

CHAPTER SEVEN

GUILLAUME, SURNAMED WERLAC, COUNT OF CORBEIL AND MORTAIGNE

Twenty-first in Ancestry

Section 1, Family of Werlac—Section 2, Contemporary History of Apulia and Calabria—Section 3, Contemporary History in Normandy—Section 4, Genealogy of Hamon Dentatus.

SECTION 1.

*21. GUILLAUME, called by the Normans WERLAC or WERLING, Count of Corbeil and Count of Mortaigne. He also became Count of Banastre in Calabria, Italy, son of Mauger. Chapter 6, Section 1. Married ——. Child:—

1. *20. REGNAULT, Chapter 8, Section 1.

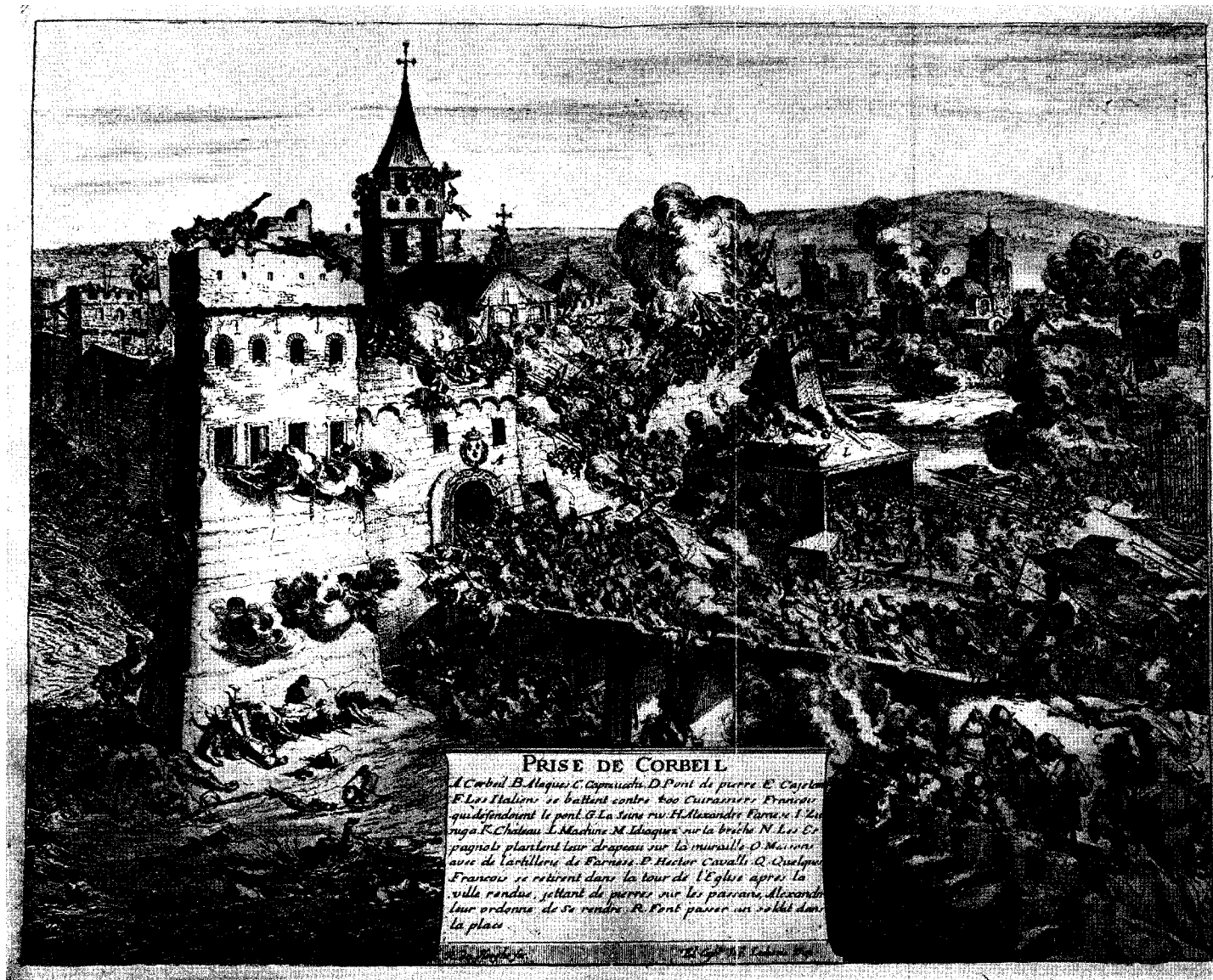
William of Jumieges (vii. 19) calls him "Willelmus cognomento Werlencus, de Stirpe Richardi Magni." Orderic (660 B) calls him "Guillelmum cognomento Werlengum, Moritolii Comitem, filium Malgerii Comitis," and Malger, or Mauger appears as an uncle of Duke Robert in Will. Gem. vi. 7. "Willelmus Comes de Mauritonio" signs a charter in Delisle, Preuves 30, which must therefore be older than 1055, the date which the Delisle gives. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 191.]

There was mention made of him the first time, in 1040, in a charter by the terms of which he confirmed the donation made by Nantier, the viscount of Corbeil, to the Abbey of Saint Maur and to the Church of Saint Jean de l'Hermitage de Corbeil, recently built close to the walls of Corbeil, which proves that Corbeil was already a fortified town. This Nantier, as we have seen, was one of the sons of Robert the first Viscount of Corbeil; they really were de Nogent, and not de Corbeil.

In 1043 the Count Guillaume appeared along with Nantier as Viscount, in another charter concerning the abbey.

In 1048 at Sens, in the palace of the king, he took part in a meeting composed of seven bishops and of Robert, Duke of Burgundy, brother of the King, of Rainaude, second Count of Sens, and of Raoul, Count of Valois. At this meeting King Henry granted a charter authorizing the establishment of the priory of Saint Ayoul, a provins. In the charter of 1050 he is mentioned as Guillemus Miles Castri Corbelli. The same year he was present at the opening of the hunt of St. Denis and his name appears as one of the attesting witnesses to the diploma thereof.

Shortly after this, however, Duke William, natural son of Robert of Normandy, who was at this time strengthening his position by despoiling all his foes of their possessions, and bestowing them on his own kinsmen, took advantage of a supposed treasonable remark of Count Guillaume, or Werlac, to deprive



BATTLE OF CORBEIL

Prise De Corbeil

- A. Corbeil
- B. Alagues
- C. Capreucchi
- D. Pont de pierre
- E. Cajeterre
- F. Les Italiens se battent contre 400 cuirassiers Francois qui défendoient le pont.
- G. La Siene riv
- H. Alexandre Farnese
- I. Zurruga
- K. Chateau
- L. Machine
- M. Idiaquez sur la brèche
- N. Les Espagnols plantent leur drapeau sur la muraille.
- O. Maisons avec de l'artillerie de Farnese.
- P. Hector Cavalle
- Q. Quelques Francois se retirent dans la tour de l'Eglise apres la ville rendue, jettant de pierres sur les passans. Alexandre leur ordonne de se rendre.
- R. Font passer un soldat dans la place.

The Battle of Corbeil

- A. Corbeil
- B. Alagues
- C. Capreucchi
- D. Bridge of Stone
- E. Cajeterre
- F. The Italians are battling with 400 leather clothed fighters who are defending the bridge.
- G. The Siene River
- H. Alexandre Farnese
- I. Zurruga
- K. Castle
- L. Machine
- M. A person on the opening of the bridge.
- N. The Spaniards are planting their flag on the stone wall.
- O. Houses with artillery of the Farnese clan.
- P. Hector Cavalle
- Q. Some Frenchmen are drawing back into the tower of the church after the city has been given up, throwing stones on passers by. Alexander commands them to give themselves up.
- R. A soldier passing in the square.

him of his title and property as Count of Mortaigne and Corbeil. There has probably been no act of the Conqueror which has received such universal condemnation as this. The very life of his house was rooted in the countship of Corbeil. Surely no descendant of Richard the Fearless would forget the act of Osmon the Dane in saving the youthful Duke from certain death, and thereby preserving the line of Rollo. And likewise the countship of Mortaigne represented a reward for loyal service by a Count of Corbeil in a contest in which the Duchy of Normandy was one of the minor pawns. The act was aided and abetted by Richard d'Avranches the husband of Emma, the Duke's half-sister. The historians of the Conqueror have wisely had but little to say on the subject. All the authorities agree that there was a conspiracy to deprive Werlac of his honors and property, and the conspirators found a willing ear in William Duke of Normandy.

