THE HISTORY

OF THE

ANGLO-SAXONS,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE *NORMAN CONQUEST*.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.A.S. ET R.A.S.L.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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The incidents which principally contributed to excite Alfred's infant mind into activity (1), and to give it ideas more varied and numerous than childhood usually obtains, have been noticed in the preceding pages; as well as the fact, that he was passing the first twelve years of his life without any education (2). But although thus neglected, his intellectual faculty was too powerful to be indolent, or to be contented with the illiterate pursuits which were the fashion of the day. It turned, from its own energies and sympathies, towards mental cultivation; and attached itself to that species of it which, without the aid of others, it could by its own industry obtain. This was the Saxon popular poetry. In all the nations of the north, whether from the Keltic or Teutonic stock, persons were continually emerging, who pursued the art of arranging words into metrical composition, and of applying this arrangement to express their own feelings, or to perpetuate the favourite subjects of their contemporaries or patrons. By this verbal rhythm, however imperfect; by the emotions which it breathed or caused; or by the themes

(1) Alfred had the felicity of possessing a literary friend, Asser, of Saint David's, who composed some biographical sketches of his great master's life and manners. His work is somewhat rude and incomplete; but it is estimable for its apparent candour and unaffected simplicity. It is the effusion of a sensible, honest, observing mind. The information which it conveys has never been contradicted, and harmonises with every other history or tradition that has been preserved concerning Alfred. The merits of Alfred, therefore, are supported by a degree of evidence which seldom attends the characters of ancient days. But we shall be able to exhibit him still more satisfactorily, in his own words from his own works.

(2) See before, Vol. I. p. 298. Asser, 16. Malmsb. 45. Jam duodenis omnis literaturæ expers fuit.

with which it has been connected, the rudest minds, that have been most adverse to literature, have been always found to be impressible. Hence, before Alfred's birth, Saxon poems had been written; and in the court of his father and brothers, there were men who were fond of repeating them. Wherever they were recited, either by day or night, Alfred is recorded to have been, before he could read, an eager auditor, and was industrious to commit them to his memory (1). This fondness for poetry continued with him through life. It was always one of his principal pleasures to learn Saxon poems, and to teach them to others (2); and we have specimens of his own efforts to compose them, in his translation of the metres of Boetius. The memory of his children was also chiefly exercised in this captivating art (3). It had a powerful effect on Alfred's mind: it kindled a desire of being sung and celebrated himself; it created a wish for further knowledge; and began a taste for intellectual compositions. The muses have in every age had these effects. Their lays have always been found to be most captivating and most exciting to the young mind. They are the most comprehensible form of lettered intellect; and being, in their rudest state, the effusions of the feelings of the day, they excite congenial feelings in those who hear and read them. Poetry is sympathy addressing sympathy; and, if its subjects were but worthy of its excellences, it would lead the human mind to every attainable perfection. Alfred, though young, felt forcibly its silent appeal to the noble nature that lived within him; and when his mother promised the book of poems, already mentioned, to whichever of her sons would learn to read it, he sought an instructor, and never ceased his exertions till he had enabled himself to obtain it (4).

State of the Anglo-Saxon mind.

The merit of Alfred in voluntarily attaining this art of reading, now so common, was more peculiar, because not only his royal brothers, and most, if not all, of the contemporary kings were without it, but even that venerated class of the nation, in whom the largest part of the learning of their age

(1) Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor relatu aliorum sæpissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat. Asser, 16.

(2) Et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, aliis imperare. Asser, 43. Many princes were at this period fond of poetry. Eginhard mentions of Charlemagne, that he transcribed and learnt the barbara et antiquissima carmina quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, p. 11. In 844 died Abdalla, son of Taher, a Persian king, in Chorasan, who composed some Arabic poems, and was celebrated for his talents in many elegies by the poets who survived him. Mirchond, Hist. Reg. Pers. p. 9. In 862, Mustansir Billa, the caliph of the Saracens, died by poison; he wrote verses, of which Elmacin has preserved two. Hist. Sarac. c. xii. p. 154. Wacic, the caliph, who died 845, was a poet. Elmacin cites some of his verses. His dying words were, "O thou, whose kingdom never passes away, pity one whose dignity is so transient," ib. His successor, Mutewakel, was also poetical.

(3) Et maxime Saxonica carmina studiose dedicere, at frequentissime libris utuntur. Asser, 43.

(4) Asser, 16. Malmsb. 45.

usually concentrates, was, in general, ignorant of it. Such facts induce us to consider our ancestors with too much contempt. But we may recollect that literature was not despised by them from want of natural talent, or from intellectual torpidity. Their minds were vigorous, and in great and continual exertion; but the exertion was confined within the horizon, and directed to the objects, around them. The ancient world stood, in its recording memorials, like an unknown continent before them, shrouded from their sight by its clouds and distance, and kept so by their belief of its inutility. It was too unlike their own world, and too little connected with their immediate pursuits, for them to value or explore. They did not want its remains for their jurisprudence; their landed property; the rules of their nobility and feudal rights; their municipal institutions; their religion; their morals; their internal traffic, manners, amusements, or favourite pursuits. On most of these points, and in their legislative assemblies and laws, as well as in their private and public wars, they were so dissimilar to the Greeks and Romans, that the classical authors were as unserviceable to them as those of the Chinese are to us. This may explain that indifference of our ancestors to that literature which is really so precious. For if a magician could offer us a fairy wand, by which at our own pleasure we could transport ourselves to the busy streets of Athens or Rome, to hear Demosthenes harangue, or Socrates teach, or Virgil and Horace recite their immortal compositions; — or to make all the past ages live again before our sight, with all their applauded characters, and interesting incidents, who, that is not insane, would refuse the stupendous gift? The art of writing, combined with an ability to read, provides us with this wondrous power; and yet the highest ranks of the Anglo-Saxons would not acquire such a fascinating privilege. But their aversion, or their apathy, did not arise from proud ignorance or brutal stupidity. They neglected what we so dearly value, because it neither coincided with their habits of life, nor suited their wants, nor promoted their worldly interests. They had to fight for several generations to win their territorial possessions, and afterwards, from their mutual independence, to defend them against each other. The whole frame of their society, and the main direction of their spirit and education, was essentially, because necessarily, warlike. The continual attacks from the Sea-kings and Vikingr of other countries also contributed to make the preparation for battle, military vigilance, and repeated conflicts, the inevitable and prevailing habits of their life and thoughts. Classical literature could have then been only a subject of speculative curiosity to their retired clergy, inapplicable to any of the daily pursuits of the laity; and, by its pagan mythology, rather impeding than assisting the devotion of their monasteries. For their religion and morals they had higher sources in their revered Scriptures; and for their rights

and ceremonies they had sufficient teachers, occasionally from Rome, and generally in their native clergy. To these, indeed, a small portion of Latin was necessary for the correct reading and due understanding of their breviaries. But to the rest of society it was not more practically essential, than the scientific astronomy of a Newton or La Place to ourselves. It would have improved their minds, and enlarged their knowledge, and produced beneficial effects; but all the daily business of their lives could be, and was, very ably transacted without it. Hence the intellects of our ancestors are no more to be impeached for their ignorance of classical literature, than ours are for our inability to perform their martial exercises; or for the absence of that great mass of discoveries and improvements, which we hope that a few more centuries will add to the stock we now possess. We may likewise add, that there is no convincing evidence that the Anglo-Saxon public were much more deficient in the art or habit of reading, than the public of the Roman empire, whom the Gothic nations subdued. It is probable that the bulk of mankind, in the ancient world, was always as illiterate as our Saxon forefathers. We too gratuitously ascribe a literary cultivation to the whole Grecian and Roman population. Many enlightened minds and great authors emerged from the various provinces, and produced that stream of intellect which has so highly enriched the world, and given a new source of happiness to human life. But we must not take the writers in the Latin language that have survived to us, as the general samples of their contemporaries. The more this subject is studied, the more clearly it will be perceived that there was less difference between the intellectual state of the mass of the people before and after the Gothic irruptions, than has been usually supposed. It is the art of printing which, by making the diffusion of knowledge so easy, has created that vast distinction in this respect, which is now every where observable in Europe, and in which we so justly exult; and yet, until lately, how many, even amongst ourselves, have passed through life, not unreputably, without that instruction, for the absence of which our predecessors have been so strongly arraigned! What was our national multitude in this respect even a single century ago? Before Addison made reading popular, what were our farmers, artisans, tradesmen, females, and the generality of our middling gentry? It was therefore a defect, but no peculiar stain, that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were an illiterate population. More gratitude is due to those who, in an age so unfavourable, could desire and attain an intellectual cultivation.

But in this state, even before increased wealth and population had given to some part of society both leisure and desire for objects of mere intellectual curiosity, a few soaring minds occasionally emerged among the Anglo-Saxons, who became inquisitive beyond the precincts of their day. One of these was Alfred. Led by the

encouragement of his step-mother to attain the art of reading, it was happy for his country that he endeavoured to pursue it. If he had not made this acquisition, he would have been no more than many of the race of Cerdic had been before him. But the love of study arising within him, and gradually bringing to his view the anterior ages of human history, and all their immortalised characters, the spark of moral emulation kindled within him; he strove for virtues which he could not else have conceived; he aspired to the fame which only these will bestow; and became a model of wisdom and excellence himself for other generations to resemble. In no instance has an immortal renown been more clearly the result of literary cultivation, than in our venerated Alfred. It was his intellectual improvement which raised him from a half-barbaric Saxon to a high-minded, patriotic, and benevolent sage, whose wisdom, as will be presently shown, still lives to instruct and interest even an age so superior as our own.

But the Anglo-Saxon poetry, to which Alfred first directed his application, was but scanty and barren, and must have been soon exhausted. To gratify his increasing intellectual propensities, he had to go far beyond his contemporaries, and to become himself the architect of his knowledge. Modern education deprives modern men of this merit, because all parents are at present anxious to have their children taught whatever it is honourable to know. To be intelligent now is even more necessary than to be affluent, because Mind has become the invisible sovereign of the world; and they who cultivate its progress, being diffused every where in society, are the real tutors of the human race; they dictate the opinions, they fashion the conduct of all men. To be illiterate, or to be imbecile, in this illumined day, is to be despised and trodden down in that tumultuous struggle for wealth, power, or reputation, in which every individual is too eagerly conflicting. In the days of Alfred, the intellect was a faculty which no one considered distinct from the pursuits of life: and therefore few thought of cultivating it separately from these, or even knew that they possessed it as a distinct property of their nature.

Illiteracy of the clergy.

It is difficult to conceive how much even churchmen partook of the most gross ignorance of the times; "Very few were they," says Alfred, "on this side the Humber (the most improved parts of England), who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any letter from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber; they were so few, that I indeed cannot recollect *one single instance* on the south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom (1)." On less authority

(1) Swithe feawe wæron behionan Humbre the hiora thenunga cuthen understandan on Englisc oththe furthum an ærendgewrit of Gædene on Englisc areccan and ic wene thæt te nauht monige begeondan Humbre næren: swa feawe hiora wæron thætte ic furthum anne anlepne ne mæg gethencean be suthan Temese tha tha ic to rice feng. Alfred's Preface, p. 82. Wise's Asser.

than his own we could hardly believe such a general illiteracy among the clergy, even of that day: it is so contrary to all our present experience. The earls, governors, and servants of Alfred, were as uninformed. When the king's wise severity afterwards compelled them to study reading and literature, or to be degraded, they lamented that in their youth they had not been instructed; they thought their children happy who could be taught the liberal arts, and mourned their own misfortune, who had not learnt in their youth; because in advanced life they felt themselves too old to acquire what Alfred's commands imposed as a duty, and by his example had made a wish (1).

Alfred's self-education.

When Alfred began his own education, he had not only to find the stimulus in himself, to cherish it in opposition to the prejudices and practice of his countrymen, and to search out his own means, but he had also to struggle against difficulties which would have extinguished the infant desire in a mind of less energy. His principal obstacle was the want of instructors. "What," says his friend, who happily for posterity has made us acquainted with the private feelings as well as public pursuits of this noble-minded sovereign, "what, of all his troubles and difficulties, he affirmed with frequent complaint and the deep lamentations of his heart to have been the greatest, was, that when he had the age, permission, and ability to learn, he could find no masters (2)." When Alfred had attained the age of maturity, and by the dignity to which he succeeded had gained the means of obtaining instruction, he was almost disabled from profiting by the advantage. A disease, his daily and nightly tormentor, which his physicians could neither remedy nor explore; the duties and anxieties inseparable from his royal station; the fierce aggressions of the Northmen, which on sea and land demanded his presence and exertions, so afflicted and consumed his future life, that though he got a few masters and writers he was unable to enjoy their tuition (3). It is admirable to see, that notwithstanding impediments, which to most would have been insuperable, Alfred persevered in his pursuit of improvement. The desire of knowledge, that inborn instinct of the truly great, which no gratifications could saturate, no obstacles discourage, never left him but with life (4). If Alfred succeeded in his mental cultivation, who should despair?

It has been already hinted, that the Anglo-Saxon language had been at this period very little applied to the purposes of literature. In their vernacular tongue, Cedmon and Aldhelm had sung, but almost all the learning of the nation was clothed in the Latin phrase. Bede had in this composed his history, and his multifarious treatises on chronology, grammar, rhetoric, and other subjects of erudition. The other lettered monks of that day, also ex-

(1) Asser, 71. (2) Ibid. 17. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

pressed themselves in the language, though not with the eloquence, of Cicero. In the same tongue the polished Alcuin expressed all the effusions of his cultivated mind. The immortalised classics had not been as yet familiarised to our ancestors by translations; he, therefore, who knew not Latin, could not know much.

From the period of his father's death in 858, to his accession in 871, Alfred had no opportunity of procuring that knowledge which he coveted. Such feelings as his could not be cherished by elder brothers who were unacquainted with them, or by a nation who despised them. When he verged towards manhood he was still unable to obtain instructors, because his influence was small, and his patrimony was withheld (1). The hostilities of the Northmen augmented every obstacle: on every occasion they burnt the books which the Anglo-Saxons had collected, and destroyed the men who could use them, in their promiscuous persecution of the Christian clergy. Their presence also compelled Alfred repeatedly into the martial field, and from these united causes his ardent thirst for knowledge remained ungratified, until the possession of the crown invested him with the wealth and influence of the West-Saxon kings.

But on receiving the crown, he exerted himself to remove the ignorance of divine and human learning which he had been so long lamenting in himself. He sent at various intervals to every part, abroad and at home, for instructors capable of translating the learned languages. Like the sagacious bee, says his honoured friend, which, springing in the dawn of summer from its beloved cells, wheels its swift flight through the trackless air, descends on the shrubs and flowers of vegetable nature, selects what it prefers, and brings home the grateful load; so Alfred, directing afar his intellectual eye, sought elsewhere for the treasure which his own kingdom did not afford (2).

Alfred's subsequent instructors.

His first acquisitions were Werfrith, the bishop of Worcester, a man skilled in the Scriptures; Plegmund, a Mercian, who was made archbishop of Canterbury, a wise and venerable man; Ethelstan and Werwulf, also Mercians, and priests. He invited them to his court, and endowed them munificently with promotions; and by their incessant exertions, the studious passion of Alfred was appeased. By day and by night, whenever he could create leisure to listen, they recited or interpreted to him the books he commanded; he was never without one of them near him: and by this indefatigable application,

(1) Alfred details the particulars in his will: he says, that Ethelwulph left his inheritance to Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, and to the survivor of them; and that on Ethelbald's death, Ethelred and Alfred gave it to Ethelbert, their brother, on condition of receiving it again at his decease; when Ethelred acceded, Alfred requested of him, before all the nobles, to divide the inheritance, that Alfred might have his share, but Ethelred refused. Asser, 73.

(2) Asser, p. 45.

though he could not himself understand the learned languages as yet, he obtained a general knowledge of all that books contained (1).

The information which the king acquired rather disclosed to him the vast repositories of knowledge, of which he was ignorant, than satisfied him with its attainment. The more he knew, the more tuition he craved. He sent ambassadors over the sea into France, to inquire for teachers there. He obtained from that country Grimbald, the priest and monk, who had treated him kindly in his journeys, and who is described as a respected man, learned in the writings he revered, adorned with every moral excellence, and skilled in vocal music. He obtained another literary friend, of talents and acquisitions much superior, and indeed worthy of Alfred's society. This was Johannes Erigena, or John the Irishman, a monk of most penetrating intellect, acquainted with all the treasures of literature, versed in many languages, and accomplished in many other arts. By these acquisitions the mind of Alfred was greatly expanded and enriched, and he rewarded their friendship with princely liberality (2).

The merit of Asser also reached the king's ear, which was open to every rumour of extraordinary merit.

His invitation of Asser.

"I was called by the king," says this plain, but interesting biographer, "from the western extremities of Wales. I accompanied my conductors to Sussex, and first saw him in the royal city of Dene. I was benignantly received by him. Amongst other conversation, he asked me earnestly to devote myself to his service, and to become his companion. He requested me to leave all my preferments beyond the Severn, and he promised to compensate them to me by greater possessions (3)." Asser expressed an hesitation at quitting without necessity, and merely for profit, the places where he had been nourished, and taken orders. Alfred replied, "If this will not suit you, accommodate me with at least half of your time. Be with me six months, and pass the rest in Wales." Asser declined to engage himself till he had consulted his friends. The king condescended to repeat his solicitations, and Asser promised to return to him within half a year; a day was fixed with a pledge for his visit; and on the fourth day of their interview, Asser quitted him to go home (4).

A fever seized the Welshman at Winton, and continued to oppress him for a year (5). The king, not seeing him at the appointed day, sent letters to inquire into the cause of his tarrying, and to accelerate his journey. Asser, unable to stir, wrote to acquaint him with the disease; but, on his recovery, he advised with his friends, and, on receiving their assent, he attached himself to Al-

(1) Asser, p. 46. (2) Ibid. 46, 47. (3) Ibid. 47.
(4) Ibid. 47, 48. (5) Ibid. 48.

fred for a moiety of every year. The clergy of St. David's expected that Alfred's friendship for Asser would preserve their patrimony from the depredations of Hemeid (1). "I was honourably received in the royal city of Leonaford," says Asser, "and that time staid eight months in his court. I translated and read to him whatever books he wished, which were within our reach; for it was his peculiar and perpetual custom, day and night, amidst all his other afflictions of mind and body, either to read books himself or to have them read to him by others." Asser states the donations with which Alfred remunerated his attachment (2). No eloquence can do more honour to any human character, than this unadorned narration. The condescension, benignity, the desire of improvement, and the wise liberality of Alfred, are qualities so estimable, as to ensure the veneration of every reader.

His invitation of Grimbald.

The manner of his obtaining the society of Grimbald, was an evidence of the respect and delicacy with which he treated those whom he selected for his literary companions. He sent an honourable embassy of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and religious laymen, to Fulco, the archbishop of Rheims, within whose district Grimbald resided (3). He accompanied his mission with munificent presents (4), and his petition was, that Grimbald might be permitted to leave his functions in France, and to reside in England. The ambassadors engaged for Alfred that Grimbald should be treated with distinguished honour during the rest of his life (5). The archbishop, in his letter to Alfred, speaks highly of the king's administration of his government (6), and commends the merit of Grimbald (7). Fulco adds, that it was with

(1) Asser, 49. Hemeid was one of the Welsh princes contiguous to St. David's.

(2) Asser, 50. On the morning of Christmas eve, when Asser was determining to visit Wales, the king gave him two writings, containing a list of the things which were in the two monasteries at Ambresbury, in Wiltshire, and Banwell, in Somerset. In the same day, Alfred gave him those two monasteries, and all that they contained, a silk pall, very precious, and as much incense as a strong man could carry; adding, that he did not give him these *trifles* as if he was unwilling to give him greater things. On Asser's next visit, the king gave him Exeter, with all the parishes belonging to it in Saxony and Cornwall, besides innumerable daily gifts of all sorts of worldly wealth. He gave him immediate permission of riding to the two monasteries, and then of returning home, p. 50, 51.

(3) Fulco's letter to Alfred on this subject is yet extant. It is printed at the end of Wise's Asser, p. 123–129. He says, p. 128., "Eum ad vos mittendum cum suis electoribus et cum nonnullis regni vestri proceribus vel optimatibus tam Episcopis scilicet, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, quam etiam religiosis Laicis," etc. In p. 126., he starts a curious metaphor. He says, "Misistis siquidem nobis licet generosos et optimos tamen corporales atque mortales *canes*," etc. This rhetorical metamorphosis is pursued for thirteen lines. These noble dogs were to drive away the irreligious wolves; and he says, they came to desire some other dogs, not the dumb dogs mentioned by the prophet, but good noisy dogs who could bark heartily, "Pro domino suo magnos latratus fundere." One of these was Grimbald. Fulco may have strayed into a joke, but he intended a serious compliment.

(4) Wise's Asser, p. 126.

(5) Ibid. p. 128.

(6) Ibid. p. 123.

(7) Ibid. p. 127.

great personal pain that he permitted him to be taken from France. The liberality of Alfred overcame his reluctance, and Grimbald became a companion of the king of Wessex.

In 887, Alfred obtained the happiness he had long coveted, of reading the Latin authors in their original language. Asser has noted the date of the circumstance, and described its occurrence. As the monarch and his friend were sitting together, and, as usual, discoursing in the royal apartments, it happened that Asser made a quotation. The king was struck with it, and taking from his bosom his little book of devotion, he required that it might be inserted in it. Asser found no room in the little manual of his piety, and after some hesitation, calculated to increase his desire, proposed to put a few other leaves together, for the purpose of preserving any passages that might please the king. Alfred assented; the new book was made; the quotation was entered, and soon two more, as they occurred in the conversation. The king, pleased with the sentiments, began to translate them into Saxon. The book became full of diversified extracts. The first were from the Scriptures, others from all subjects. Alfred was delighted with his new talent; and the book became a perpetual companion, in which he declared he had no small recreation (1).

To John Erigena, to Grimbald, to Asser, and Plegmund, Alfred himself ascribes his acquisition of the Latin language (2).

His desire to improve his people was so ardent, that he had scarcely made the attainment before he was active to make it of public utility. He beheld his subjects ignorant and barbarous, and he wisely judged that he should best amend their condition by informing their minds. Let us hear his own phrases giving voice and perpetuity to his patriotic and intelligent feelings.

Alfred's preface.

He first recalls to the mind of his correspondent, that even the Anglo-Saxons had once been more learned than he found them. "I wish thee to know that it comes very often into my mind what wise men there were in England, both laymen and ecclesiastics, and how happy those times were to England! how the kings, who then had the government of the people, obeyed God and his messengers! how they both preserved their peace, their customs, and their power at home, and increased their territory abroad, and how they prospered both in wisdom and in war! The sacred profession was diligent both to teach and to learn, and in all the offices which they should do to God. Men from abroad sought wisdom and learning hither in this country,

(1) Asser, 56, 57. In quo non mediocre, sicut tunc aiebat, habebat solatium.

(2) Swe swe ic hie geleornode æt Plegmunde, minum ærcebiscewe; and et Asserie, minum biscewe; and æt Grimbolde, minum messewreoste; and æt Johanne, minum messewreoste. Alfred's Preface to his Gregory's Pastorals. Wise, p. 85.

though we now must go out of it to obtain knowledge, if we should wish to have it (1)."

The king contrasts with this account the state of England in his time.

"So clean was it fallen out of England, that there are very few on this side of the Humber who understand to say their prayers in English, or to translate any letter from Latin into English; and I know that there were not many beyond the Humber; so few were they that I indeed cannot think of a single instance south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom."

Recollecting here the success of his own exertions, he exclaims, "Thanks be to Almighty God, that we have now some teachers in our stalls (2)!"

The father of his people, and the benevolent man, appear strikingly in the expressions which he continues to use: "Therefore I direct that you do, as I believe that you will, that you who have leisure for the things of this world, as often as you can, impart that wisdom which God has given you, wherever you can impart it. Think what punishments will come upon us from this world, if we shall have neither loved it ourselves, nor left it to others: we shall have had only the name of Christians, and very few of their proper habits.

"When I recollect all this, I also remember how I saw, before that every thing was ravaged and burnt, that the churches through all the English nation stood full of vessels and books, and also of a great many of the servants of God."

This statement alludes to the times in which Bede flourished, and when Alcuin was educated; but after that period, the Saxon mind declined from its beginning literature. Other occupations occurred during the interval in which their octarchy was passing into a monarchy, from the feuds and wars, and mutations of fortune which this political crisis occasioned, which the Northmen's invasions increased, and which monopolised their time, passions, and activity.

"They knew very little of the use of their books, because they could not understand any thing in them, as these were not written in their own language, which they spoke. Our ancestors, that held these places before, loved wisdom, and through this they obtained abundance of it, and left it to us. Here we may yet see their treasures, though we are unable to explore them; therefore we have now lost both their wealth and their wisdom, because we have not been willing with our minds to tread in their steps (3).

"When I remembered all this, then I wondered greatly that of those good wise men who were formerly in our nation, and who had all learnt fully these books, none would translate any part into

(1) This preface is published by Wise, at the end of his life of Asser, from the Bodleian MSS. Jun. 53.

(2) Wise, p. 82. (3) Ibid. p. 83.

their own language; but I soon answered myself and said, they never thought that men would be so reckless, and that learning would be so fallen. They intentionally omitted it, and wished that there should be more wisdom in the land, by many languages being known.

"I then recollected how the law was first revealed in the Hebrew tongue, and that after the Greeks had learned it, they turned it all into their own language, and also other books; and the Latin men likewise, when they had learned it, they, by wise foreigners, turned it into their tongue; and also every other Christian nation translated some part (1)."

The wise, the active-minded, but unassuming king, proceeds modestly to say to the bishop he addresses, "Therefore I think it better, if you think so, that we also translate some books, the most necessary for all men to know, into our own language, that we all may know them; and we may do this, with God's help, very easily, if we have stillness; so that all the youth that now are in England, who are free men, and have so much wealth as that they may satisfy themselves, be committed to learning, so that for a time they may apply to no other duty till they first well know to read English writing. Let them learn further the Latin language, they who will further learn, and will advance to a higher condition (2)."

"When I remembered how the learning of the Latin tongue, before this was fallen through the English nation, and yet many could read English, then began I, among much other manifold business of this kingdom, to turn into English the book named Pastoralis, or the Herdsman's Book, sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, so as I had learned of Plegmund, my archbishop; and of Asser, my bishop; of Grimbold, my mass priest; and of John, my mass priest; and as I understood and could most intellectually express it, I have turned it into English (3)."

What a sublime, yet unostentatious, character appears to us in these artless effusions! A king, though in nation, age, and education, almost a barbarian himself, yet not merely calmly planning to raise his people from their ignorance, but amid anxiety, business, and disease, sitting down himself to level the obstacles by his own personal labour, and to lead them, by his own practice, to the improvements he wished!

We proceed to notice the translations of Alfred. The preceding

(1) Wise, p. 84. (2) Ibid. p. 85.

(3) Wise, p. 85. He concludes with, "I will send one copy to every bishop's seat in my kingdom: and on every one there shall be an æstel that shall be of fifty manscuses; and I entreat in God's name, that no man take the æstel from the book, nor the book from the minister. It is uncertain how long there may be learned bishops such as now they are, thank God, every where. Hence I wish that they should always be at these places, unless the bishops should desire to have it with them, or to lend it any where, or to write another from it." Ibid. p. 86. What the æstel meant that was to be so costly is not precisely known.

preface mentions his determination to translate some books. The life of St. Neot says, that he made many books (1). Malmsbury affirms, that he put into English a great part of the Roman compositions (2); and the more ancient Ethelwerd declares, that the number of his versions was not known (3). The first of these, which we shall consider as the most expressive exhibition of his own genuine mind, is his translation of Boetius.

CHAPTER II.

Alfred's Translation of Boetius's Consolations of Philosophy. — Alfred considered as a Moral Essayist. — His Thoughts, Tales, and Dialogues on various Subjects.

His translation of Boetius.

Boetius flourished at the close of the fifth century (4). He was master of the offices to Theodoric, king of the Goths, who had the discernment to appreciate his intellectual acquisitions (5), but who at last destroyed him, from a political suspicion, in 524 (6). While he was in prison on this charge, he wrote his celebrated book, de Consolatione Philosophiæ, whose object is to diminish the influence of riches, dignity, power, pleasure, or glory; and to prove their inadequacy to produce happiness.

He fancies that philosophy visits him in prison, and by expanding these views, reconciles his mind to the adversity he was suffering. The Author of existence is suggested to be the sovereign good (7), and all that the reasonings of a Cicero could supply is adduced to show that worldly prosperity is, of itself, as inferior in value and comfort as it is uncertain in its duration, and capricious in its favours.

The book of Boetius is praised by the Erigena, whom Alfred ad-

(1) "Eac is to wytene tha se king Ælfred manega bæc thurh Godes gart gedyhte." Vita Sancti Neoti, p. 147. MSS. Cot. Vesp. D. 14.

(2) Malmsb. p. 45.

(3) Nam ex Latino rhetorico fasmate in propriam verterat linguam volumina, numero ignoto, etc. Ethelwerd, 847.

(4) See Gibbon on the character, studies, honours, and death of Boetius, vol. iv. p. 33—39.

(5) The letter of Theodoric to Boetius, full of panegyric on his studies, yet exists among the Ep. Cassiod. lib. i. ep. 45. p. 33.

(6) Fab. Bib. Med. vol. i. p. 687.

(7) The first and last part of his address to the Supreme is thus beautifully translated by our great moralist and critic:—

O Thou, whose power o'er moving worlds presides;
Whose voice created, and whose wisdom guides;
On darkling man, in pure effulgence, shine,
And cheer the clouded mind with light divine.
'Tis thine alone to calm the pious breast
With silent confidence and holy rest:
From thee, great God! we spring; to thee we tend;
Path; motive; guide; Original, and End. *Rambler*, No 7.

mitted into his friendship (1). That the king translated it is stated by Ethelwerd (2), who was his kinsman, and almost his contemporary; by Malmsbury (3), and by other chroniclers (4); and by the Saxon preface to the work itself, which reads like the king's own language (5). A MS. of the Anglo-Saxon translation exists in the Bodleian library, with the metrums rendered in prose (6). Another copy existed in the Cotton library with the metrums in Anglo-Saxon verse (7), the preface to which also mentions Alfred as the translator (8).

Alfred considered as a moral essayist.

In this translation of Boetius there is a value which has been hitherto unnoticed. It is that Alfred has taken occasion to insert in various parts many of his own thoughts and feelings. He has thus composed several little moral essays, and by them has transmitted himself to posterity in his own words and manner.

It is highly interesting, at the distance of nearly one thousand years, to hear, as it were, our most revered sovereign speaking to us in his own language, on some of the most important topics of human life. Right feeling and true wisdom appear in all these effusions, and entitle him to be deemed the first moral essayist of our island. As this is new ground, which has been hitherto unexplored, we will extract and translate literally several of the passages which Alfred has added to his version.

(1) See his Div. Natura, p. 32. 34. 113. and 174. Gibbon calls the book of Boetius "a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully." Hist. Decl. vol. iv. p. 38.

(2) Ethel. Hist. p. 847. (3) Malm. p. 45. and 248.

(4) Henry de Silgrave; MSS. Cott. Cleop. A. xii. p. 15., and Joh. Bever, MSS. Harl. 641. p. 21.

(5) Its literal translation is:—

"Alfred, king, was the translator of this book; and from book-latin into English turned it, as it now is done. A while he put down word for word: a while sense for sense, so as he the most manifestly and intellectually might explain it for the various and manifold worldly occupations that oft, both in mind and in body, busied him. These occupations are very difficult for us to number, which in his days came on this kingdom which he had undertaken. He learned this book, and turned it from Latin to the English phrase, and made it again into song, so as it is now done.

"And now may it be, and for God's name let him beseech every one of those that desire to read this book, that they pray for him, and do not blame him if they should more rightly understand it than he could: because that every man should, according to the condition of his understanding, and from his leisure, speak what he speaks, and do that which he doeth." See the original in Rawlinson's edition.

(6) See Wanley's Catal. p. 64. 85. From this Rawlinson published his printed work.

(7) It was MS. Otho. A. 6., when it was collated by Rawlinson. It has been since burnt. Wanley thought this MS. was one written in Alfred's life time. The versification of the metrums seems to be what the prose preface alludes to—"and made it again into song." The plan of Boetius is to add to each division of his prose dialogue a metrum on the same subject in Latin verse.

(8) See Rawlinson.

Boetius had made philosophy call upon him to remember that amidst his misfortunes, he had comfort yet left him—a celebrated father-in-law, his wife, and children.

His feeling of connubial felicity.

Alfred, after adding, "It is untrue, as thou thinkest, that thou art unhappy," proceeds to enlarge on the short description of Boetius with such emphatic repetition, that it may be read as his own feeling of the value of an affectionate wife.

The passages in italics are the additions of Alfred.—

"Liveth not thy wife also?— She is exceedingly prudent, and very modest. She has excelled all other women in purity. I may, in a few words, express all her merit: this is, that in all her manners she is like her father. She lives now for thee; *thee alone. Hence she loves nought else but thee. She has enough of every good in this present life, but she has despised it all for thee alone. She has shunned it all because only she has not thee also. This one thing is now wanting to her.* Thine absence makes her think that all which she possesses is nothing. Hence for thy love she is wasting, and full nigh dead with tears and sorrow (1)."

Alfred dwells on the "vivit tibi" of Boetius with manifest delight, and dilates upon the thought as if with fond recollections of the conduct of his own wife, who shared his adversity with him.

Congenial with this subject is the narration which he has given of Orpheus and Eurydice. Boetius, in a metrum of Latin verses, has in a more general manner described the incident. But Alfred tells the story so completely in his own way, and with so many of his own little touches and additions, as to make his account an original tale.—

His story of Orpheus and Eurydice.

"It happened formerly, that there was an harper in that nation which is called Thracia. It was a country in Greece. This harper was inconceivably good. His name was Orpheus: he had an incomparable wife: she was called Eurydice.

"Men then began to say of that harper, that he could harp so, that the woods danced, and the stones moved, from its sound. The wild deer would run to him, and stand as if they were tame; so still, that though men or hounds came against them, they would not shun them.

"They mention also that this harper's wife died, and her soul was led into hell. Then the harper became very sorry, so that he could not be among other men. But he withdrew to the woods, and sat upon the mountains both day and night, and wept and harped. Then the woods trembled, and the rivers stopped, and no hart shunned the lion, nor hare the hound. No cattle knew any mistrust or fear of others, from the power of his songs.

"Then the harper thought that nothing pleased him in this world. Then he thought that he would seek the gods of hell, and begin to soothe them with his harp, and pray that they would give him his wife again.

"When he came there, that hell-hound, whose name was Cerverus, came against him. He had three heads, but he began to sport with his tail, and to play with him for his harping. There was also a very terrible gate-

(1) Alfred's Boet. p. 17. Rawl. Ed. Boet. lib. ii. prosa 4.

warder; his name should be Caron: he had also three heads, and he was very fierce. Then began the harper to supplicate him for his protection while he was there, and that he should be brought out from thence sound. Caron promised him this, because he was pleased with his uncommon song.

"Then he went on further, till he met the grim goddesses that the multitude call Parcas. They say that they will give honour to none, but punish every man according to his deserts, and that they govern every man's fortune.

"Then he began to intreat their mercy, and they began to weep with him. Then he went further, and all the citizens of hell ran toward him, and led him to their king. And all began to talk with him, and to ask what he prayed.

"The restless wheel that Ixion was bound to, the king of Laiusta, for his guilt, stood still for his harping; Tantalus, the king that in this world was immoderately covetous, and whom the same evil passion followed, his covetousness was stayed; and the vulture forbore to tear the liver of Titius, the king that before was thus punished; and all hell's citizens rested from their torments while he harped before the king.

"When he had long harped, the king of the citizens of hell called him and said, 'Let us give this slave his wife, for he hath earned her by his harping. Bid him, then, that he may well know, that he must never look back after he is gone from hence;' and he said, 'If he look back, he shall lose this woman.'

"But men can with great difficulty repress love. Wel-a-way! What! Orpheus then led his wife with him, till he came to the boundary of light and darkness, then his wife went after him: then he came forth into the light: then he looked back towards the woman, and she died away from him (1)."

In another part we have his sentiments on riches. He has added to the reflections of Boetius the several following passages.

(1) P. 100. I have made the translation strictly literal; and will add as literal a one of the original of Boetius, that the reader may observe for himself what Alfred has made his own:—"Formerly the Thracian poet, mourning the death of his wife, afterwards compelled, by his plaintive measures, the woods to run, and the moveable rivers to stand; the hind joined her intrepid side to the cruel lion's; nor did the hare fear the visible dog, made placid by the song. When the interior fervour of his bosom burnt more violent, those strains which subdued all could not soothe their master. Complaining of the cruel deities, he went to the infernal regions. There attempering his bland lays to the sounding strings, whatever he had imbibed from the chief fountains of the goddess mother; what impotent grief gave; what love, groaning in grief, wept, he expressed; and moving Tanarus, solicited with a sweet prayer the lords of the shades. Caught by the new song, the threefold porter was stupified. The guilty, whom the goddesses, avengers of crimes, agitate with fear, now sorrowful, dissolve in tears. The swift wheel revolves not the head of Ixion; and Tantalus, perishing with thirst, despises the long streams. The vulture, satisfied with the harmony, drew not the liver of Titius. At length, 'We are conquered!' exclaims the pitying arbiter of the shades: 'Let us give the man his companion, his wife, bought by his song.' But a law restricted the gift, that while he should leave Tartarus he should not bend back his eyes. Who shall give a law to lovers? Love is a greater law to itself. Alas! near the borders of night, Orpheus saw, lost, and killed his Eurydice." Lib. iii. met. 12.

Boetius has merely said—

"Are riches precious in their own nature, or in yours? Which of them do you prefer, gold or accumulated money? But these shine more by being poured out than by being heaped up; for avarice makes us always odious, but liberality illustrious (1)."

His thoughts on wealth and liberality.

On this text Alfred has expatiated into these effusions:—

"Tell me now whether thy riches, that in thine own thought are so precious, be so from their own nature. But yet, I tell thee, that what is so of its own nature, is not so from thee. If then of its own nature it be so, and not of thine, why art thou then ever the better for its good?

"Tell me now which of these thou thinkest the most dear. Is it gold? I know that gold avails something. But though it now be good, and dear to us, yet he will be more renowned, and more beloved, who gives it, than he who gathereth it, or plunders it from others. So riches are more reputable and estimable when men give them, than they are when men gather and hold them.

"Hence covetousness maketh the avaricious odious both to God and man; while bounty maketh us always pleasing and famous, and worthy both to God and to men who love it.

"Now as property cannot then belong both to those who give it and to those who take it away, it is therefore always better and more valuable when given than when held (2)."

On this subject a passage may be read as an instance of the intelligent ease and force, with which the king partly translates, and partly imitates his author when he means to render him exactly.

Boetius says—

"Your riches, unless broken into pieces, cannot pass to many, and when this is done they must make those poor whom they quit. O narrow and impotent riches, which cannot be had entire by many, and yet cannot come to each without the poverty of the rest!"

Alfred's version is:—

"Though thou shouldest divide them as small as dust, yet thou couldst not make all men to possess them equally; and when thou hadst divided them all, thou wouldest then be poor thyself. So worthy of a man are the riches of this world! No man may fully have them. They can make no man happy except they make others poor."

Alfred has taken occasion to insert the following thoughts from his own mind, on reputation, obviously expressing his own feelings of the value of that blessing which has accompanied his memory:—

On a good name.

"This is clear enough, that a good word and good fame are better and more precious to every man than any riches. The word filleth the ears of all who hear it; and it thrives not the less with those who speak it. It openeth the vacancy of the heart: it pierces through other hearts that are locked up, and in its progress among them it is never diminished. No one

(1) Boet. lib. ii. prosa 5.

(2) Alfred's Boet. p. 23, 24.

can slay it with a sword, nor bind it with a rope, nor ever kill it (1)."

He has so expanded the thought of Boetius on the value of jewels, with turns and feelings of his own, and expressed them with so much more energy than his author, as to be in a great measure original even where he copies :—

On the value of jewels.

"Why should the beauty of gems draw your eyes to them to wonder at them, as I know they do? What is then the nobility of that beauty which is in gems? It is theirs; not yours. At this I am most exceedingly astonished, why you should think this irrational, created good, better than your own excellence: why should you so exceedingly admire these gems, or any of those dead-like things that have not reason; because they can by no right deserve that you should wonder at them. Though they be God's creatures, they are not to be measured with you because one of two things occurs; either they are not good for you themselves, or but for a little good compared with you. WE TOO MUCH UNDERVALUE OURSELVES when we love that which is inferior to us, and in our power, more than ourselves, or the Lord that has made us and given us all these goods (2)."

Alfred's translation of the passages on the other advantages possessed by the rich is also so animated, that we quote it as a specimen of his own genuine feelings on the subject, with a version of the Latin (3), that the reader may make his own comparison.—

On the advantages of the rich.

"'Dost thou like fair lands?'

"Then Mind answered to Reason, and said—

"'Why should I not like fair lands? How! Is not that the fairest part of God's creation? Full oft we rejoice at the mild sea, and also admire the beauty of the sun, and the moon, and of all the stars.'

"Then answered Wisdom and Reason to the Mind, and thus said : —

"'How belongeth heaven's fairness to thee? Durst thou glory that its beauty is thine? It is not, it is not. How! Knowest thou not that thou madest none of them. If thou wilt glory, glory in God.

"'Whether now dost thou rejoice in the fairer blossoms of Easter, as if thou hadst made them (4); canst thou now make any such? or hast thou

(1) Alfred. p. 24.

(2) Alfred, p. 24. The literal English of Boetius is :—"Does the brightness of gems attract your eyes? But the chief part of the splendor with them is the light itself of the jewels, not of the men, which indeed I wonder that any should so vehemently admire; for what is there in that which wants the motion of the soul, and the combination of limbs, which can seem by right to be beautiful to animate and rational nature? Although they are the works of the Creator, and by this distinction attract something of the final beauty, yet placed below your excellence, they by no means deserve your admiration." Lib. ii. pr. 5.

(3) The passage in Boetius is :—"Does the beauty of the fields delight you?—Why not? It is a fair portion of the fairest work. So sometimes we delight in the face of the serene sea. So we admire the sky, the stars, the sun, and the moon. But do any of these touch you? Do you dare to boast of the splendor of any such?" Boet. lib. ii. pr. 5.

(4) "Are you yourself distinguished by the vernal flowers? Or does your abundance swell in the summer fruits? Why are you carried away by empty joys? Why do you embrace external goods for your own? Will fortune make those

made them? Not so, not so. Do not thou thus. Is it now from thy power that the harvest is so rich in fruits? How! Do I not know that this is not in thy power? Why art thou then inflamed with such an idle joy? or why lovest thou strange goods so immeasurably as if they now had been thine own?

"'Thinkest thou that fortune may do for thee, that those things be thine own, which of their own nature are made foreign to thee? Not so, not so. Is it not natural to thee that thou should possess them; nor does it belong to them that they should follow thee. But the heavenly things they are natural to thee: not these earth-like ones.

"'The earthly fruits are made for animals to subsist on (1); and the riches of the world are made to deceive those men that are like animals; that are unrighteous and insatiable. To these they also oftenest come.

"'If thou wilt then have this moderation, and wilt know what necessity requires; this is, that meat and drink, and clothes, and tools for such craft as thou knowest, are natural to thee, and are what it is right for thee to have. What advantage is it to thee that thou should desire these temporal riches above measure, when they can neither help thee nor themselves? With very little of them hath nature enough: with so much she has enough, as we before mentioned. If thou usest more of them, one of two things happens; either they hurt thee; or they are unpleasant. Inconvenient or dangerous is all that thou now doest beyond moderation. If thou eatest now, or drinkest immoderately, or hast more clothes on than thou needest, the excess becomes to thee either sorrow or nauseous, or unsuitable or dangerous.

"'If thou thinkest that extraordinary apparel be any honour (2), then I assert the honour to belong to the workman who wrought it, and not to thee. The workman is God, whose skill I praise in it.

"'Thinkest thou that a great company of thy servants will make thee happy (3)? Not so, not so. But if they be evil, then are they more dangerous to thee: and more troublesome, if bound to you, than if you had them not, because evil *thegns* will always be their lord's enemies. If they be good and faithful to their lord, and not of double mind — How! Is not this their virtue? It is not thine. How canst thou then possess their virtue? If thou now gloriest in this — How! Dost thou not glory in their merit? It is not thine.'"

Alfred has added the following remarks of his own on the intrinsic value of worldly advantages:—

things to be yours which by the nature of things she has made foreign to you?" Boet. lib. ii. pr. 5

(1) "The fruits of the earth indeed are, without doubt, provided for the nourishment of animals. But if you wish to supply your wants by what is sufficient for nature, there is no reason that you should seek the affluence of fortune, for nature is contented with very little; whom if you urge into satiety by superfluities, what you shall pour in becomes unpleasant and hurtful." Boet. lib. ii. pr. 5.

(2) "Do you think it beautiful to shine in various garments? But if their appearance be agreeable to look at, I would admire either the nature of the materials, or the ingenuity of the artificer." Ibid.

(3) "But will a long train of servants make you happy? who, if they be vicious in morals, are the pernicious burthen of a house, and grievously an enemy to their lord himself. If honest, how can another's probity be reckoned among your wealth?" Ibid.

"Now then, now, every creature shunneth that which is contrary to it, and toils very diligently that it be removed from him. But what two are more contrary between themselves than good and evil? They never will be harmonious together.

"By this thou mayest understand, that if the prosperities of this present life, through themselves, possessed power of themselves, and were good from their own nature, they would then always cleave to those who work with them good, and not evil.

"But there, where they be a good, then are they good through the goodness of the good man that doeth good with them; and he is good through God. If then a bad man hath them, then are they evil through the badness of that man who doeth evil with them; and through the devil (1)."

He has followed up these remarks by adding to Boetius's metrum on Nero, the following observations: —

"What cruelties; what adulteries; and what crimes; and what impiety, that unrighteous Cæsar Nero committed!

"He commanded at some time that all Rome city should be burnt after the example, formerly, when Troy's city was burnt. It pleased him also to see how it burnt, and how long, and how light, compared with that other. —

"Thinkest now that the Divine power could not have removed the dominion from this unrighteous Cæsar, and have restrained him from that evil if he would? Yes. Oh yes! I know that he might if he had willed. Oh! how heavy a yoke he slipped on all that in his times were living on the earth, and how oft his sword was sullied with guiltless blood! How! Was it not there clear enough that power, of its own worth, is not good, when he is not good to whom it comes (2)?"

He has enlarged on the remark of Boetius on power, so as to exhibit his own sentiments in addition to those of his original.

Boetius had only said—

"If ever, which is very rare, honours are conferred on the upright, what is pleasing in them but the integrity of those who use them? Thus honour accrues not to the virtues from the dignity, but to the dignity from the virtues (3)."

Alfred, a king, expands this to insert his own feelings on this subject.—

On power.

"If then it should ever happen, as it very seldom happens, that power and dignity come to good men, and to wise ones, what is there then worth liking but the goodness and dignity of these persons: of the good king, not of the power? Hence power is never a good, unless he be good that has it; and that is the good of the man, not of the power. If power be goodness, it is so for this, that no man by his dominion comes to the virtues, and to merit; but by his virtues and merit he comes to dominion and power. Thus no man is better for his power; but if he be good, it is from his virtues that he is good. From his virtues he becomes worthy of power, if be he worthy of it (4)."

(1) Alfred, p. 34, 35.
(2) Ibid. p. 36.
(3) Boet. lib. ii. pr. 6.
(4) Alfred, p. 31.

He adds to this, entirely his own, and as if he intended it to be the annunciation to his people of his own principle of government :—

"Learn therefore wisdom, and when ye have learned it, do not neglect it. I tell you then, without any doubt, that by that you may come to power, though you should not desire the power. You need not be solicitous about power, nor strive after it. If you be wise and good, it will follow you, though you should not wish it (1)."

Connected with the subject of power, Alfred has in another place inserted these passages of his own :—

"'If thou now saw some very wise man that had very good qualities, but was nevertheless very poor, and very unhappy, whether wouldst thou say that he was unworthy of power and dignity?'

"Then answered Boetius and said—'Not so, Oh, not so. If I found him such, I would never say that he was unworthy of power and dignity, for me thinketh that he would be worthy of every honour that is in this world (2).'"

With the same freedom he amplifies another idea of Boetius, and applies it to express his own high estimate of the human mind. His author says—

"If you saw among mice one claiming a right to himself, and power over the rest, to what a horse-laugh would you be moved? But if you look at the body, what can you find weaker than man, whom a bite of his flesh or of something within secretly creeping destroys (3)?"

Alfred's paraphrase :—

On the mind.

"If you now saw a mouse that was lord over other mice, and established laws for them, and compelled them to pay taxes, how wonderlike you would think it! What derision you would have of this; and to how much laughter would you not be excited! How much more then would it be to compare the body of man with his mind, than the mouse with the man? You may easily conceive it. If you will diligently inquire about it, and investigate, you will find that no creature's body is tenderer than that of man's. The least fly may hurt it, and the gnats with their little stings may injure it; and also the small worms that crawl within and without him, even sometimes nearly kill him. Indeed the little fleas may sometimes destroy him. Every living thing may hurt him, either inside or out (4)."

He then adds, partly translating and partly imitating Boetius :—

"But where can a man hurt another except in his body, or in that wealth which we call happiness? No one can injure the reasoning mind, nor make it that it should not be what it is (5)."

We now come to a noble effusion of Alfred's mind and heart, on his own power and government.

(1) Alfred, p. 31, 32. (2) Alfred, p. 59, 60.
(3) Boet. lib. ii. pr. 6. (4) Alfred, p. 32. (5) Ibid.

Boetius had said—

"You know that the ambition of mortal things governed us but little, but we desired materials for acting, that virtue might not grow old in silence."

On these few words Alfred has thus expatiated, to express from himself, and on his own situation, his views and feelings as a king, and his principles of conduct. We cannot avoid remembering on reading this, that he hesitated about accepting the crown at his accession. He seems to allude to this circumstance.—

On his principles of government.

"O Reason! thou knowest that covetousness and the possession of this earthly power, I did not well like, nor strongly desired at all this earthly kingdom, but, Oh! I desired materials for the work that I was commanded to do. This was that I might unfractiously and becomingly steer and rule the power that was committed to me — What! thou knowest that no man may show any craft or rule, nor steer any power without tools and materials. There are materials for every craft, without which a man cannot work in that craft.

"These are the materials of a king's work, and his tools to govern with; that he have his land fully peopled; that he should have prayer-men, and army-men, and workmen. What! thou knowest that without these tools no king may show his skill.

"These are also his materials, that with these tools he should have provision for these three classes; and their provision then is, land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and what else that these three classes need; nor can he without these keep his tools; nor without these tools can he work any of those things that it is commanded to him to do.

"For this purpose I desired materials to employ that power with, that my skill and power might not be given up and concealed. But every virtue and every power will soon become oldened and silenced if they be without wisdom. Therefore no man can bring forth any virtue without wisdom; hence whatsoever is done through folly, man can never make that to be virtue.

"This I can now most truly say, that I HAVE DESIRED TO LIVE WORTHILY WHILE I LIVED, AND AFTER MY LIFE TO LEAVE TO THE MEN THAT SHOULD BE AFTER ME MY REMEMBRANCE IN GOOD WORKS (1)."

It may amuse us to read Alfred's picture of the Golden Age, in which he has added some marking circumstances of his own sentiments to his author's description.

Alfred on the golden age.

"Oh, how happy was the first age of this world, when every man thought he had enough in the fruits of the earth (2)! There were no rich homes, nor various sweet dainties, nor

(1) Alfred, p. 36, 37.

(2) Boetius's lines are: "Too happy was the prior age, contented with their faithful ploughs, nor lost in sluggish luxury: it was accustomed to end its late fasts with the ready acorn; nor knew how to confuse the present of Bacchus with liquid honey; nor to mingle the bright fleece of the Seres with the Tyrian poison. The grass gave them healthful slumbers. The gliding river their drink. The loftiest pines their shades. They did not yet cut the depths of the sea; nor did the stranger

drinks. They required no expensive garments, because there were none then; they saw no such things, nor heard of them. They cared not for luxury; but they lived naturally and temperately. They always ate but once a day, and that was in the evening. They ate the fruits of trees and herbs. They drank no pure wine. They knew not to mix liquor with their honey. They required not silken cloathing with varied colours. They always slept out under the shade of trees. The water of the clear springs they drank. They saw no merchant from island or shore, nor did any one hear of ship-armies, nor speak of battle, nor was the earth yet stained with the blood of slain men, nor were men then wounded, nor did they behold evil-willing men, nor had they any dignities, nor did men love them. Oh, that our times now might be such! but now man's rapacity is as burning as flame, in that hell which is in the mount called Ætna, in the island named Sicilia. That mountain is always burning with sulphur, and it consumes all the places near and about it. Oh! the first covetous man was he that the earliest began to delve the earth after gold, and after gems; and found those dangerous valuables which before were hidden and covered by the earth (1)."

This sentence of Boetius—

"There is one thing which can seduce even minds excellent in their nature, but not yet brought to the full perfection of their virtues, that is the desire of glory, and the fame of the greatest merit towards the state; consider how slender and light a thing this is (2)."

Alfred has thus amplified:—

"Oh, mind! one! oh! one evil is very much to be shunned. This is that which very unceasingly and very heavily deceiveth the mind of all those men who in their nature are select, and yet be not come to the roof of their full-framed virtues. This is then the desire of false glory, and of unrighteous power, and of immoderate fame of good works above all people; for many men desire power that they may have a good fame, though they be unworthy of it; and even the worst of all desire the same. But he that will wisely and diligently seek after this fame, let him very truly perceive how little it is, and how slight and how tender and how distinct from every good (3)!"

His thoughts on glory.

Boetius, after remarking that but a fourth part of the earth was inhabited, continues:—

"And that many nations, differing in language, manners, and all the habits of life, inhabit this small inclosure, which, from the difficulty of the journey, as well as from the diversity of their speech, and want of commerce, the fame not only of each man, but even of cities, cannot reach (4)."

Alfred has thus enlarged upon this sentiment, with the inser-

see new shores with his merchandise collected from every side. The cruel trumpets were silent; nor did the effused blood with bitter hatred tinge horrid arms. Why should an ancient fury move any army against enemies, when no cruel wounds, and no rewards of blood were seen? I wish our times could return to the ancient manners. But the raging love of possessing burns fiercer than the fires of Ætna. Alas! who was he that first dug up the weight of the covered gold and gems, desiring to be hid,—those precious dangers?" Boet. lib. ii. met. 5.

(1) Alfred, p. 29, 30.
(2) Boetius, lib. ii. pr. 7.
(3) Alfred, p. 37, 38.
(4) Boetius, lib. ii. pr. 7.

tion of more knowledge as to the number of the languages of the world.

"Why desire ye, then, so immoderately, that you should spread your name over the tenth part? for with the sea, with fens, and with all else, there is not more.

"Bethink ye, also, that in this little park many nations dwell, and various ones; and very unlike, both in speech and customs, and in all their manners, are all these nations, that you now so immoderately desire that you should spread your name over. This you can never do; because their speech is divided into two and seventy languages, and each of these is divided among many nations. They are distinguished and separated by sea, and by woods, and by mountains, and by fens, and by many and various wastes and unfrequented lands, so that merchants indeed do not go to them.

"But how can then the name of any powerful man come there separately, when they do not indeed hear there the name of his city, nor of the people where his home is fixed. This I know, with what folly you are yearning, when you would extend your name over the whole earth. This you can never do, nor indeed never nearly so (1)."

Boetius having said, from Cicero, that the Roman name had not passed Mount Caucasus, Alfred, exhibiting his own study of geography, adds :—

"Nor among the Scythians who dwell on the other side of these mountains: where they had not heard of the names of the cities nor of the people of Rome (2)."—

"No man hath the like praise in every land; because that which they do not like in some lands, they like in others. —

"Writers, from their negligence and from carelessness, have left unwritten the manners and deeds of those men, who, in their days, were the worthiest and most illustrious (3)."

Boetius having said—

"What is there that attaches from fame to the eminent men who seek glory by virtue, after the dissolution of their body(4)?"

Alfred thus dilates the thought :—

"What then has it profited the best men that have been before us, that they so very much desired this idle glory and this fame after their death: or what will it profit those who now exist?

"There is more need to every man that he should desire good qualities than false fame. What will he have from that fame, after the separation of the body and the soul? How! do we not know, that all men die bodily, and yet their soul will be living? But the soul departs very free-like to Heaven. Then the mind will itself be a witness of God's will (5)."

Boetius in the accompanying metrum had impressively sung :—

"Why do the proud strive to raise their necks from this mortal yoke in

(1) Alfred, p. 39.
(2) Ibid. p. 39.
(3) Ibid. p. 40.
(4) Boetius, lib. ii. pr. 2. met. 7.
(5) Alfred, p. 42.

vain! Though their diffused fame, pervading many people, should be expressed in their languages, and the great family should shine with illustrious titles, death spurns the lofty glory; alike involves the high and humble head, and equals the lowest with the greatest. Where now lie the bones of the faithful Fabricius, or Brutus, or the rigid Cato (1)?"

Alfred has thus expanded, and added to these suggestions, with a little error as to Brutus and Cassius:—

"Oh, ye proud! why do you desire to put this death-like yoke upon your neck? or, why regard such idle toil, to spread your name among so many people?

"Though it now should happen that the uttermost nations should upheave your name, and celebrate you in many countries, and though any one should increase his birth with much nobility, and flourish in all wealth, and in all honours, yet death careth not for such: but he despiseth the noble, and devoureth alike the rich and the poor, and thus equals the powerful with the low.

"Where are now the illustrious and the wise Goldsmith's bones, those of Weland? I call him the wise man, because the skilful can never lose his skill; nor can men take it away from him easier than they can turn the sun from his place.

"Where are now the bones of Weland, or who knows now where they were? or, where is now the illustrious and recorded Roman citizen, the heretoga, that was called Brutus, his other name Cassius? or, the wise and steadfast Cato? he was also a Roman heretoga: he was openly a philosopher. How! did they not anciently die, and no man knoweth where they now are (2)?"

He exclaims from himself in another part:—

"Oh, glory of this world! why do silly men with a false voice call thee glory? Now thou art not so; for more men have much pomp, and much glory, and much worship, from the opinion of foolish people, than they have from their own works (3)."

Alfred adds on adverse fortune:—

"I dread it not myself; for it often happens, that deceitful fortune can neither give man any help, nor take any away (4). — Adverse fortune is the true happiness, though one does not think so; for it is to be depended upon, and always promises what is true (5)." On adversity.

Boetius remarks:—

"Departing fortune takes away her own creatures and leaves thine. For how much would you, when entire, and as you seemed to yourself, fortunate, have bought this? Cease now to seek after your lost wealth; you have found friends, which are the most precious kind of wealth (6)." On friendship.

Alfred reiterates the thought; and, by the emphasis of his repe-

(1) Boetius, lib. ii. met. 7.
(2) Alfred, p. 42, 43.
(3) Ibid. p. 66.
(4) Ibid. p. 43.
(5) Ibid. p. 43, 44.
(6) Boetius, lib. ii. pr. 2. met. 8.

titions, displays strongly his own sensibility, and probably his own experience of the different value of false and real friends.—

"But the false riches, when they depart from thee, they take away their men with them, and leave thy few true ones with thee. How wouldest thou now have bought this, when thou wert happy, and thought that thy fortune went most to thy will? With how much property wouldst thou have purchased this, that thou mightest manifestly know thy friends from thine enemies? I know, that with great property, thou wouldest have bought this, that thou mightest know to discriminate them well. Although thou thinkest that thou hast now lost a precious property, yet thou hast bought with it one much more valuable. These are true friends. These thou mayest now know, and thou perceivest what thou hast of them. This is of all things the dearest possession (1)."

In another part he takes occasion to add to his original the same feelings.—

"True friends! I say then, that this is the most precious of all the riches of the world. They are not even to be reckoned among the goods of the world, but as divine ones; because false fortune can neither bring them nor take them away.

"Nature attracts and limes friends together with inseparable love. But with the riches of this world, and by our present prosperity, men oftener make an enemy than a friend (2).

"The friends that loved him before for his wealth, they depart away with that wealth, and then become enemies; but the few that loved him from affection, and with truth, they would love him still, though he were needy. They would remain with him (3)."

Alfred, from the text of the eighth metre of Boetius, has taken occasion to enlarge upon it, to express his philosophical views of the divine government of nature.—

His ideas of the system of nature.

"One Creator is beyond any doubt; and he is also the Governor of heaven, and earth, and of all creatures visible and invisible. This is God Almighty. All things serve Him that serve thee; both those that know thee and those that do not know thee; both they which understand that they serve Him, and they which do not perceive it. The same has appointed unchangeable laws and customs, and also a natural harmony among all His creatures, that they should now stand in the world as He hath willed, and as long as He wills.

"The motions of all active creatures cannot be stilled, nor even altered from their course, and from the arrangement which is provided for them. But He hath power over all His creatures; and, as with his bridle, confines, restrains, and admonishes them; so that they can neither be still, nor more strongly stir, than the space of His ruling reins permits. The Almighty God hath so coerced all his creatures with his dominion, that each of them striveth against the other; and yet is so wreathed with it, that they may not slide away from each other, but are turned again to that same course that they ran before, and thus become again renewed. He so varies it, that although the elements of a contrary kind contend betwixt themselves, yet

(1) Alfred, p. 45. (2) Ibid. p. 51. (3) Ibid. p. 88.

they also hold a firm peace together. Thus do fire and water, now, and sea and earth, and many other substances. They will always be as discordant among themselves, as they are now; and yet they are so harmonised, that they can not only be companions, but this further happens, that indeed none can exist without the rest. The one contrariety for ever restrains the other contrariety.

"So the Almighty God has most wisely and pertinently established the successive changes of all things. Thus now spring and harvest. In spring things grow. In harvest they become yellow. Again, summer and winter. In summer it is warm, and in winter cold. So the sun bringeth light days, and the moon enlightens the night through the same Deity's might. So the same Power admonishes the sea, that it must not overstep the threshold of the earth. But he hath appointed its boundaries that it may not extend its limits over the quiet earth.

"By the same government is the like interchange directed of the flood and the ebb. He permits this appointment to stand as long as he wills it. But then if ever he should let go the reins of those bridles with which he has now restrained his creations, the contrariety of which we have before spoken, if he were to allow it to escape, would destroy the peace that he now maintains. Each of them would contend with the other after his own will, and lose their combination, and destroy all this world, and bring themselves to nothing. The same God combines people in friendship together, and associates their families with purer love. He unites friends and companions, so that they truly retain their peace and attachment. How happy would mankind be from this, if their minds were as right, and as established, and as well ordered, as those of other creatures are (1)."

He tells the story of Ulysses and Circe in his own way, and with his own additions, which will show the nature of his historical knowledge.—

His story of Ulysses and Circe.

"There happened formerly, in the Trojan war, that there was a king of the name of Aulixes (Ulysses). He had two nations under the Cesar. These were called Ithacige and Retie, and the Cesar's name was Agamemnon. Then Aulixes went with that Cesar to that battle. He had then some hundred ships. Then were they some ten years in that war.

"Then the king returned home from that Cesar, when they had won the country. He had not then more ships than one; but that was a three rower. Then a high tempest and a stormy sea withstood him, and he was driven into an island beyond the Wendel Sea. There lived a daughter of Apolline, the son of Job (Jove).

"This Job was their king, and it pleased them that he should be their highest god, and these foolish men believed in him because he was of a kingly race, and they knew no other god in that time, but they worshipped their kings for gods. Then should Job's father be also a god. His name was Saturnus, and they had him also the same for a god: and one of them was the Apolline that we have mentioned.

"This Apolline's daughter should be a goddess. Her name was Kirke.

(1) Alfred, p. 45, 46. A comparison with Boetius, lib. ii. met. 8., will show Alfred's great additions.

They said she was a very great magician; and she lived in that island that the king was driven on. She had there a great retinue of her thegns, and also of other maidens.

"Soon as she saw the forth-driven king, that we spoke of before, whose name was Aulixes, she began to love him, and each of them the other, so immoderately, that he for love of her abandoned all his kingdom and his family, and remained with her, till the time that his thegns would not stay longer with him; but for love of their country, and from being exiled from it, they resolved to leave him. Then began false men to make spells, and they said, that by their magic they would spread and turn these men into the bodies of wild animals; and afterwards throw them into chains and fetters.

"Some they said they should transform into lions, and when they should speak then they roared. Some became boars, and when they lamented their sorrow they furiously grunted. Some were changed into wolves, and when they thought to speak they howled. Some were turned to that deer kind, which men call tigers. Thus were all the company transformed into various kinds of deer, every one to some deer, except only the king. They shunned every meat that men eat, and desired those things which the deer eat. They had no likeness of man, neither in their body, nor in their voice; yet every one knew in his understanding as he did before. This understanding sorrowed very much for the miseries which they suffered (1)."

He has inserted the following observations of his own, on the Supreme Good.—

His thoughts on the Supreme Good.

"This blessedness is then God. He is the beginning and the end of every good, and he is the highest happiness.

"There is no man that needs not some increase, but God alone. He hath enough in his own self. He needs nothing but that which he has in himself.—

"By these things, we may manifestly understand, that every man desires this, that he may obtain the supreme Good, where he can know it, or is enabled to seek it rightly. But they seek it not in the most right way. It is not in this world.—

"There is no creature made, which does not desire that it may proceed thither, from whence it came before. This is to rest and felicity. Its rest is with God, and that is God (2)."

He has added these remarks on wisdom.—

His thoughts on wisdom.

"Wisdom is the highest virtue, and he hath in him four other virtues. One of these is prudence; another moderation; the third is courage; the fourth is righteousness. Wisdom maketh those that love it wise, and worthy, and constant, and patient, and righteous, and with every good habit filleth him that loveth it. They cannot do this who have the power of this world; nor can they give any virtue from their wealth to those who love them, if they have it not in their nature. From this it is very evident, that the powerful in this world's wealth have no appropriate virtue from it; but their wealth comes to them from without, and they can have nothing from without which is their own (3)."

(1) Alfred, p. 115. See Boetius, lib. iv. met. 3.
(2) Alfred, p. 49. 53, 54, 55. (3) Alfred, p. 60.

He turns a sentence of Boetius (1), which he enlarges on, into a commendation of wisdom.—

"Do you see any thing in your body greater than the elephant; or stronger than the lion, or the bull; or swifter than that deer, the tiger? But if thou wert the fairest of all men in beauty, and shouldest diligently inquire after wisdom, until thou fully right understood it, then mightest thou clearly comprehend, that all the power and excellencies which we have just mentioned, are not to be compared with the one virtue of the soul. Now WISDOM is this one single virtue of the soul; and we all know that it is better than all the other excellencies that we have before spoken about (2)."

He pursues the next sentence of Boetius (3) with his own original sentiments.—

"Behold now the spaciousness, and the constancy, and the swiftness of the heavens. Yet we may understand that all this is not to be compared with its creator and its governor. But why do ye not let yourselves be weary of admiring and praising that which is unprofitable: this is worldly riches. For as heaven is better, and loftier, and fairer than all within it, except man alone; so is man's body better and more precious than all his possessions. But how much more, bethink thee, is the soul better and more valuable than the body. Every existence is to be honoured according to its proportion, and always the highest most. Therefore the divine power is to be honoured, admired, and worshipped above all other existences (4)."

