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978-1-108-04806-4 - Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I: Volume 2: Epistolae Cantuarienses, the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199

Edited by William Stubbs

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

### Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I

William Stubbs (1824–1901) was an important constitutional medievalist and Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. This two-volume work, published in 1864–5, was the first of his nineteen editorial contributions to the Rolls Series. It chronicles foreign diplomacy and church affairs during the reign of Richard I, whom Stubbs regarded with disdain. Volume 2 comprises a collection of letters relating to a dispute which erupted between the archbishops Baldwin and Hubert, and the monks of Canterbury, who saw the archbishops' attempts to establish a church and college of secular canons as a threat to their status. The correspondence, in Latin, was compiled by a certain Reginald around 1205, although only three pages can be definitively attributed to him. A chronological calendar (1185–1200) provides details of each letter in English, while Stubbs' substantial introduction contains a fascinating narrative of the history of monasticism in England.

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# Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I

VOLUME 2:

EPISTOLAE CANTUARIENSES,  
THE LETTERS OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT  
OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY,  
FROM A.D. 1187 TO A.D. 1199

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,  
December 1857.*

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OF RICHARD I.

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VOLUME II.

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EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES,

THE

LETTERS OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF  
CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

From A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199.

EDITED,

FROM A MS. IN THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT LAMBETH,

BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.,

VICAR OF NAVESTOCK; LIBRARIAN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND KEEPER  
OF THE MSS. AT LAMBETH; LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE history of the Church of England during the reign of Richard I. is a record of five great disputes and appeals. The importance of these to political history arises chiefly from their connexion with the ecclesiastical quarrels of Henry II., and from the light they throw on the relations of Church and State during the troubles of John. They have, however, an independent interest, for they were all on subject matters of great weight, all of them involved principles of great importance, and all were carried on by persons who, if not actually the leading men of the time, were, in character and position, and, irrespectively of their concern in these quarrels, in historical eminence inferior only to the first.

Five great ecclesiastical causes in the reign of Richard I.

These were, first, the series of disputes between archbishop Geoffrey of York and the clergy of the northern province; secondly, the long litigation of which one side has been preserved for us by Giraldus Cambrensis, between himself, as representative of the Welsh Church, and the Crown and Church of England; thirdly, that between Hugh of Nunant and the monks of Coventry; fourthly, that between the monks of Canterbury and archbishops Baldwin and Hubert; and fifthly, that arising from the claim of Savaric, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the abbey of Glastonbury. Of the first of these, the details are recorded, although not so fully or so syste-

Their historians and subject-matter.

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matically as might be wished, in the history of Roger Hoveden; Giraldus treats largely, if not fully, of the second; the last and least important had its own historian in Adam of Domesday. Of the Coventry dispute unfortunately very few particulars are now ascertainable; but this is less to be regretted as the same principles were involved and the same actors employed in it as in the Canterbury appeal, which is the principal subject of the present volume. The history of this great cause occupies, moreover, the chief part of the chronicle of Gervase, which is indispensable for the proper arrangement of the materials before us, and was the subject of a distinct work by abbot Alan of Tewkesbury, the collector of the letters of S. Thomas, which is known only by a short extract preserved in the History of the abbey of Evesham.<sup>1</sup>

Character and value of the materials for history in this volume.

The first view of so large a mass of materials preserved to us on secondary questions, naturally suggests a complaint, that the age which had so much that was of greater importance to chronicle, should have been so sparing of details on matters that had a closer bearing on the national life. Judged by the space which it occupies in the annals of the time, and by the quantity of correspondence remaining upon it, the dispute which forms the subject of the following pages might seem of greater magnitude than those which led to the signing of the Great Charter, or the calling of the first representative parliament. Comparatively insignificant in itself, it seems to acquire significance from the abundance of its records; whilst those, matters of vast importance, and even as affording material for the study of character, of interest far beyond it, are presented to us

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Abbatia de Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 103. It furnished likewise the subject matter of some of the lost chapters of Giraldus's

*Speculum Ecclesie*, where also the Coventry case was discussed. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 351.