The Christian Church was daily rising in importance and influence; just across the borders was all the rest of France where the canons of the Church were the law of the land. If therefore the clergy should once get it into their power to pass upon the legitimate succession to the duchy, then beyond a doubt, according to the laws of France, and in conformity to the rules of the church, Count Werlac would be held to be the rightful Duke of Normandy. William was only too anxious to get rid of a possible competitor and one who would draw to himself all the forces opposed to the high-handed rule of William. In fact all during his reign, he had to maintain his hold on the title by his ability to dispose of his enemies, by either his sword, or by other foul means. It was Werlac's loyalty that won for William his first contest with the discontented nobility of Normandy. Had Werlac been named as the claimant instead of Guy of Burgundy, all the elements of opposition would have gathered to his support, and William would have ceased to be Duke of Normandy. Werlac was not only of the line of Rollo, but also of the noblest Norman blood on his maternal side, his mother being Germaine, daughter of Count Aymon, the son of Osmon the Dane. In supporting William, Werlac had fought his own brother Haymon Dentatus. But now all was changed. William could see nothing in Werlac except that he was lawfully Duke of Normandy, and the pet of the Catholic clergy; therefore once rid of Werlac, he could make peace with the church; but so long as Werlac was there as Count of Corbeil, rich and powerful, pious and influential, there could be no peace of mind for William. Here you have in a few words the motive which controlled all William's future actions, beginning with the high-handed offence against an innocent, kindly, gentleman, who was content with his present station in life, and who would not willingly have assumed the burden of ruling Normandy. This motive to secure the cooperation of the Catholic Church accounts for all the wonderful effort made by William to placate the clergy of the Catholic Church before he ventured to sail for the conquest of England. The conspirators were however moved solely by a desire for their own personal enrichment. As this genealogy proceeds, the strange and remarkable undoing by love, of the plans and designs of these schemers, will be disclosed in the story of our ancestors, so that it will be seen that the burden of this high-handed act fell heaviest upon the dearest of Richard Avranches' loved ones—namely his baby daughter Isabella. The story of Werlac's banishment is so remarkable that we

shall give the version of several of the historians who have written on the subject. The important fact to bear in mind is that Werlac at this time had lived to be beyond 70 years of age, which is the time of life when men do not long for warfare and strife, but seek paths of peace and contentment with the present station in life.

Says one account: "William Werlac, was the son of Mauger, Count of Corbeil, son of Richard I. It seems that William Werlac was the victim of a real corruption. Ordericus Vitalis tells us that he was trash 'for the least occasion.'" [Ex le Prevost, vol. 3, page 246, and Ordericus Vitalis, page 171, footnote.]

After relating the story of the Conspirators Ordericus continues as follows:

"At a certain day he, Bigot, spoke privately to the duke and told him among others the above words of Count William Werlac. The duke called William Werlac before him and asked him why he had used such words. As he could not deny it, and did not presume the intention of explaining what he had said, the duke became very angry and said, 'You have taken in your mind to disturb Normania by seditious tumults and by rebelling against me, have disposed cunningly of my heredity; also have you promised plundering to the poor soldier.'

" 'Now between us, if it is the Lord's will, may remain perennial peace, which we both need. You nevertheless have to leave Normania as soon as possible, and never to return here, as long as I live.'

"After that William Werlac was thus expelled, he got to Apulia in miserable condition with only one arms-bearer. The duke put his brother Robert of the same mother in his rank and installed him with the county of Mortania."

"He herewith threw mercilessly down the haughty relatives of his father and brought into high honors the humble folks of his mother.

"As it is said in the popular proverb, 'The fool will seldom be cured by words or examples but by lashes, and has no great fear unless he gets a hard licking.'" [Guillaume de Jumiéges 1 Rouen & Paris, 1914, *Geste Normanum Ducum*, by J. Mars, page 172.]

Another account says: "At the same time William surnamed Werlent, surely very likely the son of Count Malger, or Mauger, (of the same issue of Richard the Great) was then Count of Moritalia. (Then follows the same as above, adding) As it is said in the popular proverbs—That will show him in the future clearer than by example."

A later version says: At the same time was William surnamed Werlents from the family of Richard the Great, count of Mauribaim, a certain relative of his family, Robert Bigot (Bigoth) came to him and said, 'By pressure of poverty, my lord, I cannot even in my father's land earn enough to keep the most necessary things. Therefore I will go now to Apulia where I can live more honorably. William Werlac said to him: 'Who has persuaded you to do this?' He answered: 'The poverty I have to suffer.' The count said then: 'If you will trust me, then you stay with us, then before eighty days will have passed, you shall have such a time that, whatever you see with your eyes what you need, you will be able to take in your hands without fearing punishment.' [Interpolation d'Ordericus Vitalis, page 171. Guillaume de Jumiéges 1 Rouen and Paris, 1914, *Gesta Nor-*

mannorum Ducum, by J. Mars, p. 172. Same book, page 250. P. Von Urhnouski, translator.]

"He was thus by his master's words satisfied, that he remained and not long after he enjoyed through Richard Avranches, his relative, the friendship of the duke."

So much for the scattering historians of the times. The story in full is told by Freeman.—The men of Alecon had jeered at the grandson of the Tanner; but the sovereign who so sternly chastised their jests was determined to show that the baseness of his mother's origin in no way hindered him from promoting his kinsmen on the mother's side. If one grandson of Fulbert wore the ducal crown of Normandy, another already wore the mitre of Bayeux; and another great promotion, almost equivalent to adoption into the ducal house was now to be bestowed upon a third. The county of Mortain-Moritolium in the Diocese of Avranches—was now held by William, surnamed Warling, son of Mauger, a son of Richard the Fearless and Gunnor. He was therefore a first cousin of William's father, a descendant of the ducal stock as legitimate as any other branch of it. Among the knights in Count William Werlac's service was one, so the story runs, who bore a name hitherto unknown to history, though not unknown to legend and fanciful etymology, but a name which was to become more glorious on English ground than the names of Fitz-Osbern and Montgomery. The sons of Robert the Bigod, brother of Richard de Goz de Avranches, were to rule where Harold now held his Earldom, and his remote descendant was to win a place in English history worthy of Harold himself, as the man who wrested the freedom of England from the greatest of England's later kings. The patriarch of that great house was now a knight so poor that he craved leave of his lord to leave the service, and to seek his fortune among his countrymen who were carving out for themselves lordships and principalities in Apulia. The Count bade him stay where he was; within eighty days he, Robert the Bigod, would be able there in Normandy, to lay his hands on whatever good things it pleased him. In such a speech, as insinuated by Robert, treason plainly lurked; and Robert, whether out of duty to his sovereign, or in the hope of winning favor with a more powerful master, determined that the matter should come to the ears of the Duke. This Bigod was a brother of Richard of Avranches, the son of Thurstan the rebel of Falaise, (who was a descendant of Hrollauf, brother of Rollo) and Richard was now high in favor at the court of William, (having married his half-sister by the same mother). By this means Robert obtained an introduction to the Duke and told him of the treasonable words of the Count of Mortain. William accordingly sent for his cousin, and charged him with plotting against the state. He had, the duke told him, determined again to disturb the peace of the country, and again to bring about the reign of license. But while he, Duke William, lived, the peace which Normandy so much needed should, by God's help, never be disturbed again. Count William Werlac must at once leave the country, and not return to it during the lifetime of his namesake the duke. The proud Lord of Mortain was thus driven to do what his poor knight had thought of doing. He went to the wars in Apulia in humble guise enough, attended by a single esquire. The Duke at once bestowed the vacant County of Mortain on his half-brother

Robert, the son of Herlwin and Herleva, (which was contrary to the plans, schemes and hopes of the Bigod brothers). Thus, says our informant, did William pluck down the proud kindred of his father, and lift up the lowly kindred of his mother.

This affair of William Werlac of Mortain is one of which we may well wish further explanation. We are hardly in a position to judge of the truth or falsehood of the charge brought by Robert the Bigod against his lord. We have no statement from the other side; we have no defence from the Count of Mortain; all that we are told (by prejudiced historians) is that, when arraigned before the Duke, he neither confessed nor denied the charge. (And as to the truth of this statement we have only the words of prejudiced historians, as there is no evidence, that either William the Duke, or Count Werlac, ever placed on record his version of the interview. That one in a conversation neither confessed nor denied a proposition is not possible. The truth is that Werlac did deny the charge, but his words falling upon the deaf ears of those determined to rob him, he was credited with neither confessing nor denying, so as to excuse their act of depriving him of his property without due trial and conviction.) We need not doubt that William was honestly anxious to preserve his duchy from internal disturbances, and to maintain himself upon his throne. But in this case his justice, if justice it was, fell so sharply and speedily as to look very like interested oppression. It was impossible to avoid the suspicion that William Werlac was sacrificed to the Duke's wish to make a provision for his half-brother. We are not surprised to find that the charge of having despoiled and banished his cousin on frivolous pretences was brought up against William the Conqueror by his enemies in later years, and was not forgotten by historians in the next generation, and the same judgment of gross unfairness is recorded by them all.