His free translation of the eighth metrum of Boetius (5) is a specimen of his easy and flowing style, and at the same time a picture of the manners of his time. In this he also turns the ideas of his author, to express his own sublime piety and moral energy.

"Oh! woe! how heavy and how dangerous the folly is, which misleads unhappy men, and draws them from the right way. This way is God. Do ye now seek gold on trees? I know that you do not seek it there; nor find it on them, because all men know that it does not grow there. No more do jewels grow in vineyard. Do you now set your nets on the highest moun-

(1) The passage in Boetius is:—"Can you excel elephants in bulk, or bulls in strength, or precede tigers in swiftness?" Lib. iii. prosa 8.

(2) Alfred, p. 70.

(3) The words in Boetius are only:—"Survey the space, firmness, and rapidity of the heavens, and cease sometimes to admire vile things." Boetius, lib. iii. prosa 8.

(4) Alfred, p. 70.

(5) The Latin of Boetius is:—"Oh, how ignorance leads wretched men from their right way! You do not seek gold on the green tree, nor pluck gems from the vine. You do not place nets on high mountains to enrich your tables with fish; nor, if you wish to follow the roe, do you hunt the Tuscan waves. Men know the recesses of the sea, that are hidden by the waves; and which wave is more fruitful of the snowy gems; which, of the blushing purple; and what shores excel in the tender fish, or the rough shell-fish. But how is it, they who desire good, blindly endure to be ignorant of it, and, degraded, seek that on earth which lies beyond the starry pole? What that is worthy shall I implore for the foolish minds? They crave wealth and honours; and when they have prepared the false things in a great mass, let them then discern the true goods of life." Lib. iii. met. 8.

tains when you would fish? I know indeed that you do not place them there. Do you lead your hounds and your nets out into the sea, when you would hunt? I think you would set them on hills and in woods. It is wonderful that industrious men understand that they must seek by sea-voyages, and on the banks of rivers, for both white gems and red ones, and jewels of every kind. They also know on what waters, and at the mouths of what rivers, they should seek for fishes; and where they should search for all their present wealth; and most unweariedly they seek it. But it is a very pitiable thing, that weak men are so blind of all judgment, that they do not perceive where the true riches lie hid, and have no pleasure in inquiring for them. Yet they think, that in these frail and mortal things, they may find out the true good, which is God. I know not how I can express their folly so clearly, nor tell it so strongly as I would; because they are more deplorable, and sillier, and unhappier than I am able to explain. They desire wealth and dignity, and when they have them, they irrationally think that they possess true happiness (1)."

Boetius had merely said :—

"If any one, who had enjoyed several consulships, should go by chance among barbarous nations, would his honours make him venerated by them (2)?"

Alfred on this brief passage pours out the following ideas :—

His thoughts on real greatness.

"If any powerful man should be driven from his country, or should go on his lord's errand, and should then come to a foreign people, where no man knew him, nor he any one, nor indeed the language; dost thou think that his greatness would make him honourable in that land? But I know that it could not. If, then, dignity were natural to power, and were its own; or if the wealth of the rich were their own affluence, then they could not lose it. Were a person on any land soever, he would be there with what he possessed. His riches and his dignity would be with him; but because wealth and power have no merit of their own, they abandon him; and hence they have no natural good in themselves. Hence he loseth them, like a shadow or smoke, though false hope and imagination of weak men make power to be their highest good.

"Great men will be in one of two conditions, either in a foreign country, or in their own nation, with reasonable men: but both with these wise men, and with the foreigner, their power would be deemed nothing, after they had understood that they had not received it for any virtues, but from the praises of silly men. Yet, if wealth had any excellence of its own, or of nature, in its power, they would have it within them. Though they should lose their territory, they could not lose a natural good; but this would always follow them, and make them worthy in whatsoever land they were (3)."

The following extract shows the ease with which he translates his author when he chooses to adhere to him. Boetius has a passage on the effect of the vices on the characters of men (4), which Alfred thus expresses with a little expansion :—

(1) Alfred, p. 71, 72. (2) Boetius, lib. iii. prosa 3.
(3) Alfred, p. 61.
(4) In Boetius it is :—"As probity alone can raise any one above humanity, it

"But as the goodness of men raiseth them above human nature to this that they be exalted to divine; so also their evilness converts them into something below human nature, to the degree that they may be named devils. This we say should not be so; for if thou findest a man so corrupted, as that he be turned wholly from good to evil, thou canst not with right name him a man, but an animal. If thou perceivest of any man that he be covetous, and a plunderer, thou shalt not call him a man, but a wolf. And the fierce person that is restless, thou shalt call a hound, not a man. And the false crafty one, a fox. He that is extremely moody, and enraged, and hath too great fury, thou shalt call a lion, not a man. The slothful that is too slow, thou shalt term an ass, more than a man. The unseasonably fearful person, who dreads more than he needs, thou mayest call a hare, rather than man. Thou mayest say of the inconstant and light minded, that they are more like the winds or the inquiet fowls, than steady men. And if thou perceivest one that pursues the lusts of his body, he is most like fat swine, who always desire to lay down in foul soils, and will not wash themselves in clear waters; or if they should, by a rare chance, be swimming in them, they throw themselves again on their mire, and swallow therein (1)."

Alfred adds much of his own to Boetius's remarks on nobility, as:—

On birth.

"Think now first of noble birth. If any one should glory in this, how idle and how fruitless would that glory be! Because every one knows that all come from one father and one mother."

This reason is the addition of Alfred: he also inserts the following passages from himself:—

"Or again of fame among the multitude, or their praise. I know that we rejoice at this; although those persons now seem illustrious, whom the people praise, yet they are more illustrious, and more justly to be applauded, when they are made worthy by their virtues; for no man is so by right from any other advantage.

"Art thou more beautiful for other men's beauty? A man will be full little the better, because he hath a good father, if he himself is but nought.

"Therefore, I teach, that thou mayest rejoice in other men's goods, and their nobility; for this chiefly, that thou dost not prepare thy own self; because every man's good and nobility is more in his mind than in his flesh (2)."

He now adds, paraphrasing the words of Boetius (3):—

follows that those whom wickedness throws down from the human condition, it lowers below the merit of a man. Therefore when you see any one transformed by vices, you cannot think him a man. Does a violent plunderer of another's property glow with avarice? You may say he is like a wolf. Does a fierce and unquiet one exercise his tongue in strife? He is to be compared to a dog. Does a betrayer rejoice to have surprised by secret fraud? He is on a level with foxes. Does he rage with intemperate anger? Believe that he carries the soul of a lion:" etc. etc. lib. iv. pr. 3.

(1) Alfred, p. 113, 114. (2) Alfred, p. 66, 67.

(3) Which are: "If there be any good in nobility, I think it is this alone, that a necessity seems to be imposed on the noble, that they should not degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors." Lib. iii. prosa 6.

"This alone I yet know to be good in nobility: that it makes many men ashamed of being worse than their elders were; and therefore they strive all their power, that they may become better in some habits, and may increase their virtues."

With the same nobleness of mind, he paraphrases and adds sentiments to the sixth metrum of Boetius (1), which would surprise us from any other king, than the great-minded, wise, and moral Alfred.—

"What! all men had a like beginning; because they all come of one father and one mother. They all are yet born alike. This is no wonder; because God alone is the Father of all creatures. He made them all, and governs all. He gave us the sun's light, and the moon, and placed all the stars. He created men on the earth. He has connected together the soul and the body by his power, and made all men equally noble in their first nature. Why then do ye arrogate over other men for your birth without works? Now you can find none unnoble. But all are equally noble, if you will think of your beginning creation, and the Creator, and afterwards of your own nativity; yet the right nobility is in the mind. It is not in the flesh, as we said before. But every man that is at all subjected to his vices, forsakes his Creator, and his first creation, and his nobility; and thence becomes more ignoble than if he were not nobly born (2)."

Alfred adapts to his own times a passage of Boetius, which he rather imitates than translates, and thereby gives us a lively picture of the habits and pursuits of his day, with an allusion to his own sufferings:—

"Dost thou then mean to be covetous for money? Now thou mayest no how else get it, except *thou steal it, or plunder it, or find it hidden*, or there increase thyself with it, where you lessen it to others.

"Wouldest thou now be foremost in dignities? But if thou wilt have them, thou must flatter very miserably and very humbly those that may assist thee to them. If thou wilt make thyself better and worthier than many, then shalt thou let thyself be worse than some. How! is not this then some portion of unhappiness, that a man so brave should cringe to those that can give it?

"Desirest thou power? But thou shalt never obtain it free from sorrows *from foreign nations, and yet more from thine own men and kindred.*

"Yearnest thou for glory? But thou canst never have it without vexations; for thou will always have something contrary and unpleasing.

"Dost thou wish to enjoy thine unrestrained desires? But then thou wilt despise God's commandments, and thy wearied flesh will have the command of thee; not thou of that. How can a man become more wretched,

(1) Boetius says: "All the human race arises on earth from a like origin. There is one Father of things: one administers all things. He gave the sun his rays, and he gave the moon her horns. He gave men to the earth, and stars to the sky. He has enclosed in limbs souls derived from a lofty seat. Therefore a noble germ has produced all mortals. Why do you boast of your race and ancestors? If you look at your beginnings and your Author, God, you will perceive that no one lives ignobly born." Lib. iii. met. 6.

(2) Alfred, p. 67.

than by being subject to his wearying flesh, and not to his reasoning soul (1)?"

We now come to a series of thoughts on kings, in which Alfred largely adds to those of Boetius (2). They display his feelings on kingly power used for oppression; his magnanimity in alluding to his own anxieties and vicissitudes; his estimate of sovereign greatness; his reasoning cast, and effusion of consecutive thought, and his flowing style:—

On kings.

"Dost thou now think that the friendship and society of kings, and the wealth and power which they give to their favourites, may make any man happy or powerful?

"Then answered I, and said: 'Why may they not? What is in this present life more pleasant and better than the retinue of the king, and to be near him and the wealth and power that follow.'

"Then answered Wisdom, and said: 'Tell me, now, whether thou ever heardest, that these things always continued with those who have been before us: or dost thou think that any may always keep what they now possess? Dost thou not know that all books are full of the examples of men that lived before us? and every man knows, that of those who now are alive, the power and affluence have changed with many kings, till they have become poor again.

"'Oh, this is a very admirable felicity, that neither may support itself nor its lord, so that he need no more help, or that they be both retained!

"'How! is your highest happiness the power of kings, and yet, if there be any failure of his will to any king, then that diminishes his power and increaseth his misery! Hence this your happiness will always be in some things unblessed.

"'But kings! though they rule many nations, yet they rule not all those that they would govern; and for this they are so wretched in their minds; because they have not something which they would have.

"'Therefore, I know, that the king who is rapacious hath more misery than power (3).'"

Alfred continues the theme with a direct allusion to himself:—

"Thus it is said, formerly, of a king that unrightfully seized his power (4).

(1) Alfred, p. 69, 70.

(2) The passage of Boetius is: "Do kingdoms or the familiarity of kings make you powerful? Why not? Since their felicity lasts perpetually. But antiquity is full of examples, the present age is full of them, in which the felicity of kings has been changed by calamity. Oh, excellent power! which is not found to be sufficiently efficacious to its own preservation. Yet if this power of kingdoms were the author of blessedness, would it not, if failing in any part, lessen our felicity and introduce misery. But though human empire should be widely spread, yet it must abandon many nations over whom every king cannot reign. Wherever the power that makes us happy ceases, that impotence enters which makes us miserable. Therefore kings must have a larger portion of misery." Boetius, lib. iii. prosa 5.

(3) Alfred, p. 62, 63.

(4) The Latin original of this part expresses "the tyrant who had experienced this sort of danger, compared his fear to the terror of a sword hanging over his head. What then is this power which cannot expel the gnawings of cares, nor the stings of apprehensions? They who wished to have lived secure could not, and yet boast of their power. Do you think him powerful who you see wishes what he

Oh, what a happy man was he, that always had a naked sword hanging over his head from a small thread! so *as to me it always yet did.*

"How! dost thou think now that wealth and power are pleasing, when they are never without fear, and difficulties, and sorrows? What! thou knowest that every king would wish to be without these, and yet have power, if he might; but I know that he cannot.

"This I wonder at; why they should glory in such power.

"Whether dost thou think now, that a man who has much power is very happy, that always desires what he may not obtain; or believest thou that he is very happy that always goes out with a great train; or, again, he that dreads both those who dread him, and those who fear him not?

"Whether dost thou think that the man has much power, who himself fancies that he has none, as now many believe that they have none, except they have many persons to obey them?

"What need we now more speak of kings and their followers, except that every wise man may know that they be full wretched and full unmighty? How can kings deny or conceal their unmightiness, when they cannot display their dignity without the help of their thanes (1)?

He enlarges greatly on the short metre of Boetius, on tyrannical kings (2), and describes them with the costume of his own times. A sovereign himself, he displays the superior nobility of his mind in perceiving so impartially, and painting so strongly the vicious feelings of bad and weak-minded rulers.

"Hear now a discourse on proud and unrighteous kings. We see them sitting on the highest high seats. They shine in garments of many kinds, and are with a great company of their thegns standing about them; who are adorned with belts, and golden-hilted swords, and manifold warlike appendages. They threaten all mankind with their majesty; and of those they govern, they care neither for friend nor foe, no more than a maddened hound. They are very incomprehensibly puffed up in their minds from their immoderate power.

"But if men should divest them of their clothes, and withdraw from them their retinue and their power, then might thou see that they be very like some of their thegns that serve them, except that they be worse. And if it was now to happen to them that their retinue was a while taken away, and their dress and their power, they would think that they were brought into

cannot effect? Do you think him powerful who surrounds his side with a guard; who himself dreads those whom he terrifies; who, however powerful he may seem, is placed in the hands of his servants? Why should I dissert on the companions of kings, when I have shown their own government to be so full of imbecility?" Boetius, lib. iii. prosa 5.

(1) Alfred, p. 63, 64.

(2) The English of Boetius is: "If, from the proud kings whom you see sitting on the lofty summit of the throne, splendid in their shining purple; hedged with sad arms; threatening with their stern countenance; breathless with the fury of their hearts; any one should draw aside the coverings of a vain dress, you would see the lord loaded with strong chains within. Here the lust of rapacity pours its poison on their hearts. Here turbid wrath raising its waves lashes their minds, or grief wearies its captive, or disappointing hope torments them. Then as you see one single head bears so many tyrants, how can he that is oppressed by such wicked masters do what he wishes." Boetius, lib. iv. met. 2.

a prison, or were in bondage; because from their excessive and unreasonable apparel, from their sweet-meats, and from the various drinks of their cup, the raging course of their luxury is excited, and would very powerfully torment their minds. Then would increase both their pride and their inquietude: then would they be enraged; then would their minds be lashed with the fervour of their hot-heartedness, till they were overcome with their own sadness, and were made captives. After this were done, the hope of their revenge would begin to cheat them, and whatsoever their anger desired, they would promise themselves that this would be their security.

"I told thee formerly in this same book, that all creatures desire some good from nature: but unrighteous kings can do no good. Hence I said it to thee. This is no wonder, because they subject themselves to all the vices that I before named to thee. Thus they are necessarily under the power of these masters, whom at first they might have subdued. And what is worse, they will not oppose these when they might begin to do it; and then continue in the struggle, though then they would have had no guilt (1)."

The warmth of feeling, and voluntary additions and amplifications here exhibited by Alfred, on this delicate subject, in which he was so personally involved, tempt one to recollect his own faults in the first part of his reign, and to believe that he is describing, with a generous self-reproach, some of his own former tendencies and imperfections, and some of the effects of his own humiliations.

The freedom which Alfred has taken in adding to his author what he pleases; in substituting opinions and reasoning of his own instead of those he found; and of enlarging upon the topics that pleased him, makes this work a record of the king's own feelings. Hence many parts in which the king paraphrases his original become interesting to us as evidences of his own sentiments, although the substance of them be found in Boetius. One of these is the conversation on adversity. Alfred had become well acquainted with this unwelcome visitor, and he repeats, enlarges, and sometimes alters what Boetius had said upon it, sufficiently to show that he has given us the effusions of his own heart and mind upon the subject. From a king who did not write, like Seneca, in the full enjoyment of every luxury, which he never lessened; but who formed and penned his thoughts amid vicissitudes, difficulties, privations, and dangers that would have overwhelmed most other men, a statement of the uses of adversity is peculiarly valuable for its sincerity as well as its practical wisdom. Nor are the ease and breaks of the dialogue, and flow of style, less remarkable than the justness of the feeling, in the following passages (2):—

On the benefits of adversity.

"'Dost thou now understand whither this discourse will lead us?'

(1) Alfred, p. 110, 111.

(2) To see how much Alfred has added of his own, both of dialogue and sentiment, on this part, the reader may compare Boetius, lib. iv. prosa 7.

"'Tell me whither it will.'

"'I would say, that every fortune is good; whether men think it good, or whether they think it evil.'

"'I imagine it may easily be so, though we should at times think otherwise.'

"'There is no doubt that every fortune is good in those things that be right and useful: for this reason, every fortune, whether it be pleasant, or whether it be unpleasant, cometh to the good for the purpose that it may do one of two things: either it urges them to this, that they should act better than they did before, or it rewards them for what they have done well before. And again, every fortune of those things that come to evil men, cometh for these two purposes, whether it be severe, or whether it be pleasant; if severe fortune cometh to evil men, it comes as a retribution for their evils, or for correction, and to teach them that they do not act so again.'

"Then I began to wonder, and said—

"'Is it from inwardly right observation that thou explainest this so?'

"'It is as thou sayest. But I would, if thou art willing, that we turn a little while to the popular discourse on this subject, lest they should say that we are talking above man's understanding.'

"'Speak as you wish.'

"'Dost thou suppose that that is not good which is useful?'

"'I suppose that it is good.'

"'Then every fortune is useful that happens to thee. It either teaches or it punishes.'

"'This is true.'

"'Adverse fortune is a good to those who strive against vices, and inclineth them to good.'

"'I cannot contradict this.'

"'What dost thou suppose of that good fortune which comes often to good men in this world so as to be a foretoken of eternal blessings? Whether can people say of this that it is evil fortune?'

"Then I smiled, and said—

"'No man would say that, but would declare that it is very good. So also it would be.'

"'What thinkest thou of that invisible fortune that often threatens the evil to punish them? Whether would this folk suppose that that was good fortune?'

"'They would not suppose that it was good, but would think that it was very miserable.'

"'Let us then pause, that we may not think so as the people think; if we should think on this as the people suppose, then we should lose all reason and all rightwiseness.'

"'Why should we lose these ever the more?'

"'Because the populace say that every severe and unpleasant fortune is an evil. But we should not believe this; because that every fortune is good, as we before mentioned, whether it be severe, or whether it be pleasant.'

"Then I was afraid, and said—

"'That is true which thou sayest. Yet, I know not how I dare to mention it to foolish men; because no foolish man can believe it.'

"Then Wisdom severely opposed, and said—

"'For this reason no wise man should tremble or lament at what may happen to him in this way, whether severe or agreeable fortune comes to

him, no more than a brave vassal should lament about how often he must fight. Nor will his praise be less. But the hope is that it will be greater. So also will the meed of the wise be greater, the more angry and severer fortune that befalls him. No wise man should desire a soft life, if he careth for any virtues or any worship here from the world, or for eternal life after this world. But every wise man should struggle both against hard fortune and against a pleasant one: lest he should presume upon his good fortune, or despair of his bad one. But it is needful to him that he should find out the middle way between severe and agreeable fortune, that he may not desire a more pleasant one, nor more enjoyment than will be suitable to him; nor again, a severer fortune; for this reason, that he may not suffer any thing unbecoming. But it is in their own power which of these they should choose. If then they will find out this middle path, then shall they themselves moderate their good fortune, and their enjoyments. Then will God mitigate to them all severe fortune, both in this world and that which is to come, so as that they may bear it (1).'"

Alfred now omits all the seventh metre of Boetius but the last three verses and a half (2); and these he enlarges upon into this animated exhortation, which obviously issues from his heart:—

"Well! O wise men! Well! Go all into the way which the illustrious examples of those good men, and those worthy heroes that were before you, lead you. Oh! ye slothful and idle loiterers, why will ye be so unprofitable and so enervated? Why will ye not ask after the wise and the worthy; such as they were that lived before you? and why will ye not then, after you have inquired into their customs, listen to them the most earnestly you may? For they struggled after worship in this world, and toiled for a good fame by good works, and wrought a good example for those that should be after them. Hence they dwell now above the stars in everlasting blessedness for their good works (3)."

After a discussion that the five most desired things of human life are, wealth, power, worship, fame, and pleasure; and that all these fail to give true happiness, their conversation turns upon what is the supreme good in which this can be obtained. All this part is translated by Alfred with the same spirit and freedom, and vivacity of dialogue, of which we have already given specimens. Alfred, at length, adds of his own:—

"That, methinketh, would be the true and perfect felicity, that would give to its followers permanent affluence and eternal power, and perpetual reverence, and everlasting fame, and fulness of joy;"—

and asks Wisdom to inform him where this is to be found; who, reminding him that Plato advised us to implore the Divine help in small things as well as in great, proceeds to utter that noble address to the Deity, of which Dr. Johnson has so finely translated

(1) Alfred, 136–138.

(2) There are in Boetius: "Go now, ye brave! where the lofty way of a great example leads you. Why should you, inert, uncover your backs? The earth, when conquered, gives us the stars." Lib. iv. met. 7.

(3) Alfred, p. 138.

the beginning and the conclusion into those beautiful lines already cited.

Parts of this address are very fine in Boetius, but the whole is finer in Alfred; for it is made more natural, more flowing from the heart, and more expanded, both in the feeling and the illustrations. It is a noble specimen of Alfred's lofty and enlarged, and even philosophical theism—the best foundation, and most attractive support of Christianity. He mingles with his devotion all the natural philosophy he possessed. Our ancient king has added to it so much of his own as to make it almost his original composition.

The extent of his additions will be perceived when the reader is told that the passage occupies 28 lines in Boetius (1), and 131 in Alfred:—

Alfred's philosophical address to the Deity.

"O Lord! How great and how wonderful art thou! Thou! that all thy creatures, visible and also invisible, hast wonderfully made, and wisely dost govern. Thou! who the courses of time, from the beginning of the world to the end, hast established in such order, that from Thee they all proceed, and to Thee return. Thou! that all moving creatures stirrest to thy will, while thou Thyself remainest ever tranquil and unchangeable. Hence none exists mightier than Thou art; none like Thee. No necessity has taught Thee to make what Thou hast made; but, of Thine own will, and by Thy own power, Thou hast created all things. Yet Thou hast no need of any.

"Most wonderful is the nature of Thy goodness, for it is all one, Thou and Thy goodness. Good comes not from without to Thee; but it is Thine own, and all that we have of good in this world, and that is coming to us from without, proceeds from Thee. Thou hast no envy towards any thing.

"None, therefore (2), is more skilful than Thou art. No one is like Thee; because Thou hast conceived and made all good from thine own thought. No man has given Thee a pattern; for none of these things existed before Thee to create any thing or not. But Thou hast created all things very good and very fair; and Thou Thyself art the highest and the fairest good.

"As Thou Thyself didst conceive, so hast Thou made this world; and Thou rulest it as Thou dost will; and Thou distributest Thyself all good as Thou pleasest. Thou hast made all creatures alike, or in some things unlike, but Thou hast named them with one name. Thou hast named them collectively, and called them the World. Yet this single name Thou hast divided into four elements (3). One of these is Earth; another Water; the third,

(1) That the reader may perceive what is Alfred's own, we shall add a version of his original. It begins, "O Thou, who governest the world with continual reason! Author of the earth and heaven! who commandest time to move from eternity, and, stable and enduring thyself, givest all things to be moved! Whom external causes have not impelled to form the work of flowing matter, but the innate form of the supreme good, void of all envy." Boetius, lib. iii. met. 9.

(2) Boetius proceeds: "Thou leadest all things by thy superior example. Fairest of all thyself! Thou bearest the fair world in thy mind, forming it in a resembling image, and commanding the perfect to have perfect parts." Lib. iii. met. 9.

(3) "Thou bindest the elements by numbers, that cold may suit with flame, and

Air; the fourth Fire. To each of these Thou hast established his own separate position; yet each is classed with the other; and so harmoniously bound by Thy commandment, that none of them intrudes on the limits of the other. The cold striveth with the heat, and the wet with the dry. The nature of the earth and water is to be cold. The earth is dry and cold; the water wet and cold. The air then is called either cold or wet, or warm; nor is this a wonder, because it is made in the middle between the dry and the cold earth and the hot fire. The fire is the uppermost of all this world's creations.

"Wonder-like is Thy plan, which Thou hast executed, both that created things should have limits between them, and be also intermingled; the dry and cold earth under the cold and wet water, so that the soft and flowing water should have a floor on the firm earth, because it cannot of itself stand. But the earth preserves it, and absorbs a portion, and by thus imbibing it the ground is watered till it grows and blossoms, and brings forth fruits. But if the water did not thus moisten it, the earth would be dried up and driven away by the wind like dust and ashes.

"Nor could any living creature enjoy the earth, or the water, or any earthly thing, for the cold, if Thou didst not a little intermix it with fire. Wonderful the skill with which Thou hast created that the fire should not burn the water and the earth. It is now mingled with both. Nor, again, can the water and the earth entirely extinguish the fire. The water's own country is on the earth, and also in the air, and again, above the sky: but the fire's own place is over all the visible creatures of the world; and though it is mingled with all the elements, yet it cannot entirely overcome any of them; because it has not the leave of the Almighty.

"The earth, then, is heavier and thicker than the other elements, because it is lower than any other except the sky. Hence the sky is every day on its exterior; yet it no where more approaches it, but in every place it is equally nigh both above and below.

"Each of the elements that we formerly spoke about has its own station apart, and though each is mingled with the other, so that none of them can exist without the other, yet they are not perceptible within the rest. Thus water and earth are very difficult to be seen, or to be comprehended by unwise men, in fire, and yet they are therewith commingled. So is also the fire in stones and water very difficult to be perceived; but it is there.

"Thou bindest fire with very indissoluble chains, that it may not go to its own station, which is the mightiest fire that exists above us, lest it should abandon the earth, and all other creatures should be destroyed from extreme cold in case it should wholly depart.

"Thou hast most wonderfully and firmly established the earth, so that it halts on no side, and no earthly thing falls from it; but all earth-like things it holds, that they cannot leave it. Nor is it easier to them to fall off downwards than upwards.

"Thou also stirrest the threefold soul in accordant limbs, so that there is no less of that soul in the least finger than in all the body. By this I

the dry with the liquid, lest the purer fire should fly off, or their weight lead the earth to be submerged. Thou connecting the middle soul that moves all things of threefold nature, resolvest it through consonant members. When divided, it assembles motion into two orbs, goes on to return into itself, circles round the profound mind, and turns heaven with a similar impress." Boetius, lib. ii. met. 9.

know that the soul is threefold, because foreign writers say that it hath three natures. One of these natures is, that it desires; another, that it becomes angry; the third, that it is rational. Two of these natures animals possess the same as men: one is desire, the other is anger. But man alone has reason, no other creature has it. Hence he hath excelled all earthly creatures in thought and understanding; because reason shall govern both desire and wrath. It is the distinguishing virtue of the soul.

"Thou hast so made the soul that she should always revolve upon herself as all this sky turneth, or as a wheel rolls round, inquiring about her Creator or herself, or about the creatures on the earth. When she inquireth about her Creator she rises above herself; when she searches into herself, then she is within herself; and she becomes below herself when she loves earthly things, and wonders at them.

"Thou, O Lord! wilt grant the soul a dwelling in the heavens (1), and wilt endow it there with worthy gifts, to every one according to their deserts. Thou wilt make it to shine very bright, and yet with brightness very various; some more splendidly, some less bright, as the stars are, each according to his earning.

"Thou, O Lord! gatherest the heaven-like souls, and the earth-like bodies; and Thou minglest them in this world so that they come hither from Thee, and to Thee again from hence aspire. Thou hast filled the earth with animals of various kinds, and then sowed it with different seeds of trees and herbs.

"Grant now, O Lord (2)! to our minds that they may ascend to Thee, from the difficulties of this world; that from the occupations here they may come to Thee. With the opened eyes of our mind may we behold the noble fountain of all good! THOU ART THIS. Give us then a healthy sight to our understanding, that we may fasten it upon Thee. Drive away this mist that now hangs before our mental vision, and enlighten our eyes with Thy light. For Thou art the brightness of the true light. Thou art the soft rest of the just. Thou causest them to see it. Thou art the beginning of all things, and their end. Thou supportest all things without fatigue. Thou art the path and the leader, and the place to which the path conducts us. All men tend to Thee (3)."

Alfred's metaphysics.

One of the most curious parts of Alfred's Boetius is his metaphysical reasoning.

When he comes to the fifth book, he leaves off translating his author, and indulges his own meditations on chance, free will, the Divine prescience, providence, the perceptions of animals; on

(1) Boetius adds: "Thou with like causes conveyest souls and inferior life, and adapting the sublime beings to lighter chariots, thou sowest them in heaven and in earth, and by a benign law makest them converging, to be brought back to thee like the flame of a torch." Boetius, lib. iii. met. 9.

(2) This, which is the best part of the metrum of Boetius, is literally thus: "Grant my mind, O Father! to ascend to thine august seat. Grant it to survey the source of good; grant it, with the attained light, to fix the visible eyes of its intellect on Thee. Cast off the clouds and weight of this terrestrial mass, and shine on it in thy splendour; for Thou art serenity; Thou art rest to the pious. To behold Thee is our end, O origin, supporter, leader, path, and termination!" Ibid.

(3) Alfred, p. 77—80. May we not say, without exaggeration, that Alfred has improved upon his original?

the difference betwixt human reason and the understanding of angels; and on the Divine nature.

That an Anglo-Saxon, when his whole nation was so illiterate, and both public and private affairs so disturbed, should attend at all to metaphysical studies, is extraordinary; but that Alfred, the king whose life was so embarrassed by disease and warlike tumult, should have had either leisure or inclination to cultivate them, and should have reasoned upon them with so much concise good sense as the following extracts will show that he did, is not the least surprising circumstance in his character. But a sagacious judgment attended him in every thing that he attempted.

How clearly has Alfred apprehended, and with what congenial enlargement and philosophy of mind has he in his own way stated and condensed the reasoning, more diffused and not so clear, of Boetius, on chance! The sentence in italics is rather implied than expressed, in Boetius (1):—

On chance.

"'It is nought when men say any thing happens by chance, *because every thing comes from some other things or causes,* therefore it has not happened from chance; but if it came not from any thing, then it would have occurred from chance.'

"'Then,' said I, 'whence first came the name?' Then quoth he, 'My darling, Aristotle mentioned it in the book that is called Fisica.' Then said I, 'How does he explain it?' He answered, 'Men said formerly, when any thing happened to them unexpectedly, that this was by chance. As if any one should now dig the earth, and find there a treasure of gold, and should then say that this happened by chance. But yet, I know that if the digger had not dug into the earth, and no man before had hidden the gold there, he would by no means have found it. Therefore it was not found by chance (2).'"

Could any reasoner have put this philosophical doctrine more correctly or concisely?

In the fifth book, we have Alfred's thoughts on the liberty of human actions. They are founded on the suggestions of Boetius (3); but he not only selects from his original what he liked on this subject, and compressed what he found diffused, into a small and expressive compass, but he states it so much in his own manner, as to show that he had well considered the subject, and has given us his genuine sentiments upon it.—

On the freedom of the will.

"I would ask thee, whether we have any freedom or any power, what we should do, or what we should not do? or does the divine pre-ordination or fate compel us to that which we wish?

"Then said he, 'We have much power. There is no rational creature which has not freedom. He that hath reason may judge and discriminate what he should will, and what he should shun; and every man hath this freedom, that he knows what he should will and what he should not will. Yet all rational creatures have not a like freedom. Angels have right judg-

(1) See Boet. lib. v. prosa 1.
(2) Alfred, p. 139.
(3) In his fifth book.

ments, and good will, and all that they desire they obtain very easily, because they wish nothing wrong. But no creature hath freedom and reason, except angels and men. Men have always freedom; and the more of it as they lead their minds towards divine things. But they have less freedom when they incline their minds near to this world's wealth and honours. They have no freedom, when they themselves subject their own wills to the vices; but, so soon as they turn away their mind from good, they are blinded with unwiseness (1)."

All the good sense of this much-agitated discussion seems to be condensed in these clear and forcible passages.

Alfred, instead of translating the subsequent observations of Boetius, has inserted the following questions, and their answers from his own mind. The answer contains an illustration, that strongly shows his own high-mindedness as a king, in loving to have free men in his court.—

Why men have freedom of will.

"I said, 'I am sometimes very much disturbed.' Quoth he, 'At what?' I answered:

"It is at this which thou sayest, that God gives to every one freedom to do evil, as well as good, whichsoever he will; and thou sayest also, that God knoweth every thing before it happens; and thou also sayest, that nothing happens, but that God wills, or consents to it; and thou sayest that it shall all go as he has appointed. Now, I wonder at this: why he should consent that evil men should have freedom that they may do evil, as well as good, whichsoever they will, when he knew before that they would do evil.

"Then quoth he, 'I may very easily answer thee this remark. How would it now look to you, if there were any very powerful king, and he had no freemen in all his kingdom, but that all were slaves?'

"Then said I, 'It would not be thought by me right, nor also reasonable, if servile men only should attend upon him.'

"Then quoth he, 'It would be more unnatural, if God, in all his kingdom, had no free creature under his power. Therefore he made two rational creatures free; angels and men. He gave them the great gift of freedom. Hence they could do evil as well as good, whichsoever they would. He gave this very fixed gift, and a very fixed law with that gift to every man unto his end. The freedom is, that man may do what he will; and the law is, that he will render to every man according to his works, either in this world or in the future one; good or evil, whichsoever he doeth. Men may obtain through this freedom whatsoever they will; but they cannot escape death, though they may by good conduct hinder it, so that it shall come later. Indeed, they may defer it to old age, if they do not want good will for good works.'

"Then said I, 'Thou hast well removed that doubt (2).'"

This solution of the difficulty proposed, shows that Alfred was the true king of an English people. He felt from his own great heart, that the Divine Sovereign must prefer to govern freemen rather than slaves; because such were his own sentiments as a

(1) Alfred, p. 140.

(2) Alfred, p. 141, 142.

king. The force of his answer rested on this noble feeling. If it be derogatory to the dignity of an earthly monarch, to have only slaves for his subjects, how much more unnatural would it be, that the King of kings should have no creatures with free will!

The following passages on the same metaphysical subject are also Alfred's own compositions, which he inserts instead of the reasoning of Boetius. They obviously express his own feelings and investigations, and the arguments by which his doubts were satisfied. —

On the Divine Fore-appointment.

"But I am yet grieved with much more trouble, even to sadness.

"What is thy grief about?

"It is about the Divine Pre-ordination. Because we heard it, some while since, said, that all shall happen as God, at the beginning, had appointed, and that no man can change it. Now methinketh, that he errs, when he honoureth the good, and also when he punishes the evil; if it be true, that it was so shaped by him, that they cannot do otherwise. We labour unnecessarily when we pray, and when we fast, or give alms, if we have no more merit from it, than those that in all things proceed according to their own will, and run after their bodily pleasures."

The answer begins by a reference to Cicero, whom Boetius had cited for the argument, for which Alfred had substituted his own difficulty. But he deviates immediately into reasoning of his own.

"I tell thee, if this be true, we ought to say, that it was an unnecessary commandment in the divine books, that God should order man to forsake evil and do good: and, again, the saying which he expressed, that the more a man laboureth the greater reward he shall receive. I wonder why thou hast forgotten all that we spoke about before. We said before, that the Divine Providence wrought every good and no evil, nor appointed any to be made, nor ever made any; but that indeed we are directed to good.

"It is thought evil by common people that He should avenge or punish any one for his evil.

"But, did we not also say in this same book, that God had appointed freedom to be given to men, and made them free; and that if they held this freedom well, he would greatly dignify them with everlasting power; and that if they misused this freedom, that he would then punish them with death?

"He has appointed, that if they sin in any thing through this freedom, they shall, by penitence, compensate for it, to recover that freedom; and if any of them will be so hard-hearted, that he will do no repentance, that he shall then have a just punishment.

"He has appointed all creatures to be servants, except angels and men, and hence they are the servants of these other creatures. They have their ministerial duties till doomsday. But men and angels, they are free. He dispenses with their servitude.

"What! can men say, that the Divine Providence has appointed this, that they should not fulfil these duties, or how? May they neglect them; that they may not do good? Now it is written that God will render to

every man according to his works. Why then should any man be idle, that he work not?—

"Then said I, 'It is obvious enough to me, that God knew it all before, both good and evil, before it happened. But I know not, whether that shall all happen unchangeably, which he knows and has appointed.

"'Then,' quoth he, 'THERE IS NO NEED THAT ALL SHOULD HAPPEN UNCHANGEABLY: though some of it shall happen unchangeably. This will be that, which will be best for our necessities; and that will be his will. But there are some so directed that there is no necessity for this; and though its being done would neither injure, nor benefit, nor be any harm, yet it will not be done.'

"'Think now, by thyself, whether thou hast appointed any thing so firmly, that thou thinkest that it shall never be changed by thy will, nor that thou canst be without it: or whether thou again art so divided in opinion, on any thought, whether it shall happen to help thee, or whether it shall not. Many are the things which God knows before they happen; and he knows also whether it will hurt his creatures that they should happen. But he knows not this for the purpose of willing that they should happen, but that he may take previous care that they should not happen. Thus a good ship-steerer perceives many a stormy wind before it occurs, and folds his sail, and awhile also lays down his mast, and then abides the beating, if, before the threatening of the adverse wind, he can guard himself against the weather (1).'"

In this train of original reasoning, it is remarkable, that Alfred's sound and practical understanding has fixed itself on the true solution of this difficult question. The Deity foresees, when He pleases, all things that can happen, not that every thing which He foresees should happen; but that He may select out of the possibilities which his foresight anticipates, those things which it will be most beneficial to his creation to take place; but He does not even will these unalterably. He binds himself in no chains. His laws are not made to be immutable, when the course and changes of circumstances make alteration advisable. "There is no need," as our royal sage intimates, "that all things should unchangeably happen." Alfred felt it to be wiser, from his own experience, to reserve and exercise the right of making new determinations and arrangements as new exigencies occurred; and he has reasonably applied the same principle to the Divine Government. The Deity could make all things unchangeable if he pleased, and could from all eternity have so appointed them. But there was no need for his doing this. It was wiser and more expedient that he should not do so. He is under no necessity, at all times, or at any time, to exert all his possibilities of power. He uses on every occasion so much of it as that occasion requires, but no more. He involves himself in no fetters of necessity. He is always doing what it is the best and fittest to do, and reserves to himself the right and the freedom of making at every period whatever new arrangement the progress or the new positions and the welfare of his creation require.

(1) Alfred, p. 142—144.

Thus Alfred has hit upon the real wisdom of opinion on this contested subject, which many theologians and metaphysicians have failed to attain. He could not have left a more impressive instance of the penetrating sagacity of his clear and honest mind.

Boetius was advancing to the point, but missed it; for he seems to have thought, like most, that whatever was foreseen must occur. Alfred's idea of an exerted foresight to choose from, without the necessity of the thing foreseen therefore unalterably occurring, was a beautiful distinction of his correct judgment.

Instead of the reasoning of Boetius, in the fifth prosa of his last book, Alfred substitutes the following of his own:

On human nature and its best interests.

"Then said I, 'Thou hast very well helped me by this speech. I wonder why so many wise men should have laboured so much on this subject, and have found out so little that was wise.'

"Then quoth he, 'Why wonderest thou so much? Is it so easy to be understood? How! knowest thou not, that many things are not understood so as they exist; but according to the quality of the understanding of him that inquires after them. Such is wisdom. No man from this world can understand it, such as it really is; though every one strives according to the quality of his understanding, that he may perceive it if he can. Wisdom may entirely comprehend us, such as we are, though we may not wholly comprehend that, such as it is in itself; because wisdom is God. He seeth all our works, both good and evil, before they are done, or for this purpose, thought. But he compels us not to this, that we must necessarily do the good; nor prevents us from doing evil; because he has given us freedom. I can teach thee also some examples, by which thou mayest the easier understand this speech. What! thou knowest the sight, and the hearing, and the taste: they perceive the body of man, and yet they perceive it not alike. The ears perceive so that they hear, but they perceive not yet the body entirely as it is; our sense of feeling must touch it, and feel that it is the body. We cannot feel whether this be black or white, fair or not fair; but the sight at the beginning turns to these points; and as the eyes look on things, they perceive all the appearance of the body. But I will give thee some further explanation, that thou mayest know that which thou wonderest at.'

"Then said I, 'What is this?'

"He said, 'It is that man understands only that which he separately perceives in others. He perceives separately through his eyes; separately through his ears; separately through his nostrils; separately by his reason; separately by his wise comprehension. There are many living things that are unmoving, such as shell fish are; and these have yet some portion of perception; or they would not else live, if they had no grain of perception. Some can see, some can hear, some taste, some smell; but the moving animals are more like man, because they have all that the unmoving creatures have, and also more too. This is, that they obey men. They love what loves them, and hate what hates them; and they fly from what they hate, and seek what they love. But men have all that we have before mentioned, and also add to them the great gift of reason. Angels have a still wiser understanding.

"'Hence are these creatures thus made, that the unmoving shall not exalt themselves above the moving ones, nor contend with them; nor the moving ones above men; nor men above angels; nor angels strive against God.

"'But this is miserable, that the greatest part of men look not to that which is given to them, that is, reason; nor seek that which is above them, which is what angels and wise men have; this is a wise understanding. But most men now move with cattle, in this, that they desire the lusts of the world like cattle. If we now had any portion of an unhesitating understanding, such as angels have, then we might perceive that such an understanding would be much better than our reason. Though we investigate many things, we have little ready knowledge free from doubt. But to angels there is no doubt of any of those things which they know, because their ready knowledge is much better than our reasoning; as our reasoning is better than the perceptions of animals. Any portion of understanding that is given to them, is either to those that are prone or to those that are erect. But let us now elevate our minds as supremely as we may towards the high roof of the highest understanding, that thou mayest most swiftly and most easily come to thine own kindred from whence thou camest before. There may thy mind and thy reason see openly that which they now doubt about; — every thing, whether of the Divine prescience, which we have been discoursing on, or of our freedom, or of all such things (1).'"

What an easy flow of reasoning, on topics, which the Aristotelian schoolmen afterwards bewildered without improving!

If it be interesting to read the philosophical reasonings of great men on the sublime subject of Deity, and on that which constitutes the supreme good, it is peculiarly so to observe how Alfred treats of it, when we recollect the age he lived in, and the barbaric minds with which he was surrounded. He has enlarged so copiously on the suggestions of Boetius (2), added so much to his text, inserted so much vigour of reasoning, and also thrown it so much more into dialogue, that it claims our attention as another specimen of his original composition. He argues and thinks like a platonic philosopher.

On the Divine nature.

"I would ask thee first one thing. Whether thinkest thou that any thing in this world is so good as that it may give us full happiness? I ask this of thee. I do not wish that any false likeness should deceive you and me, instead of the true comfort; for no man can deny that some good must be the most superior. Just as there is some great and deep fountain, from which many brooks and rivers run. Hence men say of some advantages, that they are not complete good, because there is some little deficiency in them, which they are not entirely without. Yet every thing would go to naught, if it had not some good in it.

"From this you may understand, that from the greatest good come the less goods; not the greatest from the less; no more than the river can be

(1) Alfred, p. 144—146.

(2) The reader may compare, with the king's effusion, Boetius, lib. iii. prosa 10.

the spring and source, though the spring may flow into a river. As the river may return again to the spring, so every good cometh from God, and returns to him; and he is the full and the perfect good; and there is no deficiency of will in him. Now you may clearly understand that this is God himself. —

"Then answered I, and said, 'Thou hast very rightly and very rationally overcome and convinced me. I cannot deny this, nor indeed think otherwise, but that it is all so as thou sayest.'

"Then said Wisdom, 'Now I would that thou shouldest think carefully till thou understand where true happiness is. How! knowest thou not, that all mankind are with one mind consenting that God is the beginning of all good things, and the governor of all creatures? He is the supreme good. No man now doubts this, because he knows nothing better, and indeed nothing equally good. Hence every reasoning tells us, and all men confess the same, that God is the highest good. Thus they signify that all good is in him; for if it were not, then he would not be that which he is called; but something has existed before him or is more excellent. Then that would be better than he is; but nothing was ever before him, nor more excellent than he is, nor more precious than himself. Hence he is the beginning, and the fountain, and the roof of all good. This is clear enough. Now it is openly shown, that the true felicities are in no other existing thing but in God.'

"Then said I, 'I am consenting to this.'

"Then he answered, 'I conjure thee that thou rationally understand this; that God is full of every perfection, and of every good, and of every happiness.'

"I then replied, 'I cannot fully understand it. Wherefore tell me again, the same that thou didst mention before.'

"He said, 'Then I will say it again. I would not that thou shouldest think this, that God is the father and the origin of all creatures, and yet that his supreme goodness, of which he is full, comes to him from any where from without. I also would not have thee think that any other can be his good and happiness but himself; because, if thou supposest that the good which he hath comes to him any where from without, then that thing from which it comes to him would be better than he, if there were such. But it is very silly, and a very great sin, that men should think so of God; either to suppose again, that any thing were before him, or better than he is, or like him. But we should agree that he is the best of all things.

"'If thou now believest that God exists so as men are, either he is a man that hath soul and body, or his goodness is that which gathereth good elsewhere, and then holds it together, and rules it. If thou then believest that it is so with God, then shalt thou necessarily believe that some power is greater than his, which it so unites as that it maketh the course of things. But whatever thing is divided from others is distinct, — is another thing, though they may be placed together. If, then, any thing be divided from the highest good, it will not be that highest good. Yet it would be a great sin to think of God, that there could be any good without him, or any separated from him. Hence nothing is better than He is, or even as good. What thing can be better than its creator? Hence I say, with juster reason, that He is the supreme good in his own nature, which is the origin of all things.'

"Then I said, 'Now thou hast very rightly convinced me.'

"Then quoth he, 'Did I not before tell thee that the supreme good and the highest happiness were one?' I answered, 'So it is.' He replied, 'Shall we then say that this is any thing else but God?' I said, 'I cannot deny this; because I assented to it before (1)'".

The following passages are from Alfred's own pen. Speaking of the Deity, he adds: —

"'He is the stem and the foundation of all blessings. From Him all good cometh, and every thing tends to Him again. He governs them all. Thus He is the beginning, and the support of all blessings. They come from Him so as the light and brightness of the planets come from the sun: some are brighter, some are less bright. So also the moon: he enlightens as much as the sun shines on him. When she shineth all over him, then is he all bright.'

"When I heard these observations I was then astonished, and much awed, and exclaimed, 'This is a wonderful, and delightful, and reasonable observation which thou now expressest to me!'

"He answered, 'It is not more pleasant nor wiser than the thing that thy discourse was about. We will now talk about that; because methinketh it good that we connect this with the former.' Then replied I, 'What is that (2)?'"

After this, the concise question of Boetius, whether "the several things of which beatitude consists do not unite, as it were, in one body of blessedness, with a certain variety of parts, or whether any one of them hath it complete to which the rest may be referred (3)," is thus amplified and commented upon by Alfred with his own illustrations and reasonings: —

"What I expressed to thee before was, that God was happiness; and that from this true felicity come all the other goods that we discoursed about before; and return to him. Thus from the sea the water cometh into the earth, and there freshens itself. It proceedeth then up into a spring; it goeth then into a brook; then into a river; then along the river till it floweth again into the sea. But I would now ask thee how thou hast understood this assertion? Whether dost thou suppose that the five goods which we have often mentioned before, that is, power, dignities, celebrity, abundance, and bliss; — I would know whether you suppose that those goods were limbs of the true felicity, so as a man's limbs are those of one person, and belong all to one body? Or dost thou think that some one of the five goods makes the true felicity, and afterwards that the four others become its goods: as now the soul and body compose one man?

"'The one man hath many limbs, and yet to these two, that is, to the soul and the body, belong all this man's comforts both spiritual and corporeal. It is now the good of the body that a man be fair and strong, and long and broad, with many other excellencies besides these. Yet they are not the body itself; because, though he should lose any of these good things, he would still be what he was before. Then the excellencies of the soul are, prudence, moderation, patience, righteousness, and wisdom, and many such virtues: and yet, as the soul is one thing, so the virtues are another.'

(1) Alfred, p. 81—83. (2) Alfred, p. 84.
(3) Boetius, lib. iii. pr. 10.

"I then said, 'I wish that thou wouldest explain to me yet more clearly, about the other goods that belong to the true felicity.'

"He answered, 'Did I not inform thee before, that the true happiness is God?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'thou hast said he was the supreme good.' Then quoth he, 'Art thou now consenting that power, and dignities, and fame, and plenty, and joy, and happiness, and the supreme good, are all one; and that this one must be the Deity?'

"I said, 'How should I now deny this?' Then he answered, 'Whether dost thou think that those things which are the limbs of the true felicity is that felicity itself?'

"I replied, 'I know now what thou wouldest say; but it will please me better that you should speak to me some while about it than ask me.' He then said, 'How! couldest thou not reflect that if these goods were limbs of the true felicity, they would be somewhat distinct from it as a man's limbs are from his body? But the nature of these limbs is that they make up one body, and yet are not wholly alike.'

"I then remarked, 'Thou needest no more speak about it. Thou hast explained it to me clearly enough that these goods are no whit separated from the true felicity.'

"Then quoth he, 'Thou comprehendest it right enough. Thou now understandest that all good is the same that happiness is, and this happiness is the supreme good, and the supreme good is God, and God is always inseparably one.'

"I said, 'There is no doubt of it. But I wish you now to discourse to me a little on what is unknown (1).'"

All the preceding is the addition of Alfred to the short suggestion already given from Boetius.

Shortly after the above occurs the tenth metrum of Boetius (2), which Alfred paraphrases, or rather imitates, so as to make the whole of it, in point of composition, his own, and nearly so in its thoughts.

It is Alfred's corollary from the preceding dialogue.

"Well! O men! Well! Every one of you that be free tend to this good, and to this felicity; and he that is now in bondage with the fruitless love of this world, let him seek liberty, that he may come to this felicity. For this is the only rest of all our labours. This is the only port always calm after the storms and billows of our toils. This is the only station of peace; the only comforter of grief after all the sorrows of the present life. The golden stones and the silvery ones, and jewels of all kinds, and all the

(1) Alfred, p. 84—86.

(2) The original is: "Come here, all ye that are thus captivated; whom deceitful desire, dulling your earthly minds, binds with its wicked chains; here will be rest from your labours; here, a serene part where you may remain quiet. This is the only asylum open to the wretched. Tagus never gave any thing in its golden sands, nor Hermus from his ruddy bank, or Indus near the heated circle, mingling green with white stones. They blaze to the sight, and the more conceal the blinded mind within their darkness. In this, whatever pleases and excites the mind, the low earth nourishes in its caverns. The splendour with which heaven is governed and flourishes shuns the obscure ruins of the soul. Whoever can note this light, will deny the bright rays of Phœbus." Boet. lib. iii. met. 10.

riches before us, will not enlighten the eyes of the mind, nor improve their acuteness to perceive the appearance of the true felicity. They rather blind the mind's eyes than make them sharper; because all things that please here, in this present life, are earthly; because they are flying. But the admirable brightness that brightens all things and governs all; it will not destroy the soul, but will enlighten it. If, then, any man could perceive the splendour of the heavenly light with the pure eyes of his mind, he would then say that the radiance of the shining of the sun is not superior to this,—is not to be compared to the everlasting brightness of God (1)."

The last chapter of his Boetius is Alfred's composition. He has taken a few hints from his original (2), but he has made what he has borrowed his own, by his mode of expression, and he has added from his own mind all the rest. It is a fine exhibition of his enlightened views and feelings on that great subject, which has, in every age, so much interested the truly philosophical mind; and we may add, that no one has contemplated it with more sympathy, rationality, and even sublimity, than our illustrious king. His description of the Deity is entirely his own.—

"Hence we should with all our power inquire after God, that we may know what he is. Though it should not be our lot to know what He is, yet we should, from the dignity of the understanding which he has given us, try to explore it.

"Every creature, both rational and irrational, discovers this, that God is eternal. Because so many creatures, so great and so fair, could never be subject to less creatures and to less power than they all are, nor indeed to many equal ones.

"Then said I, 'What is eternity?'

"He answered, 'Thou hast asked me a great and difficult thing to comprehend. If thou wilt understand it, thou must first have the eyes of thy mind clean and lucid. I may not conceal from thee what I know of this.

"'Know thou that there are three things in this world: one is temporary; to this there is both a beginning and an end: and I do not know any creature that is temporary, but hath his beginning and his end. Another thing is eternal which hath a beginning, but hath not an end: I know not when it began, but I know that it will never end: such are angels and the souls of men. The third thing is eternal, both without end, and without beginning: this is God. Between these three there is a very great discrimination. If we were to investigate all this subject, we should come late to the end of this book, or never.

"'But one thing thou must necessarily know of this previously — Why is God called the Highest Eternity?'

"Then said I, 'Why?'

"Then quoth he, 'Because we know very little of that which was before us, except by memory and by asking; and yet we know less of that which will be after us. That alone exists rationally to us which is present; but to Him all is present, as well that which was before as that which now is, and that which after us will be. All of it is present to Him.

(1) Alfred, p. 87, 88.

(2) How few these are may be seen by those who read the last chapter of Boetius. Lib. v. pr. 6.

"'His riches increase not, nor do they ever diminish. He never remembers any thing, because He never forgets aught: He seeks nothing, nor inquires, because He knows it all: He searches for nothing, because He loses nothing: He pursues no creature, because none can fly from Him: He dreads nothing, because He knows no one more powerful than Himself, nor even like Him. He is always giving and never wants. He is always Almighty, because He always wishes good, and never evil. To Him there is no need of any thing. He is always seeing: He never sleeps: He is always alike mild and kind: He will always be eternal. Hence there never was a time that He was not, nor ever will be. He is always free. He is not compelled to any work. From His divine power He is every where present. His greatness no man can measure. He is not to be conceived bodily, but spiritually, so as now wisdom is and reason. But He is wisdom: He is reason itself (1)."'

We can scarcely believe that we are perusing the written thoughts of an Anglo-Saxon of the ninth century, who could not even read till he was twelve years old; who could then find no instructors to teach him what he wished; whose kingdom was overrun by the fiercest and most ignorant of barbarian invaders; whose life was either continual battle or continual disease; and who had to make both his own mind and the minds of all about him. How ardent must have been Alfred's genius, that, under circumstances so disadvantageous, could attain to such great and enlightened conceptions!

CHAPTER III.

Alfred's Geographical, Historical, Astronomical, Botanical, and other Knowledge.

His translation of Orosius.

Alfred's translation of Orosius (2) is peculiarly valuable for the new geographical matter which he inserted in it (3). This consists of a sketch of the chief German nations in his time, and an account of the voyages of Ohthere to the North Pole, and of Wulfstan to the Baltic, during his reign. Alfred does in this as in all his translations: he omits some chapters, abbreviates others; sometimes rather imitates than translates; and often inserts new paragraphs of his own.

His geographical knowledge.

It is clear, from these additions, that Alfred was fond of geography, and was active both to increase and diffuse the knowledge of it. Some little insertion in his Boetius

(1) Alfred, p. 147, 148.

(2) Orosius ends his summary of ancient history and geography in 416, when he was alive. He quotes some historians now lost; as Claudius on the Roman conquest of Macedonia, and Antias on the war with the Cimbri and Teutones: and appears to have read Tubero's history, and an ancient history of Carthage.

(3) The principal MS. of Alfred's translation is in the Cotton library, Tiber. b. i. which is very ancient and well written. A transcript of this, with a translation, was printed by M. Daines Barrington in 1773.

implies this fact; for he introduces there a notice of the positions of the Scythians (1), and derives the Goths from them (2); and mentions Ptolemy's description of the world (3). But it is in his Orosius that the extent of his researches is most displayed. The first part of his original is a geographical summary of the nations and kingdoms of the world in the fifth century. Alfred has interspersed in this some few particulars (4), which prove that he had sought elsewhere for the information he loved. Having done this, he goes beyond his original, and inserts a geographical review of Germany, as it was peopled in his time; which is not only curious as coming from his pen, and as giving a chorographical map of the Germanic continent of the ninth century, which is no where else to be met with at that period; but also as exhibiting his enlarged views and indefatigable intellect. No common labour must have been exerted to have collected, in that illiterate age, in which intercourse was so rare and difficult, so much geographical information. It is too honourable to his memory to be omitted in this delineation of his intellectual pursuits.

Alfred's notitia of Germany.

"Then north against the source of the Donua (Danube), and to the east of the Rhine, are the East Francan; south of them are the Swæfas (Swabians); on the other part of the Danube, and south of them, and to the east, are the Bægthware (Bavarians), in the part which men call Regnes-burh (5); right east of them are the Beme (Bohemians); and to the north-east the Thyringas (Thuringians); north of them are the Eald Seaxan; and north-west of them are the Frysan (Frisians).

"West of the Eald Seaxan is the mouth of the Ælfe river (the Elbe), and Frysland; and thence west-north, is that land which men call Angle and Sillende (Zealand), and some part of Dena (Denmark); north of them is Apdrede (6); and east-north the Wilds that men call Æfeldan; and east of them is Wineda land, that men call Sysyle (Silesians), and south-east over some part Maroaro (the Moravians); and these Maroaro have west of them the Thyringas and Behemas (Bohemians), and half of the Bavarians; south of them, on the other half of the river Danube, is the land Carendre (Carinthia). South to the mountains that men call Alpis. To these same mountains lie the boundaries of the Bavarian's land, and Swabians: and

(1) Alfred's Boet. p. 30. (2) Ibid. p. 1.

(3) Ibid, p. 38. He enlarges on Boetius's account of Etna.

(4) Thus, Orosius says, Asia is surrounded on three sides by the ocean. Alfred adds, on the south, north, and east. What Orosius calls "our sea," meaning the Mediterranean, Alfred names Wendel sæ. Sarmaticus, he translates sermondisc. O. speaks of Albania. A. says it is so named in Latin, "and we hy hatath nu Giobene." O. mentions the boundaries of Europe; A. gives them in different phrases, mentions the source of the Rhine and Danube, and names the Cwæn sæ. Speaking of Gades, he adds, "On thæm ilcan Wendel sæ on hyre Westende is Scotland." He adds also of the Tygris, that it flows south into the Red Sea. Several little traits of this sort may be observed.

(5) Ratisbon: the Germans call it Regensburgh. The modern names added to this extract are from J. R. Forster's notes. I have in this, as in all the extracts from Alfred's works, made the translation as literal as possible, that his exact phrases may be seen.

(6) The Obotritæ settled in Mecklenburgh.

then by the east of Carendra land, beyond the deserts, is Pulgara land (Bulgaria); east of this is Creca land (Greece); east of Marcoro land is Wisleland (1); east of this is Datia, where formerly were the Gottan (the Goths).

"North-east of Maroara are the Dulamensan (2); and east of the Dalomensan are the Horithi; and north of the Dalomensan are the Surpe (3), and west of them are the Sysele. North of the Horiti is Mægthalond; and north of Mægthalande is Sermende (the Sarmatæ), to the Riffin (Riphæan) mountains.

"South-west of the Denum is that arm of the ocean which lieth about the land Brittannia, and north of them is that arm of the sea which men call Ost Sea (4). To the east of them, and to the north of them, are the North Dene, both on the greater lands and on the islands; and east of them are the Afdrede; south of them is the mouth of the river Ælfe, and some part of Eald Seaxna.

"The North Dene have on their north that same arm of the sea which men called Ost; and east of them are the Osti (5) nation, and Afdrede on the south. The Osti have on the north of them the same arm of the sea, and the Winedas and Burgendas (6); and south of them are the Hæfeldan.

"The Burgendan have the same arm of the sea west of them, and the Sweon (Swedes) on the north; east of them are the Sermende; south of them are the Surfe. The Sweon have to the south of them the Osti arm of the sea; east of them are the Sermende; and north over the wastes is Cwenland; north-west are the Scride Finnas; and west, the Northmenn."

Such is the notitia of Germany, which Alfred had inserted in his Orosius. As it displays the ideas of an inquisitive king, on the positions of the German nations in the ninth century, it is valuable to geographers.

To this delineation of Germany, Alfred adds an interesting account of the voyage of Ohthere towards the North Pole (7), and of the voyage of Wulfstan in the Baltic. As it is the king's composition, and gives a curious sketch of several nations in the ninth century, we think it a duty to insert it.

"Ohthere said to his lord, king Ælfred, that he abode the northmost of all the Northmen. He declared that he abode on those lands northward against the West Sea. He said, that that land is very long to the north,

(1) Wisleland is that part of Poland which is commonly called Little Poland, for here the Vistula rises, which in Polish is called Wisla.

(2) Dalamensæ are those Sclavonians who formerly inhabited Silesia from Moravia, as far as Glogau, along the Oder. Wittekind calls them Sclavi Dalamanti.

(3) The Sorabi, Sorbi, or Sorvi, who lived in Lusatia, and Misnia, and part of Brandenburgh and Silesia, below Glogau; their capital was Soraw, a town which still exists. I vary the orthography as the MS. does.

(4) The Germans have for the Baltic no other name than the Ost Sea.

(5) The same whom Wulfstan calls the Estum. The northernmost part of Livonia still bears the name of Estland.

(6) Bornholm, the contraction of Borgundcholm, Wulfstan calls Burgundaland.

(7) Whoever now reads Ohthere's voyage will hardly think it possible that any one could have so mistaken it, as to say it was a voyage to discover a *northern passage to the East Indies*. Yet so Mallet and Voltaire have represented or rather misrepresented it.

and is all waste, except in few places: the Finnas dwell scattered about; they hunt in winter, and in summer they fish in the sea.

"He said, that on some occasion he wished to find out how long that land stretched to the north, or whether any man abode to the north of those wastes. Then went he right north of those lands, leaving the waste land all the way on the starboard, and the wide sea on the back-board (larboard). He was for three days as far north as the whale-hunters farthest go. Then went he yet right north as far as he might sail for three other days; the land bent there right east, or the sea in on that land, he knew not whether; but he knew, that he there expected a west wind, or a little to the north. He sailed thence east of the land, so as he might in four days sail. Then should he there abide a right north wind, because that land inclined right south, or the sea in on that land, he knew not whether. (He knew not whether it was a mere bay or the open sea.)

"Then sailed he thence right south of the land, so as he might in five days sail. Then lay there a great river up in that land. Then returned they up from that river, because they durst not sail forth on that river from hostility, for that land was all inhabited on the other side of the river. Nor had he met before any inhabited land, since he went from his own home, but to him all the way was waste land on the starboard, except the fishers, fowlers, and hunters; and these were all Finnas: on his larboard, there was a wide sea.

"The Beormas had very well inhabited their land, and he durst not come there; but Terfinna land was all waste, except where the hunters, or the fishers, or the fowlers settled.

"The Beormas told him many accounts both of their own lands and of the lands that were about them; but he knew not what was truth, because he did not see it himself. He thought the Finnas and the Beormas nearly spoke one language. He went chiefly thither to each of these lands looking for the horse-whales, because they have very good bone in their teeth. He brought some of the teeth to the king; the hides are very good for ship ropes. These whales are much less than the other whales; they are not longer than seven ells long.

"On his own land are the best whales hunted; they are forty-eight ells long, and the largest fifty ells. Of these, he said, that he was one of six who slew sixty in two days.

"He was a very wealthy man in those possessions that be their wealth; that is, in wild deer. He had then yet when he sought the king 600 unbought tame deer; these deers they call hranas (rein-deer). There were six decoy hranas; they are very dear amid the Finnas, because they take the wild hranas with them.

"He was amid the first men in those lands, though he had not more than twenty horned cattle, and twenty sheep, and twenty swine; and the little that he ploughed, he ploughed with horses. But their wealth is most in those gafol that the Finnas pay to them. These gafol are in deer-skins, and in birds' feathers, and whales' bones, and in the ship-ropes that be made of the whales' hides, and of seals.

"Every one pays according to his birth. The best born (or richest) shall pay fifteen martens' skins, and five hranas, and one bear skin, and ten ambra of feathers, and a kyrtel of bears' or otters' skin, and two

ship-ropes, each to be sixty ells long; some are made of whales' hide, some of seals.

"He said, that Northmanna land was very long and very small; all that men could use of it for pasture or plough lay against the sea, and even this is in some places very stony. Wild moors lay against the east, and along the inhabited lands. In these moors the Finnas dwell.

"The inhabited land is broadest eastward, but northward becomes continually smaller. Eastward, it may be sixty miles broad, or a little broader; midway, thirty or broader; and to the north, he said, where it was smallest, it might be three miles broad to the moors. The moors are in some places so broad, that a man might be two weeks in passing over them. In some places their breadth was such that a man might go over them in six days.

"Even with these lands, southward, on the other side of the moors is Sweo-land; to that land, northward, and even with those northward lands, is Cwenaland. The Cwenas make depredations, sometimes on the Northmen over the moors (sometimes the Northmen on them); and there are many great fresh lakes over these moors, and the Cwenas carry their ships overland to the lakes, and thence plunder the Northmen. They have ships very little and very light.

"Ohthere said, the shire was called Halgoland that he abode in. He declared that no man abode north of him. There is one port on the southward of these lands; this men call Sciringes-heale; thither he said a man might not sail in a month, if he rested at night, and every day had a favourable wind: all the while he shall sail by the land and on the starboard, the first to him would be Iraland, and then the islands that are betwixt Iraland and this land; then is this land till he comes to Sciringes-heale.

"All the way on the larboard is Norway; against the south of Sciringes-heale a very great sea falleth upon that land. It is broader than any man may see over. Gotland is opposite on the other side, afterwards Sillende. The sea lieth many hundred miles up in on that land.

"He said, he sailed from Sciringes-heale in five days to that port which men call æt Hethum. It stands between the Winedum and Saxons and Angles, and belongs to Denmark.

"When he thitherward sailed from Sciringes-heale, Denmark was on his larboard, and on his starboard was a wide sea for three days; and then two days before he came to Hæthum, Gothland was on his starboard, and Sillende and many islands; on those lands the Engle dwelt before they came to this country; and for two days the islands were on his larboard that belong to Denmark."

This voyage of Ohthere presents us with an interesting and authentic picture of the manners and political state of a great portion of the north. The next is the voyage of Wulfstan towards the east of the Baltic.

Wulfstan's voyage.

"Wulfstàn said, that he went from Hæthum; that in seven days and nights he was in Truso; that the ship was all the way running under sail. Weonothland was to him on the starboard, and on his larboard was Langaland and Leland, and Falster and Sconeg, and

all these lands belong to Denmark; and then Burgenda land was to us on the larboard, and they have to themselves a king.

"Then after Burgenda land were to us those lands that were called first Blecinga-eg and Meore, and Eowland and Gotland on the larboard. These lands belong to Sweon. Weonod-land was all the way to us on starboard to the mouth of the Wisla. The Wisla is a very great river, and towards it lieth Witland and Weonod-land. This Witland belongeth to the Estum, and the Wisle flows out of Weonod-land, and flows in the East Lake. The East Lake is at least fifteen miles broad.

"Then cometh the Ilfing east into the East Lake. Truso stands on the banks of this lake, and the Ilfing cometh out in the East Lake, east of Eastlande, together with the Wisla south of Winodland; and then Wisla takes away the name of Ilfing, and tends west of this lake, and north into the sea; therefore men call it the mouth of the Wisla.