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only in the skeleton form, which political views and party feelings will, as long as parties last, quicken with their own motives and clothe in their own theories of character and detail. And yet the fact, that this and the kindred disputes possessed a greater interest in the eyes of contemporaries than we are inclined to ascribe to them, is not without advantages; in default of the greater boon we may be thankful for the diversity and abundance of detail handed down to us: the field of study is removed far from the region of modern controversies, and the student is saved from the risks that attend the cursory reading of history for a special purpose. For a volume like the present, however rich in interest to the student of character or of history for its own sake, is not inviting to the dilettante reader, and positively repulsive to the investigator who has determined what he will find before he begins to seek. The very thread of events cannot be disentangled without labour, and the variety of views is bewildering rather than instructive to a hasty judge. But the careful perusal of the letters before us will most certainly leave the reader better informed as to the ways of thinking prevalent in the times to which they belong, and as to the development of the principles on which the history of far greater questions depends, than the better proportioned and more (so-called) philosophical estimate of the regular historian. We can see, that is, the principles in their growth, as they grew, without having the process of their development dwarfed and obscured by the overshadowing grandeur of their maturity. And besides this, every action of the men of such times has a double value, that which attaches to the working of the national life, and that which attaches to the character of the chief workers in it; their conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, share in the making of history.

Advantage  
of abundant  
details on  
subjects of  
secondary  
importance.

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Illustration of history to be drawn from the circumstances of secondary actors.

Only fifty years passed between the enactment of the constitutions of Clarendon and the surrender of the kingdom by John to pope Innocent III. One life of ordinary length might witness the martyrdom of S. Thomas and the suspension of Stephen Langton. What were the processes by which the changed attitudes of parties and the altered appearances of principles were brought about? Was the difference ascribable only to the inferiority of John to Henry, of Thomas to Stephen, of Alexander to Innocent? What was the direction, the impetus, the initial force of the undercurrent that made it possible for such changes to be wrought by such men? What was the share of Richard, of Urban, Clement, and Celestine, of archbishops Baldwin and Hubert, of Ranulf Glanvill, William Longchamp, or Geoffrey Fitz-Peter? For an answer to such questions the student must look, like the archæologist, below the surface of political history. In 1164 he finds king, bishops, and barons on one side, the archbishop and the inferior clergy on the other, the pope and the people either uninterested observers or half-hearted partizans. In 1215 he finds the king and the pope allied against the church and the people. We welcome any trustworthy details which, however unimportant, help to show how the different estates of the realm stood to one another, to the pope, and to the king at a fixed period in the meanwhile, and to indicate the variations in their combinations, the causes of their mutual attraction and repulsion.

Yet the principles of the disputes are important as well as the incidental light thrown on the actors.

It would not be wise or just to overlook the character of the principles or the processes in which they are traceable, merely because the disputes were on matters long ago decided, and so decided as to have scarcely any political importance left. The monastic system and the influence of the Roman court in England, although their direct bearings have for three

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centuries been practically annihilated, have left in their secondary effects marks too broad to be overlooked by superficial criticism, and far too deep to be underestimated by the careful student.

The present volume contains a collection of letters on the dispute which arose from the attempts of archbishops Baldwin and Hubert to found a great church and college of secular canons. This project gave much offence to the monks of Canterbury, who thought they saw in it, what was probably the intention, a design to supplant them in their position of metropolitan chapter, and to substitute a body of men, to be provided for out of their revenues, who would be more amenable than themselves to the influence of the king and of the primate, and not, as they were, attached to the court of Rome. This collection includes all the correspondence on both sides on which the compiler was able to lay his hands. It was formed between the year 1201, when the suit was finally decided, and the year 1205, when the new and more famous one as to the election of Stephen Langton began. The compiler, according to the contemporaneous title prefixed to the MS., bore the name of Reginald, and was probably the person who, as subprior, was elected by the younger portion of the monks to supply the place of archbishop Hubert in 1205. The question of his identity is, however, of very small importance, as there are but three pages in the whole volume that can certainly be ascribed to him.

The MS. in which these letters are contained is in the Lambeth Library, No. 415. It consists of 140 folios of a moderate quarto size, and has originally contained six more. It is written in double columns, the words being very much abbreviated, and in the hand of the earliest part of the thirteenth century, within the limits

Principal subject of the present volume; and character of the compilation.

The Lambeth MS. 415.

