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The R E I G N of  
 10 W I L L I A M the S E C O N D,  
 SURNAMED R U F U S.

A<sup>5</sup>T the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son *Robert*,  
 upon some discontent with his father, being absent in  
*France, William*, the second son, made use of this  
 juncture, and without attending his father's funeral, hastened to  
*England*, where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince, the  
 nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*, were prevailed  
 20 with to admit him king, partly by his promises to abate the rigor of  
 the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been  
 then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of

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*Lanfranc*, for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection for his person. At *Winchester* he took possession of his father's treasure, in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he  
5 distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time *Robert* returned to *Normandy*, took possession of that duchy, with great applause and content of his people, and spighted at the indignity done him by his father, and  
10 the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade *England*; nor did there want an occasion to promote his interest, if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

15 *Odo*, bishop of *Baieux*, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being restored to his liberty and possessions in *England*, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing  
20 *Lanfranc* preferred before him by the new king in his favour and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of *Norman* birth to depose the king, and sent an invitation to *Robert* to hasten over. Meantime the conspirators, in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of *England* at once; *Bristol*,  
*Norwich*, *Leicester*, *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bath*, and *Durham*,  
25 were secured by several noblemen: *Odo* himself seized *Rochester*, reduced the coasts of *Kent*, and sent messages to *Robert* to make all possible speed.

The king, alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it his best course to begin his defence by securing the good  
30 will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his

9 and] and, 1768a, 1768b, 1769 17 or] and 1768c 22 Meantime] Mean  
time 1768a, 1768b, 1768c, 1769 24 Bath,] Bath 1769

forest, with other marks of indulgence, which however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raised great forces both by land and sea, 5 marched into *Kent*, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered *Tunbridge* and *Pevensay*, in the latter of which *Odo* himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the king to *Rochester*. This city refusing to surrender at the king's summons, *Odo* undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the 10 inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or seeming force; however, the king provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure *England*, sent him into *Normandy*.

15 By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke *Robert* were wholly disappointed, himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced 20 to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to *Normandy*.

About this time died archbishop *Lanfranc*; by whose death the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then 25 he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of *Canterbury* four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishopricks and abbies, and disposed all church 30 preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines

12 stubbornness] stubbornness, 1768c

for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe mens actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation, that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to  
5 two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first the successors of this king, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbies, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishopricks  
10 belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king's informers, and other instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the  
15 kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the same authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning.

By these and the like arbitrary methods having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in *Normandy*; but upon what ground or  
20 pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, That old oppressions are best justified by new; or, whether having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentments of duke *Robert*, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries than  
25 to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if *Robert* had not desired and obtained the assistance of *Philip* king of *France*, who came with an army to his relief. King *William* not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy  
30 supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftner, or with greater success, and that was, to buy off the *French* king with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that prince not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately

withdrew himself and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of king *William*; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his  
5 brother to banish *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and, for a further security, brought over with him to *England* the duke himself to attend him in his expedition against *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, who during his absence had invaded the borders. The king having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person  
10 to repel the inroads of the *Scots*: but the enterprize was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of *England* agreed  
15 to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manours) in *England* which *Malcolm* had held under *William the Conqueror*; together with a pension of twelve thousand marks.

At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and duke *Robert*, who soliciting the king to perform some  
20 covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to *Normandy*.

King *William*, in his return from *Scotland*, fell dangerously sick at *Glocester*, where, moved by the seasonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great  
25 marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anselm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the disposition of men who  
30 derive their vices from their complexions, that their passions usually beat strong and weak with their pulses, so it fared with this prince, who upon recovery of his health soon forgot the vows he

had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression, whereof *Anselm*, the new archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the king a sum of money by way of present; but  
5 took care it should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with scorn; and as he used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more. *Anselm* would not comply; and the king enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until at length  
10 the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the king's licence for a journey to *Rome*; and upon a refusal, went without it. As soon as he was withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converting them to  
15 his own use, and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbishop are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief collection, being of little use to posterity, and of  
20 less entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages. Not only this king's father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severely taxed for  
25 violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the church and court of *Rome* were in those  
30 ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independant state; the inferior clergy, both secular and regular, insisting upon such

14 refusal,] refusal 1769 31 independant] independent 1769

immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to *Rome*: for they reduced the matter to this short issue, That God was to be obeyed rather than men; and consequently the bishop of  
5 *Rome*, who is Christ's representative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither doth it seem improbable that all *Christendom* would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the *Roman* see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies, and in a good measure opened the eyes even of those princes and  
10 states who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of that Church.