"This Eastlande is very large, and there be a great many towns, and in every town there is a king; and there is a great quantity of honey and fish. The king and the richest men drink mares' milk, and the poor and the slaves drink mead. There be very many battles between them. There is no ale brewed amid the Estum, but there is mead enough.

"And there is a custom amid the Estum, that when there is a man dead, he lieth within, unburnt, a month amid his relations and friends—sometimes two months; and the kings and the other principal men so much longer, as they have more wealth: sometimes they be half a year unburnt. They lie above the earth in their house, and all the while that the body is within, there shall be drink and plays until the day that they burn them.

"Then the same day that they choose to bear them to the pile, his property that remains after this drink and play is divided into five or six parts, sometimes more, as the proportion of his wealth admits. They lay these along, a mile apart, the greatest portion from the town, then another, then a third, till it be all laid at one mile asunder; and the least part shall be nearest to the town where the dead man lieth.

"Then shall be collected all the men that have the swiftest horses in the land, for the way of five miles or six miles from the property. Then run they all together to the property. Then cometh the man that hath the swiftest horse to the farthest portion and to the greatest, and so on one after the other, till all be taken away; he taketh the least who is nearest the town, and runs to it; then each rides away with his prize, and may have it all; and because of this custom the swift horse is inconceivably dear.

"And when the wealth is all thus spent, then they bear the man out and burn him, with his weapons and garments. Most frequently all his wealth is spent during the long lying of the dead man within. What they lay by the way, strangers run for and take it.

"This is the custom with the Estum, that the men of every nation shall be burnt; and if a man finds a bone unburnt, it much enrages him. There is with the Estum the power of producing cold, so that there the dead man may lie thus long and not be foul; and they make such cold among them, that if any one sets two vessels full of ale or water, they so do that these shall be frozen the same in summer as in winter (1)."

(1) For a commentary on this periplus, the reader may consult 2 Langbeck's Script. Dan. p. 100—123., and the notes of Mr. Foster added to Barrington's Orosius. As it would occupy too large a portion of this work to do it justice, I have not attempted it here.

His historical knowledge.

The attachment of Alfred to history appears, from his translations of Orosius's Abridgement of the History of the World, and of Bede's History of the Anglo-Saxon Nation, and from his short sketch of the History of Theodoric the Gothic king, by whose order Boetius was confined (1). But from the want of proper books, Alfred's acquaintance with ancient history appears, from his allusions to it in his Boetius (2), to have been but slight, and not always accurate.

His translation of Bede.

His great historical work was his version of Bede's history into Saxon (3). In this he omits or abridges sometimes single passages, and sometimes whole chapters. He frequently gives the sense of the Latin in fewer and simpler words; but he for the most part renders his original with sufficient exactness. The style of the translation is more stately (4) than the dialogues of his Boetius, and therefore has not the charm of their lively ease and graceful freedom; but it shows the variety of his powers of composition.

His astronomy.

His attention to astronomy appears from his translation of a metrum of Boetius, in which he rather imitates than translates his original, and expresses a few more astronomical ideas than he found there (5).

"Which of the unlearned wonder not at the journeying and swiftness of the firmament? How he every day revolves round all this world, outside! Or who does not admire that some stars have shorter revolutions than others have, as the stars have that we call the Waggon-shafts? They have a short circuit, because they are near the north end of that axis on which all the firmament revolves. Or, who is not amazed, except those only who know it, that some stars have a longer circuit than others have, and the longest, those which revolve round the axis midway, as now Boeties doth? So the planet Saturn comes not to where he was before till about thirty winters. Or, who does not wonder at some stars departing under the sea, as some.

(1) Alf. Boet. p. 1.

(2) Thus he mentions, p. 39., Cicero's other names; touches on the Trojan war, p. 114.; on the Hydra, p. 126.; notices Virgil, p. 140.; and adds a few additional circumstances, in other places, to the names of the persons mentioned by Boetius.

(3) This translation was formerly published by Wheloc, from three MSS., two at Cambridge, and one in the Cotton Library; but the best edition of it is that appended by Smith to his Latin Bede, Cantab. 1722, with the various readings and a few notes. Alfred's translation is mentioned by Elfric, who lived in 994, in his Anglo-Saxon Homily on St. Gregory, "and eac istoria Anglorum tha the Aelfred cyning of Leden on Englisc awend." Elstob. Sax. Hom. p. 2.

(4) Dr. Hickes says of it, that neither Cæsar nor Cicero ever wrote more perfectly in the middle species of composition. Pref. Gram. Angl. Sax. This is too warm an encomium for a translation.

(5) The passage in Boetius is: "If any one should not know that the stars of Arcturus glide near the pole; or why Boetes slowly drives his wain, and immerges his fires late in the sea, while he urges rapid their ascent; he will wonder at the law of the lofty sky. The horns of the full moon may grow pale, affected by the departure of the dark night, and Phebe, overshadowed herself, discovers the stars which her radiant face had concealed. A general error then disturbs the nations, and they tire their cymbals with frequent blows."

men think the sun doth, when she goeth to rest? But she is not nearer the sea than she was at mid-day. Who is not amazed at this, that the full moon is covered over with darkness? or, again, that the stars shine before the moon, but do not shine before the sun?

"They wonder at this (1) and many such like things, and do not wonder that men and all living animals have perpetual and unnecessary enmities betwixt themselves. Or, why should they wonder at this, that it sometimes thunders, and sometimes that there begins a conflict of the sea and the winds, and the waves and the land? or why that this should be; and again, that the sun should shine according to his own nature? But the unsteady folk wonder enough at that which they most seldom see, though this is less surprising. They think that all else is but old creation, but that the casual is something new. Yet, when they become curious, and begin to learn, if God takes from their mind the folly that it was covered with before, then they wonder not at many things which now amaze them (2)."

This latter part, in which he has enlarged upon his concise original, shows how much his mind rose above the superstitions both of his own times and of the ancient world on the phenomena of nature.

His botanical knowledge.

The additions which he has made to a passage in Boetius show that botany, as then known, had been an object of his attention and acquisition. The sentences in italics are the additions of Alfred, and evince that he had interested himself with studying the progress of vegetation, as far as its process was then known, and as its principles could from that knowledge be understood: —

"I said, I cannot understand of any living thing; of that which knows what it will and what it does not will, that uncompelled it should desire to perish; because every creature wishes to be healthy and to live, of those that I think alive; excepting that I know not how it may be with trees and herbs, and such substances that have no soul.

"Then he smiled and said, 'Thou needest not doubt it of these creatures, any more than of others. *How! canst thou not see, that* every herb and every tree grows on *the richest land that best suits it,* and that is natural and customary to it, and there it hastens to grow the most quickly that it may, and the latest decays? The soil of some herbs and some woods is on hills; of some in marshes; *of some in moors;* of some on rocks; some on bare sands.

"'Take any wood or herb whatsoever thou wilt *from the place that is its earth and country to grow on, and set it in a place unnatural to it, then it will not grow there,* but will fade away; *for the nature of every land is, that it nourishes like herbs and like trees; and it so doeth,*

(1) "Yet no one wonders that the breath of the north-west wind beats the shore with the raging wave, nor that the frozen mass of snow is dissolved by the fervor of Phebus. Here the mind is alert to perceive causes; there the unknown disturbs it, and what is rare amazes the movable vulgar. Let the errors of ignorance depart with their clouds, and the wonderful cease to amaze." Boet. lib. iv. met. 5.

(2) Alf. Boet. p. 125, 126.

that it defends and sustains them very carefully, so long as it is their nature that they may grow.

"*What thinkest thou? Hence every seed grows within the earth, and becometh grass and roots in the earth without. For this they are appointed, that the stem and the stalk may fasten and longer stand.*

"'*Why canst thou not comprehend, though thou mayest not see it; that* all the portion of these trees, *which increases in twelve months,* begins from their roots, and *so groweth upwards to the stem,* and then along the pith, and along the rind to the stalk, *and thence afterwards to the boughs, till it springs out into leaves, and blossoms, and fruit?*

"'*Why may you not understand, that* every living thing is tenderest inward, and its unbroken outside the hardest? Thou canst see how the trees are clothed without, and protected by their bark against winter, *and against stark storms, and also against the sun's heat in summer. Who may not wonder at such works of our Creator, and not less of their Creator? And though we may admire it now, which of us can properly explain our Creator's will and power, and how his creatures increase and again decline?* When that time cometh, it occurs again, that from their seed they are renewed. *They then become regenerated, to be what they then should be again, and become also in this respect alike:* such they will be for ever, *for every year their regeneration goes on* (1)."

His translation of Gregory's pastorals.

The book written by Pope Gregory, for the instruction of the bishops of the church, called his Liber Pastoralis Curæ, was much valued in Christendom at that period (2). It was the best book at that time accessible to him, by which he could educate his higher clergy to fulfil their duties (3); and though it tends to make them too inquisitive into human actions, and would insensibly lead them to erect a tyranny over the human mind, incompatible with its improvement or its happiness; yet, as it contains many moral counsels and regulations, and was written by the Pope, who was called the Apostle of the English, and no other book was then at his hand which was equally popular or likely to be as effectual, it was an act of patriotism and philanthropy in the king to translate it (4).

Dialogues of Gregory.

It was not Alfred, but his bishop, Werefrith, who translated the Dialogues of Gregory. The king directed the translation, and afterwards recommended it to his clergy (5). The subjects are chiefly the miracles stated to be per-

(1) Alf. Boet. p. 89, 90. Boet. lib. iii. pr. 11.

(2) Alcuin twice praises it. The council of Toledo ordered that it should be studied by all bishops.

(3) The MSS. of it in the Cotton Library, Tiber, B. 11., was supposed to be the copy which Plegmund possessed. It is nearly destroyed by fire. There is another ancient MS. of it in the Bodleian, Hatton, 88.

(4) Alfred had complained to Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, that "the ecclesiastical order, from the frequent irruptions and attacks of the Northmen, or from age, or the carelessness of the prelates and the ignorance of the people, had declined in many." Ep. Fulc. p. 124.

(5) Alfred's recommendation of this work appears in the preface which he

formed in Italy by religious men. They display the pious feeling of the age, but these words comprise almost the whole of their merit; for the piety is unhappily connected with so much ignorance, superstition, credulity, and defective reasoning, that we are surprised it should have interested the attention of Alfred. But as it had not then been determined what was true, or what was false in history, geography, philology, or philosophy, criticism was not at that time practicable. The weight of evidence, the natural guide of the human belief, was then its only criterion; and as Gregory professed to relate what he himself had known concerning perfect and approved men, or what he had received from the attestations of good and faithful persons, these legends seemed to have an adequate support of human testimony. We are now wise with the experience, thought, reading, comparisons, and inferences of a thousand additional years; and with this knowledge, the slowly-formed creation of so many centuries beyond the time of Alfred, we can detect those errors of judgment and of vulgar tradition, which he had no materials that enabled him to question. Let us, however, not impeach our Anglo-Saxon ancestors for peculiar credulity, nor consider it as an index of their barbarism. They believed nothing on these points, but such things as came recommended to them by the analogous belief of the classical and Roman empire which had preceded them. What Athens and Rome alike supposed of the powers and agencies of their gods and goddesses, heroes, demons, and genii, the imperial Christians attributed to their saints and most venerated clergy. Pope Gregory was not more credulous in his religion than the Emperor Julian was in his paganism; or Apuleius, and perhaps even Lucian, in common with his age, of witchcraft (1). Philostratus, Jamblichus, Porphyry, Ammonius, and other heathen philosophers, of the third and fourth centuries, in their belief of the miracles achieved by the sages whom they patronised (2), were the precursors of the

prefixed to it, and which is printed by Wanley, p. 71., from the Bodleian MS. Hatton, 100.

(1) Julian's works show abundant evidences of his credulity, and Lucian describes the powers of witchcraft as fully, and with as much seriousness, as Apuleius.

(2) See Philostratus's Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, written by the desire of the empress of Septimius Severus, to be run against the life of our Saviour, and therefore written accordingly; Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras; Porphyry's De Antro Nympharum, and other remains. It was such a favourite point with declining paganism to set up Apollonius against the Christian legislator, that in the reign of Dioclesian, when such a bitter war was waged against Christians, Hierocles, the intolerant president of Bithynia, took up his pen to maintain the superiority of the Tyanæan sophist. He was such a zealous defender of the pretended miracles which are now ascribed to this upheld competitor, above two centuries after his death, that both Eusebius and Lactantius thought it necessary to refute his exaggerating supporter. Some modern opponents of religion have emulated both the credulity and literary efforts of Hierocles in favour of the Tyanæan; although time, the great decider between truth and falsehood, has long since verified the dying exclamation of Julian, VICISTI, *Galilæe!*"

Catholic biographers of their respected saints; and our Alfred may be pardoned for following the stream, not only of his own age, but of the most cultivated classical periods, in believing such wonders on the authority of Gregory, which every age of the world had concurred to admit to be both practicable and practised by those whom its different sects and parties revered. With such sanction, from both philosophical and popular belief, it then seemed irrational to doubt them (1). One of Alfred's favourite objects was the moral improvement of his people. He wisely considered religion to be the most efficacious instrument of his benevolence; and Gregory's dialogues were as adapted to excite pious feelings at that time, as they would now operate rather to diminish them. We feel that piety allied with nonsense or with falsehood only degrades the Majestic Being whom it professes to extol. He whose wisdom is the most perfect intelligence and the fountain of all knowledge to us; He whose creations display a sagacity that has no limit but space, and which appears in forms as multifarious as the countless objects that pervade it; should be adored with our sublimest reason and knowledge united with our purest sensibility. Alfred possessed this noble feeling in its full aspiration, but he was compelled to use the materials which his age afforded. He chose the best within his reach, which was all that was within his power. That they were not better was his misfortune, but leaves no imputation on his judgment.

Alfred's selections from St. Austin.

In the Cotton Library there is an Anglo-Saxon MS. of some selections from St. Austin's soliloquies (2), or, as the MS. expresses it, "The gathering of the flowers," from St. Austin's work. At the end of these flowers is this imperfect sentence: "Here end the sayings that king Alfred selected from those books that we call ——" (3) Here the MS. terminates.

His Psalter.

Malmsbury mentions that Alfred began to translate the Hymns of David, but that he had hardly finished

(1) So much self-delusion and mistake have been connected with miracles; so many are resolvable into accidents, natural agencies, imagination, false perceptions, erroneous judgments, and popular exaggeration, independent of wilful falsehood, that the cautious mind will believe none but those mentioned in the Scriptures, as no others have that accumulation of evidence, both direct and inferential, which impresses these upon our belief.

(2) It is in Vitellius, A. 15. After three pages of preface, it says, "Augustinus Cartama biceop worhte swa bæc be his egnum gethance; tha bæc sint gehatene soliliquiorum, tha is be modes fineaunge and treounga." The first part closes as "ær endiath the blostman there fopman bocum;" and the next part begins with "ær originth seo gado ung there blostmena there æfteran bec." MS. p. 41.

(3) Aer endiath tha cwidas the Elfred Kining alæs of thære bæc the we hatath on —— MS. p. 56. Wanley says of this MS. "Tractatus iste quondam fuit ecclesiæ B. Mariæ de Suwika, ut patet ex fol. 2. litteris Normanno-Saxonicis post conquæstum scriptus," p. 218. A transcript of this MS. made by Junius is in the Bodleian Library, Jun. 70., and this has the same abrupt ending. Wanley, 96.

the first part when he died (1). There are many MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalter extant (2); but it is not in our power to discriminate the performance of Alfred.

His Bible.

That the king translated the Bible or Testament into Anglo-Saxon has been stated on some authorities, but the selections which he made for his own use appear to have been confounded with a general translation (3).

His Æsop.

In the Harleian Library there is a MS. of a translation of fables styled Æsop's, into French romance verse. At the conclusion of her work, the author (4) asserts that Alfred the king translated the fables from the Latin into English, from which version she turned them into French verse (5). Mary, the French translator, lived in the thirteenth century. The evidence of her assertion, as to Alfred being the English translator of the fables, can certainly only have the force of her individual belief; and as this belief may have been merely founded on popular tradition, it cannot be considered as decisive evidence. Such an assertion and belief, however, of an authoress of the thirteenth century, must be allowed to have so much weight as to be entitled to notice here (6). The completest MS. of Mary's translation

(1) Psalterium transferre aggressus vix prima parte explicata vivendi finem fecit. Malmsb. 45.

(2) Wanley says, p. 182., there is a MS. very elegantly written about the time of Ethelstan, which contains Jerome's Latin Psalter, with an interlineary Saxon version, in the King's Library. There is another interlineary version in the Cotton Library, Vesp. A. 1., written 1000 years ago, very elegantly, in capital letters. Wanley, 222. There is another written before the conquest in Tiberius, C. 6. p. 234. This contains many figures of musical instruments, alleged to be Jewish, and several coloured drawings on religious subjects. There is another interlineary version in the Lambeth Library, written in Edgar's reign, or a little before, which contains the curious and valuable addition of ancient musical notes. Wanley, 268. Spelman has published an Anglo-Saxon Psalter.

(3) Flor. Wig. says, that in 887, on the Feast of Saint Martin, he began it. It is clear, on comparing the passage, that he only meant what Asser had mentioned, p. 57., that he then began to translate some parts. The history of Ely asserts, that he translated all the Bible; but Boston of Bury says, that it was "almost all the Testament." Spelman's Life, p. 213. Yet as no MSS. of such a work have been seen, we cannot accredit the fact beyond the limits mentioned in the text.

(4) This author was Mary, an Anglo-Norman poetess. She states herself to have been born in France, and she seems to have visited England. The thirteenth volume of the Archæologia, published by the Antiquarian Society, contains a dissertation upon her life and writings, by the Abbé La Rue, p. 36—67.

(5) Mary's words are :—

"Por amur le cunte Villame
Le plus vaillant de nul realme
Meintenur de cest livre feire
E del Engleis en romans treire
Æsope apelum cest livre
Qu'il translata e fist escrire
Del griu en Latin le turna
Li reis Alurez qui mut l'ama
Le translata puis en Engleis.
Et ico la rimee en Franceis."

Harl. MS. 978. p. 87.

(6) Mons. La Rue thinks, that Alfred was not the author of the English transla

contains an hundred and four fables, out of which thirty-one only are Æsop's (1).

But it would seem that Alfred's extensive mind had even condescended to write on one of the rural sports of his day; for in the catalogue of MSS. which in 1315 were in the Christ Church library we find a treatise of this king on keeping hawks mentioned. "Liber Alured, regis, de custodiendis accipitribus (2)." This book corresponds with the fact mentioned by Asser, that Alfred was accustomed "to teach his falconers and hawkers, and hound-trainers (3)."

It has been declared that the Parables of Alfred had great edification, beauty, pleasantry, and nobleness (4). It is a great loss to our curiosity, perhaps to our education, that we have not these tales, or moral apologues, which were existing in the reign of Henry the Second (5).

Alfred is also praised for his excellence in proverbial sayings (6). Some collections of this sort have been noticed by his biographer, Spelman, which may perhaps contain some of his ideas, as they were preserved by tradition, and in a later age committed to writing; but they are probably not wholly in the phrases of his own composition (7).

tion which Mary used. His reasons are by no means conclusive: for 1st. Asser mentions no translations of Alfred's, and therefore his omission of Æsop is of no consequence. 2d. Though Malmsbury does not particularize Æsop among the translations he enumerates, this argument is indecisive, because Malmsbury expressly states, that the king translated more books than those which he enumerates. His words are, "Denique *plurimam partem* Romanæ Bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus decit,——cujus *præcipui* sunt libri Orosius," etc. Malmsbury only names the chief of his translations; a monk would have hardly ranked Æsop in this honourable class. 3d. The abbé's doubt, whether Mary could, in the thirteenth century, have understood Alfred's language, is of no great force, because we cannot think it unlikely that there should be persons in England who knew both Norman and Saxon, or that Mary should have learnt Saxon if she wished it. 4th. As to the feudal expressions which Mary uses, as we have not the English MSS. which she translated, and therefore cannot know what were the actual expressions in that, I think no argument can be rested on them. Alfred, in his Boetius, puts king in one place, and heretogas in another, for Roman consuls.

(1) Archæologia, p. 53. (2) Wanley's preface.

(3) Asser, 43.

(4) So the MSS. Chron. Joan. Oxenedes says:—

"Parabolæ ejus plurimum habentes edificationis, venustatis, jocunditatis et nobilitatis." Cott. Lib. MSS. Nero, D. 2.

(5) Ail. Riev., who then lived, declares, "*Extant* parabolæ ejus," etc., using nearly the same words as Oxenedes, p. 355.

(6) "In proverbiis ita enituit ut nemo post illum amplius." Ann. Eccl. Wint. 1 Angl. Sacra, p. 280. Some of these are noticed in the Old English dialogue between the owl and the nightingale.

(7) One of these, the least likely to be Alfred's, may be seen in Dr. Hickes's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. 222. The other, which suits better Alfred's wisdom, has been quoted by Spelman, in his Life of Alfred, and translated from the MS. in the Cotton Library. See p. 94. of Walker's edition, and 127. of Hearne's. Spelman's extracts may be more valued, as the Cotton MS. of Galba, A. 19., was ruined by the fire which destroyed much valuable antiquity.

Of Alfred's manual or memorandum book, which seems to have existed in Malmsbury's days (1), and which would have been such a curiosity to modern times, not even a remnant has been found.

His taste in the arts.

The genius of Alfred was not confined to literature: it also extended to the arts; and in three of these, architecture, ship-building, and gold and silver workmanship, he obtained an excellence which corresponded with his other talents.

Architecture.

Asser mentions, "that he caused edifices to be constructed from *his own* new designs, more venerable and precious than those which his predecessors had raised (2)". These not only consisted of halls and royal apartments, made of wood or stone, in pursuance of his directions, to the surprise of his contemporaries: but he also formed cities and towns, some of which he repaired, and others built; some he destroyed on their ancient sites, to raise them of stone, in positions more useful and appropriate (3). He was so earnest in these improvements, that he procured from many nations numerous artificers, versed in every sort of building, and he regularly appropriated a sixth of his yearly revenues to pay their expenses, and remunerate their labour (4).

Ship-building.

His talent and cultivation of naval architecture have been already noticed.

Workmanship in gold.

He also taught his artisans and workers in gold (5), and by his instructions, occasioned many things to be incomparably executed (we use the epithet of his contemporary) in gold and silver (6). One specimen of his talent in this art yet exists to us in a jewel of gold which was found near Athelney (7).

(1) Malmsbury's references to this show, that it was not a mere receptacle for devout extracts, but was rather a general common-place book; for he cites from it some traits of biography, and observations on a piece of poetry. "Qui enim legit manualem librum regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum Beati Aldhelmi patrum non fuisse regis Inæ germanum sed arctissima necessitudine consanguineum," lib. v. De Pont. 341. Again, speaking of Aldhelm, he says, he cultivated Anglo-Saxon poetry, "Adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi, nullo unquam ætate par ei fuerit quisquam poesin Anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur Aldelmum fecisse." By the next paragraph, Alfred seems to have reasoned upon the subject. His manual was therefore the repository of his own occasional literary reflections; for Malmsbury adds, speaking still of Alfred, "*Adjiciens causam qua probet rationabiliter*, tantum virum his quæ videantur frivola, instituisse populum eo tempore semibarbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis cursitare solitum," p. 342.

(2) "Et ædificia supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem venerabiliora et pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere." Asser, 43.

(3) Asser, 58. (4) Ibid. 66. (5) Ibid. 43. (6) Ibid. 58.

(7) On one side is a rude outline of a human figure apparently sitting, and holding what seem like two flowers. On the other side is a flower; it is much ornamented, and the workmanship is said to be excellent. The inscription expresses, that it was made by Alfred's orders.

In the less valuable pursuits of hunting, falconry, hawking, and coursing, he was also distinguished (1).

CHAPTER IV.

Alfred's Poetical Composition.

To the other accomplishments of his mind Alfred endeavoured to add that of poetry. Fond of Saxon poems from his infancy, he found a pleasure in attempting to compose them; and the metrums of Boetius afforded him the opportunity of practising his powers of language in this interesting art.

The great characteristic of Saxon versification was the position of a few words in short lines, with a rhythmical effect. As far as we can now discern, there were no rules of artificial prosody to be observed; but the ear was to be gratified by a rhythm or musical effect in the pronunciation; and any brief sequence of syllables that would produce this pleasure was used and permitted.

It would be presumptuous, now that the Anglo-Saxon has so long ceased to be spoken, to decide peremptorily on the merit of Alfred's versification, which must have depended so much on the colloquial tones and cadences of his day. But as far as can be judged from a comparison of it with the compositions of Cedmon, the odes in the Saxon Chronicle, and the poem on Beowulf, it has not their general strength and fulness of rhythm. Though at times sufficiently successful, it is weaker and less elevated than their style, and is not often much more musical than his own prose. Of its poetical feeling and mind we can better judge, as he has translated the metrums also into prose; and it may be said, without injustice, that his verse has less intellectual energy than his prose. The diction is amplified to admit of its being made nearer to poetry, but it is rather diluted than improved. Here and there a few expressions of greater vigour occur, but, in general, the prose is not only more concise, but also more spirited and more clear.

Yet it is only in comparison with his own prose that the merit of Alfred's poetry is thus questioned. His superior intellect in imitating and emulating, and sometimes passing beyond his original, has given it a value of thought and feeling, an infusion of moral mind, and a graceful ease of diction, which we shall look for in vain, to the same degree and effect, among the other remains of the Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The reader who compares the description of the Golden Age,

(1) Asser, 43.

and the stories of Eurydice and Circe, inserted before from Alfred's prose, with his translations of the same into verse, will perceive that his poetry has not increased their interest. They are too long to be inserted here. But it will be a just respect to his memory to insert some of his other versifications of the metrums of Boetius, as specimens of the usual style of his poetical diction. He has so amplified and varied his originals as to make much of them his own compositions. The amount of the poetry of the king's mind will best appear from comparing the following effusions with the originals in Boetius, which are also given :—

ON SERENITY OF MIND.

Alfred.	*Boetius.*
Thou mightest of the sun Manifestly think; And of all the other stars; Of those that behind cities Shine the brightest, That if before them wan The atmosphere should hang, They cannot then Send forth the beams of their light While the thick mist prevails.	With black clouds hidden, no light can the stars emit. Lib. i. met. 7.
So often the mild sea, Clear as grey glass, The southern wind Grimly disturbs; Then mingle The mighty waves : The great whales rear up. Then rough that becomes, Which before serene Was to the sight.	If the rolling sea the turbid south wind should mingle, the wave, before glassy and serene, sordid with diffused mud, would obstruct the sight. Ibid.
So often a spring Wells up from a hoary cliff, Cool and clear, And flows spaciously right on. It runneth over the earth Till it gets within it. Great stones from the mountains fall, And in the midst of it Lie, trundled From the rock. In two parts afterwards It becomes divided. The transparent is disturbed; The streams mingle; The brook is turned aside From its right course, Flowing into rivers.	As wandering from the lofty mountains, the devious river is often resisted by the obstructing stone, loosened from the rock. Ibid.
So now the darkness Of thy heart Will of my light The doctrine withstand, And thy mind's thoughts Greatly disturb. But if now thou desirest That thou mayest well This true light clearly know; To believe in that light	If thou also wilt, with a clear light, behold the truth, in the right path direct your steps; drive away joys; drive away fear; chase hope. Ibid.

Alfred.	*Boetius.*
Thou must dismiss The idle excess of riches : Unprofitable joy. Thou must also the evil Fear wholly dismiss Of the world's difficulties. Nor must thou be for them At all in despair : Nor do thou ever let Prosperity weaken thee; Lest thou shouldst become, With arrogance from that, Again confounded; And be too elevated By the enjoyments Of this world's riches.	
Nor again too weakly Despair of any good When in the world, Adversity of most things Oppresses thee; And thou thyself Most strongly pressest forwards. Because always is The mind's thought Much bound with sorrow If these evils can disturb it With which it struggles within. Because both these two Draw together over the mind The mists of error; So that on it the eternal sun May not hence shine upon it On account of the black mists Before that it has become strengthened.	Nor let grief be present. The mind is in a cloud, and bound with chains where these reign. Lib. i. met. 7.

P. 155.

ON THE NATURAL EQUALITY OF MANKIND.

The citizens of earth, Inhabitants of the ground, All had One like beginning. They of two only All came; Men and women, Within the world. And they also now yet All alike Come into the world The splendid and the lowly. This is no wonder, Because all know That there is one God Of all creatures; Lord of mankind : The Father and the Creator.	All the human race arises on the earth from a like origin. There is one father of events : one administers all things.
He the sun's light Giveth from the heavens; The moon and this Of the greater stars.	He gave to Phœbus his rays, and to the moon her horns.
He made Men on the earth; And united The soul to the body.	He gave men to the earth, and the stars to the sky. He inclosed in limbs the minds sought from the lofty seat. Therefore he made all mortals a noble race.

Alfred.

At the first beginning
The folk under the skies
He made equally noble;
Every sort of men.

Why then do ye ever
Over other men
Thus arrogate
Without cause?
Now you do not find
Any not noble.
Why do ye from nobility
Now exalt yourselves?
In his mind let
Every one of men
Be rightly noble,
As I have mentioned to thee,
The inhabitants of the earth
Not only in the flesh;
But yet every man
That is by all
His vices subdued
First abandons
His origin of life,
And his own
Nobility from himself;
And also which the Father
At the beginning made for him.
For this, will
The Almighty God
Unnoble him;
That he noble no more
Thenceforth might be,
In the world;
Nor come to glory. P. 171.

Boetius.

Why do you clamour on your birth and ancestors? If you consider your beginning and your author, God, no one exists that is not noble. Lib. iii. met. 6.

ON TYRANTS.

Hear now one discourse
Of those proud,
Unrighteous
Kings of the earth,
That now here with many
And various garments,
Bright in beauty,
Wonderously shine
On high seats;
Clothed in gold
And jewels.
Without these stand around
Innumerable
Thegns and earls
That are adorned
With warlike decorations;
Illustrious in battle;
With swords and belts
Very glittering;
And who attend him
With great glory.
They threaten every where
The surrounding
Other nations;
And the lord careth not,
That governs this army,
For either friends' or enemies'
Life or possessions;
But he, a fierce mind,

The kings whom you see sitting on the lofty elevation of the throne, splendid with their shining purple; hedged with dismal weapons; threatening with grim countenance; breathless with the rage of the heart.

Alfred.

Rests on every one,
Likest of any thing
To a fierce hound.
He is exalted
Within in his mind
For that power
That to him every one
Of his dear princes
Gives and supports.

If men then would
Wind off from him
These kingly ornaments,
Each of his garments,
And him then divest
Of that retinue
And that power
That he before had,
Then thou shouldest see
That he would be very like
Some of those men
That most diligently
Now, with their services,
Press round about him.
If he be not worse
I think he will be no better.
If to him then ever,
Unexpectedly, chance should happen
That he should be deprived
Of that glory, and garments,
And retinue, and that power
That we have spoken about;
If from him any of these things
Were taken away,
I know that he would think
Then he was crawling in a prison,
Or indeed bound with ropes.

I can assert
That from this excess of every thing
Of food and clothes, wine, drinks,
And sweetmeats,
Most strongly would increase
Of that luxuriousness
The great furious course.
Much disturbed would be
His intellectual mind.
To every man
Thence must come
Extraordinary evils,
And useless quarrels;
Then they become angry.
To them it happens in their hearts
That within are afflicted,
Their thoughts in their minds
With this strong fire
Of hot-heartedness,
And afterwards fierce sorrow
Also bindeth them
Hard emprisoned.
Then afterwards beginneth
Hope to some
Greatly to lie
About that revenge of battle
Which the anger desireth
Of one and of the other,

Boetius.

If from these proud ones any one should draw aside the covering of their gaudy apparel, he will see that the lords are bound with chains within.

For here greedy lust pours venom on their hearts: here turbid anger, raising its waves, lashes the mind; or sorrow wearies her captives; or deceitful hope torments them.

Alfred.

It promises them all
Which their contempt
Of right may enjoin.

I told thee before
In this same book,
That of the various creatures
Each single one
Some good
Always desired
From his own
Ancient nature;
But the unrighteous
Kings of the earth
Cannot ever
Accomplish any good
From the evil
That I have mentioned.
It is no wonder,
Because they love the vices
Which I named before,
And to which only
They are always subject. P. 186.

Boethius.

Since, then, you see that one head has so many tyrants, pressed by their iniquitous sway, it performs not what it wishes. Lib. iv. met. 2.

ON COVETOUSNESS.

What will the rich man be,
The worldly, covetous one,
In his mind the better,
Though he should much possess
Of gold and gems
And of every good:
Possessions innumerable;
And for him men
Should plough every day
A thousand acres?

Though the rich miser should be in a flowing whirlpool of gold, he could not satisfy his appetite for wealth. Let him adorn his neck with the berries of the Red Sea, and cleave his rich soils with a hundred oxen.

Though this world
And this race of men
Should be under the sun
South, west, and east,
To his power
All subjected,
He could not
Of these acquisitions
Hence lead away
From this world
Any thing more
Of his treasured property
Than he hither brought. P. 169.

Biting cares will not quit him while he lives, nor can his trivial riches accompany him when dead. Lib. iii. met. 3.

ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

He that would
Possess power,
Then let him first toil
That he of his self
In his mind have
Power within;
Unless he ever
Would be to his vices
Entirely subjected:
Let him expel from his mind
Many of those
Various anxieties
That to him are useless:
Let him dismiss some
Of his complaints and miseries.

He that would be powerful, let him tame his fierce mind, nor submit to foul reins his neck bowed down by lust.

Alfred.

Though to him should
All this world,
So as the great streams
Surround it without,
Be given to his possession,
Even so wide
As now westmost is,
Where an island lieth
Out on the ocean;
In which is no
Night in summer,
Nor more in winter
Of any day
Distinguished by time;
Which is called Tile.
Though now any alone
Governed all
To this island;
And also thence
To India eastward;
Though he now all that
Might possess,
Why should his power be
Ought the greater
If he afterwards hath not
Power over himself
In his thoughts,
And does not earnestly
Guard himself well
In words and deeds
Against the vices
That we before have mentioned? P. 170.

Boetius.

For though the remote Indian earth should tremble at thy command, and farthest Thule serve thee, yet it is not in their power to expel gloomy care, nor to drive away your miserable complaints. Lib. iii. met. 5.

THE EXCURSIVENESS OF THE MIND.

I have wings
Swifter than the birds:
With them I can fly
Far from the earth,
Over the high roof
Of this heaven.
And there I now must
Wing thy mind,
With my feathers,
To look forth
Till that thou mayest
This world
And every earthly thing
Entirely overlook:
Thou mayest over the skies
Extensively
Sport with thy wings,
Far up over
The heavens to wind
Afterwards to view
Above over all.
Thou mayest also go
Above the fire
That many years ascends far
Betwixt the air and the firmament
So as to it at the beginning
The Father appointed.

I have rapid wings that can ascend the heights of the pole, which the swift mind puts on when she looks down on the hated earth, surmounts the globe of the immense air, and sees the clouds behind her.

That thou mayest afterwards
With the Sun
Go betwixt
The other stars.

Warmed by the motion of the agile æther, it transcends the vortex of fire, till it rises to the star-bearing domes, and touches on the paths of Phœbus.

Alfred.

Thou mightest full soon
In the firmament
Above afterwards advance ;

And then continuously
To the coldest
Only star
That outmost is
Of all the stars.
This Saturnus
The inhabitants of the sea call
Under the heavens.
He is the cold
All icy planet.
He wanders outmost
Over all,
Above the other stars.
Afterwards thou then
From this may upheave thyself
To go forth;
Thou mayest proceed farther :
Then wouldest thou afterwards soon
Ascend above the firmament
In its swift course.
If thou goest on right
Thou wouldest then the highest
Heaven leave behind.
Then mightest thou afterwards
Of the true light
Have thy portion.
Whence the Only King
Widely governs,
Above the firmament,
And below;
And in like manner rules
All the creatures
Of the world.

This is the Wise King,
This is he that governs
Over the nations of men,
And all the other
Kings of the earth.
He with his bridle
Hath restrained around
All the revolutions
Of earth and heaven.
He his governing reins
Well coerces.
He governs ever
Through his strong might
All the swift cars
Of heaven and earth.
He the only judge is steadfast,
Unchangeable,
Beauteous and great.

If thou turnest right in thy way
Up to that country,
Thou wilt find it
A noble place :
Though thou now yet
Hast not obtained it.
If thou ever again
There canst come,
Then wilt thou say,
And soon declare :—

Boetius.

Or it may accompany the journey of the chill old man, as a soldier of the radiant star; or shining wherever night is painted, it may retrace the circle of the star; and when sufficiently satiated, it may leave the extremity of the pole; and, partaker of the revered light, press towards the summit of the swift æther.

Here the Lord of Kings holds the sceptre and governs the reins of the world, and, stable himself, rules the swift car, the splendid arbiter of things.

If that road should meet thee returning, which now forgetful you inquire for, you may say :—

Alfred.

" This is entirely
My own kindred,
Earth, and country.
Formerly from hence
I came, and was born
Through the might of this artificer.
I will never
Depart hence from it,
But I always here
Will softly
With my wings desire
Firmly to stand."

Boetius.

" I remember that this is my country : this is my birth-place : here I will rest."

If to thee then
It should ever again happen,
That thou wilt or must
The world's darkness
Again try;
Thou mightest easily look on
The unrighteous kings of the earth,
And the other arrogant rich,
That this weary folk
Worst torment.
And see that always
They be very wretched;
Unmighty
In every thing;
Even the same
That they, wretched folk,
Some while now
Most strongly dreaded. — P. 184.

If you should like to revisit the earthly night you have left, you would see what fierce banished tyrants the miserable people fear. Lib. iv. met. 1.

HIS PICTURE OF FUTURITY.

O children of men
Over the world!
Every one of the free!
Try for that eternal good
That we have spoken of,
And for those riches
That we have mentioned.
He that then now is
Narrowly bound
With the useless love
Of this large world,
Let him seek speedily
Full freedom,
That he may advance
To the riches
Of the soul's wisdom.

Hither come, all ye captives, whom deceitful desire, blunting your earthly minds, binds in its vicious chains!

Because this is
The only rest of all labours;
A desirable port
To high ships;
Of our mind
The great and mild habitation.
This is the only port
That will last for ever;
After the waves
Of our troubles,
Of every storm,
Always mild.
This is the place of peace,
And the only comforter
Of all distresses,
After this world's troubles.

Here will be the rest to your labours. Here, the serene port; a tranquil abode. Here, the only asylum open to the wretched.

Alfred.	*Boetius.*
This is the pleasant station After these miseries To possess. And I earnestly know That the gilded vessel, The silvery treasure, The stone fortress of gems, Or riches of the world To the mind's eye Can never bring any light. Nothing can recompense Its acuteness, But the contemplation Of the truer riches;	Not all that Tagus may give in its golden sands, or Hermus from its glittering bank, or Indus near the warm circle mingling green gems with white, can enlighten the sight; but they make the mind more blind from their darkening effects,
But such things strongly The mind's eye Of every one of men Blind in their breast, When they to it Are made brighter. But all things That in this present Life so please, Are slender, Earthly things, And to be fled from.	Whatever of these pleases and excites the mind, earth nourishes in its lowest caverns.
But wonderful is that Beauty and brightness, With every creature Which beauty illuminates, And after that Governs all: This Governor will not That we should destroy Our souls, But he himself will them Enlighten with light; The Ruler of life.	The radiance by which Heaven is governed and flourishes, shuns the obscured ruins of the soul.
If then any man With the clear eyes Of his mind, May ever behold Of heaven's light The lucid brightness, Then he will say, That the brightness of the sun Will be darkness, If any man Shoul compare it With the superior light Of God Almighty. That will be to every spirit Eternal without end; To happy souls. — P. 181, 182.	Whoever can remark this light will deny the beams of Phœbus their lustre. Lib. iii. met. 10.

HIS ADDRESS TO THE DEITY.

O thou Creator Of the shining stars; Of heaven and the earth; Thou on high throne Eternal governest, And thou swiftly all The heaven turnest round, And through thy	Oh Framer of the starry world! who, resting on thy perpetual throne, turnest the heaven with a rapid whirl, and compellest the stars to endure a law. Lib. i. met. 5.

Alfred.	*Boetius.*
Holy might Compellest the stars That they should obey thee. Thus the sun Of the black night The darkness extinguishes Through thy might.	
With pale light The bright planets The moon tempers Through the effect of thy power. A while also the sun Bereaveth that of its Bright light When it may happen That near enough It necessarily comes.	As now the moon, with her full horn of light imbibing all her brother's flames, hideth the lesser stars: now pale with obscure horn, nearer to Phœbus loses her lustre.
So the greater Morning star That we with another name The evening star Here named: Thou compellest this That he the sun's Path should precede, Every year He shall go on Before him to advance.	As Hesperus in the first hours of night emerges with chilling beams; and again as the morning star, when Phœbus rises, changes his accustomed rule.
Thou, O Father, Makest of summer The long days Very hot. To the winter days, Wonderously short Times hast thou appointed.	Thou, with the cold of the leaf-flowing frost, confinest the light to a shorter stay: thou, when the fervid summer shall come, dividest the active hours of the night.
Thou, to the trees Givest the south and west, Which before, black storms From the north and east Had deprived Of every leaf By the more hostile wind.	Thy power tempers the various year, so that the leaves which the breath of Boreas takes away, the mild zephyr re-clothes; and the seeds which Arcturus beheld, Sirius burns in their tall harvest.
Oh! how on earth All creatures Obey thy command, As in the heavens Some do In mind and power. But men only Against thy will Oftenest struggle. Hail! Oh thou Eternal, And thou Almighty, Of all creatures Creator and ruler. Pardon thy wretched Children of the earth, Mankind, In the course of thy might.	Nothing, forsaking its ancient law, quits the work of its own station. Governing all things with a certain end, Thou, deservedly our ruler! disdainest to restrain the actions of men only.
Why, O eternal God! Wouldest thou ever That fortune	Why should slippery fortune take so many turns? Noxious pain due to crime presses the innocent.

Alfred.	*Boetius.*
At her will Should go To evil men? That in every way so strongly She full oft Should hurt the guiltless.	
Evil men sit Over the earth's kingdoms On high seats. They tread down the holy Under their feet Who know no crimes.	But perverse manners sit on the lofty throne, and the guilty tread on the righteous necks by an unjust change.
Why should fortune Move so perversely? Thus are hidden Here on the world Over many cities The bright arts. The unrighteous always Have in contempt Those that are, than them Wiser in right: Worthier of power. The false lot is A long while Covered by frauds.	Virtue hidden in obscurity lives unseen, bright in its darkness. The just endure the crime of the wicked.
Now, in the world here, Impious oaths Hurt not man. If thou now, O Ruler, Wilt not steer fortune, But at her self-will Lettest her triumph, Then I know That thee will Worldly men doubt Over the parts of the globe, Except a few only.	These, no perjury, no fraud, dressed with falsehood, hurt; but when they choose to use their strength, they rejoice to subdue the greatest kings, whom innumerable people fear.
Oh, my Lord! Thou that overseest all Of the world's creatures, Look now on mankind With mild eyes. Now they here in many Of the world's waves Struggle and labour, Miserable earth citizens! Forgive them now. — P. 153.	O now behold thy wretched earth, who connectest the union of all things. We mankind, not a vile part of so great a work, are shaken by the sea of fortune. O Ruler, repress the rapid waves, and with the law that rules the immense heaven, keep steady thy solid earth.

The preceding facts of Alfred's studies, translations, additions, and compositions, enable us to perceive the great improvements which they diffused upon the intellect of the Anglo-Saxon nation. By his Orosius and Bede, he made the general history and geography of the world, and the particular history of England, a part of the mind of his countrymen; and, by his Bede, he made historical fame an object of ambition to his royal successors; for that exhibited to their own eye-sight how their predecessors had been recorded and applauded. By transmitting to posterity the detail

of Ohthere and Wulfstan's Voyages, he made such expeditions interesting to the nation, fixed them in their memory, and ensured their future imitation. By his Boetius he poured a great number of moral thoughts and feelings among his rude Anglo-Saxons, which they had never considered or experienced before; and by cultivating poetical versification he increased the popularity and improvement of that pleasing art. He found the English mind unformed and barren, and he led it to knowledge, civility, moral sentiment, and moral reasoning. His attachment to religion increased its influence among his descendants and in his country.

But there is another point of view in which the intellectual benefit that Alfred conferred upon his country has not yet been considered. This is the easy, fluent, and lively prose style, which it may be seen from the extracts already given, that he so peculiarly contributed to form by his translations and additions to Boetius. The work is not a mere literal version of the Latin diction, into a servile corresponding one, as the Anglo-Saxon Psalter, published by Spelman, in which every Latin word is rendered, however harshly, by a similar English one. Alfred's Boetius, even where he translates exactly, is done with the freedom of a master, who uses his own style without departing from his author's meaning. The best prose style of all countries is that which men of superior intellect use, who, to much literary cultivation, add much intercourse with public affairs, and with the highest classes of the society in which they live. The activity of their daily life gives a spirit and freedom to their minds and thoughts, which pervade their colloquial diction; and this, when polished by the most cultivated urbanity of the day, and enlarged by the more extensive subjects of their studies, and the greater correctness of meditative composition, becomes superior to any that the world or the closet can singly create. Alfred's Boetius in every part displays these excellencies. Its form of dialogue favoured their union. It is clear, easy, animated, attractive, and impressive. It comes the nearest to our present best English prose style of all the Anglo-Saxon prose writings that have survived to us, and entitles Alfred to be considered as the venerable father of our best English diction, as well as our first moral essayist.

We may close our review of his intellectual character with remarking, as an additional subject for our admiration, that not above two centuries and a half elapsed, between the first appearance of literature among the Anglo-Saxons and the formation of Alfred's mind. Has any country, within so short a period, produced in itself an intellect amongst its sovereigns, that combined so many excellencies?

CHAPTER V.

Alfred's Moral Character.

We have contemplated Alfred as the student, and the man of literature, and in his public character. Let us proceed to review his conduct in more interesting relations.

To educate our children in the best improvements and noblest virtues of our times, is to perform a duty the most sacred which we owe to society, and its Great parent. If as reason hopes, and Revelation assures us, He, who called man into being, is interested in his concerns, no event can more propitiate his favour, than the gradual improvement of his rational creation. If one idea can predominate over others in the divine economy of human affairs, it is reasonable to believe, that it must be the plan of our moral and intellectual progression. Whoever leaves his offspring more informed and more virtuous than himself, accelerates this favourite scheme of supreme goodness, and claims the gratitude of society whom he benefits.

Alfred was a great example to posterity in this path of duty. He was as solicitous to improve his family as himself. He had several children; some died in their infancy (1). Æthelfleda, Edward, Ethelgiva, Alfritha, and Æthelweard, survived him. Edward and Alfritha were educated in the royal court with great attention. They were accustomed to filial duty towards their parent, and to behave with mildness and affability towards others, whether strangers or natives. Asser remarks, that they retained these estimable qualities at the period in which he wrote. They were induced to improve their minds with all the liberal learning which could then be obtained. Besides the hymns of devotion, they were studiously taught Saxon books, and particularly Saxon poetry; and they were accustomed to frequent reading (2).

Æthelweard, his youngest son, received a sort of public education; he was committed to the diligent care of proper teachers, with almost all the noble children of the province, and with many of inferior ranks. There they were all assiduously instructed in Latin and Saxon: they learned also the art of writing, to which

(1) Asser, mentioning his living children, adds, "Exceptis his qui in infantia morte præveniente præoccupati sunt," p. 42. Rudborne mentions that Edmund was his first-born, whom his father had crowned as his intended successor. He died a little before his father, and was buried in the old monastery at Winchester, "as appears," says Rudborne, "by his marble on his tomb, on the north side of the altar, which is inscribed, Hic jacet Edmundus Rex, filii Alfredi regis." Hist. Mag. Wint. p. 207.

(2) Asser, 43.

literature owes its existence. By these institutions, the season of their youth was employed to inform and enlarge their minds. When their matured age gave the requisite strength, they were exercised in hunting, and those robust arts, which by the habits of society at that time were made honourable and popular (1).

The most exquisite luxury which aged parents can enjoy, when the charms of life and all the pleasures of sense are fast fading around them, is to see their parental care rewarded by a dutiful, affectionate, and intelligent offspring. Alfred enjoyed this happiness, which he had so well merited. Æthelfleda, his eldest, became a woman of very superior mind; such were its energies, that they even reached a masculine strength. She is extolled, in the ancient chronicles, as the wisest lady in England. Her brother Edward governed his life in its best actions by her counsels. After she was married to Ethered, the governor of Mercia, she built several cities, and upon all occasions displayed a statesman's skill, and an Amazonian activity (2).

The reign of Edward was distinguished by its vigour and prosperity. Some of the last instructions of Alfred to his son have been popularly preserved (3), and they deserve to be quoted, for their pathetic simplicity, their political wisdom, and the proof which they afford of this monarch's anxiety for the welfare of his subjects.

"Thou," quoth Alfred, "my dear son, set thee now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instructions. My son, I feel that my hour is coming. My countenance is wan. My days are almost done. We must now part. I shall to another world, and thou shalt be left alone in all my wealth. I pray thee (for thou art my dear child), strive to be a father, and a lord to thy people. Be thou the children's father, and the widow's friend. Comfort thou the poor, and shelter the weak; and, with all thy might, right that which is wrong. And, son, govern thyself by law; then shall the

(1) Asser, 43. Æthelweard lived twenty-one years after his father, and died 922, in the beginning of the reign of Athelstan. Matt. West. 359.

(2) The difficulty and sufferings of her first parturition deterred her from the chance of a repetition. She protested, that it did not become a king's daughter to pursue any pleasure which was attended with such inconvenience. Malmsb. 46. He describes her, "Favor civium, pavor hostium, immodici cordis fœmina.—Virago potentissima multum fratrem juvare consiliis, in urbibus extruendis non minus valere, non discernas potiore fortuna, an virtute; ut mulier viros domesticos protegeret, alienos terreret." Ib. 46. The Chronicle MS. Nero. A. 6. says of her, "Per cujus animum frater suus Edwardus multo melius in regno actus suos dirigebat." P. 6.

(3) This is the conclusion of the Cotton MSS. mentioned before, p. 63. Of this work Spelman says, fairly, "I cannot think it fit to offer them into the world as an instance of what the king composed; for they are not his very work in the Saxon tongue, but a miscellany collection of some later author, who, according to his own faculty, hath, in a broken English, put together such of the sayings of King Alfred as he met withal." p. 125. Wanley says, the fragment is in Norman Saxon, "circa tempus Henrici II. aut Richardi I. conscriptum in quo continentur quædam ex proverbiis et apothegmatis Ælfredi regis sapientissimi," p. 231. A copy of the Galba MS. of this work is stated to exist in MS. at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library.

Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so shall he help thee, the better to compass that which thou wouldest (1)."

Æthelweard became a man celebrated for his learning (2).

Alfritha obtained an honourable marriage (3). We have mentioned, in a preceding chapter (4), Baldwin, with the iron arm, count of Flanders, who carried off, with friendly violence, Judith, the widow of Ethelwulf, and of Alfred's brother Ethelbald. The son of this marriage, which the king of France at last sanctioned, was Baldwin the Bald. It was he who obtained the hand of Alfritha; their offspring was Arnulf (5), who is mentioned with expressions of celebrity, and who succeeded his father in 918 (6). From a descendant of Arnulf was born Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror.

His arrangement of his officers.

It is the invariable dictate of benevolence never to be inattentive to the comforts of others. Alfred displayed this accomplished temper in his arrangement of his household. He divided all his noble attendants into three bodies, and he regulated their personal services with a kind regard to their convenience, as well as to his own. He exacted the attendance of one of the divisions for a month, and afterwards allowed the persons who composed it to return home to their families and affairs, while another supplied their place for the same period (7). By this

(1) Spelman, p. 131. This collection begins thus: —

> "At Sifford seten Thames manie,
> Fele Biscopes and fele boc lered,
> Eries prude and Knihtes egloche.
> Ther thæs Erle Alsrich of the lage fwuth wife,
> And ec Alfred and Engle hirde, Engle darling.
> On Engleond he was king. Hem he gan leren
> Swo him heren mihten, hu hi here lif leden scolden.
>
> Alfred he was on Engleond a king well swithe strong.
> He was king and clerk. Well he luvied God's werk:
> He was wise on his word, and war on his speeche.
> *He was the wiseste man that was on Engelond.*"
>
> Ibid. p. 127.

The 5th article is worth quoting in Spelman's translation. "Thus," quoth Alfred, "without wisdom, wealth is worth little. Though a man had an hundred and seventy acres sown with gold, and all grew like corn, yet were all that wealth worth nothing unless that of an enemy one could make it become his friend. For what differs gold from a stone, but by discreet using of it?" p. 130.

(2) To this son, Alfred, by his will, devised land in seventeen places, beside that of the Weal district, and 500 pounds.

(3) Alfred bequeathed to her 100 pounds, and three manors.

(4) Vol. i. p. 295.

(5) Her relation Ethelwerd thus speaks of this marriage: — "Alfred misit Alfthrythe filiam suam ad partes Germaniæ Baldwino in matrimonium qui genuit ab ea filios duos, Athulfum et Earnulfum; duas filias quoque, Ealshwid et Earmentruth." Prologus Ethelw. p. 831. The Chronicon Sithense in Bouquet's Recueil, tom. ix. p. 74., places the marriage in 898. The Chronicon Alberici mistakes both the name and parentage of the lady, for it calls her Ethelwinda, and makes her Alfred's granddaughter, filiam filiæ suæ. Bouq. tom. ix. p. 61.

(6) Bouquet's Recueil, tom. ix. p. 152.

(7) Asser, 65.

regular routine, Alfred was carefully served, and an ample time was afforded to his attendants to watch over their private concerns. He was also scrupulously exact in the distribution and application of his yearly revenue. He ordered his officers to divide it into two general portions. These portions he again subdivided, and appropriated each division to a peculiar and inalienable service.

One of his allotments, a sixth of his income, he set apart for his warriors and noble attendants; he gave to each according to his dignity and to his services. Another sixth he devoted to the workmen in architecture, whom he collected from several nations. Another sixth he appropriated to foreigners who came to him, whatever might be their country, whether remote or near, whether they claimed his bounty, or awaited its voluntary descent; they received each a portion according to their worthiness, which was given with admirable discretion (1).

The other half of his revenue was consecrated to religious objects. This he also separated again, and commanded his officers to put it into four shares. One of these, being one-eighth of his whole income, was prudently administered to the poor of every nation who came to him. In distributing this, he remembered the axiom of pope Gregory; "Give not little to him who needs much, nor much to him who needs little; refuse not to the man who should have something, and give not to him who deserves nothing." Another eighth was paid to the two monasteries he built, for their maintenance. Another eighth was for the school which he had diligently made up from many nobles of his nation. Another eighth was dispersed among the neighbouring monasteries of West Saxony and Mercia. In some years he made donations to the churches and clergy in Wales, Cornwall, France, Bretagne, Northumbria, and Ireland, according to his ability (2).

Alfred was an exact economist of his time, without which indeed nothing great can be achieved. He had not those heralds of its lapse which we can make so minute and exact; but he was sensible, that to do all he projected, he must divide his day, and appropriate every part.

The darkness of the night afforded him no natural means of measuring the progress of the revolving globe; and as clouds and rain often concealed the sun, which is the only chronometer of uncultivated man, he was compelled to frame some method of marking his day into regular intervals (3). Mechanics were then so little

(1) Asser, 65, 66. Florence. (2) Asser, 67.

(3) The king of France had an advantage in this respect above Alfred; for, in 807, Charlemagne was presented by the king of Persia with a superb clock. "Horologium ex orichalco, arte mechanica mirifice compositum, in quo duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsydram vertebatur, cum totidem æreis pilulis, quæ ad completionem horarum decidebant et casu suo subjectum sibi cymbalum tinnire faciebant; additis in eodem ejusdem numeri equitibus qui per 12 fenestras completis ho-

known, either in theory or practice, that Alfred had not the aid of this science, from which most of our comforts, both domestic and political, have arisen. He used a simple expedient: his chaplains, by his orders, procured wax, and he ordered seventy-two denarii of it to be made into six equal candles, each candle to be twelve inches long, which were separately marked. These candles, successively used, lasted through the whole twenty-four hours, and of course every inch marked the lapse of twenty minutes; but sometimes the wind rushing in through the windows and doors, the numerous chinks of the walls (1), or the slender covering of the tents, consumed the candles with undue celerity. To cure this evil, which confused his calculation, he thought skilfully and wisely, says Asser (2); and the result of this skill and wisdom was the invention of lanterns. He found that the white horn became pellucid like glass, and with this and wood a case for his candle was (mirabiliter) admirably made. By these schemes, which our clocks and watches make us deride, he obtained what he wanted, an exact admeasurement of the lapse of time. We have not a correct detail of its appropriation. Asser's general statement, that he consecrated half his time to God (3), gives no distinct idea, because we find, that his liberal mind, in the distribution of his revenue, thought that to apportion money for a school was devoting it to the Supreme. Malmsbury's account is, that one third of the natural day and night was given to sleep and refreshment; one third to the affairs of his kingdom; and one third to those duties which he considered as sacred (4). This indistinct statement cannot now be amplified.

He had been fond of hunting and sporting; but as he became older, we may infer, from his paraphrase of Boetius's conditional assertion, that if a man rode for his health, he did not desire the motion but its effect, that our afflicted king did not take this exercise for pleasure. He says:—

"No man rides out because it pleases him to ride; but he rides because by the excursion he earns something. Some earn by it that they shall be healthier; some that they shall be more active; and some because they would come to some other place which they desire to be at (5)."

His piety.

One of the principal features of Alfred's useful life, was his earnest piety. From the gross and illiberal superstitions which have been connected with religion, and from the frauds and hypocrisy which have been sometimes practised under her venerable name, piety, although one of the native flowers of the uncorrupted heart, has lost much of its influence upon

ris exibant, et impulsu egressionis suæ totidem fenestras, quæ prius erant apertæ, claudebant." Annales Car. Mag. Astron. p. 35. Reuberi.

(1) It is of a royal palace that he is thus speaking.

(2) Consilioque artificiose atque sapienter invento, p 68.

(3) Asser, 67. (4) Malmsbury, 45. (5) Alf. Boet. p. 20.

mankind. Philosophy has justly taught us to discredit priestcraft; and the dread of the evils which this has produced, has greatly alienated many from religion itself. Whenever a mischief tends to accompany a blessing, the good is undervalued till the evil can be removed.

But although this state of opinion results, not unnaturally, from some part of the former experience of mankind, it is not a decision which wisdom and knowledge will ultimately sanction. Religion is as necessary to the happiness and improvement of man, and to the healthful continuance and expected melioration of society, as superstition, artifice, tyranny, and ignorance are injurious and debasing; and of all religions, none can be compared with Christianity, either in intellect, morals, or beneficence. It has raised the kingdoms, where it has prevailed, to a proud superiority over the rest of the world; and it has given a beauty, a richness, and an utility to the human character, which we shall in vain look for under any other system. No religion is either in spirit or in precept more adverse to those systems of delusion and selfishness to which it has been perverted, and from which it is ever appealing; none can better claim the support of the wise, and the sympathy of the good.

Religion was one of the earliest offspring of the human intellect, and cannot long be separated from it without certain deterioration to both. As it is the best guide and guardian of mind as well as of virtue, if it be allied with our reason, and enriched with our knowledge, many of the greatest characters of their day have in all ages upheld it. But there are some dispositions to whom it is peculiarly congenial and gratifying; and Alfred was one of that order of intelligence which has delighted in its exercise.

By other men, piety may have been taken up as a mask, or worn as a habit; by Alfred it was applied to its great and proper use; to the correction of immorality, to the advancement of virtue, to the encouragement of knowledge; and to become the asylum of happiness.

Alfred, like other men, inherited the passions and frailties of mortality: he felt immoral tendencies prevalent in his constitution, and he found that he could not restrain his objectionable desires. With this experience mankind in general rest satisfied: they feel themselves prompted to vicious gratifications: they take the tendencies of nature as their excuse, and they freely indulge.

But the mind of Alfred emancipated itself from such sophistry: he disdained to palter with his moral sense: he knew that his propensities were immoral; and though a prince, he determined not to be their slave. He found the power of his reason to be inadequate to subdue them; and he therefore had recourse to the aids of religion. His honoured friend assures us, that to protect himself from vice, he rose alone at the first dawn of day, and privately

visited churches and their shrines, for the sake of prayer. There, long prostrate, he besought the great moral Legislator to strengthen his good intentions. So sincere was his virtuous determination, that he even implored the dispensation of some affliction which he could support, and which would not, like blindness or leprosy, make him useless and contemptible in society, as an assistant to his virtue. With frequent and earnest devotion, he preferred this request; and when at no long interval the disorder of the ficus came upon him, he welcomed its occurrence, and converted it to a moral utility, though it attacked him severely (1). However variously with their present habits, some may appreciate the remedy with which Alfred chose to combat his too ardent passions, we cannot refuse our applause to his magnanimity. His abhorrence of vice, his zeal for practical virtue, would do honour to any private man of the most regular habits: but in a prince who lives in that sphere of society where every object and every associate tempt the passions, and seduce the reason, it was one of those noble exertions of soul which humanity rarely yet displays, and which words cannot adequately applaud.

Asser repeatedly describes his sovereign's religious disposition: "He was accustomed to hear divine service, especially the mass, every day, and to repeat psalms and prayers, and the devotions for the hours of the day and for night; and he often frequented churches alone, without his state, in the night-time, for the sake of praying (2)."

Asser also adds: "It was his habit, attentively and solicitously, to hear the sacred Scriptures read by his own subjects, or by foreigners, when any came to him from abroad, and also prayers.

"He lamented continually, with sorrow and sighing, to all who were admitted into his intimacy, that the Deity had made him void of Divine wisdom and the liberal arts. But He who beholds the internal mind, and promotes every virtuous meditation and good inclination, increased this inward impulse, till the king had acquired, from every quarter within his reach, coadjutors of this pious disposition who were able to assist him in the wisdom he desired, and to conduct him to the proficiency he coveted (3)."

In another place Asser informs us that Alfred carefully carried in his bosom a little book, in which were written the daily offices of prayer, and some psalms and pious supplications which he had read in his youth (4).

Asser intimates that one of the king's first uses of his knowledge of Latin, and his mode of learning it, was to translate passages of the sacred Scriptures, and to insert them in the book which he called his manual, because he had it always at his hand, and from which, he then said, he derived no small comfort (5).

(1) Asser, 41, 42. (2) Asser, p. 44.
(3) These are Asser's words, p. 45. (4) Asser, p. 55. (5) Ibid. p. 57.

Nearly a thousand years have elapsed since Alfred's reign, and yet no plan of acquiring moral and philosophical wisdom has been suggested which will be found to be more efficacious than this invaluable habit of our Anglo-Saxon king. They who have profited from it can attest its efficacy.

But, independently of Asser's account, we have two written records still remaining of the pious feelings of this admirable king, from his own heart and pen, in his Anglo-Saxon selections and translations from St. Austin's meditations, and in his additions to his version of Boetius. As the truth is every day becoming more apparent, and will be ere long admitted by the most philosophical, that enlightened religion is the best guide to wisdom, virtue, and social order, and their surest basis, we will make no apology for adding a few extracts on this subject.

Alfred's imitation of the fourth metrum of Boetius consists chiefly of the additions of his own piety :—

"He that would firmly build his house, he should not set it upon the highest hill; and he that would seek heavenly wisdom must not be arrogant. And again,

"As he that would firmly build his house will not place it upon sand-hills, so, if thou wouldest build wisdom, set it not up on covetousness; for as the drinking sand swalloweth the rain, so covetousness absorbs the frail happiness of this world, because it will be always thirsty.

"Nor can a house stand long on an high mountain if a full raging wind presses on it. Nor hath it on the drinking sand that which will continue against violent rain.

"So also the mind of man is undermined and agitated from its place, when the wind of strong troubles or the rain of immeasurable anxiety shake it.

"But he that will have the eternal riches, he will fly from the dangerous beauty of this middle earth, and build the house of his mind on the fast stone of lowliness; for Christ dwelt in the valley of humility and in the meditation of wisdom.

"Hence the wise man will lead all his life to the joy that is unchangeable, endless, and without care. Then he will despise both earthly good, and evil also; and hope for the future, which will be eternal. Because God, who for ever abides, will preserve him every where in the riches of his mind, though the wind of this world's difficulties, and the perpetual cares of its prosperities, should blow on him (1)."

From the diffuse meditations of St. Austin (2), Alfred selected the parts which most pleased him, and has translated these into Saxon, with that freedom, and with those additions which make his versions so often breathe his own feelings. As the king's heart is laid open before us in these chosen effusions, it may not be un-

(1) Alfred's Boet. p. 22. The two last paragraphs, and some phrases of the others, are Alfred's own composition.

(2) MSS. Brit. Mus. Vitell. A. 15.

interesting to insert some extracts from them, as a further delineation of his real character :—

"Lord! Thou who art the maker of all creation, grant me first that I may rightly know Thee and rationally address Thee; then may I earn that I shall become worthy that Thou, from thy mild-heartedness, shouldest redeem and free me.

"I call to Thee, Lord! Thou that abandonest none of thy creatures to become nought. To Thee I call; Thou that lovest all that can love Thee; both those which know what they should love and those which do not.

"O Thou! that didst make all creatures very good without any evil! Thou! who wilt not openly show thyself to any others but to those who are cleansed in their mind! To Thee, O Lord! I call, because Thou art the father of sincerity and wisdom, and true life, and of the supreme life and the supreme felicity, and of the highest good and the supreme brightness, and of intellectual light.

"O Thou who art the Father of that Son which has awakened us, and yet urgeth us out of the sleep of our sins, and exhorteth us, that we become thine: to Thee, Lord! I pray, who art the supreme truth, for all the truth that is, is truth from Thee.

"Thee, I implore, O Lord! who art the highest wisdom. Through Thee are wise all those that are so. Thou art the true life, and through Thee all that live subsist. Thou art the supreme felicity, and from Thee all have become happy that are so. Thou art the highest good, and from Thee all beauty springs. Thou art the intellectual light, and from Thee man derives his understanding!

"He that loveth Thee, seeketh Thee: he that followeth Thee, he will obtain Thee."

After indulging in these lofty feelings awhile, he proceeds more earnestly :—

"Come now to help me, O Thou, who art the only Eternal; the true God of glory: Father and Son, and so art now; and Holy Spirit, without any separation or mutability, and without any necessity or diminution of power, and who never diest. Thou art always dwelling in the highest brightness, and in highest happiness; in perfect unanimity, and in the fullest abundance. With Thee there is no deficiency of good, but Thou art ever abiding, replete with every felicity, through endless time.

"To thee, O God! I call and speak. Hear, O hear me! Lord! for thou art my God and my Lord; my father and my creator; my ruler and my hope; my wealth and my honour; my house; my country; my salvation, and my life! Hear, hear me, O Lord! Few of thy servants comprehend Thee. But Thee alone I love, indeed, above all other things; Thee I seek; Thee I will follow; Thee I am ready to serve. Under Thy power I desire to abide, for Thou alone art the Sovereign of all. I pray Thee to command me as Thou wilt."

One extract more, breathing the same warmth of feeling, may be added :—

"Now I have sought Thee: unlock thy door and teach me how I may come to Thee. I have nothing to bring to Thee but my good will; but I

myself have nothing else. I know nothing that is better than to love Thee, the heavenly and the spiritual One, above all earthly things. Thus I also do, Good Father! because I know of nothing better than thyself.