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**Character of the MS.** stated above. It has been defaced in six or seven places

with some dark liquid, through which it is extremely difficult to decipher the text. At what period this was done does not appear; and the disfigurement must have been partly, at least, accidental. A transcript which is now in the Harleian collection (No. 788) was made in the seventeenth century, and then the obliterations existed, for the transcriber, unable to read the blotted portions, has left hiatuses where they occur: the colour of the obliterating liquid must, however, have darkened with age, as the edges of the blots do not exactly coincide with the hiatuses in the copy, and some of the passages were certainly more legible then than they are now. By a perfectly innocent process I have succeeded in making out every word, although some of the passages were at first sight an almost impenetrable thick brown. The Harleian transcript does not go beyond the 136th folio. The six lost folios contained the conclusion of the legal argument with which the volume closes, and were probably detached as early as the reign of Edward I., for at folio 133 occurs a note in a hand of that date, that the remaining fourteen folios were to be kept carefully and returned to Canterbury. This part was perhaps lent to some one for transcription, and only eight folios returned. The reverse of the last folio is the worst defaced in the book, and has been fastened down in binding. I have, however, made it out.

**History of the MS.**

Little can be said of the history of the manuscript. It probably remained with the convent until the dissolution. It must have come into the hands of archbishop Bancroft before the year 1610. The names of Thomas Alley, Thomas Draper, and Beaufey, which are scrawled on the fly-leaves, perhaps belonged to some intermediate owners, and the words "Eaton" and "Ætonæ" point to its temporary home.

The contemporaneous title is "Epistolæ Reginaldi de

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“ tempore Baldewini.” A fuller title has been inserted <sup>Title of the MS.</sup> by archbishop Sancroft in his own hand: “Honorii prioris et Conventus Cantuariensis epistolarum, sive per eos, sive ad eos, vel de eis, scriptarum, tempore litis quindecennis inter ipsos et Baldewinum atque Hubertum archiepiscopos, de canonicorum sæcularium collegio vel Hakintoniæ S. Stephani, vel Lambhithæ erigendo; per monachum ejusdem conventus collectarum et digestarum; libri tres; primus continet litis exordium et cursum usque ad mortem Urbani papæ, a folio 1 b.; secundus, causæ conflictus sub pontificatu Gregorii, Clementis et Celestini, a fol. 28; tertius causæ resuscitationem ab archiepiscopo Huberto, sub Innocentio papa, usque ad demolitionem capellæ Lambhithanæ, et causæ terminum per compositionem, a fol. 99.”

The letters are in a rough order; this I have not felt <sup>Arrangement of letters.</sup> at liberty to alter, but in order to obviate the awkwardness and confusion of their collocation, I have prefixed a careful calendar of the whole. The Appendix contains a few other letters connected with the cause, and some extracts from the Obituary of Canterbury, either generally illustrative of the subject, or assisting the chronology.

The history of monastic and other religious establishments in England differs in very many respects from that of similar institutions amongst those nations which had been civilized and settled subjects of the Roman empire. Whatever remains of such civilization or settlement existed in Britain after the departure of the Romans, were swept away by the Anglo-Saxon invasion, and the work of civilization and Christianity had to be begun from the beginning in the sixth and seventh centuries. The conversion of England was accomplished principally, if not entirely, by monks either of the Roman or of the Irish school; and thus the monastic institution

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Monachism  
coeval with  
Christianity  
in England;

its con-  
nexion with  
national  
life, and its  
comparative  
purity.

was not, as among the earlier converted nations, an innovation which rested its claims for reverence on the sanctity or asceticism of its professors: it was coeval with Christianity itself: it was the herald of the Gospel to kings and people, and added the right of gratitude to that of religious respect or superstitious awe. Hence the system occupied in England and in the countries converted by English missionaries a position more really honourable and better maintained than elsewhere. Although the monasteries of France and Italy were larger and politically more powerful than those of England, they did not enjoy the same place in the affections of the people, nor were they either so purely national, or nurseries of patriotic spirit in the same way. It may be added that whilst in the Latin speaking countries the history of monachism is one long record of corruptions and reforms, in which constant changes and the institutions of new rules were insufficient to counteract increasing decline, the English monasteries were free from most of the evils that prevailed abroad. The fact that no important new rule of monastic life was indigenous in a country so famous for the number of its monastic houses, seems to prove that no crying necessity for moral reformation was ever made out. The new foreign rules were at times freely adopted; the Cistercian rule in particular was extremely popular almost from its foundation, but the more ancient monasteries continued to call themselves Benedictine without a difference; and although the Cluniac reformation was coeval with the monastic revival under Odo,<sup>1</sup> and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Odo sought the tonsure and his monastic education at Fleury in or about the year 942, the last year of the life of Odo of Cluny, who was engaged in reforming that monastery. *Ang. Sac.* ii. 82. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.* sæc. v. p. 131. Oswald

of Worcester was educated at, and Æthelwold of Winchester learned discipline from, the same famous house. *Mab., Act. SS.* sæc. v. pp. 601, 709, &c., and *Hist. Rams.* ap. Gale, pp. 391, 392.

