# Norham Castle

H. E. H. Jerningham

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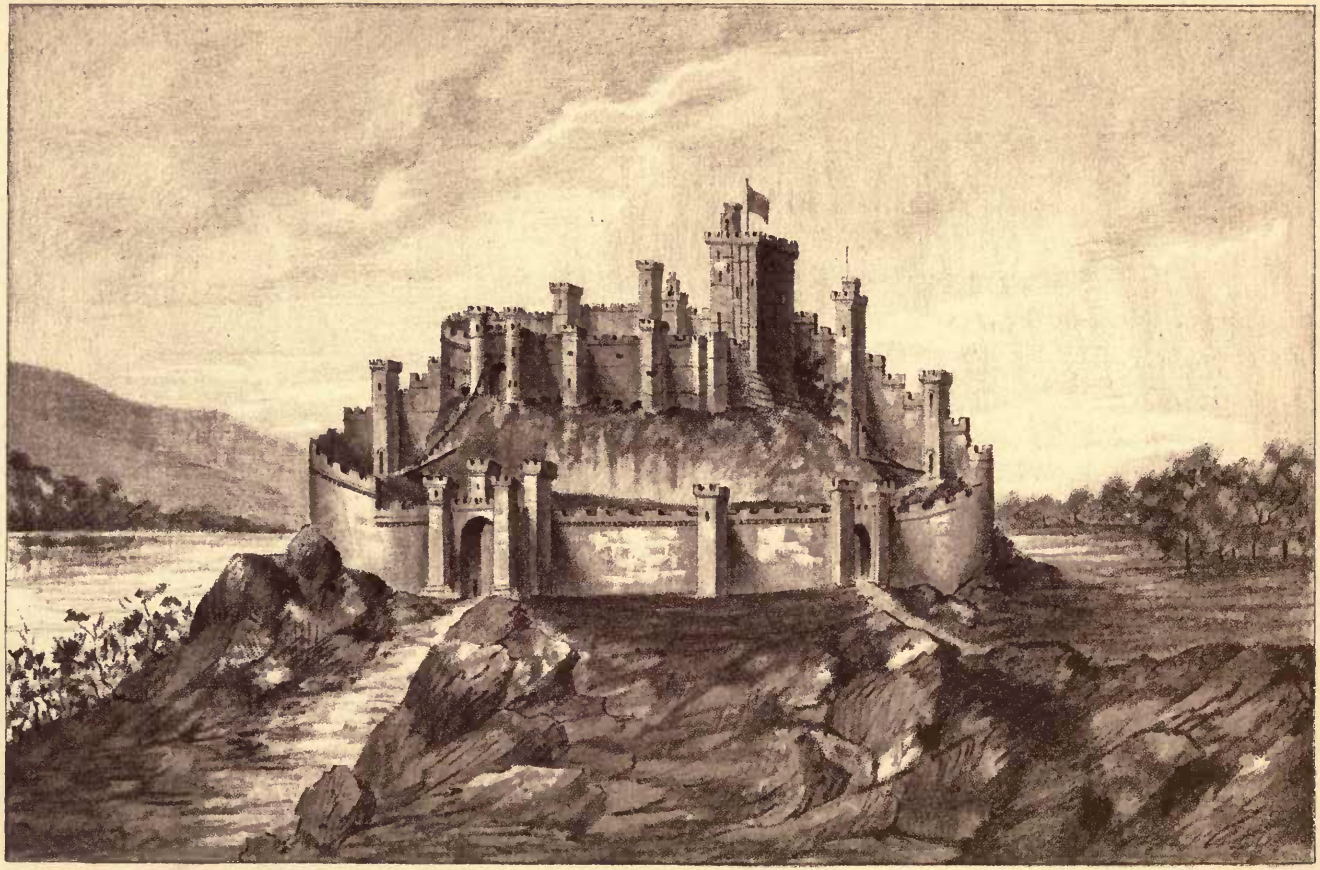

NORHAM CASTLE in the time of Pudsey 1151.

# Norham Castle

BY

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AND TRANSLATOR OF THE LIVES OF "SIXTUS V.," BY BARON HUBNER:
AND "LORD BYRON," BY COUNTESS GUICCIOLI.

EDINBURGH:
WILLIAM PATERSON.
MDCCCLXXXIII.

TO

MY WIFE.

# PREFACE.

THE present work has no further aim than to provide for the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the Tweed as it rushes to its mouth, and to those whom its natural beauties and its legends and historical traditions attract to its banks in the summer months, a portable compendium in a readable form, as I trust,—

> "Oh that I had the art of easy writing,
> What should be easy reading...."

—of the vast amount of information contained in those volumes of which I have given a list, and from which I have mostly worked out this history.

The exhaustive works of Dr Raine and Mr Hutchinson are neither portable nor within the means of the greater number of those who would like to know more about this corner of England; but it must be allowed that they are so complete and so admirable in themselves that they deserve to become more popular, and I trust that some enterprising publisher will give them some day the honour of a cheap edition.

I have embodied in this history all the information

supplied by the documents which Dr Raine has published in his History of North Durham, and which relates specially to the old Castle of Norham; but my constant desire has been to connect with the general history of England the several events to which these documents refer, and I must own that, with this particular object in view, I have had very great difficulty in keeping to the subject, and not wandering from it into a History of North-East Northumberland, taking up Mr Hodgson's interesting volumes from Morpeth, where he leaves off.

Though the task is, I feel, but very imperfectly accomplished, still I venture to hope that the stirring events connected with Norham, and which constitute the pride of this fortress above all other Border castles, have been brought forward more strongly than they have yet been, and that my volume on this ground will find favour on the Borders.

Few places indeed can boast of more interest, whether to Englishmen or to Scotchmen, in the advantages which incidentally, of course, Norham was the means of procuring to either country.

Thus the introduction of Christianity into the north of England, and its first footing in Norhamshire by the successful missionary work of Scotch monks; the disputes before Norham which eventually gave Scot-

land a Bruce; and the poaching affray at Norham which brought about the union of the two countries through the marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor, are so many facts which point to the most stirring events in the history of both countries.

Then the gradual establishment of the natural boundaries of England and Scotland, and the necessity for their protection arising out of the predatory and martial spirit of an age not shaped into permanent form, together with notices of those men who have played a conspicuous part in the history of Norham, and in particular of those families who have carried their honoured names down to the present day, whether on the Border or in the adjacent counties, such have appeared to me natural chapters of a popular history; if I have bestowed upon their rendering some labour and much sympathy, I have taken especial care not to prejudice the work by inaccuracies, so far, at least, as lay in my power.

Though a book for leisure hours, I have not allowed it to lose its strictly historical character, which will account for the many quotations and translations which I have introduced within the text; indeed, wherever it was possible, I have given the words reported to have been used, whether rightly or

wrongly, so as not to lose the force of the old English or Scotch manner of expression.

The only attempt at general history of the county is made in the third chapter, when I conceived it necessary for the general reader to gather from its perusal how invariably Scotch and English made Northumberland the battle ground on which they fought out their grievances and revenged their losses.

These few remarks may perhaps not indispose the reader to forgive the absence of strictly fresh material in consideration of the manner in which the old has been patched up into a new form, a form which, I trust, may enable others, if not myself, to discover more documents relating to Norham than the scanty bills of cost of repair and reports on its state of decay which have yet come to light, and for which, however, the historian can never be grateful enough to Dr Raine.

But some day we may see documents of greater value issuing from the record chests of old Border families,* and until then I can only offer this contri-

* If these pages stimulate such a research I shall not consider this volume as having been written without profit to the cause of historical inquiry, which, by the way, owes so much in the present day to the excellent family biographies lately issued in Scotland.

bution to Border literature with all heart and all humility, and say with Lord Houghton—

> "These harmonies that all can share,
> When chronicled by one,
> Enclose us like the living air,
> Unending, unbegun."

HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM.

Longridge Towers,
Berwick-on-Tweed, *February* 1883.

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# NORHAM CASTLE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORHAMSHIRE.

A.D. 635.

"Time's an hand's breath : 'tis a tale,
'Tis a vessel under sail ;
'Tis an eagle in its way,
Darting down upon its prey ;
'Tis an arrow in its flight,
Mocking the pursuing sight."

—*Francis Quarles*, 1634.

NINE miles south of the wonderful isle of Staffa, with its overhanging pillars and wave-worn Gothic arches, stands the little island of Iona, better known in days of yore as Hy, Y, or Iona.

On a fine day in the early months of the year 563, a little vessel with its sails full set to a westerly breeze might have been seen making its way through the Sound, and coasting the rocky shore, which glittered like marble in the rays of the sun, casting at last its anchor in a small creek which now bears the name of Port na Churaich, discharging there its monkish freight—thirteen holy men from Ireland,

one of whom, "a man of angelic features," they saluted as their Father, their Abbot.

This was the great St Columba, who, fired by the love of that faith which filled his life and fed his every want, had come to preach the gospel of Christ to the Pagan Picts, and convert them to Christianity.

Conall, then lord of the western Scots, had promised him a peaceful landing in the island of Hy, and a further grant of land for the erection of a monastery.

The first days of the stay of these pioneers of Christianity were busy worldly days, for on the island there were no huts to protect them, and the produce of the soil, which was little cultivated, owing to a more than scanty population (there were only five families on the island), barely sufficed to meet their own limited requirements. But as the French poet Racine has so beautifully put it—

> Aux petits des oiseaux Dieu donne la pâture
> Et sa bonté s'étend sur toute la nature.

In the service of God Columba and his followers could never want, but they had a great mission before them, and it was necessary to build a home which would to them be the dear Alma Mater from which they would go forth with courage, and to which they might return with confidence or for spiritual comfort.

So monks and all set to work to build a monastery

such as they had already helped to rear in Ireland, and it was not long before an eminence having been selected, it was surrounded by a "vallum" or fosse, and a cell for the Abbot and founder was built with joists upon the eminence.

After this mark of respect to the chief of the little band, other cells were built for the brethren of wood or wattles, and then successively the church, *oratorium*, peeped its head above the huts, and the refectory, the MS. room or library, and the offices were raised.

When these were finished the monastery proper was complete; but hospitality being the prime virtue of all conventual establishments in former days, more cells had to be constructed for the reception of strangers; and as the fields to the west began to yield the crops due to the agricultural labours of the monks, and the cattle which grazed on other fields to the east were ripening for slaughter, outer houses were constructed, such as the *Bocetum*, cow byre, the *Horreum*, granary, the mill, with a pond and a mill stream, the stables, *prædium*, and the harbour, *Portus*, for craft of various sizes.

When all these were completed, that monastery was erected which was to be the parent stem from which in a near future the glorious abbeys of Melrose and Lindisfarne were to spring.

Like a fortified village at first, the fame of Iona

soon spread, and the monastery developed into a town. The descriptions of it which have reached us, together with the accounts of the life led by these early monks of the pre-Benedictine order, remind us both of the still existing picturesque and interesting Greek monasteries in the Levant, and of the ascetic rules instituted by St Basil which the Greek monks are supposed to follow.

The monasteries of Athos in particular remind one of what we learn was the primitive manner of building in England fifteen hundred years ago, but while the rule throughout the east was to stamp out all remains of Pagan times by building churches on the sites whereon had stood their temples, and using therefor the stones and marble with which most of them had been so beautifully reared, in the British Isles a stone building was unknown, and only wooden edifices could be constructed.

To protect property therefore, natural defences, such as ravines and water, were made available at first, and later a wall encircling the *hamlet* or agglomeration of huts was added to the strength of the place, but it was only a little before the Conquest that stone buildings became the fashion.

These old monasteries had no architecture, but within the space contained by the ditch, *fosse*, numberless courts and huts were erected, just as are now seen in the monasteries of the East.

Windows were mere apertures, as huts only existed for night protection and the silence of prayer. The hut reserved for the sanctuary was only a little taller than the rest, and was surmounted by a cross, while the abbot or prior's hut was on an eminence to indicate command.

The same rule exists among the monks of Athos, where chapels all stand apart from the main buildings, and the œgoumenos has the loftiest apartment when he does not occupy a dependency of the building.

The analogy between these pre-English monastic institutions and those of the East with which they were contemporary is curious to note.

One day as St Columba, from his favourite seat outside the abbot's cell, was watching the waves in the near distance as they rolled tempestuously against the rocky shore, moved by a wind of no common violence, he suddenly called to his followers, and said, "Brethren this is Tuesday, to-morrow is a day of fasting, but as a guest will arrive, the fasting will in his honour be dispensed with."

On the morrow, as the storm of the preceding day had developed in intensity, and the waters in the Sound had become a sea wherein it seemed as if nothing could live, St Columba ordered a repast to be prepared, and water to be ready to wash the feet of the coming guest.

The tempest which raged at the time was so great that even his followers, who never doubted their abbot's word, gently remonstrated as to the possibility of any stranger crossing the one mile strait in such a storm; but before evening a little boat was seen approaching, and labouring through the trough of the sea. Presently it neared the Iona shore, sometimes lifted up on the crests of mountainous waves ready to dash the small craft against the rocks ahead, and at others swallowed up, as it were, within the grasp of giant waters: it came nearer, however, every moment, and at last the creek was gained.

A rush was made to the harbour to greet the stranger, whose coming had been prophesied, and whose advent must be of good augury, since even fasting was to be dispensed with in his honour.

The welcomed stranger was a young man of comely face and gentle manner, between eighteen and twenty-two in age. His bright blue eyes spoke as to his gentleness, while his tall and graceful figure bore visible testimony to the nobility of his birth.

Making his way to the little cell on the eminence, outside of which sat the giant-sized Columba, he knelt before him, asked for his blessing, and the favour of being admitted among his disciples.

Aidan, or Aedhan, was his name, and in him Columba saluted the first apostle of Northumbria, the future founder of Melrose and of Lindisfarne.

He had come to Iona to learn the ways of piety and devotion under St Columba, and for forty years he remained a monk of his order, leading a life of penance, privation, and prayer, well befitting the training necessary for his coming apostolate.

In 597 St Columba died, having succeeded in making Christians (at least in name) of the Picts whom he had come to Iona to convert, and was succeeded at first by Conin, one of his original twelve* disciples, and next by Fergna, who in 616 received as a guest a little boy of great promise, intelligence, and natural courage, who was only twelve years of age, and who was sent by Donald the Fourth, King of the Picts, himself a late recruit among the Christian ranks, to be baptized and instructed in the religion of Christ.

The boy was called Oswald. He was the second

* The number 12, as typical of the twelve apostles, was a favourite number during the early ages of Christianity, and was introduced in almost every department of monastic economy.

An abbot generally had twelve disciples. Twelve years were the usual term of ecclesiastic penance and monastic reclusion.

In the same way the sign of the cross was employed as a "signum salutare" on every possible occasion, and the saying went that "Hy was remarkable for its 360 crosses."

These usages are in the present day as much in vogue in the Greek Church as they were in the earlier days of the Christian Church in England.

Mystic numbers and mystic signs have always had mystic influences, and hence great vogue; it is only the sense of veneration and respect that defines their character and limits their usage.

son of Ethelfrith, King of Bernicia and Deira, who was slain by Redwald, King of the East Angles, on the banks of the Idle, in Nottinghamshire, and with his mother Acca and his brothers had fled for protection to the court of Donald, the Pict, across the Firth of Forth.

Abbot Fergna placed him for instruction under the special charge of the gentle Aidan, and thus began at an early age that friendship which seventeen years later was to bear such fruits, and make of Northumberland the stronghold of Christianity in Great Britain.

The child took a great fancy to his master, and was never rebuked by Aidan when he told him of his boyish dreams, how he intended to recover the throne of his father either for himself or for his family by the strength of his arm, or when he gave vent to the aspirations of a naturally ardent nature; but Aidan worked unceasingly to inspire the boy with that faith "which knows no obstacle," and to create a soldier of the cross, while educating him in those virtues which would make him a military commander.

Nor were these efforts lost, for years later, in 633, when Oswald, by the death of his elder brother, slain by the hand of Ceadwalla, Prince of Cumberland, had become heir to the thrones of Bernicia and Deira,*

* Bernicia was properly the country which extends from the

and was hastening to avenge the death of Edwine, he found at once the occasion to display his military qualities and his Christian faith.

Coming upon the army of Ceadwalla, on the banks of the Tyne, in the neighbourhood of Hexham, and noticing the number of the enemy, he reflected that with his own few followers, stout as they were, he had but small chance of success: then suddenly the lessons of Aidan came back to his mind; the vision of Constantine before the battle of the Milvian bridge and the motto beneath the golden cross on the azure sky, "in hoc signo vinces," recurred to his memory, and forthwith planting a wooden cross in front of his camp, he called to his men to kneel.

"Beseech the living and true God," said he, "of His mercy to defend us."

He then displayed his little army in battle array,

Tweed to the Forth, and included Edinburgh (Edwin's city), while Deira comprised the actual Northumberland. From Deira came the fair-haired boys who, in the slave market in Rome, first attracted the notice of Pope Gregory the Great.

"From what country do they come?"

"They are Angles."

"Not Angles, but angels."

"From what province?"

"From Deira" (de irâ).

"From the wrath of God called to Christ's mercy. And what is the name of their king?"

"Alla."

"Who shall sing alleluiah."

and awaited on carefully chosen ground the attack of his foe. But the steadiness of purpose of the Christian commander, helped by the strength of a faith which had then to give the first proof of its staunchness, coupled with the knowledge of their fate if defeated, gave to these stout Northumbrians, at whose limited ranks the Pagan prince is known to have laughed, the strength of a powerful army ; and before the day had run its course, Ceadwalla had followed Edwin to the grave, and in the language of those days the conquerors "*could scarcely believe their eyes on beholding the slaughter they had made*" of the enemy they had dreaded so much before the battle began.*

* "It was necessary for the assailant to be extremely cautious, and on that account he drew up his forces in a position of great natural strength some seven or eight miles to the north of Hexham. Here there is a plateau of very considerable altitude, which, without any artificial appliances, presents the appearance and the advantages of a vast fortified camp. The ground on the summit is tolerably even, and must in Oswald's time have been covered entirely with heather.

"The place, which in honour of the vanquisher in the fight, has for many centuries been called St Oswald's, bore, previous to the struggle, the name of Heavenfield, an allusion, no doubt, to its lofty and exposed position. Oswald could not have drawn up his forces in a better place. Along the whole of the western side the platform was unassailable, for it is protected by the steep rocky banks which descend abruptly to the river of North Tyne, and overlooks Walwich Grange and Chesters, with its Roman bridge and camp. Towards the south also, and on a portion of the eastern side, there are hills and fells of no mean altitude. Across the upper end of this great natural fortification ran the

No wonder that Oswald's standard became then the symbol of that faith which, like unto Constantine, his prototype, had given him such an unhoped

Roman wall, but between it and the northern side of the plateau there is a space left on which a small army might be drawn up to a most advantageous position for repelling any attack. A scanty force in the rear would be able to guard the western, southern, and eastern sides so well that no assailing body could carry these heights; and if it could, the Roman wall, a stout barrier, in many places at least six feet in height, would still protect the greater part of Oswald's troops.