While the king continued at *Glocester*, *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose  
15 about some circumstances relating to the homage which *Malcolm* was to pay, in the managing whereof king *William* discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the *Scottish* prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a  
20 powerful army, and, entring *Northumberland* with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion was carried on with equal precipitation, and  
25 proved to be ruinous in the event: for *Robert Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, to prevent the destruction of his own country, where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the *Scots*, who were then set down before *Alnwick*  
30 castle: there, by an ambush, *Malcolm* and his eldest son *Edward* were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the

24 passion] passion, 1768b, 1768c, 1769



death of queen *Margaret*, who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of *Malcolm*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance  
5 of king *William*.

About this time the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried but not extinguished in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions: duke *Robert* had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress,  
10 which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury: but no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them: the king, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded *Normandy* a second  
15 time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints. He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending intirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immediately raised in *England*, and sent over to him. The duke, to defend  
20 himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the king of *France*, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts; for, beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle,  
25 by preserving his neighbouring state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of *England*; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king *William*, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from *Wales*, sent  
30 offers to his army, just ready to embark for *Normandy*, that upon payment of ten shillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money

2 till,] till 1768c



was paid to the king of *France*, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king *William*, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this passage there are some circumstances which may  
5 appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an absent prince, engaged in an unjust war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit, as by his commission to raise twenty thousand men on a sudden, only as a  
10 recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to transport so great a number; that upon the very point of embarking he should send them so disgraceful an offer; and that so great a number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of  
15 money, equal to at least twelve times as much in our times; and that, after being thus deluded and spoiled at once, they should peaceably disband and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was  
20 then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops consisted of such men as were able to  
25 maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The king, upon his return from *Normandy*, made an  
30 unsuccessful expedition against the *Welsh*, who upon the advantages of his absence had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of *Chester*,

*Shrewsbury*, and *Hereford*. Upon the king's approach they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose. From hence he was  
5 recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for *Robert*<sup>o</sup> earl of *Northumberland*, overrating his late services against the *Scots*, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the king, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and  
10 was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The earl having disobeyed the king's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king *William*, and set up *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle*, son of a sister to *William the Conqueror*: but all was prevented by the  
15 celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed, and surprised the rebels at *Newcastle*, took the castles of *Tinmouth* and *Bamburg*; where the obstinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their persons,  
20 by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life.

About this time began the Holy War for recovering of  
25 *Palestine*; which having not been the enterprize of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in *Christendom* had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope *Urban* the second, in a council at *Clermont*, made a  
30 pathetick exhortation, shewing with what danger and indignity to *Christendom* the *Turks* and *Saracens* had, for some ages, not only

5 for Robert] for, Robert, 1768c 6 overrating] over-rating 1768c  
18 *Bamburg*] *Bamburgh* 1768c

overrun<sup>10</sup> all *Asia* and *Africa*, where Christianity had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into *Europe*, where they had entirely subdued *Spain*, and some other parts; that *Jerusalem*, the holy city, where our Saviour did so many miracles, 5 and where his sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of Infidels; that the swords which Christian princes had drawn against each other, ought to be turned against the common enemy of their name and religion; that this should be reckoned an ample satisfaction for all 10 their past sins; that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to heaven, and the survivors would be blessed with the sight of our Lord's sepulchre.

Moved by these arguments, and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took 15 upon them the Cross; and the council dissolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed so far in their several countries, that in most parts of *Europe* some great prince or lord became a votary for *The Holy Land*; as *Hugh the Great*, brother to the king of *France*; *Godfrey* duke of *Lorrain*; *Reimond* 20 count of *Toulouse*; *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprize: doubtless a notable mark of the 25 force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and industry of a certain *French* priest, 30 commonly called *Peter the Hermit*; who being at *Jerusalem* upon pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty

1 overrun] over-run 1768c 5 remained,] remained 1768c

30 upon pilgrimage] upon a pilgrimage 1768c

with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave  
5 him such credit with the pope, and several princes of *Christendom*, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the Infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in *Christendom* among all sorts  
10 of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims; who, at the siege of *Nice*, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse: and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for,  
15 besides several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took *Nice*, *Antioch*, and at last *Jerusalem*, where duke *Godfrey* was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprises, like  
20 a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years the piety of these adventurers began to slacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this spirit of devotion there succeeded a  
25 spirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the *Holy Land* became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to shew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

30 The Christians held possession of *Jerusalem* above eighty years, and continued their expeditions to the *Holy Land* almost as

10 men,] men 1768a 11 pilgrims;] pilgrims 1768c, pilgrims: 1769  
12 horse:] horse, 1768c 21 sink] sink, 1768c

many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of *Asia*, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new crusades; neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine  
5 men for uniting *Christendom* against the *Turk*, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

*Robert*, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his dutchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold; which sum was  
10 levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, towards the church and laity, as very much increased the discontents of both against the prince.