"But I know not how I can come to Thee unless Thou permittest me. Teach it to me, and help me. If those through Thee find the Truth who find Thee, give me that truth. If they through Thee obtain any virtue who obtain Thee, impart that virtue to me. If wisdom, grant me that wisdom. Add to me the hope of the everlasting life, and pour thy love upon me.

"Oh! how Thy goodness is to be admired, for it is unlike all other goods. I wish to come to Thee, and the more earnestly, because of all things I need this path. My desire is to Thee, and this most chiefly because without Thee I cannot come to Thee. If thou abandonest me, then I shall be removed from Thee: but I know that Thou wilt not forsake me unless I forsake Thee. But I will not forsake Thee, because Thou art the highest good. There is none of those who seek Thee rightly that may not find Thee. But they only will seek Thee rightly whom Thou instructest to seek Thee, and teachest how to find Thee (1)."

From the preceding extracts, and from those before given from his Boetius, it will appear that Alfred connected his belief in Christianity with high-minded feelings. In his Boetius he takes repeated occasions, and with a peculiar pleasure, to expatiate upon the power, perfections, and providence of the Deity, with all the clearness of perception, and largeness of thought, and warmth of sentiment, of a Platonic or Pythagorean philosopher, though with the superior light of a Christian thinker.

The subject never occurs to his pen but he dilates upon it with such visible affection, as to show that it was the habitual and predominant feeling of his cultivated mind. Yet, frequently as he has discussed it, he never betrays any narrow-minded superstition. All his conceptions are intelligent and expanded. He views the greatest of beings not only as the sovereign, but as the father, the guide, the instructor, and the benefactor of his creatures. He loves to contemplate this awful theme, and to interest others with his contemplations. It is surprising, in an age so dark and tumultuous, and amid cares and employments so harassing and multifarious, and when relics and rites were the religion which was most valued, that the mind of Alfred could have thus enlarged its religious meditations, have conceived them so justly, and expressed them so rationally, and yet so fervently. Nothing displays more emphatically the habitual greatness of his mind than his pure, and lofty, and affectionate theism, and the natural and earnest diction into which it effuses.

That Alfred, who lost both his parents before he was ten years old; who was on the throne at the age of twenty-one, and was immersed so long in the occupations and vicissitudes of the most deadly warfares; who lived amid such desolations and ignorance,

(1) These extracts are taken from the Cotton MSS. Vitell. A. 15.

and had no education but such as in his maturer life he was enabled to give himself; should yet have formed his mind to that admirable combination of great piety with great wisdom, enlarged intellect, liberal feelings, and as much knowledge as his inquisitive curiosity could obtain, is a phenomenon that, in far happier times, has rarely, if ever, been exhibited on the throne. As all effects have adequate causes, we are led to inquire into the origin, or first author, of this attainment. The individual within his reach to whom the commencement of his religious feelings can be most justly attributed is his kinsman (1) St. Neot. Alfred is declared to have frequently visited this pious man; to have conversed much with him on devotional subjects; to have profited greatly, both in his moral conduct and knowledge of Christianity (2), from these interviews; and to have been reproved by him, as already mentioned, for his faults.

It is not clear whether St. Neot was his brother or his uncle (3). He was a king before he abandoned the world (4), but as to what province he reigned in England, and of his former name, we have no satisfactory information (5); and where this is wanting, no conjecture, however ingenious, can in history be substituted for it (6).

(1) Asser calls Neot "Cognatus suus," p. 32. Ingulf says, he was frequently at the feet of St. Neot and Werefrith, p. 27.

(2) The Saxon life of Neot says, "On than time wæs Ælfred king and to than halgen gelomen (often) com emb his sawle thearfe." MS. Vesp. D. 14. p. 145. The oldest Latin life adds, that Neot received him as his lord with honour, and as his brother with love, blessed him, taught and instructed him, and showed him the way of prudence. Claud. A. 5. p. 153. Ramsay's prose life mentions that Neot taught him; "multa in divinis, et quæ Christianismo pertinebant, regi disseruit." Whit. Neot. p. 347. His metrical life mentions that "ad sanctum *persæpe* requirit." Ibid. p. 334.

(3) The MSS. Claud. A. 5. makes him the son of Ethelwulph, and therefore brother of Alfred. So does the metrical life of Ramsay, Whit. p. 316., and the lives of St. Neot, extracted by Leland in his Collect. vol. iv. p. 13., and so Leland himself. De Script. Brit. p. 143. Other authorities state him to be the son of Egbert. I think if he had been Alfred's brother, Asser would have hardly called him "cognatus."

(4) So the Claudius MS. intimates: "Neque enim alienus vel ipso genere inferior sanctus erat Neotus: sed *ex eodem sanguine creatus rex*." p. 153. One of the inscriptions on the window in his Cornish church was, "Hic tradidit coronam fratri suo juniori." Whit. Neot. p. 74.

(5) Ramsay's prose life implies East Anglia, p. 310., and so Leland understood it. Itin. iv. p. 135.

(6) Dr. Whitaker's theory is, that he was Ethelstan, the son of Ethelwulph, and king of Kent, p. 73. It is a very spirited conjecture, and not wholly improbable; but Malmsbury has declared that he did not know what end Ethelstan had; and the Saxon life says of Neot, "He was in his youth addicted to book-like learning, and to religious practices, and diligently inquired about the eternal life, and how he might most firmly live for God." MSS. Vesp. This does not exactly suit with Ethelstan's reign in Kent, and battle in 851 with the Danes. See before, vol. i. p. 289. Fordun, who mentions his death in a conflict with the Scots, does not state his earlier authority for this incident. On the whole, we cannot identify the saint with the king as an historical certainty.

But of his spirit and subsequent conduct the details are clear and abundant.

Neot is described to have been a very meek and mild man; to have become a monk at Glastonbury; to have visited Rome seven times; and to have retired to a wild solitude in Cornwall, which he afterwards quitted to build a monastery (1). He died before 878. The principal feature in his moral character is the resolution which he formed of copying the predominant virtue of every person in his cloister that had any,—the continence of one man, the pleasantness of another, the suavity of a third; the seriousness, humanity, good nature, and love of singing, and of study, in others. Hence the summary of his character is thus transmitted to us: "Humble to all, affable in conversation, mild in transaction of business, venerable in aspect, serene in countenance, moderate even in his walk, sincere, upright, calm, temperate, and charitable (2)."

It is not extraordinary that such a man should have led the mind of Alfred to favourable impressions of sincere religion.

It is an agreeable instance of Alfred's good humour, that after his restoration, he was in the habit of narrating to his friends the adventures of his adversity, with lively pleasantry (3).

There is one little incident attached to the memory of Alfred, which, as it exists in an author who seems to have been curious in searching into ancient remains (4), may be mentioned here, that nothing concerning so great a man be lost.

One day as he was hunting in a wood, he heard the cry of an infant in a tree, and ordered his huntsmen to examine the place. They ascended the branches; and found at top, in an eagle's nest, a beautiful child, dressed in purple, with golden bracelets, the marks of nobility, on his arms. The king had him brought down and baptized, and well educated; from the accident, he named the foundling Nestingham. His grandson's daughter is stated to have been one of the ladies for whom Edgar indulged an improper passion.

We will close our account of Alfred's moral character by one remarkable trait. An author who lived at the period of the Norman conquest, in mentioning some of the preceding kings with short appropriate epithets, names Alfred, with the simple but expressive addition of "the truth-teller (5)," as if it had been his traditional character.

(1) See the preceding lives, and Whitaker's account.

(2) Ramsay's life, p. 341.; Whitaker, p. 93.; and see his further account, p. 94, 95.

(3) Malmsbury, 43.

(4) This is Johannes Tinmuth, whose MSS. have not yet been published, though they appear to contain some curious particulars. I find an extract from his history in the Bodleian library, lib. xxi., quoted by Dugdale, Monasticon, i. p. 256.

(5) Hermanni miracula Edmundi script. circa 1070. MS. Cotton library, Tiberius, b. ii. It follows Abbo's life of this king. It is very beautifully written.

CHAPTER VI.

Alfred's Public Conduct.

The conduct of kings affects the whole nation which contemplates it. The fortunes of human nature are in their hands. Virtue and intellect flourish as their conduct is wise and moral; and nations prosper or decline, as the measures of the executive authority are salutary or ignoble.

Although his conduct in the first part of his reign was objectionable, few sovereigns have shaped their conduct with more regard to the public happiness than Alfred, after his restoration. He seems to have considered his life but as a trust to be used for the benefit of his people; and his plans for their welfare were intelligent and great. His military exertions for the benefit of the nation, and their final successes, have been already commemorated. But although performed by him as necessary duties, they were uncongenial with his heart and mind. These turned, as soon as they were at liberty to pursue their natural bias, to nobler objects than war and bloodshed.

His predominant wish was the mental and moral improvement of his countrymen. His letter to his bishop, prefixed to his translation of Gregory's Pastorals, and already cited (1), breathes this principle throughout. To communicate to others the knowledge which we possess, he even states to be a religious duty. He laments the ignorance which overspread his land; he desires that all the youth, who had pecuniary means, should learn to read English; he gently censures former students who had not put their knowledge into a popular form, by translating it into the vernacular tongue; he devotes his own leisure, and he calls upon his literary clergy to devote theirs, to the translating into English the books they possessed. He led the way with taste and judgment in his historical and philosophical translations: he seems to place his glory in the intellectual advancement of his rude countrymen.

His correspondent, the French archbishop, also bears testimony to the same spirit (2). The translation of Gregory's Pastorals could have no other meaning than to rouse the clergy to labour for the moral emendation of his people; and, at the same time that we surrender this book to disapprobation, for its tendency to enchain the

P. 21. he says "Elueredi Veridici." In his epithets of the kings, he seems to have closely followed their traditional biography, for he calls Edred "debilis pedibus," which is a very marking trait.

(1) From p. 10. of this volume.

(2) See before, p. 9. of this volume.

mind, it may be proper to remark, that the principle upon which the king recommended it to his clergy was unquestionably just. We cannot look round the world without perceiving how much the morality of a people depends upon the sagacity, the knowledge, and the virtue of its sacred preceptors. Why has the fair influence of true religion been lessening among us, but because the appointed guardians of our morals were not always careful to acquire the talents, to display the enlarged views, and to exert the conduct which will interest the thoughtless, impress the dissolute, and satisfy the doubting? In every age the world requires, from its moral teachers, example, persuasion, and conviction. The clergy of Alfred were not distinguished for either; and the king knew no other book which at all aimed at educating them, to influence honourably, as well as to exhort; nor was any other way at that time likely to be more efficacious than to increase the influence of the ecclesiastical order.

In the first days of society, and in its most improved period, when religion and philosophy have become duly united and firmly seated in the heart, the patriarchal and the priestly character may be often most usefully united; but in the intermediate eras, when so many myriads are ignorant of religion, or indifferent to it, or prejudiced against it, if there be not a well educated, respected, and authorised clergy, it will depart from the young intellect amid the pressure of worldly objects, and become associated with degrading superstitions in the vulgar and older minds. Alfred could not at that time have pursued a wiser or more patriotic object than that of endeavouring to enlighten and improve the ecclesiastical body.

The school which he established for his nobles (1), and the masters which he provided for high and low, who were educated with his son Æthelweard (2), are proofs of his desire to augment the knowledge of his country.

His invitations to his court of learned foreigners and skilful artisans; his search around his dominions for men of literary attainments; and his munificent patronage to all whose talents came within his notice, concur to demonstrate his laudable anxiety to improve his people.

He lived in an age, when to promote the general welfare was an idea which seldom influenced the conduct (3). His plans to benefit his subjects were therefore counteracted by their prejudices and their ignorance. Many of his royal exhortations were not obeyed; even the castles which he advised, or ordered his nobility to build,

(1) Scholæ quam ex multis suæ propriæ gentis nobilibus studiosissime congregaverat. Asser, 67.

(2) Cum omnibus pene totius regionis nobilibus infantibus et etiam multis ignobilibus, sub diligenti magistrorum cura traditus est. Asser, 43.

(3) This is a feature which Asser gives of his contemporaries, "Qui nullum aut parvum voluntarie pro communi regni necessitate vellent subire laborem." p. 58.

to protect their own lands against the Northmen, were reluctantly begun. It often happened that the ravages, which his advice was meant to prevent, occurred before the landholders would obey his foresight. Then, when they had lost their families and property, they mourned their folly with a repentance, says Asser, that could neither restore their slain relations, redeem their captive friends, nor even support themselves with common subsistence (1).

But Alfred was not discouraged by the tardiness of his subjects. By mild expostulation, by reasoning, by gentle flattery, or by express command; or, in case of obstinate disobedience, by severe chastisement, he overcame the pertinacity of vulgar folly; and wisely made his bishops, earls, ministers, and public officers, exert themselves for the common benefit of all his kingdom (2). Among other things, he was inflexible in exacting from all a competence for their offices. To produce this he compelled them to study literature. Even they who had been illiterate from their infancy, earls, governors, and ministers, were compelled to learn to read and write (3), choosing rather to endure the painful toil, than to lose their preferment. If from age, or peculiar dulness of intellect, they could not be taught themselves, their son or some kinsman, or if none, some freeman or slave, educated for the purpose, was ordered to recite before them Saxon books, both day and night (4).

His public demeanour was very affable, mixed with decorous pleasantry; he was eager to join in the investigation of things unknown (5), for the curiosity of his mind was insuppressible.

Many Francs, Frisians, and other neighbouring nations, willingly came to submit to his authority, both noble and ignoble. He loved them all like his own people, received them honourably, and gave them both money and power (6).

His bishops and clergy, his nobles and servants, he treated with paternal affection; he was indefatigable in his endeavours to educate such of their children as were in the royal court, in every valuable morality; and he himself did not disdain to assist in their scholastic tuition (7).

His embassy to India.

His embassy to India, to the shrine of St. Thomas, is as expressive of his mind and public spirit as any other action of his life. No other potentate in Europe could in that day have conceived it; because no other had acquired that knowledge which would have interested them in a country so remote and unknown. The embassy displays not only the extent of Alfred's

(1) Asser, 60. (2) Ibid. 59.

(3) So I construe the expressions, "Literatoriæ arti studerent." Asser, 71.

(4) Asser, 71. These passages of Asser are very curious.

(5) Et maxima et incomparabili contra omnes homines affabilitate atque jocunditate et ignotarum rerum investigationi solerter se jungebat. Asser, 44.

(6) Asser, 44.

(7) This I presume is the meaning of omnibus bonis moribus instituere et literis imbuere *solus* die noctuque inter cætera non desinebat. Asser, 44.

information, but that searching curiosity, which characterised his understanding.

The journey is stated by several chroniclers. The Saxon Chronicle (1), Florence of Worcester (2), Radulph (3), and Bromton (4), simply mention, that Suithelm, the bishop of Shireburn, carried the benevolence of Alfred to India, to Saint Thomas, and returned in safety. Huntingdon (5), and Alured of Beverley (6), express that the embassy was sent in a discharge of a vow which the king had made. Matthew of Westminster (7), and Malmsbury, mention the curiosities which Suithelm brought back with him.

Malmsbury, who gives the fullest account of the incident, says that the king sent many presents over sea to Rome, and to St. Thomas, in India; that Sighelm, the bishop of Shireburn, was his ambassador, who penetrated with great success to India, to the admiration of the age; and that he brought with him on his return many foreign gems and aromatic liquors, the produce of the country (8). In another passage, Malmsbury declares, that some of those gems were to be seen in his days in the monuments of the church (9).

In the former editions of this work, for the purpose of verifying this extraordinary incident, a careful investigation was pursued, in order to show that it was long before believed that St. Thomas had been in India; that in the age of Alfred he was presumed to have died there; and that at that time there were Christians living there. It was also proved that such journeys were in those days attempted, and the inference was drawn from these facts, that the assertions of our chroniclers were not counteracted by any improbability in their assertions of this remarkable embassy (10).

(1) Sax. Chron. p. 86.

(2) 883. Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Suithelmus, qui regis Alfredi eleemosynam ad S. Thomam, Indiam detulit, indeque prospere retulit. Flor. Wig. 320.

(3) Rad. Dic. 451. He dates it 887.

(4) Bromton, 812.

(5) Alfredus autem misit eleemosynam suam Romæ et etiam in Indiam ad S. Thomam, secundum votum quod fecerat quando hostilis exercitus hyemavit apud Londoniam. Hunt. 350.

(6) Lib. vii. p. 106.

(7) Matt. West. 333. He says that Suithelm brought back precious stones. Malm. calls him Sighelm.

(8) Et trans mare Romam et ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sigelmus Scireburnensis episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum et liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. De Gestis, p. 44.

(9) Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur. Malms. De Pont. 248.

(10) In the Saxon life of St. Thomas, in MS. Calig. A. 14., which is ascribed to Elfric in Jul. E. 7., the legendary account there is, "The Saviour himself came to him from heaven, and said to him, 'A king of the Indians, who is called Gundoforus, will send his gerefa to Syria's land to seek some labourer who is skilful in

The journeys and writings of the late Claudius Buchanan, and of other travellers; and the subsequent efforts and correspondence of our Bible and Missionary Societies, have completely confirmed the facts, not only that Syrian Christian churches were early founded in the Indian peninsula, but that they are still existing in the same parts. And as the curious reader may desire to see our former collection of authorities, it is reprinted in the appendix to this chapter.

No other notices of Alfred's foreign correspondence have been transmitted to us, besides the compliment from the Jerusalem patriarch; except some donations from the pope (1), and several messages and presents from Alfred to Rome. The king appears to have sent embassies or couriers to Rome in several successive years (2).

When the measures are mentioned by which Alfred endeavoured to excite in his subjects a love of letters, it will not be forgotten that the University of Oxford has been connected with his memory.

The concurring testimonies of some respectable authors seem to prove, that he founded public schools in this city; and therefore the University, which has long existed with high celebrity, and which has enriched every department of literature and science by the talents it has nourished, may claim Alfred as one of its authors, and original benefactors.

But this incident, plain and intelligible as it appears to be, is environed with a controversy which demands some consideration; for it involves nothing less than the decision of the superior antiquity of the two Universities of England. We leave to abler pens the determination of the dispute, and shall only notice in the note a few particulars, concerning the first periods of the contest, and the point on which it turned (3).

His laws.

This indefatigable king made also a code of laws, with the concurrence of his witena-gemot or parliament, which has been called his Dom-boc. In this, for the first

arts. I will soon send thee forth with him.' Thomas answered, 'Send me whither thou wilt, except to the Indians.' But, on the command to go being repeated, he assented, and, when the regal officer came, they went together to the ship and reared their sail and proceeded with the wind; and they sailed forth then seven nights before they reached a shore, but it would be long to tell all the wonders that he did there. They came next to the king in India, and Abbanes boldly brought Thomas to the speech of the king, who said to him, 'Canst thou build me a kingly mansion in the Roman manner?' Thomas tried and succeeded, and had then liberty to preach, and baptized, and constructed a church, and Migdonia, the king's wife's sister, believed what he taught." Cott. MSS. Calig. A. 14. p. 112—118.

(1) Asser, 39. The pope, at Alfred's request, liberated the Saxon school in Rome from all pecuniary payments. Ibid.

(2) Asser, 55. The Saxon Chronicle states that in the years 883, 887, 888, 889, 890, Alfred's alms or letters were successively sent to Rome.

(3) See the last note of this chapter, p. 98.

time, he introduced into the Anglo-Saxon legislation, not only the decalogue, but also the principal provisions of the Mosaic legislation, contained in the three chapters which follow the decalogue, with such modifications as were necessary to adapt them to the Anglo-Saxon manners. In the laws attached to them, he mentions that, with the concurrence of his witena-gemot, he had collected together, and committed to writing, the regulations which his ancestors had established; selected such of them as he approved, and rejected the rest. He adds, that he had showed them to all his witena, who declared that it pleased them all that these should be observed. Forty heads of laws then follow, on the most important subjects of the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and legislation, obviously tending to increase the national civilization (1).

His police.

When Alfred regained his throne, and with that, the kingdom of Mercia, he found that the Danish invasions had so destroyed the ancient police of the kingdom, and the regular habits of the inhabitants, that the Anglo-Saxons were infesting each other with predatory depredations (2).

The means which he took to remedy this evil, and also to provide an efficient force to repress the Danes, are stated to have been some modification of the ancient provincial divisions of England, which had long before been known as shires. The alterations which he made with these are not detailed. But it is expressly declared that he began the system of dividing them into hundreds, and these into ten parts or tithings. Under these nominal divisions, the population of the country was arranged. Every person was directed to belong to some hundred or tithing. Every hundred and tithing were pledged to the preservation of the public peace and security in their districts, and were made answerable for the conduct of their several inhabitants. In consequence of this arrangement, the inhabitants were speedily called out to repel an invader, and every criminal accused was sure to be apprehended. If he was not produced by the hundred or tithing to which he was attached, the inhabitants of these divisions incurred a general mulct. Thus every person in the district was interested in seizing or discovering the offender. If he fled, he must go to other districts, where, not having been marshalled within their jurisdiction, he would be known and punished as an outlaw, because unpledged; for he who was not pledged by some hundred and tithing experienced all the severity of the law (3). It is added to this statement, that Alfred divided the provincial prefects into two officers, judges and she-

(1) See those in Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 28—46. I cannot doubt that these compose the dom-boc which some ancient writers alluded to.

(2) Ingulf, 28.; Malmsbury, 44.; and the Chronicle of Johannes de Oxenedes. Cott. MSS. Nero, D. 2. This chronicle is not much more than an abridgment of Malmsbury.

(3) Ingulf, 28. Malmsb. 44.

riffs (1).—Until his time there were only sheriffs. He separated, by the appointment of justices or judges, the judicial from the executive department of the law, and thus provided an improved administration of law and justice. That golden bracelets were hung up in the public roads, and were not pilfered, is mentioned as a fact, which evidenced the efficacy of his police.

The unsettled state of society in Saxon-England, and that twilight of mind, which every where appears at this period, may have justified these severe provisions. They are, however, liable to such objections, that though we may admit them to have been necessary to Alfred, no modern government can wish to have them imitated. They may have suppressed robbery; they may have perpetuated public peace; but they were calculated to keep society in a bondage the most pernicious. They must have prevented that free intercourse, that incessant communication, that unrestricted travelling, which have produced so much of our political and literary prosperity. They made every hundred and tithing little insulated populations, to which all strangers were odious. By causing every member of each district to become responsible for the conduct of every other, they converted neighbours into spies; they incited curiosity to pry into private conduct; and as selfishness is generally malignant, when in danger of meeting injury, they must have tended to legalise habits of censoriousness and acrimonious calumny.

That Alfred was assiduous to procure to his people the blessing of a correct and able administration of justice, we have the general testimony of Asser. He not only gave the precept, but he exhibited the example; he was a patient and minute arbiter in judicial investigations, and this, chiefly for the sake of the poor, to whose affairs, amongst his other duties, he day and night earnestly applied himself (2).

When we reflect that Alfred had, in the beginning of his reign, transgressed on this point, he claims our applause for his noble self-correction. It was highly salutary to his subjects; "for," says Asser, "in all his kingdom, the poor had no helpers, or very few

(1) Præfectos vero provinciarum qui antea vicedomini vocabantur in duo officia divisit, id est, in judices quos nunc justiciarios vocamus, et in vicecomites qui adhuc idem nomen retinent. Ingulf, 28. We will briefly remark here, that the Welsh anciently had the territorial divisions of cantref, a hundred, which contained two cymmwd; each of these had twelve maenawr, and two tref; in every maenawr were four tref, or towns; in every town four gafael, each of which contained four rhandir; every rhandir was composed of sixteen acres. Thus every cantref contained, as the name imports, an hundred towns, or 25,600 acres. Leges Wallicæ, p. 157, 158. The preface to these laws states South Wales to have contained sixty-four cantrefs, and North Wales eighteen. Ibid. p. 1. The cantref and the cymmwd had each a court to determine controversies. Ibid. p. 389. On finding these in the laws of Hoel da, we are tempted to suggest they may have been introduced among the Romanised Britons; and from the Welsh bishop Asser's communications have been imitated by Alfred in his English polity.

(2) Asser, 69.

besides him. The rich and powerful, engrossed with their own concerns, were inattentive to their inferiors. They studied their private not the public good (1)." The poor at this period comprised all the lay branches of population which were not gentry or noble.

Alfred applied to the administration of justice, because it was then so little understood, and so little valued by the people, that both noble and inferior persons were accustomed to dispute pertinaciously with each other in the very tribunals of justice. What the earls and legal officers adjudged, was disregarded. All resorted to the king's judgment, which was then respectfully fulfilled. Burdensome as so many legal appeals must have been, he never hesitated to sacrifice his own comfort for the welfare of his subjects. With great discernment, and wonderful patience, he examined every dispute; he reviewed the adjudications made by others in his absence. When he saw that the judges had erred, he called them mildly to him, and either personally, or by confidential persons, inquired if they had erred from ignorance, or malevolence, or avarice. When he found that ignorance had produced a wrong decision, he rebuked the judges for accepting an office for which they were unqualified, and commanded them to improve themselves by study, or to abandon their offices (2).

The statement of Asser is in general terms. We have already alluded to the ancient law-book, the Miroir des Justices, which presents to us many instances of Alfred's punishing judges for misconduct. Andrew Horne, who wrote this work in Norman French, in the time of Edward the Second (3), has been attacked with severity by Dr. Hickes, because he makes the institution of juries to be anterior to the Conquest (4). The objections of this respectable critic are, however, weakened by the recollections that lord Coke and Spelman, before Hickes wrote, and bishop Nicholson (5) since, have maintained, with others, that the Anglo-Saxons had juries, and we see that Horne professes to have taken his facts from the records of the court.

Some of the cases stated in the Mirror show that Alfred was assiduous in protecting the independence, the purity, and the rights of jurymen. He punished capitally some judges for deciding criminal cases by an arbitrary violation of the right of jury.

"He hanged Cadwine, because he condemned Hachwy to death without the assent of all the jurors, in a case where he put himself upon the jury of twelve men; and because Cadwine removed three who wished to save him against the nine, for three others into whose jury this Hachwy did not put himself."

(1) Asser, 69. (2) Ibid. 70, 71.
(3) It was printed in London, 1642. A translation appeared in 1646.
(4) See Hickes's Dissertatio Epistolaris, p. 34—43.
(5) See the Bishop's preface to Wilkins's Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ.

"He hanged Markes, because he adjudged During to death by twelve men not sworn."

"He hanged Freberne, because he adjudged Harpin to death when the jurors were in doubt about their verdict; for when in doubt, we ought rather to save than condemn (1)."

Alfred's disease and death. 901.

The numerous occupations, both public and private, to which this active-minded king directed his attention, seem sufficient to have occupied the longevity of a Nestor. Yet Alfred died at the age of fifty-two, and his life was literally a life of disease. The ficus molested him severely in his childhood (2). After distressing him for many years, this malady disappeared, but at the age of twenty was replaced by another of the most tormenting nature. It attacked him, before all the people, suddenly with an immense pain, during, and probably caused by, the protracted banquets, "day and night," of his nuptial festivities; and never left him (3). Its seat was internal and invisible (4); but its agony wasi ncessant. Such was the dreadful anguish it perpetually produced, that if for one short hour it happened to intermit, the dread and horror of its inevitable return poisoned the little interval of ease (5). The skill of his Saxon physicians was unable to detect its nature, or to alleviate its pain. Alfred had to endure it unrelieved (6). It is not among the least admirable circumstances of this extraordinary man, that he withstood the fiercest hostilities that ever distressed a nation, cultivated literature, discharged his public duties, and executed all his schemes for the improvement of his people, amid a perpetual agony, so distressing, that it would have disabled a common man from the least exertion (7).

(1) Mirror, p. 296—298. (2) Asser, p. 40.

(3) Post diuturna die noctuque convivia subito et immenso atque omnibus medicis incognito confestim coram omni populo correptus est dolore. Asser, 40. It was afflicting him in the forty-fifth year of his life, when Asser wrote the paragraph which mentioned it. The expressions of Asser, "daily banquets by day and night," imply that they were continued for some days; and this exhausting continuation may have given Alfred's constitution the irretrievable blow.

(4) Asser describes it as incognitum enim erat omnibus qui tunc aderant et etiam huc usque quotidie cernentibus, p. 40.

(5) Sed si aliquando Dei misericordia unius diei aut noctis vel etiam unius horæ intervallo illa infirmitas seposita fuerat, timor tamen ac tremor illius execrabilis doloris unquam eum non deseruit. Asser, 42.

(6) From this disorder continuing so long with such acute pain, without destroying him sooner; from the period of his life when it began; from its internal situation; from its horrible agony, and from its not appearing to have ceased till his death, some conjecture may be formed of it; at least, I understand, there are some diseases incident to the human frame, as internal cancer, or some derangement of the biliary functions, to which these circumstances are applicable.

(7) We have referred to this place a cursory review of the former discussions between Oxford and Cambridge, which have been connected with the memory of Alfred. This dispute did not burst out publicly till the reign of Elizabeth. When the queen visited Cambridge in 1564, the orator of the university unfortunately de-

clared in his harangue, that Cambridge truly claimed a superior antiquity to Oxford. Enraged that an attempt should have been insidiously made to prepossess the ear of majesty to its prejudice, Oxford retaliated the aggression, by asserting, in a written composition, to the queen, when she came to the university in 1566, that it was Oxford, and Oxford only, which could truly boast the earliest foundation.

Wars, horrid wars! became then the business and the amusement of every student. Cantabs and Oxonians arranged themselves to battle; and every weapon of polemical erudition and polemical fury was raised against each other.

Caius, one of the leaders in this discussion, published a quarto, in defence of Cambridge, in 1574. He said, he came to restore peace; as if, by assuring the world that Cambridge was in the right, he could ever give tranquillity to Oxford.

Oxford denied the right of an insidious partisan to be a peace-maker; and at last Brian Twyne appeared, with a book as large and as full as that of Caius, in which the glory of Oxford was sturdily and angrily maintained. Many combatants at various intervals succeeded, and the conflict became as ardent as, from the fragility of the materials, it was ineffectual.

Some of the friends of Cambridge managed to see the first stones of their university laid in the 173d year after the flood. Others, however, who were not blessed with optics which had the faculty of seeing what had never been visible, very wisely postponed the existence of their favourite till about four centuries before the Christian era. At that period, they found out that one Cantaber, a royal Spanish emigrant, who came to England in the days of Gurguntius, had sent for Greek philosophers from Athens, and given to Cambridge a local habitation, and a name.

It was easy for Oxford to object, that Cantaber was but one of those airy nothings wich the poet or the antiquary, in his frenzy, discerns. It was not more difficult to laugh at the wise and learned giants, who were placed as the aborigines of our island, and who first cultivated letters. But the Oxonian champion did not content himself with destroying all the superstructures of Cambridge vanity. The heralds of national ancestry are as fond of their own chimeras as they are intolerant of the antiquarian progeny of others. Hence, though the advocate of Oxford denied to Cambridge its Cantaber, he conceived it to be just to claim for Oxford a colony of Greek philosophers, who came into the island with Brutus, and established a college at Cricklade, which was afterwards translated to Bello Situm, where Oxford now stands. See Caius Ant. Cantab., and Twyne's Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

The fame of Oxford was, however, not wholly intrusted to phantoms. A basis more secure was found for it in a passage printed under the name of Asser; and it is this unfortunate passage which has connected the dispute with the history of Alfred.

An edition of Asser was published from a MS. of Camden, in 1603; in which a paragraph appeared, stating, that in 886, a discord arose at Oxford between Grymbold and his learned friends whom he had brought with him, and those ancient schoolmen whom he found there, and who refused to obey entirely his institutions. Three years the dissension lasted. Alfred, to appease it, went to Oxford. The ancient schoolmen contended, that before the arrival of Grymbold, letters had flourished there, though the scholars had been fewer; and they proved, by the indubitable testimony of ancient annals, that the ordinations and institutes of this place had been established by some pious and erudite men, as Gildas, Melkin, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who there grew old in letters; and that St. Germain, who resided half a year at Oxford, had also approved of them. The king recommended peace; but Grymbold, dissatisfied, withdrew to Winchester.

Such is the import of this contested paragraph. If it had been genuine, it gave the evidence of Asser, that there had been public schools at Oxford, at least in the fifth and sixth centuries, when Germain and others lived. Now Cambridge had no such plausible document as this. Its friends had indeed talked of Arthur's charters, but these were soon descried as surreptitious. The most ancient historical dress that it could assume, with any decorous attention to probability, was Bede's paragraph, about Sigebert establishing schools in East Anglia; and Sigebert lived above a century after Gildas.

But unfortunately for the fame of Oxford, Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, had published, in Saxon types, an edition of Asser, in 1574, from a MS. in which this passage was not to be found. The ancient MS. of Asser, in the Cotton Library, which has been thought to have been written within a century after its author's death, was also without this clause. It was Otho, A. 12., since burnt.

Here, then, was the point of an elaborate controversy; was this passage written by Asser? Did Parker insidiously omit it, or did Camden surreptitiously insert it, or was it really wanting in the one MS. and really existing in the other? The controversy had begun before Parker published his Asser, but it was then in its infancy. When Camden's Asser appeared, it was raging in all its violence. Camden's MS., which he thought to have been of the age of Richard II., was never produced after it was printed; and no other MSS. can now be obtained to determine the question. See Wood, Hist. Oxf. p. 9.

Oxford and Cambridge have since produced such great scholars in every department of knowledge, and such distinguished men in the most honourable paths of active life, that controversies like these are felt to be unworthy of their attention, and are not now even thought of. The point of emulation is known to be, which can *now* produce the ablest men; not which first began their formation.

APPENDIX TO BOOK V. CHAP. VI.

In considering Alfred's Indian embassy, we are led at the outset to inquire whether Saint Thomas ever had been in India; whether in the age of Alfred he was believed to have died there; and whether at that time there were Christians living there. Our scepticism may also desire to know if such journeys were in those days attempted, because if these four questions can be answered affirmatively, the assertions of our chronicles will not be counteracted by any improbability in the circumstance which they attest.

That St. Thomas the Apostle extended his annunciations of Christianity into India, is asserted by several fathers (1), by the Syrian authors (2), and by the Christians who had lived and are living in the Indian peninsula (3).

It is not of great importance to our subject to ascertain whether Saint Thomas really taught in India; we know of the circumstance only from tradition, and tradition is a capricious sylph, which can seldom be allowed to accompany the dignified march of authentic history; but it is essential to inquire, if in the time of Alfred it was believed that the Apostle had been there, because if it had become an article of the popular creed, (whether rightly or not) that Saint Thomas had died in India, this persuasion would have been the motive which, operating on Alfred's curiosity, may have suggested the Indian embassy.

That the opinion had been afloat before, is obvious, from the assertions of the fathers (4); that it was accredited in the west of Europe, in the sixth century, is proved by a curious passage of Gregory of Tours, the parent of Frankish history, who has transmitted to us the narration which he had received from one Theodore (5). This man professed to have travelled to

(1) Fabricius remarks, that vulgo India Thomæ tribuitur, and cites Ambrosius, in Ps. 45. Hieronymum Epist. 148. and Nicetas, with others, Codex Apocryph. i. p. 687. Assemanni, in his elaborate Bibliotheca Orientalis, quotes most largely on this subject. Origen, Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, and others, assign Parthia to Thomas. To this India is added by Gregory Nazianzen, Hippolytus, Sophronius, and all the Martyrologists. Tom. iii. pars 2. p. 25. ed. Romæ 1728.

(2) The collection of Assemanni is peculiarly valuable for its introducing to the knowledge of Europe many Syrian authors, from whose works he translates copious extracts out of the Syriac into Latin. He asserts of the Syrians, that Thomam Indis prædicasse ubique affirmant, p. 30.—Again, non Indiarum Christiani sed etiam Assyriæ ac Mesopotamiæ Nestoriani affirmant eum Indorum, Sinensiumque Apostolum fuisse, p. 436. He adds his Syriac authorities. The Orientalist De Guignes says, "Une foule d'auteurs, tant Grecs que Syriens, paraissent ne pas douter que St. Thomas n'ait pénétré dans l'Inde pour y prêcher la religion chrétienne." Acad. des Inscript. v. liv. p. 323.

(3) Mr. Gibbon says, "When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and colour attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan," vol. iv. quarto. p. 599.

(4) What Hippolytus states of Thomas is the epitome of every other tradition. It is that he perished in the Indian city of Calamine, and was buried there. Fab. Cod. 689.

(5) Ordericus Vitalis says of Gregory, whom he quotes, "Scribit quod a Theodoro quodam de Sancto Thoma audivit qui tunc temporis in Indiam peregrinatus fuerat et inde reversus hæc inter cætera narravit," p. 414. As Gregory of Tours accredited Theodore, it is obvious that his narration, whether true or false, was admitted in our hemisphere in the sixth century.

India, and described the monastery which had been erected there, over the body of St. Thomas. That the same notion remained to the days of Alfred, is as clear; because the account drawn up by Elfric, who lived at the close of the tenth century, states at length the romance which the respected fables of preceding ages had preserved concerning the Indian journey of St. Thomas (1). It was in full credit in the twelfth century, for Ordericus makes it a part of his ecclesiastical history (2).

But were there any Christians at that time living in India? Because, if not, the embassy was ridiculous. The generally diffused tradition may have suggested to Alfred the idea of the scheme; but unless there was the local truth of Christians residing in a particular part of India, the king must have been a dreamer. To have delegated a mission to wander over the extensive district of India, till they had found a city called Calamine, and the shrine of St. Thomas, without any previous topographical indication of a particular district, was too wild a thought to have been countenanced by an Alfred.

But on investigating ancient remains, we find the fact to be as authentic as it is curious, that there were Christians then flourishing in the Indian peninsula.

The Syriac letter of Jesujabus Abjabenus, the Nestorian patriarch, to Simeon the metropolitan of the Persians, written in the seventh century (3), yet exists, and satisfactorily expresses the fact. It calls to the metropolitan's recollection, that he had "shut the doors of the episcopal imposition of hands before many people of India." It states that "the sacerdotal succession is interrupted among the people of India, nor in India only, which, from the maritime borders of Persia, extends to Colon, a space of above 1200 parasangs, but even lies in darkness in your Persian region (4)."

That Christianity had in these times obtained footing in India, is a reasonable inference, from the larger fact of its existence in China, in the seventh and eighth centuries (5). About the year 720, Salibazacha, the Nestorian patriarch, created metropolitans in China, as well as at Samarcand (6); and Timotheus, who had the same dignity from 788 to 820, appointed Da-

(1) The narration of Elfric has been noticed before in this chapter, p. 93., note 10., and its substance quoted. He says, he translated it on the importunity of the venerable Dux Ethelwold; that he had himself doubted for some time whether he ought to put it into English, because St. Austin objected to one part of the narration; but that at last he determined to omit this, and to translate the rest concerning St. Thomas's death. This Anglo-Saxon history of St. Thomas contains an abridgment of the Apostolical History ascribed to Abdias. The amiable Melancthon says of this, "Legat has qui volet.—Ac suaserim potius ne legant omnino. Sunt enim illa scripta mirifica et referta falsitate manifesta." See Fabricius Cod. Apoc. 393. and 687. for the Legend.

(2) See it p. 410—414. Hic in Anglia natus est, 1075. Du Chesne, præfatio.

(3) Jesujabus died 660. Assemanni Bib. Or. T. ii. p. 420. and T. iii. p. 615. Assemanni gives the Syriac, with a Latin version.

(4) "Quod sicuti fores impositionis manus Episcopatus coram multis Indæ populis occlusistis." Tom. iii. pars 2. p. 27. "Interrupta est ab Indiæ populis sacerdotalis successio, nec India solum quæ a maritimis regni Persarum finibus usque ad Colon spatio ducentarum supra mille parasangarum extenditur, sed et ipsa Persarum regio vestra—in tenebris jacet." Ibid.

(5) On this subject I follow, as I think I ought, the guidance of the learned Assemanni. He says, "Sub cognomine Gadalensi An. Ch. 633, prædicatores Evangelii in ipsarum Sinarum regnum penetrasse, ex monumento lapideo, anno 781 erecto, compertum est," p. 28.

(6) "Salibazacha item Nestorianorum patriarcha (Bib. Or. t. iii. p. 346.) circa annum 720 Heriæ, Samarcandæ et Sinarum metropolitas creavit," Assem. p. 28.

vid to the head of the ecclesiastics in China (1). If in the eighth and ninth centuries, Christianity so flourished in China, as to support a metropolitan dignity, no one will hesitate to believe that it was existing in India.

The most detailed statement on this subject, is that of the Grecian traveller Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, if that really be the name of the author of the Christian topography (2); he performed his voyage in 522 (3). He mentions Christians not only in other places of the east, but in India, in Ceylon, and, what comes nearest to our subject, in Male, which we call Maliapour (4).

It is to the zeal and activity of the Nestorian Christians, that this extensive dissemination is chiefly to be attributed. Their traditions, or history on this subject, demand our respect. In 1504, their Indian bishops stated to the then Nestorian patriarch, that there was a place called the house of St. Thomas; that it was twenty-five days' journey from Cananore; that it was on the sea in the city of Meliapour (5).

From the ninth century to the sixteenth, the state of the Indian Christians varied (6). Ludovicus, who travelled in India, and in many parts of Asia and Africa, about the year 1500, mentions, that he found Christians in an Indian city, who called themselves of St. Thomas (7); and in 1504, the bishops in India stated these Christians to be about 30,000 in number (8). The archbishop of Goa, who visited the Malabar coast in 1599, mentions, that he found Christians there, and that their chief churches and cities were Angamale, Cranganor, Cochinum, Coulanum, Meliapora, Calicut, and Cananor (9). Tachard found them in the mountains of Malabar in 1711 (10); and the latest accounts declare, that they yet exist in these parts.

Thus then we find, that in the days of Alfred, it was believed that St. Thomas perished in India; that there were at that time, and have been up to this century, Christians in the Indian peninsula; and that Meliapour, on the Malabar coast, has been for ages the spot pointed out by local tradition, as the scene of St. Thomas's fate. These facts afford a good ground for

(1) "Timotheus, qui ab anno 778 ad annum 820 Nestorianis præfuit, Davidem (tom. 3. p. 489.) Sinensibus metropolitam dedit." Assem. p. 28.

(2) Gibbon follows the learned in so naming him, v. 4. p. 79. quarto. Fabricius intimates that as Indicopleustes alludes to his Indian navigation, so Cosmas may express that he wrote the topography of the world. Bib. Græca, 2. p. 612. This is of no moment. The author was an extensive merchant; he lived long in Egypt; he wrote at Alexandria, and was, or became a monk. Fabr. p. 613.

(3) His Topographica Christiana is in Montfaucon's Collections of the Fathers, t. 2. p. 113—436. and part of it in Thévenot, Relations Curieuses. Gibbon, p. 79.

(4) In Taprobana insula ad interiorem Indiam ubi Indicum pelagus extat Ecclesia Christianorum habetur ubi clerici et fideles reperiuntur—Similiter in Male ut vocant ubi gignitur piper—Itemque apud Bactros. Hunnos, Persas, reliquos Indos, etc. ecclesiæ infinitæ sunt." Cosmas, cited by Assem. p. 437. and 28.

(5) Assemanni, p. 34. The Mahometans sanction the account of the early establishment of the Christians in India. Ferishtah, in his general History of Hindostan, says, "Formerly, before the rise of the religion of Islam, a company of Jews and Christians came by sea into the country (Malabar) and settled as merchants. They continued to live until the rise of the Mussulman religion." Asiatic Register, Miscel. p. 151.

(6) Assemanni relates their prosperity and vicissitudes until the arrival of the Portuguese in India, and their fortunes afterwards, p. 441. Renandot declares, that Meliapour was known by the name of St. Thomas Be-tuma for ages among the Arabs. Ancient Account of India, p. 80.

(7) "Illic (hoc est in Caicolon Indiæ urbi) nacti sumus nonnullos Christianos qui Divi Thomæ nuncupantur." L. 6. c. 1. ap. Assem. 451.

(8) Assemanni quotes them, p. 450.

(9) Assem. 446. and 635.

(10) Assem. 449.

Alfred's embassy. It only remains to inquire if such journeys were in those days undertaken, and if it is probable that the ambassadors, having commenced such an expedition, could have been able to have completed it.

That a Persian ambassador should visit Charlemagne (1); that Arcuulfus should, in the eighth century, travel to Jerusalem, Damascus, and Alexandria (2); and that Abel, the patriarch of Jerusalem, should have sent letters with presents, and of course messengers to Alfred (3), are circumstances which make the Indian embassy credible.

We have the account of another journey in the same century, which also proves that there were spirits then existing, whose curiosity for such distant expeditions prevailed over their fears.

In 870, three monks desirous to see the places so celebrated in the Christian writings, undertook a journey to Palestine, and the Egyptian Babylon. Their itinerary, written by Bernard, one of the travellers, is extant (4). They first went to Mount Garganum, in which they found the church of St. Michael. This is near the Gulf of Manfredonia. An hundred and fifty miles brought them to Barre, then a city of the Saracens, but which had once been subject to the Beneventans. This is on the south-east side of Italy; they sought admission to the prince of the city, who was called a suldan, and obtained leave to prosecute their journey with letters to the chief of Alexandria and Babylon, describing their countenances, and the object of their journey.

From Barre, they walked ninety miles to the port of Tarentum, where they found six ships, two going to Tripoli, and two to other parts of Africa, with some captives. After thirty days' sailing they reached Alexandria; here the master of the ship exacted six pieces of gold before he would let them leave it (5).

They produced to the governor of Alexandria the letter of the suldan of Barre, but it did them no good; a present of thirteen denarii a piece was more serviceable. Bernard remarks, that it was the custom of Alexandria, to take the money by weight; he says, six of the solidi and denarii which they carried out with them, weighed only three of those at Alexandria. The governor gave them letters to the chief of Babylon; but by Babylon, it is obvious that Bernard means a principal city in Egypt, and not the famous Babylon which spread along the Euphrates.

Sailing up the Nile south for six days, they came to the city of Egyptian

(1) See the Astronomer's Annales Francorum, ann. 807, in Reuberi Germ. Script. p. 35.

(2) See the first volume of this history.

(3) Asser declares, that he saw and read these letters. "Nam etiam de Hierosolyma Abel patriarchæ epistolas et dona illi directas vidimus et legimus," p. 58. It appears to me very likely, that the emissaries of Abel supplied Alfred with the local information that he wanted. Mesopotamia was the great seat of the Nestorians, and it is very reasonable to suppose, that the patriarch of Jerusalem and his officers were well acquainted with the diffusion of this party.

(4) It is in MS. in the Cotton Library, Faustina, B. 1., and it has been printed by Mabillon in his Acta Benedict. from another MS.; he dates it 870. The latter MS. has 970. It begins thus: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi 970, in nomine Domini volentes videre loca sanctorum quæ fuerunt Jerosolymis, ego Bernardus duobus memet ipsum sociavi fratribus in devotione caritatis ex quibus erat unus ex monasterio Beati Vincenti Beneventani nomine Theudemundus, alter Hispanus nomine Stephanus; igitur adeuntes in urbe papæ Nicolai præsentiam obtinuimus cum sua benedictione nec non et auxilio pergendi desideratam licentiam."

(5) He says, that wishing to go ashore they were hindered, "A principe nautarum qui erant super 60, ut autem nobis copia daretur exeundi, dedimus aureos x." MSS.

Babylon (1). The guards of the place conducted them to the governor: their letters were useless, and they were sent to prison; a present of denarii as before released them. In return for this, he made them out letters, which, he said, whoever saw, would in no place or town exact any more. They could not leave this Babylon without a sealed permission, which some more denarii were required to obtain.

Bernard proceeds to describe his journey from Egypt to Jerusalem (2), which need not be given here, as enough has been extracted to give some idea of the practicability and course of oriental expeditions. He mentions one trait of Jerusalem, which shews that some intercourse was maintained by devotion between these distant places and the west of Europe. He says, "We were received there in the mansion of hospitality of the most glorious Charlemagne, in which all are received who visit this place for devotion, and who speak the Roman language (3)." From Jerusalem they sailed in sixty days, with an unfavourable wind, to Italy.

These particulars shew, that it was very practicable to get to Alexandria and up the Nile, into the interior of Egypt, and to traverse Egypt and Palestine, although among Mahometans. What then should make it more difficult for a traveller to go on through Egypt to Suez, or at Suez to find shipping for the coast of Malabar?

Some further circumstances may be noted which must have considerably facilitated the progress of Alfred's ambassadors. Of these, the great influence of the Nestorian Christians in the courts of the Mussulman princes may be ranked among the chief.

Nestorians were frequently appointed by the Saracen caliphs, to the government of cities, provinces, and towns, especially in Adjabene and in Assyria (4). In the ninth century, these districts were actually under the Nestorian government (5).

The scribes and physicians of the Caliphs, and chiefs of Arabia, were also in general Nestorians (6). This courtly situation gave them great influence among their own party (7), and must have frequently enabled them to extend to their friends a very powerful protection.

Now as the Nestorians abounded over Persia, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia,

(1) He states, that Alexandria was on the sea; on the east and west was a monastery; north was the gate of the city. "A meridie habuit introitum Gyon sive Nilus qui rigat Egyptum et currit per mediam civitatem intrans in mare in prædicto portu. In quo intrantes navigimus ad meridiem diebus sex et venimus ad civitatem Babyloniæ Egypti ubi regnavit quondam Pharao rex." MSS.

(2) It is shortly; back up the Nile in three days to Sitinuth; thence to Maalla; thence they sailed to Amiamate, quæ habuit ab aquilone mare; thence sailed to Tanis, to Faramea; here was a multitude of camels. The desert of six days' journey began from this city; it had only palm-trees; in the middle were two hospitia; the earth was fertile to Gaza; thence to Alariza, to Ramula, to Emaus Castle, to Jerusalem.

(3) Cui adjacet ecclesia in honore Scæ Mariæ nobilissimam habens bibliothecam studio prædicti Imperatoris. Ibid.

(4) Hinc primo adhibiti a Chaliphis ad regimen provinciarum urbium oppidorum ex eadem secta præfecti quorum mentio in historia Nestoriana frequenter occurrit, ac præsertim in Adjabene et in Assyria, ubi plurimi habitabant. Assemanni, p. 96.

(5) Assem. ib.

(6) Secundo tam Chaliphæ quam regni Arabici proceres Nestorianis scribis medicisque usi. He adduces a great many instances, both of physicians and scribes, or secretaries. Assem. 97.

(7) Horum scribarum medicorumque tanta erat in christianos suæ sectæ auctoritas ut neque patriarcharum electiones neque ecclesiastica negotia ipsis inconsultis conficerentur. Assem. ib.

Syria, Arabia, and Egypt (1), and as Alfred's mission was to one of their Indian colonies, and to do honour to the apostle whom they so much reverenced, and whose remains they professed to have preserved, his ambassadors would of course experience all the friendship and protection which their leaders could display or obtain. If, from Jerusalem, the Saxon bishop took his journey to the Euphrates, to sail to India from the Persian gulph; or if, from Alexandria, he went to Suez, and thence navigated from the Red Sea to the coast of Malabar; yet both tracts abounded with Nestorians, and of course with persons willing and able to instruct, to guide, and to protect him.

We may therefore infer, from all these facts, that there is nothing improbable, nor even romantic, in Alfred's embassy to India. The authorities which affirm it are respectable, and from the credibility which they derive from the other circumstances alluded to they may be trusted.

(1) See Assemanni, 81.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

The Reign of Edward the Elder.

Edward the Elder. 901.

Alfred had been called to the crown in preference to the children of his elder brother. Their pretensions were equally neglected at his death; and Edward, his son, who had distinguished himself against Hastings, was chosen by the nobles as their king (1).

Ethelwold, one of the disregarded princes, in opposition to the decision of the Anglo-Saxon witena, aspired to the crown, and seized Wimburn, declaring that he would keep it or perish (2). But when the king advanced with an army against him, he fled, at night, to the Northumbrian Danes; and exciting their sympathy, was appointed their sovereign at York, over all their other kings and chiefs (3).

905.

By this incident he became formidable both to Edward and his people. The Northmen colonists, by occupying all Northumbria and East Anglia, independently of Edward, possessed one-third part of England; and if Ethelwold's abilities had equalled his ambition, or if Edward had been a weaker character, the Northmen might have gained the sovereignty of the island. But Ethelwold seems not to have long pleased his new subjects; for he was afterwards on the seas a pirate (4), and sailed to France in quest of partisans to distress the king (5). He returned with a great fleet, and subdued Essex (6); persuading the East Anglian Danes to join him, he entered Mercia, and ravaged as far as Cricklade. He even passed the Thames into Wessex, and plundered in Wiltshire; but the Anglo-Saxons not supporting him, he returned. The army of Edward followed him, and ravaged, in retaliation, to the fens of Lincolnshire. When the king withdrew, he directed his forces not to separate. The Kentish troops neglected his orders, and remained after the others had retired.

(1) A primatis electus. Ethelwerd, 847. He was crowned at the Whitsuntide after his father's death. Ibid.

(2) Sax. Ch. 100. Hen. Hunt. 352. Matt. West. 351. At Wimburn, he possessed himself of a nun by force, and married her. Ibid.

(3) Hen. Hunt. 352. Matt. West. 351. Sax. Ch. 100. Flor. 337. The king replaced the nun in her retreat.

(4) In exilium trusus pirates adduxerat. Malm. 46.

(5) Matt. West. 351.

(6) Hunt. 352. Sax. Ch. 100.

Ethelwold eagerly attacked them with superior numbers. The Kentish men were overpowered, but their defence was desperate. Their chiefs fell; and the author of the quarrel also perished in his victory (1). His fate released the island from the destructive competition; and a peace, two years afterwards, restored amity between the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Danes (2).

910. But war was soon renewed between the rival powers. With his Mercians and West-Saxons, Edward, in a five weeks' depredation of Northumbria, destroyed and plundered extensively. In the next year, the Northerns devastated Mercia (3). A misconception of the Danes brought them within the reach of the king's sword. While he was tarrying in Kent, he collected one hundred ships, which he sent to guard the south-eastern coast (4), probably to prevent new invasions. The Danes, fancying the great body of his forces to be on the seas, advanced into the country to the Avon, and plundered without apprehension, and passed onwards to the Severn. Edward immediately sent a powerful army to attack them; his orders were obeyed. The Northerns were surprised into a fixed battle at Wodensfield, and were defeated, with the slaughter of many thousands. Two of their kings fell, brothers of the celebrated Ingwar, and therefore children of Ragnar Lodbrog, and many earls and officers (5). The Anglo-Saxons sung hymns on their great victory (6).

The event of this battle established the superiority of Edward over his dangerous neighbours, and checked the progress of their power. He pursued the plans which Alfred had devised for the protection of his throne. As the Danes possessed the north of England, from the Humber to the Tweed, and the eastern districts, from the Ouse to the sea, he protected his own frontiers by a line of fortresses. In the places where irruptions into Mercia and

(1) Sax. Ch. 101. Hunt. 352. Eohric, the Anglo-Danish king, fell in the struggle. Ethelwerd places this battle at Holme, 848. Holme in Saxon means a river island. In Lincolnshire there is one called Axelholme. Camd. 474. The printed Saxon Chronicle makes a battle at Holme in 902, besides the battle wherein Ethelwold fell; but the MS. Chron. Tib. b. iv. omits the battle in 902. So the MS. Tib. b. i. With these Florence agrees; and therefore the passage of 902, in the printed Chronicle, may be deemed a mistake.

(2) Sax. Chron. Matt. West. adds, that the king immediately afterwards reduced those who had rebelled against him: Et maxime cives Londonienses et Oxonienses, p. 352. In 905, Ealswythe, the widow of Alfred, died; and her brother, Athulf, an ealdorman, in 903. Sax. Ch. 101. She had founded a monastery of nuns at Winchester. Mailros, 146.

(3) Sax. Ch. 102. Hunt. 352. The MS. Saxon Chronicles mention, that the English defeated at this time the Danes at Totanheale. Florence and Hoveden place this conflict and place in Staffordshire.

(4) Sax. Ch. 102.

(5) Flor. 340. Ethelw. 848. Sax. Ch. 103.

(6) Hunt. 353. Ethelwerd's account of Edward's battles have several poetical phrases, as if he had translated some fragments of these songs.

Wessex were most practicable, and therefore where a prepared defence was more needed, he built burghs or fortifications. He filled these with appointed soldiers, who, when invaders approached, marched out in junction with the provincials to chastise them. No time was lost in waiting for the presence of the king, or of the earls of the county: they were empowered to act of themselves on every emergency; and by this plan of vigilance, energy, and co-operation, the invaders were so easily defeated, that they became a derision to the English soldiery (1). Ethelfleda co-operated in thus fortifying the country. She became a widow in 912; but she continued in the sovereignty of Mercia (2), and displayed great warlike activity.

The position of these fortresses, which soon became inhabited towns, demonstrates their utility. Wigmore, in Herefordshire; Bridgnorth and Cherbury, in Shropshire; Edesbury, in Cheshire; and Stafford and Wedesborough, in Staffordshire; were well chosen to coerce the Welsh upon the western limits. Runcorne and Thelwall, in Cheshire, and Bakewell, in Derbyshire, answered the double purpose of awing Wales, and of protecting that part of the north frontier of Mercia, from the incursions of the Northumbrian Danes. Manchester, Tamworth in Staffordshire, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, assisted to strengthen Mercia on this northern frontier; and Stamford, Towcester, Bedford, Hartford, Colchester, Witham, and Malden, presented a strong boundary of defence against the hostilities of the East Anglian Danes. The three last places guarded three rivers important for their affording an easy debarkation from foreign parts.

The strength of Edward was tried by an invasion of Northmen from Armorica, and his military policy was evidenced by its issue. Two chieftains led the hostile fleet round Cornwall into the Severn, and devastated North Wales. They debarked and plundered in Herefordshire. The men of Hereford, Gloucester, and the nearest burghs or fortified places, defeated them with the loss of one of their chiefs, and the brother of the other, and drove the rest into a wood, which they besieged. Edward directed armed bodies to watch the Severn, from Cornwall to the Avon. The enemy endeavoured one night to escape in two divisions, but the English overtook them in Somersetshire. One was destroyed in Watchet; the other in Porlock bay. The remainder sheltered themselves in a neighbouring island, till, urged by famine, they fled to South Wales, whence in the autumn they sailed to Ireland (3). 918.

(1) Malmsb. 46.

(2) Sax. Ch. 103. Ethelred, her husband, had been long infirm before his death. Hunt. 353.

(3) Sax. Chron. 105. Flor. 343.

920. The Anglo-Saxon monarchy received new security from Edward's incorporation of Mercia with Wessex, on Ethelfleda's death.

Both Edward and Ethelfleda had many struggles with the Northmen in England; but their triumphs were easy, for they attacked enemies, not in their compact strength, but in their scattered positions. Thus Ethelfleda warred with them in Derby. In assaulting the castle, four of her bravest and most esteemed generals fell; but she still urged the combat, and at last mastered the place: she also obtained Leicester (1), Derby, and even York.

Edward endured, and perhaps provoked similar conflicts. The Danes attacked his fortress at Towcester, but the garrison and the provincials repulsed them. In Buckinghamshire, the invasion was formidable, and many districts were overrun, till Edward rescued his people by new victories. In some parts they seemed to copy his policy. They built hostile fortresses at Huntingdon, and at Temesford in Bedfordshire, and assailed Bedford; but the garrison and its supporters defeated them with slaughter (2).

A peculiar spirit of hostility seemed in the latter years of his reign to have excited the Anglo-Danes; for scarcely had they experienced the defeats already noticed, before another aggression was attempted, and was punished (3). The progress of Edward's power endangering their own, may have caused their animosity. But happily for the Anglo-Saxons and Edward, their love of freedom, and the independence of their chiefs, made their kings weak in actual power, and prevented their permanent union under one sovereign. Before they retrieved their former disasters, the king collected a large army from the burghs nearest his object, and attacked them at Temesford. A king, and some earls, perished against him; the survivors were taken, with the city. Pressing on his advantages, he raised another powerful force from Kent, Surrey, Essex, and their burghs, and stormed and mastered Colchester. The East Anglian Danes marched against Malden, in alliance with some vikingr, whom they had invited from the seas (4); but they failed. Edward secured his conquests by new fortifications; and the submission of many districts augmented his realms, and enfeebled his competitors (5). The East Anglian

(1) Hunt. 353, 354. Sax. Chron. 106. Ingulf says of her: "Ipsam etiam urbibus extruendis, castellis muniendis, ac exercitibus ducendis deditam, sexum mutasse putaris," p. 28.

(2) Matt. West. 358. Sax. Chron. 107.

(3) See Sax. Chron. 108, 109.

(4) Gegadrode micel here hine of East Englum, ægther ge thæs land heres, ge thara Wicinga the hie him to fultume asranen hæfdon. Sax. Chron. 108.

(5) Sax. Chron. 109. Thus the king went to Pasham in Northamptonshire, and staid there while a burgh was made at Towcester; then Thurferth Eorl and his followers, and all the army from Northampton to the river Weland in that county, sought him to Hlaforde, and to Mundboran. Ibid. 109.

Danes not only swore to him, "that they would will what he should will (1)," and promised immunity to all who were living under his protection; but the Danish army at Cambridge separately chose him for their lord and patron (2).

These examples of submission spread. When the king was at Stamford, constructing a burgh, all the people about the north of the river received his dominion. The Welsh kings yielded to his power. Howell, Cledauc, and Jeothwell, with their subjects, submitted to him as their chief lord (3), and the king of the Scots chose him for his father and lord. If princes almost beyond the reach of his ambition acquiesced in his superiority, it is not surprising that the kings of Northumbria and the Strathcluyd population should follow the same impulse (4). After these successes, Edward died at Farrington in Berkshire (5). 922.

Edward the Elder must be ranked among the founders of the English monarchy. He executed with judicious vigour the military plans of his father; and not only secured the Anglo-Saxons from a Danish sovereignty, but even prepared the way for that destruction of the Anglo-Danish power which his descendants achieved.

It has been said of Edward, that he was inferior to his father in letters, but superior to him in war, glory, and power (6). This assertion is rather an oratorical point than an historical fact. Edward had never to struggle with such warfare as that during which Alfred ascended his throne, in which he lost it, and by whose suppression he regained it. Edward encountered but the fragments of that tremendous mass which Alfred first broke.

Edward had many children besides Athelstan. He was twice married. His first marriage produced two sons, Ethelward and

(1) Tha hie eall tha woldon tha he rolde. Sax. Chron. 109.

(2) Hine geceas synderlice him to Hlaforde and to Mundboran. Sax. Chron. 109.

(3) Sax. Chron. 110. The Welsh had previously suffered from the warlike Ethelfleda. She took Brecon and a Welsh queen, and signalised herself afterwards in another invasion. Howel was the celebrated Howel Dha, the legislator of Wales. He held both Powys and South Wales. Clydauc was his brother. Wynne's Hist. 44, 45. Powys and Dinefawr were tributary to the king of Aberfraw. The laws of Howel Dha mention the tribute to the king of London thus: "Sixty-three pounds is the tribute from the king of Aberfraw to the king of London, when he took his kingdom from him; and besides this, except dogs, hawks, and horses, nothing else shall be exacted." Lib. iii. c. 2. p. 190. Wotton's edition.

(4) Mailros, 147. Sax. Chron. 110. Flor. 347. Matt. West. 359. Hoveden, 422. Malmsbury, 46. Ingulf, 28. Bromton, 835.

(5) The year of his death is differently stated: 924 is given by Matt. West. 359.; Bromton, 837.; Flor. 347.; Malm. 48.; Mail. 147.; Chron. Petrib. 25.; and by the MS. Chron. Tib. b. i. and also b. iv. The printed Saxon Chronicle has 925, p. 110. Hoveden puts 919, and Ethelwerd 926. The authorities for 924 preponderate.

(6) Malmsb. 46. Flor. 336. Ingulf, 28.

Edwin, and six daughters. Four of the latter were united to continental potentates (1). His second union (2) was followed by the birth of two more sons, Edmund and Edred, who in the course of time succeeded to his sceptre; and of three daughters. One of these, a lady of exquisite beauty (3), was wedded to the prince of Acquitain.

Edward imitated his father as well in his plan of education as in his government. The first part of his daughters' lives was devoted to letters: they were afterwards taught to use the needle, and the distaff. His sons received the best literary education of the day, that they might be well qualified for the offices of government to which they were born (4).

CHAPTER II.

The Reign of Athelstan.

Athelstan. 924. Immediately after Edward's interment, Ethelward, the eldest son of his first marriage, the pattern of the illustrious Alfred, in manners, countenance, and acquisitions, was taken away from the hopes of his countrymen (5). On his death the Anglo-Saxon sceptre was given by the witena-gemot to Athelstan, and he was crowned at Kingston. He was thirty years of age at his accession. His father's will directed the choice of the approving nobles (6).

Athelstan, the eldest but illegitimate son (7) of Edward, was born in Alfred's lifetime. He could be only six years of age when his grandfather died, and yet, interested by his beauty and manners, Alfred had invested him prematurely with the dignity of knighthood, and given him a purple vestment, a jewelled belt, and a Saxon sword, with a golden sheath. His aunt, Ethelfleda,

(1) Malmsb. 47.

(2) His second wife was Æadgifu, whose will is printed in Saxon, with a Latin translation, in the Appendix to Lye's Saxon Dictionary.

(3) Edgivam speciositatis eximiæ mulierem. Malmsb. 47.

(4) Malmsb. 47. Edward was for some time under an excommunication from Rome, for keeping his bishoprics vacant. The king appeased the pope by filling seven sees in one day. Malmsb. 48. Edward was buried in the same monastery where his father and brother Ethelwerd lay. Ibid.

(5) Malmsb. 46. Flor. 347. Sax. Ch. 111. Malmsbury says, the prince died in a few days after his father. The MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tib. b. iv. particularises sixteen days, "sythe hrade ther gefor ymbe 16 dagas æt Oxanforda."

(6) Malmsb. 48, 49.

(7) His mother was a shepherd's daughter of extraordinary beauty. Malmsb. 52. Bromton, 831. Matt. West. 351. She is called Egwina, illustris femina, by H. Silgrave, MS. Cleop. A. 12., and in J. Bever's Chron. MSS. Harl. 641. It was her daughter who married Sigtryg. Ibid.

joined with her husband in superintending his education; and the attainments of Athelstan reflected honour on their attentions (1).

The Anglo-Saxon sovereign became a character of dignity and consequence in Europe, in the person of Athelstan. His connections with the most respectable personages on the Continent give to his reign a political importance.

Sigtryg, the son of Ingwar (2), and grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, was a reigning king in Northumbria at the accession of Athelstan. He is chiefly known in the Saxon annals, for having murdered his brother (3); and in Irish history, for his piratical depredations (4). He, therefore, deserves the character of barbarian, both in mind and in nation (5). Athelstan, however, to conciliate his friendship during the first years of his government, gave him his own sister in marriage. Their nuptials were celebrated with magnificence (6). Perhaps the circumstance of the king's birth, and the existence of legitimate brethren, disposed him to court the alliance, rather than to encounter the enmity, of the Anglo-Danes, while his power was young. Sigtryg embraced Christianity on the occasion; but soon repenting, put away his wife, and resumed his idolatry (7). Roused by the insult, Athelstan prepared to attack him; but Sigtryg died before he invaded (8). His sons fled before the king; the warlike Anlaf into Ireland, and Godefrid into Scotland.