"Oswald, therefore, never fearing any onset from the rear, took up a position at the north-west corner of the plateau, behind the wall. In that angle, protected in one way by the wall and in another by natural rocks, there is a clear space of nearly a hundred yards, and there probably on the mound which the chapel now occupies, Oswald set up the famous wooden cross to be the standard of his men. With rocks in front and the wall behind, it would be difficult to capture it; and its defenders, who cannot have been very numerous, would be conscious of their security. We may be sure also that Ceadwalla would make his great effort at this point, for the loss of the standard was considered equivalent to the ruin of the army. To the north-west there is a long stretch of pasture land, and the eye passes on to Swinburn and Humshaugh, and far up the river in the direction of the Cambrian Hills.

"Over this ground it is probable that Ceadwalla brought his men, and the opposing armies could see each other for miles before they closed. The troops of Ceadwalla would break like a wave against the rock-bound corner in which the cross was standing, to be cast back again with little or no difficulty by its defenders. The assailants, foiled as they must have been at this point, would naturally move towards the east, where the ground is less steep and more open, and in that direction the battle seems to have been decided. The success of Oswald and his men would inspirit them so much that when the enemy tried to attack them on more

for victory. It is not a little curious to note that the arms of the see of Durham are even now a cross *or* between three lions rampant *argent* on a field *azure*.

The three lions *argent* were a subsequent addition to the original standard, a cross *or* on a field *azure;* in other words, the golden cross in the sky of Con-

even terms, it could have no chance; the assailants if they got so far, would be pushed back, and the fight deserting the corner in which the cross was standing, would go roaring eastwards. 'There is a fame,' as Leland tells us, 'that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene, a two myles est from St Oswalde's axche!'

"There is a place called Hallington in the direction mentioned, and it was here probably that the battle was fully won. Ceadwalla would be thus cut off from his retreat, and the defeated chieftain crossed somehow or other the Roman wall, and hastened towards the south across the wild moor with the pursuers after him. Over the heather he would go, down the green banks below it, through the Tyne, and at a distance of eight or nine miles from the battle-field he was caught and killed at a little beck called Denises burn, a tributary of the Rowley-water. He would be entangled in the network of woods and streams when he was slain.

"The battle-field was, of course, the object of great veneration, for a great Christian victory was won there. This was the first occasion on which the sacred symbol had been erected in this part of the country, and the cross that Oswald set up stood in its place for many years, working miracles, as we are told, and attracting the steps of many a faithful pilgrim. In after times the monks of Hexham paid it a yearly visit on the fifth of August, the day on which Oswald himself met his death in battle, and with solemn rites and ceremonies chanted a service for his soul. A church was soon reared by them, and still there is a chapel to mark the spot which they honoured."—Preface to the "Annals of Hexham," by Dr James Raine, Surtees collection, vol. xliv., page xi.

stantine which Oswald gave to Lindisfarne, the original see of that of Durham.

In the enthusiasm which followed his success, Oswald sent a messenger to his protector Donald, and requested, while informing him of his victory, that he would communicate with the Abbot of Iona, so as to send him missionaries who could help him in the work of converting his kingdom.

The request was not long in being conveyed, nor long in being obeyed. Cornan was chosen for the apostolic work; but we know from tradition that his temper and manner were not suited to the rough and ready Northumbrians of those days, and after toiling heavily, laboriously, and zealously for a few months, he wisely resolved on returning to Iona.

One quiet and lovely afternoon he reached the little harbour from whence he had departed with so much hope and expectation only a short time back, and now with tears in his eyes he knelt before his abbot, declaring that a mission in Bernicia was contrary to the will of God, for they were people too stubborn and barbarous for His grace to make way into their hearts.

Presently Aidan gently remarked that perhaps Cornan's own stubbornness and severity were at fault, and that, no doubt forgetting the precepts of the Lord, he had omitted to give them like children the milk of gentle precepts, before treating them

like men to the meat of harsh and ponderous dogmatism which they could not understand.*

These words had a remarkable effect, for it being resolved in all minds present that failure was not a word which a community of holy men could admit in the service of God, it occurred equally to every one that he who could speak so well and point to the cause of Cornan's failure with such an unerring finger, was the only person fit to remedy the past, and plant firmly into the Pagan soil of northern England the standard of the cross.

Once the choice had fallen upon him, Aidan made hasty preparations for departure, and we may gather from the principal features of his character which have been handed down to the admiration of posterity, that his requirements were as few as his ardour and zeal in the service of the Christian faith were great.

Bede says that "it was the highest commendation of his doctrine with all men, that he taught no otherwise than he and his followers had lived: for he

* According to Bede: "You did not at first, conformably to the apostolic rule, give them the milk of more easy doctrine, till being by degrees nourished with the word of God, they should be capable of greater perfection;" and according to Franciscus Godwin, Cornan's return is thus explained:—"Quod arcana Dei sublimia magno verbum strepitu, ad ostentationem potius ingenii quam auditorium rudium utilitatem ingereret, ut nec bonos mores concionibus suis induceret, nec ad suspicienda fidei initia animos blandioribus præceptis molliret."—Dempster's "Hist. Eccl.," vol. i. p. 124.

neither sought nor loved anything of this world, but delighted in distributing immediately among the poor whatsoever was given him by the kings or rich men of the world."

As soon as the boat which conveyed him from the island to the mainland had landed him and his followers, he pursued his way through town and country on foot, inviting both rich and poor wheresoever he saw them to embrace the mystery of the faith, or strengthening in that faith those who had already embraced it, and stirring one and all by words and by action to the practice of alms and good works.

In this wise—for he ever refused to ride—he reached the kingdom of Bernicia, and perceiving near the sea shore, not far from the mouth of the river Tweed along which he had walked for some days, and which had become as a friend to him, an island standing somewhat in a similar position to that of his beloved isle of Hy, which he had only left at the call of duty, he fixed in his mind that there henceforth his residence should be; then making his way further to Bamborough, which was already asserting its title to a royal town and castle, he presented himself before his friend and present sovereign, King Oswald, who welcomed him with all the warmth of early friendship, and offered him any place he might choose in his dominions for a permanent establishment.

Aidan asked to be allowed to found his monastery and establish his see on the island which he had perceived on his way to Bamborough, and which was visible from that royal residence.

Thus it was that the island he chose was the island of Lindisfarne, and before the end of the year 635 he had established himself in a temporary home, and had begun his missionary progress which was more helped by his example than his eloquence, for he could not speak the English dialect, and the king himself interpreted* for him to the thousands who were attracted by the kindly manner of the charitable prelate.

It is interesting to know from the MS. of Symeon of Durham, that the boundary of the diocese of Lindisfarne granted to St Cuthbert, its abbot, fifty years later extended on the east from the Tweed to Darmouth, then along the course of the Darn to Hebburn Bell, a hill in the parish of Chillingham, and hence along the Till, which is called Bremish in its upper waters, to the Tweed, wherein it flows at Tillmouth, in the parish of Norham.†

Though these limits, together with the country that lies between the Edre, viz., the Blackadder and

* "Contigit ut evangelizante Aidano, qui Anglicum perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus et ministris interpres existeret."—Dempster's "Hist. Eccl.," p. 153. Bannatyne Publication.

† "Symeon Dunelm," p. 140.

Whitadder, which flow into the Tweed close to Berwick, and the Leder, viz., the Leader, which flows into the Tweed below Melrose, were confirmed to St Cuthbert by Egfrid, one of the successors of Oswald, it is more than probable that they were for the most part the original limits of the diocese established in favour of St Aidan by Oswald; and this is the more likely that further south, where the Cheviot range begins, was the limit (near Yetholm) of the missionary progress of Paulinus, the disciple of St Augustine. It is also certain that in conferring a see upon his friend, Oswald consulted his wishes, and the above limits, embracing as they do most of the country which he had traversed on foot, had naturally occurred to him as those which he would himself prefer.

It was only later that the diocese was extended; but the fact remains, that, while Bernicia and Northern Northumberland were the last portions of the British Isles to receive the teaching of Christianity, it was from Norhamshire and the Isles, in other words, from the County Palatinate of the See of Durham, that the light first dawned upon the banks of Tweed, a light destined to shine with a purity and lustre with which no other part of the kingdom can vie.

For did not Lindisfarne become the Holy Island, and did it not, besides its founder, furnish apostles to all England and martyrs to the faith, and above

all, shine as the abode of St Cuthbert, the glory of Northumberland ? *

Thus, indeed, the spot which was to become a military stronghold in future time against the Scots, and with which we are particularly concerned, was first seized upon by a Scottish monk to form part of the basis of his Christian invasion of Northern England.

* "Northumbria had done its work. By its missionaries and by its sword it had won England from heathendom to the Christian Church. It had given her a new poetic literature. Its monasteries were already the seat of whatever intellectual life the country possessed. Above all it had been the first to gather together into a loose political unity the various tribes of the English people, and by standing at their head for nearly a century to accustom them to a national life, out of which England as we have it now was to spring."—Green's "History of the English People," p. 34.

# CHAPTER II.

## DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

A.D. 867.

"Nor did St Cuthbert's daughters fail
To vie with these in holy tale:
His body's resting-place, of old
How oft their patron changed, they told;
How when the rude Dane burned their pile,
The monks fled forth from Holy Isle."—*W. Scott.*

For two centuries Norham, or Ubbanford,* as it is called in some of the older MSS., was but a prettily-

* I take this to be a mistake, and that it should have been Ufan-ford—the high ford, or ford above; and as the word "above" in the Scandinavian languages is pronounced "oben," "oven" the transition from the Saxon *f* to the Danish *v* and thence to the German *b* is not difficult of explanation, considering the Scandinavian races which for three centuries overran the north of England.

In Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon dictionary, published in 1838, and which is a most elaborate and interesting work, it is remarkable that not a single Saxon word is given beginning by *ub*, which would naturally lead one to suppose that Ubbanford, as given by Hoveden, was written as he pronounced it himself. On the other hand the words *ufan, ufa, ufane, ufon*, meant above, high, upwards, as *ufan and neodane*, above and beneath.

The matter is of no great importance, except that it has not yet been commented on as far as I know.

situated and well-wooded village on the banks of the silver Tweed.*

No church had arisen before the time of which we are writing (830) to mark the place as a dependency of the great monastery in its neighbourhood, but a convenient fording-place across the great river had already imbued it with life, and attracted under the shelter of the overhanging rock, † which protects its entrance, many a friar in his lonely communings with nature, as he bent his way from Lindisfarne into Northern Bernicia, or returned from his missionary

* "The greater part of English soil was still uncultivated: a good third of the land was probably covered with wood, thicket, or shrub, another third consisted of heaths and moor. In both the east and the west there were vast tracts of marsh land: fens nearly one hundred miles long severed East Anglia from the midland counties: sites like that of Glastonbury or Athelney were almost inaccessible. The bustard roamed over the downs, the beaver still haunted Beverley, huntsmen roused the bear in its forest lair, the London craftsmen chased the wild boar and the wild ox in the woods of Hampstead, while the wolves prowled round the homesteads of the north."—Green's "History of the English People," p. 62.

"In the British, Roman, and Saxon times, Northumberland abounded with forests and groves of oak and other timber . . . Cheviot is upon record for its oaks and brushwood in such abundance that it was called the great wood of Cheviot by way of eminence."—"Natural History of Northumberland," by John Wallis, vol. i. p. 135.

† Beneath it was a well still called the Monk's Well, the pure and crystal waters of which not only refreshed the weary pilgrim, but had the power, so the legend said, of bestowing on barren wives the blessings of maternity.

wanderings to his beloved home in the Farne Islands.

We can imagine little oratories erected here and there in the woods, where pilgrims knelt to ask the protection of God through the intercession of St Cuthbert; or little crosses studded about to remind these still early Saxon Christians of St Oswald, who fought beneath its shade, and still more that they must combat the difficulties of life with the blessing of Him who died upon the Cross.

Apart from these tokens of a living faith, no stone structure had raised its head in St Aidan's immediate district—the Norhamshire of the present day. But between the years 830 and 845 there was a great commotion in the pretty village. Bishop Egfrid* had given orders for the construction of a stone church in honour of St Peter, St Cuthbert, and St Ceolwulf, and it was whispered everywhere that the body of the latter was to be translated to the new church, an honour which was greatly enhanced by the fact that not only had Ceolwulf been a bishop of Lindisfarne, but he had also reigned as king over Northumbria in its more glorious days.†

* The last bishop but one of Lindisfarne.

† "Not long after King Egfrid had given Melrose and Carham to St Cuthbert, and the lands belonging to these monasteries, he was succeeded by Ceolwulf, son of Cadwinning (730), who, giving up his crown and his wife for the love of God, came to Lindisfarne with much treasure, caused his beard to be cut, received the

Great activity prevailed, and by a singular concurrence of circumstances the church was finished as Lindisfarne was being destroyed, and its monks from the distant Kyloe Hills could, over the plains before them, behold its blazing pile. It was finished as the supremacy of the Northumbrians over the Saxon Heptarchy was passing away; it was finished as the old distinctions between Bernicia and Deira were disappearing in the conquest of the Scots over the Picts, and as the great river which flowed beneath its shade was asserting for the first time its natural right to be recognised as a frontier between England and Scotland.

St Aidan's remains were back in Iona; St Oswald's and St Cuthbert's relics were fugitives from the land they had blessed; Lindisfarne was a ruin, its monks put to flight; Norham alone, as a bright diamond escaped from the old diadem, remained to prove to future ages that within its district Providence chose the spot from which to diffuse Christianity over the north of England.

tonsure, and gave to St Cuthbert the property called Werchewurde (Warkworth) 'with its appendages.'

"Postea dedit Egfridus rex Sancto Cuthberto Mailros et Carrum et quidquod ad eam pertinet. Non mullum post hunc Egfridum successit in regnum Ceolfus filius Cadwinning, seque Sancto Cuthberto subdidit, et dimisso regno cum uxore pro amore Dei se cum magno thesauro ad Lindisfarnense monasterium contulit, barbam deposuit, coronam accepit et Sancto Cuthberto villam dedit nomine Werchewurde cum suis appenditis."—"Symeon of Durham," xxxviii.

Already in 787 the Danes, with three ships, had made a descent in the south, and had slain Byrhtric, King of the West Saxons, who had hurried from Dorchester to meet them as "strangers or traders, and not as plunderers."

Six years later, in 793, Northumberland was startled by "excessive whirlwinds and lightnings, and fiery dragons flying in the air," omens which were looked upon with horror as presaging further calamities, and shortly after, "on the 6th of the Ides of January (viz., the 13th of January 794), the heathens lamentably destroyed God's church of Lindisfarne, trampling on the sanctuary with polluted feet, casting down the altars, carrying off the treasures of the holy church, slaughtering and drowning many of the brothers."

In 795 they made a descent upon the monastery of Jarrow-on-Tyne, but failing in this object of destruction, they sailed away. A storm, however, overtook them, and they were wrecked near the monastery of Wearmouth, in sight of Jarrow.

Forty years after this, in 833, the Danes rebegan their incursions to the south of the Tyne, but in 866 they landed in East Anglia in great force, and under the command of Ingwar and Ubba, sons of Rednar, Lodbrog, who had been cast a year or two before into a dungeon filled with venomous snakes by Ella, King

of Northumberland, they overran Northumberland in their desire to avenge Rednar's death.

Indeed, if the Northumbrians dreaded the Danes and their cruelty, the cruel manner they revenged themselves on Ella showed that there was ample justification for such dread.

"They tore his ribs asunder, they folded them backwards till he presented the appearance of a spread eagle, and then the raw and reeking flesh was sprinkled over with salt to increase the intensity of the inflammation."

Such was the lot of the last Northumbrian monarch. After him, under Egbert, who was only their lieutenant, the Danes allowed the country north of Tyne to become the prey of marauders and pirates, "not caring to give them any protection," and returned to York to establish themselves firmly in East Anglia.

It was then that the pillaged church of Lindisfarne, from which, during the forty years' truce from their invasion, Bishop Egfrid had caused the royal remains of St Ceolwulf, the king-monk, to be translated to Norham, was totally ruined. It had almost risen again from its fallen state, and was peopled once more with a numerous colony of monks. Presently the news arrived that Halfdene, a Danish pirate, was marching north from Tynemouth Priory, which he had left a mass of smoking ruins, and, "burning all he found in his way, tearing the babes from their

mothers' breasts, spearing man, woman, and child whom he encountered," was bent upon the ruin of Lindisfarne.

St Cuthbert had left a legacy in the shape of a hope that his bones should never be allowed to be touched by unchristian hands; and so great was the veneration for his memory, so powerful the influence of his name over the simple monks, that even in that hour of danger, with the full knowledge of what atrocities had been perpetrated on former occasions, and of the cruel fate which awaited them should the Danes reach their monastery before they had found refuge in flight, their first and only care was how to save the body of St Cuthbert,* and preserve it from insult.

The wish of their patron and saint had been prophetically expressed in 687, and now in 867, by a curious analogy of figures, the wish was to be carried out.

Bishop Earldulf thereupon summoned into his presence Eadred, a man of known piety, who was abbot of the monastery at Carlisle, and it was decided to open the coffin of the saint, wherein they deposited the head of King Oswald, some bones of Bishop Aidan, and other relics; then closing it reverentially, they bade adieu, with tears in their eyes, to the monastery they all loved so dearly, and set off on that wonder-

* He died 20th March 687, at the age of fifty-three.

ful pilgrimage which was to last so long, and be fruitful of so many romantic incidents.

Coming to the sea-shore with their treasure, the monks found it was spring-tide, and that they would have to wait; but suddenly "the waters formed a wall on their right hand and on their left hand, and a dry road and a clear path was before them on the sands. When all the men, women, boys and girls, herds and flocks, sheep and cattle, had entered on their path through the sea, the waters, following their steps directly behind them, returned in a wonderful manner to their former level."

The mainland reached, the seven laymen who carried the body and all the followers made their way to the Kyloe Hills, from whence they saw the burning of the monastery they had left behind them, and where they received the intelligence which made them resolve on proceeding further.

"For the space of seven years," writes Reginald of Durham, "St Cuthbert was carried to and fro on the shoulders of pious men, through trackless and waterless places: when no house afforded him a hospitable roof, he remained under the covering of tents."

From Kyloe they made for the Tweed across the forest, and at Norham they took a boat and towed the body up the river to Tillmouth, thence to Carham, and thence to Melrose; but as the old monastery of Melrose had been destroyed by the Scots, they had to

retrace their steps, and the next place we hear of their being at is Ellesden, the modern Elsdon, not far from Morpeth, in the Redesdale Hills. "From Elsdon," says Archbishop Eyre in his life of St Cuthbert, "they probably followed the course of the Reed, passing what is now Bellingham, where the Reed falls into the North Tyne; then they would follow the North Tyne, and then the South Tyne to Haydon Bridge, six miles west of Hexham, and thence to Bellingham," where they learnt that Hexham was a mass of ruins.

