

EADMER'S
History of Recent Events
in England

HISTORIA NOVORUM IN ANGLIA

Translated from the Latin by
GEOFFREY BOSANQUET
with a Foreword by
R. W. SOUTHERN

LONDON
THE CRESSET PRESS

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*Published in Great Britain by
The Cresset Press, 11 Fitzroy Square, London W1
First published in 1964*

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*Printed in Great Britain by the Shenvall Press Ltd
London, Hertford and Harlow*

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Translator's Note

THIS translation, made from the printed latin text edited by Martin Rule in the Rolls Series (1884), comprises Books I to IV of the *Historia*, being the whole work as originally intended and written by Eadmer (Edmer). It does not include Books V and VI which he added some ten years later, as explained by Professor Southern in his Foreword.

The figures in the margin refer to the paging in Martin Rule's edition of the latin text.

The book makes no claim to be more than a translation. It remains for a younger and better equipped scholar in the future to produce a critical edition of Eadmer's *Historia* with references to other sources and appropriate annotations.

I cannot sufficiently express my indebtedness to Professor R. W. Southern, without whose generous help and encouragement the work would never have reached the stage of publication. To this debt he has added greatly by the delightful and informative Foreword which he has written for the book. I am also indebted to Dom David Knowles for suggestions, especially in the translation of the Preface.

Finally I should like to pay a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my friend the late Dr Gordon Ward of Sevenoaks, Physician and Archaeologist, who first introduced me to Eadmer's *Historia* more than thirty years ago.

PREFACE

WHAT an inestimable benefit have they conferred on posterity who with an eye to the good of future generations have committed to writing a record of the events of their own times. This is the conclusion which seems to be borne in upon me when I note how men of the present day under stress of difficulties of one kind or another search laboriously into the doings of their predecessors, anxious to find there a source of comfort and strength and yet, because of the scarcity of written documents which has resulted in the events being all too quickly buried in oblivion, they cannot for all their pains succeed in doing so as they would wish. I cannot doubt that those who have composed such records, provided they have laboured with a good motive, will receive from God a good reward. Accordingly, having this consideration in mind I have determined, while aiming at brevity, to set down in writing the things which I have seen with my own eyes and myself heard. This I do both to comply with the wishes of my friends who strongly urge me to do so and at the same time to render some slight service to the researches of those who come after me if they should chance to find themselves involved in any crisis in which the events which I record can in any respect afford a helpful precedent. I may add that the main purpose of this work is first to describe how Anselm, Abbot of the Monastery

of Bec, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and then to shew how it came about that, a disagreement having arisen between him and the Kings of England, he was so often and for so long absent in exile from the country and what has been the outcome of the question in dispute between them.

2 Now it would seem that the question which gave rise to this dispute is a matter entirely new to this century of ours and, at any rate from the time that the Normans began to rule here, to say nothing of the time before that, no such question had ever been heard of by people in England. From the time that William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England and subdued it no one was ever made a bishop or abbot there without first being made the King's man and receiving from the King investiture by the presentation of the pastoral staff. To this rule there were only two exceptions, namely Ernest and Gundulf, who successively presided over the Church of Rochester. They, as was customary in the case of that diocese, were invested by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury of blessed memory, in the Chapter of the monks at Canterbury. Now Anselm wished to put an end to this practice of investiture by the King, as being contrary to God and to the canons of the Church, and thereby to prune away the mischiefs resulting from it. It was on this account that he incurred the enmity of the Kings of England and was forced to quit the country; not that there were not also other reasons for his departure as the course of events will shew.

My story will also include a number of other occurrences which took place in England before, during and after the matters already mentioned, occurrences of which we do not think it right that those who come after us should be deprived of all knowledge, so far as it is within our power to prevent it. But in the preface this brief reference to all these matters is enough.

We come then to the plan of our narrative. We should, we think, begin by going a little further back and tracing in brief outline what was, so to speak, the actual planting of the seed from which grew the developments which we are to record. This should be our starting point.

BOOK I

IN the reign of that most glorious King, Edgar, while he 3 governed diligently the whole realm of England with righteous laws, Dunstan, Prelate of Canterbury, a man of unblemished goodness, ordered the whole of Britain by the administration of the law Christian. Under his influence and counsel King Edgar shewed himself a devoted servant of God; and, when foreign invaders surged in on every side, with indomitable courage he fought them, conquered them and kept them at bay. England enjoyed peace and happiness throughout the length and breadth of the land so long as she was fortunate enough to have King Edgar and Father Dunstan with her in bodily presence. But when the King felt that his last day was approaching, he delivered up the reins of government to his son Edward. He, successor of a glorious father, himself glorious, after being consecrated by St. Dunstan, ruled the Kingdom, so long as he lived, with the utmost diligence. But within a few short years of his accession to the throne he was put to death by the shameful treachery of his stepmother and had as his successor his brother Ethelred, that wicked woman's son, who inherited his kingdom but none of his integrity.

This Ethelred, because he had grasped the throne by the shedding of his brother's blood, was sternly denounced by Dunstan who declared that Ethelred himself would live in

blood, that he would suffer invasions of foreign foes and all their horrible oppression and that the Kingdom itself was to be worn again and again by bloody devastations. How true proved this prophecy of the man of God can be all too easily seen both in the chronicles by those who care to read them and in our own afflictions by those who know how to discern them, not to mention the happenings which the course of this present work will in their proper places portray, as truth shall dictate.

4 But when Saint Dunstan was translated to heaven, immediately, as he had foretold, England was laid open to the incursion of foreign foes. The indolence of the King became known round about and the greed of those outside her borders, aiming rather at the wealth than the lives of the English, invaded the country by sea at one point after another and laid waste at first the villages and cities near the coast, then those further inland and in the end the whole province, driving the inhabitants in wretchedness from their homes. The King instead of meeting them in arms panic-stricken shamelessly offered them money suing for peace; whereupon they accepted the price and retired to their homes, only to return in still greater numbers and still more ruthless, from renewed invasion to receive increased rewards. In this way they obtained now ten thousand pounds of silver, then sixteen thousand, then twenty-four thousand, then thirty thousand, this King Ethelred lavishing all these sums upon them and grinding down the whole Kingdom with crushing exactions.

While these evils were rife, Elphege Bishop of Winchester undertook the governance of the Church of Canterbury (being the fourth in succession from St. Dunstan), a man of energetic character and one who had from childhood been adorned with the life as well as the garb of holy religion. He, when he considered the innumerable evils with which the whole realm was being ruthlessly laid waste, was utterly appalled and set himself in every possible way to see how he could counter the cruelty of such godless men. But they perceiving this and anxious for themselves and their

followers not to lose their accustomed gains, conceived such bitter hatred against him that they sacked and set on fire the City of Canterbury, condemning its inhabitants to a lamentable state; and the Church of the Saviour situated in the City was consumed in the flames. Meanwhile Father Elphege himself was at the hands of these infuriated foes, bound and carried away after nearly all the monks who under his rule served the Lord Christ in that Church had been butchered before his eyes. He was then thrown into a boat and conveyed to Greenwich, where, delivered to cruel warders, he was kept a prisoner for seven months; then, when unsubdued by any threats he still refused to yield to the wickedness of his malicious enemies, he was put to a most barbarous death, being stoned by them till he died. 5

These events I have briefly mentioned, not as though I were composing a history of those times, but rather as bringing them to the notice of those who care to know how true was the prophecy of Father Dunstan when he foretold the evils which would come upon England. Nor did the evils end there. After this other monstrous wrongs were done which ever year by year increased and grew worse and worse. Meanwhile too the monastic houses of the servants and handmaids of God, which through the work of Father Dunstan with the assistance of St. Oswald of York and St. Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, had in the time of King Edgar sprung up as new foundations to as many as forty-eight, were in great part destroyed and the religion of the monastic order almost extinguished altogether. So many years passed. But in the reign of Edward, who was a son of that Ethelred mentioned above by Emma a sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy, there was a wholesale destruction of monasteries which had until then escaped such fate.

Now at that time Godwin, Earl of Kent, was throughout all England accounted a great man on land and sea. But a serious quarrel arose between him and the King and he was condemned to exile from England with all his family. So he went to Flanders to Count Baldwin, and his son Harold to Ireland. But after the death of Emma, the King's mother,

Godwin and Harold returned to England, each escorted by a large number of ships and a strong force of soldiers. Many of the King's nobles, when they realized this, alarmed lest war should be started by one side or the other, set themselves to make peace between them. But the King, suspicious of Godwin's wiles, stood out against it and would not consent to peace unless he were first given hostages as a security. 6 So Wulfnoth, a son of Godwin, and Hakon, a son of his son Swain, were given as hostages and were despatched to Normandy to the guardianship of Duke William, a son of Robert, son of Richard, brother of the King's mother.

After these events Godwin, a bitter enemy of the Church of Canterbury (for he stole from that church her manor of Folkestone having first bribed Archbishop Eadsige), shortly afterwards died an evil death and Harold his son became possessed of the earldom of Kent in succession to his father. He soon afterwards asked leave of the King to go to Normandy to set free his brother and his nephew who were being held there as hostages and, when so freed, to bring them back home. The King said to him: "I will have no part in this; but, not to give the impression of wishing to hinder you, I give you leave to go where you will and to see what you can do. But I have a presentiment that you will only succeed in bringing misfortune upon the whole Kingdom and discredit upon yourself. For I know that the Duke is not so simple as to be at all inclined to give them up to you unless he foresees that in doing so he will secure some great advantage to himself." Harold, trusting his own judgment rather than the King's, embarked on board ship taking with him his richest and most honourable men, equipped with a lordly provision of gold, silver and costly raiment. But soon the sea grew stormy and those on board were terrified, as the ship was tossed by the violence of the towering waves. At last she was driven with all that she had on board into a river of Ponthieu which is called Maye. There, in accordance with the local custom, she was adjudged captive by the Lord of the land and the men on board were put under strict arrest. So Harold was held a prisoner. But he managed to bribe

one of the common people with a promise of reward and sent him secretly to the Duke of Normandy to report what had happened to him. The Duke thereupon promptly sent messengers to the Lord of Ponthieu and told him that, if he wished to have his friendship for the future as he had had in the past, Harold and his men must be sent to him as quickly as possible and that free of any charge against him. The other 7 refused to let his prisoner go; whereupon he received a second peremptory message that he must send Harold; and, if not, he could rest assured that William, Duke of Normandy, would come in arms to Ponthieu to release him. So then he sent Harold and his men, but not without first having taken from them all the most valuable belongings which they had brought with them. In this way Harold came to William and was received with all honour.

When William had been told why Harold had set out from England, he replied that his mission would certainly be successful or it would be his own fault if it was not. Then he kept Harold with him for some days and during that time cautiously revealed to him what he had in mind. He said that King Edward, when years before he was detained with him in Normandy, when they were both young, had promised him and had pledged his faith that if he, Edward, should ever be King of England, he would make over to William the right to succeed him on the throne as his heir. William went on to say this: "If you on your side undertake to support me in this project and further promise that you will make a stronghold at Dover with a well of water for my use and that you will at a time agreed between us send your sister to me that I may give her in marriage to one of my nobles and that you will take my daughter to be your wife, then I will let you have your nephew now at once, and your brother safe and sound when I come to England to be King. And, if ever I am with your support established there as King, I promise that everything you ask of me which can reasonably be granted, you shall have." Then Harold perceived that here was danger whatever way he turned. He could not see any way of escape without agreeing to all that

8 William wished. So he agreed. Then William, to ensure that all should thenceforth stand firmly ratified, had relics of saints brought out and made Harold swear over them that he would indeed implement all which they had agreed between them, provided he were not before then taken from this life, a chance to which all mortal men are subject. When all this had been done, Harold took his nephew and returned home. There, when, on being questioned by the King, he told him what had happened and what he had done, the King exclaimed: "Did not I tell you that I knew William and that your going might bring untold calamity upon this kingdom?"

Shortly after this Edward died; and, as he had before his death provided, Harold succeeded him on the throne. Thereupon there arrived in England a messenger from William asking for Harold's sister in accordance with the agreement which had been made between them. He also reproached him for not having kept his other promises in violation of his oath. To this Harold is said to have made the following reply: "My sister, whom according to our pact you ask for, is dead. If the Duke wishes to have her body, such as it now is, I will send it, that I may not be held to have violated my oath. As for the stronghold at Dover and the well of water in it, I have completed that according to our agreement although for whose use I cannot say. As for the Kingdom, which then was not yet mine, by what right could I give or promise it? If it is about his daughter that he is concerned, whom I ought, as he asserts, to take to be my wife, he must know I have no right to set any foreign woman upon the throne of England without having first consulted the princes. Indeed I could not do so without committing a great wrong." So the messenger returned home and reported these answers to his master. He, on hearing this reply, sent a second time and in all friendliness urged Harold, if he let the rest go, at any rate to keep his promise so far as to marry the Duke's daughter, and, if not, he could rest assured that the Duke would make good by force of arms his succession to the throne which had been promised him. Harold's answer was

that he would not do the one and did not fear the other.

Then William, incensed at this, conceived high hopes of a war of conquest resulting from this unjust conduct of Harold's. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet and set sail for England. A furious battle was joined; Harold fell in the thick of the fray and William as conqueror possessed himself of the Kingdom. Of that battle the French who took part in it do to this day declare that, although fortune swayed now on this side and now on that, yet of the Normans so many were slain or put to flight that the victory which they had gained is truly and without any doubt to be attributed to nothing else than the miraculous intervention of God, who by so punishing Harold's wicked perjury shewed that He is not a God that hath any pleasure in wickedness.

So William became King. What treatment he meted out to those leaders of the English who managed to survive the great slaughter, as it could do no good, I forbear to tell.