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bably exercised some influence upon it, there is no instance of the formal introduction of that rule before the Norman Conquest. The great influx of foreign monachism that then set in was one of the smallest effects of that event on the character of the English convents.

The apostles of England, Augustine and Mellitus, Aidan, Finnan and Fursey, Chad and Cedd, Wilfrid and Egwin, although the fashion of their tonsures differed, all professed the threefold obligation of humility, chastity, and poverty. In the best of these and of their immediate followers, the ascetic and the missionary characters were happily blended. Their devout retirement was a means of gaining rest and strength of body, mind, and spirit for new work. Every good missionary must be an ascetic; so for the first century of the conversion every monastery was a mission station, and every mission station a monastery. As the country became more thickly peopled, and the people more generally Christianized, a settled clergy took the place of the missionaries. The settled clergy were not bound by monastic rule, but were allowed to hold property, and probably to marry, although the marriage of the Anglo-Saxon clergy at so early a period is not so well ascertained as it is later on, and in the ages immediately before and after the Conquest. The characters and status of clerk and monk were not so sharply separated as they afterwards became; the Benedictine was but a lax follower of the rule of S. Benedict, the priest had not yet arrived at the comforts and luxuries of an independent life and definite position.

As, however, the needs of mission work became less exigent, and the established clergy farther removed from monachism, a change necessarily took place in the character of the monasteries. Some became the cells of anchorites, as Lindisfarne, Crowland, and Glastonbury: some became schools of learning, as Canter-

Character of primitive English monasticism, missionary and ascetic.

The missionary stage ends, and the learned begins.



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The learned  
period of  
English  
monachism.

bury and Malmsbury. The spirit brought by Theodore and Adrian into the south, and by Benedict Biscop into the north of England, combined a stricter rule of life with the love of learning, cultivation of manners, and tact in association with the world. Theodore was the great administrative founder of the Church, and his introduction of learning into the country fell most fortunately at a moment, when the zeal of missionary adventure began to look abroad for fresh fields of work, and but for this the monasteries would have sunk, one and all, into the follies of a stupid and mischievous asceticism. This learned period may be considered to have extended from the year 669 to the middle of the following century, in the south of England; and about fifty years longer in the north, where the example of Bede, and the munificence of archbishop Egbert and his successors, had an influence on the cultivation of letters which at once culminated and expired in the glories of Alcuin.

Diversion of  
missionary  
zeal.

The better portion of the monastic spirit, which was neither devoted to learned pursuits, nor lost in the asceticism of the marshlands, found abundance of missionary work in Germany and Friesland. Boniface and his companions, although personally and in principle far more self-denying than the monks they left at home, and in theory quite as much devoted to the monastic ideal, were practically guided by earnest Christian zeal, and showed unwearied industry in their great work. No man saw more clearly than Boniface, or spoke more plainly of the evils inherent in the monastic system where it depends on asceticism alone: the utter worthlessness of the prayers of men whose hands do not work for the things they pray for.

The middle of the eighth century witnessed a rapid degeneration in monastic discipline; and at the same time we begin to see more clearly the demarcation between the character of the monastic and that of



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the secular priest: the monastery becomes distinguished from the college of clerks and the cathedral minster. The Council of Clovesho, of 747,<sup>1</sup> marks both the increase of selfishness and exclusiveness in the monks, and the release of the clergy generally from the monastic bond. An attempt seems to have been made, probably originating in the remonstrances of Bede and Boniface, to reduce the true monasteries to the Benedictine model, and to put an end to the fraudulent perversions of religious foundations to serve the ends of secular avarice. Almost at the same time the institution of a new rule for priests living in community, a measure the credit of which is due to Chrodegang, archbishop of Metz, gave to the clergy who were not under monastic vows a dignified and creditable status which they had not before possessed. This system, although never introduced in detail into England,<sup>2</sup> served as a model on which colleges of clerks or canons were incorporated, and quickly commended itself to those who wished the clergy to do a good work in the world, and to retain the advantage of monastic superintendence and corporate feeling, without the trammels of a rule which hindered their practical efficiency. The monks and priests, who had until now lived together, separated. Their rival churches began to rise side by side in the larger cities: disputes arose as to ancient gifts of property, whether they belonged to the clergy as clergy, or to the monks, the successors of those who had been both monks and clergymen; and whether the original foundations of particular houses were or were not monastic. The popularity of monachism began to decline, and the charms of the secular life to draw away many from the stricter rule. In 787 the legatine Council ordered by special canon<sup>3</sup> that monks should

Wider separation between secular clergy and monks.