Athelstan pursued Godefrid; he sent messages to Eugenius, king of the Cumbri, and to Constantine, king of the Scots, to demand the fugitives. The Scottish prince obeyed the necessity, and came with homage to England. Godefrid, with a friend, escaped during the journey; and endeavoured, but in vain, to interest York in his favour. Retiring from this city, he was besieged, but again eluded the danger. His friend perished at sea; the prince, after as much misery on the waters as upon land, submitted to Athelstan, and was honourably received at his court. Four days' enjoyment satiated him with the charms of civilized life. His early habits impelled

(1) Malmsb. 49.

(2) He is named the son of Ivar in the Annals of Ulster. See them, p. 65, 66, 67.

(3) 914. Níel rex occisus est a fratre Sihtrico. Sim. Dun. 133. So Huntingdon, 354. The Annals of Ulster contain a similar incident, which they date in 887, p. 65. They call the brother Godfred. Whether this is a misnomer, or whether Sigtryg perpetrated two fratricides, I cannot decide.

(4) See the Annals of Ulster.

(5) So Malmsbury entitles him, gente et animo barbarus, p. 50.

(6) Hoveden, 422. Flor. 328. The MS. Chronicle, Tib. b. iv. mentions the place and the day of this marriage. It says that the two kings met and concluded the nuptials at Tamworth, on 30th of January, "925, hær Æthelstan cyning and Sihtric Northymbra cyning heo gesamnodon æt Tameworththige, 3 kal. Februarn, and Æthelstan his sweostor him forgeaf." MSS. Tib. b. iv.

(7) Matt. West. 360.

(8) 926. Sihtricus vita decessit. Flor. 348. The Annals of Ulster express it thus: "926, Sigtryg O'Ivar died in his old age," p. 67.

him to abandon that tranquillity which is so grateful to the cultured mind, and he fled to maritime piracy (1).

Athelstan exerted his power with an effect to which Edward's superiority had never reached. He drove Ealdred from Bebbanburh, demolished the castle at York (2), and added Northumbria to his paternal dominions (3).

But Athelstan was not permitted to enjoy his triumph unmolested. The Northmen chieftains saw that the progress of Athelstan's power was advancing to their complete subjection. The states on the Baltic were still full of fierce and active adventurers who had to seek fame and fortune in other regions; and descendants of Ragnar Lodbrog yet existed, both enterprising and popular. These circumstances occasioned a great effort to be made against Athelstan, which not only threatened to emancipate Northumbria from his authority, but to overwhelm his inherited government. The greatness of the confederacy and the preparations by which it was supported, excited great attention in Europe, as well as in England. It is narrated in a Northern Saga, as well as in the English Chronicles; and, from a careful comparison of all the documents, the following facts seem to be an authentic detail.

934. In 934, Athelstan had ravaged Scotland with his army, as far as Dunfoeder and Wertmore, while his fleet spread dismay to Caithness (4). Constantine was then unable to withstand the storm, but he prepared for a day of retaliation. Anlaf also, the son of Sigtryg, though he had obtained a sovereignty in Ireland, was planning to regain his power in Northumbria. In Wales, the princes, humbled by Athelstan (5), were ready to co-

(1) Malmsb. 50.

(2). Malmsb. 50. In Edward's reign, Reginwald, a pagan king, came with a great fleet and conquered York. Two of his leaders are mentioned, Scula, and the cruel Onlafbald, to whom he gave possessions. He drove out Aldred and his brother, and defeated Constantine. Ibid. 74. Sim. Dun. 23. This was in 919. Ibid. 133. Reginwald had before attacked Dublin. Ibid. In 921, he submitted to Edward. Ibid. 153. The Annals of Ulster state, in 917, that the Gals, from Ireland, attacked the Scotch, and Northern Saxons, and that Reginald McBeolach, one of the leaders of the Gals, attacked the Scotch and Saxons in the rear with great slaughter, p. 66.

(3) Matt. West. 360. Flor. 348. The MS. Tib. b. iv. gives a passage in Saxon not in the printed Chronicle, but of the same import with the Latin of Florence, ad an. 926. On comparing the two MS. Chronicles of Tib. b. i. and Tib. b. iv. I find that they contain in several places passages which are no where else preserved, but in Florence, or Matthew of Westminster, Hoveden, or in Huntingdon. The Annals of these writers and of Ethelwerd, seem, therefore, to be but Latin translations of Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, some of which are now lost.

(4) Mailros, 147. Sax. Chron. 111. Sim. Dun. 134. The cause of the invasion was Constantine's violation of his treaty. The Scottish king gave up his son as an hostage, with many presents. Sax. Chron. 349.

(5) Florence mentions the prior subjection of Huwal, king of the West Britons, and Wer, the king of Gwent, in 926, p. 348. Matt. West. names these princes Hunwall and Wilferth, p. 360.

operate for the diminution of his strength. The Anglo-Danes (as, for convenience and dispatch, we will hereafter term the descendants of the Northern colonists of Northumbria and East Anglia) beheld with displeasure the preponderance of the Saxon sovereign, and the petty state of Cumbria had no choice but to follow the impulse of the potent neighbours who surrounded it. All these powers confederated (1) against Athelstan, and the united mass of their hostilities was increased by fleets of warriors from Norway and the Baltic (2). By an attack of this magnitude, it seemed a certain calculation that the single force of Athelstan must be overthrown. England had never been assailed before with a confederacy of so much power, formed with so much skill, and consisting of so many parts.

Such a combination of hostility could not be completed, and the armaments, necessary for its successful explosion, could not be collected without Athelstan's knowledge.

He prepared to meet the storm with firmness and energy; and, to multiply his own means of defence, he circulated promises of high reward to every warrior who should join his standard (3).

Thorolf and Egil, two of those navigating vikingr whose weapons were ready for any enterprise, heard the tidings as they sailed by Saxony and Flanders. They came in the autumn with three hundred companions to proffer their services to Athelstan, who gladly received them (4). And Rollo assisted him from Normandy.

Anlaf invades.

Anlaf (5) commenced the warfare, by entering the Humber with a fleet of 615 ships (6). The gover-

(1) The members of the confederacy are stated from Ingulf, 29. 37.; Flor. Wig. 349.; Sax. Ch. 111—114.; Hoveden, 422.; and the Egilli Saga, in Johnston's Celto Scandicæ, p. 31. Florence, Alured Bev. and Hoveden, say, that Constantine incited Anlaf to the attempt.

(2) The British Chronicle in the Cotton Library, MS. Cleopatra, b. v. says, "Ac y doeth gwyr Denmarc y geisiaw goresgyn yr ynys y arnaw." "And the men of Denmark came who sought to conquer the island from him." It adds, "Ac y rodes ynter kyffranc ydunt ac yny kyffranc hwnnw y llas brenhin yr yscottieit, phymp brenhin o Denmarc." "And he gave them battle, and in this battle were slain the king of Scotland, and five kings of Denmark." This Chronicle ends near the year 1200. The Saxon song mentions Northmanna to have been in the battle. "Thær geflemed wearth Northmanna bregu," p. 113. The Annals of Ulster call the struggle, "a great and destructive war between the Saxons and Normans," p. 67. So Hunt. mentions Froda as ductor Normannus, p. 354. Ingulf mentions Danorum and Norreganorum, 37.

(3) Adalsteinn autem copias sibi contraxit, præbuitque stipendia omnibus, exteris et indigenis, hoc pacto rem facere cupiebant. Egilli Skallagrimi Saga, p. 31.

(4) Egilli Saga, p. 31, 32. They are called Vikingum in p. 43. On Rollo, see W. Gem. 229. and Dudo.

(5) In the Egilli Saga he is called Olafr. In the Annals of Ulster, Olave, p. 67. In the Brut Jeuan Breckfa, Awlaff, p. 485. In Bromton, Aulaf. Other English Chronicles call him Anlaf, Anlavus, Analaph, and Onlaf.

(6) Mailros, 147. and Sim. Dun. 25. Hoveden, 422. The ship in which Egil afterwards left England contained one hundred men or more. Egil Saga, p. 55. If Anlaf's ships were of this size, his army must have been sixty thousand. We may take forty thousand as a safer average.

nors, whom Athelstan had left in Northumbria, are named Alfgeirr, and Gudrekr. Their forces were soon overpowered. Gudrekr fell, and Alfgeirr fled to his sovereign with the tidings (1). Among the allies of Anlaf, the Northern Saga names Hryngr, and Adils, as British princes. The latter perhaps may have been Edwal, the son of Anarawd, who was reigning in North Wales at this period (2); but it is probable that Hryngr was a Danish leader (3).

The Northern account states, that the first array collected by the friends of Athelstan, being unequal to a contest, pretended negotiations, and that fictitious offers of money were made by the Anglo-Saxons, to gain time till all their army could be assembled (4). When their preparations were complete, Athelstan closed the intercourse by a message to Anlaf (5), that he should have permission to withdraw from England unmolested, if he restored his plunder, and would acknowledge himself the subject of the Saxon king.

The messengers reached Anlaf's camp at night; he arose from his bed and assembled his earls. The tidings were added, that Athelstan had that day marched into the city a powerful host. The Welsh prince exclaimed, that the negotiations had been mere artifice; and proposed, that he and Hryngr should attempt a night-attack on the advanced part of Athelstan's army, commanded by Alfgeirr and Thorolf (6).

Visits Athelstan's camp.

Anlaf, brave and active, resolved to inspect the army before he attempted the surprise, that the blow might be directed to the most important quarter. He put off his regal vestments, and concealing himself under the disguise of a harper, he went singing through the Saxon army, till he reached the royal tent. His music and dancing gratified Athelstan, till the business of the camp demanded his presence. The minstrel was then dismissed with presents, but his pride revolted against accepting a gift from Athelstan. He took it to avoid detection, but he disdained to keep it, and he buried it in the sand as he left the encampment.

(1) Egilli Saga, 33, 34.

(2) Eeidwal Foel acceded in 913, on the death of Anarawd. Brut y Tywys, p. 435. The MS. Cleop. mentions that he fell against the Saxons, but misdates the year to 941, p. 5.

(3) There is an Icelandic fragment which expressly states, that Harald Blaatand, or Blue Tooth, sent his son Hryngr with an army to England; but that Hryngr there, dolo circumventus et occisus est. 1 Langb. 149. Now as the old Icelandic Annals (1 Langb. 187.) place the accession of Harald in 907, and as he was reigning at the time of this battle, I think it highly probable that Hryngr, the son of Harald, was the opponent of Athelstan. Langbeck wants to make this son of Harald the Eric who will be mentioned in the reign of Edred; but that Eric was unquestionably the son of Harald Harfragre.

(4) Egilli Saga, 38, 39.

(5) The Saga says, Adils, but the meeting seems to imply Anlaf.

(6) Egilli Saga, 40. 42.

He is discovered.

A soldier in the outer stations observed his movements, and knew him in his disguise. He did not betray him; but he hastened with the tidings to Athelstan. To a rebuke for not having seized him, he answered, "O king, the oath which I have lately taken to you, I once gave to Anlaf. If I had broken it to him, I might have been faithless to you; but deign to hear a servant's counsel, and remove your tent to another quarter." Athelstan thought the advice sagacious, and the royal residence was placed in a distant part. The bishop of Sherborne soon after arriving with his soldiers, was lodged in the plain which the king had quitted (1).

Night attack.

At night Adils and Hryngr embodied their forces, and marched on the Saxon camp. The bishop was the victim of the surprise (2). But Thorolf and Alfgeirr, who commanded in the district, roused their warriors, and supported the attack. Adils assaulted the division of Alfgeirr, and Hryngr directed himself to the allied vikingr.

Vanquished by the impetuosity of his assailant, Alfgeirr fled from the field, and eventually the country. Adils, flushed with his victory, turned on the others. Thorolf directed his colleague, Egils, to meet him; he exhorted his troops to stand close, and if overpowered to retreat to the wood. Egils obeyed, though with a force inferior.

The battle became warm. Thorolf fought against Hryngr with all that fury of valour, which was the pride of the day; he threw his shield behind him, and, grasping his huge weapon with both hands (3), he prostrated the enemies with an irresistible strength. He forced his way at last to the standard of his adversary; he reached and killed him. His success animated his followers, and Adils, mourning the death of Hryngr, gave way, and the combat discontinued (4).

The main battle.

Athelstan, hearing of this affair, united, and arranged all his forces for a decisive engagement; Anlaf did the same. A night of rest preceded the awful conflict. Athelstan formed his array of battle. In the front he placed his bravest

(1) Malmsb. 48. and 218. (2) Ingulf, 37. Malmsb. 48. 218.

(3) The sword wielded with both hands was used by the ancient natives of the Hebrides. They called it the claymore, the great sword. See Boswell's Tour, p. 210. 230. It was a weapon of most barbarous nations. One was sold in London this year, 1827, which had been used in Italy in Bourbon's army about the year 1526.

(4) Egil's Saga, 44, 45. I do not give the whole detail of the Saga; I select the circumstances which are most entitled to notice, and which harmonise best with the Saxon descriptions. No two nations describe the same particulars of a battle, although the narration of each is intended to be authentic. A great battle is composed of a multiplicity of incidents. Individuals, in different stations of the field, notice different circumstances. The Saga is minute about the part where Thorolf and Egils fought. The Saxons neglect these warriors, to record their Turketul and Athelstan. This is natural and allowable, perhaps inevitable.

troops, with Egils at their head. He let Thorold head his own band, with an addition of Anglo-Saxons, to oppose the irregular Irish, who always flew from point to point; no where steady, yet often injuring the unguarded (1). The warriors of Mercia and London, who were conducted by the valiant Turketul, the chancellor of the kingdom, he directed to oppose themselves to the national force of Constantine. He chose his own West-Saxons to endure the struggle with Anlaf, his competitor (2). Anlaf, observing his disposition, in part imitated it. He obeyed the impulse of his hopes and his courage, and placed himself against Athelstan. One of his wings stretched to the wood against the battalia of Thorolf; it was very numerous, and consisted of the disorderly Irish (3). It was the conflict of Alfred's grandson with the great-grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, whose children had dethroned for a time our most celebrated Anglo-Saxon king.

Battle of Brunanburh.

Brunanburh (4) was the scene of action; and Thorolf began the battle he loved; he rushed forward to the wood, hoping to turn the enemy's flank; his courage was too impetuous and indiscriminate; his eagerness for the fray impelled him beyond his companions. Both were pressing fiercely and blindly onward, when Adils darted from his ambush in the wood, and destroyed Thorolf and his foremost friends. Egils heard the outcries of alarm; he looked to that quarter, and saw the banner of Thorolf retreating. Satisfied from this circumstance that Thorolf was not with it, he flew to the spot, encouraged his party, and renewed the battle. Adils fell in the struggle (5).

At this crisis, while the conflict was raging with all the obstinacy of determined patriotism and courageous ambition; when missile weapons had been mutually abandoned; when foot was planted against foot, shield forced against shield, and manual vigour was exerted with every energy of destruction; when chiefs and vassals were perishing in the all-levelling confusion of war (6), and the numbers cut down were fiercely supplied with new crowds of

(1) Egil's Saga, 46, 47. (2) Ingulf, 37. (3) Egil's Saga, 47.

(4) It is singular that the position of this famous battle is not ascertained. The Saxon song says, it was at Brunanburh; Ethelwerd, a contemporary, names the place Brunandune; Simeon of Durham, Weondune or Ethrunnanwerch, or Brunnan byrge; Malmsbury, Brunsford; Ingulf says, Brunford in Northumbria. These, of course, imply the same place; but where was it? Camden thought it was at Ford, near Bromeridge, in Northumberland. Gibson mentions, that in Cheshire there is a place called Brunburh. I observe that the Villare mentions a Brunton in Northumberland.

(5) Egil's Saga, 48, 49. In a MS. in the British Museum, Galba, A. 14., the prayer of Athelstan before the battle of Brunanburh is preserved. It begins, "Æla, thu Thrihhen! Æla, thu Ælmightiga God! Æla, Cing ealra Cyninga, and Hlaford ealra waldendra! On thaes mihta wunath ælc sige, and ælc gewin þeonth to bryt," etc. "O thou Supreme Governor! o thou Almighty God! O King of all kings, and Lord of all rulers! All victory dwelleth in thy power, and every battle happeneth according to thy governance," etc.

(6) Cessantibus cito ferentariis armis, pede pes, et cuspide cuspis umboque

warriors hastening to become victims, the chancellor Turketul made an attack which influenced the fortune of the day. He selected from the combatants some citizens of London, on whose veteran valour he could rely: to these he added the men of Worcestershire, and their leader, who is called the magnanimous Singin. He formed those chosen troops into a firm and compact body, and placing his vast muscular figure at their head, he chose a peculiar quarter of attack, and rushed impetuously on his prey.

The hostile ranks fell before him. He pierced the circle of the Picts and the Orkneymen, and, heedless of the wood of arrows and spears which fastened in his armour, he even penetrated to the Cumbrians and the Scots. He beheld Constantine, the king of the Grampian hills, and he pressed forward to assail him. Constantine was too brave to decline his daring adversary. The assault fell first upon his son, who was unhorsed; with renovated fury the battle then began to rage. Every heart beat vehement; every arm was impatient to rescue or to take the prince. The Scots, with noble loyalty, precipitated themselves on the Saxons, to preserve their leader. Turketul would not forego the expected prize. Such, however, was the fury of his assailants, so many weapons surrounded the Saxon chancellor, that his life began to be endangered, and he repented of his daring. He was nearly oppressed; the prince was just released; when Singin, with an unpitying blow at the royal youth, terminated his contested life. New courage rushed into the bosoms of the Saxons on this event. Grief and panic as suddenly overwhelmed their enemies. The Scots in consternation withdrew, and Turketul triumphed in his hard-earned victory (1).

Athelstan and his brother Edmund (2) were, during these events, engaged with Anlaf. In the hottest season of the conflict, the sword of Athelstan broke at the handle, while his enemies were pressing fiercely upon him. He was speedily supplied with another (3), and the conflict continued to be balanced.

After the battle had long raged, Egils and Turketul, pursuing the retreating Scots, charged suddenly upon Anlaf's rear. It was then that his determined bands began to be shaken (4); slaughter thinned their ranks; many fled, and the assailants cried out

umbone pellebatur. Cæsi multi mortales, confusaque cadavera regum et pauperum corruebant. Ingulf, 37.

(1) Ingulf, 37. Malmsbury and Ingulf, and the Welsh Chronicle, Cleop. A. 5. (y llas brenhin yr yscottieit) assert, that Constantine fell; but I think the Saxon poem a better, because a contemporary evidence, that it was his son that perished. This says of Constantine, and his sunu forlet on wæl stole, þundum forgrunden geongo æt guthe, p. 113. The Scottish history confirms the escape of Constantine.

(2) The Saxon song attests the presence of Edmund in the battle, p. 112.

(3) This incident was thought of consequence enough to be dignified by a miracle, which the prayers of Odo produced. See his life by Osberne; and see Bromton, p. 839. 863.

(4) Egilli Saga, 49.

"Victory!" Athelstan exhorted his men to profit by the auspicious moment. He commanded his banner to be carried into the midst of the enemy. He made a deep impression on their front, and a general ruin followed. The soldiers of Anlaf fled on every side, and their pursuers filled the plain with their bodies (1).

Thus terminated this dangerous and important conflict. Its successful issue was of such consequence, that it raised Athelstan to a most venerated dignity in the eyes of all Europe. The kings of the Continent sought his friendship (2), and England began to assume a majestic port amid the other nations of the West. Among the Anglo-Saxons it excited such rejoicings, that not only their poets aspired to commemorate it, but the songs were so popular, that one of them is inserted in the Saxon Chronicle, as the best memorial of the event (3).

It celebrates both Athelstan and Edmund, the nobles, and the valour of the West Saxons and Mercians; it states the battle to have lasted from sun-rise to sun-set; it mentions the death of five kings; the flight of Anlaf, and the fall of seven of his earls; the flight of Froda; the retreat of Constantine, and the death of his son: it concludes with declaring, that the books of the old writers had never mentioned a greater slaughter in this island "since the Angles and the Saxons hither came from the East over the broad ocean, and sought Britain; when the illustrious war-smiths overcame the Welsh; when the earls, excelling in honour, obtained the country (4)."

Athelstan first monarch of England.

Northumbria and Wales (5) fell into the power of Athelstan, by this victory. It effectually secured to him the throne of his ancestors; and the subjugation

(1) Egilli Saga, 50. Ingulf, 37.

(2) Hac itaque victoria per universam Christianitatem citius ventilata, desiderabant omnes reges terræ cum Athelstano rege amicitias facere et quocumque modo sacra fœdera pacis inire. Ingulf, 37. Ethelwerd, who ends his Chronicle with Eadgar, says, that to his day, it was popularly called the great battle, p. 848.

(3) Sax. Chron. p. 112—114. The song is also in the two MSS. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4., with frequent variations in orthograghy from the printed copy. The MS. B. 1. puts it to the year 937; and, among other readings, instead of and heora land, p. 113. l. 30., has eft Yraland. So the MS. B. 4., instead of bord-weal, p. 112. l. 12., has heord weal: for ealgodon, afterwards gealgoden, and many similar differences, which are worth collating, because in some instances, as in Yraland and heord weal, they improve the sense. Langbeck has published it, with notes, and with three versions, v. 2. p. 412. Henry of Huntingdon has inserted an ancient Latin version of it in his history, p. 354. Malmsbury has preserved a portion of another poem, written also on this occasion, p. 51, 52.

(4) Sax. Chron. 114. The ancient supplement to Snorre Sturleson says, "Angli hoc prælium unum censuerunt inter maxima et acerrima quæ unquam cum Normannis aut Danis commiserunt." 2 Langb. 419.

(5) Ac ef a ystyngawd ydaw holl brenhined Kymre ac aberys ydunt talu teyrnget ydaw megys y talawd brenhin Nortwei ydaw. Sef oed hynny try chant punt o ariant ac ngaent punt o cun a phymp mil gwarthec pob blwydyn. S. of British

of the Anglo-Danes was so decisive, that he has received the fame of being the founder of the English monarchy.

The claims of Egbert to this honour are unquestionably surreptitious. The competition can only be between Alfred and Athelstan. Our old chronicles vary on this subject: some denominate Alfred the first monarcha (1); some give it to Athelstan (2). The truth seems to be, that Alfred was the first monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, but Athelstan was the first monarch of England. The Danish sovereigns, to whose colonies Alfred chose or was compelled to yield Northumbria and East Anglia, divided the island with him; therefore, though he first reigned monarch over the Anglo-Saxons from the utter destruction of the octarchy, it was not until Athelstan completely subjugated the Anglo-Danish power, that the monarchy of England arose. After the battle of Brunanburh, Athelstan had no competitor: he was the immediate sovereign of all England. He was even nominal lord of Wales and Scotland.

The fame of Athelstan extended beyond the island he governed. His accomplishments, his talents, and his successes, interested Europe in his favour, and he received many proofs of the respect with which foreigners regarded him. He had connections with Bretagne, France, Germany, Norway, and Normandy; and from this period England began to lose its insular seclusion, and to be concerned with the current transactions of Europe.

His connections with Bretagne.

When the Northmen who had settled in Normandy overran Bretagne, the sovereign, Mathuedoi, escaped to England with his family. The Breton lords followed; and all who preferred honourable poverty to the loss of liberty swelled

History, Cleop. B. 5. "And he became possessed of all the kingdom of Wales, and it was made to pay a tribute to him like the payment of the king of Norway to him. This was 300 pounds of silver, and 100 pounds of wool, and 5000 cows every year." Caradoc gives this tribute somewhat different. He says, "20 pounds in gold, 300 in silver, and 200 head of cattle." Wynne, 48.

(1) Matt. West. 340. So the Chronicon de regibus Angliæ a Petro de Ickham. MS. Cotton. Lib. Domit. A. 3. Primus regum Anglorum super totam Angliam solus regnare cœpit. So the Chronicon Johannis de Taxton, ab initio mundi ad Ed. I. MS. Cotton, Julius, A. 1. Alfredus exinde regnum Anglorum solus omnium regum obtinuit. So Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes monachi S. Benedicti de Hulmo ab adventu Saxonum ad A. D. 1293. MS. Cotton, Nero, D. 2. ad regem Aluredum primum monarchum totius Angliæ.—So a MS. in the same volume, p. 243. Aluredus rex qui primus totum regnum Angliæ possedit.—So the Chronicon Roffense, ib. p. 79. Iste Alfredus primus monarcha fuit regni Angliæ; and many others.

(2) Edgar, in one of his charters, says of Athelstan, "Qui primus regum Anglorum omnes nationes qui Britanniam incolunt sibi armis subegit." 1 Dugdale, Monast. 140.; and see Alured. Beverl. 110.; Sim. Dunelm, p. 18. and 24.; and Stubb's Acta Pont. Ebor. 1698. So the Compendium Hist. de Regibus, Anglo-Saxon MS. Cott. Domit. A. 8. p. 5. Athelstanus qui primus regum ex Anglis totius Britanniæ monarchiam habuit. So the Chronica of Tewkesbury, MS. Cleop. C. 3., and cited in Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. i. p. 154. has "Adelstani regis qui primus monarcha fuit." So the Historia Ramesiensis, 3 Gall. 387., calls him Æthelstani totius olim Angliæ basilei. Hermannus, who wrote 1070, says, Ædelstanus regnat Angliamque diu partitam solus sibi subjugat, MS. Tib. B. 2. p. 22.

the emigration. Athelstan received the wretched exiles, who came to him under the same circumstances as those in which their ancestors had fled to Bretagne, with that humanity which ennobles the benefactor.

The young Alan, the son of Mathuedoi, by the daughter of the celebrated Alain, he took into his palace, and was the sponsor at his baptism. Nourished and educated by Athelstan's liberality, the young Alan grew up to manhood with ability and honour. He beheld indignantly the sufferings of his country; he projected a day of retribution. As soon as his age would permit, he assembled the surviving Bretons who had emigrated, and directed his course to the shores of Bretagne. He surprised Dol and St. Brieux. His appearance and first successes revived both patriotism and hope; he was numerously joined; he drove the Northmen from his country and from the Loire, and received the sceptre of Bretagne as his well-merited reward (1).

His connections with France.

When Charles the Simple, the king of France, was imprisoned and dethroned, his queen, Edgiva, fled into England to her father Edward the Elder, carrying over her son Louis, but three years old (2).

The queen and her son continued the guests of Athelstan, who treated his unfortunate sister with affection and respect.

Rodolf, a Frankish noble, who, after Robert's year of power, had assumed the throne of Charles, governed France, full of seditions, revolts, and hostilities, with those talents which gave celebrity to their possessor, and happiness to the people (3). In 926, an intercourse was opened with Athelstan by Hugues the son of Robert, whose dignity had been so fleeting. Hugues requested of Athelstan his sister, Ethilda, in marriage. This was a very delicate negotiation. Hugues had co-operated with the other chiefs, that had dethroned and still kept imprisoned the king, who had married the sister of the lady he wooed. This sister was with Athelstan with her infant child. Hugues, however, persevered in his suit, and conducted it with dexterity. He obtained for his ambassador, Adulf, the son of the count of

926—939.

(1) Chronicon Namnetense restitutum, in the appendix to Lobineau, vol. ii. p. 45.; and in Bouquet, vol. viii. p. 276.; and Flodoard. Chron. ib. Such was the desolation which had attended the Northman invasion, that the civitas Namnetica sine ullo habitatore vacua et omnino longo tempore deserta remansit. Ib. Of Alanus, the Chronicon says, "fuit vir potens ac valde adversus inimicos suos belligerator fortis habens et possidens omnem Britanniam, fugatis inde Normannis sibi subditam et Redonicam et Namneticum et etiam trans Ligerim Medalgicum, Theofalgicum et Herbadilicum." 8 Bouquet, 276. (2) Daniel, 236.

(3) His successful wars, the humiliation of the vassals of the crown, thirteen years' possession of an usurped throne, and la France pacifiée malgré tant d'esprits inquiets, sont des preuves trés-certaines de sa prudence, de son courage, de sa fermeté et de ce génie supérieur qui fait les grands hommes et les héros. Daniel, 250.

Flanders, and of Alfred's daughter, the aunt of Athelstan (1). The affinity of Adulf must have given interest to his negotiation. Splendid presents enforced the request; perfumes never seen in England before; emeralds of fascinating verdure; many fine coursers with rich caparisons; a vase of onyx, so beautifully carved that the corn, vines, and men seemed animated, and so polished, that it reflected like a mirror; the sword of Constantine the Great; the conquering lance of Charlemagne; a diadem of gold and gems, so radiant as to dazzle; and some venerated relics, composed the splendid gift (2). Policy, perhaps, taught the importance, even to the dethroned Charles, or to his family, of making Hugues a friend. His wishes were therefore gratified, and he became the brother-in-law of Athelstan (3).

936.

When Rodolf died without male issue, the competition for the crown was renewed between Hugues and Vermandois. Their factions were too equally balanced to admit either to reign. Some persons, remembering the family of Charles, proposed the election of his son. Hugues, despairing of his own elevation, inclined to this idea. Athelstan, understanding the circumstances, exerted himself in behalf of Louis, the young prince, who was still at his court. He sent an embassy to the duke of Normandy (4), to engage his influence with the Frankish lords, who at last resolved to send to England to offer the crown to Louis (5).

Louis quits England.

The deputies, one of whom was the archbishop of Sens, reached England in 936, and supplicated Athelstan, on the part of the states of France, to permit their chosen king to join them. Athelstan had the glory of receiving this address, and of expressing, in return, his joy at the event, and his anxiety for the safety of the young prince. The French ambassadors plighted their oaths, and saluted him king. Athelstan allowed him to depart a few days afterwards, and sent many Anglo-Saxon bishops and lords to accompany him in honour. Hugues and the nobles of France received him at Boulogne, and he was crowned at Laon (6).

(1) Malmsbury, 51. The British Chronicle, Cleop. B. 5., mentions this: "Ac y daeth Edulf iarll Boloyn ap Baudewine iarll Flandrys ac aurec gan Huges."

(2) The presents are enumerated by Malmsbury, p. 51., who says, "Equos plurimos." The British Chronicle specifies, but with apparent amplification, "Try chant emmys ac eu gwisgoed," "three hundred coursers with their trappings." MSS. Cleop. B. 5.

(3) Athelstan returned the courtesy with non minoribus beneficiis, in addition to the lady. Malmsb. 51.

(4) Dudo de Act. Norman. lib. iii. p. 97.

(5) Hugo comes trans mare mittit pro accersendo Ludovico Caroli filio quem Rex Alstaunus avunculus ipsius nutriebat. Flodoardi Hist. Eccles. Rhem. lib. iv. c. 26.

(6) Flodoardi, ibid. Louis, from his residence in England, was Transmarinus, or Outremer.

Louis allies with Athelstan.

The reign of Louis was not attended with the friendship of Hugues. Differences, in time, arose, and Hugues increased his consequence by marrying Hadwida, the daughter of Henry the First, emperor of Germany (1). Louis, to collect a power capable of securing himself against the aspiring nobles, procured the alliance of Athelstan, who promised to send a fleet to his succour. "This is the first example", says a modern French historian, "which we have in our history, not only of an offensive league between France and England, but it is also the first treaty by which these two kingdoms concerned themselves about each other's welfare. Until this event, the two nations had considered themselves as two worlds, which had no connection but that of commerce to maintain, and had no interest to cultivate either friendship or enmity in other concerns (2)".

939. Athelstan aids Louis with a fleet.

Athelstan performed his engagements. When Otho passed the Rhine, in 939, Louis claimed of England the stipulated aid. The Anglo-Saxon fleet sailed immediately for his support. It appeared off the coast of Flanders, and protected the maritime cities: it ravaged some territories of the enemy, but returned to England without having had the opportunity of any important achievement (3).

So much was Athelstan considered abroad, that Arnulf, the count of Flanders, having taken the fortress of the count Herluin, in 939, sent his captive wife and children to Athelstan (4).

His connection with the Emperor Henry I.

The Emperor of Germany, Henry the First, permitted his son, Otho, afterwards surnamed the Great, to solicit a sister of Athelstan in marriage.

919.

In 919, the dignity of emperor was conferred on the prince nominated by Conrad, who has become illustriously known to posterity under the title of Henry the First, or the Fowler.

The wars of Henry with the barbarous nations of Hungary, with the Danes, Bavarians, Suabians, Bohemians, Vandals, Dalmatians, and Francs, by their successful issue, produced to him a high reputation, and gave new dignity and power to the imperial crown; but his mind soared above the praise of a barbarous conqueror. Such characters have a thousand rivals. The catalogue of men, whose successful courage or tactical management has decided fields of battle in their favour, is as extensive as time itself. Wars have every where deformed the world, and conquerors may of course every where be found. It is for those who display a cultured in-

(1) Chronicon Flodoardi, 8 Bouquet, 184. By her he had Hugh Capet, who completed the deposition of the family of Charlemagne, which his ancestors had begun, and whose dynasty that seemed violently terminated in our days has been since restored.

(2) Daniel, p. 256.

(3) Chronicon Flodoardi, 8. Bouquet, 193.

(4) Ibid. 192.

tellect and useful virtues; whose lives have added something to the stock of human happiness; and whose characters therefore present to us the visions of true greatness, that history must reserve its frugal panegyrics: Henry the Fowler was one of these most fortunate personages. He found his German subjects wedded to their barbarism by their agricultural and pastoral habits; and while he provided for their safety, he laboured to improve both their morals and their mind (1).

He determined, for this purpose, to draw the population of Germany from their rude, unsocial, and exposed villages, into towns (2); into those happy approximations of society which present a barrier to the sword of war, which are the nurseries of the middle orders of men, which tame the ferocities of the human passions, give dominion to moral sympathy, communicate cultivation and knowledge by perpetual contagion, and cause the virtues to blossom amid general emulation, by daily lessons of their necessity, their diffusion, and their fame. These towns he fortified with skilful labour (3).

To effect his purpose, he commanded, that of the men in the villages who bore arms, a ninth should be placed in towns, for whose benefit the rest should cultivate the labours of husbandry. The townsmen were to receive a third of the collected harvest; and, in return, they built barns and habitations, within the city, for the peasants. When war summoned, the burghers hastened to the defence of their country. By this institution the ravages of enemies never introduced famine, because the granaries in the cities were an ultimate supply, and warriors were always ready to fly to the field when exigency called (4).

To induce the people to make towns their voluntary residence, he forbad suburbs; and ordered that the country habitations should be few and mean. He ordered all solemn meetings, the festivities of marriage, and the traffic of merchandise, to be held in towns; he directed the citizens to improve themselves by useful industry,

(1) Conrad seems to have foreseen this disposition in Henry, for it is his reason for selecting the Saxon duke: "Sunt nobis, frater, copiæ exercitus congregandi atque ducendi, sunt urbes et arma cum regalibus insigniis et omne quod decus regium deposcit, præter fortunam *atque mores*. Fortuna, frater, *cum nobilissimis moribus*, Henrico cedit. Wittichind, p. 10.

(2) "Before this period, excepting the castles on the mountains, the seats of the nobility and convents, which happened to be surrounded with walls, there were only lonely farms and villages." Pütter's Historical Developement, vol. i. p. 114.

(3) "In this respect Germany has undergone but little alteration. Most of the ancient cities, and even inconsiderable towns, are surrounded with walls, towers, etc. which give them a singular and dismal appearance." Pütter, ed. note, p. 115.

(4) See the Instituta of Henry apud Goldastum, sub anno 924. I find them cited in the Aquila Saxonica, p. 24. ed. Venet. 1673. Wittichind mentions them briefly, p. 13.

and, in peace, to learn those arts which they might practise to their benefit (1).

By his regulations, by his personal diligence, and by their own beneficial experience, the Germans gradually laid aside their aversion to live in towns, and these important seminaries of human improvement perpetually increased (2).

932. Henry, during his life, extended his communications to England; and in 932, by his permission, Otho sought a wife from the sisters of Athelstan.

Otho marries Athelstan's sister. Editha was residing in her brother Athelstan's court, when the ambassadors of Henry arrived to request her for his son. Athelstan received them benignly, his sister assented (3), and a magnificent attendance, which his chancellor, Turketul, headed (4), conducted her to her royal lover. Her sister Adiva went with her, that Otho might be more honoured, and might take his choice (5). Editha was preferred by the too highly honoured Otho, and her sister was married to a prince near the Alps, who was one of the emperor's court (6).

Athelstan's transactions with Norway. Athelstan's transactions with Norway were also interesting.

In the reign of Edward, and at the accession of Athelstan, Harald Harfragre was reigning the monarch of Norway. He had subdued all the little kings, who had divided it into many small states, and his victories had never been reversed.

Harald, though a barbarian, was not merely the brutal soldier. The spirit of improvement, which at this period influenced an Alfred and a Henry, seems to have been communicated to him. He also aspired to legislate as well as to conquer (7). He endeavoured to civilize the countries he subdued.

The wars of Harald, though inevitably productive of much individual misery, have the great excuse, that defence first compelled him into the martial field (8). In a general view, his conquests had a beneficial effect. They dispersed several portions

(1) Instituta Henrici in Aquila Sax. p. 24. The latter precept is enforced by a moral observation: "Disciplina enim et labor magnum ad virtutem afferunt momentum." Ibid.

(2) Soest, in Westphalia, is probably one of the first cities founded by Henry. Next to this town, the most ancient are supposed to be Quedlinburg, Nordhausen, Duderstadt, Merseberg, etc. Pütter, note 117.

(3) Hrosvida. Poem de Gestis Oddonis, p. 165. She calls our island, terram *sat deliciosam*.

(4) Ingulf, p. 38. (5) Hrosvida, p. 165.

(6) Ethelwerd's preface. Ingulf, 38., and Malmsb. 47. Hrosvida mourns the death of Editha with great expressions of sorrow, p. 171.

(7) Snorre has preserved some of the laws of Harald, in his Haralld's Saga, c. vi. p. 79.

(8) Post obitum Halfdani Nigri regnum ab eo relictum invasere principum multi. Snorre, Haralld's Saga, c. i. p. 75. He details the invasions, their issue, and Harald's retaliations.

of the Norwegian population into countries then uninhabited. Thus Iceland (1), the Orkneys (2), the Shetland, and the Feroe islands (3), date their inhabitation in his reign, as well as Jamtia and Helsingia, provinces of Sweden (4). But his principal merit was his prohibition of piracy, and the termination of much of the bloodshed of the North, by conquering all the petty princes, and establishing a monarchy in Norway.

The piracy of the North was a very active agent in perpetuating that barbarism and ferocity of which it was also the consequence. Like our modern slave-traffic, wherever it came it desolated; and while it reigned, it kept down the human capacity in the bondage of the most destructive warfare, penury, and blood.

That hour was therefore auspicious to man when the abolition of the petty kingships, the aggregation of dominion, and the rise of monarchies, created at once both the power and the desire to suppress these pirates. When Harald had stretched his sceptre over all Norway, every aggression of piracy was an attack on some of his subjects; and as he raised a contribution from their labours (5), every act of plunder upon them was a diminution of his revenues.

Harald therefore published an edict, prohibiting piratical excursions on any part of his dominions (6). He enforced his law by a vindictive pursuit of the race he discountenanced. He prepared armaments; they fled; he chased them from his own dominions; he followed them to Shetland, to the Orkneys, and to the Hebrides; he overtook and destroyed them (7). These exertions drove Rollo or Hrolfr from his dominions, and occasioned the Northman colonization of Normandy.

The life of Harald stretched into the reign of Athelstan. It is said, that Athelstan had, in his youth, visited Denmark (8). It is, however, certain, that when the Anglo-Saxon was on his throne, an intercourse, which announced high friendship, commenced between the two sovereigns. Harald sent to Athelstan his son Haco,

(1) Islandia inhabitatur primum a Norwegis diebus Haraldi Harfager. Ara Frode, c. i. p. 6. Eo tempore erat Islandia sylvis concreta, c. ii. p. 10. The Norwegian emigrants found some Christians in it, who went away on their arrival, leaving some Irish books behind. Ibid. Ara Frode was born 1060. Snorre says, he was the first of all who wrote hac in regione sermone Norwegico tam prisci quam recentioris ævi monumenta. Preface, p. 3.

(2) Orkneyinga Saga, p. 3. ed. Hafniæ, 1780.

(3) Snorre, Haralld's Saga, c. 20. p. 96. (4) Snorre, ibid.

(5) It was one of his laws that Regique census fundi solverent coloni omnes, ditiores æque ac pauperes. Snorre, Haralld's Saga, p. 80. He deputed to his Iarls, whom he placed over every fylki, the power of collecting the taxation, of which they received a third to support their rank and expenditure. Ibid.

(6) Haralld's Saga, c. 24. p. 100. (7) Snorre, p. 98.

(8) It is Wallingford who affirms this, in his Chronica, though from what more ancient authority I know not: "Descenderat enim aliquando in tempore patris sui ad Gytrum in Daciam," p. 540.

to be educated, and to learn the customs of the English nation (1). The Anglo-Saxons were so much higher in the scale of civilization than the Norwegians, who were but just emerging into visible humanity, that we may easily conceive that Haco was sent to Athelstan for his personal improvement, as in our days, Peter the Great, for the same purpose, travelled Europe. This simple explanation may be allowed to displace the narration of Snorre, which, on this subject, resembles more a chapter in the Edda than an historical chronicle. He talks of Athelstan sending ambassadors to present Harald with a sword, that when the Norwegians handled it, they might exclaim, "You are now his thane, because you have taken his sword". To return the polite joke, Harald is stated to have sent his officer to England with his son. The officer placed the child on the knee of Athelstan, and said, "Harald commands you to nourish his illegitimate child (2)."

The simple expressions of Theodoric, "ut disceret morem gentis", discountenance these idle fables—the children of ignorant rumour. That Athelstan caused his ward to be taught every becoming accomplishment, that he loved him, and that Haco excelled in his studies and exercises, are circumstances not repugnant to our belief. Harald sent to Athelstan the present of a magnificent ship, with a golden beak and purple sails, surrounded with shields, internally gilt (3). Haco received from Athelstan a sword, which he kept to his death (4).

Harald had several wives, and a numerous progeny (5). When his death approached, he selected his son Eric to be his successor. He divided some portions of his dominions among his other children (6). Their ambition was dissatisfied, and enmities and contests succeeded. Eric, like a crowd of others, saw no crime in actions which secured his greatness, and therefore earned the horrible surname of the slayer of his brothers (7). The Norwegian people had more morality than their sovereign, and invited Haco to release them from such a monster (8). Athelstan provided his pupil with an equipped fleet and warriors; and with these Haco sailed to Trontheim (9). Haco's countenance was beautiful, his person ro-

(1) Theodoric, one of the most ancient historians of Norway, so informs us: "Haraldus miserat unum ex filiis suis Halstano regi Anglorum Hocon nomine ut nutriretur et disceret morem gentis." Hist. Norw. c. ii. p. 7.

(2) Snorre, Haralld's Saga, c. xli. xlii. p. 119, 120.

(3) Malmsbury, 51.

(4) Snorre, c. xliii. p. 121.

(5) They are enumerated by Snorre, p. 97.

(6) Snorre, p. 112, 113.

(7) Theodoric, c. ii. p. 7. Snorre, in the last chapter of his Haralld's Saga, p. 123., states his fatal warfare against two of his brethren.

(8) Theodoric, c. ii. p. 7.

(9) Snorre, Saga Hakonar Goda, c. i. p. 125. Itineri in Norvegiam hinc mox accingitur, ad quod et copiis et classe bene armata, omnibusque rebus necessariis, *ope Ádalsteini regis* magnifice instruitur.

bust, his mind disciplined, his manners popular (1). He was received with joy. The chiefs and people deserted Eric, and Haco was chosen king in his stead (2). His conduct and laws displayed the benefit he had received from the superior civilization of the court of Athelstan. He was rewarded for a virtuous reign, by a permanent and invaluable epithet. Though ten centuries divide him from us, his title still survives—"Haco the Good."

Thus it became the glory of Athelstan, that he nurtured and enthroned three kings in Europe. He educated and established Alan of Bretagne, Louis of France, and Haco of Norway; and these actions are not recorded by English writers (3), but are attested by the chronicles of the countries benefited by his liberality. Our own authors, by omitting these circumstances, have concealed part of his fame; but this moderation entitles them to credit in other similar events. We may therefore believe, on their evidence, that he returned to Howel the kingdom of Wales, and to Constantine the kingdom of Scotland, declaring that he would rather bestow kingdoms than enjoy them (4). He gave another proof of his magnanimity in this respect, in his reception of Eric, whom at the call of Norway and of humanity, he had assisted to dethrone. When Eric abandoned the sceptre of Norway, he went to the Orkneys, and having collected a great army, he plundered along Scotland. Athelstan heard of his vicinity, and sent a message to him, that his father and himself had been united in bonds of the strictest friendship, and that he wished to show his esteem for Harald in kindnesses to his son (5).

Eric gladly accepted his favours, and Athelstan placed him in Northumbria, to reign in feudal subordination to himself (6). Eric

(1) Theodoric, c. iv. p. 9.

(2) Snorre, Hakonar Goda, c. i.; and Theodoric, c. 2. His reign occupies the Saga of Snorre, called Saga Hakonar Goda, p. 125—164. The agriculture and trade of his subjects particularly prospered in the tranquillity of his reign. His modesty, benignity, prudence, and legislative wisdom are extolled, 135.; yet Ad. Brem. calls him "cruel," p. 25.

(3) For this reason they have been hitherto neglected by our historians. When we recollect the benefits which Athelstan produced to other sovereigns, and the numerous embassies to himself, we must feel that it is not with rhetorical praise that the abbot of Peterborough says, "Rex Adalsteinus omnium ore laudatur; felicem se credebat quisquis regum exterorum ei affinitate vel fœdere sociari posset." Chron. Petri de Burgo, p. 25.

(4) Malmsbury, lib. ii. c. 6. p. 48., says, "Quos—miseratione infractus in antiquum statum sub se regnaturos constituit, gloriosius esse pronuncians regem facere quam regem esse." Hume, with more national feeling than we should have suspected from his philosophy, disbelieves the fact of Constantine, because his countrymen deny it, p. 105.; as if they were less interested to disavow, than the Saxons to affirm it.

(5) Snorre, Hakonar Goda, c. iii.

(6) Saga Hakonar, c. iii: Theodoric says, "Ipse vero Ericus ad Angliam navigavit et a rege honorifice susceptus ibidem diem obiit," c. ii. p. 7.

was baptised, and fixed his habitation at York (1). Eric is drawn by Snorre as a tall, active, powerful man; formidable and usually successful in war; fierce, precipitate, selfish, and silent (2). His wife Gunnhilda has obtained a niche in the uncouth temple of Norwegian history. She was uncommonly beautiful, very intelligent and engaging; but Nature had placed her among barbarians; and her talents only augmented her power of mischief. She became notorious for her cruelty and deceit (3).

Athelstan maintained a friendship with Rollo of Normandy, and improved Exeter, which he separated from the British kingdom of Cornwall.

Athelstan is represented to have been a great benefactor to the monastic institutions. He rebuilt many; he was liberal to most, of books, ornaments, or endowments (4).

(1) Snorre says at Iorvik (York), "Ubi sedem olim habuisse feruntur Lodbroki filii." Saga Hakonar, c. iii. p. 128. He adds, "Northumbria autem maximam partem erat a Nordmannis habitata. Linguæ Norvegicæ nomina plurima ejus regionis ferunt loca, Grimbær utpote, Hauksfliot, aliaque multa." Ibid.

(2) Haralld's Saga, c. xlvi. p. 24.

(3) Haralld's Saga, ib. She is often mentioned in the Norwegian history, at this period. She poisoned her husband's brother, Halfdan. Haralld's Saga, p. 122.

(4) Malmsb. 48. There are two curious MSS. in the Cotton Library, which were presents of Athelstan. One, Tiberius, A. 2. is a MS. of the Latin Gospels. Before them is a page of Latin in Saxon characters, of which the first part is, "Volumen hoc evangelii Æthelstan Anglorum basyleos et curagulus totius Britanniæ devota mente Dorobernensis cathedræ primatui tribuit." One page is occupied by the letters LIB. in large gilt capitals, and by the rest of the first verse, in small gilt capitals, on a lilac ground. The following verses, containing the genealogy, are in gilt capitals, on dark blue ground. The first verses of the three other Gospels are in gilt capitals, on the uncoloured parchment. To each a painting of the evangelist is prefixed. The rest is written in ink without abbreviations. In the beginning of the Gospels is a page with, "Incipit evangelium secundum Mattheum," in large gilt capitals. Below these words are two crosses; opposite to one is, ODDA REX, and to the other, MIHTHILD MATER REGIS. I am particular in describing the book, because it is declared to have been used for the coronation oath of our Anglo-Saxon kings, and because, from the names of Odda and Mihthild, I would venture to conjecture that it was a present from Otho of Germany, who married Athelstan's sister, and from Mathilda, the empress of Henry, and mother of Otho. Hrosvida, his contemporary, spells Otho's name Oddo. Reub. 164. There is also in the Cotton Library a MS. Claudius, B. 5., which contains the proceedings of the sixth synod of Constantinople, in the seventh century. The first page of this exhibits part of the title in very large capitals, partly red. The next page has the rest of the title in smaller capitals, and below these, in Saxon characters, are these words: "Hunc codicem Æthelstanus rex tradidit Deo et almæ Christi genitrici Sanctisque Petro et Benedicto in Bathoniæ civitatis cœnobio ob remunerationem suæ animæ, et quisquis hos legerit characteres Omnipotenti pro eo proque suis amicis fundat preces." At the end of the MS. is a paragraph, stating, that it was written in the time of pope Sergius. A marginal note is inserted by Sir Robert Cotton, stating, that as Sergius was pope in 690, and the synod was held in 681, the book must have been written in the tenth year after the synod. In the same valuable library, Galba, A. 18., is a small-sized MS. which has come down to us as the Psalter used by Athelstan. In the beginning is a very ancient calendar in Saxon letters, written in 703, ut apparet in codice. The rest is composed of prayers, the Latin Psalter, and several other hymns, very band-

Athelstan had received, by his father's care, a lettered education (1). His subsequent cultivation of knowledge has not been transmitted to us; but there is a little catalogue of his books extant, which may not be unworthy of notice (2). Athelstan's books.

Athelstan, amid his greatness, remembered the poor. He decreed, that each of his gerefas should feed in all ways one poor Englishman, if any such they either had or could find. He ordered that, from every two of his farms, one measure of meal, one gammon of bacon, or a ram worth four pennies, should be monthly given; and clothing for twelve months, every year. He also commanded each of them yearly to redeem one miserable being who had forfeited his liberty by a penal adjudication. He left not these charities as mere precepts, which might be executed or neglected without consequences. He attached the interest of his gerefas to their obedience. "If any gerefa shall disregard this, he shall be fined thirty shillings, and the money shall be divided among the needy of the town (3)."

It was a common saying of the Anglo-Saxons of Athelstan, that no one more legally or more learnedly conducted a government (4). It is not at all surprising, that he was a favourite both among his own people and in Europe (5). He was certainly a great and illustrious character. He appears to have been as amiable as great. To the clergy he was attentive and mild; to his people affable and pleasant. With the great he was dignified; with others he laid aside his state, and was condescending and decently familiar. His stature was almost the middle size; his hair yellowish, twisted with golden threads. His people loved him for his bravery and humility; but his enemies felt his wrath (6).

The memory of Athelstan is stained with the murder of his brother. When Athelstan acceded, his elevation was opposed by one Alfred, who disdained his authority. On his apprehension, there appeared persons who arraigned Edwin, then a youth, the

somely written. Every psalm is begun with gilt capitals, with a title preceding in red letters. It has several ornamental paintings. In the British Museum, among the MSS. of the Bibliotheca Regis, I. A. 18., is a MS. of the Gospels in Latin, with this remark, "Hunc codicem Æthelstan Rex devota mente Doroberniæ tribuit ecclesiæ."

(1) Malmsbury, p. 49.

(2) It is in Saxon characters in the Cotton Library, Domitian, A. 1., in these words: "This syndon tha bec the Æthelstanes weran, De natura rerum; Persius, de Arte metrica; Donatum minorem; Excerptiones de metrica arte; Apocalypsin; Donatum majorem; Alchuinum; Glossa super Catonem; Libellum de grammatica arte qui sic incipit, etc. Sedulium.... And I gerim wæs Alfwoldes preostes; Glossa super Donatum, Dialogorum." MSS. p. 55.

(3) Wilkins, 56. (4) Malmsb. 49.

(5) Tota Europa laudes ejus prædicabat, virtutem in cœlum ferebat, etc. Malmsb. 51.

(6) Malmsbury has given us this portrait, p. 50.

brother of Athelstan, as an accomplice in the rebellion. Edwin, by himself and his friends, implored the confidence of the king, and denied the charge by his oath. But Athelstan ordered Edwin, with one attendant, to be put to sea in a shattered boat without oars. For some time the prince continued in sight of land, but the winds at last rose, and he was carried over the ocean out of hope. In despair he sprung upon the waves, and was their immediate victim. His body was brought to shore between Dover and Whitsand. For seven years, Athelstan mourned his death with a penitence (1) which proved that he gained nothing by the crime, but self-reproach and infelicity—the most usual consequence of guilt!

(1) Malmsb. 48. 53. 251.; Sim. Dun. 134. 154.; Hoveden, 422.; Hunt. 354.; Matt. West. 362.; and Bromton, 836.

APPENDIX

TO

THE REIGN OF ATHELSTAN,

BOOK VI. CHAP. II.

As the authentic history of Bretagne is almost unknown, it may be gratifying to the curious reader, if I add some particulars concerning it, which I collected with some labour and research, and printed in my first edition, but afterwards expunged as an episode. As they may save future students some trouble, I will reprint them here.

Sketch of the ancient History of Bretagne, and Athelstan's Reception of its Chiefs.

Bretagne.

The event which connects the reign of Athelstan with the history of Bretagne was the appearance in England of the descendants of the expatriated Britons, who had retreated from the Saxon conquest into Armorica, now flying from the Northmen's swords to seek an asylum, and a country, from the descendants of their most hated foes the Anglo-Saxons, who had driven their ancestors from their native soil.

This incident may be allowed to interest us so far with the history of these emigrants, as to admit an episode to be devoted to their memory. It is the more necessary, because the first British colonists of Armorica have hitherto been almost excluded from European history. Wherever they have at all appeared, fable has wrapped the narration with her clouds (1), and conceals or disfigures that mild illumination with which

(1) See the Histoire de Bretagne par Bertrand d'Argentre, 1618. He begins with the fabulous Conan, the ally of Maximus. He mentions seriously about Hercules falling in love with Celtina, daughter of Britannus, a king of Gaul, and that their issue was Celtes, the father of the Celtic nation, p. 4. He asserts it to be true history that the inhabitants of Britain came from Armorica! p. 19.

their forgotten tombs ought in justice to be accompanied. The Armorican exiles were the countrymen of Arthur; they were of the race of the Aborigines of the island, and they lost their country, because they spurned a foreign yoke. Though powerful and ambitious governments surrounded and oppressed them, they preserved themselves a distinct nation under their own chieftains till the close of the fifteenth century. Such actions deserve a recording memorial in the temples of history. Their more recent transactions have been interwoven with our annals. It is their earliest fortunes that will here be traced (1).

Armorica.

The provinces of Gaul on the sea-coast, between the Seine and the Loire, were called Armorica by the Celtic natives, in the days of Cæsar (2). He enumerates seven states which were included in that name, of which the modern Quimper, Rennes, and Vannes are part (3). Excepting the single incident of the conquest of the Venetian territory by the people of Vannes, 164, U. C., they are not mentioned in existing history before the expeditions of the conqueror of Gaul (4).

Of the Armorican districts, Vannes was at that period the most distinguished. It excelled the others in the science and use of navigation. It possessed many ships, by which it carried on an intercourse with Britain, a region then as unknown to Rome as Otaheite was to England in the reign of George the First. The few ports which on this coast afforded a shelter from an impetuous sea were in the command of the people of Vannes, and their importance enabled them to exact a tribute from all who frequented the adjoining ocean (5).

The inhabitants of Vannes detained two Roman envoys, and excited a confederacy of their neighbours against Cæsar. The issue was disastrous to the defenders of their country. Part was destroyed; the rest submitted: the conqueror, unpitying, ordered their senate and the inhabitants to be rigorously punished (6). The natives of Britain aided them in their struggle (7); and this assistance, and some similar act of friendship, became the pretext for Cæsar's aggression upon our island (8).

The subsequent revolts of Armorica were easily suppressed by Cæsar, and it withstood the Romans no more. Augustus, in his distribution of the provinces of Gaul, comprehended Armorica under the Lyonnoise. Adrian divided this region into two districts, and put Armorica into the

(1) Though the ancient Britons have appeared little in history, one work of considerable merit has been devoted to their nation, which alludes to their early state, with more judgment and knowledge than I have elsewhere seen. I mean, Lobineau's Histoire de Bretagne, 2 vols. fol. He states the great researches which the literary patronage of a bishop of Quimper caused to be made through Bretagne, for ancient documents of its history. The valuable work of Lobineau was one of the consequences. Vertot's book is rather the performance of a political controversialist than of an impartial historian.

(2) L. 7. c. 69. He mentions them again, l. 5. c. 44., and Hirtius, his continuator, in l. 8. c. 25. Cellarius places the Armorican tract inter Ligerim et Sequanam. Vid. Geog. ant. v. i. p. 125.

(3) See Cæsar's names, l. 7. c. 69. Pliny, l. 4. c. 31. is alone in extending Armorica to the Pyrenees. He and Rutilius, l. 1. v. 213. and Sidonius Paneg. Avit. v. 369, spell the word Aremorica. This exactly suits the meaning of the original British, ar y mor uch, on the sea-cliffs.

(4) Lobineau, Hist. v. i. p. 2.

(5) Cæsar, l. 3. c. 8.

(6) Cæsar, l. 3. c. 16. His reason for the severity was, that the *barbarians* might in future respect the jus legatorum.

(7) L. 3. c. 9. Auxilia ex Britannia—accersunt.

(8) L. 4. c. 18.

second. This second province experienced another subdivision, of which Tours was the capital; and the commander of Tours superintended Bretagne as well as other districts (1).

Armorica remained in subjection to the Romans until its revolt and temporary independence in 410 (2), when Britain also seceded from the empire; but this freedom was of short duration. Rutilius, in his poetical itinerary, in the year 416, informs us that Exuperantius was teaching the Armoricans to love the returning wanderer, peace (3); that he had restored the laws, and brought back liberty—expressions which imply that they had re-admitted the Roman government. About the year 435, they aided the revolt of Sibation, and the faction of the Bagaude. We find that Ætius, offended at what the author who has preserved the incident calls the insolence of the proud region, had commissioned Eocharich, the ferocious king of the Almanni, to attack them for their rebellion. The interposition of St. Germain appeased the storm (4). Three or four years afterwards they revolted again, and Eocharich then fulfilled his mission with all the cruelty of barbarian avarice (5). The same author describes the Armoricans as an excitable and undisciplined people; and another, after marking their locality as confined between two rivers, characterises them as fierce, stern, light, petulant, rebellious, and inconstant; perpetually inconsistent, from their love of novelty; prodigal of words, but sparing of deeds (6).

In 452, they assisted in the defeat of Attila. In 477 we read of this province being again subdued by Littorius, who led his forces against the Visigoths (7). From all these circumstances, though we cannot accredit the system of Du Bos, who erects an unshaken republic in Armorica, from the period of its revolt to the successes of Clovis (8), yet we may perceive that its subjection to Rome was not constant, nor were its liberties destroyed with impunity.

About the year 500, the Armoricans were fighting for the empire against the Francs. This rising nation was then conducted by Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, who reproached the Armoricans for deserting the liberty of their ancestors. They maintained their struggle with successful bravery against the Salian king, who at last proposed to them an alliance and a connubial connection. On the conversion of Clovis, the proposed incorporation took place (9).

These sketches of history relate to the Armorican Celtæ. In the commencement of the sixth century they received a new colony of British Celtæ: and it is this event which gives us peculiar interest in the history of the fortunes of Armorica.

(1) Lobineau, p. 2.

(2) See the first volume of this history, p. 108, 109.; and Zosimus, l. 6. p. 376.

(3) His expression is, postliminium pacis, v. 213.

(4) Lobineau, p. 3.

(5) Constantius, vita S. Germani, cited by Mascou in his history, v. i. p. 476. This author wrote in 488, 3 Gibbon, 274.

(6) Erricus Mon. Vit. Germ. l. 5. cited by Gibbon, p. 274.

(7) 1 Mascou, 477.

(8) Du Bos, 1. p. 224. Montesquieu, in attacking Du Bos's opinion that the Francs did not hold Gaul by right of conquest but by invitation, takes occasion to intimate a disbelief that the Armoricans, during all this period, formed a particular republic. Esprit des Lois, l. 30. c. 24.

(9) Procopius de bell. Got. l. 1. c. 12. The consent, almost unanimous, of the learned has approved of the substitution of Αρμορυχοι for Αρβορυχοι in the passage of Procopius.

That Armorica, and the opposite district of Britain, had very anciently a friendly intercourse, is declared by Cæsar, and this may have continued during their Roman subjection.

The actual emigration of Britons has been dated from the year 383, when Conan Meriadoc and his followers are reported to have left Britain with Maximus (1). But this fable must be rejected from true history. It has been discarded by the best historian of Bretagne, whose reasons are decisive (2).

While the Anglo-Saxons were prevailing in Britain, several assemblages of the natives quitted their paternal soil, and established themselves in Armorica (3). Their new settlements were in general named Llydaw (4); but each particular district received its appellation from the insular principality or residence of the general of the colony.

The few cities which, in the authors of this period, are mentioned on this coast, warrant the belief, that a large part of Llydaw was uninhabited (5). This supposition accounts for the selection of the spot, and for the ease with which the Britons effected their establishments.

The regions which the Britons colonized were literally Llydaw, or on the sea-shore. Dol, St. Malo, St. Brieux, Tréguier, St. Pol de Léon, Brest, Quimper, and Vannes, which now appear along the peninsula of Bretagne, mark the districts on which the Britons first disembarked. As their population and power increased, they stretched into the interior of the country to Rennes, and southward to Nantz (6). It is not known with what degree of violence they effected their occupation of the country.

(1) There is a curious traditional account of Meriadoc in an old Latin parchment MS. in the British Museum, Faustina, B. 6. It is intituled, "Vita Meriadoci Regis Cambriæ." This life is in direct contradiction to the Jeffry Chronology of Conan's accompanying Maximus. According to this MS. Meriadoc was the son of Caradoc, a king in Wales, whose seat was penes nivalem montem qui Kambrice Snaudone resonat. Caradoc was assassinated by his brother. Meriadoc and his sister were sent away to the wood Arglud to be killed. The king's huntsman found them alive, and brought them up secretly. Urien, the northern king, travelling with Kaius, one of Arthur's household, saw the children. They were afterwards brought up with Arthur and Urien. Arthur punishes the assassination of Caradoc. The MS. ends with an account of Meriadoc's expedition to the continent. I mention these particulars, merely to remark, that this MS., which is full of fables, yet places Meriadoc not in the fourth, but in the sixth century, his true era; for it makes him a boy when Arthur and Urien were men.

(2) Lobineau declines the insertion of it because it is incompatible with the real expedition of Maximus, which disembarked at the mouth of the Rhine, and not in Armorica; with the state of Gaul and Armorica, under Theodosius and his children, after the defeat of Maximus and Eugenius; with the Notitia of the empire, which places Roman garrisons not only in Rennes, and Vannes, but even about Brest; with the Armorican revolt in 406, and the punishment inflicted by Ætius in 436, and 439; with the aid given by the Armoricans against Attila in 452; with the government of this district given to Exuperantius, before 419; with what Gildas and Bede state of the true passage of the Britons; and with the existence of Judichael, king of the Britons in 630, and of all his ancestors up to Ruval; whose lives are authenticated by all the French authors of the seventh century, and by every thing that can be collected from the British legends.

(3) I have mentioned the authorities for adopting the year 513, as the year when the Britons arrived in Armorica, in the first volume. I cannot assent to Lobineau's date in 458. It is much too early.

(4) Llydaw implying, as it is said, the sea-coast, is little else than a synonyme to Armorica. The author of the life of Gildas says, "In Armoricam quondam Galliæ regionem tunc autem a Britannis a quibus possidebatur Letavia dicebatur." Bouquet. 3. 449. The MS. Vita Cadoci says, "Provincia quondam Armorica, deinde Littau, nunc Britannia minor vocatur." Cotton Library, Vesp. A. 14. p. 32.

(5) Lobineau, p. 6.

(6) Lobineau, p. 1. and 7.; and Adelmus Benedictus, in the Corp. Franc. Hist. p. 396.

As soon as the first colonies had settled, new adventurers were incessantly arriving. The names of Devonshire and Cornwall, which some of the emigrants imposed on the districts they seized, are evidences that a large portion of the colonists were from these counties in Britain (1).

The leader placed at the head of the earliest emigrants is Ruval, who settled himself in all the north part of the province, from Leon to Dol (2). In the time of Gildas, we also find Conomer, a British king, in the upper regions of Bretagne (3); and Weroc, who governed at Vannes (4). When Gildas followed his countrymen to Llydaw, he passed a solitary life in the island of Houath. Grallon, a British prince, is then mentioned, who built a monastery for Gildas (5).

The pestilence denominated the yellow plague, from the colour of its victims (6), raged in the British island at the era of the Anglo-Saxon successes, and accelerated the Armorican emigrations (7). The British chieftains were the most conspicuous among the crowding exiles. Fracanus, of noble descent, the cousin of Cato, a British king, went at this period with his family to Armorica (8), the region where safety and tranquillity seemed then to reside (9). He found unoccupied a tract surrounded with wood and bushes, which had been fertilised by an inundation of the adjoining river. In this spot he fixed his habitation (10).

Grallon is mentioned with the epithet of the Great (11). He governed in that part of Bretagne called Cornwall (12). This was the district near Brest (13). Quimper was its metropolis (14). Grallon is also characterised for his ferocious mind (15). During his government, the city of Ys, near Quimper, is said to have fallen a prey to the invading waters (16).

(1) Lobineau, p. 6. (2) Lob. 6, 7.

(3) Vita Gildæ, p. 456. Gregory of Tours calls him Chonobri, l. 4. c. 20.

(4) Vita Gild. ib. After 530, Eusebius is mentioned as a king of Vannes, Vita S. Melanii. Acta Sanct. Boll. Jan. 331.

(5) Acta Sanct. 2. Jan. p. 954. The writers of these lives who lived near the times they speak of, though no authority for the facts of their legends, yet often preserve some curious historical traits.

(6) Pestis autem illa flava vocabatur eo quod flavos et exangues universos quos invasit efficiebat — sæviente enim in hominibus et jumentis illa peste. Vita S. Teliavi, Ap. Bolland. 1 Feb. 308. It was to escape this plague that Teliau went to Armorica.

(7) Tandem ob pestis late grassantis luem atque etiam irrumpentem hostium vim coacti incolæ ac precipice quidem nobiles alienas petivere terras. Life of S. Winwaloc, and Armorican MS. printed in Boll. Act. Sanct. 1 Martii, 256.

(8) This emigration is worth noticing in its particulars, as a probable specimen of many others: "Vir in prædicta insula perillustris Fracanus, Catonis regis Britannici consobrinus — per id tempus quo grassaretur pestis exuit de terra et de cognatione sua cum geminis suis natis Guethenoco et Jacobe, cum uxore sua quæ Alba dicebatur; conscensa itaque rate contendit in Armoricam." Vit. Winwaloc, 256.

(9) Ubi tunc temporis alta quies vigere putabatur. Ib.