1099. I shall record one act of this king's, which being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of  
15 history.

As he was hunting one day in the *New Forest*, a messenger express from *Normandy*, brought him intelligence, that *Helie*, count *de la Fleche*, had laid close siege to *Mans*, and expected to carry the town in a few days; the king leaving his chace,  
20 commanded some about him to point whereabouts *Mans* lay; and so rode strait on without reflection, until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned; "They that love me, will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the  
25 mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himself prisoner,  
30 who raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed, "That this blow was from Fortune; but Valour would make reprisals, as he should shew, if ever he regained his liberty." This being told the king, he sent for the count, let him understand that he had heard of his

menaces, then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defyed him to do his worst.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let pass an action, by which he acquired more honor than from any  
5 other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without some seeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this king's reign that deserved to be remembered; for, as to an unsuccessful expedition or two  
10 against *Wales*, either by himself or his generals; they were very inconsiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity, either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty;  
15 although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in the *New Forest* in *Hampshire*, a large stag crossed the way before him, the king hot on his game, cryed out in haste to *Walter Tyrrel*, a knight of his  
20 attendants, to shoot; *Tyrrel* immediately let fly his arrow, which glancing against a tree, struck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprise of this accident, all his attendants, and *Tyrrel* among the rest, fled  
25 different ways; until the fright being a little over, some of them returned, and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to *Winchester*, where it was buried the next day without any solemnity, and which is worse, without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign, with a  
30 description and character of his body and mind, impartially from

2 defyed] defied 1768c 6 magnanimity,] magnanimity 1768c 19 cryed]  
cried 1768c 20 Tyrrel] Tyrrel, 1768a, 1768b, 1769 28 any] om. 1768c



the collections I have made; which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied, but he was well and strong knit. His hair was yellow or  
5 sandy; his face red, which got him the name of *Rufus*; his forehead flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health, and the frequent exercise of  
10 hunting; in his dress he affected gayety and expence, which having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in succeeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us the luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and  
15 vices, and that in a pretty equal degree, only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For being entirely a man of pleasure, this made him sacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular  
20 virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise: he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances; nor did he want skill and conduct in the process of war. But, his peculiar excellency, was that of great dispatch, which, however usually decried, and allowed to  
25 be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander, by surprising and daunting an enemy when he least expects it; as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as of wit and  
30 humour, upon occasion. There were several tenets in the *Romish* church he could not digest; particularly that of the saints' intercession; and living in an age overrun with superstition, he went

17 entirely] intirely 1768c 31 saints'] 1769; saint's 1768a, 1768b, 1768c

so far into the other extream, as to be censured for an Atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forebode him some misfortune, the king being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, The man was a Monk, and  
5 dreamt like a Monk, for lucre sake; and therefore commanded *Fitzhamon* to give him an hundred shillings, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a  
10 sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences. To supply these, the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent  
15 than the other, which put the king and his evil instruments (among whom *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression; whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

20 He is generally taxed by writers for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behaviour; which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient, for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflexions that may disturb them in the  
25 enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one instance that might shew him to have some sense of religion as well as justice. When two Monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he observed a third at  
30 some distance, who said never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer; the Monk said, he was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich; the king replied, Then you are

the fittest person to have it, and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reason enough, assigned more to caprice than conscience; for he was under the power of every humour and passion that possessed him for the present; which made him  
5 obstinate in his resolves, and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, most unbefitting a prince: This was, a proud disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture; and having already lost the love of his subjects by his avarice and oppression,  
10 this finished the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants; so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill-beloved, or so little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

15 He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of *Christ* 1100, *August* 2.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of *England* before or since, among which *Westminster-Hall*, *Windsor-Castle*, the *Tower of London*,  
20 and the whole city of *Carlisle*, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

1 gave it him] gave it to him 1768c 15 forty-third] forty third 1768c