From the time that he gained this victory, which was on the 14th October [1066], William remained unconsecrated until Christmas Day when he was consecrated King by Eldred of blessed memory, Archbishop of York, and a number of English bishops. Although the King himself and everyone else knew well enough that such consecration ought to be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as being his special and peculiar privilege, yet seeing that many wicked and horrible crimes were ascribed to Stigand, who was at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, William was unwilling to receive consecration at his hands, lest he should seem to be taking upon himself a curse instead of a blessing.

Now, it was the policy of King William to maintain in England the usages and laws which he and his fathers before him were accustomed to have in Normandy. Accordingly he made bishops, abbots and other nobles throughout the whole country of persons of whom (since everyone knew who they were, from what estate they had been raised and to what they had been promoted) it would be considered shameful ingratitude if they did not implicitly obey his laws, subordinating to this every other consideration; or if any one

of them presuming upon the power conferred by any temporal dignity dared raise his head against him. Consequently all things, spiritual and temporal alike, waited upon the nod of the King.

10 As I consider a knowledge of these things necessary for the proper understanding of the subsequent events, the recording of which has been my principal reason for undertaking the labours involved in writing this book, I will set down here some of the new usages which William introduced to be observed throughout England. From a few examples the rest may be inferred. He would not, for instance, allow anyone in all his dominion, except on his instructions, to recognize the established Pontiff of the City of Rome as Pope or under any circumstances to accept any letter from him, if it had not first been submitted to the King himself. Also he would not let the primate of his Kingdom, by which I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury, otherwise Doro-bernia, if he were presiding over a general council of bishops, lay down any ordinance or prohibition unless these were agreeable to the King's wishes and had been first settled by him. Then again he would not allow any one of his bishops, except on his express instructions, to proceed against or excommunicate one of his barons or officers for incest or adultery or any other cardinal offence, even when notoriously guilty, or to lay upon him any punishment of ecclesiastical discipline.

As for the ordinances which King William decreed in matters secular, I forbear to commit these to written record, both because it is none of our business to do so and because from what he ordained in matters spiritual, as we have just indicated, the nature of the temporal ordinances can be sufficiently inferred. Of these matters enough has been said to enable us to resume the course of our narrative.

Now in the fifth year of this reign Lanfranc, Abbot of the monastery of Caen, a man of energetic character and possessed of outstanding knowledge in studies both sacred and secular, came to England at the bidding of Pope Alexander and of King William and soon afterwards undertook

the governance of the Archiepiscopate of Canterbury. He was consecrated in that metropolitan see on the 29th August [1070], by almost all the bishops of England. He then set out for Rome to obtain the pallium, to which he had become entitled as an Archbishop, and took as his travelling companions Thomas, Archbishop of York, whom he had himself consecrated at Canterbury after first receiving his canonical profession of submission, and Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln. They three arrived together at Rome and were courteously received each with the honour due to his rank. Then on an appointed day Lanfranc was presented to Alexander, the Pope. On his entering, marvellous as it may seem to those who know the customary procedure at Rome, the Pope himself rose up and smilingly bade him stand. Then he added, "We have shewn you the honour which we recognize as due to you, not as Archbishop, but as the master to whose learning we are indebted for the knowledge which we have. It is right that in reverence for St. Peter you should come here to obtain the pallium to which you are entitled." Then, as the Pope sat down again, Lanfranc advanced and prostrated himself at his feet; but at once the Pope raised him up and kissed him. They then sat down together and spent that day happily conversing with each other.

11 The following day, when various matters of business were brought up for discussion, objection was taken before the Pope against Thomas, the Archbishop of York, and also against Remigius alleging that neither of them had been rightly raised to the episcopate. Against Thomas the charge was on the ground that the canons of the Church prohibited the preferment in holy orders of sons of priests not themselves adorned by any religious Order; against Remigius, that having made a bargain with William, before he became King, he had in effect bought his bishopric from him by the service which he had rendered him by the outlay of much effort and of lavish expenditure on his behalf, when he was setting out to subdue England. To these charges they had no sound plea by which to exculpate themselves. So, giving back their staffs and rings and therewith their episcopal

office, instead of defending themselves they sued for mercy. Thereupon Lanfranc intervened in support of their prayers and being as he was, a man of great piety and wisdom, he pleaded first, that they had a sound basis of knowledge of wide range; secondly, that they were very necessary to the new King in making the new dispositions of his Kingdom; and thirdly, that they were outstanding in the art of oratory. On hearing these pleas the Pope turned to Lanfranc and said: "Do you see to this. You are the Father of that country; it is then for you to take thought and consider what should be done. See, here are the pastoral staffs which they have given back. Take them and deal with them as you can see to be most expedient for the Christian Church in that country." Thereupon Lanfranc taking up the staffs promptly in the presence of the Pope restored them to those same two men, giving each back his own.

After this Lanfranc, having received from the Pope the stole of an Archbishop, started on his homeward journey and travelled with his companions gladly back to England.

12 There the people of Canterbury received him with due reverence and he was established as Primate of all Britain. Nor was it long after this before the fame of his name and the greatness of his wisdom was noised abroad everywhere so that men thought of him as an illustrious and outstanding figure.

Now Lanfranc had the ear of King William, not merely as one of his advisers but rather as his principal adviser. As he was at the same time wholly devoted to the service of God with much more than ordinary solicitude, he always took great pains both to make the King a faithful servant of God and to renew religion and right living among all classes throughout the whole Kingdom. This he desired to do nor was his wish denied him. His teaching and his perseverance resulted in a great increase of religion throughout the whole country and everywhere new monastery buildings were erected, as can be seen today. He was, too, himself the first to set an example to the builders of such houses by building the Church of Christ at Canterbury with all the

outbuildings which are within the wall of its close and the wall itself. With what thoughtfulness too, what fatherly care, he aroused the monks living in the precincts of that Church from the life of the world in which he found them all too much engrossed, how he trained them in every way of holy living and, when their numbers increased, with what kindness he watched over them so long as he lived, all this who can ever fully tell? This only will I say here: that, because he wished them to be able to devote themselves continually to the service of God free of want or anxiety, he so brought his tact and perseverance to bear upon the King that the King restored to the Church of Canterbury almost all the lands which, rightly hers, the Normans had seized when they first possessed themselves of the country and even some others which from one mischance or another had been lost before they came. Of these and countless other good works on which he laboured unceasingly to his life's end, there is indeed no need for me to write, because his works are so evident that they speak for themselves more clearly than any written record. Moreover of ecclesiastical matters which occurred in his time, he has himself written a concise and at the same time most accurate account. None the less, so sweet is his memory that we have thought it pleasing to enlarge a little on what so far we have but mentioned.

This Lanfranc then, when he first came to Canterbury, was appalled to find the Church of the Saviour, which he had undertaken to rule, reduced by fire and destruction almost to nothing. But, though the extent of the calamity drove him to despair, he soon recovered himself and with firm determination, postponing all thought of providing for his own convenience, he set urgently to work and completed the building of dwellings needed for the use of the monks. These they used for some years; but then, the Community having increased in numbers, they seemed all too small. Whereupon he had them pulled down and built others much larger and finer. Then he built also a residence for himself. Furthermore the Church, almost the whole of which he in seven years built up from the foundations, he richly

adorned with copes, with chasubles, with gold-embroidered dalmatics and tunicles, with stoles and with many other precious ornaments.

Again in his treatment of the Brethren of the Church of Canterbury, what generosity, what loyalty, what beneficence Father Lanfranc shewed may to some extent be gathered from the fact that he could not bear that even any of their parents or brothers should be in want. What may still more surprise you, he made it his practice not to wait to be asked to help, but, tender-hearted as he was, he of his own accord gave now to one and now to another just what would help a needy relative for as long as possible. Yet in so doing he shewed always remarkable discernment, weighing up in his own mind the deserts and needs of each. Of all this the following story is an instance.

14 One of the Brethren of the Monastery at Canterbury was accustomed to receive from Father Lanfranc thirty shillings every year for the benefit of his mother. On one occasion he was on Lanfranc's instructions given five shillings, part of the thirty, as the money was paid periodically by instalments. This money tied up in a cloth he, while talking to his mother, slipped, as he thought, into her hand; but, her mind intent on other things, she did not notice what her son was doing. So the money fell to the ground; and mother and son parted and went their different ways. Afterwards the woman sent a message to her son, anxious to know what had happened about the money which he had promised to bring her. Astonished, he got her to come to him and hearing what had happened was distressed, not so much at the loss which his mother had suffered but rather from fear that the Archbishop, when this came to his knowledge, would be vexed at his carelessness and be to some extent less kindly disposed towards him. Meanwhile the good Father, coming into the cloister, sat down there as he was accustomed to do. Noticing that the brother was distressed as he returned from talking with his mother, when they were alone, he enquired privately what was the reason for his being so. On being told, with a look of the utmost kindness, as was always

his way in dealing with those in trouble, he said: "Is that the cause of your distress, my dearest son? Why, God must purposely have given that money to someone else whose need of it was perhaps greater than your mother's. Keep quiet and take care not to say a word about it to anyone. That what has happened may not trouble you in the least, in place of those five shillings I will have seven shillings given to you today for your mother. But, as I have said, see that no one knows of it." Indeed it was his way when giving to give gladly what was to be given and not let anyone tell of the gift or who was the giver.

So much then for his treatment of the monks of the Mother Church of Canterbury. But what poor man ever cried to him and was rejected? Who of all the pilgrims of whatever rank sought his help and did not obtain it? What community of monks or of clergy at any time sent asking for support and did not find the abundance of his generosity exceed their utmost hopes? Of the truth of our words Italy 15 can bear witness and France and Britain, that to this day mourns the death of Lanfranc with sighs of lamentation.

And what about the Abbey of St. Albans which he found reduced both within and without almost to nothing? There he first instituted Paul of blessed memory to be its abbot, and then rebuilt it, as his own church, from the foundations; and within with abundant religious life, and without with gifts of many possessions he enlarged, embellished and enriched it.

Again in the diocese of Rochester he found under Bishop Siword little more than four Canons and those living a life of miserable hardship. But, when that bishop and also Ernest, whom he had appointed as his successor, were taken from this life, a monk of godly reputation named Gundulf was chosen by Lanfranc to succeed to the bishopric. Through his agency he had the old Church of the diocese and the adjoining building pulled down and built up all afresh. The clergy who were living there, as we have described, he either left where they were and raised to the highest standard of the religious life or moved to other places,

giving them other possessions which would afford them board and clothing more plentiful than they had had before. Moreover the seat of the bishopric he first set upon a sound footing by establishing there the monastic order and then, assigning to it lands and other possessions sufficient to support those who served God there, he raised it from poverty to wealth, from low estate to that high esteem in which it is held at the present time.

Of what he did for the poor outside the walls of the City of Canterbury, I ought not I think to omit any mention in this work of mine; how he built outside the northern gate of the city a house of stone, fine and spacious, and added to it further small buildings for the various needs and comforts of the inhabitants with an extensive courtyard attached. This building he divided into two, putting men suffering from various kinds of infirmity in one part and women who were ailing in the other. Moreover he provided for them at his own expense clothing and daily food, and also attendants and guardians, to take particular care to see that they lacked nothing and that there should be no opportunity
16 for the men to enter the women's quarters or the women the men's.

On the other side of the road he erected a Church dedicated to Pope St. Gregory and placed there a number of canons who were to live under rule and to administer to those sick folk whom I have just mentioned such things as should be agreeable to the salvation of their souls, and to bury them. To these clergy also he gave freely of lands, tithes and other revenues as much as seemed sufficient for their support.

Again, outside the western gate of the city, but further away than were the other buildings from the northern gate, on the shelving side of the hill, he constructed wooden houses and assigned these to the use of lepers. Here also as elsewhere the men were kept separate and not allowed to associate with the women. To these lepers he had all that they needed according to the nature of their disease supplied from his own resources and for this service he appointed men of such character that, at any rate in his opinion, no

one would question their skill, their kindness, or their patience. Besides all this, in the manors belonging to the archbishopric he built many fine houses partly of stone and partly of timber for himself and his successors.

Then what pains he took to uphold the dignity of the Church of Canterbury! Abetted by some of the other bishops, Thomas, Archbishop of York, who had only recently become an English subject, tried hard to humiliate the Church of Canterbury with a view to the glorification of his own Church. How Lanfranc instead humiliated Thomas himself and reduced him to the level of his predecessors, of all this it is superfluous and would be out of place for me to say anything here. For of all this he has himself left a written record authenticated by the royal seal, the truth of which is confirmed by the assent of the whole realm. What added all the more to his labours in this respect was the circumstance that in the fire which destroyed the Church of Canterbury in the third year before the year in which he himself had come to Canterbury, the ancient grants of privilege of that Church had been almost wholly lost.

There were also other privileges, which had been lost by the negligence of others, which his diligence recovered, privileges that in olden days, anxious that the Church of Canterbury should be as free as possible, Kings of England had of their munificence conferred on that Church and most solemnly settled upon her to be her inalienable property
17 for ever. To mention only one instance, there was the case of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, brother of King William and Earl of Kent, who was throughout the whole Kingdom recognized as a great man and very powerful even before Lanfranc had come to England. This Odo by the absolute power which he had attained had in many ways encroached not only upon the lands but also upon the liberty of the Church of Canterbury, and there being none to offer him any resistance, had restricted her liberty and was still holding her lands. When Lanfranc had learned the true facts of the case, he took up these matters with the King, as he knew it was his bounden duty to do. Accordingly the King ordered an assembly of

leading personages and men of integrity not only from the County of Kent but also from other counties of England to be convened and Lanfranc's complaints to be presented to the Court, tried and determined. So an assembly of nobles was held at Penenden Heath and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, a man of great wealth in England at that time, was bidden as the King's representative to do justice to Lanfranc in the matters of which he complained; and this he did most thoroughly. For there Lanfranc, resting his case on sound reasoning, did by the unanimous assent and judgment of the whole assembly recover all that was proved to have belonged by ancient right to the Church of Canterbury, both of lands and of privileges of various kinds.