(10) Fundum ibi quendam sylvis dumisque alte circumseptum reperit qui ex inundatione fluvii cui nomen Sanguis locuples est. Hunc habitare cœpit securus a morbis. Ib.

(11) Gradlonus appellatus magnus. Vit. Winwal. 259.

(12) Regem occiduorum Cornubiensium. Ib. 259.

(13) Solum Cornubiense non procul a Brestiensi tractu. Vit. S. David. MS. of Utrecht, Ap. Bol. 1 Mart. 139.

(14) The editors of the Acta Sanctorum (1 Feb. 305.) remark that part of Armorica was called Cornwallia; they state (1 Mart. 246.) that the bishop of the district is still intituled, "Episcopus Cornugalliæ vulgo de Cornoaille." In Feb. 1. 602, they express that some call Grallon, "Regem Cornubiæ cujus ditionisimetropolis est Quimper Corentin."

(15) So the life of S. Winwal. 254. Gradlon.

(16) Argentre, Hist. 114. He adds, "Et encore aujourd'hui les habitans montrent les ruines et le reste des murailles si bien cimentées que la mer n'a pu les emporter." My authority must be responsible for the circumstance.

About the same time that Grallon and the other British princes in Armorica are mentioned, we also hear of Budic, a king in these regions. It is indeed obvious, from the tenor of the fragments of history and tradition which have come down to us on this subject, that the British settlers in Armorica reached it at different periods, and remained at first disparted into many petty, but independent sovereignties (1).

Grallon is mentioned with so many epithets and allusions which imply conquests, that it is probable that his contemporaries felt the effects of his power (2).

In the middle of the sixth century, a British king, who had been the friend of Arthur, also emigrated to Armorica. This was Caradoc Vreichvras, a prince of great notoriety in the Welsh traditions (3). He had governed Cornwall under Arthur (4), and he is often mentioned with encomiastic epithets in the Triads (5). He obtained a settlement of dignity among the Armorican Britons.

What scene can appeal so forcibly to our compassionate feelings, as little colonies of families driven by the sword of invasive war from their paternal homes, and seeking an asylum and subsistence on some foreign shore? Have we not often followed the interesting Eneas and his exiled friends, with the warmest glow of heart, with the most ardent hopes of their final tranquillity? Emigrants, like the Britons, who go to colonize a foreign soil, reach their new country in misery the most afflicting. They have not only their luxuries, but every convenience to create. Long before they can even hope to enjoy comfort, they must extort from the uncultured soil the indispensable aliment of the passing day. The cottage must be built; the wood must be cut down; the marsh must be drained; the town must be raised. These considerations would lead us to expect an age of peace, till happiness had produced satiety. What leisure can expatriated penury afford for civil feud? what temptation can it present to ambitious war? Alas! misery is unfriendly both to virtue and to peace. It indurates the heart; it clouds the mind; it engenders cruelty, ferocity, and turbulence: it exiles benevolence; it cherishes malignity. Man, therefore, has seldom been in any

(1) It has been asserted by some, that these Bretons were never under independent sovereigns, but always subjected to the Frankish kings. The passages of Gregory of Tours on this subject are rather contradictory. Valesius, who considered the question maturely, decides, that the Bretons, though often subdued, yet were never subject to the Merovingian or Carlovingian families, by any certa imperii confessione. See the note in Bouquet's Recueil, v. iii. p. 205. Their governors are called kings oftener than duces at first. I cannot avoid coinciding with Valesius.

(2) The Vita Winwal. says of Grallon, "Qui post devictas gentes inimicas sibi duces subduxerat," p. 259. So the ancient Breviary of Bretagne styles him Grallonus Britonum rex, qui tunc temporis illius gentis monarchiam tenebat, Boll. 1 June 84. There is a grant of Gradlon to St. Guengalocus, in Lobineau, ii. p. 17., wherein he styles himself, "Ego Gradlonus gratia Dei rex Britonum."

(3) In illis diebus Caradauc cognomento Brecbras—ad Letaviam veniens illam cepit imperio. Vita Paterni MS. Cott. Lib. Vesp. A. 14. p. 79. So the Breviarium Venetense, "Caradoco Britannia subjugata ad Letaviam quoque debellandam mare transgresso." Boll. 2 April, p. 381. These lives of saints are certainly among the least eligible documents for history; but on this period of the Breton history we have little else; and we must admit, that however inventive they may be in their miraculous circumstances, they had no motive to be intentionally false in such collateral historical hints as are quoted here.

(4) Trioedd ynys Prydain, vii. Arch. Welsh, ii. p. 3.

(5) The 23d Triad styles him one of the chadfarchawc, or the knights of battle of Britain; another calls him the pillar of Wales. The 19th Triad mentions his son Chawrdaf; and the 9th Trioedd y meirch, notices his daughter Lluagor.

state of want and pain, but his actions and his history have become too faithful mirrors of his misfortunes and his depravity.

The British emigrants soon augmented the evils which accompanied their exile by political calamities. Their history is confused by their numerous assassinations, wars, and usurpations. Soon after their full establishment, we read of Chanao, one of the princely exiles, killing his three brothers, and imprisoning Macliau the other. Macliau, being liberated, rebels, flies, conceals himself from his pursuers in a chest within a tomb, turns monk and bishop; but on Chanao's death, takes his wife and kingdom (1).

We hear also of crimes like those of Arabian romance attached to the character of Conomer, or Conon Mawr, or the Great, another chieftain. As soon as his wives became pregnant, the wild tradition transformed into fable asserts that he destroyed them (2). His political cruelties, the crimes of his ambition, are more probable, because more common. He killed Iena, the grandson of Ruval, and by submitting himself to the Frankish king, he sought safety from the enmity of his countrymen. Judual, the son of Iena, flew to the court of Childebert to escape the search of murder (3). Conon is also stated to have destroyed Canao, his wife and son (4). The Frankish sword, in 560, at last released Bretagne from his oppressions (5).

Soon afterwards Macliau expelled his nephew Theodoric, who, in return, in 577, killed his uncle and cousin. Waroc succeeded to the part of Bretagne which his father Macliau had held, and Theodoric to the other (6). Waroc defeated the Frankish confederacy, and destroyed the Saxons of Bayeux (7). Contests then ensued in the efforts of Waroc to possess himself of Rennes and Nantz (8).

In 590, Judual was reigning in Armorican Devonshire, and Waroc in Vannes (9). Judual was succeeded by his son Judichael, whose moral and religious character impresses us like an apparition of benign beauty in a stormy night. At first he retired to a cloister on his father's death, but he was persuaded to accept the crown. In his time, about 635, some Bretons made incursions on the frontiers of Dagobert; but Judichael, after receiving an embassy of expostulation (10), paid a visit of peace to the Frankish court (11).

The good Judichael, in 636, choosing to secede from the cares and em-

(1) Gregory of Tours, l. 4. c. 4. p. 70. Ed. Hanov. 1613.

(2) Vita Gildæ, written by Monacho Ruyensi about 1008. Boll. 2 Jan. 961.

(3) Lobineau, i. p. 9.

(4) Ibid. p. 10.

(5) Gregory of Tours, l. 4. c. 20. Gregory names this person sometimes Conomer, and sometimes Conober; but so he calls Bobolen, l. 8. c. 32. Beppolen in c. 43. This diversity of orthography is inseparable from this period.

(6) Gregory, p. 101.

(7) When the Saxons invaded Britain, some went towards Armorica, and settled near Nantz and Bayeux. They mingled with the ancient inhabitants, and had a common appellation with them. Charles the Bald, in his laws, names their language the linguam Saxonicam. They were called Saxones Bajocassini. Bouquet, v. ii. p. 250. and 482.

(8) Gregory, 108, 109, 110. 199. 224.

(9) Lobineau, 20. After Conon's death, Judual in tota cum sua sobole regnavit Domnonia. Vit. Samsoni, by a contemporary in Bouquet, v. iii. p. 433.

(10) Eligius was the Frankish ambassador, an ecclesiastic of much skill in the goldsmith's art, and of much moral merit. See his life, Bouquet, iii. 552.

(11) Aimonius de Gest. Franc. Bouquet, iii. 132. St. Ouen, the chancellor of France, who was present at the interview, has mentioned it in his life of Eloi. Ib. The Cronicon Britannicum, from the ancient MS. of the church of Nantz, dates this peace in 643. See it in Lobineau, v. ii. p. 30.

ployments of royalty, wished to transfer his power to his brother Judoc; but this prince had imbibed the love of a private life so strongly, that he fled to avoid the honours intended for him (1). These unambitious characters are so rare, and the want of them sometimes causes such calamity, that whenever they appear they ought to be extolled.

Of Judichael's children, we only know that he had two sons; "by whom," says Ingomar, "long after his death, the Breton nation was so irradiated, that every province and country in their occupation continued to be governed by their descendants (2)."

Armorican Cornwall.

The kingdom or county of Armorican Cornwall has escaped the notice of the old annalists, who have reached us. We have a catalogue of its chiefs, written in the twelfth century, but no narration accompanies it (3). The ancient romances of the country, indeed, abound with matter. The heroic actions of Daniel Dremruz transcend in glory the greatest achievements that have amazed us; but fiction has written in the page which history left a blank. We can only assert with truth, that Breton Cornwall had always its own counts to the time of Alain Cagnart; and that in the eleventh century they rose from the possession of an inferior province of Bretagne to the government of all the country (4).

In 753, the Bretons were defeated by Pepin, but not subdued. Under Charlemagne there was a Comte des Marches de Bretagne. This Comte was the famous Roland, who fell in 778, at the well known battle of Ronceval, and whose memory has been consecrated by the genius of romance, and the admiration of our forefathers (5).

We are trespassing with an episode at some length, but we now hasten to its close. Charlemagne appointed the count Gui, a potent warrior, to watch the frontiers of Bretagne. The endangered people, instead of repulsing their general enemy, wasted their strength in civil wars, and for the first time, *all* Bretagne was conquered and subjected to France by the indefatigable Gui. The troops were joined to the Imperial armies (6); disdaining a long submission they revolted. Vannes had been for 200 years the object of war between the Bretons and the French. It was the key of Bretagne, by which the French could enter at their pleasure into the very heart of the kingdom. The most violent efforts were therefore made to take and to keep this city. The Bretons mastered it in 809; the army of Charlemagne retook it in 811. The miseries which this nation suffered at last

(1) See the Vita Judoci, by an author of the eighth century, in Bouquet, iii. p. 519.

(2) Lobineau, i. p. 26.

(3) It may be worth inserting from Lobineau, ii. p. 17. "Catalogue des Comtes de Cornouaille tire des Cartulaires de Landevence et Quimper écrits dans le douzième siècle:"—

Riwelen Murmarthou	Concar Cherennoe
Marthou	Budic Mur
Concar	Fragual Findleac
Gradlon Mur	Gradlon pluenevor
Daniel Dremrud, Alamannis rex fuit	—— Ulfres Alesruda
Budie et Maxenti duo fratres	Diles Heirguer Ehebre
Johan Rheith	Budic
Daniel Unva	Binidic
Gradlon flam	Alan Canhaiart (died 1058)
	Houel.

(4) Lobineau, i. p. 27.

(5) Lobin. ib.

(6) Lob. p. 28. Eginhart, 5.

ended their civil dissensions. In 814, Jarnithin was reigning in Britain, and afterwards Morvan (1).

Louis le Débonnaire twice subdued Bretagne (2), and made Nominoe its lieutenant-governor (3). In 848, Nominoe was consecrated king of Bretagne at Dol (4). He baffled three Frankish expeditions of Charles the Bald (5). In 851 he died, the most prosperous and powerful prince which the Bretons had yet enjoyed (6). At his accession, the history of Bretagne breaks out into distinct notice, and flows into a clear and regular stream.

His son Erispoe defeated Charles again; who, in revengeful policy, supported Salomon, the heir of Erispoe's eldest brother, against him. Erispoe allowed Salomon to govern subordinately the county of Rennes (7). In 857, Salomon, by an atrocious act (he killed his cousin) (8), began a reign of ability, but of guilt.

Salomon, assuming the sovereignty of all Bretagne, conciliated the French king, who, for his services against the Northmen, sent him a crown enriched with gold and jewels, and also the ornaments of regal dignity (9); but in 874 he experienced the instability of all power which has been obtained by crime. So many minds are depraved by the example, and encouraged by the success, that usurpation is generally dethroned by usurpation, till it ceases to be enviable. Pasquitan, count of Vannes, and also Gurvaint, the count of Rennes, who has obtained by his bravery a ray of fame, because all was gloom around him, caballed against Salomon, and destroyed him (10). The revolters then fought for the undivided sovereignty, and both perished in 877 (11).

Alain, brother of Pasquitan, succeeded at Vannes; and Judichail, son of Erispoe's daughter, at Rennes. Their civil discord was overawed by a Northman invasion. They united for the time; but in 878, Judichail, too eager for glory, fought alone with the enemy and perished. Alain, with better collected strength, conquered them, with decisive slaughter, and was acknowledged the sovereign of all Bretagne (12). He reigned till 907 with splendour and tranquillity. He attained the surname of the Great; but not great from overpowering intellect, or mighty achievements; not great because he was a giant, but because his countrymen were dwarfs.

We now approach the incident which has connected the history of Bretagne with the reign of Athelstan. After Alain's death, one passing cloud has shaded the affinity of his successor; but we find Gurmhailon, called the

(1) Lob. p. 28. (2) Ib.
(3) Lob. 30. (4) Lob. 47.
(5) Lob. 40—49. and see Daniel, Histoire de France, v. ii. p. 42, 43. 46.
(6) Lob. p. 50. (7) Lob. p. 52.
(8) Lob. p. 54.
(9) Lob. 62. Daniel states, 66., that the Council of Savoiniers, held 859, mentioned Salomon with the periphrasis qui Britannorum tenet regionem, to avoid calling him king. The Council of Soissons afterwards styled him merely duke. Father Daniel follows this obligatory authority, and gives no higher title to any ruler in Bretagne.
(10) Lob. 66. Gurvaint, called by Regino, Vurfandus, challenged Hastings. See Regino's detailed account in 874, p. 43.
(11) Lob. 67, 68.
(12) Annales Metenses Bouquet, viii. p. 71.: they state, that out of 15,000 Northmen, with whom Alain fought, 400 only escaped. Le séjour ordinaire d'Alain le Grand étoit au château de Rieux, près de Redon. 1 Lob. 70.

monarch of Bretagne (1), living in amity with Rivalt, the count of Vannes, and Mathuedoi, the count of Poher (2).

The Bretons fly to Athelstan.

Mathuedoi had married the daughter of Alain the Great; but the throne of Alain was suddenly swept away by the furious torrent of the Northmen, now becoming Normans under Rollo, who in the beginning of the tenth century burst upon Bretagne with desolation and ruin. No exertion could check its approaches: it overwhelmed the sovereignty and the people with destruction, and Mathuedoi escaped to England with his family, and was received by Athelstan as already mentioned.

(1) Some make him son of Alain; some of Pasquitanus. He was evidently the superior prince, because Mathuedoi même a recours à lui pour faire confirmer les donations qu'il fait aux églises, Lob. p. 70. The Chronicle of Nantz states, that the sons of Alain the Great, minime patris vestigia sequentes, omnino defecti fuerunt. 8 Bouquet, 276.

(2) There may be some foundation for the remark of Daniel:—"Il semble même que depuis la mort du duc Alain, prince vaillant, il y avoit une espèce d'anarchie, et que les comtes du pays s'étoient rendus maîtres chacun dans leur canton," p. 221.; but there is not foundation for his pertinacity in maintaining the courtly proposition: "Que ce duché étoit toujours tributaire de la France, et sujet à l'hommage." Ib.

CHAPTER III.

Edmund the Elder.

Edmund the Elder. 941.

Athelstan having left no children, his brother Edmund succeeded at the age of eighteen (1).

Anlaf, the Northumbrian prince, who had fought the battle of Brunanburh against Athelstan, renewed his competition with Edmund. The Anglo-Danes of Northumbria encouraged his hopes; they invited him from Ireland, and appointed him their king (2).

Collecting a great armament, he sailed to York, and thence marched towards Mercia, to wrest the crown of England from the head of Edmund (3). He assaulted Tamworth. Edmund, whom the Saxon song styles "the lord of the English—the protector of his relations—the author of mighty deeds," armed on the hostility, and marched against Anlaf to the "way of the White Wells, and where the broad stream of the Humber flowed (4)."

(1) Flor. Wig. 350.; Sax. Chron. 114.; Al. Bev. 110.; Ing. 29. The Sax. Chron. Tib. B. 4. dates Athelstan's death in 940. So Tib. B. 1.

(2) Malmsb. 53. Flor. Wig. 350. The MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tib. B. 4. has this passage, which is not in the printed one: "941, her Northymbra alugon hira getreowatha and Anlaf of Yrlande him to cinge gecuron."

(3) Matt. West. 365.

(4) The first paragraph of the reign of Edmund, in the Saxon Chronicle, is obviously an extract from a poem:—

Her Edmund cyning,
Engla theoden,
Waga mundbora
Wyrce geeode:

Edmund had less abilities or less fortune than Athelstan; or the power of the Anglo-Danes had increased, for Anlaf was victorious at Tamworth (1). But the Anglo-Saxon government had been so fortified by the wise administration of three able sovereigns, that the first successes of Anlaf could not overwhelm it. At Leicester, the king surrounded the invader and his friend Wulfstan, the ambitious and turbulent archbishop of York; but they burst at night out of the city (2). A battle ensued, in which the skill and activity of an earl, whose daughter he had married, gave to Anlaf the palm of victory, after a day of conflict (3).

These defeats inclined Edmund to listen to the negotiation of the archbishops of Canterbury and York. A peace was concluded between the princely rivals, on terms highly honourable to Anlaf, but less creditable to Edmund. To Anlaf was surrendered all that part of England which extended north of Watling-street. Edmund contented himself with the southern regions. But a condition, still more humiliating to the Anglo-Saxons, was added:—whoever survived the other was to be the monarch of the whole (4). It happened that Anlaf died in the following year; but he must have had great power, or great talents capable of creating power, to have established for himself so near a chance of the crown of England.

The death of Anlaf removed a perilous competitor, and Edmund availed himself of the casualty to recover the possession of Northumbria (5). He also terminated the dangerous independence of the five cities which the Danes had long occupied on the northern frontiers of Mercia and East Anglia. These were Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln. The preceding kings seem to have suffered the Danes to retain them; but "the heir of

Thyre dæd fruma
Swador feadeth
Hwitan wylles geat
And Humbra ea
Brada brym stream. P. 114.

(1) I have seen this fact no where mentioned but in the MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tiberius, B. 4. "943, Her Anlaf abræc Tamewurthe and micel wæl gefeol on ægthsa hand and tha denan sige ahton and micele here huthe mid him aweg læddon. Thær pas Wulfrun genumen on thære hergunge. Hoveden hints, that he advanced to Tamwrde, and plundered, p. 423.; but neither mentions the Danish victory, nor the capture of Wulfrun.

(2) This incident appears only in the MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tib. B. 4. It is not in the printed one, nor in Matthew, nor Florence, nor Hoveden, nor Huntingdon, nor Malmsbury, nor Ethelwerd, nor Ingulf. The passage in the MS. Chronicle is thus: "Her Eadmund cyning ymbsæt Anlaf cyning and Wulfstan arcebiscop on Legraceastre and he hy gewyldon meahte nære tha hi on niht ut ne ætburston of thære byrig."

(3) Matt. West. 365.

(4) Matt. West. 365. Hoveden, 423., admits the peace, but omits the last condition. So Mailros, 148., and Sim. Dun. 134.

(5) Matt. West. 365.; the Saxon Chron.; Mailros, and others, place Anlaf's death at this time.

the warriors of Edward (1)" adopted a new policy. He expelled the Northmen, and peopled them with Saxons (2). Two fleeting kings attempted, but in vain, to be permanent in Northumbria.

Edmund extended his conquests to Cumbria, in 946: with the help of the king of South Wales, he ravaged the little kingdom; he cruelly blinded the two sons of Dunmail, who reigned there, and gave it to Malcolm of Scotland, on condition of defending the north of the island against invaders (3). 946.

In the height of his prosperity the king was suddenly killed. The circumstances of his death, however, vary more than a transaction so simple, and so affecting, could be thought to occasion. At Canterbury, according to some (4); at Windechirche, according to another (5); at Michelesberith, as named by a third (6); at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, between the Avon and the Severn, according to others (7); the king was feasting on the day of Saint Augustine, which was always commemorated by the Anglo-Saxons. A man, one Leof, appeared among the company, whom Edmund had six years before banished for pillage. Warmed with the liquor which he had been drinking, the king jumped from his seat, seized the intruder by the hair, and threw him on the ground (8); others state, that Leof had quarrelled with the king's cup-bearer, and was about to destroy him, when Edmund interfered (9); another, perhaps more truly, mentions, that amidst the bacchanalian jollity, a discord, as generally happens, suddenly arose among the guests. In the midst of their fury, the king rose from table to appease, perhaps to share in the tumult, when the

(1) So the Saxon Chronicle styles him in a passage, which seems to be a part of an Anglo-Saxon song.

Wiggendra hleoafera Edwardes. Sax. Chron. 114.

(2) Huntingdon, p. 355.

(3) Matt. West. 366. The condition in the Saxon Chronicle, which dates the event in 945, is, that Malcolm should be his mid wyrhta both on sea and land, p. 115. The Welsh Chronicle places it in 944: "Ac y difleithwyt Strat-clut y gan y Saesson." "Strat-clut was ravaged by the Saxons." MS. Cleop. b. v. The MS. Cleop. states the death of Edwal and Elissed against the Saxons.

(4) Thorn. Ch. p. 1779.; Bromton, 858.; Hist. Rames. 389. So the Welsh MS. "945, yd oed Edmund Vrenhin yn kynnal gwled yn manachloc Seint Austyn yngkeint." Cleop. b. v.

(5) Mailros, 148. (6) Matt. West. 366.

(7) Malmsb. 54. Al. Bev. 111. Hoveden, 423. Ing. 39.

(8) Malmsb. 54. So the Welsh Chronicle: "Ac val ydoed yn bwrw golwc ar hyt y neuad ef a welei Lleidyr a rydaroed y dehol or ynys kynno hynny ar brenhin a gynodes y vyny ac a doeth hyt yn lle ydoed y lleidyr ac ymavael ac ef ger wallt y ben ay dynnv dros y bwrt." "And, as he was casting his eye along the hall, he saw a robber, who had been given over to banishment from the island before. The king arose immediately, and went to the place where the robber was, and laid hold of him by the hair of his head to draw him over the table." MS. Cleop. b. v.

(9) Flor. Wig. 352. Hoveden, 423. It is said by Alur. Bev. 111. that the king wished to save his Dapifer from the hands of his enemies. Matt. West. narrates, that the king, seeing Leof, nodded to his cup-bearer to turn him out. Leof resisting, Edmund rushed in anger upon him, p. 366.

exiled robber stabbed him with a dagger which he had secreted (1). It is, however, singular, that, on an incident so palpable and so impressive, such a contrariety of rumours became popular, that Malmsbury states, that his death opened the door for fable all over England (2); and Wallingford was so perplexed as to aver, that it was to his day uncertain who was the murderer, or what was the cause (3). Instances like these, which often occur in the history of man, prove the truth of the observation of our intelligent moralist, that "the usual character of human testimony is substantial truth under circumstantial variety (4)."

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of Edred.

Edred. 946. Edred, who succeeded Edmund, was the third son of Edward, who had reigned after his father, Alfred. As the preceding king, the elder brother of Edred, was but eighteen years of age when he acceded, Edred must have been less than twenty-three at his elevation. His reign was short. Disease produced to him that crisis which the arm of violence had occasioned to his predecessor.

The most remarkable circumstance of Edred's short reign was, the complete incorporation of Northumbria. It had been often conquered before. Its independence was now entirely annihilated.

It has been mentioned, that Athelstan gave the Northumbrian crown to Eric, the son of Harald of Norway, who had been expelled his paternal inheritance, for his fratricides and cruelty. But peaceful dignity can have no charms except for the cultivated mind, the sensualist, or the timid. It is only a scene of apathy to those who have been accustomed to the violent agitations of barbarian life; whose noblest hope has been an ample plunder; whose most pleasurable excitations have arisen from the exertion

(1) Hist. Rames. 389.

(2) Quo vulnere exanimatus fabulæ januam in omnem Angliam de interitu suo patefecit, p. 54.

(3) Sed qua ratione vel a quo occisus fuit usque ad præsens incertum habetur. Chron. p. 541. The MS. Saxon Chronicle has a passage on Edmund's death, not in the printed one, agreeing in the fact as stated by the authors quoted in note 7. p. 143. "Tha wæs wide cuth hu he his dagas geendode tha Liofa hine æfstang æt Pulcan cyrcan." Tib. b. iv. Torfæus makes a Jatmund king of England to have been killed by one Owar-Oddi, in the third century. Hist. Norw. l. vi. p. 72. It may be a traditional misplacement of this incident.

(4) Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 289. 5th ed. 8vo.; a work which displays a highly-accomplished and candid mind in the full exertion of its enlightened energies.

and the triumphs of war. Eric therefore still loved the activity of depredation. The numerous friends with kindred feelings, who crowded to him from Norway, displeased or disappointed with the government of Haco, cherished his turbulent feelings; and to feed, to employ, or to emulate them, he amused his summer months by pirating on Scotland, the Hebrides, Ireland, and Wales (1). In the reign of Edmund, perceiving that this king or his unquiet subjects desired a new regent, he hastened to his beloved ocean and its plunder. From the Orkneys he collected some companions. In the Hebrides he found many vikingr and sea-kings (2), who joined their forces to aid his fortunes. He led them first to Ireland; thence to Wales; and, at last, reaching England, he plundered extensively. The Northumbrians again received him as their king (3), and Eric became formidable to the Anglo-Saxons.

It had happened that before this event this people had sworn fidelity to Edred at Tadwine's Cliffe (4). Provoked by this rebellion, Edred assembled an army, and spread devastation over Northumbria. As he returned, the Northmen warily followed him from York, and at Casterford surprised and destroyed his rear guard. Enraged at the disaster, the king stopped his retreat, and again sought Northumbria with augmented fury. Terrified at his power and its effects, the people threw off Eric, and appeased Edred with great pecuniary sacrifices (5).

But Eric was not to be discarded with impunity. He collected his forces, and gave battle to the revolters. Snorre mentions Olafe as the friend of Edred (6). Simeon of Durham omits him, but notices his son Maccus (7). The Icelander states the battle to have lasted the whole day, and that Eric and five other kings, among whom he names Gothorm, and his sons Ivar and Harekr, probably sea-kings, perished; Rognvalldr and others also fell (8). Our chronicler, Matthew, admits such a catastrophe, but states that Osulf betrayed Eric, and that Maccus fraudulently killed him in a desert (9).

(1) Snorre, Saga Hakonar Goda, c. iv. p. 128. (2) Snorre, ibid.

(3) Flor. Wig. 352. He calls him Ircus. Saxon Chronicle says, Yric, the son of Harold, p. 115. So Wallingford, 541. The Chronicle of Mailros also calls him Eyric the son of Harold, p. 148. Ingulf names him Hircius, p. 30. Simeon calls him Eiric, a Dane, 134. Matt. West. has Elric, p. 368.

(4) Hoveden, 423. Flor. 352. The printed chronicle has nothing of this. The MS. Chronicle, Tib. b. iv., states it.

(5) Flor. Wig. 352, 353. Hoveden, 423. The MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tib. b. iv., supplies on this incident the silence of the one printed, by a long passage, of which the paragraphs in Florence and Hoveden seem to be a translation. In the MS. Tib. b. i. there is a blank from 946 to 956.

(6) Hakonar Saga, p. 129. (7) Simeon, 204.

(8) Snorre, 129. He errs in placing the catastrophe under Edmund.

(9) Matt. West. 369. Sim. 204. Matthew says, "that with Eric fell his son Henricus, and his brother Reginaldus. He perhaps means the Harekr and

Edred improved the moment by exerting all the power of conquest. He carried away in bonds the proudest nobles of the country, and overspread it with devastation (1); he imprisoned Wulfstan, the turbulent archbishop (2); he annexed Northumbria inseparably to his dominions; and to govern it the more easily, he partitioned it into baronies and counties, over which he placed officers of his own appointment (3). Osulf, whose treachery had produced the destruction of Eric, was the first earl; to whom in another reign Oslac was added (4).

955. In 955, Edred died; but not worn out by old age, as some have dreamt (5). One expression has descended to us concerning him, *debilis pedibus*, weak in the feet (6). We also learn from the writing of an author, almost, if not quite, his contemporary, that his indisposition, rather an offensive one, lasted all his reign; and, by a gradual wasting, produced his death (7).

CHAPTER V.

The Reign of Edwin.

Edwin (8), who has been usually called Edwy, the eldest son

Rognvaldr of Snorre. Our writers mention no battle; but this additional incident is highly credible. Mailros calls Eric the last king of Northumbria, 148.

(1) Ingulf, 41. He adds a strong picture of Edred's invasion:—"Erasaque tota terra et in cineres redacta ita ut multis milliarlis longo tempore sequenti solitudo fieret."

(2) Flor. 353. Matt. West. 369. The MS. Chronicle, Tib. b. iv., is like the passage in Florence.

(3) Wallingford, 541.

(4) Mailros, 148. Sim. Dun. 204.

(5) It is curious to read in Wallingford, p. 542., that old age greatly vexed Edred, and that multis incommodis quæ senes solent circumvenire ad extrema deduxit. Among these evils of senility, he particularises the loss of teeth, debility, and the frequent cough, familiaris senibus. Yet this *old* man could not have been much above thirty; for he was under twenty-three at his accession, and he reigned nine years. The chronicler mistook the consequences of disease, for the natural effects of old age.

(6) It is Hermannus who has left us this trait. His MS. is in the Cotton Library, Tib. b. ii.

(7) Vita Dunstani, p. 75. MS. Cotton Library, Cleopatra, b. xiii.

(8) He is commonly called Edwy; but the old authorities are numerous, which express his name to have been Edwin. Of Chroniclers that have been printed, he is styled Edwin—by Ingulf, p. 41.; by Alured of Beverley, p. 111.; by Simeon Dunelm, p. 135.; by Wallingford, 541.; by Ethelridus Rievallensis, 359.; by Knighton, 2312.; by Hoveden, 425.; by Bromton, 863.; by Malmsbury, 201.; by the Hist. Ramesiensis, 389.; by Thorn. 2243.; by Higden, 263.; by Radulf de Diceto, 455.; by Ann. Way. and by the authors in Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 241. 260. 304. and vol. iii. p. 300. Rudborne says, Edwyi, sive Edwini, p. 217. The unpublished MSS. in the Cotton Library, that I have seen, which name him

of Edmund the Elder, succeeded his uncle Edred, at the age of sixteen (1).

It was his misfortune to live in one of those periods, which have frequently occurred in the history of mankind, when new opinions and new systems are introduced into society, which essentially counteract the subsisting establishments. The ardour of the discussions, and the opposition of interests and prejudices, inflame the mind and passions of the country; cruelty and persecution, hatred and revenge, usually accompany the conflict, and both the advocates for the revolution and its opponents become alike fanatical, ferocious, unjust, and implacable.

The Benedictine order.

In the tenth century, a new religious discipline was spreading in Europe, which occasioned the misfortunes in the reign of Edwin. This was the Benedictine order of Monks—an order which, in the course of time, became celebrated in Europe beyond every other (2).

It is a fact perpetually pressed upon the notice of the historian, that individuals often appear who seem to act at random, yet whose notions are destined to affect ages and nations. One of these was Benedict, an Italian, born 480 (3), whose peculiar associations of

Edwin, are also numerous. The Chronicles in Dom. A. xii. p. 62; Dom. A. 3.; Peter de Ickham, p. 24.; Vesp. E. iv. p. 110.; Faustini, A. viii. p. 77. and b. vi. p. 66.; Thomas de Elmham; Claudius, E. iv. p. 54.; Nero, A. vi. p. 9.; Vesp. b. xi. p. 1. and 73.; Cleop. b. xiii. p. 130; Vesp. A. xvi. p. 43.; and Joh. Oxenedes, Nero, D. ii. p. 215.; the Historiola Gallice, in Calig. A. iii. p. 19.; also, the MS. in the King's Library, 13. D. 1.; so the Welsh Chron. Cleop. b. v. Baronius also calls him Edwini. But the Saxon Chronicle, 115.; Ethelwerd, 849.; the Wilton Chartulary, and a coin (see it in Gough's Camden, cxv.) have Eadwig. Matt. West. printed, has Edwius. A MS. of part of his book, erroneously entitled Godefrid of Malmsbury, has Edwinus. Vesp. D. iv. p. 96. Edwin and Edwig have the same meaning—"prosperous in battle." His charter in Hist. Abb. Claud. c. 9. is signed Edwi, others Eadwi. On the whole, it appears to me that Edwy, Edwin, and Edwig are the same name; but as Edwy is apparently a familiar abbreviation, it cannot be entitled to a place in history any more than Willy or Harry: I have therefore inserted Edwin, which has most authorities in its favour.

(1) For Edwin to have been sixteen at his accession, his father must have married at fifteen, because Edmund was eighteen in 941. This seems almost too early to be true; and yet there is no alternative, for Edwin, at his coronation, appears to us also as married. It shows us, indeed, how early the Anglo-Saxons sometimes united—Edmund at fifteen; his son Edwin at sixteen. If there be an error any where, it must be in Edmund's age at his accession, for that makes him and Edred to have been born in the two last years of their father's reign; yet Edmund's age is attested by Ingulf, Flor. Al. Bev. already quoted, and also by the Sax. Chron. 144.; Sim. Dun. 155.; Malmsb. 53.; and others. Eadgiva, the mother of Edwin and Edgar, left a will, which yet exists: in this she mentions Edwin, and she calls him a child. See it in the appendix to Lye's Saxon Dictionary.

(2) It is not, however, safe to adopt implicitly the statement of Trithemius, p. 238., though Baronius follows it. This enumerates eighteen popes, above 200 cardinals, 1600 archbishops, about 4000 bishops, 15,700 abbots, and 15,600 saints, to have been of the order before his time, who was born 1462.

(3) Dupin, vol. ii. p. 45., sixth century. Fab. Bib. Med. 1. p. 533.

thought induced him to descend into a deep cavern in a desert, and to reside there for several years, known only to a friend, who let down his provisions. His singularities attracted notice, and, being connected with a piety that seems to have been genuine, though enthusiastic, at last produced veneration. His admiring spectators were so numerous, that he was enabled to found many monasteries near him. He afterwards went to Mount Cassin, in the kingdom of Naples, destroyed some temples of idolatry which he found there, erected a monastery, and laid down a new series of rules for its governance (1).

Benedict died about 543 (2). Soon afterwards the Lombards destroyed his monastery at Mount Cassin. The monks fled to pope Pelagius, who, by giving them an asylum, kept alive an institution destined to overspread the West.

The memory of Benedict was preserved, and peculiarly honoured by the famous pope Gregory, who admired his regulations, and devoted one book of dialogues to record his supposed miracles (3). By the influence of the third Gregory, who died 742, the monastery at Mount Cassin was rebuilt, and this new construction first began the establishment of its fame. Zachary, the following pope, sent them the MS. rule of Benedict, and gave them, as a mark of his favour, the important and attractive privilege of being under no bishop, and no jurisdiction but that of the pope (4).

The Benedictine rule began now to diffuse itself beyond Italy. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary to Germany, built a Benedictine monastery in Fulda, which the pope sanctioned, and which Pepin exempted from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but the papal (5). Boniface describes his monks as men of strict abstinence, who used neither flesh, wine, nor strong drink, nor servants, but who were contented with the produce of their own labour (6). He interested Carloman so much in his favour, that in his reign the clergy of Gaul were urged to patronise it (7).

The order increased, though slowly, till the beginning of the tenth century. Berno, preferring it to other monastic rules, introduced it at Clugny in 910. One of his pupils was Odo, who succeeded him, and who seconded his partiality to this order, added

(1) The rule is in the Bibliotheca Magna Patrum, vol. xv. p. 690. There are also some Anglo-Saxon translations of it in the Cotton Library; and one exposition of it by Dunstan, with his picture. Bib. Reg. 10. A. 13.

(2) Fabricius mentions that others talk of 542, and 547.

(3) Gregory's Dial. lib. ii. Gregory characterises his rule as discretione præcipuam, sermone luculentam. Dial. p. 275.

(4) See Marsham's Προπυλιονα, prefixed to Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. 1.

(5) See the letters of Boniface and Zachary, 16. Mag. Bib. Pat. 115. and of Pepin, p. 121. Our countryman describes the place thus:—"Est præterea locus sylvaticus in eremo vastissimæ solitudinis." Ibid. 115.

(6) Bonif. ibid.

(7) See the two councils held in 742, in Bib. Mag. Pat. p. 84, 85.

something to its regulations, and endeavoured to introduce it at Fleury, whither the body of Benedict had been transported from Cassin (1).

Fleury having been plundered by the Normans, the monks who returned to it were living irregularly when Odo began his attempt. They opposed him at first even with weapons. His eloquence or sagacity so changed their feelings, that before his death, in 944, it was so firmly established at Fleury, that this place became the chief seminary from which it was diffused through the West.

Its success as an instrument of discipline; the sanctified celebrity of its author; the necessity of some reformation among the monks and clergy, and the novelty of this, gave it a sudden and extending popularity. Fleury became famous for its superior discipline and virtues, and its monks were sent for to other places, to reform and to regulate them. Thus it perpetually happens in human life, that new plans become popular, and spread far beyond their intrinsic merit, because they happen to soothe some momentary feeling, promote some meditated interest, or supply an existing deficiency. In the present case, it seems, that the Benedictine discipline, however objectionable it may appear to us, was the best form of monastic life which had then been conceived; and was therefore wisely adopted by those who valued monastic institutions. Hence the spirit of improvement at the same time passed also into Flanders, and eighteen monasteries there were reformed by the exertions of abbot Gerard.

The monastery of Fleury was eagerly encouraging the rule, when Odo, an ecclesiastic in England, was offered the see of Canterbury. He was the son of one of those ferocious Northmen who had infested England under Ingwar and Ubbo (2). He had been himself a soldier in the first part of life, in the reign of Edward (3), and he quitted the military profession to assume the ecclesiastic. He attended Athelstan in the battle of Brunanburh; and, as other bishops often combated at that time, and as it is confessed that he knew immediately of the king's sword breaking in the conflict, and supplied the loss, it is probable that he partook of the fray (4), though his encomiasts talk only of his prayers. These circumstances may be worth noticing, as they explain that stern severity of temper which was so unhappily exerted against Edwin and Elgiva. He was raised through other gradations to the primacy of England.

When Odo was offered the see of Canterbury, he was unwilling

(1) Marsham ubi sup. There is a MS. of one of Odo's works. Bib. Reg. 6. D. 5.

(2) Malmsb. 200. Osberne, 2 Ang. Sax. p. 78.

(3) Malmsb. 200. Matt. West. 359.

(4) Though councils and kings expressly forbad ecclesiastics to mix in battle, (see pope Zachary's letter to the bishops, 16 Mag. Bib, Pat. p. 110—116. and Boniface, Ibid. p. 106.) yet it was very frequent at this time, and afterwards, till the reformation,

to accept it, from his enthusiastic zeal for the new system, until he had become a monk; and he selected Fleury as the place wherein he chose to make his profession (1).

Odo came to his metropolitan dignity a decisive friend, and an aspiring patron, of the Benedictine order, from its superior piety and judicious discipline: but though high in favour with several sovereigns, he made no effort to compel the English to adopt the reform of Fleury. A letter of his to the clergy of the country, exhorting them to discharge their duty with zealous care, yet exists (2); but it does not even mention the Benedictine system.

Life of Dunstan.

The man whose more active mind roused England to establish the new discipline among its clergy was Dunstan, a character formed by nature to act a distinguished part in the varied theatre of life (3). The following review of his life is made with a desire to be just towards him, without abandoning the right of free judgment on his actions, and of fair inference as to the principles by which they were directed.

He was born in 925 (4). His parents were Heorstan and Cynethryth (5), who seem to have lived near Glastonbury (6). He fre-

(1) Chron. Petrib. 26. Malmsb. 200.

(2) See it in Malmsb. de Pont. p. 200. Its first phrase is an unfortunate attempt at eloquent latinity. "Mirabili cuncti potentis præsulis polorum clementia opitulante, Ego Odo," etc. Another sentence expresses something of his temper, "Spirituali charitate, *etiam comitatus rigore.*" There is another letter of his in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 50.

(3) There are several lives of Dunstan extant. One written by Osberne, who flourished about the year 1070. See it in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 88. One also by Eadmar, p. 211. There are two ancient ones in the Cotton Library. One, Nero, C. 7., was written by Adelardus Blandiniensis Monachus, in the tenth century, or in the beginning of the eleventh, addressed to Elphegus, the archbishop of Canterbury, and composed at his request. But the author says, "Scias autem in opere isto historiam vitæ ejus non contineri, sed ex eadem vita quasi brevem sermonis versiculum," etc. This life is full of miracles and panegyric, with scarcely any biographical notices. The most curious and ancient life of Dunstan is in the same library, Cleopatra, B. 13. It was written by a person who was his contemporary, or nearly so. For, speaking of an incident in his monastery, he says, it happened when all the monks were absent, except Dunstan, parvoque scholastico qui postea pontifex effectus hæc nobis intimavit. It has plenty of flattery and wonder, but it contains some curious traits of biography, which enable us to sketch his mind. Matthew of Westminster, Malmsbury, and Osberne, have taken many things from it. It seems to be the one mentioned by Wharton, with the name of Bridferth; and so printed in the Acta Sanctorum.

(4) In the year of Athelstan's accession, which some place 924, and some 925. Matt. West. 360.

(5) MSS. Cleop. B. 13 Adelard, in Nero, C. 7., is so impatient to get at his miracles, that he annexes one to Dunstan before he was born.

(6) Erat autem regalis in confinio ejusdem præfati viri insula antiquo vicinorum vocabulo Glastonia nuncupata. MSS. Cleop. B. 13. This life of Dunstan had been read by Malmsbury, for he quotes this passage from it; and says, he saw the book at St. Augustin's in Canterbury, and at another place. De Ant. Glast. p. 293. The MS. in the Cotton Library is probably the identical book which our Malmsbury saw; for Joscelin has written upon it, that in August, 1565, he found it among other old MSS. at the Augustine monastery at Canterbury. Usher has added a note making the same inference.

quently visited the old British church there (1). It is said that he had here a vision of his future greatness, and that a venerable phantom pointed out the place where he was to build a superb monastery (2). Ambitious talents, meditating much on the honours they covet, may experience sometimes such illusions amid the nightly chimeras of the reposing though disturbed imagination.

His parents encouraged him to study, and his penetrating abilities enabled him to excel his companions, and to run with easy rapidity through the course of his studies (3).

A fever interrupted his advancement, and all the horrors of a temporary frenzy ensued, accompanied with that debility which in this disease sometimes announces the departure of life, and sometimes a crisis which is to end in convalescence. In this state a sudden access of delirium came on. He leapt from his bed, eluded his nurse, and seizing a stick which was near him, he ran over the neighbouring plains and mountains, fancying that wild dogs were pursuing him. His wanderings led him towards night near the church. Workmen during the day had been mending the roof. Dunstan ran wildly up their scaffold, roamed over the top, and with that casual felicity which frenzy sometimes experiences, got unconsciously to the bottom of the church, where a heavy sleep concluded his delirious excursion (4). He waked with returned intellect, and was surprised at his new situation. As the church-doors had not been opened, both he and the attendants of the place wondered how he got there (5).

(1) The author's phrase is, that the first Neophytes found there an old church not built with human hands. I translate his words to mean, that the Anglo-Saxons found one there ready built, and of course by the Britons.

(2) MSS. Cleop.

(3) Adelard calls him, indole acerrimus. Nero, C. 7. The MS. Cleop B. 13. says, coætaneos quosque præcellerat et suorum tempora studiorum facili cursu transiliret.

(4) This is the statement in the MS. Cleop. B. 13., which I think to be peculiarly valuable, because it shows us the simple and natural truth of an incident which the future biographers of Dunstan have converted into an elaborate and ridiculous miracle. It gives a good specimen how monastic fancy, by its peculiar machinery, has transformed natural incidents into celestial achievements. When reflection sobers the mind of Achilles, it is Pallas who descends to whisper in his ear; when Dunstan runs over a church in a delirium, angels are called down to protect him from the devil, to burst the roof, and to place him safely on the pavement.

(5) This ancient life gives to this event none of those appendages of angels and devils, which credulity afterwards added. After mentioning his sleep, it merely says, "Exsurgens autem post momenti spatium ammirari admodum una cum custodibus cœperat, quo pacto, quove ingenio introierat, cernens etiam quod templi ostium clausum munitumque extiterat." MS. Cleop. Its next phrase, that Dunstan acknowledged the hand of Providence in his preservation, merely expresses his pious feelings. It does not invest it with the miraculous colouring of later writers. The wonderful was, however, soon added, for we find it in Adelard; and yet even [illegible] statement reveals the truth, and shows that the falsehood was the creature [illegible] rance. "Ubi mane inventus cum consuleretur qualiter ille incolumis [illegible]

His parents obtained for him an introduction into the ecclesiastical establishment at Glastonbury. He continued his studious applications, and there is no reason to disbelieve the statement, that his conduct at this time was moral and religious (1).

Some Irish ecclesiastics had settled at Glastonbury, and were teaching the liberal studies to the children of the nobility. Dunstan attached himself to their instructions, and diligently explored their books (2).

The first part of his life was a laborious cultivation of mind, and he seems to have attained all the knowledge to which it was possible for him to gain access. He mastered such of the mathematical sciences as were then taught; he excelled in music; he accomplished himself in writing, painting, and engraving; he acquired also the manual skill of working in gold and silver, and even copper and iron (3). These arts had not at that day reached any pre-eminent merit, but it was uncommon that a man should practise himself in all. To have excelled his contemporaries in mental pursuits, in the fine arts, as far as they were then practised, and in mechanical labours, is evidence of an activity of intellect, and of an ardour for improvement, which, under a better direction of their energies, might have advanced the progression of the social world.

When his age admitted, he commenced his career of public life as a courtier. Some relation introduced him into the royal palace, and his musical talents interested and often recreated the king (4).

No circumstance can more impressively attest the superiority of Dunstan's attainments than his having been accused, while at court, of demoniacal arts (5). Such charges give demonstration of the ta-

sero pene contiguus morti exterius erat relictus, *hoc se ignorare respondit,* et rumorem miraculi *grata ignorantia auxit.*" Adelard, MSS. Nero, C. 7.

(1) MSS. Cleop. B. 13.

(2) Osberne Vita Dunstani, p. 92. MS. Cleop. B. 13.

(3) Osberne, 93, 94. His attainments are thus enumerated in the MS. Cleop. B. 13. : "Hic itaque inter sacra litterarum studia—artem scribendi nec ne citharizandi pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit, atque ut ita dicam, omnium rerum utensilium vigil inspector fulsit." This MS. mentions a particular instance of his painting and embroidery : "Quandam stolam diversis formularum scematibus perpingeret quam postea posset auro gemmisque variando pompare." It also mentions, that he took with him ex more cytharam suam quam, lingua paterna, *hearpam* vocamus.

(4) Adelard says, "De Glastonia egressus Archo Dorobernensi Adelmo patruo scilicet suo se junxit et cohabitare cœpit—in palatio eum præsentavit et regi Athelstano—magno affectu commendavit." Nero, c. 7. Osberne implies the same, p. 94. But I think the king should be Edmund. The MS. Cleop. B. 13. mentions his living in Edmund's palace, where plans were formed against him.

(5) Asserentes illum malis artibus imbutum, nec quicquam divino auxilio sed pleraque dæmonum præstigio operari. Osb. 95. The MS. Cleop. B. 13. thus expresses it : "Dicentes, eum ex libris salutaribus et viris peritis non saluti animæ profutura, sed avitæ gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina et histriarum colere incantationes."

lents and knowledge of the person so accused. In the very same century another man of eminence suffered under a similar imputation, because he had made a sphere, invented clocks, and attempted a telescop (1). The charge of magic was of all others the most destructive, because the most difficult to repel. Every exertion of superior intellect in defence was misconstrued to be preternatural, and confirmed the imputation.

His enemies were successful. The king was influenced against him, and Dunstan was driven from court (2); — from that Eden of his hopes, where, like another Wolsey, he was planning to be naturalised.

His courtly rivals were not content with his disgrace: they insulted as well as supplanted him; they pursued and threw him into a miry marsh. He extricated himself on their retreat, and reached a friend's house about a mile distant (3).

Thus far Dunstan appears neither unamiable nor uninteresting. Youthful ambition is the parent of much excellence; while subordinate to reason and duty it is an honourable energy in the springtime of life, when the buds of expectation are incessantly shooting. Dunstan's pursuit of distinction, though perhaps questionable as to its prudence, was no immoral impulse. His means were the most honourable he could employ—the cultivation of his mind, the increase of his knowledge, and the fair exertion of his beneficial acquisitions.

To be checked in the first madness of our juvenile ambition, may often introduce the invaluable treasures of moderate wishes, moral prudence, and becoming humility. There is no evidence that the effects of Dunstan's disgrace were at first any other. He was repelled from the paths of political greatness, and he submitted to the necessity; he turned his eye from the proud but tempestuous mountains of life to its lowly but pleasant vales, where happiness loves to abide, the companion of the industrious, the contented, and the good. After he left the court, he formed an attachment to a maiden, whom he wished to marry (4).

It is with regret we read that such honourable impressions were

(1) This was Gerbert, who became archbishop of Rheims and of Ravenna; and in 999 was made pope, under the name of Sylvester II. "He had learned the mathematics in Spain: his knowledge made him pass for a magician, and gave rise to the fable of his being promoted to the papal chair by a contract which he made with the devil." Dupin, 10 cen. p. 44.; and see Matt. West. 348., and Malmsb. 65.

(2) MS. Cleop. B. 13.

(3) MS. Cleop.

(4) It is the MS. Cleop. which informs us of this curious circumstance. It says, the devil primum enim mulierum illi injecit amorem, quo per familiares earum amplexus mundanis oblectamentis frueretur. Interea propinquus ipsius Ælfheagus, cognomine Calvus, præsulque fidelis, petitionibus multis et spiritualibus monitis eum rogavit ut fieret monachus. Quod ille instinctu præfati fraudatoris renuntians, *maluit sponsare juvenculam*, cujus quotidie blanditiis foveretur, quam nachorum bidenti nis indui panniculis.

deemed to be diabolical suggestions by the relations and biographers of Dunstan. The bishop Ælfheag, his relation, opposed them. Attached by his own taste and habits to the ecclesiastical order, he conjured him to become a monk, a character then much venerated, and, notwithstanding its superstitions, allied to many virtues.

Dunstan was at first insensible to his oratory. He replied to Ælfheag's reasoning, that the man who lived from choice regularly in the world, was of greater excellence than he who, having entered a monastery, could not avoid doing what his order enjoined. The man in the world displays moral freedom and voluntary rectitude; the monk was a creature of compulsion and necessity. Ælfheag opposed the discriminating remark, by arguing on the future punishment, on the importance of extinguishing the fire of passion, and of avoiding its incitements by withdrawing from the world (1). Dunstan still resisted; his relation continued to importune him.

These unfortunate entreaties disturbed the mind of Dunstan. He became agitated by a tumult of contending passions. With the monastic habit were connected all the internal enjoyments of piety to those who valued them, and to those who were less devout it gave a release from the dread of futurity, the reputation and the means of peculiar sanctity, and an impressive empire over the minds of men. But it exacted a renunciation of the charms of mutual affection, of the delights of a growing family, and of those numerous gratifications with which social life in every age abounds. His health was unequal to the conflict: a dangerous disease attacked him (2) before he could decide, and his life was despaired of. He lay without a prospect of recovery, and so senseless that the pulse of life seemed to have ceased: at last it slowly returned, and life renewed in gradual convalescence. But he rose from the bed of sickness with an altered mind. He renounced the flattering world, assumed the monastic habit, and condemned himself to celibacy (3).

But to give new directions to our feelings, by the violence of terror, is to produce changes of thought and action, neither salutary to our moral principles, nor calculable in their consequences. Dunstan, while ardent with passions not dishonourable in youth, was driven forcibly from civil honours, and was afterwards excluded from social life. In obedience to duty, fear, importunity, and some new impressions, but in direct contradiction to his own earlier wishes and prospects, he became a monk. Does the incessant experience of human nature teach us to expect that an amiable,

(1) Osberne, 95.

(2) MS. Cleop. And see Osberne's statement, p. 96.

(3) MS. Cleop. B. 13. Osberne, 96. Mr. Lingard talks of the "*anile credulity*" of Osberne. His epithets are just; but how can he apply them fairly to Osberne, and not extend them to all, or nearly all, the legends of his church which crowd the hundred volumes of the Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists? Is Osberne more anile than almost all the writers of the Catholic Hagiography?

benevolent, or virtuous character, would result from these compulsions? Checked in our dearest, and not immoral propensities, are we never soured by the disappointment, never irritated by the injustice? Driven by violence into the schemes of others, will not individuals of strong feelings become artificial characters? harshly coerced themselves, will they not be indurated towards others? Is not selfishness, with all its power of mischief, most likely to become afterwards the ruling principle? It is, indeed, true, that exalted virtue will rise superior to every temptation to misanthropy and vice. Many are the glorious minds who have withstood the fiery trial; and whoever loves virtue as he ought, will pursue it, unaffected by the follies of man, or the accidents of life. Many, however, fall the victims of their vicissitudes; and the remainder of Dunstan's life will best show how far he was of the number.

The predominant features in Dunstan's character, in addition to strong religious impressions, were energy and ambition. The path of life to which he was forced did not extinguish these tendencies, though it may have added peculiarity and severity. His superior mind and all its acquisitions still remained; but it was necessary that all its peculiarities should thereafter be displayed in the language, garb, and manners of a monk. The aspiring soldier seeks distinction in the field of battle by excelling in courage; the ambitious recluse pursues the phantom in his lonely cell, by extraordinary penances, and a superior superstition. Dunstan had now only this way to fame; and from his future actions we infer that he pursued it with an earnestness which every year became more separated from moral principle, and which at last poisoned his mind and injured his contemporaries, but gratified his passion.

He made with his own hands a subterraneous cave or cell, so unlike any thing of the sort, that his biographer, who had seen it, knew not what to call it (1). It was more like a grave than a human habitation. Cells were commonly dug in an eminence, or raised from the earth: this was the earth itself excavated. It was five feet long and two and a half wide. Its height was the stature of a man standing in the excavation. Its only wall was its door, which covered the whole, and in this was a small aperture to admit light and air (2).

Do not such singularities as these reveal either an inflamed ima-

(1) Non enim invenio qua id appellatione quam proxime vocem; cum non tam humani habitaculi quam formam gerat sepulchri, propriis laboribus fabricavit. Osberne, 96.

(2) Osberne, 96. This author's additional exclamation is worth translating, for its singularity: "Wretch and sinner as I am, I confess that I have seen this holy place of his residence. I have seen the works of his hands. I have touched them with sinful hands, have brought them to my eyes, watered them with my tears, and adored them with bended knees. I remember how often he has heard my petitions in my perils, and therefore I did not refrain my tears; nor if I could have avoided it, would I have left the place." Ibid.

gination in the sincere, or a crafty ambition in the hypocritical? Genuine piety is modest, private, and unaffected. Piety, when assumed as a mask to cover or to assist inordinate ambition, or connected with a disordered fancy, labours to be ostentatious, absurd, extravagant, and frantically superstitious. If Dunstan's mind had been of weak texture, the selection of such a cell might be referred to its imperfections; but in a man of his talents, it is more likely to have been the deliberate choice of his secret policy.

One of the legendary tales which has been used to exalt his fame, shows, if it ever happened, the arts by which he gained it. Dunstan carried to his sepulchral cell a fragment of his former disposition. He exercised himself in working on metals. One night all the neighbourhood was alarmed by the most terrific howlings, which seemed to issue from his abode. In the morning they flocked to him to enquire the cause; he told them that the devil had intruded his head into his window to tempt him while he was heating his work; that he had seized him by the nose with his red hot tongs, and that the noise was Satan's roaring at the pain (1). The simple people are said to have venerated the recluse for this amazing exploit. They forgot to recollect that he might himself have made the clamour, to extort their morning wonder at his fabricated tale.

All ages and ranks united to spread his fame (2), and a substantial benefit soon accrued. A noble lady, Ethelfleda, of royal descent, who was passing a quiet life of widowhood, was attracted into his vicinity, was charmed by his conversation, and religiously loved him. She introduced him to the king, who visited her; and what gave him immediately an importance of the most interesting nature, she left him at her death, which happened soon afterwards, the heir of all her wealth (3). It is stated that he distributed his acquisitions among the poor.

Dunstan's reputation and connection made him known to Edmund, who invited him to court (4). He eagerly obeyed. The prospects of his youth began to shine again; but he beheld them with very different feelings. The world, and all its pleasures, would then have been his harvest; but now the peculiar path of monastic life was that which he had to tread.

At court, though he had many friends, he had also many enemies. He surmounted, however, all opposition; for the chancellor Turketul supported him (5), and the first step of his future aggrandisement was laid by the acquisition of the monastery of Glastonbury, to which he was appointed abbot by the king (6).

(1) Osberne, 96, 97. (2) Ibid. 97.
(3) MS. Cleop. B. 13. Osberne, 97.
(4) Ibid. 99. (5) Ingulf, 38.
(6) MS. Cleop. This says, that the king took him to Glastonbury, et apprehensa ejus dextra causa placationis seu etiam dignitatis osculatus est illum. And see Adelard, Nero. C. 7.

The Benedictine order being now, from its real merits, so popular in Europe, Dunstan introduced it into his monastery (1), and made himself its most active patron.

The new abbot gained so rapidly upon the prejudices of his age, that his youth was no impediment to his aggrandisement. If the year of his birth is truly stated (2), he could only be twenty-two at the accession of Edred, and thirty-one at his demise; yet before Edred's coronation he was made abbot of Glastonbury, and he was afterwards chosen by Edred for his confidential friend and counsellor. To him, this king sent all his choicest treasures, and those amassed by the preceding sovereigns, to be kept in his monastery under his inspection (3).

From the next incident the policy of Dunstan seems to have been foreseeing and refined. The see of Winchester was offered to him by the king; but he refused it, on the pretence of unfitness. The king entreated his mother to invite him to dinner, and to add her persuasions; but Dunstan declared he could not leave the king, and would not, in his days, even accept the metropolitan honour (4).

He went home. In the morning he told the king he had seen a vision, in which Saint Peter struck him, and said, "This is your punishment for your refusal, and a token to you not to decline hereafter the primacy of England." The king saw not the art of his friend, but interpreting the vision to his wishes, declared that it foretold he was to be the archbishop of Canterbury (5).

From an impartial consideration of all these circumstances, will it be injustice to the memory of Dunstan to infer, that, as by his refusal of the dignity of Winchester, by the communication of this vision, and from its result, he acquired the credit of humility, of a divine communication, and a royal prediction of the highest grandeur to which he could attain, he had these objects in previous contemplation? If not, the coincidence and complexion of the incidents are unlike the usual course of accidental things. It need only be added, that Odo, who then governed the see of Canterbury, was very old.

Edred, who had been ailing all his reign, felt an alarming crisis to be approaching, and desired his treasures to be collected, that he might dispose of them before he died. Dunstan went to bring those entrusted to him. Edred expired before he returned; and

(1) MS. Cleop. MS. Nero; and Osberne. Ingulf says, that Dunstan went to Fleury, to be initiated, p. 29. Dunstan's expositio of the rule of Benedict, with his portrait, is in the British Museum. MSS. Bib. Reg. 10. A. 13.

(2) That he was born in the year of Athelstan's accession, is declared by Sax. Chron. 111.; Flor. 348.; Hoveden, 422.; Osb. 90.

(3) MS. Cleop. B. 13.

(4) MS. Cleop. B. 13.; Adelard; Nero, C. 7.

(5) Osberne, 103. Adelard.

the monk was either credulous or bold enough to assert, and the Anglo-Saxons were weak enough to believe, that on the road an ethereal voice had in thunder announced to him the royal demise (1).

The immature age of Edwin was tempting to a man of ambitious politics A minor's reign is a favourable opportunity, which has never been neglected by those who covet power. The royal temper once subdued into obedience to any one, the government of England would be in that person's hands. We cannot penetrate into the motives of Dunstan's heart; but if the ordinary spirit of the aspiring statesman prevailed in his breast above the purer objects of the saint, it is not improbable that projects of this sort had impressed his imagination, or why should he have attempted to coerce the king, so early as the day of his coronation?

955.

On this day, Edwin, after the ceremony, quitted the festive table at which the chief nobles and clergy were regaling (2), and retired to his apartments. Odo, who saw that the company were displeased, ordered some persons to go and bring back the king to partake of their conviviality (3). The persons addressed excused themselves; but at last they chose two who were known to be the most intrepid—Dunstan, and his relation Cynesius, a bishop—who were to bring back the king, either willingly or otherwise, to his deserted seat (4).

Dunstan and his friend, careless of the consequences, penetrated to the king's private apartments. He found him in company with Ethelgiva, or Elgiva, his wife; but who being within the prohibited degrees of affinity, is ranked, by the monastic writers, as his mistress (5). The mother of the lady was

(1) MS. Cleop.; Adelard; Nero.

(2) The earliest account of this incident is first entitled to notice; it is in the life of Dunstan, Cleop. B. 13. "Post regale sacræ institutionis unguentum repente prosiluit lascivus linquens *læta convivia*." Malmsbury wishes to intimate that affairs of business were debating when the king retired, p. 55. But the other authorities agree in stating, that they were at table. Matt. West. says, Læta relinquit convivia, p. 369. Osberne has jam pransus; and Wallingford declares that they were at their cups, quibus Angli nimis sunt assueti, p. 542.

(3) Et cum vidisset summus pontificum Odo regis petulantiam maxime in consecrationis suæ die omni per gyrum considenti senatui displicere, ait coepiscopis suis et cæteris principibus, "Eant quæso quilibet ex vobis ad reducendum regem quo sit, ut conducet in hoc regali convivio suorum satellitum jocundus concessor." MSS. Cleop.

(4) Ad extremum vero elegerunt ex omnibus duos quos animo constantissimos noverant, Dunstanum scilicet abbatum, et Cynesium episcopum ejus consanguineum, et omnium jussui obtemperantes, regem volentem vel nolentem reducerent ad relictam sedem. MSS. Cleop. On contrasting this account with the chroniclers, some variations of the circumstances occur, which is a very common accident to a popular story, narrated in a distant age. It seems safest to prefer the earliest account, when it carries the marks of internal probability.

(5) Malmsbury, 55.; Hist. Rames. 300.; and Wallingford, 543.; speak of her as married to Edwin, but as his relation. A charter in the Hist. Abbend. MSS. Claud.

also present (1). That in a visit to the beloved of his heart, the king should have laid aside the pomp of majesty, or have caressed her, are circumstances so natural, that we cannot but wonder at the temper which so emphatically described, that the royal crown was on the ground (2), or that the king was toying with her when Dunstan entered. He exhorted the king not to disdain to be present among his nobles at the festivities of the day (3).

Whether Edwin disliked the drunkenness of an Anglo-Saxon festival, or whether he preferred the society of his Elgiva, it must be admitted that his retirement was indecorous according to the customs of the age. That Dunstan, as the ambassador of the nobles, should solicit the king's return, was not improper, though it seems rather a forward and disrespectful action to have forced himself into his private apartments. But with the delivery of their message, his commission must have terminated; and, on the king's refusal, it was his duty to have retired. As an ecclesiastic, he should not have compelled him to a scene of inebriety; as a subject, it was treasonable to offer violence to his prince.

But Dunstan chose to forget both Edwin's rights as a man, and his dignity as a sovereign. As if he had embraced the opportunity of breaking the royal spirit of independence, by a violent insult, he poured out his invectives against the ladies; and because the king would not leave his seat, he pulled him from it; he forced the diadem on his head, and indecently dragged him to the riotous hall (4). To the most private individual this insolence would have

c. ix. states the same fact. "Testes autem fuerunt hujus commutationis Ælfgiva *regis uxor* et Æthelgifa mater ejus," p. 112. Had the charter been even forged, the monks would have taken care that the names appended were correct. The author of the MSS. Cleop. obviously intimates the marriage, though he affixes a doubt whether the wife was the mother or the daughter. His words are, "quo sese vel etiam natam suam sub *conjugali titulo* illi innectendo sociaret." MS. The sentence on the divorce of Edwin in the MS. Chronicle, quoted in p. 160. note 3., implies also the fact of the marriage. It seems to me to be sufficiently clear, that when the monkish annalists called the lady his mistress, they do not mean to deny her actual, but her legitimate marriage. Deeming the marriage unlawful from their relationship, they considered her only as his mistress.

(1) MSS. Cleop. B. 13.; Matt. West. 369.; and Osberne, 105., state this important fact. Their indecent additions of Edwin's behaviour to both mother and daughter in each other's presence are incredible, and, if true, could not at all contribute to the justification of Dunstan's and Odo's conduct. Nor can I believe, with Mr. Lingard, that "moderate readers will feel inclined to applaud the promptitude with which he taught his pupil to respect the laws of decorum," by invading his sovereign's privacy and insulting Elgiva.

(2) By this contemporary author of the MS. Cleop., the crown is thus described: Quæ miro metallo auri vel argenti gemmarumque vario nitore conserta splendebat.

(3) Et ne spernas optimatum tuorum lætis interesse conviviis. MSS. Cleop.

(4) At Dunstanus primum increpitans mulierum ineptias, manu sua dum nollet exsurgere, extraxit eum de mœchali genearum occubitu, impositoque diademate, duxit eum secum licet vi a mulieribus raptum ad regale consortium. MS. Cleop.; Malmsbury, 55.; Osberne, 105.; Wallingford, 542.; and Matt. West. 370.; state the violence strongly.

been unauthorised. To his sovereign, just consecrated, it was unpardonable. Elgiva reproached the monk for intruding so daringly on the king's retirement (1); and Dunstan, after the festival, thought proper to return to his abbey.

Dunstan had acted impetuously, but not with judgment. The king was not a sickly Edred. He displayed a spirit of independence and generous feeling, on which Dunstan had not calculated. Wounded in every sentiment of becoming pride and kingly honour, Edwin was alive only to his resentment. He deprived Dunstan of his honours and wealth, and condemned him to banishment.

Dunstan fled before the increasing storm; and so severe was the royal indignation, that the monk was scarcely three miles from the shore, on his voyage to Flanders, when messengers reached it, who, it was said, would have deprived him of sight, if he had been found in the country (2).

It was unfortunate for Edwin, that he suffered his angry passions to be his counsellors. When Dunstan presumed to dictate insultingly to his sovereign, he was not the mere abbot of a distant monastery; he was not an insulated individual, whom the arm of justice could safely reach; he was enshrined in the prejudices of the people; he had the friendship of Turketul, the venerable chancellor, whose fame had become more sacred by his retreat to Croyland; and he was supported by Odo, the primate of England. It was also probable, that most of the clergy and nobles, who had feasted on the coronation, conceived themselves bound to protect him, as his punishment arose from executing, however offensively, their commission.

The detail of the conspiracy against Edwin is not stated, but some of the operations of Odo, whose fierce temper made him among the most prominent in avenging his friend, have been noticed. He divorced the king from his wife, on the plea of their kinship (3). So powerful was his party, that soldiers were sent to the palace to seize the queen: she was taken violently from it; her face was branded with red hot iron, and she was banished to Ireland (4). What duty of an archbishop could dictate this conduct?

