity of his followers must be regarded but in the nature of a passing pestilence, and the changes William himself made, to be rather on paper, than a durable overthrow of the customs, manners, and polity of the people. It was not less easy for William to grant nine hundred seigniories to any favourite, than for his successor to run his pen through the grant ; but the influence such a change would have on the mass of the population, might perhaps be little more than the appointment of a present lord-lieutenant : nor were such services as he was authorized to claim easily exacted from, and made the custom of a reluctant people, whose habits it takes centuries to change, and who are ever ready to fly back with obstinate tenacity to the ancient usages of their forefathers. Although William had force sufficient, with the help of his friends, the wavering of many, and the indifference of the optimists, to take advantage of the distracted counsels of those who opposed his claim on Harold's death, and to plant garrisons throughout the land, the strong, populous, and disaffected parts of which, as Hampshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, he was obliged, by a cruel but necessary policy, to reduce to the level of his own strength, by fire, famine, destruction of houses, crops, implements of husbandry, and slaughter of the people in masses, he had no superfluous and peaceful settlers in his train, who, intermixing with the population, changed its character, and created an Anglo-Norman race. The utmost

force William could collect from all sides was 60,000: 15,000 perished at the battle of Hastings; the remaining 45,000 were gradually lessened by his loss at the battle of Dover,—by his losses in his progress through the country; at Exeter, Lincoln; in Northumberland; by the attacks of the Danes and Welch; by his losses in those daily, bloody skirmishes, of which all authors speak; and through the fierce assassinations of all stragglers, and weak parties, by which the natives gloried to wreak revenge. The pestilence which infected the land devastated his troops also; but most of all was their number weakened by desertion, if such a term can be used of men not regular soldiers, but who, for a stated period, had left their lands, wives, and children; and who, having performed their service, and finding more hard blows than islands to govern, were anxious to return to their ploughs and spouses, who had refused to follow them to a land bristling with arms and drenched in blood. Nor was this feeling found only among the vulgar and less ambitious; it was one which acted more powerfully than bribes, grants, power, and threats, on many of the most eminent: “qui cum illo præcipue cœtibus suis stipatus in bello Anglico discrimina pertulit verùm postquam . . . Neustriam repetiit.” [*Ord. Vit.*]

When we have estimated these losses, and reflect that William had no means of recruiting his force, thus weakened, by fresh drafts, summonses, and enlistments in Normandy, since already he had to

the utmost, by every art, drawn out the strength and exhausted the country ; in fact, that Philip of France, anxious to hold the Vexin, was preparing for hostilities ; his cousin, the Count of Flanders, petitioning him for aid ; his son Robert, and the discontented, perpetually fomenting discord through the provinces ; and that Anjou ripe for revolt, and Maine in arms, made the duchy rather call for assistance than offer aid—it appears evident, that the harassed Norman troops who remained, could have little leisure, opportunity, or inclination, to settle among the English, whose reception in no way tempted them to abandon their rural abodes and domestic enjoyments amidst the orchards of Normandy. The small returns, in point of number, of the Norman landholders, made by the great survey of the kingdom, as collected in Domesday-Book, has been the subject of great surprise, though ingeniously and learnedly accounted for. Confining ourselves to a few years of the reigns of William and his sons, and without any long research, from the following sample of the fate of the principal companions of William, whose disgrace involved also in ruin and banishment their friends, frequently even those who held ecclesiastical dignities, we may come to some conclusion, from the durability of their tenures, of the extent of the influence of the Norman lords in England.

Odo, Viceroy, brother to the Duke, Count Palatine of Kent, imprisoned by William. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Robert, Earl of Mortain and Cornwall, governor of Pevensey Castle, brother to the Duke. 973 seigniories.

His son William died mutilated in prison. His lands confiscated by Rufus.

Eudes, Lord of Albemarle and Holderness, half brother to the Duke, died in prison. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutance. 248 manors, bequeathed to his nephew Mowbray, confiscated by Rufus.

Roger Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford and the Isle of Wight. Lands confiscated by William: died in prison.

William Fitz-Osborne, Lord of Breteuil. No issue.

Ralph de Gauder, Earl of Norfolk, imprisoned during the life of William. Lands confiscated: died in the Holy Land.

Hugo de Grentmesnil, Earl of Leicester, governor of Hampshire. Lands confiscated by William. Issue died young.

Humphrey de Telleuil, Count of Hastings. Lands confiscated by William.

Robert D'Eu, cousin to the Duke, emasculated by Rufus. No issue.

Ralph de Warrenne. 298 manors, confiscated by Henry on his son William.

Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, died in prison. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Hugh de Gourney, retired to a convent. His heir, Girard, having no inheritance in England, went to the Holy Land.