Again on another occasion this Odo, with the King's permission, instituted a suit against the Church of Canterbury and its guardian, Lanfranc, and took good care to bring to it all those whom he knew to be most practised in the laws and usages of the English realm. When the Court was held for trying the case, all who had come from every direction to defend the interests of the Church were at the first session so worsted that their efforts to defend those interests actually resulted in their loss. For Lanfranc was not himself there to take part. He did not usually take part in such matters, unless there was urgent need for him to do so. What had happened was accordingly reported to him as he was reading some book of divinity in his chamber. Not at all perturbed, he declared that the arguments of the opponents had been erroneous and accordingly he had the whole matter deferred for discussion on the following day.

That night St. Dunstan in a vision stood beside the Archbishop and told him not to be troubled at the number of his opponents but in the morning to intervene personally in the suit with a light heart, assured that the Saint would be with him. This he did; and, opening his case with an introductory statement which to the surprise of all seemed far removed from the matters which had been already dealt with or were to be dealt with, he so went on from this that he utterly demolished the arguments which had been used

against him on the previous day and shewed them to be without substance, with the result that thenceforth for the rest of his life on earth no one dared stand up and say a word to oppose him. So much then for his championship of the Church of Canterbury.

Besides all this, in Lanfranc's days and about that same time with few exceptions all those bishops who before they were made bishops in England by King William had themselves been members of the secular clergy made a determined effort to turn out the monks who were living the monastic life in a number of English Cathedral cities. These Bishops had won over the King himself to their side in this project, and so certain had they become that they would succeed that Bishop Walchelin had nearly forty clergy assembled, tonsured and arrayed as Canons, ready to be installed by him in the Church of Winchester, over which he presided, as soon as the monks had been ejected. The only thing that delayed the carrying out of this design was that Archbishop Lanfranc's permission had not yet been asked. Any doubt of obtaining this the moment that it was asked never crossed the Bishop's mind. But the result proved altogether different from what he had promised himself. When what the Bishop was set upon doing came to Lanfranc's ears he was at once horrified at so shameful a proceeding and declared that, so long as he lived, he would never consent to the Bishop, try as he might, succeeding in carrying out such an intention. So the clergy whom Walchelin had assembled to take the place of the monks were sent back, each to where he came from, and the monks, who had been condemned, as it were without a hearing, to give place to the clergy, were by the grace of God and the determination of the good Lanfranc secured in the enjoyment of their old way of life in their own Church.

The events just recorded did not, however, succeed in allaying the enmity which some had conceived against the monks, determined to turn them out. Urged by the same desire, engaging in a like attempt, with one consent and accord, the Bishops who were not bound to the Monastic

Order began to exert themselves to root out the monks at any rate from the Primate's See of Canterbury, considering that, if this were done, they would have very little difficulty in turning out others elsewhere. In the case of the Canterbury monks they had, as it seemed to them, stronger reasons for doing so, partly on account of the exalted position of the Primate's See, which has through its representatives to watch over the ordering and discipline of the churches everywhere throughout England; and partly on account of a number of other matters of which the performance, as they represented the case, pertained rather to the province of clergy than to that of monks. The King and other Princes of the Realm had been won over to this view; but Lanfranc, as he would, opposed it with all his might and stood out boldly against the pressure and enmity of them all. And, although he was sure that by God's help this design would never be successfully accomplished so long as he lived, yet fearing that this might be done after he had passed away, not knowing the day or the hour of his death, he exerted all possible ingenuity and diligence to secure the authority of the Apostolic See of Rome to confirm the right of the monks to maintain their settlement in the Church of Canterbury and that it should continue there undisturbed in perpetuity so long as the world should endure. This the Pope, Alexander, did in fact confirm by written grant of privilege in the following terms:

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God to his most beloved brother in Christ, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and apostolic blessing.

20 We have learned from some coming from your parts to the threshold of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul that certain clergy, with the support of the secular power, that is, of the laity, and filled with the spirit of the devil, are exerting themselves to expel the monks from the Church of St. Saviour in Canterbury, which is the Metropolitan Church of all Britain, and to put clergy in their place. Not content with this shameful work, on which they are so exerting themselves, they are attempting further to secure

that in every Cathedral city the Order of Monks shall be rooted out, as though they lacked religious authority. Wherefore, urged by zeal for God, we have had investigation made concerning the privileges of the Churches; and there has come to our hands a decree of our predecessor, Gregory the Great of blessed memory, concerning the Churches of England, how he instructed Augustine the Apostle of your race, to place in that metropolitan see men of the same Order to which, as is well known, Augustine himself belonged. Of which instruction the following is an extract: "You, my Brother," he says, "being well versed in the rules of the Monastery, should in the Church of the English, which has lately by God's grace been led to the faith, institute that way of life which our fathers had at the very beginning of the early Church, among whom none of them said that any of the things which he possessed was his own but they had all things in common. That this rule of community of goods is most nearly akin to the Monastic Order, no one can doubt."

Following upon this is the letter which Boniface, who was the fourth in succession from St. Gregory to preside over the Church of Rome, over which by the grace of God we now preside, sent to Ethelbert, King of the English, and Laurence, a predecessor of yours as Archbishop. In that letter after some preliminaries he pronounced the following condemnation and anathema. "Most noble Son," he says, "the request which you have made of the Apostolic See through our fellow Bishop, Mellitus, we do most willingly grant; that is, that your Benevolence should, in the monastery established in the City of Canterbury, which monastery your holy teacher Augustine of blessed memory, himself a disciple of Gregory, dedicated to St. Saviour, over which, as is well known, our most beloved brother Laurence now presides, that your Benevolence should with our full and free permission establish there a settlement of monks living under rule. For we judge with apostolic authority that those who preached salvation to you, being monks, should gather to themselves a monastic flock and should adorn their life with ways of sanctity. If of your successors, whether Kings or Bishops, clergy or laity, anyone attempts

to invalidate this our decree, let him be bound by Peter, prince of the Apostles, and by all his successors under their secure until such time as he repents of what he has so rashly done, making amends pleasing to God, and promises to set right that wrong which so disquiets you." Now, inasmuch as hearkening to the voice of reason we have satisfied ourselves that to do so is conducive to the peace of the Churches, that decree of the above-named Fathers we do now confirm and in the name of the Apostles do bind with that self-same curse any, who-soever they may be, who seek to go against it.

But how this Father Lanfranc, so often mentioned, set himself to exercise with the freedom of security and the security of freedom all the rights which properly belonged to the Church of Canterbury will be plain enough to anyone who cares to know, both from the brief description of his doings which we have given and from a letter which we shall now append. It gives us particular pleasure, while omitting much else, to insert here this letter dealing with the legitimate rights of Churches, in order that those who are not entirely ignorant on the subject may from their knowledge of the privileges enjoyed by other Churches judge with what dignity the Church of Canterbury stands forth admittedly pre-eminent in comparison. The letter then is as follows:

Lanfranc by the grace of God Archbishop to his most beloved Brother Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, greeting.

Complaint has been made to us by clergy of our manors resident in your diocese that your Archdeacons, finding pretexts for so doing, demand of them fees and from some of them have already received such payments. Now you, my Brother, must remember that, contrary to the practice of our predecessors and yours, we conceded to you, and so instructed our clergy, that they should attend your synods and that whatever can be helpful for furthering the knowledge of the Christian religion they should be ready to hear from you without any questioning or argument. But, if any faults were found in them, they were to be reserved for examination by us, any punishment being meanwhile suspended, and should, as has

always been the custom, be held subject to our judgment to decide whether they should be forgiven or be punished. Therefore we command you to give instructions that any sums wrongfully received be repaid without delay and that with intent to preserve charity you forbid your ministers to make such unwarranted claim any more. For our part, we have now issued strict injunctions to those of our priests who are settled outside Kent not any longer to attend your Synod or that of any other bishop and to refuse to make answer for any fault either to you or to any ministers of yours. It is our duty, when we visit our manors, in exercise of our pastoral authority to examine and see what manner of men they are whether in conduct or in the knowledge proper to their Order. Only the chrism are they to accept from you and to make the payments ordained of old as payable on reception of that rite. For, just as we would with careful diligence preserve unimpaired the rights which from of old down to our own times our predecessors have enjoyed, so equally we would not by any usurpation, which God forbid, deny to others the dues to which they are entitled.

Then too, how tactfully—for, although this was mentioned a little earlier, we think it not amiss briefly to recur to it—how tactfully, I say, this memorable Father Lanfranc dealt with King William so that by the inspiration of the grace of God the King was at the instigation of Lanfranc led for the redemption of his soul to restore to the Church of Canterbury many of the lands which on various pretexts and by the violent acts of men had been taken from her. To tell this fully were a long story and I have considered it unnecessary to do so. The number and the names of the lands so restored are quite well known to that Church; and their proceeds, from which are maintained those who under God serve that place, are for the King's eternal salvation presented by them before the eyes of the All-just Judge for his contemplation day and night continually. The harvest which he who provided so liberally for the servants of God has secured from those lands which he restored will, so far as they have any care for their own souls, be a lesson to his

successors, teaching them what they should do with other lands of that same Church which, formerly stolen, still remain in the same state, wrongfully torn from her. In fact those lands too he would have restored, if he had lived a little longer than he did. Indeed Lanfranc, wise and discreet, had led the King to resolve to do this and he had promised to do so by a date which had been already fixed. He was not able to implement his promise; but he has by the example of what happened in his own case left a warning to others how zealously we should press on with good works while we can.

23 If anyone should wish to write the full story of these and other such works so magnificently carried out by this illustrious Father Lanfranc, there exists plentiful material, indeed enough for quite a considerable work. But for myself, since my chosen and set purpose leads me to deal with other matters, as I originally set out to do, I will here only say of him in brief that he was in very truth a great and invincible defender of the Church of Christ, a devoted Father of the whole of England and, so far as he was allowed to be so, a good shepherd to all its inhabitants to his life's end.

Now all this time there was a certain Abbot of Bec named Anselm, a truly good man and an outstanding scholar. This man was wholly devoted to the life of contemplation. Well known, beloved, and welcomed throughout the whole of Normandy and France for his surpassing holiness, in England too he was held in high esteem and was bound by the most intimate ties of friendship to King William and to Archbishop Lanfranc. This Anselm from time to time came to the King's court on various concerns of his own Church or of the Churches of others and on these occasions the King, dropping that brusqueness which made him seem to many fierce and formidable, became so gracious and affable that, when Anselm was present, he became to the astonishment of all an altogether different person from what he usually was.

These two men, Anselm and Lanfranc, both equipped with wisdom divine and human alike, were ever held by the King in high esteem and in all decisions which he had to

make, so far as the matter related to their province, the King listened to them more readily than to all his other counselors. Advised by them, he often and to a very great extent abandoned the natural harshness which he shewed towards some people and exerted himself zealously to see that in his dominion monasteries should be established for the observance of the religious life. That such religious life, once born, should not die out, he took care to guard the peace of the Churches everywhere and at his own expense to supply them plentifully with such things as would serve the needs of the servants of God, in the way of lands, tithes, and other revenues; but in dispensing this benevolence he had regard more particularly to the Churches of Normandy.

Now in the twenty-first year of his reign King William was detained in Rouen by the illness of which he died and having determined to entrust his soul unreservedly to the merits and intercessions of Anselm he made the Abbot come to him from Bec and lodge not far off. But when the King, because he felt that he was somewhat recovered, put off speaking to him of the salvation of his soul, it happened that Father Anselm himself was laid low by such severe indisposition that he was quite unable to bear the turmoil of the Court. So crossing the Seine he was laid up in bed in the village of Emondreville which is opposite Rouen away on the other side of the river. Meanwhile whatever delicacies were brought to the King he would send half to the sick Anselm. He had, however, no opportunity of seeing him again in this life or of speaking to him at all of his soul as he had intended to do. Each of them was so seriously ill that neither could Anselm come to King William nor William to Abbot Anselm. So William died, but not, we are told, unconfessed; and just at that time Anselm rallied from his sickness and soon was restored to his former good health.

24 But who attended the King's funeral, with what ceremony, what freedom, his body was conveyed to Caen—nay rather with what railing of a slave he was buried in the Church of St. Stephen—is a story lamentable to tell and, as we confess, pitiable to hear. Who would not be moved to

the fear of God by the vicissitude of human life when he hears the end of this King who was in his lifetime so powerful that there was no one in all England, all Normandy, all the Province of Maine who dared lift a finger against his rule; how that, no sooner was he about to expire and was laid to earth, than he was, as we have been told, deserted by every one with the single exception of one serving man, his body without any ceremony ferried in a small boat down the Seine, and, when he should be interred, the very ground in which he was to be buried disputed by a yokel, who, claiming as by hereditary right, complained that this ground had a long time before been stolen from him by the man that was being buried! But how distressed Lanfranc was at his death, who could describe, when so great was the shock that we who were with him when the news of the King's death came, were afraid that he would die on the spot from anguish of heart.