The untiring band then set forth for Cumberland, where tradition reports they rested at Carlisle, Salkeld, Edenhall, Embleton, and Lorton, near Cockermouth.

Westmoreland was next visited, and "Dufton Fells, three miles north of Appleby, afforded them a very secure shelter," but they had at length to leave it, and tarried at Clifton, near Penrith, before they entered Lancashire.

Here they halted for a while at Hawkshead, where the hills between Windermere and Coniston provided the most perfect security; then at Kirkby Ireleth; Aldingham, east of Furness, Over Kellet, north-east of Lancaster; Lytham, near Kirkham; Mellor, three miles from Blackburn; and Halsall, some ten miles north-west of Ormskirk.

Yorkshire was the next stage of their pilgrimage; an undefined pilgrimage, it is true, for it was a procession of men searching for some resting-place for a body

which they carried with them, and which had been dead nearly two hundred years.

Burnsal, in the West Riding, saw them arrive. Ackworth, near Pontefract; Fishlake, near Doncaster; and Peasholme, a suburb of York, were their next stages, when they made their way to the Tees, following its course to Forcett, near Richmond, in the North Riding.

Traces of their journey through Barton, near Darlington; South Conton, near Catterick; and Marsk, among the Swaledale hills, then back again to the neighbourhood of York, at Overton, are extant, as well as at Kildale, near Stokesley; Kirk Leatham, south of Redcar; Wilton; Ormsby and Marshton, near Stokesley.

Finally they got to Durham county, and rested first at Darlington, Billingham, Redmarshall, Chester-le-Street, and Durham.

I have followed in this nomenclature the names given in Archbishop Eyre's book, carefully compiled from the existing republished MSS. of Reginald of Durham, which forms the first volume of the valuable series of the Surtees publications, but I have endeavoured to give as rational an itinerary as the anarchy of the times and the fear of the monks combined make it possible and likely for them to have followed.

In Simeon of Durham and in Reginald of Durham, reference is made to Ireland and to Scotland. With regard to the former country, Mr Surtees sup-

poses that they went direct to the west coast. This may be possible, as they went to those countries where they could easily have got a ship to take them across, but it was not their intention on leaving Lindisfarne.

It has struck me that their object was especially to find a safe resting-place as soon as possible, and that Melrose in Bernicia was their first goal, and the Tweed the natural road to it. Mailros was the child of Lindisfarne, and St Cuthbert had originally come from Mailros.

But the ravages of Kenneth the Scot, the victor of the Picts, had laid Mailros in ashes, and made all the country east of Strathclyde Scottish territory. An allusion, therefore, to Melrose in Scotland is not only interesting, as historically correct at that early period, but reconcilable with the itinerary given.

Melrose given up, Hexham Priory was another natural goal; so was Carlisle, so was Penrith, so was York, so was Chester-le-Street.

Here they arrived in 883, when King Alfred had restored peace to the Christians in the north, and Halfdene was dead; and here the See of Lindisfarne was continued for 113 years, while the body of St Cuthbert was placed in the sanctuary of the church. Earldulf, who had fled from Lindisfarne, was the first bishop of Chester-le-Street; but the Danes had not finished their work, and still the body of St Cuthbert had to be "protected from heathen hands."

In 995 "an oracle from heaven instructed Bishop Aldhune to fly with the incorrupt body." He started with it and all his people for Ripon, and in 999 it was deposited at Dunholme, "where a little church of wands and branches was built wherein the body was laid, till a more sumptuous church was built wherein he might be enshrined."

This was Durham Cathedral, and St Cuthbert at last found a resting-place within the apse and behind the altar-screen or reredos which crossed the church at the apse.

No dead body, however, ever gave more trouble. In 1277 his tomb within the new feretory was spendidly improved; but in 1537 Dr Ley, appointed by Henry VIII., with Dr Henley and Mr Blythman, to suppress monasteries, had the tomb opened, deprived it of its jewels, "found the body whole and incorrupt," and not only the body "but the vestments wherein the body lay were fresh, safe, and not consumed." *

The monks after this hid the body under a marble stone beneath the spot over which the shrine had been elevated, but it is presumed that it was removed thence by pious hands very shortly after, and buried under some steps, where only of late years its presence has been suspected.

* "Rites of Durham," p. 85.

"Deep in Durham's Gothic shade
His relics are in secret laid;
But none may know the place,
Save of his holiest servants three,*
Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
Who share that wondrous grace."

Lindisfarne Monastery had been left in the charge of one monk, whose mission was to watch the Danes and take charge of sacred vessels in the church. He remained concealed within the church when the Danes entered, heard them threaten to kill the monks when they returned, and contriving to escape to the Kyloe hills whither his brethren had fled, he recommended them not again to return.

The church was destroyed, and the monastic institute in Northumbria received its death-blow.

Meanwhile a war had been going on north of the Tweed, which was altering the geography, as it was changing the character of the British Isles.

The western Scots and their eastern neighbours the Picts had for ages amalgamated, and their royal houses had so intermarried, that, as an historian quaintly puts it, "hence arose a deadly feud between the two nations." Donald, who was King of the Scots and one of the lineal successors of Cornall, who had invited St

* Allusion to three monks of the Benedictine order who are supposed to know where the body actually lies; but this is incorrect, for not three but all the Benedictine monks are told the secret, and may tell the secret if they please, for no oath binds them to it.

Columba over to Iona to preach the gospel to its Pictish neighbours, laid claim to the Pictish crown as direct heir to its deceased sovereign, but the claim was violently resisted by the Picts, who refused to listen to his pretensions, which were founded on hereditary right only, and informed him that, having by their own valour purchased their privilege to elect their own ruler, it was derogatory to their honour to accept a king merely on account of his blood pretensions. Suiting their action to their haughty message, they elected as sovereign a prince of their own race, thus declaring war to the Scottish Pretender.

In the many encounters which ensued, Donald, or Dungal, was not successful, and finally falling into the hands of the Picts, he was "butchered by them with inhuman cruelty," A.D. 842.*

It was clear that the Scots would not allow such a death to go unavenged, and Kenneth, the son of Alpin, who died in combat the same year (A.D. 842†), and who succeeded Donald, swore to revenge his father's death, just about the very time that Ingwar and Ubba were swearing to avenge the death of their father, Rednar Lodbrog.

He marched an army into the Pictish realm, and slew its Pictish king near Aberdeen, pursuing his

* "Chronica de Mailros," p. 16. Bannatyne Publication, 1835.
† *Ibid.*

conquest to the north with such celerity and success that before A.D. 866 the Picts were the subjects of the Scots, as the Northumbrians had become those of the Danes.

But besides Northumberland the old province of Bernicia contained counties north of the Tweed which extended to the Forth, and the contiguity of Bernicia and the Picts had engendered kindly relations between them, which in the hour of its need the Picts appealed to, and not in vain. Picts flying before the conquering Kenneth took refuge with the friendly Bernicians, who assisted them in resisting their Scottish enemy.

Kenneth, exasperated at this conduct of the Bernicians, and at the injuries which their soldiers—"armis ferocissimi"*—were able to inflict upon his undisciplined levies, resolved upon treating them like the Picts, whom he had determined to exterminate. Carrying his arms down the east coast, he swept all before him until he reached the Tweed at Berwick; then moving southwards, he conquered all the country which had formerly been Bernicia, inclusive of the monastery of Melrose, until he came to the province of Strathclyde.

When this was done—and the time had been well chosen, for the Northumbrian kingdom was the prey

* See Camden, speaking of the early Northumbrians.

of the Danes*—England had found its frontier on the Tweed and Scotland its limit on that river.

"The dissolution of the Pictish state is scarcely to be paralleled in history. Almost every memorial of its existence was destroyed, and the very language of its people lost for ever. Kenneth's rage and insatiable revenge for the death of his father being such that nothing less than the extirpation of the whole race could appease him, he spared neither age nor sex, and razed their cities to their foundations, passing the ploughshare over them, that every memorial of that people might be clean done out."†

It is singular to reflect that while Columba's disciple had begun his apostolic mission at the mouth of the Tweed, and Christianity in the north had risen on its banks, that river marked the limit of Kenneth's victory, of that Kenneth who was the lineal successor of Conall, Columba's patron.

Where Christianity had first displayed its standard, there rose the frontiers of "merry England;" and where the Scottish monk had fixed his home, there Scotland followed with her boundary.

No less remarkable is it that as the last North-

* "In the year that Kenneth, passing the mountains of Drumalbin, destroyed the monarchy of the Picts, these latter people are said to have been weakened by a great overthrow they had received from the Danish pirates; which overthrow paved the way to Kenneth's conquest."—Ridpath's "History of the Border."

† Hutchinson's "Antiquities of Durham," vol. i. p. 50.

umbrian king was dying a cruel death, as the Danes were asserting their rude supremacy, as the Scots were developing into a strong and haughty race, and as the monasteries first founded by the Anglo-Saxons within the "Patrimony of St Cuthbert" were being razed to the ground, Norham was the one "cell" or dependency within the original See of Lindisfarne that was not disturbed by the Danes, and dared peep its modest head above the storms of those fearful days.

Destined to be the vanguard of England in its political history, as it had been the vanguard of Christianity on its first invasion of northern English soil, Norham still can tell how races have gone down, how creeds have changed, how people have altered, but how, in the midst of all these revolutions, it has remained true to its founder and his noble mission, as it has been for ever loyal to English soil and king.

# CHAPTER III.

## SETTLEMENT OF GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS.

875 to 1099.

*Siward.* "This way, my lord; the castle's gently render'd:
The tyrant's people on both sides do fight;
The noble thanes do bravely in the war;
The day almost itself professes yours,
And little is to do."—*Shakespeare's "Macbeth."*

ANOTHER two centuries had elapsed. Saxon and Danes were gradually disappearing under the rule of those sturdy Norman barons who had laid hold of our island with so firm a grip. English and Scot were now in presence of one another, and about to fight for mastery across the river Tweed and all along its banks. William the Bastard had found his mate in Malcolm III. of Scotland.

The "Patrimony of St Cuthbert" had been restored to the Lindisfarne See, now permanently established at Durham; but the holy bishops of the earlier church had passed away, and the new men who succeeded them were warriors in the cause of wealth and power more than in that of religious progress. The age was an essentially fighting age, and bishops had to fight for their position. Lords paramount, judges, admirals, military commanders, and priests all at once,

they were only next to the king in power, and the kings could not afford to mistrust them.

At this great juncture of English history Norham again appears in the front ranks; and on "that hill of immense height upon the river Tweed, quite at the extreme end of Northumberland," * a castle rises on which British hopes are to be centred, for its strength will awe the invading Scot, and peace may reign beneath its favouring protection.

In an old history of Newcastle-on-Tyne by Bourne, written in 1736 and dedicated to the then mayor, Walter Blackett, and his aldermen, Messrs Ellison, Ridley, Fenwick, Carr, and Clayton, all names still distinguished either in that capital of Northumberland or in the county, there is the following passage: —"From the year 875 to 1074 Northumberland had been in a desolate condition," and quoting Hollingshead, he goes on thus: "By the invasion of the Danes, the churches and monasteries throughout Northumberland were so wasted and ruined, that a man could scarcely find a church standing at this time in all the county; and as for those that remained they were all covered with broom or thatch; and as for any abbey or monastery there was not one left, neither did any man for the space of two hundred

* Collis quædam immensæ altitudinis . . . super Thueodam flumen in extremis Northumbriæ finibus.—"Reginald Dunelmi," p. 149, cap. 73.

years take care for the repairing or building up of anything in decay, so that the people of this county knew not what a monk meant, and if they saw any they wondered at the strangeness of the sight."

Perhaps these simple words convey a better account of the ravages, the plunder, the pillage, the burning, and the slaughter which ensued during this desolate period, than a more elaborate account of the doings in the days when the fight for political supremacy had its centre in the midland counties, and Northumberland was left in the charge, sometimes of an earl appointed by the English kings, and at others of the Scottish rulers as they happened to be victors in their endless encounters.

These earls, besides, had countless wrongs to be avenged, and every knight slain was a signal for further bloodshed. Reconciliations would take place when treachery had its play, and the dastardly acts were immediately punished by the wholesale butchery of hundreds of unoffending men and women. It seemed as if peace was never again to be known in the north of England. So tired were the Northumbrians of massacre and bloodshed, that when they heard in 1016 that Canute the Great, a man of still greater strength of will than any Danish commander of whom they had yet heard, was marching towards the north, they submitted "from need," says the

Saxon chronicle, and delivered hostages without striking a blow, together with their Earl Uchtred.

But the peace which ensued was only of two years' duration; for Uchtred having wrested the Lothians from the Scots during his governorship, the Scots in 1018 gave battle to his feeble brother and successor, Eadulf, at Carham-on-Tweed, twelve miles south-west of Norham, and so completely annihilated his army, that "a levy having been made of the whole population between the Tees and the Tweed, by far the greater part perished, including especially the older men, whose services on ordinary occasions would have been dispensed with. So overwhelming was the calamity that the venerable Bishop Aldhune died of grief, and Eadulf seems to have had no alternative but to agree to any terms which were offered to him."

This battle of Carham is interesting in the fact that from this time the Tweed became the politically recognized limit between the eastern marches of England and Scotland.

But the history of our Isles was now rushing to its development, and the Danes were to face a fiercer race even than their own. Their day of retribution was at hand. Canute, Harold, Hardicanute were gone, and Edward the Confessor was king. The old Saxon race was once more supreme—it was but the flickering of a light of which the fuel is burnt out.

The Earl of Northumberland in 1041 was Siward, —"a giant in stature, whose vigour of mind was

equal to his bodily strength;" and legendary reports told how a bear had fallen in love with his mother, and Siward was the son of the bear. He was no monster himself, however; but while "a noble specimen of humanity" according to some, he was reputed so brave and decided that on hearing of a further Danish invasion, "the great men of the land, consulting with the king, did advise that the little devil Siward should be first exposed to the great devil," and thus all the land from Humber to Tweed was confided to his administration.

This "noble specimen of humanity," in the year 1054, "went into Scotland with a great army, both with a ship force and with a land force, and fought against the Scots, and put to flight King Macbeth, and slew all the chief men in the land, and carried thence much booty, such as no man before had obtained." That he was a very "devil" of a warrior is better established; for when he heard of his son's death at the head of his army, he inquired whether his death-wound was before or behind. "Before," was the reply. "Then I am more satisfied," said he; "no other death was fitting either for him or for me."*

* Shakespeare must have had this answer in mind when Rosse announcing Macbeth's death, Siward asks:

"Had he his hurts before?
*Rosse.* Ay, on the front.
*Siward.* Why then, God's soldier be he!
Had I as many sons as I have hairs
I would not wish them to a fairer death."

He died, however, of sickness at York; and so annoyed was he to find that his end was approaching far from the battle-field, that he exclaimed, "Shame on me that I did not die in one of the many battles I have fought, but am reserved to die with disgrace the death of a sick cow! Put on my armour, gird my sword by my side, place my helmet on my head, my shield in my left hand, and my battle-axe in my right, that at least I may die in a soldier's harness." Thus died a staunch old Northumbrian earl in the days of Edward the Confessor.

At his death Tosti, a son of the famous Earl Godwin, was made Earl of Northumberland, and the appointment stirred the blood of the northerners, who had not yet learned, and were not to learn for some centuries later, to look upon the south as part of a patriotic brotherhood, of which they were to hold the links if not the reins.

On the day of Tosti's arrival and his followers, the Northumbrian thanes first seized his Danish huscarls and put them to death; the next day they slew more than two hundred of his attendants; they broke open his treasury, carried off all that belonged to him, and then went to Harold in deputation, unanimously rejected his proposal to restore peace between them and Tosti, declared him outlawed, and chose Morcar as his successor.

The year 1066 had now arrived, and the Norman

William with his crowd of barons had landed on Anglo-Saxon soil.

Morcar, on hearing of the battle of Hastings (for he had not been present, though in London at the time), vowed "that he and his brother Edwin would fight together for Edgar Atheling" the rightful heir to Harold's throne, but William's movements were too rapid, and abandoning all idea of resistance they tendered to the Norman Conqueror their submission and their allegiance. They submitted, in the common sense words of the old Saxon chronicle, "for need when the most harm was done, and it was very unwise that they had not done so before."

Morcar and Edwin, however, were not restored to their honours, but carried off to France in the train of William, upon whom they had to dance "in honourable attendance."

The old Saxon pride revolted against this new position, and on their return to England they broke into open rebellion; but a greater affront had been offered to the English nation.

The most illustrious of the noble families of England, Earls of Mercia for generations, to which the Earldom of Northumberland had been added by the last Saxon king, the whole realm was likely to resent any insult offered to these brothers.

William I. had offered his daughter in marriage to Edwin, and the Norman barons made William re-

tract his word, as "the earl was not good enough for the bastard's daughter," thus branding the whole English nation as an inferior people.

At once messages were sent all over the country to rouse the natives against their enemies. All joined in a firm league and bold conspiracy for the recovery of their ancient liberties, and the rebellion broke out with great violence in the provinces beyond the Humber. . . . "Many of the citizens lived in tents, disdaining the shelter of houses, as tending to enervate them."

But William was a man of genius besides a bold warrior, and with an unerring instinct he left the northern districts in the possession of the insurgents, until he had by means of the Bishop of Durham insured himself of an alliance with Malcolm, King of Scotland.

Though this was not actually done, Egelwin, Bishop of Durham, got Malcolm to withhold his aid to the insurgents, and the great rebellion collapsed as quickly as it had sprung up. William then understood how powerful a British ruler would be in the future with the Bishop of Durham, a priest on whom he could rely.

But the Danish massacres had still to be outdone, and the Norman name to be feared in the north as the Danes had been.

The first Norman Earl of Northumberland was

Robert de Comines, who arrived at Durham in 1069, on the 28th of January, and "so great was the terror inspired by his approach, that the first impulse of the people was to betake themselves to flight, leaving their houses and their property rather than subject themselves to the vengeance of the tyrannical Norman;" but a great fall of snow prevented this resolve, and a conspiracy was then formed to make away with Robert, so they "mutually pledged themselves to do this, or to perish in the attempt."

Passages like this show almost better than any description how reduced and desperate were the people who could afford to risk their lives for the purpose of murdering a man who was appointed to look after their welfare, and of whom they knew nothing.

The Bishop of Durham informed the new governor or earl of the people's intention, but he laughed it to scorn, and suffered his followers to commit any unlawful act they pleased.

At daybreak, however, on the morning following his arrival, a large body of Northumbrians appeared at the gates of Durham, and entering the streets "slew the earl's followers wherever they found them." The house where he lodged was set on fire, and St Cuthbert's Church was only preserved "by that saint's active interference." Comines perished in the fire, and but one of his followers escaped to tell the

tale. Matters were assuming an ugly look. Cospatrick, the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, at the head of the discontented Saxons, marched upon York. Malet, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, earnestly appealed to William for reinforcements. The king marched to his relief in person, and surprising the insurgents by a quick march, "routed them with great slaughter, and effectually dispersed them."