Institution of canons.

<sup>1</sup> Spelman, *Conc.* i. 242, &c.<sup>2</sup> W. Malmsh., *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. ii. p. 1548 (ed. Migne).<sup>3</sup> Spelman, *Conc.* i. 294.

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Decay of monachism, followed up by the destruction of monasteries.

live monastically and canons canonically. The dark age of monastic history had already set in, and the veil drawn forcibly by the cruel ravages of the Northmen and Danes from 790 to 870 closed on a state of things so obscure as to be unable to reveal its own condition.

The ninth century in England, until the reign of Alfred, is a blank as to learning, sanctity, or practical activity. Swithun, the one saint of the period, is vastly more mythical than the most obscure of the heroes of the two preceding centuries. Learning had reached the point at which, south of Humber, it was hard to find a man who could read Latin.<sup>1</sup> Devout men spent their active energies in pilgrimages to Rome rather than in doing their duty; and when the Danes came in force, they fell on an enervated and almost defenceless people. Monachism, for good or for evil, had become (so far as the scanty notices of the chronicle teach us) extinct before the reign of Alfred.<sup>2</sup>

Period at which monachism became extinct.

Very few of the religious houses which perished during the Danish wars ever rose again from their ashes. The cathedrals and city monasteries were almost the only exceptions. Alfred's foundation at Athelney bore the name of a monastery, and some pains were taken by him to introduce into England learned monks from France, Flanders, and Germany. The attempt, however, to restore monachism against the sense of the nation was premature, and its issue was so discouraging that his son Edward gave the New Minster of Winchester to clerks instead of monks. It is certain that in 942 there were no real Benedictines in England;<sup>3</sup> Odo, Oswald, and probably Dunstan, sought the knowledge of true discipline at Fleury, which had been just re-

<sup>1</sup> King Alfred, in Camden's *Scriptores*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Asser; Camden's *Scr.* p. 18. There were many monasteries standing empty in Asser's time; either

owing to the ravages of war, or the contempt into which the regular life had fallen. Alfred's attempts to revive it were failures; *ib.* 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 91, 194, &c.

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formed under the spirit, if not under the name, of the Cluniac revival.

Monachism, as introduced by Dunstan and worked by his disciples, was a very different thing from what it had been before the invasion. It was aggressive, and self-asserting in an extreme degree. It claimed the rights and territories of the ancient houses, and introduced a spirit of persecution and tyranny altogether foreign to the ancient character. Although it had no real pretension to represent the system under which the country had been converted, it took to itself at once the prerogative right to national gratitude. Not content with claiming the property of the old monasteries which had fallen out of cultivation, or got into the hands of the secular clergy, it insisted on the removal of the latter from foundations to which they had at least an equal claim. It spared neither spiritual terrors nor the commanding temporal influence which it had obtained rather from the superstition of the kings than from the ambition of the prelates. And yet it had its bright side; for it helped to cure great defects of moral discipline; it prevented the Church property from becoming the inheritance of a distinct priestly caste; it produced a revival of national learning; and it still maintained, notwithstanding an occasional influx of foreign zealots, a thoroughly national spirit. The bishops were the agents of the change, and they acted on their own inherent authority, not at the dictation of the court of Rome. This new movement lasted as long as the supremacy of the family of Edgar. Cnut and Harold as practical men founded colleges. Edward the Confessor revived the monastic spirit with which he was himself pervaded; and the system which was extended and consolidated by Lanfranc was inaugurated in his reign by the new foundation of Westminster.

The effect of the Norman Conquest in this matter was peculiar and important. It owed its character

Revival of monachism under different circumstances and character in the tenth century.

It still retained its national spirit.

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The policy of Lanfranc and the Conqueror with regard to monasteries.

indirectly to the two powerful minds that were at the head of Church and State. Lanfranc saw in the monasteries, societies of degenerate Benedictines; William, nests of anti-Norman feeling. Lanfranc tried to reform the abuses by drawing closer the rules of discipline; William sought to stifle the patriotic spirit by setting over them the tools of his strong policy. But turbulent and worldly foreign abbots were not more likely to improve the tone of religious society, than rigorous reformers to soften the asperities of national antipathy. The two forces did not exactly neutralize one another, because they were neither equal nor opposed in direction; but the combination produced a result that neither William nor Lanfranc could have calculated on.