William of Corbeil, surnamed Werleng, Count of Corbeil, and de Mortaigne on Perche, was one of the participants of the opening of the hunting at St. Denis in the year 1050, and was one of the lords who affixed their seal to the record of the ceremony. Generally he made Mortaigne his residence, but the Duke William dispossessed him from there on a simple suspicion. He went over into Italy where Count Guiscard received him and brought him under some obligations thereby forcing him to remain there; but he came back to France, and passed the rest of his days at Corbeil, where the archbishop of Rouen, Mauger, his right cousin, received him. At last, rid of his war works, he retired from the world and made his abode at the abbey of St. Maur. [Ordericus Vitalis, page 660 and *Antiquities de Corbeil*, vol. 1, page 13.]

Richard de Goz de Avranches was brother of Robert Bigod. J. Pym Yeatman in his *History of the House of Arundel* says:—The family and history of Roger Bigod demands a more than passing notice, for upon it seems to hang the connection of the house of Albini with the lordship of Belvoir. English genealogists have failed to find anything respecting Roger Bigod, or to do more than speculate about the origin of his name; it is supposed that it was a personal soubriquet bestowed upon him in consequence of his being addicted to the oath "By God," which, it is represented, he was in the habit of using; but a recent discovery of the name, used in the form of "By Goat," found in an ancient ring,

makes that suggestion ridiculous; it may be that he might have adopted the use of this English oath after his settlement in England, although there is no evidence that he was addicted to swearing, but it is at least improbable that his father would use it and he (named Robert) certainly was called by the same surname, of that there can be no doubt, and very possibly Roger Bigot, was second of his name. A search for evidence respecting the name produced the fact that it was a very common one, borne by a great number of persons who were not akin to each other; it is not likely that these persons were all addicted to swearing, and especially to the use of a foreign oath, and, therefore, a truer derivation must be sought for; this seems to be found in the word "Visigoth," which might readily become Bigod; there is another possible derivation, and however rash it may seem, it cannot be overlooked. It seems tolerably clear that Robert Bigod was a younger son of Thurstan, or Torestin de Goys or Goz, Viscount Avranches; that he was a cadet of that family is clear, and that Torestin had a son named Robert is also quite clear. The proof appears in a charter made by Adeleme to Mont St. Michael, of the land of La Croix en Avranchin, about the year 1050, to which amongst others are the signatures of "Trustinci Vice Comitis," of "Richardii filii Turstinci," and of "Roberti frater ejus." (See page 92.) The word Goz is nearly God.

The Norman Chronicle (page 78) gives an account which seems to cap the probabilities of Robert Bigot being the brother of Richard; it states that a poor gentleman, a relation of Richard, Count of Avranches, being dissatisfied with his paucity of means, designed to go to Pouille, to place his sword at the disposition of Robert Guiscard, whither his cousin William had preceded him (though William would be his nephew, son of Humphrey Tillicul, who became Abbot of Euphemia); but, says the narrative, being over persuaded by the Count Gerlou, or Werlene (son of Count Mauger), to remain with him, he did so, and he treacherously betrayed his lord to the duke, giving him some particulars of a plot which he supposed his master was contriving against him. The evidence must have been at least doubtful, for when Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralf de Guader, Earl of Norfolk, conspired against King William, it was then made a complaint against him that he had banished Count Werlac for a single word; this is stated by Ordericus. By this betrayal Robert Bigod gained the confidence and favor of the Duke (William of Jumieres, Bk. vii, c. 22), who subsequently advanced him to the post of chamberlain, and made the fortunes of his family.

Thurstin was Lord of Hiesmes, the after possession of the House of Montgomery, he was also Viscount of Argentan, another after possession of the Montgomery family. Thurstin held the high office of Chamberlain to Robert the Magnificent, and accompanied him upon his fatal journey to Jerusalem, but, fortunately, returned with gifts to certain churches, and escaped participation in his master's fate.

Thurston gave great offence to Duke William by giving up Falcon to the King of France, for which he forfeited all his possessions, but afterwards regaining the favor of the duke, he was restored to such part of them as were not given to the duke's mother, Arlotta; a piece of injustice which was afterwards atoned for, by a marriage between Richard, son of Thurstin and Emma, the daughter

of Arlotta, by Guelbert de Crispin. Through this marriage Richard recovered the Vicomté of Avranches, but Argentan and Hiesmes passed to the Montgomeries. It was no doubt by reason of the marriage of Richard, Viscount Avranches, with Emma, his half-sister, that William the Conqueror advanced Hugh (his nephew), the son of this marriage, to the Earldom of Chester, when Gherbod, his son, or the son of the Queen Matilde, went home.

In the same manner Frank Forrester, the distinguished translator and annotator of Ordericus' works, says: William Werlenc, Earl of Mortaine, is only known by two passages in our author's history, and by the nineteenth chapter of the seventh book of William de Jumieges. As the circumstances connected with his being deprived of his earldom appear to have been little honorable to his sovereign, the Norman historians carefully abstain from enlarging upon them. There is a remarkable agreement among these historians upon the merits of this incident, as without regard to their bias of opinion they all say that it was a shameful act.

William having determined to banish Werlac made his arrangements with diabolical skill and judgment. Werlac's son Regnault had married a lady of the nobility of Northumberland in England, and he together with his wife and sons were then visiting her parents. Werlac's wife had died, so that he was alone in his castle of Mortaigne when he received a summons from William that he wished Werlac to visit him at the castle of Falaise, giving some trifling reason which amounted to an expression of desire merely to have the company of his beloved cousin. The unsuspecting Werlac accompanied by a single knight rode to the castle, where the interview took place, and the sentence of banishment was declared. When Werlac started to leave Falaise he found himself and his escort prisoners in the custody of an armed guard of the Duke's private troops, who without more ado rode with him beyond the borders of Normandy and well on into France before they released the prisoners and bade them begone on penalty of losing their lives if they returned. In the meantime Robert, the half-brother of William, had ridden with an armed force to Corbeil and Mortaigne and taken possession of the same together with all the lands, moneys, jewels, and clothing. In fact Werlac left his home in the morning the proprietor of the richest private possessions in all Normandy, and Robert came in the evening, and there had simply been a change of proprietors. There was no one to dispute his right, or even to protest against the high-handed and unlawful taking of another man's property.

Werlac, having been turned loose, hesitated to go to the King of France, for he did not know whether or not the Duke of Normandy had first secured the permission of the king before committing this outrage upon him, so he turned his head towards Italy. And with only the one squire to accompany him, and without funds, they traveled on south through France, crossed the Alps into Italy, and then on south to Apulia and Calabria to Robert Guiscard who received him with enthusiasm, although when he, Werlac, arrived there he was like a poor miserable beggar and nearly starved. Werlac was a man of unusual abilities both as a statesman and as a soldier and his coming to Apulia was hailed with delight by the best soldiers in all Christendom. Here he obtained rank, and lands,

for Robert Guiscard granted him the manor of Banestere in Calabria. Which name of Banistre some of his descendants in England bear to this day. But he was away from his old Normandy and his friends and his family. His son had returned to France where he found the king disposed to protect him and employed him as a soldier. Werlac therefore began a correspondence with the king which resulted in his being given certain concessions in France and finally the homesickness became unbearable and therefore we find that Robert Guiscard was not able to hold Werlac for many years, as he returned to France and made his home in the village of Corbeil. How long he remained in Italy has not been fully determined. He certainly was there long enough to in a large measure repair his fortunes and to secure the title to the lands which Robert Guiscard gave him. Ordericus Vitalis says:—The refugees then remained in Rome and Italy until the King's (William the Conqueror) death in 1087, (Book 2, page 418). In another place he says also:—The nobles said:—"He disinherited and drove out of Normandy William Werlac, Count de Mortaine, for a single word. Both of which statements would mean that he never returned. He was a much older man than the Conqueror and died long before him. The truth being that he did not return until just before his death, and, dying in a monastery, his presence and taking away probably passed unnoticed. For when Werlac returned to Corbeil he retired to the Abbey of St. Maur les Fosses. He had obtained a Charter from the King dated 1058, giving him the same rights as the Count Bouchard had in the possession of the Abbey, and upon his return to Corbeil, devoted much time and expense to reforming and redecorating it. The King was not entirely good friends with the Duke and his power of protection did not extend to the town of Corbeil. Moreover, so powerful, influential, and well-related an enemy would not have been tolerated. About 1064 William felt himself strong enough to make peace with his banished nobles, of whom there were quite a few, and it would seem that at this time he permitted this aged man to return to die in the Church of St. Maur.