25 So King William died and was succeeded on the throne by William his son. He, when he was intent on seizing the prize of the kingdom before his brother Robert, found Lanfranc, without whose support he could not possibly attain the throne, not altogether favourable to the fulfilment of this his desire. Accordingly, fearing that any delay in his consecration might result in the loss of the dignity which he coveted, he began, both personally and indirectly by all whom he could get to support him, to make promises to Lanfranc with plighted word and oath, to the effect that, if he were King, he would in all his dealings throughout the whole kingdom maintain justice, mercy and equity; that he would defend the peace, liberty and security of the Churches against all adversaries; and that through all and in all he would follow Lanfranc's bidding and counsel. But when he was once firmly established on the throne he turned his back on his promise and gave himself up to courses the very opposite of all this. When on that account he was mildly reprov'd by Lanfranc and was confronted with his promise and his breach of faith, in hot anger he exclaimed, "Who is there who could fulfil all that he 'prom-

ises'?" After that he could never look his Archbishop straight in the face, although it is true that so long as Lanfranc lived he refrained out of respect for him from some of those courses to which his desire inclined him. For Lanfranc was a man eminently versed in law both divine and human and upon his nod were fastened the eyes of the whole kingdom. But when Lanfranc was taken from this life, at once upon his death how grievous a calamity overtook the Churches of England; this, while omitting much, it is my purpose briefly to describe. At once the King shewed outwardly what, while Lanfranc lived, he had kept cherished secretly in his own breast. Soon, not to mention other wrongs which he committed, he laid hands upon the very Mother of the whole of England, Scotland and Ireland and of the adjacent isles, that is, upon the Church of Canterbury; and all that rightfully belonged to her within and without he by his agents ordered to be scheduled and, having estimated what was needed for the bare subsistence of the monks that served God there, all the rest he ordered to be taken into his own hand or let out at rent. In this way he put the Church of Christ up for sale, granting the right of lordship over it in preference to all others to whoever to the Church's detriment outbid his rival in the price that he offered. With miserable regularity the price was renewed year by year. For the King would not allow any bargain to be made for a term certain, but he who promised more ousted him that offered less, unless perchance the former holder, letting his first bargain be set aside, increased his bid up to the offer of his rival. Moreover you might see daily all the most odious of men, without any respect for the religion of God's servants, engaged in exacting the King's moneys, making their way through the precincts of the monastery with grim and threatening looks, giving orders on all sides, uttering threats, displaying to the utmost their dominance and power. What scandals, disputes and disorders arose over this, and how many they were, it is painful to recall. Then too, as these evils overtook them, some of the monks of this same Church of Canterbury were dispersed and sent to other monasteries

and those that remained suffered many afflictions and insults. And what should I say of the Church's men but that they were ground down with such devastating misery and such miserable devastation that, were it not for the evils which came after, I should have doubted whether, saving their lives, they could possibly have been more miserably ground down than they were then.

27 Nor were these things that we speak of done only in the Church of Canterbury. The like mad fury raged also in all her daughter Churches established throughout England who, as their lords, that is, their Bishops and Abbots, died, fell at that time into widowhood. Indeed this King was the first to impose this lamentable oppression upon the Churches of God; he received no such tradition from his father. He ruined the churches and then held them exclusively in his own hand. He refused to appoint anyone except himself to take the place of bishop or abbot so long as he could by his officers extract from them anything which he thought to be of any value. To look around was to see only too plainly misery everywhere. This state of misery continued for well nigh five years over the Church of Canterbury, not to speak of others, ever growing worse and each stage of misery and wretchedness being succeeded by one yet more miserable and more wretched.

Meanwhile in the fourth year Hugh, Earl of Chester, wishing to establish an abbey of monks in one of his churches, sent messengers to Bec and asked Abbot Anselm to come to England to view the place and to get some of his monks to establish there a régime of conventual discipline. Anselm refused and would not come. For already a kind of presentiment was beginning to creep into the minds of some, and not a few were actually saying, not indeed openly but amongst themselves, that, if Anselm went to England, he would become Archbishop of Canterbury. Although he was far from wishing this and his firm determination never to undertake that burden made him feel secure in his own mind, yet, because this was not understood by all, he, taking thought for things honourable not only in the sight of God but also

in the sight of all men, was unwilling to set foot in England lest any should suspect that he had done so for the purpose of obtaining this preferment.

Meanwhile it happened that the Earl became seriously ill. Promptly sending word of this to Anselm he urgently begged him, remembering their long-standing friendship, to come as speedily as possible to care for his soul's welfare. "If," he said, "it is fear of having to undertake the archbishopric that holds him back from coming, I can assure him that in my belief there is nothing in the rumour which is in the air about that, and so he must realize that it ill-becomes his holiness if, held back by a mere nothing, he refuses to come to help me in my great need." Still Anselm persisted in refusing to come and the Earl no less continued to press him to do so. So for the third time the Earl sent him this urgent message: "If you do not come, you may be sure that never in the life eternal will you find repose so deep that it shall save you from perpetually grieving that you did not come to me." On receiving this message Anselm exclaimed: "I am in trouble whatever course I take. If I go to England, I fear this may give rise to an evil suspicion in someone's mind and he suppose that I go there with a view to obtaining the archbishopric. If I do not go, I shall offend against that brotherly love which we are bidden to shew not only to a friend but even to an enemy. If then transgression of this duty towards an enemy is a sin, what must it be towards a friend? Certainly Hugh, Earl of Chester, has been an intimate friend of mine for a long time past and, as he says, he now needs me. In need is the proof of friendship. If then for a perverse opinion which men may possibly hold of me I fail to come to the help of my friend in his need, I myself commit an undoubted sin to prevent a possible sin on the part of others. So commending to God myself and my conscience, which is void of any ambition for worldly honour, out of regard for his holy love I will go to satisfy my friend. The rest be God's care, and, if it be his will, may he for his mercy's sake keep me free from all entanglement in worldly affairs."

There were also at that time certain very pressing affairs

29 of his own church which required Anselm's presence in England; but held back by the above-mentioned fear he was most unwilling to make the journey on that account. Meantime it happened that he went to Boulogne to confer with the Countess Ida. There, being unavoidably detained, he stayed for some days and, while there, he received a message from the monks of Bec to the effect that, unless he wished to be branded with the sin of disobedience, he was not to return to the monastery until he had crossed over to England and attended to their business there. Accordingly he set out and crossing the sea landed at Dover. From there he came in haste to the Earl and found that he had now recovered from his illness. But none the less he was detained in England for nearly five months, detained not only by the work connected with the Abbey which he had come to set in order but also on account of numerous other matters which, as we have said, were a no less urgent cause of his coming.

All this time passed without anything being said or done to him or of him about the archbishopric of Canterbury; so much so that he himself came to feel secure from that danger and from his old fear. Afterwards, when he wished to return to Normandy, he was prevented from doing so as the King refused to give his permission.

Meanwhile all the chief persons of the Kingdom assembled at the King's Court, as usual, for Christmas. There, as it turned out, all the most reputable of them were found to be discussing sadly together the fate of the common Mother of the Kingdom, lamenting that, widowed of her pastor, she should be vexed for so long and with such unheard of oppression. So they came to this determination; that they should approach their lord the King with humble petition that he would permit (strange as it will perhaps seem to future generations) prayers to be made to God in all the churches throughout England that he would of his goodness put it into the heart of the King to appoint to that Church a pastor such as she should have and so to relieve her and through her other churches also from such disastrous state. When with one accord they suggested this to the King, he, although

no little incensed at their request, yet permitted what they asked to be done, while saying that, whatever the Church might pray for, he for his part, of that they could rest assured, would not for anyone desist from doing just as he pleased. On receiving this answer the Bishops, who were the persons most concerned with such things, consulted Anselm upon the matter and were with difficulty able by their entreaties to prevail upon him to settle the form and substance of the prayer to be made. He himself, an Abbot, was most unwilling to be preferred to the Bishops in the matter of such an ordinance. However, urgently pressed to do so, as was recognized to be most expedient for the Church of God, he pronounced in the hearing of them all the form of prayer; thereupon, after expressing their admiration of Anselm's understanding and the grasp of his mind, the Court being now ended, all the nobility of the realm who had come to attend it dispersed to their own homes. So the appointed prayers were made in all the churches of the English people.

30 About this time it happened that one of the Princes of the land, when talking one day familiarly with the King, on their talk coming round by chance to the subject, said to the King, "We know no man of such holiness, and of this we have sure proof, as is Anselm the Abbot of Bec. His love is set on God alone, his desire, as is evident in all his pursuits, on nothing temporal." The King said mockingly, "No, not even the archbishopric of Canterbury!" The other replied, "In my opinion that is the last thing he would wish, and many others think so too." At that the King protested that Anselm would applaud with hands and feet and run to embrace it, had he any confidence that he could possibly attain it. He added, "But by the holy face at Lucca"—for such was his customary oath—"at present neither he nor anyone else shall be archbishop except myself." That very moment as he said this he was smitten with a violent sickness which laid him low upon his bed, and becoming worse day by day very nearly brought him to his last breath. To put it shortly, all the Princes from every part of the land assembled, the bishops, the abbots and the nobles all came expecting

nothing else but the King's death. They advised the sick man to take thought for the salvation of his soul, to open the prisons, let go the captives, release them that were bound, remit arrears of fines imposed, to restore to the Churches, until then reduced under his rule to a state of servitude, their liberty by appointing to them pastors, and most of all to the Church of Canterbury. "The oppression of that Church," they said, "is nothing less than the destruction of all Christianity in England, a thing most hateful."

Now at that time, Anselm, knowing nothing of all this, was staying in a manor not far from Gloucester, where the King lay sick. So word was sent to him to come at once to the King that he might by his presence watch over and fortify him in his death. On receiving such a message, Anselm promptly set out and so came to Gloucester. He entered the King's chamber; was asked what counsel he judged to be most wholesome for the soul of the dying man. He enquires first what advice had been given before his arrival by those attendant on the sick man. He was told, approved, and then said, "It is written—'Begin to the Lord with confession.' Accordingly it seems to me that first of all he should make a clean confession of all the wrongs which he knows he has committed against God and unfeignedly promise that, if he recovers, he will set right all these things; after that let him order to be done those things which you have advised without a moment's delay." This advice was approved and the task of receiving such confession laid upon Anselm himself.

The King was informed what Anselm had declared to be most expedient for the salvation of his soul. Nor was there any hesitation. The King at once consented and, pricked to the heart, promised to do all that the Abbot had advised and thenceforth to keep his whole life steadfast in the way of clemency and justice. To this he pledges his faith and makes his Bishops sureties between himself and God, sending representatives to make in his name this his vow and promise to God before the altar. A proclamation was then written out and confirmed with the King's seal that prisoners

whoever they were in all his dominion were to be released, all fines irrevocably remitted, all offences heretofore committed freely pardoned and for ever blotted out of remembrance. Furthermore he promised to all his people good and righteous laws, unfailing observance of rights and an examination of wrongs committed so thorough as to deter all others. Everywhere was rejoicing; everywhere praise to God at these good things; fervent were the prayers offered up for the recovery of so good, so great a king.

Meanwhile the King was urged by all good men to release the one Mother of the whole realm from her long widowhood by appointing to her a pastor. To this he readily assented, declaring that he had already been thinking of doing so. Then arose the question, who could most worthily fill this office. As all hung upon the nod of the King, he of his own accord declared, and all with one voice acclaimed his choice, that Abbot Anselm was the man most worthy of such high office. Anselm himself was aghast at this pronouncement and turned deadly pale. As he was being borne off to the King's bedside to receive from him the investiture of the archbishopric by the pastoral staff, he resisted with all his might and declared that there were many reasons which made this quite impossible. So the Bishops took him and led him aside from the throng, remonstrating with him in these terms. "What are you doing? What are you thinking of? Why are you striving to go against God? You see that all Christianity in England has nearly died out, all has fallen into confusion; abominations of every kind have arisen on all sides, that we ourselves and the Churches of God, which we should rule, have fallen into peril of eternal death through the tyranny of this man and do you then, when you could help, not deign to do so? What are you thinking of, you extraordinary man? Where are your wits gone to? The Church of Canterbury, whose oppression is the oppression and ruin of us all, calls you, in her trouble implores you, to be her deliverer and ours; and do you, with little regard for her liberty, little regard too for our deliverance, refuse to share the labours of your brethren and care only for your