He then returned to Winchester in triumph, and to prepare his revenge for Comines' death. He leisurely organized an expedition against the bishoprick of Durham, which never reached Durham owing to a dense fog, but was soon employed against the Danes.

The spirit of William being fully roused, he marched into Northumberland, and spent the whole winter laying waste the country, slaughtering the inhabitants, and inflicting on them without intermission every sort of evil.

"It was dreadful to behold human corpses, rotting in the houses, streets, and highways, reeking with putrefaction, swarming with worms, and contaminating the air with deadly exhalations: for all the people being cut off by the sword or by famine, there were none left to bury them."

"In consequence of the ravages of the Normans, so severe a famine prevailed throughout the kingdom, but chiefly in Northumberland and the adjacent

provinces, that men were driven to feed on the carcases of horses, dogs, and cats, and even of human flesh."

It is consoling to hear, after so terrible an account, that on his death-bed William allowed that he had "become, alas! the barbarous murderer of thousands upon thousands, both old and young," thus expressing, as well as his rude nature allowed, some regret for the merciless revenge he had taken on those who had called upon the Danes under Sweyne to come and help them against the Norman invader.

Historians of the present day are wont to sing the praises of William and his barons, because they brought with them institutions which constitute the ground-work upon which our modern legal system is founded, and also because the greater portion of the British nobility who claim a genuine ancestry, trace their origin back to some Norman companion of the bastard William; but the fact remains that a more merciless set of ruffians never trod upon British soil, and a more annihilating horde of robbers never trampled on any country. The Romans had left behind them memories of benefits conferred, and of a rule both wise and just though stern; the Danes, though savage, spoke a language akin to our own, and contrived when not bent on destruction to ingratiate themselves with the people, to amalgamate with them, and to form a mixed race which gave promise

of strength of power and of unity, but the Normans spoke a jargon which alarmed as much as it reminded the vanquished of their defeat. The insolent and overbearing manner of the conquerors offended as it naturally created resentment, and in the end the native element was trodden down and crushed never to rise again.*

It was not so in Scotland, and from the first the Norman barons had to learn that "to the Tweed and no step further" was to be their guiding rule.

Malcolm Cean Mor, the elder of the two sons of Duncan, by a sister of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, refused to recognise William as the legitimate king of England.

Born in 1024, he sought Siward's protection in 1039 on the assassination of his father by Macbeth, and was placed for a time under the care of Edward the Confessor at his Court in London, where he became acquainted with Edgar Atheling and his beautiful sister Margaret.

* "The minds of men were froward and inclined to quarrels and warfare: they were overwhelmed in excess and sensuality; vanity, lust, and intemperance reigned everywhere. (Malmesbury.)

"Even the king's servants, following him in his journeys, used to harass and plunder the country as their wickedness instigated, and many of them were so extravagant in their barbarity, that what they could not eat or drink in their quarters, they either obliged the people to carry to market and sell for their emolument, or they threw it into the fire. At their departure they frequently washed their horses' heels with the wine left undrunk, or wasted

In 1054 he accompanied his cousin Robert, the son of Siward, into Scotland, where they forced Macbeth to give up the Lothians, which country was then placed under his rule by Siward; and in 1056, with the further assistance of Siward, he marched north to Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire. There he overtook and slew Macbeth, and in the following spring defeated Lulach, Macbeth's stepson, at Essie in Strathbogie, thus putting an end to all resistance against him.

Crowned at Scone in 1057, he paid a visit of gratitude to Edward the Confessor in 1059, ravaged Northumberland in 1061, because Tostig had proved "false to his friendship," and in 1066 received at his Court the fugitive remnants of Saxon royalty.

Boece tells how a storm drove the fleet, with Harold's widow and Edgar Atheling and his sisters Margaret and Christina, into the Firth of Forth, and how the road wherein they sought shelter took the name of Margaret's Hope, and still is called so;* how

it on the ground. As for outrages committed on the persons of subjects, both men and women, they went to the utmost length of licentiousness and cruelty. For these reasons, when they heard the king was coming, everybody quitted their houses and fled with their effects." (Malmesbury.)

* "When this Edgar Athelinge,
That of law should have been king,
The kingdom saw distroubled so,
Of counsel with his sisters two.

Malcolm, then residing at Dunfermline, "sent envoys to enquire of what lineage and country the strangers were—

> "Sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
> Quove tenetis iter?"

and found to his dismay that they were of the line of the Confessor, his benefactor; how he at once offered them hospitality, receiving them with all the honour due to their rank, to his old affection for the family, and to the promise once made to him by Edward that Margaret should be his bride.

Malcolm's love and admiration for this excellent princess forms almost a romance in those days of

> A ship he got and took the sea,
> For to pass again thought he,
> And arrive in the empire
> Whereof the Lord was his good sire.
> And as they were on the sea land,
> The wind askant was then blowing,
> And all the weather on their journey
> Was to their purpose all contrary,
> That perforce as the wind them moved,
> Came in the Firth which them behoved,
> And in St Margaret's Hope by leave
> Of proper need they did arrive.
> In this manner Saint Margaret,
> In the empire upon which,
> Came to be a Scottish name
> In King Malcolm's reign."

Wyntoun, quoted in the original Saxon in the Registrum de Dunfermline, published by the Bannatyne Club.

sword and battle. So great was his respect and his admiration that Turgot, who had accompanied her on the journey, says: "The king liked and disliked whatever she did, and, unable to read, was in the habit of kissing her missals and prayer-books, and having them ornamented with gold and precious stones."

She brought with her the civilizing influences of the south, and soon regenerated a court which had not known before the blessings of learning and of education.

This princess is reputed to have been so fond of her old country that she was wont to pay the ransom of her Saxon countrymen out of her own means when she found them in bondage in Scotland. Her resignation to the will of God, on hearing of the death of her husband and eldest son near Alnwick, is beautifully depicted in the following prayer which she is said to have offered up when the news was broken to her: "Praise and blessing to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter an anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby I trust to purify me in some measure from the corruption of my sins."

Then, as if the blow had been too much, the saintly queen dropped down dead.

Her daughter married Henry I., thereby restoring a little English blood to the kings of England.

She tamed her husband to the degree of making him act as her interpreter with the Scotch clergy who had not given up their views about the keeping of Easter, and Sir Walter Scott, in his interesting preface to "Border Antiquities," remarks that this circumstance proves not only "that Malcolm Canmore understood both Saxon and Celtic" (which by the way is natural, considering that he had been educated at the Confessor's court), but "establishes the fact that the Lowland Scotch had not yet spread generally through the Celtic tribes, though it did so afterwards."

Of course Malcolm espoused the cause of his brother-in-law Edgar, and invaded England with the assistance of Danes and the Northumbrian nobles led by Gospatrick.* His progress, as we have seen, was stopped by the craftiness or statesmanship of William, who, through the Bishop of Durham, arrested Malcolm's progress by the information that Gospatrick might prove a traitor. Of this fact he soon became aware, for turning his march into England from east to west, he reached the eastern parts of the Durham diocese,

* This great earl was the son and heir of Maldred, who married Algetha, daughter and heir of Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland, by Algiva, daughter of King Ethelred of England. Maldred was son of Crinan, one of the greatest and most opulent families in the north of England. From him in direct male line are descended the Nevilles, the most illustrious family in antiquity, and the representative of which is now the Earl of Abergavenny. According to Dugdale, he died at Norham, and was buried in the porch of the church there.

after wasting Teesdale and defeating a Norman army at Hinderskill, when he heard that Gospatrick was laying waste his own county of Cumberland, in King William's interest, whereupon "he spared neither age nor sex," and led captive into Scotland so many young men and women that "for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay, in every Scottish hovel."

In 1072, William tried to retaliate by invading Scotland both by land and by sea, but he had soon to sue for peace at Abernethy.

In 1079, Gospatrick, having betrayed William, was deprived of his earldom of Northumberland, and becoming reconciled with Malcolm, was created by him Earl of Dunbar.

His first step was to induce Malcolm to invade England, which that sovereign agreed to do, and penetrated through Northumberland to the Tyne.

In 1080, the English invaded Scotland under Robert, but were obliged to retreat.

It was then that Newcastle was built to check the incursions of the Scots.

As the Chronicle of Mailros relates in charmingly simple language: "The Conqueror sent his son Robert Courtois or Courtehose (viz., of the short breeches) against Malcolm in 1080, who, having done nothing, upon his return built the New Castle upon the river Tyne."

The town had, previously to this time, been called Monkchester, or Monks' defence, and it only lost that name when the castle was built.

At last the old Scottish king, after having "on five occasions afflicted Northumberland with dreadful ravages and carried off its wretched inhabitants into slavery," and having under William Rufus advanced to Chester-le-Street, "slaughtering multitudes of human beings and burning their dwellings," was induced by "hostages sent to him in Scotland" to obey William's summons to Gloucester; but not being able "either to obtain an audience of the king, or the performance of certain stipulations" connected with the cession of Carlisle, in a fit of temper he returned to Scotland, and assembling his troops, resolved on invading England once more.

Robert, Earl of Northumberland, a son of Roger de Mowbray, a companion-in-arms of William, of whom Ordericus Vitalis says that "he was bold and crafty of disposition, and inflated with empty pride," "lay in wait for him with his men, and he was killed by Morel of Bamburgh,* the earl's deputy," A.D. 1092.

* In 1095, finding Bamburgh, to which he had laid siege almost impregnable, William Rufus erected another fort called "Malvoisin," a French word for bad neighbour, immediately opposite, and drew off with his main army to Alnwick, "the better to engage the rebel Mowbray." Mowbray, after holding secret communication with his friends at Newcastle, found out that Rufus had left, and started to take possession; but, on arriving before Newcastle, he

The death of this old warrior king, whose body was "carried in a cart by two countrymen to Tynemouth, and there interred," was the signal for the rise and rapid growth of the See of Durham, which was to play so important a part in the history of the north during the centuries that followed.

In 1093, William de Carilepho, "who was in very high favour with the king," restored to the see the lands which the king had severed from it, and re-established "the Patrimony of St Cuthbert," which comprised Ubbanford, or Norham as it was then called, while he began, from plans which he had brought over from France, the present Cathedral of Durham. The wars with Malcolm and the Scottish invasions had shown the necessity of fortresses on the frontiers for the purposes of defence. New Castle was being built, but other lines of defence were necessary to protect the lands above Tyne.

found the gates were shut, and was refused entrance, whereupon he hurried to Tynemouth; his movements, however, having been watched by the king's army, he was overtaken and made prisoner. His wife, meanwhile, and Morel defended Bamburgh against every assault, and it was only on finding that Mowbray had been captured that they at last capitulated. Rufus, in reward of the good defence made by Lady Mowbray and by Morel, pardoned all three.

Camden says: "After Mowbray's flight, the castle was stoutly maintained by Morel till the earl himself was by the king's order brought within view of the fort, and threatened with the having his eyes put out, whereupon it was immediately surrendered." —"Britannia," vol. i. p. 1097.

Bishop Walcher, who preceded Carilepho, had been the first to obtain with the Earldom of Northumberland the privilege of uniting the civil with the ecclesiastic power in his see, and the people had rebelled against the "palatine jurisdiction." To the cry of "short red, good red, slea ye the bishoppe," he was brutally pierced to the heart with a lance.

Carilepho had preferred at one time Duke Robert to William Rufus, and had only returned to favour by a service rendered to the king's troops in Normandy.

In future none but reliable friends of the king must be selected for the See of Durham, as they would be the king's lieutenants in the palatinate which was outside the jurisdiction of Northumberland, and would have to protect the king's frontier which began on the Tweed.

"Bishop Carilepho had displayed a military standard, in consequence of his palatine jurisdiction similar to that of a sovereign prince, called the banner of St Cuthbert, which was carried with the troops into Scotland. The expedition might furnish an idea that a fortress at Norham would prove a barrier of the utmost consequence to the possessions of the church and to the protection of Northumberland." *

The idea had occurred before, but Malcolm's

* Hutchinson, vol. iii, p. 393.

constant invasions had prevented any possibility of building. Now, indeed, that the village and its neighbourhood had reverted to the church, and the Bishop of Durham had become the king's representative, both ecclesiastic, civil, and military, on the borders, the first military act to be performed was the construction of a fortress on the high cliff that overhangs the Tweed from the English side.

In 1099 Ralph de Flambard was consecrated Bishop of Durham. "The convulsions of the State and the bishop's adversity prevented him executing a plan which he had conceived on his obtaining the See, for he was of a bold and enterprising spirit, and had a genius for military affairs." Berwick was not yet to be a fort. It had been given to the See of Durham, but "its chief consequence was in maritime affairs." Of these little is heard as compared with the warfares on land, and surely that had been such in the latter years of the century that a fortress at Norham must have appeared of the greatest consequence to the frontier.

Already the Scots on the hills opposite, whereon Ladykirk now stands, had apparently constructed a camp.* It was known by the name of Monugenede,† and overhung a deep pool called Padduwell‡ (the modern Pedwell), which, according to Reginald of

* Vallata collis. † Quæ Monugenede dicta.
‡ Qui Padduwell dicitur.

Durham's account, was celebrated on account of the following story which he relates.

"There is a village called Northam, close on the limits of Lothian, situated on the river Tweed at the extreme end of Northumberland, which was known even before the time of St Cuthbert. In its immediate vicinity there is a hill of immense height and great breadth, . . . where the following occurred.

"In the above named village there is an old church dedicated to St Cuthbert, and youths were wont to repair to it for study, some moved by the love of knowledge, others from fear of their masters' severity.

"One boy called Haldene, belonging to the latter category, ruminated on one occasion how he could avoid both his lessons in the church and the stripes.

"So he bethought himself that if he could take the key of the church and quickly throw it into the Tweed, no one would discover the theft. He then went beneath the hill of immense height which is called Munigenede, where the water is said to be extremely deep, and goes by the name of Padduwel (Pedwell), and quickly threw the key into the river, then ran away so that no officious or curious person should stop him.

. . . . . .

"Towards evening the master asked for the key, but he was told it could not be found. Greatly perturbed in mind, the master knew not what to do, for

the doors were of brass and iron, of great weight and strength of metal, but in the night St Cuthbert appeared to him and seriously reprehended him for not officiating in his church as usual. The master pleaded the loss of the key. The saint then said: Go to-morrow early in the morning to the Pedwell site on the Tweed, and tell the fishermen you will give them any price they ask for the first fish they catch.

"This was done, but the fishermen had decided among themselves that for the love of St Cuthbert, in accordance with the old custom they would make a present of the first fish to the priest.

"A salmon of very large size was first caught, holding within its jaws something which it could neither hide nor swallow. Its stomach was distended and inflated. Full of confidence in St Cuthbert, the priest put his hand in the jaws of the fish, and there he found hanging to the upper jaw the key of his church which he had lost." *

It was resolved to build a fort on Norham Hill, and in 1121 the work began.

* A similar story is told about a ring lost over the parapet of the old bridge at Newcastle, and related in the Survey of Newcastle in 1649.

"There was a strange accident upon the bridge happened to an alderman of Newcastle, looking over the bridge into the river, with his hands over: his gould ring fell off his finger into the water, which was given for lost. It chanced that one of his servants bought a salmon in the market, opening the belly of the fish, found his master's ring in the guts."

Up to this time the "Patrimony of St Cuthbert," the land of Aidan, had not required any works to protect its limits against the foe. The only fortresses in its neighbourhood had been Wark, further up the Tweed, and Bamborough on the East Coast, but with the Normans, castles of defence became the order of the day, and as Norham was being planned, New Castle and Carlisle were being built.

With the building of Norham, too, new geographical limits were being formed within the kingdom. The united Bernicia and Deira of King Oswald, which extended to the Tees from the Forth, became the Earldom of Northumberland at the Danish invasion, with its limits from the Tweed to the Tees; and now, in 1121, the Northumberland of the present day, from Tyne to Tweed, was settling within its boundaries, and Norham was being shaped into the queen of Border fortresses upon the English soil of Northumberland.*

* "So late as the reign of Edward I. the palatinate of Durham was still regarded as within the county of Northumberland." —Hodgson, Part i. p. 202.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FLAMBARD.

1099—1128.

"Brave men were living before Agamemnon
And since, exceeding valorous and sage:
A good deal like him, too, though quite the same none;
But then they shone not on the poet's page,
And so have been forgotten."—*Byron.*

SHORTLY before the battle of Hastings, a family of mean occupations and no convictions except a decided wish to better themselves by robbing those who set them the example of plunder, had their number increased by the birth of a son in some dull town of Normandy.

This offspring "from the dregs of the people"* was brought up as the sons of the poor in those days were all brought up—that is, in a manner that so much resembled the condition of wild beasts that the severity of the masters whom they were compelled to serve as slaves became a civilizing boon.

Ralph, who subsequently was called Flambard, probably from his having been a torch-bearer to some Norman of birth, appears to have been of a quick,

* Lord Lyttleton's "History of Henry II."

bold, and enterprizing disposition, besides possessing an agreeable face and winning manners. These qualities constituted his stock-in-trade, and while they procured him bread in his youth, they ensured his advancement in after life.

England being for many years after its conquest by William the favourite plundering resort of his knights and barons, Flambard came over in the suite of one of these, and being endowed with "great subtlety of genius, ready wit, and eloquence," soon established a claim to reward.

He was raised from the condition of a servant to be dean of the collegiate church of Christ Church or Twynham, in Hants,* by Mauritius, Bishop of London, notwithstanding that "he had scarce any learning, and not so much as an external show of religion."

This post, however, was too peaceable for a nature so active, and "the depravity of his principles," with which he is charged by Godwin in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, required the field of London and the court for the gratification of his passions.

He applied to his patron Mauritius for the deanery of London, but being refused this lucrative post, he was made chaplain to King Rufus by way of compensation, and from this moment his rise was rapid.

"Fertile in the invention for ways and means of

* "Qui Randulphus antea fuerat Decanus in Ecclesia Christi de Twynham."—Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. vii., p. 303.

raising money, with a remorseless insensibility to the complaints of the people, and a daring contempt of the resentment of the nobles,"* no wonder he became a favourite of the king, who, according to a French historian,† "possessed all the vices of his father without any of his qualities: who was neither religious nor temperate, and who, on causing fifty English gentlemen to go through the ordeal of fire on suspicion of hunting without leave, swore by St Luke's face, on hearing that they all had passed through the ordeal in safety, that he could never believe in God's justice since such offenders were thus protected by Providence."

So useful a chaplain was not long before he was transferred to positions where he could devise further exactions and taxes for the benefit of his sovereign, and he was made Surveyor of the King's Homages, which gave the tenants of the crown a taste of his extortions.

Finally he was made "Chief Justiciary and Procurator-General," under which employments he conducted himself so oppressively and with such injustice that he incurred a general odium.

London had by this time become too hot for him, and his own savings had accumulated to the extent that he bribed Rufus in the sum of £1000, which at that time represented about £3000 of our present

* Lord Lyttleton's "History of Henry II." † Rapin.

money, to confer upon him the See of Durham, which had been vacant three years, during which time, by advice of Flambard and contrary to old usages, the temporalities of the see had reverted to the crown.