Eustace de Boulogne. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Robert de Bellême. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Alain the Red, Count of Brittany. No issue.

Robert de Molines, banished by Henry. No issue.

Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester. Brother, son, and grandsons perished in the *Blanche Nef* with William Adelin.

Roger de Lacy, 185 manors. Lands confiscated by Rufus.

Walter de Treley, extinct. Henry I.

Quesnay, extinct. Henry I., or soon after.

Hugh de Montfort, 114 manors : became monk.

Robert, his son, banished by Henry I., died in the Holy Land.

William Mallet, Sheriff of York ; great grants in Suffolk ; confiscated from his son *Robert* by Henry I.

Bernard de Saint Valery refused all grants, and returned with his followers to Normandy.

William de Vieux Pont, killed in 1085 [*Ord. Vit.*], or died in the convent of St. Pierre-sur-Dive. [*Gal. Christ.*]

Robert de Beaufou and his sons took the cowl, and died in the convent of Bec.

William Crispin, 84 manors. His son Milon died without issue. Henry I.

Robert de la Haie, Lord of Hainac. His son had no male issue.

Fitz-Ernest, killed at Hastings.

Ralph Tesson, killed at Hastings.

Engenulfe de l'Aigle, killed at Hastings.

As it will correct an error into which many esteemed authors have fallen, I will only add, that neither Ralph de Tancarville nor his sons accompanied William to England; neither did Martel, Count d'Anjou, Roger de Montgomeri Néel St. Sauveur, Harcourt, nor Roger de Beaumont. If Ralph de Main were at Hastings is doubtful.

How little William, during the latter years of his reign, held England by Norman influence, or rather how exterminated it was in that country, is proved by Rufus,—being accepted by the English,—at once mounting the throne, contrary to the interests, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the Earls of Kent, Cornwall, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Holderness, Clare, Lacy, and the principal Norman lords, whose power he everywhere overthrew, and drove them and their forces, with aid sent from Normandy, back in defeat and disgrace; invaded Normandy, held the Duke long in subjection to him, and finally possessed himself of the duchy. Throughout his dominions English families regained their ascendancy; and the fashions of his court were obsequiously embraced at Rouen. Henry, in the same manner, often a fugitive in Normandy, received by the English party, invades

and possesses himself of Neustria, makes Robert captive in his own dominions, and sends him, and such of the principal Norman lords as he pleases, in chains to England. The Norman barons¹, it therefore appears, so far from maintaining any durable power in England, possessed none at home². The effort to support William in his claim to the heirdom of Edward, had utterly exhausted them and the country, which gave up the ghost in the struggle. On the day William sailed for Pevensey ends the history of Normandy; after which it was overrun by England or France, as the cupidity and power of the sovereigns of either kingdom led them to desire its possession. The ambition of the son of Arlette to legitimize his parenty to Saint Edward, and to adorn his brows

¹ Former English heralds and genealogists, from idleness, or a mistaken vanity, despised by the Welch and Irish, on [and frequently without] the slightest possible derivation, or approximation of name or armorial bearings, forthwith grafted any one they had the handling of, on some Norman stock, without troubling themselves to carry their labours to an investigation of any claims of kindred to the far more ancient and honourable indigenous nobility. Titles also, as Albemarle, Percy, Manvers, Rivers, &c., often mislead our ears, though in possession of the descendants of Arnold, Ivost, Van Keppel, Smithson, Meadows, Pitt, &c.

² Strikingly proved in the Count d'Anjou's triumphant progress through the country.

with the crown of England, stained her soil with much of her best blood, and cost to Normandy that independence¹ which she had not ingloriously maintained for a hundred and fifty years.

Page 97, Vol. II. (48.)—*A.D.* 1084.

Fragment of Pope Gregory's letter to William, on the imprisonment of the Bishop of Bayeux his brother.
MS. Cod. Bib. Nat., Paris.

“Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Guillelmo Regi Anglorum salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Communis amor et sincera devotio quam erga B. Petrum apostolum gerimus, ex longo jam tempore inter nos amicitiam junxit; atque adeò invicem inde magis convaluit, quia et ego te præ cæteris tui ordinis apostolicæ sedi devotum animadverti, et tua me claritudo inter aliquos prædecessores tuos

¹ That Normandy was an independent state will hardly be controverted, on the ground, that the kings of France claimed homage as lords paramount; and that, excepting during the troubles at the commencement of the reigns of Louis Outremer, and of Henry I., it was never free from the direct interference and troops of the kings of France; who, as circumstances called forth, appointed governors to Rouen and the principal cities, held the person of the Duke in prison, or in tutelage, or invaded the territory.