Werlac died in the monastery of St. Maur a little after the 27th of May, 1067. [Society Historie & Archeologique de Corbeil de Etamps et du Huipoix, bulletins 10 and 5.]

La Barre, writing about the year 1430, states that in his time, there was in the Chapel of St. Babolin, at St. Maur, under the image of the Virgin, a tablet on which was written in French the following: 'During the time when King Philip reigned in France, in the year 1060, there was a count at Corbeil-le-Chateau, rich and powerful, great in war, devoted and pious, who being injured in a cruel way, he believed himself about to die, and thinking of his grievous sins, entered this house in devotion, and proposed, if it pleased God to give him his health, that he would take the habit in this house and remain there as a monk. His petition was favorably accepted and he was cured. Because of this he could not neglect to distribute his alms amongst the poor and rebuild the church, and on every occasion do as much good as he was able.'

La Barre also relates the following quaint story: 'It happened one day that, walking in the church, Count Werlac perceived that the sacred images were worn and falling to pieces and he therefore took upon himself the expense of renewing

them. To this end, he obtained the services of a workman named Rumolde, an expert in his work, skilful in everything pertaining to the arts, who prepared the things necessary to make an image where there had been one before in the Chapel of St. Denis. Just as he was about to commence the work, he heard a voice calling him by name. Rumolde, thinking it was the Count, left his work to go and see what he wanted, but he could not find him, although he searched for a long time, asking the monks, in vain, whom he met whether they had seen him. When he returned to his work, he found the image of Our Lady quite finished by the Grace of God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary. Rumolde later related this miracle to the Count, who said he had not called him, and to many others who weepingly thanked God for it.' La Barre adds, 'Of that which is written above, each one may believe as much as pleaseth him.'

While Guillaume or Werlac, after his return, was in Corbeil the inhabitants were greatly troubled by the plague caused by the intemperance of the season, which injured the crops and brought the famine. This followed so closely after the ravages of the pest of 1060 which had depopulated La Breipaque, the birth place of St. Jean Baptist, that it added very much to the sufferings of the people. Werlac devoted so much of his time to visiting the sick and gave so freely of his private means to the poor, and so feelingly extended his sympathy and encouragement in this time of great adversity that even to this day in Corbeil his name is spoken with veneration and respect. [Society Historie & Archeologique de Corbeil de Etamps et du Huipoix, bulletins 10 and 5.]

It must be borne in mind that Werlac was no longer Count of Corbeil, except by courtesy, and that therefore the land and other records of Corbeil no longer exhibit the course of descent of his family. Fortunately, however, the King of France was friendly and thus the records of the kingdom disclose sufficient to give us the next generation. All the authorities agree that the successor of Werlac was Regnault Count of Corbeil by courtesy of the King.

SECTION 2.

In order to appreciate the reason that induced Werlac to journey to Apulia and Calabria, we shall have to give a short account of the history of the Norman settlement in Italy. On all sides the Norman power increased during the prosperous reign of Richard the Good. Nor is this more conspicuous in the political history of his country than in the individual energy of his subjects. The Kingdom of Denmark also showed signs of renewed warlike vigor and disturbed England with her invasions. There was a great migratory movement of the Scandinavian people to the southern lands where their people were already settled and established. [The Normans in Europe, by Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A., page 79-86.]

Normandy itself at this date witnessed a similar movement. Hitherto the Normans had been fully employed in settling themselves in Normandy and in establishing their power in France. But now that their power was consolidated their country became too small for their energies, perhaps unable to support the rapidly increasing population, and the old spirit of adventure and distant conquest was aroused. In fact we have arrived at the period when Normandy itself

became the starting place for those expeditions which may be well said to culminate in the Norman Conquest. That, however, was undertaken by the duke himself. Those which now demand our attention were the result of individual enterprise. Spain first attracted them, and thither Roger de Toesny sailed to war against the Moors, and to found, if possible, a dominion for himself. This, however, had no lasting results. Far more important is the settlement of Normans at Aversa in Italy.

In the eleventh century many of the Normans seem to have wandered away into Italy, partly as pilgrims, to visit the sacred shrines, but ever ready to engage in any promising enterprise which might offer. Often called in by the princes of the south of Italy as mercenaries in their quarrels with one another, they finally were allowed to settle at Aversa by the Duke of Naples, and the town was built and fortified for them as an outpost against Capua.

Their character is thus described by a contemporary historian of Italy: This account exhibits the usual inability to appreciate the manhood of a nation not of the same language as the historian, when it says: The Normans are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities. They can stoop to flatter, but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion, and in their eager search for wealth and dominion they despise whatever they possess and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hawking and hunting, are the delight of the Normans; but on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toils and abstinence of a military life.

The condition of the south of Italy at the time was this. South of Rome lay the territories of the independent Counts of Naples and the republic of Amalfi. South of these again the Greek theme of Lombardy included all that part of the peninsula south of a line drawn from Mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno. This, recovered by Basil the Macedonian, still survived under its catapan or governor, the last remnant of the Eastern Empire.

Sicily, in the hands of the Moslem, formed part of the kingdom of Tunis, and had long been an object of desire to the Eastern Emperor. In the year 1038, Maniaces, Catapan of Lombardy, excited by the internal divisions which weakened the power of the Arabs, called in the aid of the Normans, and by their assistance regained at least the greater portion of the island. Maniaces, however, by his avarice and his ingratitude, alienated his new found allies and a quarrel ensuing as to the divisions of the spoil, the Normans returned two years afterwards to avenge the injury by attacking Apulia. The Greeks were defeated in a battle on the plains of Cannae, and after two years a few towns alone remained to the Emperor of the East.

The Normans, masters of most of Apulia, organized themselves into an aristocratic republic, consisting of twelve Counts, elected by popular suffrage. Amalfi was their capital; here the Counts dwelt, and administered their affairs in military council. The president of this remarkable republic was William of Hauteville, son of one Tancred, who, with his brothers Drogo and Humphrey, had left their home in Normandy in search of foreign enterprise.

The existence of this new power raised the jealousy of both East and West. In 1049, a league was formed between the Emperor of the East, Henry III, Emperor of the West, and the Pope to drive the Normans from the soil of Italy. But the Emperor of the East was called off by more imminent dangers at home, Henry III was engaged in German affairs, and Leo IX was left single-handed to oppose the formidable Normans with a handful of German soldiers. The Normans offered terms which were contemptuously rejected, and a battle ensued at Civitella. Here the papal squadrons were routed by the superior cavalry of the Normans, and Leo IX himself was taken captive. The Normans had all along professed themselves to be unwilling to fight against the father of Christianity, and now adopting the attitude of suppliants before their captive, they consented to hold Apulia as a fief of the Holy See, the Pope satisfying his scruples by the consideration that their dominions were included in the supposed gift of Constantine to the Popes of that day.

The Normans really received more than they gave. By this act of the Pope they gained a recognized position amongst the powers of Italy, and their future alliance with papal interests was dictated by sound policy.

The office of President, or first Count, after having been held by William, Drogo, and Humphrey in turn, passed to Robert Guiscard (the Wise) another brother of this prolific family. The fortunes of the famous Robert Guiscard remind us somewhat of his more powerful and scarcely more illustrious contemporary, William the Conqueror of England.

Conspicuous amongst his followers for his strength and grace of mien, Robert had signally distinguished himself at the battle of Civitella. In the wiles of diplomacy he was a match of the clever intriguers of the South, while his frankness and open-heartedness earned him the affection of his followers. His insatiable ambition led him to the highest flights of enterprise, in which he was checked by few feelings of justice or of humanity. Like many of his race he was avaricious and cruel; but these passions were subordinate to his lust for power, and his acts were those of the far-seeing but unscrupulous statesman marching directly to his goal, and not merely prompted by wantonness. To him rather than to his brothers is due the greatness of the Normans in Italy; and while his countryman Duke William was adding the crown of England to his ducal possessions, Robert succeeded in carving out for himself a noble principality in the sunny South. During the life of his brother Humphrey, his restless and ambitious spirit had been a cause of anxiety, and as long as Humphrey lived Robert was little better than a state prisoner. On Humphrey's death, however, the tender age of his children unfitted them to command, and Robert, gaining the suffrage of his people, was created Count of Apulia, and general of the republic.