(1) MSS. Cleop. This author, and Adelard, Nero, C. 7., politely attach to the lady's name such epithets, as impudens virago, Jezebel, etc. Osberne uses the delicate phrase of nefandæ meretricis, and sagaciously informs us, that the devil was her tutor, "Mulieris animum instigat Diabolus," p. 105.

(2) MS. Cleop. Edwin drove the Benedictine monks, introduced by Dunstan, from the two monasteries of Glastonbury and Abingdon. The loose language of Osberne implies, that many monasteries were put down; but Wharton, on the authority of John of Tinmouth and Wolstan, judiciously reduces the many to these two.

(3) The MS. Saxon Chronicle, Tib. B. 4., has a paragraph on Edwin's divorce, which is not in the printed one: "958, on thyssum geare Oda arcebiscor totwæmde Eadwi cyning and Ælgyfe for thæm the hi wæron to gesybbe."

(4) Missis militibus, a curia regis in qua mansitabat, violenter adduxit et eam in facie deturpatam ac candenti ferro denotatam perpetua in Hiberniam exilii relegatione detrusit. Osberne, 84.

It is not denied by the old chroniclers, that Odo was active in those measures; why else is the passage added immediately after the murder, stating his being the inflexible enemy of all vice? Elgiva found no charms in her exile, and, nature healing her wounds, she returned to Gloucester in all her beauty (1). She was pursued and seized, and the nerves and muscles of her legs were divided, that she might wander from the vengeance of her enemies no more (2)! But extreme cruelty cannot long retain its victim. Her sufferings at last terminated. Death released her from her murderers, whom no beauty could interest, no sympathy assuage.

To reflect that men have connected piety with these horrors; and that their authors or abettors perpetrated them under his sacred name, whose creation displays goodness ever flowing, and whose religion enjoins philanthropy the most benign, is to feel human nature in all its depravity and madness. They may have been imitated. Marats and Robespierres may have even exceeded them in atrocity; but the agents of cruelty, under whatever garb, whatever system, or whatever pretexts, are the enemies of mankind, and ought not to be remembered, unless to be abhorred.

The remainder of Edwin's reign is not distinctly narrated. But the main results are clear. The Mercians and Northumbrians rebelled against him, drove him beyond the Thames, and appointed Edgar, his brother, a boy but thirteen years of age, to govern them in his stead. Dunstan was immediately afterwards recalled with honour.

It is probable that the popularity of the Benedictine reformation, of which Dunstan had made himself both the champion and the martyr, was the great engine by which Edwin was oppressed. At length the kingdom was divided between him and Edgar: the Thames was made the bounding line. Edwin retained only the southern provinces of England, and but for a short interval. Three years after the rebellion of his subjects, his death occurred. One author even states, that he was killed in Gloucestershire (3). If from

(1) Quæ tamen cum nonnullum temporis intervallum, jam obducta in cicatricem corporis forma, sed adhuc hiante impudicæ mentis deformitate, relicta Hibernia, Angliam rediit et Glocestram cæcati cordis obscuritate imbuta pervenit. Osberne, 84.

(2) Ubi ab hominibus *servis Dei* comprehensa, et ne meretricio more ulterius vaga discurreret, subnervata, post dies aliquot mala morte præsenti vitæ sublata est. Osberne, 84.

(3) I derive the knowledge of this new and probable fact from the express assertion of an old MS. Chronicle in the Cotton Library, the author of which was no friend to the king. Yet he says, Rex West-Saxonum Edwinus, in pago Gloucestrensi interfectus fuit. Nero, A. 6. p. 9. I never met with any other authority which so explicitly affirmed the fact. But yet the expressions of the MS. Cleop. B. 13. rather countenance it. This says, "Interea germanus ejusdem Eadgari qui justa Dei sui judicia deviando dereliquit novissimum flatum *misera morte* exspiravit." Osberne comes near this:—"Edwyo, inquam, rege regno pro suis criminibus *eliminato et misera morte* damnato," p. 84. The Hist. Rames. implies a violent death: "Fatali sorte sublato," p. 393.

the want of fuller evidence we hesitate at believing this, we must, at least, admit the affecting account, that his spirit was so wounded by his persecutions, that unable to endure unmerited odium, deprivation of power, a brother's rebellion, and the murder of his beloved wife, he sunk pining into death, before he had reached the full age of manhood (1).

959. The monks, with indefinite phrase, declaim against Edwin as an unworthy voluptuary. But they have judged him not impartially as between man and man, but with a professional antipathy from his opposition to Dunstan. We know too little of his actions to decide with certainty on his real character; but it is just to him to remark, that some annalists of high authority, and apparently less prejudiced, state that he was an amiable prince, whose conduct gave the promise of an honourable reign (2).

His youth was the source of his calamities; a king of sixteen was incompetent to wage a war of policy and popularity with the hoary advocates of a new system, whose fanaticism envenomed their hostility; whose affiliation and credit multiplied their power. The opinions of a calumniated and untried youth had no weight with the nation, in opposition to all that they revered and obeyed. Had he complied a while with the imperious necessity, and waited till, by manly prudence, he had acquired character, convinced the people of his good qualities, enforced habits of respect, and created friends capable of defending him, his ambitious dictators would have been baffled and humiliated.

His catastrophe was a misfortune both to England and Europe. It made the enmity of the ecclesiastical power an object of terror. It exhibited a precedent of a king insulted, injured, persecuted, and dethroned by the agency or effects of sacerdotal enmity; and as his successor obeyed the dictates or favoured the plans of the monastic leaders, it must have given a consequence to their future influence, which occasionally subjected even courts to their control.

(1) Pro dolore tanti infortunii usque ad mortem infirmatus. Ingulf. 41. Qua percussus injuria vivendi finem fecit. Malmsb. 55.

(2) The simple epithet of the ancient Ethelwerd is peculiarly forcible:—"Tenuit namque quadrennio per regnum *amandus*," p. 849. Huntingdon had also spirit enough to declare that Edwin, "*Non illaudabiliter* regni infulam tenuit," p. 356. He adds, that as, "in principio regnum ejus decentissime floreret, prospera et lætabunda exordia mors immatura perrupit." Ibid. To the same purport, and with an imitation of phrase, Oxenedes says, "Cum in principio regni sui omnia prospera et lætabunda florerent exordia." MSS. Cotton Lib. Nero, D. 2. p. 215.—Edwin, from his extreme beauty, obtained the name Πανκαλον, or All Fair. Ethelw. 849.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Edgar.

Edgar, at the age of sixteen, succeeded to all the Anglo-Saxon dominion. He has been much extolled, but he was rather the king of a prosperous nation in a fortunate era, than a great prince himself. His actions display a character ambiguous and mixed. His policy sometimes breathes a liberal and enlarged spirit. At other periods he was mean, arrogant, and vicious; and the hyperboles of praise, by which monastic gratitude has emblazoned him, are as questionable as to their truth, as they are repugnant to common sense and good taste (1). On the whole, if we recollect what he inherited, we must say that it was the fortuitous chronology of his existence, rather than his own bravery and wisdom, which has adorned his name with a celebrity, that in the pages of fanaticism even obscures, by its excess, those illustrious characters from whose exertions his empire had arisen (2).

Obtruded unjustly upon a brother's throne by vindictive partisans, his reign became their reign rather than his own: and the great object of the policy of the new government was to convert the clergy into monks, and to fill the nation with Benedictine institutions! The patrons of the measure may have intended the moral improvement of the country, and it may have raised a superior description of ecclesiastics in the nation; but their means were violent, and their conduct unjust to the parochial clergy.

Dunstan was made bishop of Worcester, and afterwards of London (3). His acquisition of metropolitan honours was at first checked. Odo had died before Edwin (4); and this indignant king appointed another bishop to succeed him. But the policy of the Roman pontiffs had established a custom, that all metropolitans should visit Rome to receive there the pallium, the little ornament on their shoulders, which gave and announced their dignity. In crossing the Alps the archbishop nominated by Edwin perished in the

(1) For instance: Eo namque regnante sol videbatur esse serenior, maris unda pacatior, terra fœcundior, et totius regni facies abundantior, decore venustior. Ethelr. Abb. Riev. 359.

(2) Malmsbury is not content with saying once, that nullus enim unquam regum Anglorum potuit certare laudibus Edgari, 3 Gale, 319.; but in another place he deliberately affirms, that nullum nec ejus nec superioris ætatis regem in Anglia recto et æquilibri judicio Edgaro comparandum. De Gest. Reg. 60. Was not Alfred, in just and equal judgment, to be compared with Edgar?

(3) MS. Cleop. B. 13. Osb. 108. He seems to have held both sees at the same time.

(4) Odo died 958. Matt. West. 369. Flor. 355.

snow (1). Another was appointed in his stead. But Edgar now reigned, and it was discovered that the new dignitary was a man of mild, modest, humble, and benign temper (2). The expected consequence occurred: Byrhtelm was compelled to abdicate his promotion, and to retire to his former see. Dunstan was appointed the primate of the Anglo-Saxons (3), and, in 960, he hastened to Rome (4). He received the completing honour from the hands of the ambitious and unprincipled John the Twelfth (5).

960. The coadjutors of Dunstan, in effecting his ecclesiastical reformation, were Oswald and Ethelwold. Oswald, a Dane by birth, and a kinsman of Odo, who had educated him, had received the habit at Fleury (6). Dunstan represented him to the king as a meek and humble monk, well worthy of the bishopric of Worcester (7). The king, though he had allowed meekness and humility to degrade a metropolitan, pliantly admitted them to be the proper virtues of a bishop, and gave to Oswald the honour requested. Oswald was, however, not more attached to the gentle virtues than Dunstan, or at least did not allow them to interrupt the prosecution of his patron's plans.

Three years afterwards, Dunstan raised to the see of Winchester Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, who had been bred up by himself (8); Ethelwold, who adopted the feelings of Dunstan and enforced his plans, was decided and impetuous in prosecuting the monastic reformation of the clergy. He may have conscientiously believed this to have been his duty; but it was carried into effect with a tyrannical severity; and if a renovation of ecclesiastical piety was its object, its success in this point was of small duration; for within a century after this Benedictine reformation, the manners of the clergy are represented as unfavourably as at its commencement. The more pleasing part of Ethelwold's character was his attention to the literary education of the youth at Winchester (9). These three the king made his counsellors and friends.

(1) MSS. Cleop. B. 13. So Matt. West. 369. Flor. 355.

(2) MSS. Cleop. So Matt. West. 371.; who seems often to copy this author.

(3) Matt. West. 369. Flor. 355. Such was his cupidity of power, that he held also the see of Rochester. Osb. 110.

(4) Matt. West. 370. Flor. 356.

(5) That John XII. ruled at this period, see Dupin, tenth century, p 10.

(6) Hist. Rames. 391. (7) Flor. Wig. 356.

(8) Flor. 357. So Adelard says, "Beato igitur Athelwoldo a se educato." MS. Nero, c. 7. p. 75. Edgar made Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold his counsellors and friends. See Edgar's charter, Dugdale, 140.

(9) Woolstan says of him, "It was always delightful to him to teach children and youth, and to construe Latin books to them in English, and explain to them the rules of grammar and Latin versification, and to exhort them to better things by his pleasant conversations. Hence many of his disciples became priests, abbots, bishops, and even archbishops." Wolst. Vit. Ethelwold.

The schemes of Dunstan to perpetuate his power and popularity cannot at this distant period be detailed, but the nature of them may be conjectured by one faculty which he claimed, and which has been transmitted to us from his own authority. The best part of Dunstan's character was his taste for knowledge and the civilizing arts. The questionable features are those of his politics, and real or pretended enthusiasm. The Catholic hierarchy may accredit his supernatural gifts, but our sober reason cannot read but with surprise, that he claimed the power of conversing with the spiritual world. "I can relate one thing from himself," says his biographer, "that though he lived confined by a veil of flesh, yet, whether awake or asleep, he was always abiding with the powers above (1)." Hence he learned many heavenly songs. A particular instance is added of a vision, which announces such extraordinary pretensions in Dunstan, that if it had not come from his friend and contemporary, we might disbelieve the possibility that such presumption could have either occurred or been countenanced.

In this vision, he declared he saw his own mother married to the venerated Saviour of the Christian world, with every nuptial pomp (2). Amid the singing, a heavenly youth asked Dunstan, why he did not join in the rejoicings of so great a marriage for his mother; and, on his mentioning his ignorance, taught him a song (3).

Dunstan promulgated this by summoning a monk to attend him on his pretended waking, who, from his dictation, committed the song to writing. All the monks, subject to him, were commanded in the morning to learn and to sing it; while Dunstan shouted his protestations of the truth of the vision (4).

To the credulous, the assertion of Dunstan was sufficient evidence of this impious story. The more investigating were silenced by attempts to allegorise it. The mother so married, was Dunstan's church in its new reformation (5). Thus, whether it was believed literally, or interpreted allegorically, Dunstan derived from it the benefit he wished. It would seem that many thought him mad; but as his madness was systematical, persevering, and popular, it was more generally believed to be prophetic intuition (6).

(1) Unum autem *ex ipso* me posse referre profiteor, quod quamvis hic carneo septus velamine deguisset in imis, mente tamen, sive vigilaret, sive somno detentus quiescerat, semper manebat in superis. MS. Cleop. B. 13. p. 81.

(2) MS. Cleop.; and see Osberne, 114.; and Eadmer Vit. Dunst. 217.

(3) MSS. Cleop.

(4) Sed continuo jussit eam litterarum in memoria priusque oblivioni daretur conscribere et conscriptam cuidam monacho tam recentem discere, etc. etc. MSS. Cleop.

(5) MSS. Cleop.

(6) Ibid.

The first object of Dunstan was to expel the relaxed ecclesiastics from the monasteries to diffuse every where the Benedictine rule, and to give them the predominance in the estimation of the nation.

But Edgar did not leave his Benedictine friends to attack the existing clergy by their own influence and means of aggression. He degraded majesty so far as to become himself the persecuting tool of Dunstan. He himself assumed the sword against a portion of his subjects (1), who were respectable from their profession, and who could have no protection, but in the popular favour, or in his justice.

969. At a public synod, convened to propagate the Benedictine revolution, Edgar delivered a speech (2) for the party he espoused. In consequence of which, the clergy experienced a general persecution, and the monks were every where diffused with honour (3). Edgar took such pride in his Benedictine scheme, that, in 964, he boasted of having made forty-seven monasteries, and declared his intentions to increase them to fifty (4).

Edgar talks proudly, in one of its charters, that he had subdued all the islands of the ocean, with their ferocious kings, as far as Norway, and the greatest part of Ireland, with its most noble city, Dublin (5). No wars, however, have been particularised to have been waged by him but his ecclesiastical ones, except an invasion of Wales (6).

To complete the subjugation of Northumbria, he convoked the barons, and divided the province into two counties. The Tees was the river of separation. The districts beyond its southern bank to the Humber were intrusted to Oslach. From the northern bank to Mereforth, in the maritime part of Deira, the earl Eadulf governed (7).

973. It is stated, that with a great fleet Edgar sailed to Chester on the Dee, and that eight kings, Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumbria, Macchus of Anglesey and

(1) In his charter to the monastery at Hyde, in the year 966, he says, "Vitiorum cuneos canonicorum e diversis nostri regiminis cænobiis Christi vicarius eliminavi." Spelman Concil. 438. In the 16th article the monks are engaged to defend him from devils, and in the seventeenth he contracts to defend them from men. Ib. 440.

(2) See it in Ethelred, p. 360.

(3) See Spelman's Concilia, 479.; Ingulf, 45.; Osberne, 111.; Eadmer, 219.; Hoveden, 425.; Matt. West. 372. 374.; and Hist. Rames. 393, 394. 400.

(4) See Dugdale, Monast. i. p. 140.

(5) Mihi autem concessit propitia divinitas cum Anglorum imperio omnia regna insularum oceani cum suis ferocissimis regibus usque Norregiam, maximamque partem Hiberniæ cum sua nobilissima civitate Dublinia Anglorum regno subjugare. 1 Dugdale, 140.

(6) Caradoc mentions this in 905, and says, it produced the Welsh tribute of 300 wolves, p. 56.

(7) Wallingford, 544.

the Isles (1), three kings of Wales, and two others (2), repaired thither at his command to do him homage. He was not satisfied with this confession of his power; his puerile vanity demanded a more painful sacrifice; he ascended a large vessel with his nobles and officers; and he stationed himself at the helm, while the eight kings, who had come to do him honour, were compelled to take the seats of the watermen, and to row him down the Dee (3). Such actions are not the evidences of true greatness, and never confer a lasting dignity.

Edgar was as tyrannical in the indulgence of his other passions: he had sent one of his earls, named Athelwold, on a visit to Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, to examine if the beauty of his daughter, Elfrida, was as great as fame reported. Athelwold saw her, and falsified his trust. He reported her unfavourably to the king, then courted her for himself, and married her.

Courtiers are busy to supplant, and Edgar soon heard the truth. He dissembled his anger, and announced to Athelwold his intention to see the lady. Alarmed at his danger, the nobleman entreated his wife to deform herself; but Elfrida was weary of domestic privacy, and, on the day of the royal visit, she added every charm of art to give brilliancy to her beauty. She excited Edgar's passions. He caused Athelwold to be assassinated in a wood, and then married Elfrida (4).

At another time he had the brutality to violate a lady of noble birth, who used a nun's veil as an expected, but an unavailing protection (5).

(1) Matt. West. 375. so entitles him, "Macone rege Monæ et plurimarum insularum." Malmsbury calls him Archipirata, p. 56. In 971, he witnessed one of Edgar's charters, with that epithet added to his signature. Spelman, 486. Who this Macchus was we learn from the Welsh Chronicle often already quoted. This says, 969, "y diffeithwyt Penn Mon y gan y Paganyeit a Mact' vab Harald:"—"The promontory of Anglesey was ravaged by the pagans under Mactus *the son of Harald.*" In 970, he made it tributary. MS. Cleop. B. 5. On referring to Adam Bremensis, p. 25., we find two lines which express that Harald Blaatand, king of Denmark, sent his son Hiring to England, who having conquered the island, was betrayed in Northumbria. So the Icelandic fragment in Langbeck, ii. p. 148. I have already, in p. 230., stated from Snorre the death of Eric, son of Harald Harfragre, whom Langbeck wishes to make this Hiring or Hringr son of the Danish king. I think Snorre is correct, and that Mactus, the son of Harald, was the son of Harald Blaatand the Dane; not of Harfragre the Norwegian. In 946, there was another Maccus, son of Eric. See before, p. 145. The Danish Maccus did homage to Edgar. Wallingford spells his name Oriccus, p. 545., which comes nearer to Hiring or Hringr.

(2) Matt. West. styles these, Jacobo rege Galwalliæ et Jukil Westmariæ, p. 375.

(3) Malmsb. 56. Mailros, 150. Hoveden, 426. Sim. Dun. 159. Al. Bev. 112. Flor. 359. Nothing can more strongly display Edgar's vanity than the pompous and boastful titles which he assumes in his charters. They sometimes run to the length of fifteen or eighteen lines. How different from Alfred's Ego occidentalium Saxonum Rex!

(4) Malmsb. 59. Bromton gives the incident more in detail, 865, 866.

(5) Malmsb. 60. This was in his first wife's time. Eadmer, Vit. Dunst. 219.

A third incident of his contempt for the welfare of others, when his own gratification was in question, has been recorded. Visiting at Andover, he commanded a nobleman to bring him his daughter, whose person had been praised to him; but the mother of the young lady sent her attendant to personate her daughter (1). For these actions Dunstan imposed only trifling penances on Edgar (2).

Yet amid these defects, some traits of an enlarged and liberal policy appear, which reflect credit on Edgar or his ministers. The most important of these was his patronage of foreigners and trade. People from Saxony, Flanders, and Denmark, frequently came to him (3); whom he received so well as to excite a censure from one monkish chronicler, that he loved them too much (4), and from another, that they injured his people by the vices they imported (5). He showed his care of trade by his exemplary punishment of the people of Thanet, who had seized and plundered some merchants coming from York (6). His commuting the tribute from Wales into three hundred wolves' heads (7), in order to extirpate these animals from the country, was a scheme of sound wisdom and generous policy. His reformation of his coin was also intelligent. It had become so diminished in weight, by the fraud of clipping, that the actual value was very inferior to the nominal; he therefore had new coins made all over England (8).

(1) Malmsb. 60. This author's expressions, nam cæteris infamias—magis resperserunt cantilenæ, p. 56., imply that the Anglo-Saxon poets made Edgar's dissolute conduct the subject of their poetry.

(2) As occasional fasting, and not to wear his crown for seven years. Malmsb. 60. Osb. 111. One part of the penance was artfully chosen to promote the monk's purposes. The king was to lavish his treasures upon a nunnery, to expel the clergy with new vigour, and to introduce monks. Osb.

(3) Malmsb. 56. The Welsh Chronicle, MS. Cleop. B. 5. says, "Canys canneat agavas gwyr Denmarc ar drigaw yn yr ynys honn tra vynnynt y gan Edgar vrenhin Lloegyr :"—"Because to the men of Denmark leave was granted by Edgar, king of England, on their request, to dwell in this island."

(4) Extraneos huc adductos plus æquo diligens. Hunt. 356.

(5) Malmsbury says, "A Saxonibus animorum inconditam ferocitatem, a Flandritis corporum enervem mollitiem, a Danis potationem discerent. Homines ante hæc in talibus integra et naturali simplicitate sua defensare, aliena non mirari," p. 56. The Welsh Chronicle adds to the last passage quoted another, which states, that the Danes became so numerous, that they were in every city and town in England; that they gave themselves up to such drinking and idolatry, that they could not be governed; and that this occasioned nails to be put in their cups to mark the quantity they were to drink. MS. Cleop. B. 5. Malmsbury says of Dunstan, that he caused silver or gold nails to be put into the drinking vessels, to prevent drunkenness and quarrels, p. 56.

(6) Matt. West. 374.

(7) Malmsbury says, the tribute ceased on the fourth year, for want of wolves, p. 59.

(8) Matt. West. 375. Dunstan may have influenced him in this law; for it is stated in his life, that finding three coiners of false money not punished on the appointed day, because it was Whitsunday, he ordered the day not to be regarded;

He is said to have stationed three fleets of 1200 ships each on the east, west, and south coasts of the island for the defence of the kingdom (1). This, however, looks more like idle parade than public utility; for England was threatened with no foreign hostility in his reign, and one third of the number would have guarded the coast. There was more true glory obtained by his practice every spring and winter, of riding through his provinces, to examine the conduct of the powerful, to protect the weak, and to punish every violation of law (2). This attention to the wants and relief of his people merits our applause; and whether Dunstan's solicitude for popularity (3), or the king's noble feelings occasioned the custom, it ought not to be mentioned without high praise. His vigilant police freed the kingdom from robbers (4).

Edgar was generous to his friends. To Kenneth of Scotland, who visited him, he not only gave the county of Louth, but one hundred ounces of pure gold, many silken ornaments and rings, with precious stones (5).

The person of Edgar was small and thin; and Kenneth one day remarked that it was wonderful that so many provinces should obey a man so insignificant. These words were carried to the king. He led Kenneth apart into a wood, and bade him take one of two swords which he produced. "Our arms shall decide which ought to obey the other; for it will be base to have asserted that at a feast which you cannot support with your sword." Kenneth, confused, recollected his hasty remark, and apologised for it as a joke (6). There is such an energy and a magnanimity in this incident, that if Edgar had attained his power at a later age, or had possessed better counsellors, he might have displayed a nobler character. Abstracted from his vices, he may be ranked in the superior order of our Saxon sovereigns. 975.

Edgar was twice married. By his first wife, Elfleda the Fair, daughter of Ordmer, he had Edward, his successor, and a daughter, who became a nun. Elfrida, whom he had made the widow of

"for," said he, "coiners are thieves, and I know of no thieves more harmful. They disturb the country, and injure both rich and poor." Eadmer, p. 216.

(1) Mailros, 150. Matt. West. makes 4800 ships, by adding a northern fleet. Perhaps either number is an exaggeration. Malmsbury says, that every Easter they sailed round the island, p. 59.

(2) Malmsb. 59. Mailros, 150. Matt. West. 375.

(3) After Dunstan had become a metropolitan, he hastened to travel through every city in the kingdom, to preach to it; and such was his acuteness and eloquence, says his biographer, that nothing could be wiser, or more pleasant. Osberne, 110.

(4) Malmsb. 59.

(5) Matt. West. says, Louth was given on condition that Kenneth should come every year to Edgar's principal feasts. The king gave him several houses for his entertainment during his journey.

(6) Malmsb. 59.

Athelwold (1), that had deceived him, bore him two sons; Edmund, who died before him; and Ethelred, who also obtained the crown.

Edgar's reign has been celebrated as the most glorious of all the Anglo-Saxon kings. No other sovereign, indeed, enjoyed his prosperity with such personal pomp; yet no other sovereign was more degraded in his posterity. With his short life, for he died at thirty-two, the gaudy pageantry ceased; and all the dominion in which he had so ostentatiously exulted, vanished from his children's grasp. His eldest son perished by the scheme of his preferred Elfrida; his youngest reigned only to show, that one weak reign is sufficient to ruin even a brave and great people.

It is an instance of the mutability of human greatness, that although Edgar made kings his watermen, yet the son of his beloved wife bought his kingdom five times from Danish rovers; the favourites became traitors, and he surrendered his throne to a foreign invader. Of Edgar's grandsons one perished violently soon after his accession. The other was the last of his race who ruled the Anglo-Saxon nation (2).

CHAPTER VII.

Edward the Martyr, or Edward the Second of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

Dunstan had used the power of Edgar to plant England with the new monks, and to exclude from their seats the ancient clergy; but he had not reconciled all the nation to the severity of the measure or to his own administration; for on Edgar's death an attempt was made to humble his power, and to restore the clergy. As Edward appeared subservient to the views of Dunstan, his accession was disputed. Some chose him, and others Ethelred (3). But Edward had been named by his father as successor, and Dunstan took the shortest road to his object. He and Oswald assembled their ecclesiastical friends and some duces, and crowned

(1) The Saxon Chron. MS. Tib. B. 4., dates Edgar's marriage with Elfrida in 965. Hearne places our illustrious Tom Thumb in this reign as an actual living character. He says, in his preface to Benedictus Abbas, "The History of Tom Thumb was certainly founded on some authentic history, as being nothing else, originally, but a description of *King Edgar's* dwarf."

(2) That Edgar was considered by the Anglo-Saxons as the greatest of their kings in power and dominion, we find from Elfric, who was nearly his contemporary. He calls Edgar, "of all the kings of the English nation, the most powerful. And it was the Divine will that his enemies, both kings and earls, who came to him desiring peace, should, without any battle, be subjected to him to do what he willed. Hence he was honoured over a wide extent of land." Wanl. 39.

(3) Flor. Wig. 361. Mailros, 151.

Edward (1). Edward, like all the kings since Athelstan, was very young at his accession.

The quarrel between the two systems grew more vehement. The governor of Mercia turned out all the monks (2). The governor of East Anglia supported them (3). Many tumults ensued (4). The clergy got hold of the monastic possessions, which they distributed to the governors in return for their protection (5).

Elfrida opposed Dunstan. She joined the party of the clergy, and endeavoured to bias the minds of the great in favour of her son Ethelred.

Though Dunstan had procured Edward's coronation, he could not recover the alienated minds of the nobility. He attempted to govern them by the influence of superstition. He had forcibly expelled the clergy who had been reinstated; but on Edgar's death they endeavoured to restore themselves: and Elfere, the governor of Mercia, pulled down all the monasteries which had been built in that province. To appease these discontents, a synod was convened at Winchester. While the opinions were forming, and the assembly expected his answer to a peculiar appeal which had been made to him, the crucifix in the wall became vocal. It commanded the former proceedings: it forbad a change (6). "What wish ye more?" exclaimed Dunstan, immediately; "the divine voice determines the affair (7)."

This artifice, for, unless we believe it to have been a miracle, no other name can be given to it, did not fully succeed. It was followed by another event, which, taken in conjunction with the preceding, leads the impartial mind to the strongest suspicion of its having been a scheme of the most questionable character. The

(1) Hist. Rames. 413. Mailros, 151. Eadmer, Vit. D. 220.

(2) Ingulf, 54. Malmsb. 61. (3) Hist. Rames. 412.

(4) Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est. Ingulf, 54.

(5) Ingulf, 54. One author says, he cannot express the sufferings of the monks. Hist. Rames. 412.

(6) Malmsbury, p. 61. Gervase gives the words, "absit ut hoc fiat, absit ut hoc fiat," 1647. So Osberne, p. 112.

(7) We have this speech of Dunstan in Eadmer's life of him, p. 219. Wh. Ang. Sax. He and Osberne place it under Edgar's reign, which is less probable than the chronology of the others, because Edgar's attachment to Dunstan and power made such aids useless. Whatever affects the character of Dunstan, Dr. Lingard wishes to believe a mere popular tale. If Dunstan's enemies had written his life, Dr. Lingard's incredulity would be a fair exertion of cautious though arbitrary pyrrhonism. But all that we know of Dunstan comes from his friends and panegyrists. It is our moral sympathies that have improved, not our historical evidence which has diminished. Yet it is remarkable that the Papal church, in this enlightened day, should cling so tenaciously to such mixed characters as Dunstan and Becket, in opposition both to reason and impartial history. It would act more wisely if it discerned and abandoned the untenable and revolting, and suffered its legends to sink quietly into oblivion. They are unnecessary to it as a religion, and are not likely to assist its political power in an age when the current of the human mind runs so strongly against all palpable credulity.

candid historian will always regret when the nature of the incidents compels him to infer bad motives. But some facts justify the imputation; and the following events, unless extreme charity can believe them to have been accidental, or credulity can suppose them to have been miraculous, announce premeditated plans which deserve the harshest epithets. A council of the nobles was summoned at Calne. The king was absent, on account of his age. While the senators of England were conversing violently on the question then agitated, and were reproaching Dunstan, he gave a short reply, which ended with these remarkable words: "I confess that I am unwilling that you should conquer. I commit the cause of the church to the decision of Christ."

As these words, which lead the mind to the most unfavourable inferences, were uttered, the floor and its beams and rafters gave way, and precipitated the company with the ruins to the earth below. The seat of Dunstan only was unmoved. Many of the nobles were killed upon the spot; the others were grievously hurt by wounds which kept them long confined (1). If no other achievement had revealed Dunstan's character, would not this be sufficient to startle the unprejudiced reader into a doubt of its sanctity? It was followed by another circumstance, which leaves us no alternative between the supposition of a purposed falsehood or an unworthy miracle.

On the death of his friend and pupil Athelwold, the see of Winchester became vacant. As from the avowed dissatisfaction of the nobles, Dunstan's power was insecure, it became expedient that he should guard it by filling every high office with his friends. He fixed upon Elphegus as the successor, and, to abolish all opposition, he boldly declared, that Saint Andrew had appeared to him, and commanded him to consecrate Elphegus to the vacant see (2).

Such proceedings at last taught others to fight him with the weapons of crime. The subjection of Edward to his will gave a perpetuity to his power; but there was a person existing as ambitious as himself, and indifferent to the means of gratifying that ambition. This was Elfrida. I know not whether we can credit all the wickedness attributed to her. It is stated in the records of the abbey of Ely, that its first abbot, Brithonod, was seen by Elfrida in the New Forest. He went to the royal court on the business of his church, and at his departure took leave also of her. She desired a private conversation with him on affairs of conscience, and in the interview she acted the wife of Potiphar. The abbot emulated the virtue of Joseph; and the disappointed Elfrida procured his assassination. The power of the queen-dowager compelled his monas-

(1) See note at the end of the chapter.

(2) Osberne, 114. The history of Dunstan is remarkably certain; from the facts against him being stated and proved by his friends and encomiasts.

tery to indulge their suspicions in silence; but in her days of penitence she acknowledged the crime (1).

It is also declared of Elfrida, that Edward gave her all Dorsetshire as a dower, with a royal dignity annexed to it (2). 978.

The state of the kingdom gave power to her malice. However the proceedings at Calne may have affected the credulous people, the surviving sufferers and their friends could hardly have been deceived; and if they believed the catastrophe to have been the effect of design, we may assume that they meditated to avenge it on Dunstan. But he was protected by the favour of his sovereign; Edward therefore became the first object of attack. A combination against him was formed; and with no scruples as to the means. It is stated, that Elfrida and some princes conspired together to dethrone Edward in favour of Ethelred, and that the death of the king was the crime devised for the accomplishment of their purpose. The unsuspecting king facilitated the execution of the guilty plot. He was hunting in Dorsetshire, near Wareham, a few miles from which stood Corfe Castle, the residence of Elfrida and her son. His companions were dispersed in pursuit of the game, and, in the course of the sport, Edward beheld the conspicuous walls of the castle (3). He rode thither to visit Ethelred and his mother. On the tidings of his arrival, she hastily settled her plan. She went out and received him with hypocritical kindness, and invited him in. The king declined to alight; but desired some refreshment, and requested to see his brother. A cup of drink was brought to him; but while he was raising it to his lips, a wretch, stealing behind, stabbed him in the back. Feeling the wound, he spurred his horse to escape the assassin, but the blow had been too successful: he fell from his seat; his feet hung in the stirrups, and the frighted steed dragged his expiring lord over the rugged way. His friends traced him by his blood, and found at last his disfigured corpse. It was burnt, and its ashes buried at Wareham (4).

(1) This incident has escaped the notice of our historians. It is in the Historia Eliensis. 3 Gale, 491, 492.

(2) Wallingford, 545.

(3) The interesting ruins of Corfe Castle still remain.

(4) Malmsb. 61. Ingulf, 54. Mailros, 151. The Chroniclers say he was buried; but Lupus, in his sermon, says, Occisus est et postea *combustus*. Hickes's Thes.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON DUNSTAN.

As the conduct of Dunstan in the incident at Calne has become lately a subject of public discussion, and it has been suggested, that as a more atrocious crime than the charge against him cannot be imagined, "such a suggestion should not be brought without a strong evidence;" and, "that the slightest evidence neither has been nor can be produced for its support." Butler's Cath. Church, p. 67. The impartial reader may desire to know what the authentic evidence really amounts to.

There are no contemporary histories now existing of the reigns of I

CHAPTER VIII.

Review of the State and History of Denmark and Norway at the Accession of Ethelred, and of the last Stage of the Northern Piracy.

As the second year of the reign of Ethelred was distinguished by the re-appearance of those enemies whom the courage and wisdom of Alfred and his successors had subdued or driven from the Eng-

Edward the Martyr. But there is a tract on the life of Dunstan, written by Bridforth, a priest, who knew him, and who calls himself, "Vilis Saxonum indigena," which exists in the Cotton MS. Cleop. b. 13., and which has been printed from another MS. of St. Vedast's monastery at Rome, in the Acta Sanctorum for May, vol. iv., p. 346. This gives the fullest account of the earliest incidents of his life that exists, but scarcely mentions his transactions as archbishop. It omits all notice of the synod at Calne, and therefore of what happened there. If this omission had not extended to Dunstan's other transactions as archbishop, it might have raised a doubt if there had been any such a meeting at all. But as the author has also not chosen to mention other important actions of Dunstan's later life, the silence on this peculiar event is no argument against it. On the contrary, it may be alleged that the transaction was omitted because its consequences had excited so much enmity or suspicion against Dunstan that one living at that period did not choose, either for his friend's sake or his own, to revive its recollection. There is also another MS. life of Dunstan addressed by Adelard to Elphegus the archbishop, who was killed in the reign of Ethelred, and this also omits the meeting at Calne, as it does most other details of Dunstan's archiepiscopal conduct. The above remarks apply also to this author's silence. The omission is not peculiar, and is exposed to an unfavourable inference.

But that there was a meeting at Calne of the Saxon Witan, or of the distinguished men, both nobles and clergy, of the nation, and that the floor suddenly gave way, and precipitated all but Dunstan to the earth, maiming some, and killing others, rests satisfactorily on the following historical documents :—

The Saxon Chronicle, admitted to be "a faithful register of the times," thus briefly notices it :—978. "Here in this year all the oldest (noblest) Witan of the English nation fell at Calne from an upper floor: but the holy archbishop Dunstan stood alone upon a beam, and some there were very much maimed, and some did not survive." Gibs. Sax. Chr. 124. Ingr. S. C 163. The ancient Latin Chronicles of Florence, p. 361. Sim. Dun. p. 160. Hen. Hunt. 356., and Hoveden, 427., which seem to me to have been all taken from Saxon Annals; the Chron. Peterb. p. 29., Bromton, 870., and Gervase, 1647., mention these events in terms nearly similar to the passage cited from the Saxon Chronicle.

But though the historical fact of the calamity is thus certain, there is so far no direct imputation upon Dunstan for its occurrence. There is only the singularity that he escaped while others suffered, and if no more than this had appeared in our historical remains, we might be satisfied with supposing, that, both the calamity and his preservation were the undesigned and fortuitous effects of the state of the building in which the Saxon Witena-gemot was assembled. But the preceding facts are not the only circumstances which our old historians have transmitted to us upon the subject; and it is on the additions which they have supplied—all writers friendly to their respected saint—that the suspicion and the charge have ultimately been founded.

One of the most valuable and intelligent of our ancient chronographers is William of Malmsbury; and thus he details what he mentions of the incident :—

"Edgar being dead, the clergy formerly expelled from the churches excited re-

lish coasts, and who now succeeded in obtaining the English crown, it is expedient that we should turn our eyes upon the Baltic, and

newed battles. From this thing a prejudice, raised into clamour and passion, was directed against Dunstan; the lay nobles joining in the outcry, that the clergy had suffered unjustly. One of them, Elfere, pulled down almost all the monasteries which Ethelwold, the bishop of Winchester, had built in Mercia. The first synod was convened at Winchester, where the dominical image expressly spoke and confounded the clergy and their supporters. But the minds not being yet appeased, a council was appointed at Calne; where, the king being absent from his youth, as the senators were all sitting in the chamber, the matter was agitated with great conflict and controversy; and the darts of many reproaches were thrown on Dunstan, that most firm wall of the church; but could not shake him, persons of every order defending him with all their might. Suddenly all the floor with its fastenings and beams started out and fell down. All were thrown to the earth. Dunstan alone, standing upon a beam that remained, entirely escaped; the rest were either killed or detained in the fetter of perpetual languor. This miracle gave peace to the archbishop." De Gest. Reg. l. ii. p. 61. Matthew of Westminter's statement of the calamity is to the same purport, and nearly in the same words, p. 377., and so is Rudborne's, 1 Angl. Sax. p. 225.

These authorities attach to the event the suspicious circumstances, that it happened in the midst of a violent discussion in the Anglo-Saxon parliament, in which Dunstan's future power and safety were at stake: that it followed a preceding parliamentary dispute which had been dogmatically and not willingly decided in his favour, by what must have been either miracle or fraudulent contrivance; and that by the afflicting catastrophe, all future opposition to his measures was silenced. "This miracle gave peace to the archbishop." The historical authorities referred to do not pretend that it was an accident; they declare that it was supernatural.

The evidence thus far will create in many minds an irresistible suspicion against him. But, however justly this may seem to be entertained, we must still recollect that the impeaching deductions of history are not actual evidence, and do not of themselves justify a positive charge of decided guilt. This charge arises from the account of two other authors, who are not the enemies, but the admirers and biographers of Dunstan, and who detail these facts as articles of their warm panegyric.

There are two lives of this singular man, as ancient as any of the preceding chronicles, and written by persons who in their own days were respectable. These were Osberne, the friend and counsellor of the Archbishop Lanfranc, a great admirer of Dunstan; and Eadmer, a disciple of Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc. Osberne lived about a century after Dunstan, and Eadmer a little later; they detail the following account:—

OSBERNE, after mentioning the deciding effect of the speaking crucifix, states that his opponents "taking Beornhelm, a Scottish bishop, as a defender of their iniquity, a man almost unconquerable, both in his ingenuity, and in his loquacity, pressed on Dunstan in the town called Calne, and proposed their scandal with a swelling spirit. Dunstan, broken by age and ecclesiastical labours, had laid aside all things but prayer. Yet, lest the wicked party, defeated before by a divine miracle, should now boast of obtaining a victory, he darted this answer upon his enemies:—'Since you did not in such a lapse of time bring forward your accusation, but now that I am old and cultivating taciturnity, seek to disturb me by these antiquated complaints, I confess that I am unwilling that you should conquer me. I commit the cause of his church to Christ as the judge.' He spoke, and the wrath of the angry Deity corroborated what he said; for the house was immediately shaken; the chamber was loosened under their feet; his enemies were precipitated to the ground, and oppressed by the weight of the crushing timbers. But, where the saint was reclining *with his friends*, there no ruin occurred." Osb. Angl. Sax. vol. ii. p. 112.

EADMER.—His editor, Wharton, remarks that he had never seen Osberne's work;

inquire what nations and what sovereigns possessed at this time the means of such formidable aggressions.

but like him had drawn his facts from some more ancient author. Eadmer, therefore, stands before us not as a copyist of Osberne, but as an independent narrator of what he has recorded. After mentioning Beornhelm's opposition, Eadmer thus states Dunstan's final reply, and its consequences :—

" 'This calumnia which you are agitating has been already settled by the Divine voice; nor do we think it should be again recalled into a new conflict. I, indeed, am aged; and I desire to pass the remainder of my life, which, I am aware, cannot be long, in peace, if it be possible. I have laboured as long as I have been able. Now, unfitted for all toil, I commit to the Lord God the cause of his church, to be defended against the insurgent enemies.' He spoke, and, lo, the floor under the feet of *those who had come together against him* fell from beneath them, and all were alike precipitated; but *where Dunstan stood with his friends* no ruin of the house, no accident happened." Vit. Dunst. Anglia Sax. vol. ii. p. 220.

Capgrave gives the words that are so remarkable in Osberne, with this slight change, " *I confess that I am unwilling to be conquered.*" Leg. Nov. fol. 94.

It is this speech of Dunstan, which implies that he expected some extraordinary event to follow it, that would benefit his side of the question, and it is also the alleged preservation of his supporters, as well as of himself, without which it would not have served him, which prevent us from ascribing the calamity to any accident, and which attach to Dunstan the charge of a foreknowledge of what was to ensue. Such a foreknowledge must have been either a miracle or a premeditated villany. That the parts of the floor on which his opponents were placed should only fall, while the station of himself and his upholders remained safe, would justify any one for believing that the destruction was not a natural casualty. But the speech fixes on Dunstan a personal foresight, which warrants an historian for connecting him with the planning and with the perpetration of the crime. The above evidence is all that now remains on this subject; and every reader must determine from it for himself, whether it is most probable that this catastrophe was the result of accident, miracle, or crime. That the chroniclers do not detail this speech like the two biographers is not extraordinary, because they omit all the other speeches which were made on this angry discussion. But Osberne and Eadmer, who have transmitted to us this speech, record it as the accounting cause of what followed, and as indicating the event to have been the Divine answer to his appeal. They insert it for no hostile purpose, nor obtrusively, but as a regular part of the real transaction. There is a particularity in their both mentioning a *Scottish* prelate as the eloquent adversary whom the saint thus endeavoured to refute, which Norman or Saxon monks were not likely to have invented. My own inference is, that there is no more reason to doubt the authenticity of this speech than of any other of Dunstan's extraordinary actions.

I have looked into the two most ancient lives of him, those of Athelard and Bridferth, to see if either Osberne or Eadmer have been peculiarly credulous, or more inclined to the marvellous than their predecessors on Dunstan's biography. But I find in ATHELARD an account that Dunstan, one night when he was overcome with sleep at his vigils, was rapt up, as it were, into heaven, and heard the saints hymning the Trinity, and singing " *Kyrie eleison,*" or " Lord have mercy upon us!" He also narrates, that as the prelate was one day sitting with his attendants engaged in some manual work, his harp that was hanging on the wall began playing of itself, and, though untouched, performed the whole antiphon of " *Gaudent in cœlis*" to the very end. BRIDFERTH, who declares that he was personally acquainted with Dunstan, outdoes even these fancies; for he mentions, that as the saint was one night in his cloisters, Satan came to him in the shaggy form of a horrid bear; being driven away, he returned in the figure of a dog; again expelled, he came back as a viper; and being forced out, he burst in once more as a furious wolf. This tale is soon followed by another, that as Dunstan once fell asleep from fatigue before the altar of St. George, the devil came to him like a rugged bear, and, placing

DENMARK.

The state of Denmark.

The history of Denmark, from the death of Ragnar Lodbrog to the accession of Harald Blaatand, or Blue Tooth, is confused and inaccurate (1). Harald was the son of Gormo the Aged, and Thyra the Saviour of Denmark. He acceded in 936, on his father's demise. He suffered from a calamitous invasion of Jutland by the emperor Otho (2), who married Athelstan's sister.

City of Jomsburg.

He built the famous city of Jomsburg (3) near the great Pomeranian lake, made by three rivers, in their conflux to the sea. This city became very distinguished for the courage of its inhabitants, their depredations and opulence (4). It was perhaps the only instance in the world of a government of pi-

his paws on each shoulder, opened his jaws to devour him; when he fortunately awoke, shook him off, struck at him with his staff, and, by chanting the 68th Psalm, drove him away. After this, a great stone was hurled at him, which carried away with it his cap; and this he ascribed to the evil being.

He seems to have been distinguished for his intercourse with devils, and for his power of discerning them; for as he was travelling with a nobleman to a royal banquet, he suddenly perceived his enemy running playfully about among the royal trumpeters; he bade the dux, who saw nothing, make the sign of the cross on his eyes, who then beheld a devil leaping about in the shape of a little black man. It was from seeing him again wandering about among the servants of the household, that he declared the king would die in three days; and he beheld him a third time carrying great rolls of writing in his hands, at the very moment when his sovereign Edmund was passing from mass to the banquet in which he was stabbed. These tales must have been invented for him, or told by himself; if the latter, we must suppose either that he had a diseased imagination, or that he wilfully fabricated them.

From these narratives of Bridferth and of Athelard, the contemporaries of Dunstan, we have a right to say, that there is no anile credulity nor peculiar love of the marvellous in Osberne in what he relates, more than in any other of the Catholic hagiographers. All these report analogous improbabilities in greater or less number. Even the popes have distinguished themselves in this line of narration; for no miracles exceed those recorded by Gregory the Great, in his Dialogues, and by Calixtus II. in his Miracles of St. James. All the Catholic clergy not only accredit the miracles of their saints, but even build an argument for the superiority of their church upon their occurrence. The late Dr. Milner's works display fully as much of that quality, which has been called anile credulity in Osberne, as those of this now depreciated biographer. With every desire to be as impartial as I can be, I see, therefore, no sufficient reason for discrediting this portion of their friendly biography.

(1) The confusion of this part of Danish history was observed and complained of by Adam of Bremen. "Tanti autem reges, immo tyranni Danorum, utrum simul aliqui regnaverunt, an alter post alterum brevi tempore vixit incertum est." c. xliv. p. 17. Many chronicles and histories have appeared since Adam's time, but they have only made the confusion of the period more visible to all who collate their accounts.

(2) To protect Denmark from the Germans, he completed the celebrated trench and wall called Dannewirke. See Snorre's description of it, vol. i. p. 217.; and see Stephanius, 199—201.

(3) Saxo, 182.

(4) See Bartholin, 446.

rates (1). Its first legislator, Palnatoko, enacted it as one of his laws, that no man should live at Jomsburg who breathed a word of fear, or who showed the least apprehension in the most critical danger (2). Their depredations were conducted on a principle of equality; for all the plunder, whether small or great, was brought to the spear and divided (3). The modern Wollin, which has succeeded the ancient city, is not one-thirtieth part of its size. Ploughs now cut the soil on which splendid buildings stood. It became the emporium of the north. It was the last state of the north which admitted Christianity. All nations but Christians, who were interdicted on pain of death, were allowed to inhabit it, and each people had a separate street. They were idolaters, and for the most part polygamists (4). Their riches at last introduced factions, disorders, and civil fury, till Waldemar took and destroyed it in 1170 (5).

Harald Blaatand had a successful war with Haco of Norway, but towards the close of his life, the discontent of his subjects (6) enabled his son Svein to commence an unnatural warfare against him (7). Svein required of his father a share of his dominions (8). This demand being refused, he pretended to be collecting a fleet against the pirates, and with this surprised Harald. The old king fled to Normandy with sixty ships, and the son of Rolla entertained him hospitably, until he prepared a fleet capable of regaining his kingdom (9). A reconciliation for a while suspended the immoral war (10), and Harald gratefully returned to Richard of Normandy the aid which he had received from his father (11). The conflict was soon renewed between Harald and Svein, whose tutor, Palna-

(1) Inter omnes vero Vikingos quos historiæ nostræ celebrant famosissimi erant Jomsvikingr dicti qui Julini olim Jomsburg sedem fixam et rempublicam certis ac firmis legibus constitutam habebant. Wormius, Mon. Dan. 270.

(2) Jomsvikingr Saga, c. xiv., cited by Bartholin, p. 3. This Saga gives a curious account of the answers of eight men of Jomsburg who were captives, on their being brought out to be slaughtered. Bartholin, 41—51. If they can be credited, they evince a horrible fearlessness. They were taken prisoners in a great invasion of Norway by their countrymen. Snorre narrates the aggression, p. 231—240., and gives extracts from the Scalds who mention it.

(3) Bartholin gives extracts from the Hirdskra and the Jomsvikingr Saga, on this subject, p. 16.

(4) See the descriptions of Munster and Chrytæus, cited by Stephanius, 197, 198. Chrytæus was so interested by it, as to make a particular survey of its site and remains.

(5) The ancient Sveno Aggo thus mentions its fate: — "Whose walls I Sveno beheld levelled to the ground by the Archbishop Absalom," c. iv. p. 51.

(6) Sveno Aggo, p. 51. Saxo, p. 185.

(7) Adam Brem. 25. (8) Snorre, vol. i. p. 229.

(9) Will. Gemmet. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 237. Pontanus dates Harald's arrival in Normandy in 943. Hist. Dan. lib. v. p. 135.

(10) Will. Gemmet. lib. iv. c. 9. p. 243. Sveno mentions the agreement, though, in his additions to it, I think he confuses several distinct incidents.

(11) Dudo, lib. iii. p. 122. Gemmet. p. 246.

toko, in revenge of an injury (1) which he had endured, stabbed Harald. The wounded king fled to Jomsburg, where he soon died, in 985 (2).

Svein's reign.

Svein, who has received the surnames of Otto from the emperor Otho, and Tiugoskegg from the shape of his beard, became now the undisputed master of a throne, which he had so foully earned. His life was romantic; but at a period when the manners of society, viewed with the eye of reason, seem unnatural and distorted, the actions will be often extravagant. He was three times taken prisoner by the Jomsburgers, and was three times redeemed. His last liberation was accomplished by the generosity of that sex, whose pity is never asked in vain; whom nature has made lovely in person, but still more lovely in heart (3).

New misfortunes divested the ill-gotten crown of its expected charms. Eric, the prevailing king in Sweden, invaded Scania, and after many battles expelled Svein, and for many years remained the master of the Danish isles (4).

The exiled Svein fled humbly to Tryggva of Norway, but was disdainfully spurned. England was his next resource, but Ethelred, offended at incursions of the Northmen, with which he had been harassed, would not admit him. He then sailed to Scotland, and there met an asylum, and a hospitable friend (5). He resided there fourteen years.

On the death of his enemy he returned to Denmark, but was driven out again by the son of Eric, who at last reinstated him, and gave him Syritha his mother in marriage (6). Soon after this period England felt his power.

NORWAY.

Haco's reign.

Haco the Good was reigning in the time of Athelstan. His character is interesting and great; his hilarity of

(1) This injury, as related by Saxo, p. 184., is the story of William Tell and Geisler. Toko was a famous archer, and boasted of his skill. Harald bid him with his first arrow, on pain of death, pierce an apple on his son's head. Toko, compelled to obey, exhorted his son not to stir. He took out three arrows. The first was successful. The king inquired why three arrows — "To have shot you if I had killed my son." Saxo lived long before William Tell.

(2) Saxo, 186.; and see Ad. Brem., 25., Helmoldus, p. 14., Snorre and 2 Langb. 149., for some variation in the circumstances. I take the date from the ancient Icelandic annals. 2 Langb. 189.

(3) On these incidents, see Saxo, 186.; Sveno, 54.; Chron. Erici, 298.; Adam Brem. 26. Saxo and Sveno mention, that in grateful return, the ladies were presented with a law entitling them to a share of their paternal property, from which till then they had been excluded.

(4) Ad Brem. c. lxxii. p. 26. Frag. Ist. 2 Langb. 150. Saxo, 188.

(5) Ad. Brem. p. 27. says, Thrucco of Norway. Saxo, his son Olave, p. 189. Saxo, and Hector Boethius, mention Edward as the English king. This is wrong. Adam is correct in stating E lred, who began his reign in 978.

(6) Adam, p.

mind was peculiar; his eloquence, his prudence, and his modesty, were equally distinguished. Peace, with her abundance and felicity, blessed both the agriculturist and the merchant of Norway during his reign, and he was diligent in his legislation. Two laws are particularised which he made, like the Anglo-Saxon kings, with the advice of his wisest men (1). Among others, he provided for the defence of the maritime regions of Norway by a sort of coast militia. The country on the shore, and as far up the river as salmon ascended, he divided into provinces, and these into territories, each of which was to be provided with a definite number of war-ships, of a stated size. The population of the district was to be always ready to act in these vessels whenever a hostile force drew near (2). To give celerity to their movement he established a sort of telegraph. On high mountains, piles of wood of the largest trees, to be fired on exigency, were so placed as to be visible from mountain to mountain; by these means in seven days the news was transmitted from one end of Norway to the other (3).

Haco retaliated the invasion of the Danes on Vikia, by driving them into Halland and Jutland (4). He passed into Zealand with successful outrage, took eleven Vikingr ships, and obtained great booty from the island; he then turned his conquering arms upon Scania, and even ventured to attack, with equal good fortune, the Swedish province of Gothland. In the following autumn he returned to Vikia, with an immense burthen of booty (5).

Harald Blaatand, who at this time ruled Denmark, beheld, with unavailing displeasure, the desolating victories of Haco. To humble the Norwegian, he admitted into his kingdom the children of Eric, the expelled king of Norway, whom Haco had succeeded, whom Athelstan had received into Northumbria, and who at last had perished there. Harald gave them possessions, and permitted them to pirate (6). Thus encouraged and supported, the sons of Eric assailed Haco (7); but the star of his prosperity still continued to beam.

Haco had long cherished a love for Christianity in secret. When he thought his power consolidated, he sent to England (8) for ecclesiastics capable of teaching the religion to the Norwegians. On their arrival he avowed his wishes, and exhorted the nation, in a

(1) Snorre Hakonar Goda, p. 135. (2) Ibid. p. 146.

(3) Ut in montibus excelsis ex ingentibus arboribus pyræ ita struerentur (s. angari) ut ab una pyra ad alteram facilis et liber esset prospectus. Excitatus hoc pacto hostilis irruptionis nuntius, a prima in extremo regni ad meridiem angulo extructa pyra, ad remotissimum boream versus publicorum comitiorum in Halogalandia locum 7 dierum spatio volitasse fertur. Snorre Hakonar Goda, xxi. p. 146.

(4) The Scalld Guthormr Sindri records this invasion in his Hakonar Drapa. Snorre has quoted one of his verses. Saga Hak. c. vi. p. 131.

(5) Saga Hak. c. vii. p. 132, 133.

(6) Ibid. c. x. p. 134. (7) Ibid. c. xx. p. 145.

(8) Missis in Angliam nuntiis, episcopos aliosque doctores arcessivit post quorum in Norwegiam adventum mentem suam aperuit rex Hakonus. Snorre, p. 138.

public assembly, to adopt his faith; but he experienced from the peasantry such a decided opposition, that he was even compelled by them to assist in their idolatrous superstitions (1).

Tryggvi, the son of one of those children of Harald Harfragre who fell by the hostilities of their brother Eric, so often mentioned in this history, obtained from Hakon the Good some little principalities towards the south of Norway, for which he assisted Hakon against his enemies, the children of Eric (2). These restless enemies were frequently assaulting Hakon with various devices, but he reigned prosperously for twenty years (3).

At last Harald, the eldest of these sons of Eric, surprised Hakon at a disadvantage. He fought with his usual success, but a dart wounded him under the arm. He retired to his ship; no art could stop the blood, and Hakon the Good sunk gradually into death. Friends and enemies enshrined his memory with a general lamentation. The exclamation was unanimous, that no king, his equal in virtue, would again bless Norway (4). Eywind the Scald has honoured his memory with an ode, which gives dignity to the character of Norwegian poetry (5). The civilization of every country has been of such tardy vegetation, that such kings as Hakon must be hailed with blessings, for to them the precious plant owes principally its preservation and progress, during these dark and stormy ages. 961.

On Hakon's death the sons of Eric predominated in Norway, and their mother Gunillda shared in the government; but they held at first only the middle regions, for three others were governing in other parts of Norway; as Tryggvi in the south-east; Gudrod in Westfold; and Sigurd Jarl in Throndheim (6).

Gunillda stimulated her sons to destroy Sigurd Jarl, as a step to the monarchy of Norway. Her soliciting prevailed. The brother of Sigurd was seduced to conspire against him. The Jarl was surprised at a feast, and burnt alive, with the edifice, two years after Hakon's death (7).

(1) Snorre, 139—143. (2) Ibid. 121—135.

(3) See one of the schemes to baffle the effect of Hakon's telegraphs. Snorre, 147—152.

(4) Snorre, 155—161. One of his last actions was to request the sons of Eric to spare his friends and relations, p. 160. The Icelandic Annals place his death in 961. 2 Langb. 188.

(5) Snorre, 161—165. This fine Runic ode is better known by the name of the Elegy or Eulogium of Hakon.

(6) Snorre Saga af Haralldi Graffeld oc Hakoni Jarli, p. 165. Glimr the scalld of Haralld, by his verses, excited Eyvindr to an emulating eulogium of Hakon. This offended Haralld, but his displeasure was appeased by Eyvindr becoming his scalld, and resounding his fame, 166.

(7) Snorre, 170—173. Sigurd had greatly assisted in the elevation of Hakon the Good, who, in return, made him Jarl of Throndheim. He is called by Snorre the wisest of the Norwegians, 125.

963. The indignant people of Throndheim chose Hakon, surnamed the Jarl, the son of Sigurd, their leader, and frustrated the ambition of the sons of Gunillda. Many battles ensued: it was at last settled that Hakon should enjoy Throndheim, and the other kings were to possess the rest of the dominions of Hakon the Good (1).

The future enmities between Hakon Jarl and the sons of Eric need not be detailed (2). They enabled Harald Blaatand to subject Norway, who sometimes was the friend, and sometimes was the enemy of Hakon Jarl (3). This prince, who has come down to us with a fame so eclipsed as to be called Hakon the Bad, became at last the monarch of Norway (4). After a life of great warlike exertions, he fell in his age, before a new competitor for the moveable crown; this was Olave the son of Tryggva. The aggressions of Olave on England connect his actions with the reign of Ethelred, and demand a corner in the history of the Anglo-Saxons. The little sketch will forcibly express the state of manners in these districts.

Life of Olaf, Tryggva's son. In 969, Tryggva his father suffered that death of violence (5) which usually closed the lives of those inhabitants of the north who stepped out of the path of industry into the adventures of heroism. His widow fled, pregnant with Olaf, and he was born on an island in the lake where she was concealed (6). In his childhood he was captured by Eastern pirates, and was sold. He was afterwards purchased and carried to Russia (7). He was there brought up by Waldemar, who employed him in his army.

His favour declining, he quitted the Russian court, sailed to the Baltic, and settling in the isle of Bornholm, he began the dismal profession of a vikingr (8). After marrying a queen, on whose coast he landed, he commenced depredations on Scania and Gothland (9). On her death he extended the scene of his piracy, and Friesland, Saxony, and Flanders, mourned his visitations. From these the unwearied sea-king turned towards England, and attacked Northumbria. As fortunate as enterprising, he made Scotland,

(1) Snorre, p. 175.

(2) See Snorre, 175—184., and also his Saga af Olasi Tryggva, 195—203. Snorre adduces Ara Frode as an evidence on this subject.

(3) Snorre, 202, 203. 230.

(4) Snorre, 245. In Hakon's reign Greenland was discovered and colonised by the Icelanders. Eric the Red first saw and gave it that name, in hopes that a country with an epithet so pleasing might attract settlers. He found the traces of men both in the east and west regions, et assamenta fracta et lapidarum opera unde cognoscerent quod ejus generis ibi vixerunt qui Vinlandiam incoluerint et quos Islandi vocant Screlingos. Ara Frode, c. vi. p. 40.

(5) Snorre, p. 177. Island. Ann. 2 Langb. 189.

(6) Snorre Saga, Olaf's Tryg. c. i. p. 187. (7) Snorre, 192, 193.

(8) Snorre, 211—213. (9) Ibid. 215.

the Hebrides, Ireland, Wales, Cumbria, and Normandy, feel the exertions of his valour (1).

Great and ardent spirits are liable to be impressed by the peculiar and the interesting. Olaf, anchoring once off the Scilly isles, was converted to Christianity by the lessons of a hermit, whose age and seclusion had won from the rude population the fame of a seer (2).

But although this warrior was daring every danger that storms and battles could present, his rigid heart was found penetrable by the shafts of love. A princess of Dublin had promised her chiefs to choose a husband: they assembled that she might select, and Olaf, though uninvited, joined the meeting. The movements of the tender passions are more eccentric than the wanderings of the heathy meteor. Clothed in rough garments, made to keep off rain, and wrapped in a hairy gown, the figure of Olaf was not the vision of a Cupid. But it was uncouth; and when Gyda's eye roved anxiously around, it arrested her notice: "Who are you?"—"Olaf, a stranger." It was enough; and if Snorre has not slandered the lady, love, instantaneous love, supplied every other explanation. With all the simplicity of rude nature, she exclaimed, "If you desire me for your wife, I will choose you for my husband."

Olaf was, however, less impetuous or less philosophical than the lady. He had the caution to enquire who she was, her name, and parentage: she declared her birth, and Olaf contemplated her again. She was young and beautiful. At last his tardy sensibility was kindled, and he became her husband, after conquering a rival (3).

The reputation of Olaf roused the crafty and cruel mind of Hakon the Bad, who sent a favourite to discover and to circumvent him (4). But Hakon's disorderly passions had offended the chiefs whose families he had dared to violate, and they were in insurrection against him, when Olaf, led by his pretended friend, was approaching Norway. Hakon had fled before the chiefs when Olaf landed. The Norwegians eagerly placed the crown on his head, as a descendant of Harald Harfragre; and thus, in 995, Olaf became the monarch of Norway (5).

One of Olaf's most zealous occupations was to convert Norway. He proceeded, with his desire, from province to province, and at last accomplished it, but by methods repugnant to that freedom of mind which is man's dearest birthright, and as odious to the spirit and lessons of Christianity as the Paganism he abolished (6).

(1) Snorre, 221, 222.
(2) Ibid. 223, 224.
(3) Ibid. 225, 226.
(4) Ibid. 246.
(5) Ibid. 247—253. Hakon the Bad was killed in his hiding-place. I take the date from the Isl. Ann. 190.
(6) Snorre, 258—266. Among Olaf's Voyages, Snorre mentions his expedition to Vinland. As this was a country west of Greenland, it is obvious that the Nor-

Ethelred is stated to have sent the archbishop of York and two priests to Sweden to convert the natives. Olaf was baptised by him (1).

Last stage of northern piracy.

Harald Harfragre had pursued the vikingr with a perseverance which promised to annihilate the custom, but on his death they flourished again. His son Eric, after his deposition, occupied his summers in depredations on the British islands to maintain his associates (2). In the reign of Edmund they again abounded, and made the Hebrides their resort (3). On Eric's death his sons passed their winters on the Orkney and Shetland isles, but devoted their summers to piracies on Scotland and Ireland (4). The Northern kings sometimes sailed against them with fleets of punishment to revenge aggressions on their own dominions. Thus Hakon the Good attacked eleven vikingr in Oresound, and hanged all those whom he met off Scania (5); but no combined system existed of repressing them. The practice, though from the rise of monarchies it was less frequent, had not yet excited the decided abhorrence of the northern society; therefore Harald Blaatand (6) of Denmark, and Tryggvi Gudrawd, and Harald Graffeld, three kings in Norway, indulged themselves in the practice (7).

Olaf the son of Tryggvi was a sort of new Ragnar Lodbrog, in the activity, extent, and success of his marauding exploits. Bornholm, Scania, Gothland, Friesland, Saxony, Flanders, Normandy, and all the British islands, suffered from his presence (8). The son of Hakon Jarl was a sea-king, whose summers were devoted to enterprises as fearless (9); but it is needless to multiply instances. The vikingr, who have been mentioned, were men of rank in their society, who flourished between 930 and 1000; and their habits show, that, notwithstanding the checks which the direful custom had experienced, it was again becoming prevalent and respectable.

But yet while piracy was revivifying, other habits were also growing up which were destined to destroy it.

The continuance of piracy had a tendency to preclude all traffic; but wherever profit is seen to glitter, though danger guard every avenue, and the spectre of death even hovers over the path, men will hasten to tread it, and dare the chances of its evils. Rude as

wegians or their colonies discovered and settled in part of North America in this tenth century.

(1) Lecc. Hist. S. p. 52., and Ver. Suio-Goth. p. 50.

(2) Snorre, p. 128. (3) Ibid.

(4) Tunc autem Orcades et Hialldtlandiam suæ ditionis fecere Eiriki filii, census inde percipientes, ibique per hyemes commorantes. Per æstates autem mare occidentale piratica infestum reddidere prædas agentes circa littora Scotiæ atque Hiberniæ. Snorre, p. 130.

(5) Snorre, p. 132. (6) Saxo Grammat. 180. (7) Snorre, 135—177.

(8) See before. (9) Snorre, 295.

the Northmen were in manners, arts, and virtues, they wanted commodities from each other, which the productive industry or resources of any one place could not supply. Hence skins for clothing were carried from Iceland to Norway (1). Fish, cattle, and corn, their food, were often, from partial famines, required to be interchanged (2). Hemp, or seal skins, or whale-hides, were needed for robes (3). Captives were to be sold, and, of course, slaves to be purchased (4); besides many articles of war and luxury.

The necessity of conveying from coast to coast the wanted commodities turned a part of society into merchants: their places of resort became noted. Thus Tunsberg in Norway was much frequented by merchant ships, which came to it not only from the adjoining Vikia, and the more northern regions, but from Denmark and Saxony (5). Birca in Sweden was another considerable emporium, in which vessels of merchandise came from all parts of the Baltic to acquire or to exchange the necessaries of life (6), though its wealth and excellent harbours perpetually invited depredations of the vikingr (7). Our Dublin was in those days much frequented for trade (8).

It was auspicious to the future predominance of civilized habits that commerce became *honourable*. This circumstance in such an age of general warfare is as remarkable as it was beneficial. Perhaps, the honour attached to commerce arose partly from the vikingr disposing of their spoils themselves, and partly from the necessity they felt for the objects of traffic. The merchants who ventured to sail through such ambushes of pirates could not at first have been very numerous, and this rarity gave them increased value, and even dignity. In time also kings became their patrons.

Commerce was, however, in such credit, that Biorn, prince of Westfold, the son of Harald Harfragre, became a merchant, and by his more warlike brothers was distinguished by that title (9). Others

(1) Snorre, 176.