On the 5th of June 1099 Ralph Flambard was consecrated Bishop of Durham by Thomas, Archbishop of York, at St Paul's Church in London, "without, as was wont, declaring his submission to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction," and at once proceeded to Durham with private recommendations from the king, among which was that of strengthening his diocese by a chain of fortified castles, which, in case of need, would help the king to gain time and bring up his forces.

He had not been much over a year at Durham, however, during which time he had resolved on strengthening Durham and on building a castle of defence at Norham, when news reached him of his friend's death in the new forest, shot by the willing arrow of Sir Walter Tyrrell.

The first act of Henry I., by way of showing his desire to conciliate a rebellious people, was to commit the hated minister of the late king to prison, and on the 14th of September 1100, by the advice of the great council of the kingdom, Flambard was sent a close prisoner to the Tower of London, with an allowance of two shillings a day from the king, under the custody of William de Magnaville.

His facetious humour and wit prevailed upon his goalers to connive at his escape; and "one day, the 4th of February 1101, having feasted them sumptuously and left them all drunk about him, he fastened a rope to the pillar in the centre of his window, and taking with him his pastoral staff, he descended to some friends who waited for him at the foot of the Tower, his hands, for want of gloves, being excoriated to the bone by the passing of the cord. Horses being ready for him he fled with all speed with a few faithful followers. His steward met him upon the road with his treasure, and immediately taking shipping, he arrived safe in Normandy."

Repairing at once to the court of Duke Robert, he prevailed on him to allow him to administer to the bishopric of Luxemburg during the minority of his son, and this he did for the space of three years. At the end of this time he hit upon a plan for recovering his more lucrative See of Durham, which was certainly a bold stroke of policy. He advised Duke Robert to invade England. He urged upon him his rights and claims to a throne which Henry had usurped, and told him that what with his knowledge of the country and the information he received, together with the promises he had of support, the duke would be sure of success. He meanwhile allowed it to transpire that the duke was raising a powerful army for such an invasion, and gave out that the only way of arrest-

ing his progress might be by offering him such a sum of money as he could accept, and by the grant of a free pardon and the restoration of their honours and estates to those who had aided him.

On the 19th of July 1104, the duke, attended by the bishop and a powerful army, was setting out on the projected expedition, when "by an interposition of the nobles on both sides, and a considerable sum of money given by King Henry to discharge the expenses of Duke Robert's equipment, a peace was concluded, and all those who had aided the duke received the king's pardon, and were restored to their honours and estates."

Flambard returned to London and to his See of Durham, and his first care was to endeavour to gain the king's favour by the same means which he had found so successful with his predecessor—namely, at the expense of the people. But times were changed, and gifts alone to the king and his surroundings were not sufficient to gain royal approval.

Henry I., by a succession of charters, defined the limits of the Diocese of Durham, the rights and privileges within the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, and the extent to which the Northumbrians could hunt and cut wood in the forests of St Cuthbert between Tyne and Tweed: "for one penny, an annual load of fuel wood as one cart would carry," and "for a silver

piece, the largest tree in the woods annually for ship-building."

Finding that he had a master, Flambard applied himself henceforth by numerous works of utility to add to the power and magnificence of his bishopric. He carried up the walls of Durham Church to the roof, and enlarged the common hall of its adjoining monastery. He built the wall from the church to the castle so as to strengthen the already strong natural position of the town; he fortified the castle with a moat, and strengthened the banks of the river, over which he threw the arched bridge of stone which is now known as Framwellgate bridge. He founded, in 1112, the hospital of Kepier, near Durham, and endowed it; when he had provided for his own neighbourhood he remembered his promise to Rufus, and armed with plans which he had brought with him from Normandy he journeyed to the Tweed, where at Northam, or Norham, his northern home, he gave orders for the construction of the castle.

From the very earliest times, the country which is watered by the river Tweed was made use of for strategical purposes, and remains of Roman earth-works still exist all along the banks of Tweed, from Berwick to Melrose, at the foot of the Eildon Hills (which is supposed to have been the Trimontium, and capital town of the Selgovæ tribes—a very proper

appellation for a town situated at the foot of three peaks). All these camps may date about the year A.D. 80, when Julius Agricola proceeded northwards to the estuary of the Tay, and built that chain of forts which extended from the Forth to the Clyde. Their peculiar formation can be traced at Horncliffe, at Tillmouth, at Wark, near Coldstream, at Carham, and further up the river, each of these places being singularly well adapted either for crossing the river or for watching the approach of an enemy.

To the south of Norham Castle * there is a broad and level platform, defended by ravines, upon which the Archæological Institute have discovered remains of a Roman camp, and the traces of banks and ditches which the besiegers of Norham have raised or dug. But on the high steep rock whereon the castle is built there are no Roman remains, and there is no mention that I can find of any Roman or other camp having ever been constructed there.

* Camden in his "Britannia" says,—"Twede, increased by Till, runs now in a larger stream by Norham, or Northam, which was formerly called Ubbanford. The town belongs to the Bishop of Durham; for Bishop Egfrid, who was a mighty benefactor to the See of Lindisfarne, built it and the church, and his successor Ralph erected the castle on the top of a steep rock, and moated it round, for the better security of this part of his diocese against the frequent incursions of the Scottish moss-troopers. On the outmost wall, and the largest in circuit, are placed several turrets on a canton towards the river, within which there is a second enclosure much stronger than the former, and in the middle of that again

In Saxon days there were two well-known fords: one at Carham and the other at Norham. The latter was the less practicable of the two and the least used, but it was especially the resort of the Lindisfarne friars, and so much so that one historian, whom Hutchinson has followed, declares it to have been the original see offered to Aidan by King Oswald.

The early Saxon kings selected their strongholds rather in places which were either inaccessible from the sea, or on the steep side of mountains. Thus Yevering Bell, a spur of the Cheviot range twelve miles south of Norham, shows even now remains of earthworks which go back to the days of Deira and Bernicia, while Bamborough was the first and only fortress which the Saxons bequeathed to their successors in the country north of Tyne. The Danes in their constant struggles against the Anglo-Saxons, and indeed against each other, had no other idea than to burn and destroy, and whatever they left of a defensive character was removed by the Normans to make way for buildings of their own. This remark applies almost equally to our cathedral churches, which, with the exception of a very small number,

rises a high keep. But the well-established peace of our times has made these forts to be long neglected, notwithstanding they are placed upon the very Borders. Under the castle, on a level westward, lies the town and church wherein was buried Ceolwulph, King of Northumberland, to whom Venerable Bede dedicated his books of the Ecclesiastical History of England."

were rebuilt from their foundations either on the same site, such as at York and Canterbury, or near the old one, as at Winchester, or in another place, as at Norwich and Peterborough.

Even the castles for defence which were built in the time of William the Conqueror and of his son William II., did not satisfy the architects of the reigns of Henry I. and Richard I. and Henry II.

Thus even such early Norman keeps as Newcastle-on-Tyne, Dover, Carlisle, Norwich, and Richmond, though begun at the end of the eleventh, were added to or altered or completed in a manner different to the original designs in the twelfth century.

Gundulph's or St Leonard's Tower at Malling in Kent, and the Tower of London, appear alone to subsist as genuine specimens of the workmanship of the eleventh century, and it must be allowed it is but very rude masonry.

The art had improved, however, in 1121, when once more the little village awoke from its summer drowsiness, and heard all at once that the Courts of Justice of the Palatinate were to hold their sittings within its rural limits, and that the "magnificent" Bishop Flambard had given orders for the construction of a castle on the "steep rock" which guards the entrance, so as to put an end to the predatory incursions of robbers and the sudden irruptions of the Scotch.*

* "Ut inde latronum incursus inhiberet et Scottorum irrup-

This rock hung perpendicularly to the river which flows smoothly at its feet, both on the north and eastern sides of the ridge, of which it is the spur, and afforded a natural strength to any fortress built on its summit which needed but an outward wall and keep to render the place almost impregnable if well garrisoned.*

To the south a forest of trees covered all the tract of country which lies between the castle and Berwick by Horncliffe, Longridge, and Ord, and to the west at the foot of the rock lay the village itself.

The excitement was enhanced by the prospect of privileges to be granted and work to be obtained.

Masons in great numbers flocked to the village from all parts of Northumberland, and soon the old keep, of which the foundations alone remain,† began

tiones, condidit castellum in excelso preruptærup is super Tuedam flumen. Ibi enim utpote in confinio regni Anglorum et Scottorum creber predantibus ante patebat excursus nullo ibidem, quo hujus modi impetus repellerentur, præsidio locato." — Symeon of Durham.

* "The castle stands upon a rocky platform, the south-western extremity of a cliff which forms the river bank for a considerable distance.

"A deep ravine cuts off the higher ground to the north-east, and is joined by a less marked depression, which, deepened by art, sweeps round and forms the southern defences until it opens upon the steep slope which descends to the river and forms the north and north-western front of the castle. Beyond this ditch was the approach from the village of Norham."—"Norham Castle," by C. F. Clark. Archæological Journal, Dec. 1876.

† "Flambard's masonry may be distinctly traced in the south-

to rise and shape itself into a massive square tower, with passages for communication between one part of the building and another in the thickness of the walls.

When this was done, probably all was finished that Flambard ever ordered, and certainly all that he ever saw, for in 1128 he was seized with a lingering disease.

When he found that death was threatening, he had himself carried into the church, and resting on the altar, with all his clergy around him, he made a public confession of all his faults, restored to monasteries the lands and effects he had appropriated to his own use, and made his will bequeathing all his money to the poor.

He then died with the consoling belief that having done all the mischief he could during a lifetime, he repaired all this harm by giving away at the last to the poor what he knew he could no longer enjoy.

There is a grim humour in this last act of his life which well harmonizes with the rest of his existence,

east corner and the whole east side of the tower. About thirty feet of the south side also are of his workmanship. His buttresses are flat, without stages, and his masonry is excellent. That his roof was ridged is proved by a chevron moulding within.

"In the southern wall the windows of Flambard's period are extremely narrow without, but flanning widely within."—D. Raine's "History of North Durham," p. 229.

and as if the last ray of wit was to have a practical character, King Henry I. constituted himself the heir of the bishop's ill-begotten wealth, and the poor were forgotten.

For all that, Flambard remains a character in history. His indomitable pluck and strength of will, his knowledge of human failings, his perseverance, his magnificence, his diplomacy mark him for ever as one of the greatest prelates of this realm, if indeed we cannot give him a place among its worthiest.

Shortly after Norham Castle had been commenced, Robert, a captain in King Edgar of Scotland's armies, presumed, as Flambard considered it, to erect a castle for himself on the Scotch side of the Tweed, probably on the "Monugenede" or Ladykirk Bank, which almost faces Norham Castle.

History does not tell whether this Captain Robert intended his castle for aggressive purposes, or for a home which he could defend if need be, but the bishop looked upon the construction as a menace to his newly erected stronghold. Without consulting King Henry, he levied an army in the Palatinate, and crossing the Tweed marched against the captain, whom he made prisoner.

Edgar was in London at the time, but on hearing of this trespass upon his territory, he hurried back, obtained the release of his subject, and retaliated by

taking possession of Berwick,* but at his death, his son Alexander restored Berwick to the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, and gave it besides most of the Scotch territory which lies now between Norham and Aytoun, including Swinton, which is mentioned by name in his charter 1123, and of which the Sheriff "*Vice comes*" was Arnulf, whom the king calls "miles meus," my soldier, as mentioned in an article on his family by Mr Archibald Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame, the present representative of that ilk, published in the proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for the year 1877.

It was about this time that the celebrated abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Coldingham, and Tyningham received their splendid architectural envelope, although their foundations went back to a much earlier age.†

* "Before Berwick became the unhappy subject of contention and war, it carried on the most extensive commerce of any port on the eastern coast of the island," and in the chronicles of Lanercost, Berwick is described as a city of such populousness and commerce, that it might fully be styled a second Alexandria, whose riches were the sea, and the waters its walls. In those days the citizens being very wealthy and devout to God, gave great alms, and instituted an order of friars of the Benedictine order.

"Ipsa civitas quondam adeo populosa ac negotiosa extiterat quod merito altera Alexandria dici poterat cujus divitiæ mare et aquæ muri ejus. Illis diebus cives præ potentes effecti et Deo devoti largas erogabant cleemosynas, &c.—Lanercost, folio 207, A.D. 1296.

This was however subsequently to the foundation of Norham.

† Although the Christian missionaries came originally from the

In 1113, while Roxburgh was in the height of its prosperity (and indeed not a house, not a trace now remains of its ever having been of importance), Earl David, heir-presumptive of the crown of Scotland, brought a little colony of thirteen reformed Benedictine monks from Tiron in France to his forest castle of Selkirk ; but the French monks, not liking the banks of the Ettrick, they obtained from David on his accession, permission to establish themselves at "the Church of the Blessed Virgin, on the bank of the Tweed beside Roxburgh, in the place called Calkon," and the translation took place in 1126.

In 1159 Malcolm IV. granted to it the charter which is described in the preface to "Registrum de Kelso" as "the most remarkable of Scotch charters," as "still preserved at Floors," as "carefully and even handsomely written," and as giving one "a favourable idea of the art of miniature as practised in the abbey."

But it has an additional advantage, one of immense importance to art in Scotland. The charter gives illuminated portraits of King David I., its founder, and of the "maiden Malcolm IV., his grandson."

The decay of the abbey dates with that of Norham,

Celtic Iona, yet the large foundations of Lindisfarne, Hexham, Melrose, Coldingham, Jedburgh, and others on the Borders were endowed by Saxon magnificence and filled with Saxon monks, who disseminated their language along with their religion through such tribes as still used the British or Celtic tongue."—Sir W. Scott's "Antiquities of the Borders," p. xxxvii.

as its building dates from that of the castle. In 1545 the church was converted into a fortress by the Earl of Hertford during his ferocious expedition against the Scots. Fnding that the Tweed "rose too suddenly," and that "the taking down of so great and superfluous buildings of stone would take at the leaste two moneths," he resolved "to rase and deface the house of Kelso, so as the enemye shall have lytell commoditie of the same," adding, "to-morrow we intend to send a good band of horsemen to Melrose and Dryburgh to burn the same," and to "march to Jedburgh to burn the same."

From that time to within quite lately the abbey has not been repaired, but its glorious old ruins, rising proudly on the lovely bank of Tweed, contrast most singularly with the modern aspect of the town of Kelso, if they don't tell that even in their shattered condition they have fared better than the oft-destroyed dwellings of the peaceful inhabitants of the border town.

The monastery of Dryburgh was founded by Hugh de Moreville, who came from Cumberland "in the year 1150 for monks of the Premonstratensian order or white canons, on the feast of St Martin," November 10.

These monks were dressed in white cassocks, long white cloaks, and a square bonnet or hat of white felt, and wore breeches and shoes, but no shirt. Although sworn to poverty, they attracted the attention of

David I. by their piety, and they soon became a rich order, and built a beautiful abbey, which was, however, destroyed in 1544 by Sir George Bowes, captain of Norham, of whom we shall hear more later, and who with "his company, Sir Brian Layton, Henry Eury, Liell Gray, porter, and the garrison of Berwick, together with John Carre, captain of Wark, Thomas Beamond, George Selby, Launcelot Carleton, and their companies, to the number of seven hundred men, rode into Scotland, upon the water of Tweide, to a town called Dryburgh, with an abbey in the same, which was a pretty town and well builded, and they burnt the same town and abbey, saving the church, with a great substance of corn, and got very much spoilage and insicht gear, and brought away a hundred nolte, sixty nags, a hundred sheep, and they tarried so long at the said burning and spoilage that it was Saturday at eight of the clock at night or they come home."*

The abbey was never fully rebuilt after this. In 1606 it was erected into the "temporal lordship" of Cardross, "the samyn monasteries and superstitions thereof being now abolisht," and Sir Walter Scott has recorded his regret that it never came into his hands through his father not purchasing it.

"The ancient patrimony was sold for a trifle (£5500), and my father, who might have purchased

* The complete MS. appears in "Reprints of Rare Tracts," edited by W. A. Richardson, Newcastle, in 1847. Vol. iv., Historical.

it with ease, was dissuaded by my grandfather, . . . and thus we have nothing left of Dryburgh, although my father's maternal inheritance, but the right of stretching our bones, where mine may perhaps be laid ere any eye but my own glances over these pages."*

Sir Walter Scott was buried at Dryburgh, and well may it be said that no fitter place could be found for the sepulture of Scotland's modern minstrel.

"There, amidst the dust of the powerful de Morvilles and many a holy abbot and monk of old, and surrounded by the ashes of his own 'rough clan,' under walls scorched in many a Border foray, in the heart of the valley he loved so well, and of the scenes he sung, lie the mortal remains of that mighty master who has thrown a charm over the country, its history, and its traditions that will live as long as themselves."†

Jedburgh, with its beautifully interlaced arcade and Norman west door, belongs to the time of David I., and is a contemporary of Dryburgh; but being less renowned it suffered less, and in the sixteenth century became a temporal lordship of the Kerrs of Ferniehurst, ancestors of the present Lord Lothian.

* Autobiography of 1808. Lockhart's Life, vol. i., p. 66.

† I could not but quote these eloquent words of Mr Spottiswoode in the preface to the "Liber de Dryburgh," written in 1847. One's own words could not have done equal justice.

Melrose, fair Melrose, not the Melrose of the Lindisfarne monks, but that which David I. rebuilt, and Robert Bruce restored, intending "his heart to be buried there," is no more than a ruin, though the Duke of Buccleuch must feel, in his careful custody of this valuable possession, that no abbey in Scotland has more thoroughly done its work of connecting the past with the present.

St Cuthbert, who probably watched his sheep on the very spot where the ruin stands, near the monastery which Aidan had caused to be roughly built nearer the river, however legendary a character in the miracles with which his name is always associated whenever mentioned by our oldest chroniclers, has certainly the rare merit of deserving the thanks of centuries. But for him many records of the deepest interest, many buildings of the greatest value, would never have come down to us. To preserve his memory, and not only his acts and sayings, from oblivion, but also the supernatural influence which his name was believed to exercise, trained a school of men to that peculiar diary of events for which we are so grateful now.

Reginald of Durham, Symeon of Durham, the Venerable Bede, are instances of this; and their example was afterwards taken up in the Chronicles of Melrose and of Lanercost. The Chronicles of Melrose extend from A.D. 731 to A.D. 1264, and in the innu-

merable archives of this place historians can never sufficiently thank the industrious monks for the knowledge of history, of law, of customs, of institutions, which their charters, their seals, and their writs afford them.

Coldingham Priory, the first abbot of which was Herbert, in 1151, appears to have been in English hands under the bishopric of Durham till the year 1485, when it was attached to the Royal Chapel of Stirling; but long before then the Homes had looked upon the monastery as their own property, "setting the Pope and the Church of Durham at defiance," and when James III. appropriated its revenues they began that rebellion which cost him his life.