Not content with his position, he completed the conquest of Apulia and Calabria, extorted from the hands of Pope Nicholas the ducal title, and henceforth styled himself "by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily." The limits of his territory in Italy correspond with the subsequent kingdom of Naples. It was composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalfi, and the inland dependencies of Beneventum, that city being retained by the

Roman pontiff. The medical and philosophical schools of Salerno, long renowned in Italy, added lustre to his kingdom; and the trade of Amalfi, the earliest of the Italian commercial cities, extending to Africa, Arabia, India, with affiliated colonies in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, enriched his ample domain. Excelling in the art of navigation, Amalfi is said to have discovered the compass. Under her Norman dukes she held the position of queen of Italian commerce, until the rise of the more famous cities of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice.

Under his wise rule and that of his immediate successors, the south of Italy and Sicily enjoyed a transient gleam of prosperity and happiness. Their equal and tolerant government, far surpassing anything at that day in Europe, enabled the Saracen, the Greek, and the Italian to live together in harmony elsewhere unknown. Trade and industry flourished, the manufacture of silk enriched the inhabitants, and the kingdom of Naples was at peace until she was crushed under the iron heel of a Teutonic conqueror. [The Normans in Europe, by Rev. A. H. Johnson, M. A., page 79-86.]

SECTION 3.

ROBERT, Duke of Normandy, son of Richard II, Chapter 6, Section 2, who succeeded to the dukedom under the most suspicious circumstances, being openly charged with the poisoning of his brother Richard III, was surnamed by his enemies the Devil, but no other evil deeds were ever brought against him, so that it is difficult to discern why he obtained so hard a nick-name among his own people. To his contemporary historians he was known as the Magnificent, which best accords with the reckless, extravagant liberality of his character. He is chiefly known in history for his marriage with Herleva or Arletta, chapter 9, section 3, the daughter of the tanner of Falaise, whom the duke had seen from the cliff of Falaise washing her feet in a neighboring brook. There had been a heavy immigration from Scandinavia and the Norse party in his duchy were stronger than ever, so to satisfy them he married Arletta according to the Danish customs, but those old Danes did not like to see the purity of the royal line from Odin contaminated by intermarriage with one of humble birth, and without royal lineage. The Norse nobility never forgave him for his breach of the laws of royal succession and consequently they could not find anything good to say of him. To them he was The Devil. For the line of those descended from Odin for all these many centuries had led to the Pagan gods, and to break this could only be the work of the evil one. The nobility tried to drive him from the throne, but in this they failed, although several revolts were the result of this bitter feeling against Robert le Diable. Brittany among other localities was ripe for rebellion and under Alan attempted to win independence. The uprising was a failure and Alan returned to his allegiance and thenceforth became the trusty supporter of Robert.

Robert became the protector of exiled princes. Among others he furnished an asylum for Baldwin IV of Flanders, who had been driven forth by his rebellious son. Robert was the principal factor in restoring King Henry to the throne of

France after the king's brother Robert, acting with their mother Constance, had set himself up as King of France. By Duke Robert's help the formidable league supporting Robert was overthrown, King Henry was restored and Robert his brother was compelled to content himself perforce with the duchy of Burgundy. In return King Henry granted Robert of Normandy the overlordship of Veixia, a piece of border land lying between France and Normandy, and thus the dominion of Normandy was extended up to Versailles and St. Germain, in fact to the very walls of Paris. So far Robert had been successful in all his schemes. In the next he undertook he failed indeed, but it may be said to have paved the way for the future conquest by his son. The Aethelings, Alfred and Edward, still remained exiles at the Norman court, neglected alike by Canute, who sat upon the English throne, and by their mother Emma, who had married Canute and forgotten her children by the ill-fated Ethelred. [The Normans in Europe, by Rev. A. H. Johnson, page 89-90.]

At first Robert had continued the policy of neutrality towards England inherited from his father, and had, so it is said by some, even married Estrith, sister of Canute, but the French genealogists do not recognize this marriage, or in fact, any marriage except the Danish marriage to Arletta. Considerable obscurity surrounds the subsequent history; but according to the most probable account, says the English Historian, a quarrel ensued owing to the ill-treatment of Estrith, whom no doubt the English king was, for motives of political policy, trying to marry to Robert. According to the views of the clergy Robert was unmarried and therefore this contemplated marriage would be perfectly allowable. Strange it is that it should not have occurred to these saintly men that it would be better to legitimize what had already been done. The Church at this time did not realize how closely it was to be associated with this pagan born son of Robert, Duke of Normandy. It is a well-known fact that the Conqueror had a brood of illegitimate children which the Church historians largely overlook, as, having admitted him to the odor of its sanctity, its historians seem anxious to give him a clear bill of morals. All this gives strong contrast to their treatment of Arletta the beautiful and the faithful.

Robert was loyal to his wife and retaliated upon the English by reviving the pretensions of the Aethelings, and claimed the cession of England to the rightful heir. Upon Canute's refusal, he attempted to invade England. Canute, however, was too firmly seated on the throne to be overthrown by this badly prepared attempt. The expedition failed, and the Dane remained in undisputed possession of his crown.

This ended Robert's political career. His life closed with a strange pilgrimage to the Holy Land, prompted by a fit of passionate remorse; probably for the one great crime of his life, the killing of his brother. The stories of this pilgrimage surround the name of Robert with the romance of a knight-errant. With ostentatious liberality his mules were shod with shoes of silver gilt, and carelessly attached by one nail alone that they might be lost and speak of the riches of him who had passed that way. Arrived at the court of Constantinople, he treated the Emperor with a rudeness and contempt which were best answered by the studied courtesy of the more refined monarch of the East. When he reached

the gates of Jerusalem we are told of the contest of liberality between him and the Emir, Robert paying all the tolls of those pilgrims who waited outside the gates, too poor to pay their fee for entrance, which the Emir, not to be outdone, returned on his departure. On his way home Robert's pilgrimage and life were suddenly cut short in Bithynia, where he died, some said, by poison. His last act well illustrates his extravagant, senseless generosity, the predominant feature of his character, and explains the reason of his name, "the Magnificent." [The Normans in Europe, by Rev. A. H. Johnson, page 89-90.]

Robert, Duke of Normandy, had two children by his wife Herleva or Arletta:
1. William, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England or William I, King of England, Chapter 8, Section 2.

2. Adelaide.

Most writers state, or rather assume, that William was the only child of Robert and Herleva. The lioness, they say, was bound to bring forth only a single cub. But Mr. Stapleton, who pried into every corner in Norman matters, has, in a paper in the *Archaeologia* (xxvi, 349 et seqq.) brought some strong arguments to show that William had a sister by the whole blood, Adelaide or Adeliza, wife of Ingelram, Count of Ponthieu. But he was there led into the mistake which he corrects in his *Rotuli Normanniae*, (ii, xxi.,) of confounding this Adelaide with her daughter of the same name. The elder Adelaide, William's sister was thrice married, and her daughter of the same name was the child of her first husband, Count Ingelram, of Ponthieu. She then married Lambert, Count of Lens, who was the father of Judith the wife of Waltheof. This Waltheof was Earl of Northumberland and son of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, brother of Lygolph the grandfather of Ormunda, who married Robert de Peshale. The third husband of Adelaide, senior, was Odo Count of Champagne. The older Countess Adelaide has been commonly taken to be only a half-sister of William, a daughter of Herleva, or Arletta, by her husband Herlwin, or Herloin. Perhaps she was looked on as such by William of Jumièges (viii, 37) who calls the mother of Judith "soror uterino Willelmi Regis Anglorum senioris" (sister of the same mother of William the elder, King of England); though it is just possible that the word "uterinus" may be used, as it is by the same writer, (vv. 20) in the general sense of "illegitimate." It seems remarkable how the English historians seem to like the words illegitimate, bastard and natural, all signifying children born out of wedlock. In this instance the only ground for the statement is their belief that the mother of so great a man could not possibly have had more than one child, which is not only untrue but is a rather poor reason for trying to make his sister appear illegitimate and thus cast a reflection upon the truly great Arletta. Mr. Stapleton's case rests mainly on a charter, which Mr. Stapleton prints, granted to the College (afterwards Monastery) of Saint Martin of Auch (Alcis), near Aumale. Adelaide is there distinctly called the wife of Ingelram and sister of William, and her daughters Adelaide and Judith are spoken of. After the death of her husband, she enriched the church of St. Sartin, and, while still young she had it hallowed by Archbishop Maurilius. Now Count Ingelram died in 1053, and Maurilius was Archbishop of Rouen from 1055 to 1069. Mr. Stapleton thinks that these dates better suit a daughter of Robert

and Herleva, who must have been born between 1028 and 1035, than a daughter of Herlwin and Herleva, who could not have been born before 1036. Mr. Stapleton's view is also supported by the words of Ordericus, who speaks (522 C) of Odo "qui sororem habebat ejusdem regis (Willelm) filiam scilicet Rodberti ducis." This same king (William) had a sister, daughter of course of Duke Robert. Thus we see that even Ordericus feels called upon to use the word *scilicet*, which can also be ironically translated as *forsooth*, thus insinuating but not actually saying that this Adelaide was not the sister of William. Here is the truth, the historians accepted William because he became the mighty arm of the Church. They could never forgive the pagan ceremony by which his parents became man and wife, so they compromised with themselves by insinuating that William's sister was not legitimate, although they were both born of the same parents and were the offspring of the same pagan marriage ceremony. So Robert de Monte, under the year 1026 preserves the name of Aeliz or Adelaide, daughter of Duke Robert, though he makes her the child of another and not of Herleva. This is doubtless an attempt to reconcile the existence of Adelaide with the belief that William was an only child. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 414.]