33 own selfish ease and repose?" To all this he answered "Bear with me, I beg you, bear with me and consider. I admit the truth of what you say; afflictions are many and there is need of help. But consider, I beseech you. I am already old and unfit for any worldly work. I, who cannot work for myself, how can I undertake the work of the whole Church established throughout England? Moreover, as my conscience is my witness, ever since I have been a monk I have shunned worldly affairs, nor could I ever devote myself wholeheartedly to them since I am convinced that there is in them nothing which could make me love or take pleasure in them. So leave me in peace and entangle me not in business, which I have never loved, or no good can come of it." They replied: "Have no misgivings; do you but undertake the primacy of the Church and go before us in the way of God declaring and instructing us what we should do and, see, we will give you our pledge that we will not fail in following and obeying your directions. Do you wait upon God for us and we will manage your worldly affairs for you." "What you suggest," he cried, "is not possible. I am Abbot of a monastery in another Kingdom and as such have an Archbishop to whom I owe obedience, an earthly prince to whom I owe submission, and monks to whom I owe the service of my counsel and my help. To all these I am so bound that I can neither forsake my monks without their consent, nor cast off my allegiance to my prince without his permission, nor at the peril of my soul evade the obedience due to my Archbishop except he absolve me from it." "To settle all that," they said, "is no hard matter; it will be easy to obtain the consent of all of them." He cried, "It is no good; what you are intent on doing is quite impossible." Then they dragged him to the sick King and made known to the King his obstinacy. The King was greatly grieved and, reduced almost to tears, said to him, "O Anselm, what are you doing? Why do you deliver me over to the pains of eternal punishment? Remember I beg you the fast friendship which my father and my mother had for you and you ever had
34 for them; and by that friendship I beseech you not to suffer

me their son to perish in body and soul alike. I am convinced that I shall so perish if I end my life holding the archbishopric in my own hands. Help me then; help me, my lord, Father Anselm, and undertake the archbishopric, for the retaining of which I am utterly confounded and, as I fear, shall be yet more confounded to all eternity." At these words all present were greatly moved and, as Anselm yet made excuse and was not even then willing to undertake so great a burden, they set upon him and with something of indignation and dismay cast at him reproaches such as these: "What madness has overtaken you? You trouble the King; already troubled, you are killing him outright in that now when he is already a dying man you do not shrink from vexing him with your obstinacy. You must realize now that for all the disorders, all the oppressions, all the wrongs which will one after another befall England, you will be held responsible, if you do not today withstand them by accepting this pastoral cure." Finding himself in this strait Anselm turned to the two monks who were with him, Baldwin and Eustace, and said to them, "My brethren, why do you not help me?" This he said (I protest, before God, that I am telling the truth) being, as he used often to affirm, in such a state of distress that, had the choice then been given him, he would, if it might be so without transgressing the will of God, far rather have chosen to die than to be raised to the dignity of the archbishopric. Then Baldwin answered: "If it is the will of God that it should be so, who are we that we should gainsay the will of God?" His words were followed by tears and his tears forthwith by a copious flow of blood from his nostrils, showing plainly to all from what compunction of heart his words and tears proceeded. On receiving such a reply Anselm cried, "Alas, how quickly is
35 your staff broken." Then the King, perceiving that the efforts of all of them were being spent in vain, bade them all kneel at Anselm's feet, in the hope that possibly in that way he might be induced to consent. But what then? Why, when they kneeled down, Anselm himself kneeled down too and still refused to be moved from his original decision. Growing

angry with him and blaming themselves for weakness in suffering the delay which they had in heeding his objections, they cried, "Fetch the pastoral staff, the pastoral staff!" Then seizing hold of his right arm they began, some dragging him against his will, some pushing behind, to bring him to the King's bedside. But, when the King held out the staff to him, he closed his hand and utterly refused to take it. Then the Bishops tried to raise his fingers, which were clenched tightly against his palm, that even so the staff should be put into his hand. But when in this they had for some time laboured in vain and he himself uttered groans of anguish for the pain which he suffered, at last they lifted his forefinger, which he immediately closed again, and so the staff was placed in his closed hand and staff and hand together were pressed and held fast by the hands of the Bishops. Then while the crowd cried, "Long live the Bishop; long may he live", the Bishops and clergy began with uplifted voices to chant the *Te Deum*; and so the Archbishop elect was carried, rather than led, into the neighbouring church, all the time resisting to the utmost of his power and saying, "It is a nullity, a nullity, all this that you are doing."

When all the ritual which on such occasions it is the custom to have performed in the church had been performed, Anselm returned to the King and said to him, "I tell you, my lord King, that you will not die of your present sickness and accordingly I am anxious you should know that you will be well able to set right what has now been done in making me Archbishop, for I have not consented to its ratification, nor do I do so now." Having said this he turned and withdrew from his presence.

So Anselm left the chamber escorted by the Bishops and all the nobility of the realm. Turning to them deeply moved he said: "Do you realize what it is that you are trying so hard to do? You are trying to harness together at the plough under one yoke an untamed bull and an old and feeble sheep. And what will come of it? Why, without doubt the untameable fury of the bull will drag the sheep, which should produce wool and milk and lambs, this way and that

through the thorns and briars; and the bull, if it do not shake itself free of the yoke altogether, will so tear the sheep that the sheep, unable to furnish any of these good things, will be of no use either to itself or anyone else. How so? Why, you have thoughtlessly paired the sheep with the bull. You must think of the Church as a plough according to the saying of the Apostle 'Ye are God's husbandry; ye are God's building'. This plough in England is drawn by two oxen outstanding above the rest, the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. These two drawing the plough rule the land, one by human justice and sovereignty, the other by divine doctrine and authority. Of these two one, Lanfranc the Archbishop, has died and the other, having the fury of an untameable bull has been set to the plough while yet in the strength of youth. And would you harness with this untamed bull in place of the ox that is dead me who am but an old and feeble sheep? What I say, you understand well enough. So I would have you consider what it is that you would join and to what, and considering desist from what you have begun to do. If you do not desist, I tell you now beforehand that the King's fury, far in excess of what you would now suppose, will crush me, worn out by all kinds of wrongs inflicted by him, me of whom some might else have had the wool and the milk of the word of God and lambs for his service; and so the joy in me, which now fills you as though it gave hope of your deliverance, will be turned into sorrow and cause many to grieve, when they fail to find in me any of that counsel to which they were accustomed or that help for which they had hoped. You will gain but this, that you will one day see the Church, which you so greatly long to deliver from her widowhood, relapse again into widowhood, and that while her pastor is still living, which, whenever you see it, is a still worse state. And who but you will be blamed for these evils, you who have so heedlessly joined together the King's fury and my weakness? When I have been crushed and there is not one of you who would dare to oppose the King in anything, then without any doubt he will not hesitate to trample on you too in whatever way his whim inclines him." As he

said this the tears burst forth and, unable to conceal his heart-felt grief, he dismissed the assembly and withdrew to the place where he was lodging. Now all this took place in the year A.D. 1093 on the 6th March, which was the first Sunday in Lent.

Then the King directed that Anselm should be invested with all that pertained to the archbishopric within and without, neither more nor less, and that the city of Canterbury which Lanfranc in his time had held of the King in beneficial ownership and the Abbey of St. Albans, which not only Lanfranc but his predecessors also are known to have held, should for the redemption of the King's soul pass into the absolute ownership of the Church of Christ at Canterbury to hold as of right for ever.

After this, by direction of the King Anselm began to reside in the manors belonging to the archbishopric; and the venerable Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, lived with him and saw to it that from these manors all necessaries for his maintenance were supplied.

Meanwhile messengers were despatched by the King to Normandy with letters to the Duke, to the Archbishop of Rouen and to the monks of Bec to procure that they, so far as they were severally concerned, should all of them give their consent to what had been done in England with regard to the Abbot of Bec. But what happened? Why, repeated attempts of this sort did not at first prevail with them at all. But at last, in the ordering of God, overborne by persistent reasoning and reasonable persistence, they consented to what had been begun concerning Anselm being completed; and, to prevent his evading the burden so imposed, they laid it upon him as a matter of obedience. So they each wrote separate letters and these, all in one and the same consenting strain, were despatched by messenger to Anselm and to the King. Of all these I will insert one in this slight work of mine; from this one the purport of all the others will be sufficiently apparent. Let it then be this letter which follows:

Brother William, Archbishop, to his lord and friend Anselm, God's blessing and ours:

Touching those things which the King has asked of me concerning you and of which you yourself have written to me, I have, as was but right in so weighty a matter, pondered until now long and deeply and have sought the advice of my friends and yours. They would have wished, had it been possible, both to have you ever present with them as of old and at the same time to do nothing contrary to the will of God. But, since it has come to this, that these wishes cannot both be fulfilled, we as in duty bound put God's will before our own and submit our will to his; so in the name of God and of Saint Peter and of all my friends and yours, who after God love you, I bid you accept the pastoral cure of the Church of Canterbury and consecration at the hands of the Bishops according to the usage of the Church and thenceforth to watch over the safety of your sheep, thus, as we believe, committed by God to your care. Farewell, my heart.

This letter and others addressed to Anselm were delivered to him before those for the King were delivered to him.

Meanwhile, as Anselm had foretold, the King recovered from his illness. Whereupon all the good things which when he was ill he had directed to be done, he promptly undid and declared them to be null and void. Any prisoners who had not yet been released he ordered to be guarded more strictly than ever, those already released, if they could be caught, were to be thrown again into prison, old fines, already once remitted, to be exacted afresh, suits and charges to be reinstated as they were before and to be dealt with and tried by judges whose concern was more to subvert justice than to guard or defend it with a view rather to the oppression of the hapless victims and the extortion of money than to the correction of any wrongdoing. There ensued such devastating misery and such miserable devastation throughout the whole kingdom that anyone who remembers it cannot, I think, remember ever before to have seen its like in England. Every evil deed which the King had done before his illness seemed good compared with the evils which he did when restored to health. And should any wish to know what it was that gave rise to such a flood of

evil deeds, this they can judge from an answer which the King once made to Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester. That Bishop had one day after the King's recovery in friendly conversation urged him to be in all ways more careful to live according to the Will of God. To this the King's answer was, "By the holy face at Lucca you may be sure, Bishop, that God will never find me become good in return for the evil he has done to me." Of the King's doings such brief account must suffice for the present; and now my chronicle must return to the intended course of its story.

When then, as we have already mentioned, Anselm had received the letters sent to him from Normandy, and the King after an interview at Dover with Robert, Count of Flanders, had come to Rochester, where Anselm then was, Anselm took the King aside to a place where they could be alone and said to him: "My Lord King, my mind hangs still in doubt, which course I should take, whether I should consent to undertake the archbishopric or whether I should not. But, in case on further consideration I should be led to undertake it, I wish briefly to make known to you beforehand the treatment which I would have you accord me. I ask that all the lands which the Church of Canterbury, over which I have been chosen to rule, held in the time of Archbishop Lanfranc of blessed memory you restore to that Church without any suit or controversy; as for other lands, which that Church held before his time but had lost and has not yet recovered, that in respect of these you agree to grant me right and a judicial hearing. Furthermore I ask that in
40 all things that pertain to God and to Christianity you will accept my advice before that of anyone else and, as I am willing to hold you as my earthly lord and protector, so you should hold me as your spiritual father and guardian of your soul. Then too of the Bishop of Rome, Urban, whom you have not yet recognized as Pope, him I have already recognized and continue to recognize and to him I mean to yield due obedience and submission. I give you warning of this now to prevent any occasion of quarrel arising on that account in the future. Now on these matters declare, I

beg you, your will and intention, that knowing this I may see more clearly what course I should take." Thereupon the King called in William, Bishop of Durham, and Robert, Count of Meulan, and told Anselm to repeat in their presence what he had said. He did as he was commanded, and the King on their advice gave him this answer: "The lands of which the Church in fact had seisin in Lanfranc's time I will restore to you just as they were then; but as to those which the Church did not hold in his time I am not at present prepared to make any bargain with you. However, in these and other matters I will trust you as I should." These were the King's final words; and so they parted.

A few days after this the King too received letters giving the consent which, as we mentioned above, he had asked of the Normans concerning Anselm. Thereupon coming to his manor at Windsor he both personally and by his men pressed Anselm not to persist any longer in refusing to be made Archbishop inasmuch as the choice of him was the choice of the whole kingdom. At the same time the King pressed Anselm to give up out of love for him claim to those lands of the Church which the King, after the death of Lanfranc, had given to his men to be held by them by hereditary right for fixed service. But, unwilling to despoil the Church, which as yet he had not endowed with anything at all, Anselm refused on any terms to yield up these lands as he was asked to do. From this there arose a quarrel between him and the King. So the steps which were previously being taken to have him made archbishop were suspended and remained in
41 abeyance. At this Anselm rejoiced greatly, hoping that by the grace of God this would afford the opportunity of his being relieved of the burden of any preferment at all. He had already on receiving the release above-mentioned returned to Bec the pastoral staff and with it the charge of the Church of Bec which had been his responsibility as its Abbot; now he rejoiced to find that by refusing to give away wrongfully the lands of the Church he had escaped the burden of episcopal office.

But when, after no little time had passed, the King could

no longer brook the general outcry of complaint at the ruination of the churches, he summoned Anselm to Winchester, where an assembly of the nobles had been convened, and with many tempting promises of good things and things likely to be of benefit to the Church of God he urged him to accept the primacy of the Church of the English people and so urging prevailed on him to do so. So Anselm was inducted after the manner and precedent of his predecessor and for the tenure of his land was made the King's man and was bidden, as Lanfranc had been in his day, to be seised of the whole of the lands of the archbishopric.

After this Anselm came to Canterbury on the 25th September [1093] where he was received with boundless enthusiasm on the part of the monks, the clergy and all the populace. Escorted with great pomp, he ascended the Archbishop's throne to rule the Church of God.

On that same day there came to Canterbury from the King one Ranulf, a principal officer for executing the will of the King. Paying not the slightest regard to any considerations of piety or of restraint, he on that very day instituted a suit against Anselm. Full of insolence and self importance he had no compunction in disturbing the great rejoicing of the Church. This proceeding wounded deeply the hearts of all, distressed and exceedingly indignant that so great a wrong should be done to so great a man; that he should not be permitted to pass even the first day of his preferment in peace. What added to their indignation no little vexation, was the fact that the matter with which the suit was concerned related to rights ecclesiastical and had nothing to do with the jurisdiction of the King's court. So at that time a most cruel blow was inflicted upon the men of the Church of Canterbury. At this Anselm was grieved beyond measure but was unable to oppose the King. Inferring from things present ⁴² things to come, he realized that as Archbishop he would suffer many afflictions, and foretold that it would be so. As he entered upon a new form of service to God, and one of which he had no previous experience, like Solomon he stood in fear and prepared his soul for trial, knowing that all

that would live godly in Christ must needs suffer tribulation. Now when the time for Anselm's consecration was close at hand Thomas, Archbishop of York, and all the Bishops of England came according to precedent to Canterbury and there with due reverence consecrated him archbishop on the 4th December [1093]. Two bishops, those of Worcester and Exeter, were kept away by infirmity and were unable to take part in the consecration; but these sent messengers with letters declaring that though absent they would in this act be present in the presence of their fellow Bishops and consenting to it.