[*qu. meus*] circa honorem apostolicæ sedis credidit ampliùs sudasse. Denique cum in malis moribus idem velle et nolle perniciosam sæpe factionem conficiet, consequens videtur, ut in bonis rebus idem studium animique desiderium, diverso quamlibet spatio terrarum disjunctos, in uno dilectionis glutino copulet. Verùm licet quædam regiæ potestates non modicum doleant, et in nos sæpissimè murmurent se quodammodo contemni; et conquerantur se non sic ab apostolicâ sede diligi, nec ita factis aut sermonibus per nos honorari, minimè tamen nos pœnitet, nec deinceps, Deo favente, pœnitebit. Speramus etenim celsitudinis tuæ industriam, in eadem sanctæ ecclesiæ devotione justitiæque studio semper mansuram, ac in melius etiam opitulante Domino, de cætero ditandam. Unde merito nos oportet in ejusdem dilectionis tenore perseverare, immo per diuturnitatem temporum, crescentibus meritis magis ac magis excrescere. Unum tamen interea nos tangit, et tangendo angustat; atque inter regaliū tuarū virtutum insignia monumenta lætitiā in amico corde violenter obnubilat, videlicet quòd in capiēdo germanum tuum Episcopum, non sicut decuit propriæ honestati prospiciens, sed sæcularem cantelam et rationem divinæ legi præponens, sacerdotalem reverentiam minùs vigilanter attendisti; et quidem non latere tuam prudentiam credimus scriptum esse [quod de sacerdotibus maximè oportet intelligi] ‘ Qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei;’ et alibi, ‘ Nolite tangere Christos meos;’ et

quod Dominus ipse sacerdotibus, licet parvis et valde indignis, honorem deferre non sit dedignatus. Quam rem piæ memoriæ Constantinus, præcipuus videlicet Imperator, intelligens, in Nicæna synodo nullam in Episcopos ab ipsis etiam Episcopis accusationem voluit suscipere, nullumque contra eos iudicium præsumpsit inferre, dicens: ‘Vos Dei estis, à vero Deo constituti; ideo non oportet ut nos homines Deos præsumamus iudicare.’ Quanta etiam sit sacerdotii dignitas, quantaque sublimitas Episcopalis, B. Ambrosius doctor, scilicet eximius, vestram doceat magnitudinem, vestramque instruat prudentiam, in Pastoralis suo sic ponens: ‘Honor igitur patris et sublimitas Episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari; si regum fulgori compares et principum diademati, longè erit inferius quam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares’” [cætera desunt].

Page 98, Vol. II. (40.)

Fragment of a letter from Pope Gregory to the Archbishop of Lyons, on the imprisonment of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, by his brother William, King of the English, Duke of Normandy:—

“Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto in Christo, fratri Lugdunensi Archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad notitiam tuam pervenisse non dubitamus qualiter Anglorum

Rex in fratrem et co-episcopum nostrum Bajocensem contra fas et honestum ausus est manum mittere, eumque contra regiam modestiam, reverentiamque sacerdotalem impudenter captum, et impudentiùs adhuc in custodia" [plura non habet membrana lacera].

Page 215, Vol. II. (48.)

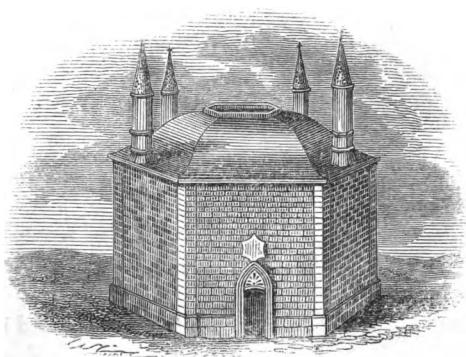
The following epitaph, written by Thomas, Archbishop of York, was engraved in a sheet of gold on William's tomb :—

*" Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audaciter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cænomensis virtute coercuit ensis :
Rex magnus parvâ jacet hâc Guillelmus in urnâ,
Sufficit et magno parva domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
Virginis in gremio Phæbus, et sic obiit."*

Page 161. (49.)

On the tomb of Queen Matilda was sculptured her statue, as large as life, ornamented with gold and precious stones. Engraved in gold was the following epitaph :—

*"Egregiè pulchri tegit hæc structura sepulchri
Moribus insignem, germen regale, Mathildem :
Dux Flandrita pater, hinc exstitit Adala mater ;
Francorum gentis Roberti filia regis
Et soror Henrici, regali sede potiti ;
Regi magnifico Guillelmo juncta marito,
Præsentem sedem recenter fecit, et ædem
Tam multis terris, quam multis rebus honestis
A se ditatam, se procurante ditatam.
Hæc consolatrix inopum, pietatis amatrix,
Gazis dispensis, pauper sibi, dives egenis,
Hæc infinitæ petiit consortia vitæ
In prima mensis, post primam, luce Novembris."*



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