The next generation in the history of the family of Normandy brings us to one of the most remarkable men the world has ever seen, one of those who seem to be born to rule mankind. William the Conqueror is the representative of the masterful Norman character. His life is one long recital of extended successful struggles against opposing forces. It is said that as a babe he had clutched the straw upon the floor and refused to release his hold. This childish act is typical of his future life. Born to be resisted, yet fated to conquer.

In sketching the history of this man three battles mark the decisive epochs of ducal domination. Val-es-dunes, Varaville, and Hastings. The first two epochs are contemporary with the life of Werlac. The incidents of the other will be related in the next chapter in connection with the life of Werlac's son Regnault.

All the historians treat the emigration of Northmen in France as practically beginning and ending with Rollo. Had this been so, then in the course of the one hundred and fifty years they had lived in Normandy, the Norman settlers would have become Frenchmen, been Christians, and loyal vassals of the French king, for that is what Christianity meant for this people. It is evident that such a condition as this would have made the conquest impossible and the history of the English people would be vastly different in every particular. As has been shown time and time again, during all this period, the Northmen kept coming both into England and Normandy, in ever increasing numbers. In Normandy the Scandinavian emigrants were in such practical control of the duchy that they regulated the conduct of the ruling family, so that while the descendants of Rollo ruled as Dukes of Normandy in France, yet the old Norse laws, customs and religion were always those of the subjects and consequently of the ruler as well. This placed the ruler in rather a peculiar position: nominally a vassal and associate of a Christian king and a member of a Christian church, he yielded an open compliance thereto; but being a Northman, and having above all things to seek the pleasure of his subjects, he was yet a Pagan, and more or less openly followed

the customs and religion of his ancestors, the descendants of Odin. Contemporary with Rollo the Northmen obtained a footing in the Orkneys, and in Northumberland, England. In these places there thrived flourishing colonies of so-called Danes, who were related by actual close family ties to the folk in Normandy and Norway. There was therefore a constant interchange between all these countries, not only in commodities, but in personnel as well. All this served to keep Normandy as much Norse as though the inhabitants had never left their Northern home land. Many of them spoke French and built handsome Christian churches which they supported most liberally, but they were not French, neither were they English. They were Northmen and were very jealous of any infraction upon their old laws and customs, particularly where it referred to the unbroken line of succession from Odin. As we look back over the more than a century and a half since they had conquered Normandy, we can plainly see that if there was one thing more than another upon which the Duke's subjects were insistent, it was that the succession of rulers should be according to the old Danish law. From Rollo to William no duke of Normandy had ruled them but had been born of a so-called Danish marriage. To call William a Bastard was therefore but a protest—it was the humble lineage of William's mother which really excited the contempt of the haughty Norman nobles. In his very cradle the babe was cursed by William Talves de Belesme, the descendant of Ivo de Bellesme the trusty friend of Richard sans-Peur, "Shame, shame, shame, thrice shame," cried he, "for by thee and thine shall I and mine be brought to loss and dishonor."

William was only a child when his father died. Taking advantage of his minority, the nobles entrenched themselves within the fortified castles, defied his guardians, and harassed the country with their private quarrels. Among the most prominent of these was Roger de Toesny, whose grandson Robert de Toesni, surnamed de Stafford, was later the overlord of Peshale in Staffordshire, and who became part of that Northumberland colony which settled around or near the church of Stone Priory. The succession to the Dukedom of Normandy was far from secure. It seemed as though every scandalous tongue was loosened. To the churchmen it was whispered that to permit William to succeed to the throne of Normandy was an affront to the Holy Church, and rewarding one whose line was founded in a gross violation of one of her sacraments; that he was a bastard, about as vile a term as could be applied to a man. To the Norsemen it was whispered that he was not of the pure race of Odin, but his blood was yellow with the admixture of his mother's thrall ancestry, the daughter of the Pelletier of Filace, rich it is true, but still smelling of the vile odors of his stinking tanks with their unsavory contents. The times were, it would seem, indeed ripe for revolution. At this moment there came forward a claimant to the throne in the person of Guy, Count of Burgundy, the son of Renaud and his wife Alice, sister of Richard III, who claimed the duchy as his right by birth, and made a bargain with the lords of Cotentin and Bessin that they should hold their lands as overlords and that he would keep for himself the districts east of Dives. All of which was a very foolish agreement, as the Norman common people of both sections did not want a new master who was not of the Danish noble blood, and particularly one against whose ancestor they had fought. The Normans as a whole therefore

curled the rebels and wished well to the Duke. The rebellion however advanced. William was awakened from his sleep at Valogne by the warning cry of his court fool. "Up, up my lord Duke, open, flee, delay is death." With difficulty he escaped an attempted surprise and flying to the strong castle of Falaise, his birth place, summoned the faithful to his support. He then appealed to King Henry, who had tacitly sided with the rebels, and seized the castle of Tilliers, but seeing that his own interest was opposed to the house of Burgundy, which had tried to displace him as king, he rallied to the support of William. The forces met at Val-es-Dunes on a broad sloping plain some miles southeast of Caen, bounded on the west by the River Orne. Here a fierce hand to hand encounter of mounted knights ensued. No footmen are mentioned, showing how strongly the common people were yet inclined toward the line of Rollo. The struggle was long and severe; at last the rebels gave ground and were beaten back and they turned and fled. Many were driven by the hot pursuit of their foes into the River Orne. Here they were either drowned or slain as they attempted to cross and the mills, so the historians say, were choked by the bodies that floated down the stream. The results of this crushing defeat were decisive and as a result William was master of Normandy. But one noble held out. William Talvor de Belesme, William's old enemy, stirred up the men of Alecon so that they rebelled. When William approached their town with his armed forces they spread out skins over the walls and beat them shouting "Hides for the tanner; plenty of work for the tanner," in contemptuous allusion to his mother's lineage. The town soon after fell and William ordered thirty-two of the citizens to be brought before him. By his orders their hands and feet were chopped off and the dismembered limbs thrown over the castle walls as earnest of his vengeance. The garrison pitifully craving mercy, at once capitulated and William returned to Rouen.

This ended the rebellion—it was as though a jury had been called to pass upon the right of the succession to the duchy of Normandy and its lawfulness established in the only court that at that time could possibly pass upon the matters in dispute. It would seem that this would have settled the matter forever, but unfortunately history at the time was written by the clergy, and they could never see him as anything but a bastard. The stronger argument of his want of pure blood of the nobility of Odin has been entirely overlooked by these historians. It was this very fact, i.e. the necessity for the ruler of Normandy to be of the pure blood of Odin, which defeated the rebellion the church fermented against him, for had they seen with clear vision and with an understanding mind, they would have confronted him with an adversary of the whole blood. But that would have defeated their purpose for such a man would have been a Pagan and not a French Christian. Werlac at this time was not entirely converted to Christianity. In this crisis, as during the whole of his life prior to his banishment, Werlac loyally supported William. It is true that William did our ancestor a great and unwarranted injury, which in its final analysis was nothing less than plain stealing, nevertheless there is no reason why he should be undeservedly called harsh names, or unfair and foul reflections cast upon his mother, who is also our ancestor.

The life of William was one succession of wars and battles, the principal one of which was his victory at Varaville, a decisive victory in which the strategy of the duke was prominently displayed, in 1058 over the forces allied with King Henry of France who desired to humble the proud and powerful Norman Duke, and ending with the acquisition in 1063 of Maine which practically completed the history of William in Normandy. The Norman account of the conquest of England will appear in the next chapter in this book. The English account will appear in chapter 11. Long before Varaville, that is by 1050, Werlac, Count of Corbeil, had been banished from Normandy. The most marked characteristic of William's life was his love for his mother. After his father's death she married Herlwin, a Norman nobleman and by this marriage there were three children—Robert, Odo and a daughter Emma who was our ancestor, upon all of whom he showered great wealth and promoted them to the highest ranks.