But when before the interrogation of the Archbishop elect Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, at the request of Maurice, Bishop of London, whose part it is to do this, read according to the custom of the Church the writ of election, at the very first sentence Thomas of York took great offence and objected that it was not rightly worded. When the Bishop read out "My brethren and fellow-bishops, it is known to you all how long a time it is since through the happening of divers events this Church of Canterbury of the whole of Britain metropolitan, hath been widowed of her pastor," at once Thomas interrupted exclaiming, "Of the whole of Britain metropolitan! If of the whole of Britain metropolitan, then the Church of York, which is well known to be metropolitan, is not metropolitan. We know that the Church of Canterbury is of the whole of Britain primate but not metropolitan." On hearing this they recognized that what he said was well-founded. Thereupon the wording of the document was at once altered and instead of "Of the whole of Britain metropolitan" was written "Of the whole of Britain primate"; and thus all controversy was laid to rest. So Thomas consecrated Anselm as of the whole of Britain primate. 43

Now during the consecration a copy of the gospels was, according to the ritual of the Church, opened by the Bishops over Anselm's head and held there. When at the end of the ceremony this was examined, at the top of the page was found this text—"He called many. And at the time of the supper he sent his servant to say to them that were bidden

that they should come for all things were now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuses."

A week after his consecration, Anselm left Canterbury and came to the King's court for Christmas, which was then close at hand. On arriving there he was welcomed gladly by the King and by all the nobility of the realm.

Now at that time the King was exerting all his efforts to wrest Normandy from his brother Robert and was spending on this project money collected from every possible source without stint or measure; so much so that he was even reduced to some straits which it seemed unfitting that the King's majesty should suffer. Accordingly the new Archbishop, at the instigation of his friends, offered the King five hundred pounds of silver, trusting his own hopes and the assurances of others that by so doing he would secure for good the King's favour and would have in him a patron ever ready to give thought to the things of God. He hoped moreover that he would thus gain for the possessions of the Church within and without peace and the King's protection against all adversaries. At first the King, when he heard of such an offer, said "Good!" fully approving of the gift but, as so often happens, certain ill-disposed persons succeeded in persuading the King to treat the sum offered with contempt and to refuse to accept it. "You," they said, "have honoured, enriched, and exalted him above all the other princes of England; and now when considering your need he should give two thousand or to say the least one thousand pounds as a thank-offering for your munificence, does he offer, oh shameful, only five hundred? Hold your hand a little and assume a look of displeasure towards him and you will see that he will be frightened just as others are and to regain your favour will be only too glad to add to the five hundred he now offers as many pounds again." Indeed the King was himself in the habit of treating in this way all those over whom he ruled. When anyone of them offered him a sum of money, even were it purely from motives of goodwill, if the amount did not correspond with the King's wishes, he rejected it with contempt and refused to admit the offerer

back to his friendship if he did not increase his proffered gift up to the King's requirement. And those ill-disposed persons supposed that Anselm too was to be frightened in this way and would be at once moved to satisfy the wishes of the King by increasing the amount. But their own wickedness lied to them.

So it was reported to Anselm that the King refused the money which he had offered him. He was astonished, and going to the King asked anxiously whether such a message really came from him or not. On learning that it did, he then and there begged him not to act in this way saying: "Do not, my lord, I pray you, refuse to accept what I now offer you for your immediate need. Though it be the first gift from your Archbishop, it will not be the last. It is, I assure you, better for you, yes and more honourable, to receive from me little and often, given as the free gifts of a friend, rather than to take from me much all at once by force and extortion, treating me as if I were a slave. Grant me freedom and friendship and you can have me and all that is mine at your service; but, treat me as a slave, and you will have neither me nor mine." At this the King, incensed, said angrily, "Keep your goods to yourself; mine shall suffice for me. Go." So Anselm rose up and went out thinking in his heart that it was perhaps not without forewarning to himself that on the first day of his entering upon his See had been read that passage from the gospel, "No man can serve two masters." And all the more gladly recovering himself he cried: "Blessed be Almighty God, who has of His mercy kept me free of any ill repute. Had the King accepted thankfully this present which I offered, undoubtedly ill-disposed persons, and there are many such, would have thought that it had been promised beforehand as the price of the archbishopric and was now being paid under pretence of a free gift. But now, what am I to do? The present which I had set aside for the King I will give not to him but for the redemption of his soul to Christ's poor; and, that He pour upon the King His grace and protect me from all evil, shall be my fervent prayer."

After this Anselm sent to the King and asked for the renewal of his favour, but because he would not double the money, he was quite unsuccessful in obtaining it. So the Christmas Festival being now concluded, he withdrew from the court, all the more intent on using the present which he had offered to the King, as he had determined to do, for the relief of Christ's poor.

Soon after this Anselm moved to a manor of his named Harrow and there dedicated a church which Lanfranc himself had built but had not lived to consecrate. While he was there for this dedication there came two Canons of St. Paul's sent by the Bishop of London with a letter from the Bishop begging Anselm to defer this dedication until they had met and discussed the matter. The Bishop claimed that this church was in his diocese and therefore, although it was situate in territory belonging to the Archbishop, the right to dedicate it was his. On receiving this message, however, Anselm, knowing the long established custom of his predecessors, held that he ought not for any such request to put off this dedication; nor did he do so. Undoubtedly the practice and custom of the Archbishops of Canterbury had been from ancient times and still is that in territories belonging to them, no matter in what part of England they may be, no Bishop has any jurisdiction except themselves; there all things, temporal and spiritual alike, are solely at their disposal, just as in their own diocese. Nonetheless, anxious not to wrong anyone by even seeming to exercise this authority arbitrarily, Anselm afterwards took care to have diligent search made to investigate the certainty of this custom, so that, if it should be shown that it had not been fully established, he should abstain from adopting it in future.

At that time Wulfstan of blessed memory, Bishop of Worcester, whom we have mentioned above, was still living, the one sole survivor of the old Fathers of the English people, a man eminent in all the religious life and unrivalled in his knowledge of the ancient customs of England. Accordingly Anselm consulted him upon this matter and asked him to tell

him the plain truth. This Wulfstan undertook to do and wrote to Anselm as follows:

To the most reverend and most blessed Archbishop Anselm, exalted by virtue both of sanctity of life and of the dignity of the chiefest See, Wulfstan, least of the servants of God, all unworthy, Bishop of the Church of Worcester, sends the submission of his prayers and his loving loyal services.

Your Wisdom is well aware of the hardships and oppressions to which day after day the holy Church is subjected, while evil men oppress her and the very persons who should have guarded her are themselves instigators of such evils. To repel these adversaries and against all such to defend the holy Church has your Holiness been set in the highest place. Therefore do not hesitate, do not be abashed by any fear of the secular power, nor turned aside by any favour but undertake boldly and what you have undertaken with God's help bring to completion; withstand opponents, restrain the oppressors and against all such defend our holy Mother.

Of those matters whereof your dignity has deigned to write to us and to ask the counsel of our littleness, we will tell you all that we can recall. This question, on which advice is sought, we have never heard actually debated because there has never at any time been any who would wish to deprive the Archbishop of Canterbury of this right or to prevent his openly dedicating all such churches as are admittedly his. Indeed there are to be found in our own diocese altars, and even one church which I could name, which were dedicated by Stigand, a predecessor of your Excellence, in our own time and in the time of our predecessor without our being consulted and without our making any protest either before or after, knowing as we did that this was the peculiar right of that metropolitan bishop; and these were in manors which he had acquired not by right of ecclesiastical succession but by gift of the secular power. Although then we have certainly never heard of this matter having been submitted to judicial decision or of the right having ever been judicially decided in the Archbishop's favour, yet what we know to have been done freely by the Archbishop in our own

diocese, we believe he can do in the dioceses of other Bishops also. And now having given you all the information which our memory or our knowledge can furnish we must leave it to your wisdom to consider what should be done. We bid your Fatherhood farewell and ask your prayers on our behalf.

Upheld by this testimony and that of many others, whom it were tedious to enumerate, Anselm thenceforth followed without scruple the practice of his predecessors, not only consecrating churches without consulting the bishops but also dispensing personally or by his representatives all sacred offices throughout the whole of his territories.

Some few days after this at the King's command pretty well all the Bishops and the princes of England assembled at Hastings to give their support and blessing to the King, as he was intending to cross over to Normandy. Father Anselm came too, anxious by his prayers to protect the King to the utmost of his power and to bring him safely through the perils of the sea. There at Hastings the King and the princes were delayed for more than a whole month, as a contrary wind prevented the King from crossing. During that time of waiting Anselm consecrated Robert to rule the Church of Lincoln, being assisted in this office, which was performed in the Church of St. Mary, Mother of God, in the city of Hastings, by seven of his suffragan bishops. In connection with this consecration some of the bishops and princes tried to raise a purely vexatious complaint against Anselm, maintaining that he should consecrate the bishop unconditionally without requiring of him the regular profession of obedience. They made this attack without any foundation of right solely for the reason that they supposed that by provoking trouble for Anselm they would be giving some satisfaction to the King, knowing that for the reason which we have already mentioned he was no little stirred against him. But Anselm, while not conceiving in his mind any resentment at these attacks and remaining quite unruffled, refused absolutely to give in to them or to consecrate the bishop without first receiving from him his profession of

submission and obedience. The King too, when he heard what the bishops were plotting, declared that, whatever quarrel he had with the Archbishop he would never on that account allow anyone to deprive his Mother, the Church of Canterbury, of any of her sovereignty.

Now at this time it was the fashion for nearly all the young men of the Court to grow their hair long like girls; then, with locks well-combed, glancing about them and winking in ungodly fashion, they would daily walk abroad with delicate steps and mincing gait. Accordingly Father Anselm made these things the subject of his sermon delivered at the beginning of Lent in the presence of the people who flocked to his mass and to the sprinkling of the ashes. By so doing he brought a great number of them to repentance with the result that they cut their hair short and adopted again such bearing as becomes a man. Those whom he could not recall from this degradation he suspended from reception of the ashes and from the blessing of his absolution.

In all such cases, as in the incident just mentioned, it was Anselm's way to act freely but at the same time discreetly, keeping ever before his eyes regard for nothing but what was just and right. In this spirit he set himself most earnestly to see how he could provoke the King to the service of God and the maintenance of justice. Accordingly he came one day to the King, as he often did, and sitting down beside him began a conversation by saying, "You have, my Lord King, determined to cross the sea and to subdue Normandy. That these and other projects upon which you have set your heart may turn out prosperously, as you would wish, I beg you first of all to give help and guidance to secure that in this Kingdom of yours Christianity, which among the majority of the inhabitants has almost entirely died out, may be restored to its rightful place." The King replied, "What help? What guidance?" Anselm answered: "Command, if you will, that Councils such as were held in the old days be revived, that wrongs committed be brought to light, when brought to light be examined, when examined be censured and so censured be checked. No general Council of

49 Bishops has in fact been held in England since you became King, nor for several years before that. In consequence of this there has been a wide-spread outbreak of crimes, which for want of anyone to prune them back have through evil usage grown to all too exuberant strength." The King said, "I will deal with these things when I think fit, not at your pleasure but at mine. I will consider all that at some other time." And he added mockingly, "But you, what would you speak about in such a Council?" To this Anselm replied: "That most shameful crime of sodomy, not to speak of illicit marriages between persons of kindred blood and other wicked dealings in things abominable, that crime, I say, of sodomy, but lately spread abroad in this land, has already borne fruit all too abundantly and has with its abomination defiled many. If it be not speedily met with sentence of stern judgment coming from you and by rigorous discipline on the part of the Church, the whole land will, I declare, become little better than Sodom itself. I beseech you, let us two make a united effort, you with your power as King, I with my authority as archbishop, to establish some decree against it such that, when it is published up and down the land, even the hearing of it will make everyone that is addicted to such practices tremble and be dismayed." These things found no home in the heart of the King and he made but brief answer saying, "What good would that do for you?" "If not for me," said Anselm, "it should, I trust, do so for God and for you." "Enough," said the King, "say no more about it." So Anselm fell silent; but presently addressed himself to other matters and said: "There is another matter to which I would have you give serious consideration and doing so extend a helping hand as on such consideration shall seem expedient. There are in this land very many Abbeys bereft of their pastors. In consequence of this the monks, forsaking the rule of their order, give themselves up to the luxuries of the world and then pass from this life unconfessed. I advise you, beseech you, warn you, to look diligently into this, which is a matter of the gravest importance, and to appoint to these Abbeys Abbots accord-

ing to the will of God, lest in destroying the monasteries and ruining the monks you bring damnation (which God forbid) upon yourself." Then the King could no longer restrain himself and greatly roused said angrily, "What business is that of yours? Are not the Abbeys mine? You do as you like with your manors and shall not I do as I like with my Abbeys?" Anselm replied, "They are yours to defend and guard as their patron; but not yours to assault or to lay waste. We know that they are God's to provide a living for his ministers, not to provide the means for carrying on your campaigns and wars. You have surely manors and revenues enough from which you can plentifully supply your needs. Leave, if you please, to the Churches what is theirs." "You can be quite sure," said the King, "that all that you are saying is utterly repugnant to me. Your predecessor would never have dared to say such things to my father; and I will do nothing for you." Then Anselm realized that he was casting his words to the wind, so he rose up and departed. 50

Anselm recognized that in such answers as these the King's old enmity against him must be to some extent still at work and, considering that while the mind of the King was thus set against him there was no possibility of his estates being allowed to enjoy peace, in order to benefit those estates and at the same time to be himself more free to bear fruit to God, as he would if he had the protection of the King's favour, he made humble petition to the King to admit him unconditionally to his friendship. This he did through the Bishops and said to them, "If he refuses to do so, ask him to say why he so refuses; and, if I have done him any wrong, I am ready to make amends." This message was reported to the King and he answered, "I have no fault to find with him; but nonetheless I will not grant him my favour because I do not hear why I should." When the Bishops reported this to the Archbishop he was perplexed what that could be which "because he did not hear" the King refused to listen to his petition. "This mystery," said the Bishops, "is plain enough. Why, if you would have his

peace you must give him plentifully of your money. Just recently you offered him five hundred pounds of silver; but, because that seemed to him too little, he refused to accept it. Now, if you will take our advice, and do as we do in like case, this is what we recommend you to do. Give the King that five hundred pounds now at once, and promise him as much again, which you will take from your men, and we are sure that he will then both restore to you his friendship and also let your estates enjoy peace as you would wish them to do. We cannot see any other way of escape for you nor have we ourselves any other when caught in like straits." Anselm, realizing at once how the result of adopting this course would recoil upon himself, said, "God forbid that I should take that way of escape. When, as you tell me, he makes no complaint against me of any wrong done and yet is so angered against me that he cannot be appeased except at the price of a thousand pounds of silver, why, if now, when but recently made Bishop, I were to appease him with this present, it might well happen that this very precedent would lead to his being similarly angered another time in order to be again appeased with a like offering. There is this too; my men since the death of my predecessor, Lanfranc of revered memory, have been robbed and stripped and should I, finding them unclothed, when as yet I have contributed nothing to reclothe them strip them bare, or rather, being already stripped, flay the very skin off their backs? God forbid. And God forbid no less this too, that I should shew by act of mine that my Lord's love is a thing that can be bought. I owe him fidelity and honour and should I do him such disgrace as to buy his favour with some poor paltry coins like a horse or an ass? Why, were I so to buy his love, I should after that value it at just so much as the price that had been given for it. Far be it from me to measure the grandeur of a thing so great at some trifling purchase price. Rather implore him to love me freely and honourably as Archbishop of Canterbury and his spiritual father and I on my side will spare no pains to give myself and all that is mine to his service and to his will as I should."