But we have digressed sufficiently, and to Norham Castle we must return.

## CHAPTER V.

### PUDSEY.

### 1153—1176.

"Never name in story
Was greater than that which ye shall have won.
Conquerors have conquered their foes alone,
Whose revenge, pride, and power they have overthrown;
Ride ye more victorious over your own."—*Shelley.*

In 1135 King Henry died. He never recovered the loss of his beloved William in the wreck of the "White Skiff." He never smiled from the hour that, on hearing the news which deprived him of all he loved and of an heir in whom he had placed all his hopes, he had fallen unconscious to the ground.

His nephew William, son of his brother Robert, was his heir, but Henry hated him.

His niece Maud, widow of the Emperor Henry the Fifth of Germany, was a favourite, and despite the seeming strangeness of seeing a woman succeed, Henry recognized her as his heir, and married her to the Count of Anjou.

On the other hand, Stephen, son of the Conqueror's sister Adela, married to the Count de Blois, was also a claimant to the throne, on the demise of his cousin William, which happened the same year as King Henry's death.

Brought up in England, his good humour and generosity had made him popular in London, the citizens of which, whose voice "had long been accepted as representative of the popular assent in the election of a king," poured out to meet him, on his approach to their city after the king's demise, with uproarious welcome, and swore to defend the King Stephen with "money and blood."

Thus the claim of Maud was set aside, but Geoffrey of Anjou was not likely to allow this without a struggle.

The late king had recognized Maud as his heir; —his council, at his suggestion, had ratified the choice;—Stephen had an elder brother, and the people of London were not the people of England: so reasoned Geoffrey.

Here was ground for dispute, and no wonder that for twenty years England became the scene of anarchy and misrule.

Among those who warmly embraced the cause of Geoffrey Plantagenet was King David of Scotland, and as a matter of course, his first exhibition of sympathy with Mathilda and dislike for Stephen was practically evinced in the invasion of Northumberland, which he entered from Coldstream, laying siege to the castle of Wark, then belonging to Walter Espec under a grant of Henry I.

David and his son Henry invested the castle with battering rams and other machines, but with no

success, and the siege was raised after three weeks.

Gathering together all the soldiers of fortune he could meet with, "the infamous army" overran the whole county to the Tyne, and no one could tell their number, "for multitudes uncalled for allied themselves with these for the love of plunder and of revenge, or for the desire of mischief."

The land of St Cuthbert was reserved till their return. Accounts abound of the horrors committed and of the superstition exhibited. Thus while the Abbey of Newminster was destroyed, that of Hexham was spared, because it was dedicated to St Andrew, the patron Saint of Scotland.

Meanwhile Stephen advancing into Northumberland found the enemy dispersed. They had fled in all directions on his approach, but he marched on to the Scottish Border, and David secretly followed him to Roxburgh, where he laid a snare to the English king, who was only saved by a timely warning; but disgusted with his expedition against an invisible foe, he marched south again, whereupon David and his plunderers appeared before Norham, 1138.

At first the castle was defended with great vigour by nine knights and their followers. Attack upon attack was gallantly repulsed, and the castle on the rock was proving to be invaluable, when the number of the defenders being greatly diminished by

those who were helplessly wounded, it was resolved to capitulate, although the "fortifications were uninjured, and the castle was abundantly provisioned."

The names of the nine knights do not appear, but Asketillus was the Constable first appointed by Flambard, and it is probable that he died of his wounds on the present occasion.

No date of his death is recorded, but as he and the garrison and the townsmen of Norham, as well as Bishop Galfrid Rufus, were much blamed for giving up such a fortress after so short a siege and allowing it to be thus undermanned, it is at once evident why the names of the knights have not been preserved.

David's progress was stayed on the 22d of September 1138, when the battle of the Standard won by Walter Espec and the old Archbishop of York, "Turstin," aided by Robert de Brus, Bernard de Balliol (Scotch peers as well as English landowners), William de Albemarle, Robert de Ferrars, and William de Percy, obliged the Scottish king to return in due haste.

Again he attacked Wark but with no success, but there being "only one live horse and one in salt" left as nourishment for the garrison, the fortress at last surrendered on the news of the victory of the Standard; and David in admiration for the prowess shown by the besieged allowed the garrison to march out with their arms and equipments, and even pre-

sented them with twenty-five horses to replace those they had slain for nourishment.

At this stage, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, the Pope's Legate, actively interfered in favour of peace throughout England. In the north he settled the preliminaries of a peace which was concluded in 1139 between the Scotch and the English, one of the principal articles of which stipulated that David's son Henry should receive the Earldom of Northumberland at the hands of Stephen, but that "no interference should be attempted with the rights of the Bishop of Durham within the territory of St Cuthbert," and in accordance with this stipulation Norham was given back to the English.

But David by this time had likewise understood the importance of having a bishop at Durham friendly to his interests.

Having been baulked in his attempt to obtain a control of the bishopric by a transfer of the homage of Geoffrey Rufus, Flambard's successor, from Stephen to himself, he tried on the death of Geoffrey to have his chancellor, William Cumin, who had been made prisoner at the battle of the Standard, appointed bishop in his stead, but though he intrigued for several years, William de St Barbara was finally appointed by Stephen, and took possession of the see in 1144.

"Time and the hour run through the roughest day," and the year 1154 died with promises of peace,

such as England had not enjoyed for a quarter of a century.

David died early in the year, leaving a grandson Malcolm to inherit his crown, and another (William) that of the Earldom of Northumberland.

In October Stephen died, his eldest son having predeceased him by a few weeks; the claims of Henry Plantagenet, the son of the Empress Maud, were recognised, and he was proclaimed King of England under the title of Henry II.

"Those who had opposed King Stephen now submitted. An edict was promulgated for the suppression of outrages, the prevention of plunder, the dismissal of foreign mercenaries, and the destruction of the fortresses which since the death of King Henry I. every one had built on his lands. Justice and peace were thus established throughout the kingdom."

In the third year of his reign, A.D. 1157, Henry obtained possession, by negotiation with Malcolm, of Northumberland and Cumberland, and at once proceeded to fortify Bamborough, Newcastle, and Wark, while he gave instructions to Bishop Pudsey to repair Norham.

The bishop who must now engage our attention was a nephew of King Stephen, and therefore a privileged being.

Born in 1128, Hugh de Pudsey gave hopes from his illustrious birth that at an early age he would

adorn by his personal merits any high position which he might attain, but such hopes are often illusory, and from a manuscript of the time we gather that "his countenance and character were affected," that he was "a great dissembler," and that "his specious virtues and professions of honour were hypocritical and delusive."

The charge is not very well sustained, however, though in the temper of the times, his innate vanity and natural ambition combined, which made him exercise a patience and moderation for which his subordinates were not prepared, may well have impressed them with the notion that he was not what he seemed to be.

Before he was twenty-five years of age he was Treasurer of York and Archdeacon of Winchester. When he had reached the age of twenty-five he was elected to the See of Durham with the king's concurrence, but against the will of Henry Murdac, Abbot of Clarevalle, and a pupil of St Bernard.

Much squabbling ensued, and a journey to Rome, "which attracted the attention of all the people upon the reverend troop."

Hugh came back absolved from the minor excommunication launched against him by the fiery Abbot of Clarevalle, and was consecrated in Rome.

On the 2nd of May 1154 he was enthroned at Durham, and from that time he applied himself to works of utility, which do him the greatest credit even to this day.

Besides endowing many a monastery with lands for their maintenance, and embellishing churches with ornaments of gold, silver, precious stones, he brought over from the continent marbles of various kinds with a view of adding to the magnificence of his cathedral church. Struck by the strange exclusion of women from the neighbourhood of the shrine of St Cuthbert, he constructed the beautiful gallilee at the west end for their reception; and by the advice of his uncle, and through the medium of his architect Richard, whose ability had earned for him the expressive cognomen of the "Ingenious," * and who, a citizen of Durham, was renowned all over the country, he completed the fortress of Norham, which David had so wantonly damaged two years after its surrender, out of spite to Bishop Galfrid, because he did not renounce his allegiance to Stephen in favour of the Empress Maud.

The castles of the Anglo-Norman kings and barons, which were generally on an eminence and near a river, usually occupied a site of great extent and of irregular figure. They were surrounded by a broad ditch or *fosse*, sometimes filled with water and sometimes dry. Before the great gate was an outwork called a *barbacan*, which was a strong wall surmounted with turrets, designed for the defence of the gate and

* Vir iste Ricardus Ingeniator dictus cognominatus est, qui Dunelmensis civis effectus, cunctis regionis hujus incolis arte et nomine notissimus est.—"Reginald of Durham," ch. xiv. p. 112.

drawbridge. On the inside of the ditch stood the wall of the castle, about 8 or 10 feet thick, and between 20 and 30 feet high, with a parapet and a kind of embrasures, called crennels, on the top. On this wall, at proper distances, were built square towers of two or three stories high, which served for lodging some of the principal officers, and on the inside were erected lodgings for the servants or retainers, granaries, storehouses, and other necessary offices. On the top of this wall and on the flat roofs of these buildings stood the defenders of the castle when it was besieged, who thence discharged arrows, darts, and stones on the besiegers. The great gate of the castle stood in the course of this wall, and was strongly fortified with a tower on each side, with rooms over the passage, which was closed with thick folding doors of oak often plated with iron, and with an iron portcullis or grate let down from above.

Within this outer wall was a large open space or court, called the "*ballium*," in which stood commonly a chapel. On the inside of this ballium was another ditch, wall, gate, and towers, enclosing the inner ballium or court, within which the chief tower or keep was built. This was a large square fabric four or five stories in height, having small windows in prodigiously thick walls, which rendered the apartments within it dark and gloomy. This great tower was the residence of the constable or governor.

Underground were dismal dark vaults for the confinement of prisoners, and sometimes the dungeon. In this building also was the great hall in which hospitality was dispensed, and at one end of which a place called the dais was raised a little above the floor for the highest people of rank to dine.

This account can be accepted as a very fair description of almost every castle in the time of which we are writing. Hartlepool and Norham were nearly twin sisters in this respect, and both were built on the above-named principles.

As we have seen, Bishop Flambard's structure had been no more than a keep or tower guarded by the natural defences of the site on which it was built, and surrounded by an outer bailey or ballium, for affording shelter to the inhabitants and cattle in case of siege, the whole being protected by lines of circumvallation on the east, south, and west, the steep bank of the Tweed affording ample security on the north.

When Robert Ingeniator visited Norham in 1154, he found that the keep required repair and greater height, that a watch tower was necessary to the west, that an inner bailey would add strength to the defence, while the outer bailey would best be sheltered by the addition of a barbacan. He raised the walls, converted the ridge roof of the second story into a flat covering, and added two more floors.

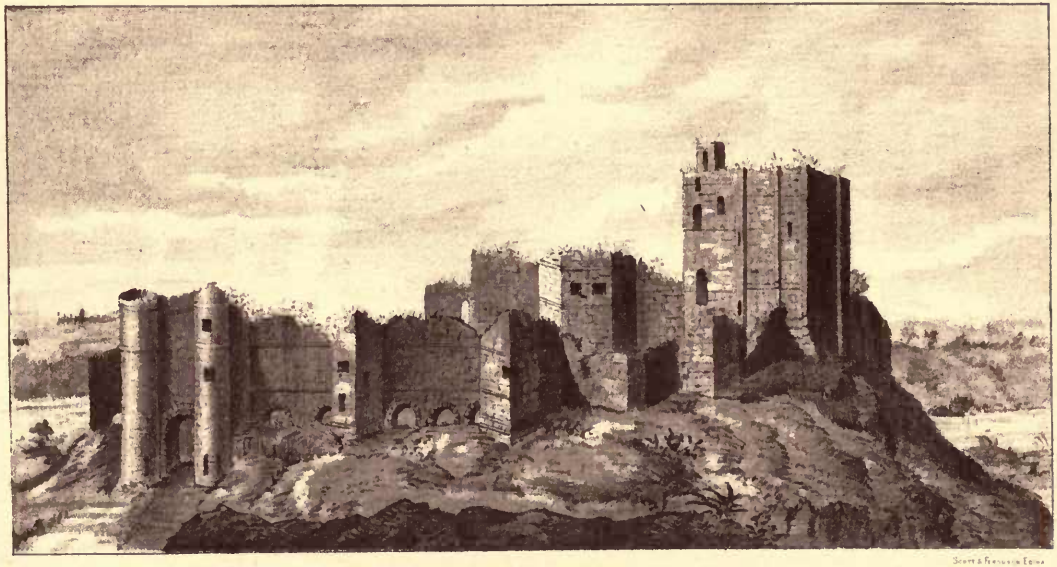
Many changes were made at subsequent periods, "when a well stair was inserted in the centre of the west wall near the chapel, so as to provide a new and convenient approach to each floor, and was carried to the end in a raised turret on the keep." This was probably the work of Anthony Bek; and when artillery was introduced against it, Sir George Bowes rebuilt the north bastion, but the accompanying view, which is reproduced from an engraving of 1680, gives a fair idea of the work of Bishop Pudsey.

The measurements of the castle, as carefully recorded by Mr J. G. Clark, show that the space covered by the walls was 2680 square yards. The north and east sides of the keep formed part of the common curtain of the whole, while in front of the other two sides is a broad and deep ditch extending from the eastern ravine to the northern steep, and is contained wholly within the outer ward.

The curtain wall surrounding the whole was high and strong when it belonged to the inner ward, and unequal when to the outer ward. The walls range from 12 to 15 feet thick, and appear to be 8 to 10 feet at the summit, which at present is inaccessible.

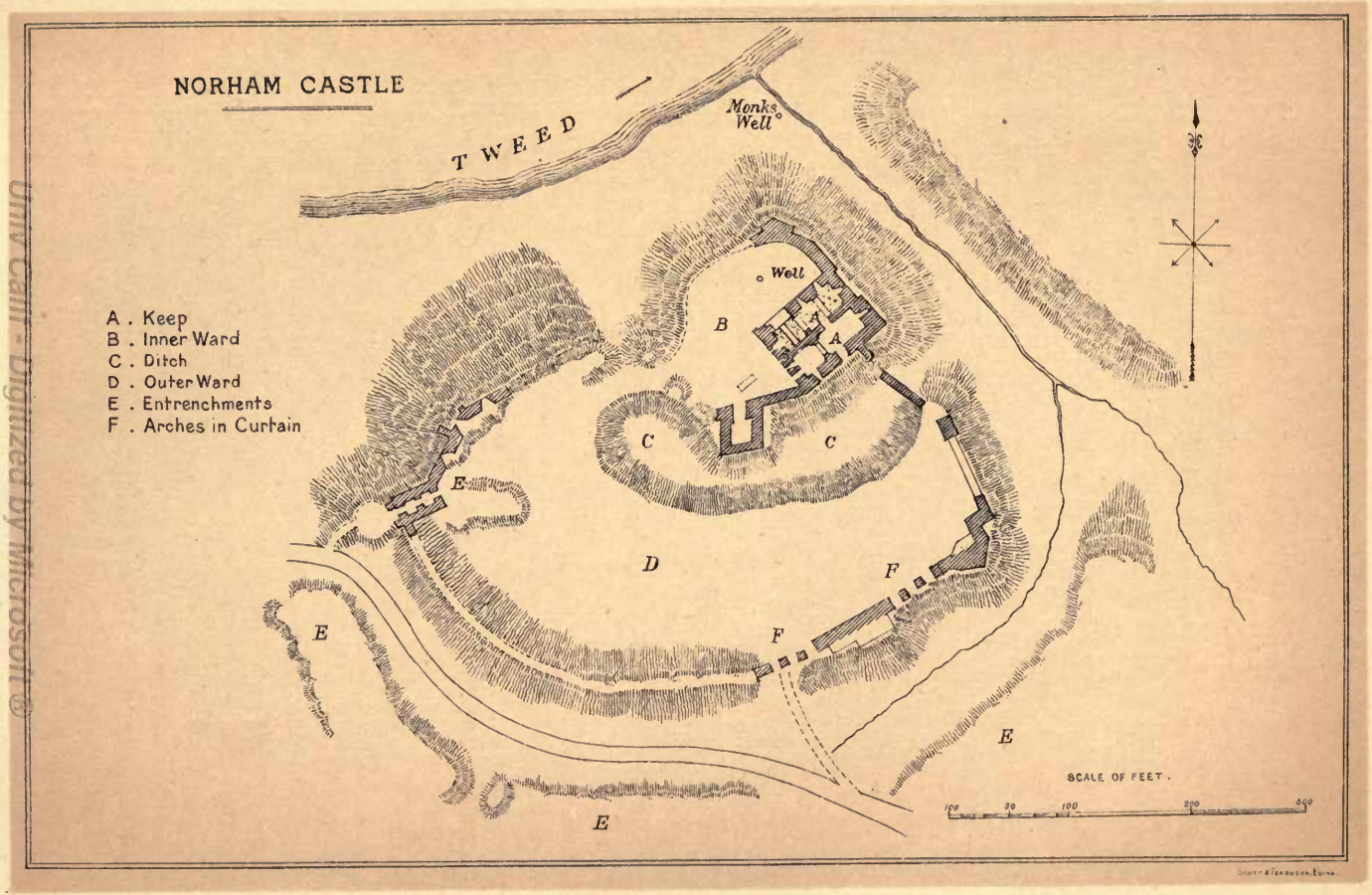
In a footnote * will be found the details of measure-

* The plan of the castle is irregular, following the general outline of ground. Like Barnard Castle, its form is a sort of quadrant, the north and east faces 143 yards and 108 yards long,



The South East View of NORHAM CASTLE, in the County of Northumberland

From a print of the ruin in 1680.



ment given by Mr Clark, as they will interest many, and are well worthy of preservation; and with his kind permission, and that of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain, I reproduce a plan of the

being nearly at right angles and more or less straight, the border to the south-west, a curve of 223 yards, connecting the two sides. Of the area thus enclosed, the north-eastern portion is occupied by the upper or inner ward, the plan of which is roughly square, 57 yards east and west by 47 yards north and south, covering therefore within its walls 2680 square yards. The north and east sides of this ward form part of the common curtain of the whole. In front of the other two sides is a broad and deep ditch, which extends from the eastern ravine to the northern steep, and is contained wholly within the outer ward, the available area of which is thus considerably reduced. The whole was contained within a curtain wall, which when it belonged to the inner ward was high and strong, but when to the outer ward was unequal, being high where it crossed the beds of the inner ditch and along a part of the north front, but elsewhere either being low or of but moderate thickness. Most of the care of the engineer was lavished upon the inner ward.