Results of that policy.

For a long time the English spirit in the monasteries maintained itself against both tyranny and reform. They hated the Norman invaders, but they had no inclination towards Rome, under whose auspices the Norman invasion had succeeded. At the time, however, that the Normans were taking deep root in England and becoming amalgamated with the natives of the soil; as their interests became insular, and their policy influenced by their insular interests; at this very time also, the royal and the papal politics were diverging; during the whole period of the amalgamation the influence of the court of Rome was declining, partly from the failure of good will in England, partly from its own weakness.

As the Normans became Anglicized, and the royal policy, internally at least, English, the monasteries, still in opposition, lost their distinctive characteristic of patriotism. As the State ceased to be influenced by the court of Rome, the monks looked to the court of Rome for sympathy and assistance. As the bishops and secular clergy opposed themselves to Roman centralization, the monasteries became colonies of Roman

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partizans. Their sympathies and antipathies were all in common with Rome, and their national spirit evaporated altogether to find a fitter and more permanent abode in the necessary organism of the church. So long as the pope and the king were on the same side, the monks and the nation were opposed to both alike; when the pope and the king quarrelled, the nation sided with the king, the monks with the pope; hence the monasteries became more papal as the State became more national, and the same series of events made them less English without becoming more Norman, and more papal without becoming more loyal. Matters had reached this point in the latter years of Henry II.

Alienation  
of the  
monastic  
system from  
the national  
life.

The monastic cathedral was an institution almost peculiar to England.<sup>1</sup> The missionary bishop, himself a monk, accompanied by a staff of priests who were also monks, settled in the chief city of a kingdom or province. He built his church, his staff of missionary monks became the clergy of that church; the church itself was called a monastery. As the mission work prospered the populations of the larger towns were converted, and settled clergy who were not monks undertook the spiritual charge of them. In time the overgrown dioceses were divided. The principal church of the district became the seat of a bishop, who might or might not be a monk, but who found his episcopal chair placed for him in a church which was of older foundation than itself, and which possessed a character that he ought not and perhaps had not power to infringe. The longer the subdivision of the original diocese was delayed, the more certain was the new bishop to find himself surrounded by a staff of secular

Origin of  
the two  
classes of  
cathedrals.

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<sup>1</sup> There were, I believe, a few abroad: when the abbey of Montreal in Sicily was made an archiepiscopal see, Lucius III. ordered that the monastic order should be preserved.

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The newer  
cathedrals  
secular.

city clergy. His cathedral continued to be an establishment of secular clerks, and when the name and usage of canonical life came into fashion, they took, as a matter of course, the name of canons. In this way it happened that, whilst the newly-founded sees of Anglo-Saxon bishops were placed in secular churches, the original settlements of the first missionary bishops retained a monastic character. Canterbury was thus monastic, although Rochester and London, founded as episcopal sees within seven years, were secular cathedrals. Lindisfarne continued monastic, but York was a minster of clerks. The mother church of Mercia was the monastery of Diurna, but Lichfield and Hereford, and, as far as we know, Leicester, Dorchester, and Worcester, were from the beginning in the hands of clerks.<sup>1</sup>

Cathedrals  
in the early  
period of  
monachism.

During the early stages of monasticism, briefly characterized above, this distinction was practically of little importance; monks and clerks lived together comfortably enough. Later on the secular bishop in a monastic cathedral kept his clerks in his palace; the monks served the church; the monastic bishop in a secular cathedral lived as abbot in his own house and presided as bishop in the church.<sup>2</sup> In the further stage of the decline of monachism the churches came almost entirely into the possession of the bishops' clerks.

<sup>1</sup> According to Rudburne, *Ang. Sac.* i. 190, Birinus was a Benedictine monk, and the church of Winchester originally monastic; but there is no proof of either statement. The monastic order became extinct there, according to the same author, in 870.

<sup>2</sup> I believe that this is still the case with the Greek, or at least the Russian bishops. They are necessarily monks or celibates, and their staff is composed of monks or celibates:

but the cathedrals are served by secular clergy under an archpriest. The Scoto-Irish system, in which the bishop was an officer of the monastery governed by an abbot, in whom, and not in the bishop, the jurisdiction was vested, is, of course, completely different. But it is possible that the monastic system, as it existed at Lindisfarne, was influenced by the Irish connexion quite as much as by the pattern of Canterbury.