According to Orderic, (660 B) Herleva was the second wife of Herlwin, whose son Ralph by a former marriage was also promoted by William. The honors shown by William to his mother seem to have struck writers at a distance. Besides William of Malmesbury just quoted, the Tours Chronicle in the French Duchesne (iii, 361) and the Limousin writer William Godell both speak of the honors he heaped upon her and mention the promotion of her sons. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 415.]

SECTION 4.

HAMON, second son of Mauger, Chapter 6, Section 1, was nicknamed Dentatus from having been born, it is said, with teeth. Early in life he is styled as of Corbeil, and by several of the old French historians the signiories of Thorigny, Granville, Brenilly, Cruelly, Berey and Marsy are assigned to him. He opposed the accession of Duke William because of illegitimacy, and attacked the King of France at the Battle of the Dunes in which he was slain.

He married Hadwise or Avvye or Elizabeth d'Avoye, widow of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, sister to the Emperor Otho, daughter of Henri l'Orseleur, and had two sons.

1. Robert Fitz Hamon, the Great, by the Grace of God Prince of Glamorgan and Earl of Corbeil. Robert Fitz Hamon accompanied William the Conqueror to England and gained the Battle of Glamorgan in Wales, and afterwards was General of King Henry the First's army in France, where he met his death.

2. Richard de Granville, Earl of Corbeil, who succeeded his brother, and who died on his journey to Jerusalem.

The story of Hamon Dentatus is intensely interesting although little is known of him beyond the fact that he took part in the rebellion of the principal Norman barons against the Duke William, says the historian;—

We have now reached one of the great epochs in the life of the Conqueror; we shall soon have to tell of his first battle and his first victory. Within a few years after the proclamation of the Truce of God, not this or that isolated baron but the whole nobility of the most Norman part of Normandy rose in open revolt against their sovereign. The prime mover in the rebellion was Guy of Bur-

gundy. He had been brought up with the duke as his friend and kinsman, and he had received large possessions from his bounty. Among other broad lands, he held Vernon, the border fortress on the Seine, so often taken and retaken in the wars between France and Normandy. He held also Brionne, the castle on the Risle, lately the home of William's faithful guardian Count Gilbert. But the old jealousy was never lulled to sleep; the sway of the Bastard was insupportable and, the greater the qualities that William displayed, the more insupportable was it doubtless felt to be. William had now reached manhood. After such a discipline as he had gone through, his nineteen years of life had given him all the caution and experience of a far more advanced age. He was as ready and as able to show himself a born leader of men as Cnut had been at the same time of life. The turbulent spirits of Normandy began to feel that they had found a master; unless a blow were struck in time, the days of anarchy and license, the days of castle-building and oppression, would soon be over. Guy of Brionne therefore found many ready listeners, especially among the great lords of the true Norman land west of the Dive. He, the lawful heir of their Duke, no bastard, no tanner's grandson, but sprung of a lawful marriage between the princely houses of Burgundy and Normandy, claimed the duchy as his right by birth. But if the lords of the Bessin and the Côtentin would aid him in dispossessing the Bastard, he would willingly share the land with them. This most probably means that he would content himself with the more purely French parts of the duchy, the original grant to Rollo, and would leave the barons of the later settlements in the enjoyment of independence. We can thus understand, what at first sight seems puzzling, why the cause of Guy was taken up with such zeal. Otherwise it is hard to see why the chiefs of any part of Normandy, why, above all, the chiefs of this more strictly Scandinavian part, should cast aside a prince who was at any rate a native Norman, in favor of one whose connection with Normandy was only by the spindle-side, and who must have seemed in their eyes little better than a Frenchman. We can thus understand the geographical division of parties during the war which followed. William is faithfully supported by the French districts to the east, by Rouen, and the whole land to the right of the Dive. These are the districts which the division between Guy and the confederate lords would have given to the Burgundian prince, and which no doubt armed zealously against any such arrangement. To them the overthrow of William's authority meant their own handing over to a foreign ruler. But by the inhabitants, at any rate by the great lords, of the Lower Normandy, the Scandinavian land, it would seem that the struggle against the ducal power was felt as a struggle for renewed independence. We are told indeed that the sympathies of the mass of the people, even in the Bessin and Côtentin, lay with William. This is quite possible. The peasant revolt may well have left behind it some abiding root of bitterness which would show itself far more strongly against the immediate lords of the soil than against the distant sovereign, who is in such cases always looked to as a possible protector. But the great lords of the western districts joined eagerly in the rebellion; and the smaller gentry, willingly or unwillingly, followed their banners. The descendants of the second colony of Rollo, the descendants of the colonists of William Longsword, and Harald Blaatand, drew the sword

against the dominion of those districts which even a hundred years before, had become French. Saxon Bayeux and Danish Coutances rose against Romanized Rouen and Evreux. We know not whether the old speech and the old worship may not still have lingered in some out-of-the-way corners; it is certain that the difference in feeling between the two districts was still living and working, just as the outward difference is still to this day stamped on their inhabitants. The foremost men of Western Normandy at once attached themselves to Guy, and joined zealously in his plans. First in the revolt was the Viscount of Coutances, Neal of Saint Saviour, the son of the chief who had, forty-six years before, beaten back the host of Ethelred. The elder Neal had died, full of years, during the days of anarchy, and his son was destined to an equally long possession of his honors. In the very heart of his peninsula stood his castle by the Ouve, already consecrated by a small college of Canons, the foundation of his grandfather, Roger, soon to give way to his own famous Abbey of Saint Saviour. This point formed the natural centre of the whole conspiracy. From that castle, Neal, the ruler of the Côtentin, commanded the whole of that varied region, its rich meads, its hills and valleys, its rocks and marshes, the dreary Landes by the great minster of Lessay, the cliffs which look down on the fortress of Caesar, and which had stood as beacons to guide the sails of Harold Blaaland to the rescue. The Viscount of Saint Saviour now became the chief leader of the rebellion, won over by the promises and gifts of Guy, who did not scruple to rob his mother of her possessions, and to bestow them on his ally. With Neal stood Randolph, Viscount of Bayeux, who, from his castle of Brichessart, held the same sway over the Saxons of the Bessin which Neal held over the Danes of the Côtentin. In the same company was Hamon, Lord of Thorigny; Lord, too, of the steep of Creully, where a vast fabric of later times had displaced his ancient donjon, and where the adjoining church bears witness to the splendor and bounty of the generation immediately following his own. Some personal peculiarity entitled him to bear, in the language of our Latin chroniclers, one of the most glorious cognomina of old Rome, and Hamon Dentatus became the forefather of men famous in British, as well as in Norman history. One loyal chronicler, in his zeal, speaks of the rebel by the strange name of Antichrist; but, as in the case of Thurstan of Falaise, the stain was wiped out in the next generation. His son, Robert Fitz-Hamon, was destined to set the seal to the work of Offa and of Harold, to press down the yoke forever upon the necks of the southern Cymry, and to surround his princely fortress of Cardiff with the lowlier castles of his twelve homagers of the land of Morganeg. Hardly less famous was a third baron from the Saxon land, Grimwald of Plessis, whose ancestors and whose descendants have won no renown, but whose own name still remains impressed upon his fortress, and whose sister's son became the forefather of a mighty house in England. Of her stock came William of Albini, who, like the Tudor of later days, won the love of a widowed queen, and whose name still lives among his works in the fortresses of Arundel and Castle Rising. By the help of these men the claims of the Burgundian became widely acknowledged. They swore to support his rights, and to deprive the Bastard of the duchy which he had invaded, whether by force of arms, or by the baser acts of treachery. They put their castles into