They said, "Surely you will not refuse to give him at any rate the five hundred pounds which you previously offered." "No," he replied, "I will not now give him even those five hundred pounds. When I offered them, he would not take them; and the greater part of the money I have already given, as I promised, to the poor." All this was reported to the King and he told them to take back this message from him to Anselm. "Yesterday I hated him with great hatred, today I hate him with yet greater hatred and he can be certain that tomorrow and thereafter I shall hate him continually with ever fiercer and more bitter hatred. I utterly refuse to regard him any longer as father or Archbishop; as to his blessings and his prayers, I do utterly abominate them and spew them from me. Tell him to go his own way and no longer wait to give me his blessing when I set sail to cross the sea."

Accordingly we departed hastily from the Court, leaving the King to his own will. He did indeed cross over to Normandy and expended an immense amount of money; but he utterly failed to subdue it. So with his purpose unaccomplished he returned to England.

Shortly afterwards when the King was residing at Gillingham, a manor some three miles from Shaftesbury, Anselm came to him there and intimated to him his wish to go to the Pope at Rome to petition for his pallium. Whereupon the King said, "Of which Pope do you wish to ask it?" For there were at that time, or so it was reported in England, two so-called Popes of Rome, these two being rivals of one another, and the Church of God divided between them, each having his own following. These two were Urban, who, then called Odo, had been Bishop of Ostia, and Clement, who under the name of Wibert had been Archbishop of Ravenna. This dispute for many years so affected the Church in England, not to speak of other parts of the world, that from the death of Gregory of revered memory (previously called Hildebrand) that Church would not up to this time submit to or obey as Pope anyone at all. But, as Urban had now long since been recognized as Vicar of St. Peter by

Italy and France, Anselm, being a Norman Abbot, had recognized him as Pope and, being himself a man of world-wide reputation and very great authority, had received letters from him and had addressed his own to him as the supreme Pastor of the Holy Church. So, when asked by the King of which Pope he intended to petition for the right to wear the pallium, he answered, "Of Urban." On hearing this the King said that he had not yet recognized Urban as Pope and that it had not so far been customary in his time or his father's for anyone to nominate a Pope within the realm of England except with the King's leave or in accordance with his choice, and that if anyone would rob him of this prerogative, it were as good as seeking to take from him his crown. At this Anselm was astonished and reminded the King of the conversation which we related above, how that before he consented to be made Archbishop he had told him at Rochester that he himself, while Abbot of Bec, had recognized Urban as Pope and was not willing to depart in any way from obedience and submission to him. Hearing this the King, goaded to anger, protested that Anselm could not possibly keep at the same time both the allegiance which he owed to the King and obedience to the Apostolic See against the King's will. Thereupon Anselm, while maintaining the determination which he had already expressly declared with reference to submission and obedience to the Church at Rome, with a view to the investigation of this question asked for a truce in order that at an assembly of the Bishops, Abbots and all the Princes of the realm the general consensus of opinion should be obtained and it be so decided whether or not it were possible for him, while preserving reverence and obedience to the Apostolic See, at the same time to keep allegiance to an earthly king. "If," he said, "it should be proved that it were impossible to do both, I would rather, I confess, depart and absent myself from your kingdom until you recognize Urban as Pope than disown for a single hour obedience to St. Peter and his Vicar." So a truce was granted and on the 11th March [1095] by authority of the King the nobility of pretty well

the whole Kingdom assembled at Rockingham for the discussion of this question.

A general Council was accordingly held on that Sunday in the church at Rockingham and from the first hour of the day the King and his followers secretly busied themselves weaving their devices against Anselm. But Anselm called the Bishops, the Abbots and the Princes to come to him from the King's secret conclave and addressing them and a great company of monks, clergy and laity that were in attendance said to them: "My brethren, Sons of the Church of God, for so I call all you who are assembled here in the name of the Lord, please pay attention and on the question which you have been convened to discuss give to the best of your ability the help of your considered opinion. Any of you who have not yet been fully informed what that question is, please listen while I briefly explain it. There has been some discussion between our Lord the King and myself which seems to give rise to a specific disagreement. For, when recently I asked his leave to go to Urban, the Primate of the Apostolic See, to receive my pallium according to the custom of my predecessors, he said that he had not yet recognized this Urban as Pope and therefore he did not wish me to be in any haste to go to him for that purpose. 'Why,' he said 'if in my Kingdom you recognize as Pope this Urban or any one else without my choice or authority, or, having recognized him, do so hold to him, you are acting in breach of the allegiance that you owe to me and in so doing you do me no less a wrong than if you tried to take from me my crown. So you can be sure that you shall have no share in my Kingdom unless I am satisfied by open avowal that you will at my wish refuse all submission of obedience to this Urban who is now in question.' I was astonished to hear him say this. I was, as you know, an Abbot in another kingdom living by the mercy of God a life free of reproach towards all men. It was not any hope or desire of the archbishopric that made me come to this country but certain pressing matters which I could not possibly neglect. But at the time of the King's illness you who were then with him urgently advised

him to take thought for his Mother and yours, that is, for the Church of Canterbury, and to appoint an archbishop before his death. What then? Why, he took your advice and it pleased him and you to choose me for this work. I opposed it with all my might intent on escaping the primacy; but you would not have it so. Besides much else I declared openly that I had already recognized as Pope this Urban about whom this complaint is now made against me and that so long as he lived I would not for a single hour depart from submission to him. At that time there was no one to say a word against me on that account. But what happened? Why, you seized hold of me and compelled me to undertake the burden of you all, me who weak and worn in body was scarce able to carry myself. In so doing you thought perhaps to do me service as I would wish. But how much I desired it, how far I prized it, how much pleasure I took in it, to speak of this now indeed, when it can do no good, is I reckon quite useless. But lest anyone not knowing my conscience in this matter should be offended in me, I protest (I speak the truth) that, were it not for submission to the Will of God, I should that day, if offered the choice, have chosen to be thrown upon a blazing pyre and to be burned alive rather than to be raised to the dignity of the archbishopric. But seeing the importunity of your desire I trusted myself to you and undertook the burden which you laid upon me relying upon the expectation of your help, which you then promised to give me. Now then the time is come when the opportunity has presented itself for you to lighten my burden by giving me the help of your advice. To obtain that advice I asked for a truce from the day on which those words to which I have referred were spoken to me until today in order that you should meet together and with one accord examine whether it be possible for me, whilst retaining allegiance to the King, to keep obedience to the Apostolic See. I asked, I say, for a truce and it was granted; and now by the grace of God you are here. So now, all of you, but most of all my brethren and fellow-bishops, I pray and charge you that you first look

diligently into this matter and then after the most careful consideration give me, as you should, advice on which I may rely, so that, while not committing any breach of the obedience I owe to the Pope, I may at the same time not offend against the allegiance which I owe to my lord the King. To me it is a terrible thing to show disrespect to and disown the Vicar of St. Peter; a terrible thing, too, to transgress the allegiance which under God I have promised to maintain to the King; terrible most of all to be told that it will be impossible for me to be true to one of these loyalties without being false to the other." To this the Bishops answered: "The advice you seek of us rests with yourself. We know you to be wise in God and a lover of goodness, and as such in so deep a matter you do not need advice from us. If you were willing to put aside every other consideration and instead to devote your whole mind to the service of our lord the King, then we would very willingly advise you as we would ourselves. As it is, if you so bid us, we will report what you have said to our lord himself and, when we have heard how he regards it, we will tell you." To this Anselm assented and they did as they had said. Thereupon, as it was Sunday, the King commanded that all proceedings should be adjourned to the following day and that Anselm should return to his lodging place and come again to the Court in the morning. This was done; and in the morning we returned accordingly.

Then Anselm sitting in the midst of the nobles and of the assembled throng opened the proceedings by saying, "Yesterday I asked of you, my lords and brethren, advice on the question before us; and even now, if you were willing to give me such advice, I would accept it." They replied: "The answer which we gave you yesterday we give you again today, which is, that if you are willing without any reserve to turn round and devote your whole mind to the service of our lord, then we will give you prompt and unambiguous advice, advice which we have found by experience to be serviceable where we ourselves are concerned. But, if what you are looking for from us is advice in accordance with the

Will of God which might be in any way contrary to the Will of the King, then your asking is but lost labour, you will never see us upholding you in any such way as that." Having said this they fell silent and bowed their heads as though to meet the reproaches that he would cast upon them. Then Father Anselm, lifting up his eyes, his face all aglow, in an awe-inspiring voice said: "Since you who are called shepherds of the Christian folk and you who are called princes of the people refuse to give me, your father, any advice except such as conforms to the will of one man, I will fly to the chief Shepherd and Prince of all; yes, to the Angel of great counsel will I fly; and in this business of mine, nay rather of himself and of his Church, I will obtain from him the counsel that I am to follow. He said to St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven.' Moreover, to all the Apostles alike he says, 'Who heareth you heareth me and who rejecteth you rejecteth me' and 'Who toucheth you is as he that toucheth the apple of my eye.' Just as we accept these words as spoken first to St. Peter and through him to all the rest of the Apostles, so we hold the same words as spoken first to the Vicar of St. Peter and through him to all the rest of the bishops who are the successors of the Apostles, not spoken to any emperor, nor to any king, or duke or earl. But, where it is our bounden duty to submit ourselves to earthly princes and to serve them, that same Angel of great counsel teaches and enjoins us when he says, 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.' These are the words, these are the counsels, of God. These I approve, these I accept, from these I will on no account depart. So I would have you one and all know that in those things which are God's I will yield obedience to the Vicar of St. Peter and in those things which rightly appertain to the earthly sovereignty of my

lord the King to him will I yield loyal counsel and help to the utmost of my power." With these words the Father ended. Then all present were greatly perturbed and rose up in haste and much tumult, voicing their dismay with confused cries, so that you would think that they were with one accord crying out that he was guilty of death. Turning upon him they said angrily, "You can be sure that we will never bear that message for you to our lord." Having said this they returned to the King. Then, as no one remained with him whom he could safely trust to bear his words to the King, Anselm went himself to the King and with his own lips told the King what he had said; and then at once returned. At this speech the King was exceedingly angry and with the help of the Bishops and princes set to work straining every effort to see what rejoinder he could make to combat his words; but found none. And so, offended one with another, they broke up into groups and here two, there three, there four, consulted together seeking most anxiously to see whether they could in any way compose some answer to what Anselm had said which would mollify the King's anger and yet at the same time not be directly opposed to the sayings of God which Anselm had quoted.

Meanwhile Anselm sat by himself, putting his trust solely in the innocency of his heart and the mercy of the Lord God. Then, as his adversaries carried on their little conclaves for quite a long time, he leaned back against the wall and slept peacefully. A long pause ensued and then the Bishops, accompanied by some of the princes, returned from the King and said to Anselm: "What our lord the King asks of you is that without any further argument you tell him promptly your decision on the questions which were discussed between him and you at Gillingham, upon which you asked for a truce that you might have until today to give your answer. The question is clear enough and needs no elaboration. But you must realize that the whole kingdom is indignant with you, complaining that you are trying to rob the King, whom we all own as our lord, of his crown and the jewel of his sovereignty. Whoever takes from him the preroga-

59 tives of his royal majesty takes at once his crown and kingdom. We are satisfied that the one cannot properly be held without the other. Think again we beg you, and seeing that, if your lord the King be offended, this Urban can do nothing for you; and, if the King be reconciled to you, Urban can do you no harm, abjure obedience to him, shake off the yoke of subjection and a free man, as becomes an Archbishop of Canterbury, in all your actions have regard solely to the will of your lord the King and to his bidding. Where you have done otherwise, acknowledge your fault and, to secure his pardon, whatever he asks of you as amends fall in with his wishes like a wise man; so shall your enemies, who now exult in your misfortunes, see you restored to honour and be put to shame. That, I say, is what we beg you to do; that is our advice; that we say, and say again, is the one hope for you and yours."

He answered: "What you say, I hear; but, to deal only with this one point, to abjure obedience to the Pope, that I utterly refuse to do. Already the day is drawing towards evening; pray, let this question be adjourned until tomorrow that I may think the matter over by myself and then make such answer as God shall deign to put into my heart." Then the Bishops and princes, supposing that Anselm was either at a loss to know what he should say further or else thoroughly frightened and on the point of abandoning the course which he had so far taken, returned to the King and persuaded him not on any account to grant an adjournment but that, as the matter had been debated at the recent enquiry, if Anselm now refused to abide by their advice, the King should bid final judgment to be at once passed upon him.