The keep, the great, and though a mere ruin the best, preserved feature of the fortress, is rectangular, and measures at its base about 64 feet north and south, by 86 feet east and west, and is or has been about 90 feet high. The walls range from 12 feet to 15 feet thick, and appear to be 8 feet to 18 feet at the summit, which is inaccessible. The east end is a part of the exterior line of defence, and ranges with the curtain. The south face looks into the outer, and the other faces into the inner ward. The exterior faces have certain peculiarities. The south-east angle is capped by two pilasters, 11 feet broad and of slight projection, which, like the similar pilaster at Kenilworth, rise from a rough, bold, sloping plinth, 12 feet high, continued all along the east end. The pilasters have various sets-off, reducing them to 10 feet at the summit. They meet at and cover the angle, which is solid.

ruins and the ground which the castle covered. A section of the keep would be useless, as it was both heightened and lowered to suit circumstances.

Near the centre of the east end is another somewhat similar pilaster, only 10 feet broad, and beyond this the wall has been pulled down to the first floor. The part left forming the north-east angle of the keep had no pilaster, but is bounded with the northern curtain, which is of its age. The southern curtain is not in the line of the keep, but sprung from its south face about 25 feet west of the south angle, where it is seen to have been 7 feet thick and of the height of the first floor of the keep, or about 30 feet. This also was of the age of the keep.

The southern face of the keep, so far at least as its outer face is concerned, is of two dates. In the centre, but belonging to the eastern or older part, is a pilaster 8 feet broad, but without sets-off. Between this and the south-east angle above the curtain, and also without set-off, is another pilaster only 3 feet wide. A flat wall without pilasters, but with two sets-off near the summit, occupies the next 36 feet westward.

The base seems old, but the upper part is certainly later, though the decorated windows are probably insertions. Near the west end, about 6 inches projection, which ascends to the second floor level, and stops at the cill of a small-pointed doorway in the second floor, above this, in the two upper stories, are two similar but rather smaller doors. It is probable that these opened from mural lobbies in the gardrobes of timber projected from the wall; at least it is difficult to suggest any other reason for doorways so placed. The west face is all of one date, and, so far as the doors and windows go, of the decorated period. The wall itself is Norman. The curtain of the inner ward abuts upon the south-west angle, and is about 30 feet high and very thick, with a mural closet high up within it, which may be the gardrobe constructed in 1430-1. There are two pointed doors, both at the ground level, one leading into the south chamber of the keep, the other near the centre into a well stair, 10 feet diameter, which ascends

From these notes, and from all the information I have been able to gather on the subject, I have drawn up a sketch of what I conceive Norham Castle to

in the wall to the summit, and terminates in a raised square turret, a marked feature in every view of the keep. Six loops, one over the other, show the line of this staircase, and a few feet from the top and over the door are four or five corbels, which evidently supported some kind of bretasche of timber to protect the doorway below. Above are various windows, three of two lights, trefoiled square-headed, but decorated, and others of one light, but square labels. Towards the south end of this front, at the first floor level, is a large round-headed doorway, evidently the original main door of the keep, the outer stair leading to which is removed. No doubt this stair ascended from the north end, and the chamber in the curtain, now inaccessible, was either an oratory or a gardrobe opening from the vestibule before the door. This end, like the south, is tolerably perfect.

The north front is almost all removed. About 15 feet from the west end there remains one jamb of a door at the ground level. Beyond this, about 26 feet, is level with the ground. The remainder, about 40 feet, remains to the level of the first floor, and is pierced by two loops from the basement. The interior of the keep shows it to have contained a basement and four floors, the whole divided east and west, or longitudinally from bottom to top, by a party wall 5 feet thick, of which only the lower part remains. The basement at the ground level is composed of a north and south chamber, each 60 feet long, the northern 20 feet and the southern 15 feet broad. The southern was divided by a cross wall into two chambers, both barrel-vaulted, the western rather the longer. The eastern has a loop to the east, high up, set in a splayed rounded-headed recess, and in the north wall is a door leading into the north chamber. In the south wall, here 12 feet thick, is a breach 8 feet wide at the ground level, which probably represents a loop. The western chamber has a loop in the south wall, the recess of which runs into the barrel, producing a

have been in its palmy days, when it issued in 1170 from the hands of Richard Ingeniator. (The sketch has been perfected by Gray, Edinburgh.)

From the Norham gate the ground declines to the groin. In the west end is a doorway and passage through the wall, here 15 feet thick, and by its side a loop. There must have been a door between these southern chambers in the cross wall. The northern chamber seems to have been one room only, broken into four compartments by groined vaulting, between each bay being a broad flat band. There is a loop at the east end, and two others near it in the north wall. The two western bays are broken down. In the west wall is a loop, and near it in the north wall the jamb of a door of entrance, probably the stone doorway into the dungeon vault made in 1429-30, and fitted with an iron grate. This basement vaulting is about 10 feet high to the springing, and is original as at Bamborough, Mitford, and Newcastle, and the walls and loops all round, seen from within, seem also original, and their interior face work is excellent upon jointed ashlar. The remains of the cross wall show the first floor to have contained two chambers, both probably vaulted, the southern certainly so. Each was entered by a door from the western staircase. The north and much of the east wall of the north chamber is gone. In the west end is a decorated window in a large round-headed recess, flat-sided, and near it the entrance from the staircase.

In the east end was a loop in a splayed recess. The southern chamber was probably a lower and lesser hall. In the east end is a door from the well stair, and another door, large and round-headed, once the main entrance. Against the south wall are seen the remains of the vault of four compartments, groined, the bays divided by cross arches springing from the corbels. In the most western bay was a fireplace, in each of the three eastern a round-headed window in a splayed recess. In the east end is a pointed recess and a large lancet window, the whole evidently an insertion. The height of this floor was about 12 feet to the spring of the vault. The second was the floor of state, and in the original keep also the uppermost floor. The two rooms had low-pilched

ditch or ravine which encircles the inner ward, and across this ditch in times of peace a drawbridge was lowered, which levelled the road from the entrance to the drawbridge to that of the castle itself.

open roofs, of which the weather mouldings are seen, as at Porchester in the end walls. These rooms are entered, each by its own door, from the wall stair, but the northern door has been built up and a loop placed in it.

Of the north chamber there only remains a large window in the west wall, in a drop arch or decorated insertion. If there was any fireplace it must have been in the dividing wall. The south chamber was evidently the great wall. In the east end is a large full centered Norman recess, containing a Norman window. In the west wall, besides the staircase door here pointed below a square label, is a pointed recess and window.

In the south wall are two bold round-headed recesses splayed to small lanced windows, and west of these a pointed door, probably entering a mural chamber, and communicating with the door already mentioned in the outer face of the wall. Originally there was no third floor, and to provide this the hall roof was removed, and for it substituted a flat ceiling supported by nine joists, the holes of which remain. On these were laid the planks of the third floor. Of this the north chamber had in its west end a segmented arched window recess, and a staircase door now blocked up. In the north chamber, west end, was a similar staircase door, and a pointed window recess. The east wall was not pierced, neither was the south wall, save by one window, and near it a small pointed door near the west end. The covering of this story was composed also of nine joists, which carried the planks of the fourth floor. Of this floor the remains are but slight. It also was composed of two chambers. Of the north, the west wall remains, but it contains neither window nor staircase door. The south chamber has in its west end a window, and in its south wall a fireplace. Of this wall only about 4 feet to 6 feet of its upper part is gone.

In war time, the drawbridge was up, and the outer bailey was deserted. Man and cattle were pressed within the inner ward, and only a detachment was left to defend the barbacan.

Within the inner ward was the chapel, which adjoined the hall and the kitchen, all against the north curtain; and according to a survey of the castle made in 1551, the chapel appears to have been "30 feet by 18 feet, with walls 8 feet thick, and with a crypt below capable of stabling twenty horses, and a 'closet' above."

The well was near the north-east corner of the ward, and marks the general position of the kitchen.

The expenses of building were considerable; and from documents of the time and of a subsequent date, we gather that the making of a wheel for the well cost 33s. 4d.; that 2000 nails bought at Newcastle cost 26s. 8d.; that a plumber who "repaired the hall, the great chamber, and all the chambers, the kitchen and all the towers," received 33s. 4d.; that the carriage of a load of fuel was 12d.; that John Woodman, mason, received £26, 13s. 4d. for making the outer bridge of Norham; that "repairing the walls of the whole castle save the great tower" cost £8; that the salary of the constable was £50 for "guarding the Castle of Norham;" that watchers within the castle were paid 2d. a night; that mowing a meadow of 20 acres cost 10d. an acre; that

the forester got 1d. a day; and finally, that the chaplain within the castle received 20s. a year.

It is true that the latter had not much to do at Norham, and was seldom there, evidently preferring to reside at Durham, for we find by some lines written a century later that—

> "And though a Bishop built this fort,
> Few holy brethren here resort.
> Even our good chaplain, as I ween,
> Since our last siege I have not seen;
> The mass he might not sing or say
> Upon one stinted meal a day,
> So safe he sat in Durham's aisle,
> And prayed for our success the while."

The smith who worked two iron doors at Auckland got £6, 13s. 4d. per annum over and above his dinner. Labourers got 4d., 4½d., and 5d. a day.

Walter de Scremerstone, a mason, received 3s. 4d. a week. John Nicholson, who carried 500 stones in carts, was entitled to 16s. 8d., while William Brady, who carried 60 stones in a boat, got 12d. only, or exactly half. Sixty chaldrons of lime were bought for £5; and a boat built at Berwick, which was charged £9, 18s. 7d., was found too expensive, and the sum was disallowed.

Bishop Pudsey hit upon a plan for defraying the expenses of building this castle, which was both novel and lucrative. One wonders that Flambard rather than Pudsey should not have been the inventor of the scheme.

Among the traditions of the diocese many were the wonderful stories related about St Cuthbert and his miraculous interference in all matters which seemed either unjust or unattainable in the land of his patrimony. Thus the story was current how a boy had been imprisoned by Malcolm in Berwick Castle, in a cell which from its filth and horrid darkness was called a coal pit, how dismal was the den wherein he had been confined, how cruel the manner he had been chained, and how ingenious the tortures invented to punish the wretched captive. In the depth of his misery he appealed to St Cuthbert, who in spite of bolts, bars, and fetters, freed him from his prison, and brought him safely over the Tweed to Norham Church.

It was reported how the man himself had wondered at his deliverance, and especially at the rapid travelling by land and by water which he had experienced without feeling his fetters, and how these had been hung up in the church at Norham to testify to the miracle performed.

In such a place the relics of the saint himself would be much venerated. A view of anything that had ever belonged to him would be much prized and valued, and no one would grudge the alms that might be asked for the privilege of beholding a strip from the garment of the saint, whether from the one he actually wore, or from the winding-sheet which had been thrown over his dead remains.

Acting on this conviction, Bishop Pudsey allowed his architect to carry with him to Norham a fragment of the original winding-sheet of St Cuthbert, which he had obtained from a friendly monk, who was wont to carry it in a little book suspended by a string to his neck.

Richard secured the relic in a pocket-book with some drawings which he was wont to carry on his person, and started on his journey.

For some time all those who gave him aid were favoured with a view of the relic, but one day as Richard had occasion to go to Berwick he lost his pocket-book on the way. An "envious" French clerk in Richard's employ found the pocket-book with the fragment, and "was rejoiced at his good fortune."

Repairing to his friends who were warming themselves at a fire, he at once proceeded to throw the relic into the fire, but behold it was lifted up on the crest of the flames without being injured. Not believing his eyes the Frenchman poked the fragment more into the grate, but no efforts to burn it were of any avail, and the "relic stood up as white as snow, and as it were purified like gold from the blazing furnace."*

Filled with remorse he hastened to his master, to whom he restored the relic with tears in his eyes, and thus ends the story, so that even the

* "Reginald of Durham."

Castle of Norham has its legend, as well as the village and its church.

In 1171 the murder of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the cause of many of Henry's most powerful barons revolting against him, as they believed him to be a party to the foul deed.

Pudsey alone among the bishops of the realm conceived that he should join the discontented barons, and not only did he permit the Scottish army to march through his territories without opposition, but invited his nephew, Hugh de Bar, to come over from Flanders with 40 knights and 500 soldiers of foot.

These landed at Hartlepool on the very day that William, who had succeeded his sickly brother Malcolm on the Scottish throne, was made a prisoner, and Henry II. had purged his guilt by a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb at Canterbury.

The bishop was now in difficulties. He hastened to the king at Northampton, and while making his submission, he surrendered to him the castles of Durham, of Northallerton, and of Norham.

Roger de Coniers was then installed Constable of Norham, 1174, and remained in charge three years, when he was succeeded by William de Neville, who commanded under the crown till the death of Pudsey, when the castle was restored to the bishopric by King Richard I. in 1195, and Henry de Ferlington was appointed constable under the bishopric.

This was in consequence of a stipulation made at the time of the surrender to the crown, that the fortresses given up should revert to the bishopric, either on the death of Bishop Pudsey, or (under certain conditions) on that of the king.

In 1189 Henry died, and Richard Cœur de Lion succeeded.

Bent on distant journeys and on raising money, he released William of Scotland, for the sum of 10,000 marks of silver, and freed his heirs with the kingdom of Scotland from all subjection to the crown of England, besides resigning Berwick to the Scotch.

He traded on the empty vanity of the Bishop of Durham by giving him a share in the regency of the kingdom for the sum of £11,000, or £31,000 of our money, and allowing him to add an earl's coronet and sword to the Durham episcopal coat of arms, well knowing all the while that Longchamp, the other regent, would never allow Pudsey a chance of even expressing an opinion in the affairs of the realm.

Mortified and crestfallen, the old bishop, whose beautiful galley and silver throne, and preparations for a crusade on a regal scale, had all been appropriated by the crown, and whose prospects of governing England had sadly dwindled into an imprisonment in the Tower of London the day he attempted to act as co-regent with his brother bishop, took to eating plentifully by way of forgetting care.

At Crake he "ate to excess at supper of rich and surfeiting viands," and being taken ill he moved on to Doncaster, where, his disease increasing, and unable to bear the motion of a horse, he returned to Hovedon by water.

The doctors told him of his danger, but the old man, who was then threescore years and ten, would not believe them.

The hermit of Finchale (an abbey he had founded) had told him he would die ten years after he had been struck blind. He still possessed his eyesight. How, then, could his end be so near?

The prophecy was directed to the ambition and pride of his later days, but like most of us, the bishop could not see his faults.

His pains increased; his will was made; and on the 3d of March 1194, Bishop Pudsey breathed his last.

# CHAPTER VI

## KING JOHN.

### 1199—1216.

"In Coron's bay many a galley light,
Through Coron's lattices the lamps are bright,
For Seyd the Pasha makes a feast to-night."—*Byron.*

In 1199 Richard the Lion Heart died, and, according to his wish, his body was buried at the foot of his father's tomb at Fontevrault, in token of his grief at having given him so much trouble in life; his heart was deposited in Rouen, as a mark of his love for the Normans; and his bowels were sent to Poictiers, in proof of how contemptible he held the disloyalty which Poitou had ever shown him.

Arthur of Brittany was heir to the throne, being the eldest son of Richard's elder brother Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany.

In 1103 the young man was brutally murdered at Rouen, and, whether guilty or not, King John, who was capable of any foul deed, and whose name is only remembered because he showed temporary pluck against clerical dictation, created France by his reverses, and made England by his submission to

the barons at Runnymede, expiated during a life of trouble the blood of his nephew, which had been so foully shed.

In Scotland William the Lion was still king; and though his exploits do not appear to have justified the appellation, he was the first to blazon the achievement of Scotland with a lion rampant *gules* on a shield *or*.

Remembering how he had been deprived in his youth of the Earldom of Northumberland, he never relinquished his claims; and as the lion rampant was the distinctive badge of Northumberland, no wonder he adopted it on his own arms.

At Durham, Bishop Philip de Pictaria or Poicteu was consecrated on the 16th June 1196, for the purpose, it would seem, of coining money for his friend Richard I., for he had brought men with him to coin money in a mint which had already been erected, and a charter of privilege from the king.

At Norham, Henry de Furlington governed as Constable of the Castle.

Part of the Bishop of Durham's duties as King's Sheriff in the Palatinate was to receive the King of Scotland on the frontier, to escort him through his territories, and during such time "to allow him a daily pension of money, and to provide him with wine, with candles, and with spices."

Shortly after John's coronation William the Lion

preferred his claim on Northumberland, and was invited to come in person to visit the king at Lincoln.

At Norham, therefore, early in the year 1200, a motley crowd of great knights and barons in full military array, of priests and abbots in the bishop's suite, and the innumerable attendants of all these, might have been seen awaiting with some anxiety for the advent of the great Scottish lord, who was about to visit at his summons the newly-crowned King of England.

Berwick Bridge had the year before been carried away by an inundation of the Tweed,* and the question was whether the Scotch King and suite would come by Carham, or by Norham, or by Wark, or not at all.

Within the castle a banquet was prepared in the great hall, the garrison was lined all along the approaches through outer and inner baileys; the towers were gay with bunting, and a watcher from the west turret on the top of the great keep having sounded his bugle in token of approach, Bishop Philip, with mitre and crozier, advanced to the outer entrance, followed by the king's commissioners—Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk; Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; David, Earl of Huntingdon; Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester; Eustace de Vescy;

* "Bycause the arches of it were to low."—Leland's "Collectanea," 5, 1, 39.

Robert de Ros, of Wark; and Robert Fitz Roger, Sheriff of Northumberland.

Some fear had existed that the king would not come, for twice he had refused to answer the summons of King John, and only sent ambassadors, who had on his behalf held very lofty language; but all apprehensions were now dispelled by the gay display of the Scotch standard, and the arrival at the castle gates of Roger, Bishop of St Andrews, and Hugh Malebise, who had previously acted as deputies; of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; and finally of the king himself.

Although the history of dress at this time does not record the splendour and luxury of subsequent ages, still the taste for it was growing daily.

An account of Thomas à Becket's manner of travelling may give an idea of what his imitators in the reigns of Richard and John endeavoured to realize, so as to increase their importance and impress people with their power and wealth :—

" Upwards of two hundred horsemen were in his train, consisting of clergymen, with knights, esquires, and sons of noblemen attending upon him in a military capacity, and servants of several degrees. They were all equipped with arms and clothed with new and elegant garments, every one according to his rank. He had with him twenty-four changes of apparel. No kind of elegance was spared, such as furs of the most precious kinds, with palls and suits of tapestry

to adorn the state bed and bed chamber. He also took with him dogs and birds of every species that was proper for the sports of monarchs or used by the wealthy. Eight carriages followed, constructed for swiftness, and each one was drawn by five large beautiful horses; to every horse was appointed a strong young man, clad in a new tunic, which was girded about his loins, and every carriage was followed by a post-horse with a guard; in these conveyances the plate, the jewels, the sacred vessels, the ornaments for the altar, and all the furniture belonging to the chancellor and his company were deposited."

If a chancellor could do these things, what could not a king? what would not a commissioner of the king? And here at Norham, on the occasion of the very first pageant its peaceful villagers had ever beheld, were a king, a bishop of Durham, a viceroy of the crown of England, a Scotch bishop (the first of the independent hierarchy of Scotland just obtained), the most powerful earl of Scotland, and six of the greatest nobles of England, whose names, already illustrious, were about in the persons of no less than five of them—namely, Roger Bigot, Henry de Bohun, Roger de Lacy, Eustace de Vescy, and Robert de Ros —to become household words in the homes of Britain by being appended to the great charter of our liberties in 1215.*

* Stubb's "Select Charters," p. 306, from Matthew Paris.

Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar, having married a daughter of William the Lion, was the progenitor of the Earls of Home by his daughter Ada, to whom he gave the lands of Home, and who, having married her cousin, had made him take the name of Home.

No wonder that people had flocked from all the country around to see the mighty personages who were then assembled in the great castle on the Tweed. No wonder that the meeting has found its way into history and been recorded. The people who constituted it were well worthy of remembrance, and we read of them now with perhaps as much pride and pleasure as their appearance then gave delight and created admiration.

In the great hall of the castle was spread a sumptuous collation or dinner, of which the exact bill of fare has not reached us, but as Leland gives several which were served on the occasion of the "inthronization" of the archbishops and bishops of England from this time to a later age, it may interest the reader to know that there were generally several tables—the principal table, at which sat only the highest guests and the donor of the banquet, the abbots' table, the knights' table, the barons' table, and the lesser table. To each table were appointed a "marshall," a "sewer," a "conveyor of service," an "almner," a "panter," and two "butlers," and sometimes two and more under butlers. At the principal

table all these officers were gentlemen, excepting the under butlers, who were yeomen.

There usually were two courses, between which various representations and musical entertainments took place. In the first course were the following dishes, which the reader may puzzle over as best he pleases :—

1. Frumentie ryall and mammonie to potage.
2. Lung in foyle.
3. Cunger p in foyle.
4. Lampreys with galantine.
5. Pyke in latmer sauce.
6. Cunger, roasted.
7. Halibut, roasted.
8. Salmon in foyle, roasted.
9. Carp in sharp sauce.
10. Celes rost r.
11. Salmon, baked.
12. Custard, planted.
13. Leche, Florentine.
14. Fritter, dolphin.

SECOND COURSE.

1. Jolie Ipocras and prune drendge to pottage.
2. Sturgeon in foyle, with welkes.
3. Turbit.
4. Soles.
5. Breame in sharpe sauce.
6. Carps in armine.
7. Tenches, flourished.
8. Crevesses d d.
9. Camprons rost.
10. Roches, fryed.
11. Lampreys, baked.

12. Quince and drendge, baked.
13. Tart melior.
14. Leche, Florentine.
15. Fryttar, ammell.
16. Fryttor, Pome.
17. A subtiltie with three stages with towers embatteled.

On copying these bills of fare, however, I notice that they point to a purely fish dinner. I must therefore give the bill of fare of one given by Henry VII. in the third year of his reign, on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, his wife.*

First Course.

1. A warner before the course.
2. Shelder of Brawne in armor.
3. Frumetye with veneson.
4. Bruet riche.
5. Hart powdered graunt chars.
6. Fesaunt intramde Royall.
7. Swan with Chawdron.
8. Capons of high goe.
9. Lampervey in galantine.
10. Crane with cretney.
11. Pik in latymer sauce.
12. Heronusew with his sique.
13. Carpe in foile.
14. Kid reversed.
15. Perch in jeloy depte.
16. Conys of high grece.
17. Moten roiall, richly garnished.
18. Valance, baked.
19. Custard royal.
20. Tarte Polyn.

* See Appendix.

21. Leyse damask.
22. Frutt synoper.
23. Frutt Formage.
24. A soleltie with writing of balads.

Second Course.

1. A warner before the course.
2. Joly ypocras.
3. Mamanes with lozenges of gold.
4. Pekok in Hakell.
5. Bittowre.
6. Fesaunte.
7. Browes.
8. Egrets in Beorwetye.
9. Cokks.
10. Partricche.
11. Sturgyn freshe fenell.
12. Plovers.
13. Rabett sowker.
14. Seyle in fenyn entierly served richely.
15. Red shanks.
16. Snytes.
17. Quayles.
18. Larks ingraylede.
19. Creves de endence.
20. Venesone in paste royal.
21. Quince, baked.
22. Marche payne royal.
23. A cold bake mete flourished.
24. Lethe ciprus.
25. Lethe rube.
26. Fruter angeo.
27. Fruter monniteyne.
28. Castells of jely in temple wise made.
29. A soleltie.

The wine was plentiful—"vino rubeo," "vino

claret," "vino albeo," "de Ossey," "de Reane," and "de Malvesey."

In the accounts of Norham there is the following entry:—"For taking up a butt of Malwesse that should have gone to Norram, and the carriage of it to New Castel, 2s.; for bringing off the Malwesse, 11d.; and for Wyll's costs to Norham when he came from my lord, 3s."

On the 22nd of November 1200, King John received the King of Scotland outside the city of Lincoln. William performed the usual act of homage with the accustomed reservation as regards the lands he held or claimed to hold in England, and then renewed his demand of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

"After a long discussion no agreement could be come to, and the King of England demanded of the King of Scotland a truce till the following Whitsuntide to afford time for deliberation. This being agreed to, William returned home with the same escort which attended him to Lincoln, where he remained only a single night."

For eight years this truce was prolonged till the year 1209, when, in the month of April, King John and King William first met at Bedlington, near Newcastle, and afterwards at Norham, where the negotiations were extended from the 23d to the 26th, and again without any satisfactory result, the fact being that in all probability John, of whom the saying

was that "foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John," had only come to Norham for the purpose of ascertaining its strength and that of the castle's, which he visited on his way thither, and thus better understand the means at his disposal, either to invade his friend's territory or defend himself against retaliation, and still more to find out the flaws in those castles which he was invited to, and which belonged to that powerful nobility of which he was so soon to learn the strength.

Both on his way to Norham and on his return King John visited Eustace de Vesci at Alnwick, Roger de Merley at Morpeth, Roger Bertram at Mitford, and Robert de Ros at Wark. He saw the new fort erected at Tweedmouth, opposite Berwick, by the bishop; and though he left Norham on the 27th of April, he was back at Tweedmouth on the 3d of August, with an army at his back, ready to invade the territory of William.

But a war requires a pretext, and this was not so easily found. It has to be looked for in the events which had taken place during the eight years' truce, and in the temper in which they had left the king.

The murder of Arthur had roused Poitou, Anjou, and Touraine in revolt, and Philip of France was welcomed everywhere as the deliverer from the assassin king. Even Normandy "settled down into the most loyal province of France," 1203; and on the surrender

of Chateau Gaillard, the "castle saucy" of Richard I., which was the key to Rouen, John, whose plans of defence had been conceived with military genius, had to resign himself to the loss of his French possessions, which were the hereditary lands of his forefathers.

"Quick to discern the difficulties of his position, and inexhaustible in the resources with which he met them," John endeavoured to raise a great league against Philip, which nearly succeeded, and jealously noted for future vengeance all those who harboured his enemies or gave them help against him.

His reverses in France were followed by more serious troubles in England.

Bent on reconquering his lost provinces in France, he assembled an army at Portsmouth in the summer of 1205; but the primate of England, Hubert Walter, and the Earl Mareschal, in the name of the nobles, protested, and the king had to give up his darling project.

A double rancour was now gnawing at his soul, and the barons of England were, next to Philip, the objects of his hatred.

The primate, too, was against him; this must not occur again.

Just as if he were likely to be served in this respect, Hubert Walter died almost immediately after the successful protest.

John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, was elected

primate at the king's request, although a rival had already been chosen.

Both candidates appealed to Rome, and the result was that neither got the appointment; but Innocent III., selecting an English priest, then at Rome, to receive the Cardinal's hat, called Stephen Langton, sent him to England as Archbishop of Canterbury to "free the Church of England from the royal tyranny."

John's fury knew no bounds, and it must be allowed the step was, on the part of Innocent, an unjustifiable usurpation of the rights both of the British clergy and the British crown, notwithstanding that Langton proved himself subsequently to be one of the greatest and most patriotic of English prelates.

The clergy were not powerful barons, and John could use them as he pleased. He threatened to banish them from the country if Langton was not at once recalled.

Innocent maintained the appointment, and threatened first, then placed an interdict upon the land, 1208.

No worship of any kind was permitted. The churches were closed; the bells that called to services were dumb; the newly-born were not baptized; the marriage ceremonies were stopped; the dying were deprived of consolation, and the administration of communion ceased.

A gloom fell upon the whole country, disturbed

only by the retaliatory measures of the king, who confiscated lands belonging to the clergy, afforded them no protection whatever, and let loose upon their vast numbers the rabble and plundering element in the population.

It was in the midst of these conflicts with the pope, with his clergy, with his barons, and with France that the king marched north in April 1209, and having previously noted with his keen eye the spirit of Northumberland, resolved to overawe the north by his presence in the summer of the same year.

William had given refuge to many English nobles, knights, and hunted priests within his own dominion as they fled from an interdicted land governed by a revengeful monarch, and no wonder.

Not satisfied with Tweedmouth as a residence, John arrived at Norham on the 4th of August, and here negotiations were carried on.

John, says Wendover, "bitterly reproached William with having received into his kingdom his fugitive subjects and avowed enemies, and with aiding and encouraging them in their enterprises against him."

William, anxious not to lose his chance of pushing forward the claims he never forgot, argued as well as he could, and finally entered into an agreement by which he was to give John 12,000 marks of silver as a security for peace, and was to be allowed to pull down the castle opposite Berwick. This was the peace of Norham.

Thus Norham again came to the fore at a critical moment, and received in the first visit which a king of England had paid it, one of the craftiest, and undoubtedly not the least intelligent, of the sovereigns of this realm.

That John's armed advance to Berwick on this occasion was one more diplomatic than military is plain from the fact that a display of strength at that moment was necessary when the people were incensed against him as the author of their misfortunes. It was also necessary in a march throughout the length of England to ascertain how the ground lay, and who were for or against him. It was finally necessary to make an alliance with the King of Scotland, so as to prevent his invading England in pursuance of a claim which the king had no intention of granting.

That John managed these matters in a masterly manner is evident from the price which he obtained as compensation for an act which he knew William could not very well prevent without offending the laws of good neighbourhood and hospitality so strong in those days, and still more in the peaceful period which ensued until the death of William in 1214.

Secure in this quarter, he hurried from Norham to the south to continue his warfare with the Holy See.

In 1210 he was formally excommunicated, which in Catholic parlance meant that not only had he ceased to be a Christian, but, as an excommunicated

king, he had no longer any claims on the obedience of his subjects.

In 1211, Philip of France headed a crusade against him, and in 1212 he was solemnly deposed, the Roman legate Pandulph proclaiming his deposition to his face at Northampton. Still John did not give way. He knew that the English nation was ripening into a patriotic race, to whom any foreign dictate from church or foreign power was odious and likely to be resented, and trading on this knowledge of the people of England, he gathered an army on Barnham Down, and sent his ships against Philip's forces opposite. The fleet destroyed all Philip's hopes, captured his ships, and burnt Dieppe.

Meanwhile the secret conspiracies of the barons in England were becoming more open; many knights were asking for foreign help against the "impious John."* Llewellyn of Wales and William the Lion's son Alexander, now King of Scotland, were corresponding with the pope, and at any moment a mine might explode that would crush the king for ever.

At this crisis he turned a political somersault; crouched to the pope, received Langton, and accepted his crown from Pandulph, in token of fealty to Rome; compensated the clergy, and endeavoured to conciliate the barons.

The effect of this was at once apparent, though its

* Impius Johannes.—"Chronicon de Lanercost."

"shameless hypocrisy" was only recognised later. It gave the king the means of invading France once more, and so successful was he at first that Philip for a moment seemed lost.

At this juncture a final battle, adverse to the English arms, though the English soldiers that fought in it were the last to give way, settled the question, and from the battle of Bouvines, 1214, King John returned to England.

Having given way to the pope, so as to prosecute his war in France, he was now to give way to the barons, so as to prosecute more leisurely his revenge for their disaffection.

At Runnymede, on the 15th of July 1215, he signed the Magna Charta, which was the embodiment of the laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by Henry I., for maintaining the privileges and liberties and rights of the people of England.

He had been compelled to sign, but he "nursed wrath in his heart."

Alexander of Scotland, prosecuting the claim which had been the bane of his father's existence, at the same time that he found willing help in the disaffected barons of the north, who had returned from London, where they had helped to compel the king to the act which we have just recorded, at once proceeded to attack Norham Castle on his way to Felton; but forty days of siege made no impression on Pudsey's

walls; the castle was asserting its impregnable strength.

Thinly but manfully garrisoned, and well commanded by Robert de Clifford, the castle resisted all Alexander's efforts, who finally not to lose time left it in the rear and pushed on to Fenton, and thence to the siege of Bamborough, where Philip de Ulecote commanded, and which place likewise he had to leave behind him.

But at Felton, on the 22d of October 1215, he received the homage of the barons of Northumber land as earl of that county.

This act roused King John to the revenge for which his numerous late humiliations made him thirst, and supplied a plausible pretext.

On the 6th of January 1216 he appeared before Newcastle; then proceeding to those places which in the year 1209 he had so cunningly reconnoitred, he plundered and burned Mitford, January 7th; Morpeth, January 7th; Alnwick, January 9th; and Wark, January 11th,* all in the space of a week, from the 9th to the 16th of January.

Crossing the Tweed into Scotland, he burnt Roxburgh, January 16th, with all the neighbouring villages, laid waste all Lothian, burnt Dunbar and Haddington, January 18th, plundered the old monastery of Coldingham, and having taken the castle and town of Berwick, January 15th, he in-

* "Chronicon de Lanercost," p. 18.

flicted on its inhabitants every suffering which it was possible for Jew or Gentile to conceive,* having with him "a body of Jews to instruct his soldiers in the art of butchery,"† and lastly set fire with his own hands, "against the manner of kings,"‡ to the house where he had lodged and been hospitably entertained.

Alexander was unable to check so rapid and destructive a progress, and in retaliation advanced against Carlisle and Barnard Castle, the seat of Hugh de Baliol, where he lost the aid, counsel, and valiant arm of his brother-in-law, the great Eustace de Vesci, Lord of Alnwick, who was slain by a shot of a cross-bowman of the garrison while reconnoitring the place.§ Unable to take possession of it, Alexander returned to Scotland, burning Carlisle and the abbey of Holmcoltram on the way back.

John rushed south, flushed with blood and success, to meet further difficulties, and find his rival, Philip's son Lewis, entering London, while he had to fall back on the Welsh marshes.

Here he contracted a fever, which he inflamed by a gluttonous debauch, and was just able to reach Newark alive.

* "Ubi cum rutariis suis feroci supra modum et inhumana usus est tyrannide."

† "Judeos secum adduxisse et magistros malitiæ illos effecisse efertur."

‡ "Contra morem regium."—"Lanercost," p. 18.

§ "Dun circuiret castrum equitando quærens infirmiora loca."—"Chronicon de Mailros," p. 19.

On the 17th of October he died, and his death was the signal for all the English barons to rally round the boy King Henry and the Earl Mareschal, and to desert the Frenchman, whom in an hour of need against a tyrant they had called to their help.

Lincoln saw the last hostile troops from France that ever trod the British soil in conquest, and Hubert de Burgh's victory at sea, when from the decks of his ships the bowmen of Philip d'Aubeny "poured their arrows into the crowded masses on board the transports; others hurled quicklime into their enemies' faces, and the quicker vessels with their armed prows crashed into the sides of the French ships," completed the defeat of the French, and brought about the treaty of Lambeth, by which Lewis promised to withdraw, and his English adherents were restored to their possessions.

Thus John's end brought with it that peace which England never enjoyed during his reign, and Norham under him rose to the rank of the first of English fortresses, while it remained the single bright spot to which he could look back.

From its walls John had obtained that respite which was vital to him in his hour of greatest need, and the stoutness of its resistance had given him time to come up with his forces, while it had proved to him that there were still a few in the rebellious north on whom he could rely.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EDWARD I.

"It was in old times, when trees compos'd rhymes,
And flowers did with elegy flow;
It was in a field that various did yield,
A rose and a thistle did grow.
In a sunshiny day, the rose chanc'd to say,
'Friend thistle, I'll be with you plain;
And if you would be but united to me,
You wo'ld ne'er be a thistle again.'
Says the thistle, 'My spears shield mortals from fears,
Whilst thou dost unguarded remain;
And I do suppose, though I were a rose,
I'd wish to turn thistle again.'"—*Old Jacobite Song.*

THE year 1290 had arrived. Edward I. was on the throne of England. Anthony Bek was Bishop of Durham, and ten candidates pressed their claims to the vacant throne of Scotland.

The years that had elapsed since our last notice of Norham had been years of settlement.

In 1219, Alexander of Scotland, Stephen de Segrave, procurator on behalf of England, and the legate of the pope, had met at Norham to settle various disputes, of which the number was legion.

In 1242 the old claims of Scotland over Northumberland were settled for ever, Tinedale remaining a fief of the Scottish crown, while certain manors in

Cumberland were reserved to the Scotch king in fief of the crown of England.

At the same time efforts were made to bring the law to bear upon the boundaries of the two kingdoms, and the commissioners of either country attempted the task, though the limits they defined were even then looked upon as consecrated by usage and constituting the ancient marches, and are those which even now divide the borders.

Northumberland had become incorporated into the English realm. Scotch claims were to have no more hearing, but English claims upon Scotland were now to arise, and to cause much bloodshed for several centuries.

In 1278 a note was sounded which showed the future temper of Scottish princes.

On the day of St Simeon and St Jude, Alexander III. did homage to Edward I., his brother-in-law, for his English territories in these words :—

"I become your man for the lands which I hold of you in the kingdom of England, for which I owe you homage, saving my kingdom."

"And saving to the King of England if he right have to your homage for your kingdom," said the Bishop of Norwich.

"To homage for my kingdom of Scotland," at once replied Alexander, "no one has any right but God, nor do I hold it of any but of God." *

* "Registrum de Dunfermelyn," sec. xiii., p. 321, page 217.

Misfortunes were about to pour upon the family of Alexander, and Edward, either in the interest of parties or in his own, was compelled by circumstances to style himself the arbiter of Scotland's destinies, and by arbitrating *de facto* in the case of the claimants to its throne, constituting himself in a manner the supreme lord of that state.

The exact title had perhaps no foundation in fact, but the union of England and Scotland, if impossible by matrimonial means, was too great a blessing not to sanction some diplomatic efforts for its obtention.

In the year 1285, Alexander III. had three children alive. By the year 1286, his daughter, the Queen of Norway, had died, leaving an only daughter Margaret. His eldest son had died, leaving no issue by a daughter of the Earl of Flanders, and the second son died without being married.

The queen herself died about this time, and Alexander was made to marry again in somewhat indecent haste, Juliet, a lady of great beauty and accomplishment, daughter of the Count de Dreux, in order to "reconstitute a family unto himself," 1285.

In the following spring the king himself had a fall from his horse, 12th March 1286, having chosen to ride in the dark along the coast of Fife opposite Edinburgh. He was pitched over one of the rocks near the present burgh of Kinghorn, and killed on the spot.