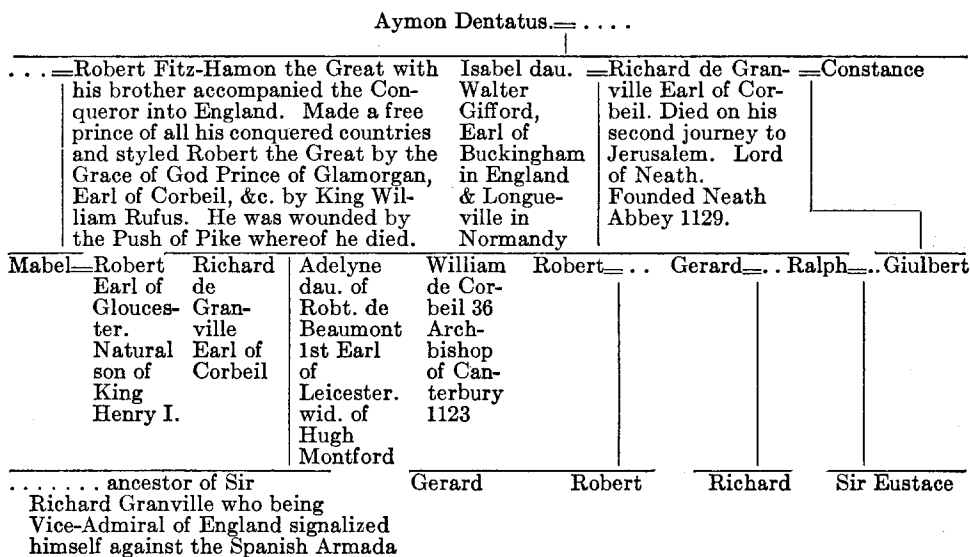
a state of thorough defence; they stored them for a campaign or a siege, and made ready for the most extensive and thoroughly organized revolt which the troubled reign of the young Duke had yet beheld. In this crisis, as during his whole life, Werlac loyally supported William. In this case Werlac and Hamon Dentatus, although brothers, were opposed to each other. We have followed Mr. Freeman's statement, as the very small list of great leaders he gives must clearly disclose how weak was the support of the rebellion. It was geographical position, and not the language and religion of the inhabitants, which determined the boundary lines of the proposed dismemberment of the Duchy. The Norse sentiment and the Pagan religion were uppermost throughout the whole state and everywhere William had the support of the Danes or Norsemen. This made the rebellion impossible of accomplishment. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 159-162.]

So secret was the plot that William was hunting in the woods of Côtentin when the revolt broke out, and only a hasty flight from Valognes to Falaise saved him from capture. As he dashed through the fords of Vire with Grimbald on his track, the Bessin and Côtentin were already on fire behind him; and their barons gathered at Bayeux swore on the relics of the saints that they would smite William wherever they might find him. They were soon to find him on the battlefield. The men of the more settled duchy beyond the Dive, the men of Caux and Hiesmes, the burghers of Lisieux and Rouen, of Evreux and Falaise, stood firmly by the duke. But William had no mind to stand the shock alone. Hardly twenty as he was, his cool head already matched the hot ardor of his youth; and he rode across the border to throw himself at the feet of the French king and beg for aid. The old alliance between the house of Rollo and the house of Hugh Capet, shaken as it had been of late, was still strong enough to secure the help he sought; and King Henry himself headed a strong body of troops which stood beside William's Normans on the field of Val-es-Dunes, to the southeastward of Caen. The fight that followed was little more than a fierce combat of horse surging backwards and forwards over the slopes of the upland on which it was fought, and ended in the rout of the rebel host. The mills of the Orne were choked with the bodies of men slain in its fords or drowned in its stream. [Green's Conquest of England, page 487-488.]

There was no difference of tactics, no contrast between one weapon and another; the fight of Val-es-Dunes was the sheer physical encounter of horse and man, the mere trial of personal strength and personal skill in knightly exercises. The king, as in such a fight any man of common courage could not fail to do, exposed himself freely to danger; but as far as his personal adventures went, the royal share in the battle was somewhat unlucky. Once, if not twice, the King of the French, the over-lord of Normandy, was hurled from his horse by the thrust of a Norman lance. A knight of the Côtentin first overthrew him by a sudden charge. The exploit was long remembered in the rimes of this warlike province, but the hero of it purchased his renown with his life. The king was unhurt, but the report of such an accident might easily spread confusion among his army. Like more renowned warriors before and after, like Edmund at Sherstone, like William at Senlac, it was needful that he should show himself to his

followers and wipe out the misfortune by fresh exploits. Henry was therefore soon again in the thickest of the fight; but less fortunate than either Edmund or William, the like mishap befell him a second time. The king presently encountered one of the three great chiefs of the rebellion; another thrust, dealt by the lance of Hamon, laid Henry on the ground; but a well-timed stroke from a French knight more than avenged this second overthrow; the Lord of Thorigny was carried off dead on his shield like an old Spartan. The king honored his valiant adversary, and, by his express order, Hamon was buried with all fitting splendor before the Church of Our Lady at Esquai on the Orne. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 2, page 170.]

The following chart will serve to show the descent from Haymon Dentatus:



Richard de Granville, Earl of Corbeil, (which discloses that Corbeil after the dismissal of Werlac became a divided manor), succeeded to all the Norman estates and titles of his brother Robert Fitz Haman, who is described in an old deed as "by the grace of God, Prince of Glamorganshire; Earl of Corboile, Thovigny and Granville; Lord of Gloucester; Bristol and Twekesbury and Ceadiff; Governor of Wales; near kinsman unto the King and General of all his Highness army in France." Richard received the lordship of Neath as his share of the Welsh conquest, went to the Holy Land and returning built the magnificent Abbey of Neath, 1129. He returned to Devon and died in his old age in a second visit to Jerusalem, taking upon himself the sign of the cross according to the custom of the times.

It will serve no good purpose to further amplify the descent in this line of the Corbeil family. What has been said will indicate the honors and property that came to those who were willing to prove their subserviency to the Conqueror and who were not in the line of those who might have lawfully succeeded to the throne of Normandy under the Roman Ecclesiastical law.

There was later a disposition manifested by this branch of the family to claim that they were of the elder male line of Corbeil as is described in the following license:—

Charles R. Whereas it appears unto us, that Our Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin John Earl of Bathe, Our Grome of the Stole and First Gentleman of Our Bedchamber, derives his Title in a direct line as heir male unto Robert Fitz-Hamon, Lord of Gloucester and Glamorgan in the Raignes of King William the Conqueror, King William Rufus and King Henry the First and who was the son and heir of the Lord Hamon dentatus Earl of Corboile and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy whereby he justly claims his Descent from the younger Son as We Ourself do from the eldest of Rollo the First Duke of Normandy Our Common Ancestor. In consideration whereof, and of the many Eminent Services performed unto us by the said Earl, We are graciously pleased to promise and declare That in case the Earldom of Glamorgan shall at anytime fall into the hands of the Crown during Our Regime for want of Heirs males of the present Marquess of Worcester by his Lady now living; as We are informed the same is settled by Our Royal Father of blessed memory. We will not again confer the said Earldome upon any other Family, but, restore the same to that of the Granvilles by creating the said present Earl of Bathe also Earl of Glamorgan to remain to him and to his heirs males, and for default of such issue, to the heirs males of Sr. Bevill Granville his Father and We are further graciously pleas'd for the Considerations aforesaid to allow and permit the said Earl of Bathe to use also those other Titles of Honor as Earle of Corboile, Thorigny and Granville as was formerly done by his Ancestors. And though the same hath been discontinued of late by

some of his late Ancestors yet We do hereby give full power and authority to the said Earl of Bathe not only for himself and his Posterity to use the same But in case he shall hereafter erect in memory of his Father or any other his Famous Ancestors any Monument or Inscription concerning him or them, to use the Name, Stile and Dignity of Earl of Corboile, Thorigny and Granville, in as full and ample manner as his said Ancestors formerly used before Normandy was lost from the Crown of England. The said Loyal Family of the Granvilles being then also sufferers with the Crown and then dispossessed for their loyalty out of their said Inheritance of the said Earldom and Lordships within Our said ancient Dutchy of Normandy; Whereof We have thought fitt at this time to make this Declaration of Our Royal Will and Pleasure as well in Justice towards a Family so Noble and Ancient by Birth and so Eminently deserving for their vertue and Loyalty to Ourself and Our Royal Ancestors from the Conquest to the present day; As also for a perpetual Example and Encouragement to Others to imitate the same. Commanding all persons whatsoever who are or may be concerned to take notice hereof. Given at Our Court at Whitehal this Twentysixth day of April in the Thirteenth year of Our Reign. Anno Dni. 1661. By His Maties. Command. (signed) Edw. Nicholas. (Grem. King R. Dr. Regm. Charles Mawson R. Croix. Extracted from the Register marked I 26, page 120, now remaining in the Herald's College, London and examined therewith by me. G. W. Collen, Portcullis, Pursuivant of Arms.

Copy of a letter accompanying the foregoing Licence. —Heralds College, 3 Aug. 1857. Dear Sir, I have made the inquiry I promised, and have found the Licence of King Charles II. dated 26 April 1661, granting permission to John, Earl of Bath, to use the titles of Earl of Corboile, Thorigny and Granville—the principal object in the Warrant is a declaration that if the Earldom of Glamorgan then enjoyed by the Marquess, should become extinct—

that the king would confer it upon the Earl of Bath.

It is under this latter head that the reference is made in the book and not under Corboile.

I shall be happy to shew this whenever you may call here. I am in waiting this month but shall be absent on Friday next, as I have an attendance in the House of Lords on that day. I am, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully, (signed) G. W. Collen. To John Hughes, Esq.