In all this business the leader as it were and spokesman for the King was that William, Bishop of Durham, whom I mentioned previously, a man quick-witted and of ready tongue rather than endowed with true wisdom. He was also the originator and a keen instigator of this dispute between the King and Anselm and had promised the King that he would make Anselm either abjure utterly obedience to the

60 Pope or else renounce the archbishopric and give back the staff and ring. The King, relying on this promise, flattered himself with the hope that either Anselm would abjure allegiance to the Pope and remain discredited in his realm, or, if he held fast to that allegiance, would quite properly be banished from his kingdom. This latter was what he wished because he desired to deprive Anselm of all authority for administering the Christian Church. For the King had, as is well known, the idea that he did not possess his royal dignity intact so long as anyone anywhere throughout his whole land was said to have any possession or any power which was not derived from the King himself, even were it ascribed to the Will of God. Durham, knowing that wish of the King's, exerted all his ingenuity to see whether he could not in some way turn Anselm out of the kingdom, worn out by the false accusations levelled against him, reckoning (so it was said) that, if Anselm departed, he himself would be promoted to the archbishopric. So having now persuaded the King that he should not on any account grant Anselm's request for an adjournment, the Bishop went back to Anselm, taking with him several witnesses to corroborate his words and said to him: "The King's complaint against you is this. He says that, so far as in you lies, you have robbed him of his sovereignty in that you are making Odo, Bishop of Ostia, Pope in this his realm of England, without the sanction of any direction from him. Having first so robbed him, you now ask him to grant you an adjournment to enable you to think out some pretext to justify this very robbery. Restore to him first, if you please, the sovereignty which belongs to him as King and then you can begin to talk of an adjournment. If you are not prepared to do this, he invokes upon himself, and this you should know, the curse of the hatred of Almighty God, if he grant you for so much as a single hour the adjournment which you ask should be granted you until tomorrow; and we his loyal subjects uphold him in this and are partakers in this curse. So you must now make your answer straight away to our master's complaint against you, else you will most certainly receive, and that now at once, the

61 sentence which your presumption calls for. And do not think that we are not in earnest in what we are saying; so far from that we are deeply grieved and it is that which makes us act as we are doing. And no wonder; for the very thing which your lord and ours held of chiefest worth in all his sovereignty and in which he did assuredly excel all other Kings, of that you, so far as in you lies, are robbing him and in so doing are dishonouring the oath of allegiance that you had sworn to him and thereby involving all his friends in great perplexity." To all this Anselm listened patiently and then to so shameful a slander made this brief reply, "Whoever would prove me false to the oath and allegiance which I owe to my earthly king because I refuse to abjure allegiance to the venerable Arch-pontiff of the holy Roman Church, let him come and he shall find me ready in the name of the Lord to answer him as it is right and where it is right that I should do so." Hearing this those present looked one towards another and, finding nothing they could say in reply to this challenge, they returned to their lord. From that moment they understood, what till then they had not had in mind nor thought that Anselm himself could have in mind, namely, that an Archbishop of Canterbury could not be judged or condemned by any human being except only by the Pope nor on any charge whatever be compelled by anyone to make answer to any man except the Pope, unless he chose to do so.

Meanwhile there arose a murmur of indignation among all the crowd at the wrong being done to so great a man; but such protest was whispered low among themselves. No one dared speak openly in Anselm's defence for fear of the tyrant. Nonetheless one soldier stepping out of the crowd came to him, and throwing himself on his knees before him said, "My lord Father, your sons do through me humbly pray you not to let your heart be troubled at what you have heard said, but remember the blessed Job how he overcame the devil in the place of dung and avenged Adam whom the devil had overcome in the Garden of Eden." At this speech the Father's face lighted up with a look of gladness, for then

he realized that the feeling of the people was with him in his contention. At this we rejoiced and were heartened, being satisfied that, as the scripture has it "the voice of the people is the voice of God".

But how should I proceed? If I sought to describe one by one all the threats, the reproaches, the insults, the lying accusations that were hurled at the Master, I fear I should be found tedious. But all this he bore patiently for his loyalty to the Apostolic See and by God's help demolished all opposition by reasoning that could not be refuted, showing that it was he rather than his opponents who stood fast in the truth and that on all the questions to which the real point at issue in the controversy related he had divine authority upon his side.

62 Now, when the King realized all this, he was vexed to the last degree and said to the Bishops, "How is this? Did not you promise me that you would deal with him just as I wished, would judge him and condemn him?" Durham answered, "At first he spoke to each point one by one so weakly and so haltingly that we thought him a simpleton devoid of all human shrewdness." He added, "It is now night. Tell him to go to his lodging place, and, now that we have full knowledge of his line of argument, we will spend the time until morning in thinking out some plan on your behalf." So at the King's command we returned to our lodging place.

In the morning we came again and sat in the same place as before, awaiting the King's word. Meanwhile he with his followers was exploring every avenue to see what accusation he could possibly frame which would lead to Anselm's condemnation, but found none. And, when William of Durham was asked what he had thought out in the night as he had undertaken to do, he replied that there was no argument which could be advanced to invalidate Anselm's reasoning, "Especially," he added, "when all his reasoning rests upon the words of God, and the authority of St. Peter. In my opinion," he said, "he must be crushed by force and, if he will not give in to the will of the King, then the staff

and ring must be taken from him and he be driven from the kingdom." At this suggestion the princes expressed dissent. Whereupon the King said to them: "Then what course do you agree to, if not to this? You can be sure that while I live, I will brook no rival in my kingdom. If you knew he was so strongly entrenched in his cause, why did you ever let me start this suit against him? Go, and consult together. By the face of God, if you do not at my will condemn him, I will condemn you." To this one Robert, who was much in the King's confidence, answered: "As to our advice I confess I do not know what I can say. While we busy ourselves all day long preparing such advice and in doing so scheme how to make the answers we suggest into some sort of consistent argument, he on his side so far from thinking out any evil just goes to sleep and then, when these arguments of ours are brought out in his presence, straight away with one breath of his lips he shatters them like cobwebs." Then the King turning to the Bishops said, "And what do you say?" They said, "We are grieved, my lord, that we cannot comply with your wish. He is primate not only of this realm but also of Scotland, of Ireland and of the adjacent islands and we are his suffragans. We clearly have no authority at all to judge him or to condemn him even could there be shewn to be any fault in him which, as it is, is not the case." The King said: "What course then remains? If you cannot judge him, can you not at least refuse him any loyalty or obedience and exclude him from your friendship or any share in your fellowship as brother bishops?" "Yes," they said, "that at your command we can do." "Make haste then and do as you say at once, so that, when he sees himself despised by all and deserted, he may be ashamed and be sorry that he followed Urban and slighted me his lord. That you may do this the more confidently, I do now first of all throughout my dominion deprive him utterly of all right of protection or support from me and furthermore I refuse to trust him or his advice in any matter whatsoever, or any longer to regard him as Archbishop or spiritual father."

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After this, when many other devices had been tried to turn Father Anselm from the straight course which he had so far deliberately taken and none of these met with any success, at length the Bishops, acting with the Abbots, reported to him what the King had told them to do and threatened that to satisfy the King they would desert him in the way we have indicated. His answer to them was this: "What you say, I hear. But when, for holding fast to my submission and allegiance to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, you refuse me all submission and the loyalty and friendship which you should give to your Primate and spiritual Father, you are not acting as you should. But God forbid that I should repay you in like manner. Rather, if you do not refuse to let it be so, I shall, by showing you the love of a brother and of a father, seek to bring you back as brethren and sons of the holy mother Church of Canterbury from this perilous error in which you have gone astray and by the authority given me of God to recall you into the way of uprightness. To the King, who is taking from me all protection in his realm and says that henceforth he refuses to hold me as Archbishop or spiritual father, to him I promise faithful service and, so far as rests with me, full protection. As a father will I have loving care for his soul, if he will allow it, while reserving ever to myself the right to act in the service of God as he should who bears the name and office of Archbishop of Canterbury, let our outward state be vexed by what oppression it may." To this the King answered: "What he says is altogether repugnant to me and whoever chooses to be his man shall be none of mine. So do you who are the Princes of my realm do as the Bishops have done and without loss of time refuse him any loyalty or friendship, that so it may be seen what he gains by the fidelity to the Apostolic See which against my will he refuses to forego." They replied, "We were never his men and cannot renounce an allegiance which we have never given him. He is our Archbishop; it is for him to be the pilot of the Christian Church in this land; and we, who are Christians, cannot, whilst we live here, refuse to

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recognize his authority, the more so that there is no trace of any fault found in him which should make us treat him otherwise." The King, stifling his anger, bore with this answer, taking care not openly to oppose their contention lest they should be too greatly offended. Seeing this the Bishops were covered with confusion, knowing that the eyes of all were turned upon them and that their apostacy was, and that not without good cause, abominated by all men. Indeed had you been by, you would have heard now one and
65 now another with an outburst of indignation dub this bishop or that by some such nickname as Judas the traitor, Pilate or Herod and the like.

Shortly afterwards these Bishops were questioned individually by the King whether they had refused to Anselm all submission and obedience whatsoever without any qualification or only such submission and obedience as he claimed by authority of the Bishop of Rome. When to this one answered that he had done it in the former way and another in the latter, those who declared that they had sworn to refuse him absolutely and without any qualification, whatever allegiance they owed him as their Archbishop, these were by the King's command given seats of honour near to himself as being his loyal followers and friends, while those who dared to say that they had refused him submission and obedience only in what he directed on behalf of the Pope, these as being traitors and opposers of his will he angrily relegated to a corner of the house far from him and bade them there await his sentence of condemnation. Terrified and covered with confusion upon confusion they retired into a corner of the house; but very soon they had recourse to that safe and familiar plan of action on which they were accustomed to rely, that is, they gave a large present of money and so were taken back into the King's favour.

Then Anselm, knowing that all right of protection in England had been taken from him by the King, asked the King to give him a safe conduct to enable him and his companions to proceed safely to a seaport and so to depart from the Kingdom, until God should see fit to put an end to

the distressful state which then prevailed. When the King heard this he was greatly troubled and his heart failed him. Although he desired nothing so much as Anselm's departure, yet he would not have him depart still seized of the archbishopric of Canterbury lest the last scandal that might arise therefrom should prove worse than the first; and yet he saw that it was impossible to divest him of the archbishopric. So, greatly troubled, he forsook the counsel of the Bishops, of which he bitterly complained as having involved him in these straits, and took counsel with the Princes, enquiring of them what should be done. They asked that Anselm should be left quite unmolested and be advised to return to his lodging place with a promise that he should receive the King's reply to his request in the morning. This advice was followed; and accordingly we returned to our lodging place to the dismay of very many, even of the men of the Court. For they took it that Anselm was already quitting the country and lamented that it should be so. Father Anselm on the contrary was filled with joy and gladness, hoping that by crossing the sea he would escape, as was ever his heart's desire, the troubles and burdens of the world.

Now, while Anselm's mind was fluctuating between hope of departing from the kingdom and fear of being detained in the kingdom, in the morning the princes arrived from the King and said: "Our lord the king asks you to come to him." Then we rose up and went and sat down in our usual place, all impatient to hear the final verdict on our case. Nor had we long to wait before the princes, accompanied by some of the Bishops, came to our Father and said to him: "Remembering our longstanding friendship for you we are distressed that this quarrel has arisen between our lord the King and yourself. We are anxious to bring you two back to your former state of amity, and we have come to the conclusion that for the present it would be helpful that both sides should agree to a truce in this controversy so that peace be established between you to continue from now until some fixed date and that meanwhile nothing be done by you to

him or his, or by him to you or yours, to break the bonds of amity. We have, I say, come to the conclusion that this would be helpful and we ask you to say whether you would be willing to agree to this." He answered: "Peace and amity I do not reject. I seem indeed to see already what prospect that peace which you offer holds; yet that no one should think that in these matters I prefer to trust my own judgment rather than that of others, I consent to accept what my lord the King and you think right to ordain for the maintenance of peace according to the will of God, but reserving ever to myself the reverence and obedience that I owe to my lord Urban, prince of the Apostolic See." This answer they approved and reported to the King. So a truce was granted, to continue until the week of Whitsuntide; and it was solemnly declared and confirmed by the King's

67 plighted word that both sides should in the meantime let all rest in peace as had been proposed. "And if," said the King, "that unbroken concord and perfect peace which is to prevail during the truce has not before its end resulted in the disagreement between us being laid to rest, then at the time fixed for the termination of the truce the matter shall be restored for final decision just as it stands today."

When all this had been so arranged, Anselm with the permission of the King returned to his See, assured already in his own mind that the respite of this truce was but an idle and momentary cloak for the King's hatred and the oppression that would soon follow. And it was not long before this became quite evident. Indeed it was only a few days after this that, on account of this dispute, the King banished the monk Baldwin, on whose advice Anselm especially relied, and two of Anselm's clergy, and thereby cruelly wounded Anselm who was overcome with grief. And what is to be said of the arrest of his Chamberlain in his chamber before his very eyes, of others of his men unjustly condemned, despoiled, and subjected to untold wrongs? All this the constancy of the King's word practised against Anselm within but a few days of the making of that truce and peace!

At that tempestuous time the Church of Canterbury suffered in the persons of all her men so fierce a tempest that it was the almost universal cry that she had been better off when formerly without a pastor at all than now under a pastor in such plight. But, refraining from a description of that tempestuous time, we will bring this present book to an end, lest by the foolish loquacity and loquacious folly of our narrative our readers or hearers, if there have been any, be wearied out of all patience.