(2) Thus the Scalld Eyvind, when a famine oppressed Norway, pecora emit familiæ sustentandæ necessaria. He sent his ships to purchase herrings, and for that purpose parted with his property, and even with his arrows. Snorre, 186.

(3) See Ohther's Voyage.

(4) Lodinus was a rich man. Accidit quadam æstate ut mercatum profectus Lodinus navi quæ ejus unius erat, mercibusque dives, cursum ad Esthoniam dirigeret, ubi per æstatem mercaturæ operam dedit. Dum celebrantur nundinæ ad quas comportatæ sunt merces omnis generis, ducti etiam multi homines venales, p. 256.

(5) Tunsbergam plurimæ tunc mercatoriæ frequentabant naves tam ex Vikia et borealibus regionibus Norwegiæ quam ex Dania et Saxonia. Snorre, 115.

(6) Adam. Brem. 18, 19. Helmoldus, p. 9. Rembert in 1 Langb. 444.

(7) Bircani etiam piratarum excursionibus quorum ibi magna copia est, sæpius impregnati. Adam. Brem. 18.

(8) Hunc—jussit Hakonus Jarl Dublinum ire mercatorem, id quod plurimis tunc temporis frequens erat. Snorre, 240.

(9) Biorno regi suæ etiam erant naves mercatoriæ quæ in commeatu exteras ad regiones, varias res ingentis pretii et plura quæ necessaria videbantur illi adve-

also, of illustrious ancestry, were traders, and are mentioned for the affluence acquired by it (1).

Traffic being thus respectable, it is no wonder that another circumstance arose which operated to suppress piracy. This was the remarkable fact, that the two professions of pirate and merchant came in many instances to be blended. The same persons were at one time roaming to plunder, at another voyaging to trade: thus the people of Vikia are described as very commercial, at the same time that many of them were vikingr (2). Thus the friend whom Hakon the Bad had selected to circumvent Olaf, the son of Tryggva, had been long a pirate, but he was also a merchant, and was employed to visit Dublin in that capacity (3). Thus Lodinus, though he had sometimes pirated, was a merchant, and in his mercantile character visited Estland (4). Biorn, surnamed the Trader, had also practised piracy (5). Thus the celebrated men of Jomsburg were as eminent for their commercial as for their depredatory activity. It was perhaps from their martial habits and equipments, arising from this alternation of pursuit, that merchants were enabled to combat with the pirates who attacked them (6). They sometimes secured the success of their defensive exertions by voyaging in companies.

When we read that the pirates seized every moveable commodity where they invaded, and destroyed by fire the habitations and growing produce of the field when they could not remove it; that part of the inhabitants they slew on the spot, and carried away the others for slaves, sharing them by lot (7); that of these captives they killed such as were too old for labour, and were therefore unsaleable (8); and that they exposed the others to the public market so unsparingly, that we find, at one time, a queen, pale, worn out with fa-

hebant. Illum igitur Navigatorem aut Mercatorem (farmann eda Kaupmann) nominarunt ejus fratres. Snorre, 115.

(1) Snorre, 256, 257.

(2) Ipsi enim Vikverienses in mercatura erant frequentes in Angliam et Saxoniam aut in Flandriam, aut in Daniam: quidam autem piraticam exercebant, hyemes in Christianorum terris transigentes. Snorre Saga, Olafs Helga, vol. ii. p. 71.

(3) Diu hic in piratica, interdum etiam in mercatura versatus. Snorre, vol. i. p. 240.

(4) Sæpe ille in mercatura versabatur, interdum etiam in piratica. Snorre, vol. i. p. 256.

(5) Biorno—in piratica parum frequens. Snorre, 115.

(6) Rembert, who lived in the tenth century, mentions a conflict of this sort. 1 Langb. 444. Snorre also mentions a merchant ship which endured a long conflict with a sea-king, vol. i. p. 215. So the Niala Saga says, "Piratis in Mercatores tela jacientibus, prælium oritur, hique se pulchre tutantur." Celto Scand. p. 83. This was in the year 992.

(7) Mare orientem versus sulcantes aggressi piratæ quidam Estenses homines captivos ducunt, bona diripiunt, occisis nonnullis, aliis quos inter se sortiti in servitutem abstractis. Snorre, vol. i. p. 192.

(8) Visus est Klercono æstate jam provectior Thoralfus quam ut servus esse posset, nec laboribus satis idoneus; quare eum occidit. Ibid.

tigue and sufferings and squalidly clothed (1); and, on another occasion, a prince (2), standing up to be purchased like cattle; when we see, that from the plentiful supply, so low was the price, that Olaf the prince, who afterwards became king of Norway, and the invader of England, was sold for a garment (3); and that a collection of boys were disposed of for a fine goat (4); when we discover such things to be frequent, it seems absurd to look into the north for increased civilization.

And yet the happy change was beginning to emerge. The principle of improvement was in existence, and its vegetation, though slow, was incessant and effectual.

As soon as the vikingr stooped from the pursuit of sanguinary glory, to collect profit from traffic, piracy, as a laudable custom, must have begun to be undermined. It must have received another fatal blow, as soon as agriculture became reputable. Though valour was still the pride of the day, many chiefs were perpetually arising of peaceable and unwarlike habits (5). At the period of which we now speak, one Sigurd Syr the king, who educated Saint Olave of Norway, is particularly described to us as assiduous in his domestic occupations; who often surveyed his fields and meadows, and flocks and herds, and who was fond of frequenting the places where the handicraft labours were carried on (6). His pupil, Olave, though in the first part of his life he became a sea-king, yet among other things was educated to manual arts as well as to warlike exercises (7). The sweets of landed property and peaceable occupations once experienced, the impulse of nature would urge the chiefs to favour husbandry, and to induce or to compel a part, ever increasing, of the northern population, to pursue the labours of the field in preference to war. Every regular and settled monarch favoured the new habit. Though the disorderly reigns which followed Harald Harfragre made his law against pirates almost obsolete, yet as soon as the government of Norway became established in Saint Olave, he revived the prohibition. He forbade all rapine (8). He enforced his law so rigorously, that though the vikingr were the children of the most potent chiefs, he punished the offenders by the loss of life or limb; nor could prayers or money avert the penalty (9). One of the Canutes was equally hostile to the habits of the vikingr. He prohibited all rapine and violence throughout his kingdom, and was highly displeased that Egill should have pirated in the summer. "In addicting yourself to piracy," said the king,

(1) Snorre, p. 256. (2) Ibid. 193.
(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Many of these are noticed in Snorre's Heimskringla.
(6) Snorre's Saga, Olaf's Helga, c. i. p. 1. and p. 31.
(7) Arcum tractandi atque natandi imprimis peritus, in pilis et missilibus manu jaculandis eximius, ad artes fabriles a natura formatus, lynceisque oculis ad ea omnia quæ vel ipse vel alii fabricaverant. Snorre, Olaf's Helga, p. 1.
(8) Snorre, tom, i. p. 315. (9) Ibid. 316.

"you have done an abominable thing. It is a Pagan custom, and I forbid it (1)."

It was indeed a custom which had been so familiar and so extolled, that its suppression was difficult. Olaf's severity against it excited an insurrection in his dominions (2). But though interested men struggled hard to uphold it, the good sense of mankind awaking, however tardily, to their real interests, was combating against it. The benefits emanating from the cultivation of agriculture were announced with impressive admonition to all, by the dismal famines which at times occurred. The augmented power, the more striking dignity, and the permanent happiness accruing to the chiefs from a numerous clan of quiet peasantry, from the annual riches of tillage, and from the mercantile importation of every other luxury; the lessons, though rude, of their new Christian clergy; the natural indolence and quietude of human nature, when permitted to follow its own tendencies, and when freed from the goading stings of want, by the fruitful harvests of regular labour; must have alienated a large part of the northern society from the practice of their ancestors, and must have made piracy, in an accumulating ratio, unpopular and dishonourable. Human reason is never slow to amend its erring associations, when once a new beam of light occurs to it; and nothing can more strongly paint the progressive change of manners, than the rapid degradation of the meaning of the word vikingr. At first designating a soldier, it became appropriated by pirates, when every warrior pirated. But now that the condemning voice of society was rising against rapine, the vikingr hastened fast to become a synonyme of the robber (3). Poets, who often stamp the morals of ages, and who always influence the population of the day, began to brand it with that opprobrium, which, from their numbers, falls with the most deterring effect (4).

The improved feelings of society on this subject could not accumulate without communicating some contagion to the vikingr themselves. Though the novel sentiment might be unable to annihilate their evil habits, it awakened, in their fierce bosoms, a little sense of moral distinction; it compelled them to seek some shield of merit to avert that most terrible of all ills, the contempt and hatred of the society to which we belong. They began to feel that it was not honourable for a brave man to prey upon the peaceful mer-

(1) Knytlinga Saga, ap. Bartholin, 453. (2) Snorre, p. 317.
(3) The editors of the Gunnlaugi Saga give many examples of this, p. 298—300.
(4) Thus Sighvatr, the scalld of Olave, sang: —

Rapinæ ita pati isti homines suæ
Pœnam debuere—
Scelestorum genus et nequam hominum,
Ille sic furta est amolitus.
Sexcentis jussit patriæ terræ
Custos, armis et gladiis præscidi
Piratas et hostibus capita regni. Snorre, 316. tom. ii.

chant, who feeds and benefits his contemporaries, nor to murder the unoffending passenger whom various necessities enforce to roam. A new sort of pirates then appeared more suitable to the new-born morality of their feelings, and to the mental revolutions of the day. The peculiar and self-chosen task of these meritorious warriors was to protect the defenceless navigator, and to seek and assail the indiscriminate plunderer (1). The exact chronology of these new characters is not clear, but they seem reasonably to belong to the last age of piracy. Their existence was, above all laws, efficacious in destroying piracy. They executed what society sighed for, and what wise kings enacted; and their appearance must have hastened the odium of the indiscriminate pirate, who became gradually hunted down as the general enemy of the human race. It is pleasing to read of this distinction in so many authors. Some men associated with the solemnity of an oath, that they would in piracy acquire money honourably, because they would exterminate the berserkir and the malignant, and give safety to the merchant (2). So others pursued piracy to deprive the plundering vikingr of the spoil they had torn from the husbandman and merchants (3). With the same character, Eric the Good is exhibited in the Knytlinga Saga (4).

By the laws of the pirate Hialmar, we see that they bound themselves to protect trade and agriculture, not to plunder women, nor to force them to their ships if unwilling, nor to eat raw flesh, which was the practice of the savage pirate (5).

On the whole, we may state, that after the tenth century piracy became discreditable; and that in every succeeding reign it approached nearer to its extinction, until it was completely superseded by the influence of commerce, the firmer establishment of legal governments, improved notions of morality, and the experience of the superior comforts of social order, industry, and peaceful pursuits.

CHAPTER IX.

Ethelred the Unready.

Ethelred succeeded on his brother's assassination; but the action which procured his power was too 978.

(1) See the Torsteins Saga, ap. Verelius. Herv. Saga, 47.
(2) Bua Saga, ap. Barth. 457.
(3) The Vatzdæla, ap. Barth. 458.
(4) Knytlinga Saga, ap. Barth. 452.
(5) Bartholin states these laws from the Orvar Oddr Sogu, p. 450.; see the laws of the sea-king Half, another of this band of naval chivalry, in 455. Saxo also describes another set of heroes, who, in the following age, f u the common pirates, lib. xiv. p. 259.

atrocious to give all the effect to the policy of his adherents which had been projected. Dunstan retained his dignity, and at least his influence; for what nation could be so depraved as to patronise a woman, who, at her own gate, had caused her king and son-in-law to be assassinated! In attempting to subvert Dunstan by such a deed, she failed. After no long interval, he excited the popular odium, and the terrors of guilt, so successfully against her, that she became overwhelmed with shame, and took shelter in a nunnery, and in building nunneries, from the public abhorrence.

The reign of Ethelred presents the history of a bad government, uncorrected by its unpopularity and calamities; and of a discontented nation preferring at last the yoke of an invader, whose visits its nobles either invited or encouraged. In the preceding reigns, from Alfred to Edgar, the Anglo-Saxon spirit was never agitated by danger, but it acted to triumph. By its exertions, a rich and powerful nation had been created, which might have continued to predominate in Europe with increasing honour and great national felicity. But within a few years after Ethelred's accession the pleasing prospect begins to fade. The tumultuary contests in the last reign between the monks and the clergy, and their respective supporters, had not had time to cease. Dunstan, acquiring the direction of the government under Ethelred, involved the throne again in the conflict, and the sovereign was placed at variance with the nobles and parochial clergy. The measures of the government were unsatisfactory to the nation. The chiefs became factious and disloyal, and the people discontented, till a foreign dynasty was at last preferred to the legal native succession.

Ethelred was but ten years of age when he attained the crown. His amiable disposition gave tears of affection to his brother's memory; but Elfrida could not pardon a sensibility which looked like accusation, and might terminate in rebellion to her will, and in disappointment to her ambition. She seized a waxen candle which was near, and beat the terrified infant with a dreadful severity, which left him nearly expiring. The anguish of the blows never quitted his remembrance. It is affirmed, that during the remainder of his life he could not endure the presence of a light (1). Perhaps the irresolution, the pusillanimity, the yielding imbecility, which characterised him during his long reign, may have originated in the perpetual terror which the guardianship of such a mother, striving to break his temper into passive obedience to her will, on this and other occasions, wilfully produced.

As her power declined, the feelings of the nation expressed themselves more decidedly. The commander of Mercia, and Dunstan, attended by a great crowd, went to Wareham, removed the body of the deceased sovereign, and buried it with honour at Shaftesbury (2). Dunstan might now triumph: though his oppo-

(1) Malmsb. 62. (2) Flor. 362. Sax. Chron. 125.

nents might equal him in daring, they were his inferiors in policy.

After a flow of prosperity uninterrupted for nearly a century, England, in the full tide of its strength, was insulted by seven Danish ships, which plundered Southampton and Thanet. The same vikingr, in the next season, ravaged in Cornwall and Devonshire (1). In the year following, three ships molested the isle of Portland (2). 980.

The re-appearance of the Northmen excited much conversation at the time (3). Another attempt of the same sort was made at Weccdport, where the English gained the field of battle, though Goda, the governor of Devonshire, and the brave Stenwold fell. In this year Dunstan died (4). He had enjoyed his power during the first ten years of Ethelred's reign, but the civil dissensions, which he appears to have begun and perpetuated, unnerved the strength of the country. The vices of the sovereign increased the evil. 988.

Within three years afterwards, formidable invasions of the Danes began to occur. A large force, commanded by Justin and Gurthmund, attacked Ipswich (5). They advanced afterwards along an unguarded coast, or through an unguarded country, as far as Malden. Byrhtnoth, the governor of Essex, collected some forces to oppose them, but he was defeated and slain (6). 991.

(1) Flor. Wig. 362. Sax. Chron. 125. Tib. B. 1. As Olave Tryggvason was at this time marauding on the English coast, and at last reached the Scilly isles, he may have been the sea-king who renewed the invasion of England.

(2) Flor. 363. Sim. Dun. 161. (3) Malmsb. 62.

(4) Flor. Wig. 364. Sax. Chron. 126. Dunstan died in the year 988. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. merely mention his death, without the printed addition of his attaining heaven. Siric was consecrated to his see. The preceding year was memorable for its diseases.

(5) The printed chronicle leaves the place an imperfect blank. The MS. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. have both Gypeswic; and see Flor. 364. The Ely Chronicle says, that at this time frequent irruptions of the Danish pirates occurred on different parts of the coast. It represents Byrhtnoth as defeating the first invader of Malden, but that another fleet, more numerous, came under Justin, and Guthmund the son of Stretan, to revenge the disaster. 3 Gale, p. 493.

(6) It is on this event that the narrative poem was composed which Hearne printed from a Cotton MS. since burnt, and of which Mr. W. Conybeare has published an English translation. As it seems to have been written soon after the events it narrates, it may be regarded as an historical document for both the manners and the incidents it describes. A few extracts will illustrate the character of Byrhtnoth as a favourable specimen of the Anglo-Saxon nobility. The herald of the vikingr first demanded tribute. The conduct and answer of the Saxon ealderman on this request is thus detailed:—"Byrhtnoth upraised his buckler, he shook his slender javelin; stern and resolute, he uttered his words, and gave him answer:—'Hear, thou mariner! what this people sayeth. Instead of tribute, they will bestow on you their weapons, the edge of their spears, their ancient swords and arms of war. Herald of the men of ocean! deliver to thy people a message in return; a declaration of high indignation. Say, that an earl with his retainers here stands undaunted, who will defend this land, the domain of my sovereign Ethelred, his people and his territory; and the heathen shall perish in the conflict. I shall think

The measure adopted by the government on this event, seems to have produced all the subsequent calamities. Instead of assembling the nobles with an army sufficient to chastise the invaders, the council of Ethelred advised him to buy off the invaders! Siric, the successor of Dunstan, reasoned, that as they only came for booty, it would be wiser to give them what they wanted. Ten thousand pounds were accordingly disgracefully granted as the price of their retreat (1). Whether the king's ecclesiastical advisers were afraid of calling out the chiefs of the country, with their military arrays; or, like most clerical statesmen, were incompetent to devise the wisest public measures; or whether the nobles, in their contempt for the king and his administration, were not displeased at the in-

it dastardly if you should retire to your ships with your booty without joining in battle, since you have advanced thus far into our land. Ye shall not so softly win our treasures. The point and edge shall first determine between us in the grim game of war before we yield you tribute.'"

Byrhtnoth was so heroic as to allow the invaders an uninterrupted passage over the river before he attacked them. "The invading host began to move. They gave orders to advance, to cross the ford, and to lead their troops onwards. The earl, meanwhile, in the haughtiness of his soul, gave free permission to many of the hostile bands to gain the land unmolested. Thus did the son of Byrtheim shout across the cold river:—'Warriors, listen! Free space is allowed you. Come then speedily over to us. Advance as men to the battle. God alone knows which of us is destined to remain masters of the field of slaughter.'"

The battle ensued. One of the invading leaders fell, and the personal conflict of Byrhtnoth with the other is thus described:—"The (Danish) chieftain raised up his weapon, with his buckler for his defence, and stept forth against that lord. With equal eagerness the earl advanced against the carl. Each meditated evil against the other. The sea-chief then sped a southern dart, which wounded the lord of the army. He manœuvred with his shield, so that the shaft burst, and the spear sprang back and recoiled. Incensed, the chief pierced with his dart the exulting vikingr who had given him that wound. Skilful was the hero; he caused his franca javelin to traverse the neck of the youth, and speedily shot off another, so that his mail was pierced. He was wounded in the heart, through its ringed chains, and the javelin's point stood in his heart. Then was the earl blithe; the stern warrior laughed, and uttered thanks to his Creator for the work of that day."

The earl's catastrophe immediately followed his triumph. It is thus narrated:—"But then some one of the enemies let fly a dart from his hand, which transfixed the noble thane of Ethelred. There stood by his side a youth not fully grown, a boy in the field, the son of Wulfstan, Wulfmor the young. He eagerly plucked from the chief the bloody weapon, and sent it to speed again on its destructive journey. The dart passed on till it laid on the earth him who had too surely reached his lord. Then a treacherous soldier approached the earl, to plunder from the chieftain his gems, his vestment, and his rings, and his ornamental sword. But Byrhtnoth drew from its sheath his battle-axe, broad and brown of edge, and smote him on his corslet. Very eagerly the pirate left him when he felt the force of the chieftain's arm. But at that moment his large hilted sword dropped to the earth. He could no longer hold his hand-glaive nor wield his weapon. Yet the hoary warrior still endeavoured to utter his commands. He bade the warlike youths, his brave companions, to march forwards, but he could no longer stand firmly on his feet." Conyb. xciii. Hearne, 10. Glast. App. The contest was continued after Byrhtnoth's death, but the fragment ends abruptly. The concluding part has not been preserved.

(1) Malmsb. 62. 365. Sax. Chron. 126. Flor. 365. The Saxon Chronicle makes Siric the author of this counsel.

vasion, and therefore did not oppose the payment, cannot now be certainly known; but no measure could have been taken more likely to excite the Northmen to new depredations on a country that rewarded an invader for his aggressions.

The payment is noticed by the annalists as having produced the evil of direct taxation. We now pay that, says the chronicler of the twelfth century, from custom, which terror first extorted for the Danes (1). The impositions were not remitted when the necessity had disappeared.

Ethelred has been painted to us as a tall handsome man, elegant in manners, beautiful in countenance, and interesting in his deportment (2). The sarcasm of Malmsbury gives his portrait in a sentence: he was "a fine *sleeping* figure (3)." He might adorn a lady's cabinet; he disgraced a council.

When wiser thoughts had sway, the right means of defence were put in action. Powerful ships were constructed at London, and were filled with selected soldiers (4); but all the wisdom of the measure was baffled by the choice of the commander. Alfric was the person intrusted to command the Anglo-Saxon fleet. 992.

Alfric, in 983, had succeeded his father in the dukedom of Mercia (5). Three years afterwards, from causes not explained, but probably connected with the dissensions above mentioned, he was expelled from England (6). In 992, he was appointed to lead the new fleet, with another duke, and two bishops, whose addition to the military commission implies the prevalence of ecclesiastical counsels, and perhaps some mistrust of the nobles. Their instructions were to surprise the Danes in some port at which they could be surrounded. The judicious scheme was foiled by Alfric's treason. When the Danes were traced to a station which admitted of the enterprise, he sent them word of the intention, and consummated his perfidy by sailing secretly to join them. The Anglo-Saxons found the enemy in flight, but could only overtake one vessel. The rest did not, however, reach their harbours unmolested; a division of the English fleet from London and East-Anglia met them on their way, and attacked them with a bravery natural to the island. The capture of Alfric's vessels crowned their victory, but its ignominious master escaped, though with difficulty. The king barbarously avenged it on Alfric, by blinding his son Algar (7). The treason of Alfric and his companions seems inexplicable, unless we suppose it to have been an effect of the national divisions or discontent.

(1) Hunt. 357. (2) Flor Wig. 362. Matt. West. 378.
(3) Rex—pulchré ad dormiendum factus, p. 63.
(4) Flor. 365. In 992, Oswald the friend of Dunstan died. Sax. Chron.
(5) Flor. 363. Sax. Chron. 125. (6) Flor. 363. Sim. Dun. 161.
(7) Flor. 366. Malmsb. 62.

993. This exertion, though its end was so disgraceful, had driven the enemy from the southern counties. The northern districts were then attacked. An armament stormed Bebbanburh, and afterwards, turning to the Humber, filled part of Lincolnshire and Northumbria with their depredations. The provincials armed to defend their possessions, but they confided the command to three chiefs of Danish ancestry, who with fatal treachery fled at the moment of joining battle (1);—another indication of the discontent of the nobles and the unpopularity of the government.

994. In 994, the breezes of the spring wafted into the Thames two warlike kings, Olave Tryggva's son, king of Norway, and Svein king of Denmark, in a temporary confederation. They came with ninety-four ships. They were repelled at London; but though their force was unimportant, they were able to overrun the maritime part of Essex and Kent, and afterwards Sussex and Hampshire, with successful outrage (2). The progress of so small a force, and the presence of two kings accompanying it, may induce the reflective reader to suspect that they did not come without some previous concert or invitation from some part of the nation. But on this occasion, when a small exertion of the national vigour could have overpowered the invaders, Ethelred again obeyed a fatal advice. He sent to offer tribute and provisions, and to know the sum which would stop their hostilities! Sixteen thousand pounds was the sum demanded, by fewer than ten thousand men, for the redemption of England (3). Can we avoid inferring treason in his councils? That the nobles should patronise such a measure looks like a scheme for abasing the power of their ecclesiastical opponents, who still governed the royal mind; or of changing the dynasty, as at last took place, from Ethelred to Svein. Infatuation without treachery could hardly have been so imbecile, as to have bought off an invader a second time, when the nation was so powerful, and the enemy so inferior (4).

Olave was invited to Ethelred's court, and, upon receiving hostages for his safety, he went to the royal city, where the king received him with honour. During his visit he received the Christian rite of confirmation, and had rich presents. When he departed for his country in the summer, he promised to molest England no more, and he kept his word (5).

(1) Sim. Dun. 162. Sax. Chron. 127.

(2) Sax. Chron. 128. Flor. Wig. 366. Sim. Dun. 162.

(3) Sax. Chron. 129. Flor. 367.

(4) The Sermon of Lupus, preached about this time, implies the insubordination of the country, and its enmity to the clergy. He calls the nation "Priest-slayers," and robbers of the clergy, and laments the seditions that prevailed. See it ap. Hickes's Diss. Ep. 99—106.

(5) Malmsb. 63. Sax. Chron. 129. Sim. Dun. 163.

The army of Svein, on the last capitulation, had wintered at Southampton. After three years' respite, it resumed its hostilities, sailed along Wessex, and, doubling the Land's End, entered the Severn. Wales, and afterwards Cornwall and Devonshire, were infested. Proceeding up the Thamar, they leaped from their ships, and spread the flames as far as Lydeford. The monastery of Tavistock fell amid the general ruin. Their ships were laden with the plunder, and the invaders wintered in security near the scene of their outrage (1). 998.

Resuming their activity with the revival of vegetation, they visited the Frome, and spread over great part of Dorset. Advancing thence to the Isle of Wight, they made alternate insults on this district and Dorsetshire, and compelled Sussex and Hampshire to supply them with provisions (2). But was the powerful nation of England thus harassed with impunity? When its enemies even stationed themselves on its coasts in permanent hostility, was no exertion directed to repress them? The answer of history is, that often was the Anglo-Saxon army collected to punish, but as soon as the battle was about to commence, either some treason or some misfortune prevented. They quitted their ranks, and gave an easy triumph to the half-welcomed Danes (3).

In the next year the Danish army, almost naturalised in England, approached the Thames, and, turning into the Medway, surrounded Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled to protect their city, but after a furious battle they yielded their dead to the invaders, who, collecting horses, almost destroyed the west of Kent (4).

A naval and military armament was now ordered against the invaders (5). But again the consequences of the national disaffection occurred. The commanders, as if befriending the invaders, interposed wilful delays in the equipment of the force. The fleet, when ready, was merely assembled; day after day drawled on without exertion, and injured only those who had been assessed to provide it. Whenever it was about to sail, some petty obstacle delayed it. The enemy was always permitted to increase and unite his strength; and when he chose to retire, then our fleet pursued. Thus even the very means which, properly used, would have cleared the British ocean of its oppressors, only increased the calamity of the nation. The people were called to labour to no purpose; their money was wasted as emptily, and by such mock preparations the enemies were more encouraged to invade (6). When the Danish forces retired, the army of Ethelred almost depopulated Cumberland. His fleet set sail to coast round Wales and meet him; but

(1) Sim. Dun. 163. Sax. Chron. 129. Malmsb. 63.
(2) Sax. Chron. 129. Sim. Dun. 164.
(3) Flor. 368. Sim. Dun. 163.
(4) Sax. Chron. 130. Matt. West. 386 (5) Flor. 369.
(6) Sax. Chron. 130.

the winds repelling them, they ravaged the Isle of Man as the substitute (1).

1000. A powerful diversion happened this year in favour of Ethelred; for the quarrel between Svein and Olave attained its height. Assisted by a Swedish king (2), and the son of Hakon Jarl (3), Svein attacked Olave by surprise, near the Island of Wollin, with a great superiority of force. The bravery of Olave could not compensate for a deficiency of numbers. His ship was surrounded; but, disdaining to be a prisoner, he leapt into the sea (4), and disappeared from pursuit. Popular affection, unwilling to lose its favourite, gave birth to that wild rumour which has so often attended the death of the illustrious, that the king had escaped the fray, and was living recluse on some distant shore (5). Authentic history places his death in this battle (6).

This diversion was made more complete by the Northmen also molesting Normandy (7). But the interval brought no benefit to England. The Danes returned in 1001, with their usual facility. The same measure was adopted notwithstanding its experienced inefficacy; and twenty-four thousand pounds was the third ransom of the English nation (8). No measure could tend more to bring on the government the contempt of the people.

1002. Massacre of the Danes. The year 1002 has become memorable in the annals of crime, by an action as useless as imbecility could devise, and as sanguinary as cowardice could perpetrate. On the day before St. Brice's festival, every city received secret letters from the king, commanding the people, at an appointed hour, to destroy the Danes there suddenly by the sword, or to surround and consume them with fire. This order was the more atrocious, as the Danes were living in peace with the Anglo-Saxons. The expressions of Malmsbury imply even an endeared amity of connection; for he says, with correct feeling, that it was miserable to see every one betray his dearest guests, whom the cruel necessity made only more beloved (9). To murder those we have embraced,

(1) Flor. 369. Sax. Chron. 130.

(2) Sweden was at this time in the hand of many kings: "Isto tempore multi erant Uplandiarum reges, suæ singuli provinciæ imperitantes. — Heidmarkiæ imperium tenuere duo fratres — Gudsbrandaliæ Gudrodus; etiam Raumarikiæ suus erat rex; suus quoque Thotniæ et Hadalandiæ, nec non suus Valdresiæ. Snorre, vol. ii. p. 36, 37.

(3) Theodoric, c. xiv. p. 23. Ara Frode, p. 49. Snorre details the confederacy against Olave, i. p. 331—345. Saxo gives the Danish account, lib. x. p. 191.

(4) Saxo, 191. Snorre, 345.

(5) Theodoric, 24. The tale must have made impression, for Theodoric declares, he knows not which relation was the truest.

(6) Ara Frode dates it 130 years after the fall of Edmund in East Anglia, or in 1000, c. vii. p. 49. The conquerors shared Norway, Snorre, 348.

(7) Sax. Chron. 130.

(8) Sax. Chron. 132. Both the MS. Chronicles have 24,000*l.*

(9) Malmsb. 64. The Saxon Chronicle says that Ethelred ordered it, because it

was an horrible idea, which exhibits human nature in one of its most degrading, yet most dreadful, possibilities, both of conception and execution. Yet while our indignation rises against Ethelred and his counsellors for the atrocity, we may reflect that the day of St. Bartholomew, in the seventeenth century, shows that a period, a court, and a nation far more enlightened and polished, could imitate the barbarity. Such repetitions are no extenuations of a crime that no circumstance can make otherwise than detestable and demon-like; but they rescue our ancestors from the stigma of being peculiarly ferocious.

The tyrannical command was obeyed. All the Danes dispersed through England, with their wives, families, and even youngest babes, were mercilessly butchered (1). So dreadful was the excited spirit, that Gunhilda, the sister of Svein, who had married an English earl, had received Christianity, and had voluntarily made herself the pledge of Danish peace, was ordered to be beheaded by the infamous Edric. Her husband and boy were first slain in he presence. She foretold the vengeance which would pour upon the English nation, and she joined her lifeless friends (2).

Great villany has been supposed to proceed from great mental energy perverted. But Ethelred evinced an absolute incapability of the most common associations of human reasoning. That Svein would return in vengeance was a natural expectation; and yet the person appointed to rescue England from his fury was Alfric, whom the king had banished for his misconduct, who had proved his gratitude for his pardon by an enormous treachery; whose son the king had in return deprived of eye-sight; and who now by some new intrigue was restored to favour.

Svein did not long delay the provoked invasion; he landed at Exeter, and by the treachery of the Norman governor, whom the king had set over it, he obtained and dis- 1003.

had been reported to him that they had a design to murder him first, and then all his witan, and thereupon to possess his kingdom without opposition, an. 1002. See Miss Gurney's translation of it, p. 158.

(1) Matt. West. 391.; Sax. Chron. 133.; Flor. 370.; Sim. Dun. 165.; Hoveden, 429.; Rad. Dic. 461.; Malmsb. 64.; Hunt. 360.; Bromton, 885.; Knyghton, 2315.; Walsingham Ypod. 18.; unite in stating that all the Danes in England were killed. That only the Danish soldiers in English pay were killed, appears to me to have no foundation. Gunhilda and her family were not Danish mercenaries, nor were the women and children of whom Wallingford speaks, whose loose authority has been put against all the rest. We find that Edgar admitted many Danes into England; many more must have settled out of the different invaders in Ethelred's reign. To what Danish families the cruel order extended, cannot now be ascertained. I cannot think that it could possibly include those whose ancestors came into England in Alfred's youth, and who settled in East Anglia and Northumbria, because the four or five generations which had elapsed must have made them Englishmen. How many perished cannot be explored. The crime of the schemers depends not upon the number of the victims.

(2) Matt. West. 391. Malmsb. 69.

mantled it (1). He proceeded through the country to Wilts, avenging his murdered countrymen. The Anglo-Saxons, under Alfric, met him. The instant that the battle was about to join, Alfric affected a sudden illness and declined the contest. Svein, availing himself of their divisions, led his army through Salisbury to the sea-coast laden with plunder.

1001. In the next year, Svein came with his fleet to Norwich, and burnt it. Ulfketul, the commander of East Anglia, proposed to buy a peace; yet finding the enemy advancing and plundering, he made one exertion against them (2), but they regained their ships. A famine now afflicted England, and the Danes returned to the Baltic (3).

Ethelred had, in 1002, married Emma, the daughter of Richard I., the third duke of Normandy (4). The king's infidelity and neglect was resented by his high-spirited queen (5). The insult was personal, and her anger was natural; but that her father should avenge it by seizing all the English who happened to pass into his dominions, by killing some and imprisoning the rest (6), was an act of barbarity which announces the contempt into which England had sunk.

Never was such a nation plunged into calamity so unnecessarily. The means were abundant of exterminating Svein, and such invaders, if a government had but existed, with whom its people would have co-operated. The report of Turketul to Svein gives us an impressive picture of the English condition: "A country illustrious and powerful; a king asleep, solicitous only about women and wine, and trembling at war; *hated by his people*, and derided by strangers. Generals envious of each other; and weak governors, ready to fly at the first shout of battle (7).

Ethelred was liberal to poets who amused him. Gunnlaugr, the Scalld, sailed to London and presented himself to the king with an heroic poem (8), which he had composed on the royal *virtues*. He sang it, and received in return a purple tunic, lined with the richest furs, and adorned with fringe; and was appointed to a station in the palace (9). By a verse which re

(1) Flor. 371. (2) Flor. 372.

(3) Flor. 372. Sax. Chron. 134. The famine is a strong evidence of the extent of Svein's vindictive ravages.

(4) Sax. Chron. 132. He had married an Earl's daughter before, who brought him Edmund. Ethel. Abb. 362.

(5) Malmsb. 64.

(6) Matt. West. 382. Walsingham narrates that Ethelred attempted an invasion of Normandy, which ended very unfortunately. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 16.

(7) Malmsb. 69. (8) Gunnlaugi Saga, c. vii. p. 87.

(9) Gunn. Saga, p. 89. When he left Ethelred in the following spring, the king gave him a gold ring which weighed seven ounces, and desired him to return in autumn, p. 99. The Scald was lucky. He went to Ireland and sang. The king there wished to give him two ships, but was told by his treasurer that poets had always clothes, or swords, or gold rings. Gunnlaugr accordingly received fine garments and a gold ring, p. 103. In the Orkneys a poem procured him a silver

mains of it, we may see that adulation is not merely an indigenous plant of eastern climates, or of polished times, but that it flourishes hardily, even amid Polar snows, and in an age of pirates.

> The soldiers of the king, and his subjects,
> The powerful army of England,
> Obey Ethelred,
> *As if he was an angel of the beneficent Deity* (1).

The history of successful devastation and pusillanimous defence, is too uniform and disgusting to be detailed. In 1006, the Danes obtained 36,000*l.* (2). In 1008, the feeble king oppressed his subjects with a new exaction. Every 310 hides of land were assessed to build and present one vessel, and every eight hides were to furnish an helmet and breast-plate (3). The hides of England, according to the best enumeration of them which exists (4), were 243,600. If we take this as the criterion, the taxation produced an additional force of 785 ships, and armour for 30,450 men.

Ethelred had now selected a new favourite in Edric; a man of low birth, but eloquent, plausible, and crafty. He is noted for excelling all men in perfidy and cruelty. He was made Duke of Mercia in 1007 (5).

The fleet, the product of the new assessment, assembled at Sandwich. Brihtric, the brother of Edric, and as ambitious and deceitful, accused Wulfnoth, the father of earl Godwin. Wulfnoth fled, and carried twenty ships with him, and commenced pirate. Brihtric pursued with eighty ships, but a tempest wrecked, and Wulfnoth burnt them. These events destroyed the confidence and the courage of the rest of the fleet. It dispersed and retired (6). The annalists add, that thus perished all the hopes of England.

In 1010, the triumph of the Danes was completed in the surrender of sixteen counties of England, and the payment of 48,000*l.* (7).

axe, p. 103. In Gothland he got an asylum of festivity for the winter, p. 105. At Upsal he met another poet, Rafn, and, what was worse, when both had sung, the king asked each for his opinion on the other's composition. The catastrophe need hardly be mentioned. Rafn told Gunnlaugr, that there was an end of their friendship, p. 115.

(1) Gunnl. 89.

(2) The printed Sax. Chron. p. 136. says 30,000*l.* The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. have 36,000*l.* Flor. 373.; Mailros, 154.; Hoveden, 430.; Peterb. 34.; Al. Bev. 114.; Sim. Dun. 166.; and Rad. Dic. 462. also give 36,000*l.*

(3) Sax. Chron. 136.

(4) The very ancient catalogue which Spelman copied into his Glossary, 353., and Camden into his Britannia, presents to us a detailed account of the hides in England. Gale has published one almost similar, but not quite. Rer. Ang. vol. iii. p. 748.

(5) Flor. Wig. 373.

(6) Flor. Wig. 374. Sax. Chron. 137, 138. In mentioning Wulfnoth, the printed Saxon Chronicle adds, that he was the father of earl Godwin, p. 137. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. has not these words, nor the Tib. B. 4., nor the Laud MS which Gibson quotes. As he marks only the Laud MS. to be without, I presume that his other MSS. had them.

(7) Flor. 375—378. Sax. Chron. 139—142. For a particular description of

Thus they divided the country with Ethelred, as his father Edgar, the first patron of the civil dissensions, had shared it unjustly with the ill-used Edwin.

1013. The next invasion of Svein was distinguished by the revolution of the government of the country. The people gradually seceded from Ethelred, and appointed the Dane their king. The earl of Northumbria, and all the people in his district, the five burghers, and all the army on the north of Watlingstreet, submitted to his sovereignty (1). He ordered them to supply provisions and horses, and committing their hostages and his ships to his son Canute, he commenced a visit of decisive conquest to the south. Oxford and Winchester accepted his dominion; but London resisted, because Ethelred was in it.

Svein marched to Bath, and the duke Ethelmere, and all the western thanes, yielded themselves to him. The citizens of London at last followed the example.

Ethelred's flight. Terrified by the universal disaffection, Ethelred sent his children into Normandy (2), and privately withdrew to the Isle of Wight (3), where he passed his Christmas; after which, on hearing of their good reception by his queen's brother, Richard, he departed also himself, and was kindly received (4).

Svein's death. 1016. The new sovereignty of Svein was severe in its pecuniary exactions (5), but it was short. He died, the year after his elevation, at Gainsborough (6).

This event produced a new change in the Anglo-Saxon politics. The Danish soldiers in England, the Thinga-man-

dismal period, see Osberne's Life of S. Elphegus, who was taken into Canterbury and killed, because 3000*l.* were not paid for his ransom. They hurled bones and skulls of cattle upon him, till one struck him on the head with an iron axe. Gurney, Sax. Chron. 170. Was he one of the counsellors of Ethelred who were obnoxious to the Danish partisans?

(1) Sax. Chron. 143.

(2) Sax. Chron. 143, 144. Flor. Wig. 379, 380. Malmsb. 69. This author remarks, that the Londoners did not abandon the king till he fled himself. He says of them in high panegyric: — "Laudandi prorsus viri et quos Mars ipse collata non sperneret hasta si ducem habuissent."

(3) Cumque clandestinis itineribus. Malmsb. p. 60.

(4) Malmsb. 70. Flor. 380.

(5) Hermannus, who wrote in 1070, thus describes his pecuniary exactions: — "Sueyn insuper lugubre malum scilicet ubique ponit tributum quod infortunium hodieque luit Anglia, multum felix, dives *ac dulcis nimium si non forent tributa.*" MS. Tib. B. 2. p. 25. In 1831 Dr. Henderson found that near the banks of the Ladoga, in Russia, a number of coins had been dug up, bearing inscriptions of Cuthic characters, and also one with the Latin inscription, "Ethelred, Rex Anglorum." He justly thinks this to have been part of the Danengeld levied by the Danes in England. Bibl. Researches. Many adventurers from the Baltic, besides Danes, fought under Svein.

(6) The annalists are fond of stating, that he was killed by St. Edmond: Snorre adds a curious comparison. "Just," says he, "as Julian the Apostate was killed by *Saint Mercury.*" Saga Olafi Helga, c. ix. p. 10.

na (1), appointed Canute, the son of Svein, for their king (2); but the English chieftains sent to Ethelred to offer him the crown again, on condition that he should govern rightly, and be less tyrannical (3).

Ethelred sent his son Edward to make the required promises of good government (4). Pledges were exchanged for the faithful performance of the contract; every Danish king was declared a perpetual outlaw (5), and in Lent the king returned.

Canute had now to maintain his father's honours by his sword. Confronted by a powerful force of the English, he sailed from East Anglia to Sandwich, and landed the hostages which his father had received for the obedience of the English. But in revenge for the opposition of the nation, he brutally maimed them of their hands and noses (6). They were children of the first nobility (7). Canute then retired to Denmark to watch his interests there, and to provide the means for stronger exertions to gain the crown of England (8).

To make head against Canute, Ethelred dispersed, around the neighbouring countries, high promises of reward to every warrior who would join the English standard (9): a great number came to him. Among these was Olave the son of Harald Grænski, a Norwegian sea-king, who, in 1007, at twelve years of age, had begun his maritime profession under a military tutor (10). He afterwards obtained the crown of Norway, and the reputation of a saint. He arrived in England in the year of Svein's death (11).

Canute called to his aid Eric the Jarl, one of the rulers of Nor-

(1) The body of troops who, during Svein's prosperity, and the reigns of his posterity, became stationary in England, are called Thinga-manna by Snorre, tom. ii. p. 15. The Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, p. 100.; and the Knytlinga Saga (Celto Scand. p. 103.) say, they received appointed stipends. Their commander, Heming, kept the conquered country in subjection to Canute. Two of their orders were, not to disperse rumours, and not to go beyond their city of a night. Trygg. Saga, p. 100. Celto Sc.

(2) The Sagas state Canute to have been but ten years of age at Svein's death. But this is a mistake.

(3) Flor. Wig. 381. "They assured him, that no one was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would govern them more righteously than he did before." Gur. Sax. Chron. 173. About this time occurred the war against Brian, king of Connaught. See the Niala Saga in Celto Scand. 107—110. and 120—129. I mention it, because to this battle belong the poetical vision of the Northern destinies, and the Scaldic Ode, which Gray has so vigorously translated in his Fatal Sisters.

(4) Flor. 381. He said, "that he would amend all that had been complained of, if they would return to him with one consent and without guile." Sax. Chron. G. 173.

(5) Sax. Chron. 145. (6) Flor. 382. (7) Malmsb. 71.

(8) Encomium Emmæ, written by a contemporary, 167. Svein's body was carried to Roschild, and buried. The autumn closed with an inundation of the sea, which laid the towns and country, for many miles, under water, and destroyed the inhabitants. Flor. 382. Malmsb. 71.

(9) Snorre Olafi Helga, c. vi. p. 6.

(10) Snorre, p. 3. (11) Snorre, p. 9. Knytlinga Saga, p. 103.

way, and one of the sons of Hakon the Bad (1), and sailed to England. His abilities made his advance the march of victory. The perfidious Edric crowned the treasons of his life by flying to Canute with forty ships. Wessex submitted to the invaders, and gave hostages for its fidelity (2).

The hostilities of the contending parties were now fast assuming the shape of decision. To Canute's well-arranged army, Edmund, the son of Ethelred, endeavoured to oppose a competent force; but the panic of the king, excited by rumoured treachery, disappointed his hopes. Edmund then roused the Northern chiefs to predatory excursions, but the energy of Canute prevented success. The Danes marched through Buckinghamshire to Bedford, and thence advanced to York. Uhtred, the earl of Northumbria, and the people, abandoned Edmund, and gave hostages to Canute (3). Leaving his friend Eric Jarl in the government of the country, Canute returned to his ships. At this crisis, the death of Ethelred released England from its greatest enemy (4).

(1) Knytlinga Saga, p. 10. Eric had gained great fame in two battles; one against Olave, Tryggva's son, the other against the Jomsburgers, Snorre, ii. p. 23. Svein had given Norway to Eric and his brother Hakon. When Eric came to England, he left his brother Hakon to govern all Norway, whom St. Olave expelled. Snorre, p. 211. Hakon was drowned. Ib. 321.

(2) Sax. Chron. 146.

(3) The Knytlinga Saga gives a particular description of Canute's exertions, interspersed with many quotations from the scalids, Ottar the Swarthy, Hallvardr, and Thordr, 104—107. Among the nobles who came with Canute were, Ulfr Jarl, the son of Sprakalegs, who had married Canute's sister, Astrida. Heming, and his brother, Thorkell the Lofty, sons of the Earl-street Haralldr, were also in his army. Ib.

(4) We have a contemporary picture of the internal state of England during this reign, in the Sermon of Lupus, one of the Anglo-Saxon bishops : —

" We perpetually pay them (the Danes) tribute, and they ravage us daily. They ravage, burn, spoil, and plunder, and carry off our property to their ships. Such is their successful valour, that one of them will in battle put ten of our men to flight. Two or three will drive a troop of captive Christians through the country from sea to sea. Very often they seize the wives and daughters of our thanes, and cruelly violate them before the great chieftain's face. The slave of yesterday becomes the master of his lord to-day, or he flies to the Vikingr, and seeks his owner's life in the earliest battle.

" Soldiers, famine, flames, and effusion of blood, abound on every side. Theft and murder, pestilence, diseases, calumny, hatred, and rapine, dreadfully afflict us.

" Widows are frequently compelled into unjust marriages; many are reduced to penury and are pillaged. The poor men are sorely seduced and cruelly betrayed, and, though innocent, are sold far out of this land to foreign slavery. Cradle children are made slaves out of this nation, through an atrocious violation of the law for little stealings. The right of freedom is taken away : the rights of the servile are narrowed, and the right of charity is diminished.

" Freemen may not govern themselves, nor go where they wish, nor possess their own as they like. Slaves are not suffered to enjoy what they have obtained from their allowed leisure, nor what good men have benevolently given for them. The clergy are robbed of their franchises, and stripped of all their comforts."

After mentioning many vices, he adds, that " far and wide the evil custom has prevailed of men being ashamed of their virtue: of good actions even incurring

CHAPTER X.

The Reign of Edmund Ironside.

At length the sceptre of the Anglo-Saxons came into the hand of a prince able to wield it with dignity to himself, and prosperity to his people. Like Athelstan, he was illegitimately born; but his spirit was full of energy; and his constitution was so hardy, that he obtained the surname of Ironside. It was his misfortune that he attained the crown in a stormy season; and, before his character and talents could be duly known or estimated, he had to conflict with a king, perhaps greater than himself. Had Edmund, like his father, acceded to the crown of a tranquil, united, and thriving nation, the abilities of a Canute might have been foiled. But Edmund succeded to the care of a divided people, half of whose territory was in the occupation of his enemy. He had no interval of respite to recruit his strength, or reform his country. He was dishonourably killed in the full exertion of his abilities. 1016.

An important struggle ensued between Edmund and Canute for the possession of London. It was long besieged in vain, sometimes by a part of Canute's forces, sometimes by all. London was at this time defended, on the south, by a wall which extended along the river (1). The ships of Canute, from Greenwich, proceeded to London. The Danes built a strong military work on the south bank of the river, and drew up their ships on the west of the bridge, so as to cut off all access to the city. Edmund vigorously defended it a while in person; and when his presence was required elsewhere, the brave citizens made it impregnable (2).

During the siege, Edmund fought two battles with the Danes in the country: one at Pen in Dorsetshire; the other, the most celebrated, at Scearstan, about Midsummer.

contempt; and of the public worship being publicly derided." Sermo Lupi ap. Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 99—106. Elfric, another contemporary, thought the state of things so bad that he believed doomsday to be approaching, and the world very near its end. MSS. Vit. St. Neot.

(1) Stephanides, in his description of London, written about 1190, so declares: "Similiterque ab austro Lundonia murata et turrita fuit," p. 8. Lond. 1728.

(2) Sax. Chron. 148.; Flor. 385.; and Knytlinga Saga, 135—137. The verses of the Scalids, Thordr, and Ottar the Swarthy, are cited on this subject. Snorre gives an account of Saint Olave, the Norwegian sea-king, assisting in the struggle at London. The principal achievement of Olave was to destroy the fortified bridge from Southwark, which he calls a great emporium to the city, which the Danes defended. The effort, somewhat romantic, is sung by Ottar and Sigvatr. Saga af Olafi Helga, p. 11—13.

Battle at Scearstan.

Edmund selected the bravest soldiers for his first line of attack, and placed the rest as auxiliary bodies; then noticing many of them individually, he appealed to their patriotism and their courage, with that fire of eloquence which rouses man to energetic deeds. He conjured them to remember their country, their beloved families, and paternal habitations: for all these they were to fight; for all these they would conquer. To rescue or to surrender these dear objects of their attachments, would be the alternative of that day's struggle. His representations warmed his soldiers; and in the height of their enthusiasm, he bade the trumpets to sound, and the charge of battle to begin. Eagerly his brave countrymen rushed against their invaders, and were nobly led by their heroic king. He quitted his royal station to mingle in the first ranks of the fight; and yet, while he used his sword with deadly activity, his vigorous mind watched eagerly every movement of the field. He struggled to blend the duty of commander and the gallant bearing of a soldier. Edric and two other generals, with the men of Wilts and Somerset, aided Canute. On Monday, the first day of the conflict, both armies fought with unprevailing courage, and mutual fatigue compelled them to separate (1).

In the morning the awful struggle was renewed. In the midst of the conflict, Edmund forced his way to Canute, and struck at him vehemently with his sword. The shield of the Dane saved him from the blow; but it was given with such strength, that it divided the shield, and cut the neck of the horse below it. A crowd of Danes then rushed upon Edmund; and, after he had slain many, he was obliged to retire. Canute was but slightly wounded (2). While the king was thus engaged, Edric struck off the head of one Osmear, whose countenance resembled the king's, and raising it on high, exclaimed to the Anglo-Saxons that they fought to no purpose. "Fly, ye men of Dorset and Devon! Fly, and save yourselves. Here is your Edmund's head (3)." The astonished English gazed in terror. The king was not then visible, for he was piercing the Danish centre. Edric was believed, and panic began to spread through every rank. At this juncture Edmund appeared receding before the pressure of the Danes, who had rescued Canute. He saw the malice, and sent his spear as his avenger: Edric shunned the point, and it pierced two men near him. But his presence was now unavailing. In vain he threw off his helmet, and, gaining an eminence, exposed his disarmed head to undeceive his warriors. The fatal spirit

(1) Flor. Wig. 385, 386.

(2) I derive this paragraph from the Knytlinga Saga, p. 130. Ottar the Swarthy celebrates the battle, and places it near the Tees, p. 131., in Johnstone's Celto Scandicæ.

(3) Flor. Wig. 386.

had gone forth; and, before its alarms could be counteracted, the army was in flight. All the bravery and skill of Edmund could only sustain the combat till night interposed (1).

The difficulty of the battle disinclined Canute from renewing it. He left the contested field at midnight, and marched afterwards to London to his shipping. The morn revealed his retreat to Edmund. The perfidious Edric, discerning the abilities of the king, made use of his relationship and early connection (he had married Edmund's sister, and had been his foster-father) to obtain a reconciliation. Edmund consented to receive him on his oath of fidelity (2).

Edmund followed Canute to London, and raised the siege of the city. A conflict soon followed between the rivals at Brentford (3). Both parties claim the victory (4). As Canute immediately afterwards beleaguered London again, the laurel seems to have been obtained by him. Baffled by the defence, he avenged himself on Mercia, whose towns, as usual, were committed to the flames, and he withdrew up the Medway. Edmund again urged the patriotic battle at Otford in Kent, and drove him to Shepey. A vigorous pursuit might have destroyed all Canute's hopes; but the perfidious counsels of Edric preserved the defeated invader (5).

Battle of Assandun.

When Edmund withdrew to Wessex, Canute passed into Essex; and thence advancing, plundered Mercia without mercy. Edmund, earnest for a decisive effort, again assembled all the strength of England, and pursued the Dane, who was retiring to his ships with his plunder. At Assandun, in the north part of Essex, the armies met. Edmund arranged his countrymen into three divisions, and, riding round every rank, he roused them, by his impressive exhortations, to remember their own valour, and their former victories. He entreated them to protect the kingdom from Danish avarice, and to punish, by a new defeat, the enemies they had already conquered. Canute brought his troops gradually into the field. Edmund made a general and impetuous attack. His vigour and skill again brought victory to his arms. The star of Canute was clouded; when Edric, his secret ally, deserting Edmund in the very hour of success, fled from the field with the men of Radnor, and all the battalions he commanded. The charge of Canute on the exposed and inferior Anglo-Saxons was then decisive. The valour of Edmund was forgotten. Flight

(1) Flor. Wig. 386.

(2) It is the Knytlinga Saga which informs us that Edric had brought up Edmund:—"Cujus tamen nutricius iste Heidricus fuit," p. 139.

(3) Flor. Wig. 387. Sax. Chron. 149. The Knytlinga Saga quotes the verses of the scalld Ottar on this battle, p. 134.

(4) Florence and his countrymen give the victory to Edmund. The Knytlinga Saga says, Canute conquered; and adds, that the town was destroyed, p. 134.

(5) Flor. 387. Snorre mentions, that St. Olave fought at Canterbury; and quotes Ottar the Swarthy upon it, p. 14.; but I cannot be certain that it was at this period.

and destruction overspread the plain. A few, jealous of their glory, and anxious to give a rallying point to the rest, fought desperately amid surrounding enemies, and were all cut off but one man. In this dismal conflict the flower of the nobility of England perished (1).

The betrayed Edmund disdained the death of despair, and attempted new efforts to rescue his afflicted country. He retired to Gloucester; and such was his activity and eloquence, that a fresh army was around him before Canute overtook him. Edmund then challenged Canute to decide their quarrel by a single combat (2).

Edmund challenges Canute.

Some authorities (3) assert that they fought in the islet of Olney, near the bridge of Gloucester, a small plain almost encircled by the winding of the river (4); other chroniclers declare, that Canute declined the meeting (5): but the result was, that a pacification was agreed upon between the princes; and England was divided between them. Canute was to reign in the north, and Edmund in the south. The rival princes exchanged arms and garments; the money for the fleet was agreed upon, and the armies separated (6).

The brave Edmund did not long survive the pacification. He perished the same year. The circumstances attending his assassination are variously given. Malmsbury mentions that two of his chamberlains were seduced by Edric to wound him at a most private moment with an iron hook; but he states this to be only rumour (7). The king's violent death, and its author, are less reservedly avowed by others (8). The northern accounts go even farther. The Knytlinga Saga and Saxo carry up the crime as high

(1) Malmsb. 72. Flor. Wig. 388. Sax. Chron. 150. The Knytlinga Saga, and the scalld Oitar, notice this conflict, p. 134. Snorre places one of St. Olave's battles in a place which he calls Hringmaraheide. He says this was in the land of Ulfkell, p. 13. This expression somewhat approximates it to the battle of Assandun, for Ulfkell governed the eastern districts of the island; and Dr. Gibson places this conflict at Assington in Essex. Camden thought it was Ashdown, in the north part of that county.

(2) I follow Malmsbury in ascribing the proposal to Edmund, p. 72.

(3) Huntingdon, 363.; Matt. West. 400.; Peterb. 36.; Knygt. 2316.; Bromton, 905.; Higden, 274.; Rieval, 364.; Rad. Nig. MS.; Vesp. D. 10. p. 25.; mention the duel.

(4) The kings are stated to have caught each other's spears in their shields, and with their swords advanced to a closer conflict. Their battle lasted till the strength of Canute began to fail before the impetuosity of Edmund. The Dane is then described as proposing to the Anglo-Saxon an amicable arrangement, by dividing the kingdom.

(5) These are Malmsb. 72. and the Encom. Emmæ, 169., two important authorities. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence, Hoveden, and some others, neither mention the challenge nor the conflict. The Knytlinga Saga is as silent, and this silence turns the scale against the combat.

(6) Flor. Wig. 389. Sax. Chron. 150.

(7) Malmsb. 72.

(8) As Hunt. 363.; Matt. West. 401.; Hist. El. 502.; Hist. Ram. 434.; Petrob. 37.; Ingulf, 57.; and many others. Hermannus, who wrote within fifty years after

as Canute. They expressly state that Edric was corrupted by Canute to assassinate Edmund (1).

Rise of Earl Godwin.

A remarkable character began his progress to greatness in this reign: this was the famous earl Godwin, who possessed a power little less than sovereign for three reigns, and whose son Harold was the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings. His origin has never yet been mentioned in English history; but as the rise of poverty to grandeur is always an interesting contemplation, we will state the short history of Godwin's elevations.

An herdsman's son.

That Godwin was the son of an herdsman, is a fact recorded in the MS. Chronicle of Radulphus Niger. This author says explicitly what no other has mentioned, "Earl Godwin was the son of an herdsman." It adds, that he was brought up by Canute (2). How the son of a Saxon herdsman came to be brought up by Canute, the note will explain (3).

this event, says, "Nocte siquidem sequentis diei festivitatis Sancti Andreæ Lundoniæ perimitur insidiis Edrici Streane perfidissimi ducis." Cotton Lib MS. Tib. B. 2. The encomiast of Emma says, he was long and greatly lamented by his people, p. 171.

(1) "Erat tunc temporis inter Anglos vir potens, Heidricus Striona nomine. Is a rege Canuto pecunia corruptus est ut Jatmundum clam interficeret. Hoc modo Jatmundus rex periit." Knytl. Saga, p. 139. To the same purpose Saxo, "Memorant alii Edvardum clandestino Canuti imperio occisum," lib. x. p. 193. Snorre says, "Eodem mense Heinrikus Striona occidit Edmundum regem." Olafi Helga, p. 24. Adam of Bremen says he was poisoned, p. 31.

(2) It is a MS. in the Cotton Library, Vespasian, D. 10. In the second side of page 27., it says, "Godwinus comes filius bubulci fuit." It adds, "Hic Godwinus a rege Cnutone nutritus processu temporis in Daciam cum breve regis transmissus callide duxit sororem Cnutonis."

(3) The Knytlinga Saga gives us that explanation which no other document affords.

One of the Danish chieftains, who accompanied Canute to England, has been noticed to have been Ulfr, the son of Sprakalegs, who had married Canute's sister Astrida. In the battle of Skorstein, between Canute and Edmund, he fought in Canute's first line, and pursued part of the English fugitives into a wood so eagerly, that, when he turned to rejoin his friends, he saw no path; he wandered about it only to bewilder himself, and night involved him before he had got out of it. In the morning he beheld near him a full-grown youth driving cattle to their pasture. He saluted the lad, and enquired his name: he was answered, "Gudin," or Godwin.

Ulfr requested the youth to show him the tract which would lead him to Canute's ships. Godwin informed him that he was at a great distance from the Danish navy; that the way was across a long and inhospitable wood; that the soldiers of Canute were greatly hated by the country people; that the destruction of the yesterday's battle at Skorstein was known around; that neither he nor any soldier of Canute's would be safe if the peasants saw him; nor would the person be more secure who should attempt to assist an enemy.

Ulfr, conscious of his danger, drew a gold ring from his finger, and proffered it to the youth, if he would conduct him to his friends. Godwin contemplated it awhile; but that greatness of mind which sometimes accompanies talents even in a lowly state, glowed within him, and, in an emanation of a noble spirit he exclaimed,

CHAPTER XI.

Canute the Great.

Canute, from his warlike ability, surnamed the Brave; from his renown and empire, the Great; from his liberality, the Rich; and from his devotion, the Pious (1); obtained, on Edmund's death, the sovereignty of all England at the age of twenty (2).

The Northerns have transmitted to us the portrait of Canute: he was large in stature, and very powerful; he was fair, and distinguished for his beauty; his nose was thin, eminent, and aquiline; his fair was profuse; his eyes bright and fierce (3).

He was chosen king by general assent; his partisans were numerous in the country, and who could resist his power? His measures to secure his crown were sanguinary and tyrannical; but the whole of Canute's character breathes an air of barbaric grandeur. He was formed by nature to tower amidst his contemporaries; but his country and his education intermixed his greatness with a ferocity that compels us to shudder while we admire. In one

"I will not accept your ring, but I will try to lead you to your friends. If I succeed, reward me as you please."

He led Ulfr first to his father's humble mansion, and the earl received an hospitable refreshment.

When the shades of night promised secrecy, two horses were saddled, and Ulfnadr, the father, bade the earl farewell. "We commit you to our only son, and hope, that if you reach the king, and your influence can avail, you will get him admitted into the royal household. Here he cannot stay; for should our party know that he preserved you, his safety would be doubtful." Perhaps Ulfnadr remembered the high fortunes of his uncle Edric, who was now duke of Mercia; and hoped that, if his son could get a station in the royal palace, he might, like Edric, ascend from poverty to greatness.

Godwin was handsome, and fluent in his elocution. His qualities and services interested Ulfr, and a promise to provide for him was freely pledged.

They travelled all night, and in the next day they reached the station of Canute, where Ulfr, who was much beloved, was very joyfully received. The grateful Jarl placed Godwin on a lofty seat, and had him treated with the respect which his own child might have claimed. He continued his attachment so far, as afterwards to marry him to Gyda, his sister. To oblige Ulfr, Canute, in time, raised Godwin to the dignity of Jarl. Knytlinga Saga, 105. and 131—133.

(1) Dr. Hickes's dedication to his Thesaurus. His baptismal name was Lambert. Frag. Isl. 2 Lang. 426.

(2) The Knytlinga Saga, and Olave Tryggvason Saga, state Canute to have been but ten years old at his father's death. If so, he could be only twelve at his accession. This is not probable. One document speaks more truly. Snorre, in his Saga af Magnusi Goda, states Canute to have been forty when he died. This was in 1035; and therefore in 1016, he must have been twenty-one. Snorre's words are, "Eodem autumno vita functus est rex Knutus potens in Anglia idibus Novembris natus tunc *annos quadraginta*," c. iv. p. 7.

(3) Knytlinga Saga, p. 148.

respect he was fortunate; his mind and manners refined as his age matured. The first part of his reign was cruel and despotic. His latter days shone with a glory more unclouded.

His first policy was against the children of Ethelred and Edmund. One of his scallds, Sighvatr, sings, that all the sons of Ethelred he slew or banished (1). The Saxon annalist assures us, that he determined at first to exile Edwig, the half-brother of Edmund; but finding the English nobles both submissive and adulating, he proceeded to gratify his ambition by taking the prince's life. The infamous Edric suggested to him a man, Ethelwold, a nobleman of high descent, who would undertake to accomplish his criminal desires. The king incited Ethelwold to the measure. "Acquiesce with my wishes, and you shall enjoy securely all the honour and dignity of your ancestors. Bring me his head, and you shall be dearer to me than a brother." This was the language of a northern vikingr, to whom human life was of no value. Ethelwold affected a compliance; but his seeming readiness was but an artifice to get the child into his power, and to preserve his life. Edwig did not ultimately escape. The next year he was deceived by those whom he most esteemed; and, by Canute's request and command, he was put to death (2).

With the same guilty purpose, he seized Edward and Edmund, the children of the last king; but he was counselled that the country would not endure their destruction. Alarmed from immediate crime, he sent them to the king of Sweden, to be killed. This prince was too noble to be a murderer, and had them conveyed to Salomon, the king of Hungary, to be preserved and educated (3). One died; the other, Edward, married Agatha, the daughter of Henry, the German emperor; and their issue was Edgar Atheling, who will be remembered in a future reign.

Canute, reserving to himself the immediate government of Wessex, committed East Anglia to Turketul, whose valour had greatly contributed to the subjection of England. He gave Mercia to Edric, and Northumbria to his friend Eric, the Norwegian prince. He made a public treaty of amity with the English chiefs and people, and by mutual agreement all enmities were laid aside. In the same year, the solemn compact was violated; for he slew three English noblemen without a fault (4). He banished Edwig,

(1) Attamen singulos
Deinceps filiorum Adelradi
Vel interfecit Cnutus
Vel proscripsit.
Sigvatr Knutzdrapu, quoted in Knytl. Saga, p. 140.

(2) Flor. Wig. 390, 391. (3) Ibid. 391.

(4) Sine culpâ. Flor. 391. Mailros, 155. The Encomium Emmæ says, he killed many princes: "Multos principum quadam die occidere pro hujusmodi dolo jubet." The dolus here alleged was, that they had deceived Edmund. Their real crime may have been that they were powerful, and that their submission was dubious. Ingulf, 58., and the Annals of Burton, 247., mention some of Edric's friends as killed.

the king of the peasants (1), and divided the estates of the nobles among his Danish friends.

The punishment of Edric would have been a homage to virtue from any other person than Canute. The crime he prompted he should not have punished. But it is an observation almost as old as human nature, that traitors are abhorred by their employers. In the first days of Canute's unsettled throne, he confirmed Edric in his Mercian dukedom; but having used the profligate Saxon to establish his dignity, on the next claim of reward, he expressed his latent feelings. Edric imprudently boasted of his services: "I first deserted Edmund, to benefit you; for you I killed him." Canute coloured; for the anger of conscious guilt and irrepressible shame came upon him. "'Tis fit then you should die, for your treason to God and me. You killed your own lord! him who by treaty and friendship was my brother! your blood be upon your own head, for murdering the Lord's anointed; your own lips bear witness against you." The villain who perpetrated the fact was confounded by the hypocrite who had countenanced it. Eric, the ruler of Norway, was called in, that the royal intention might be secretly executed. He struck down the wretch with his battle-axe, and the body was thrown from the window into the Thames, before any tumult could be raised among his partisans (2). The two sons of Ethelred, by Emma, were sheltered in Normandy.

1018. Canute married Emma, called also Elfgiva, the widow of Ethelred. He distinguished his next year by a most oppressive exaction: from London he compelled 10,500 pounds, and from the rest of the kingdom 72,000.

To soothe the country, he sent home the largest portion of his Danish troops, keeping only forty vessels in England. In this he displayed the confidence of a noble mind. He maintained an exact equality between the two nations, in ranks, council, and war. In 1019, England was so tranquil, that he went to Denmark, and passed the winter in his native country.

Canute maintained his dignity with a severe hand. In 1020, after his return from the Baltic, he held a great council in the Easter festivity at Cirencester. At this he banished the duke Ethelwerd. In 1021, he also exiled the celebrated Turketul.

1025. In this year the Anglo-Saxons obscurely intimate, that Canute went to Denmark, where he was attacked by Ulfr and Eglaf, with a fleet and army from Sweden. In one

(1) Ceorla cyng. Sax. Chron. 151. qui rex appellabatur rusticorum. Flor. Wig. 398. Bromton says he was the brother of Edmund, 907.; but I doubt that this is an error.

(2) This narration is taken from Malmsb. 73. compared with Encom. Emmæ. The circumstances of his death are told differently, as usual. Florence admits that he was killed in the king's palace; but one says, that he was hanged; another, that he was strangled; another, that he was beheaded. Human testimony is characterised by these petty variations.

struggle Canute was unsuccessful; but afterwards the young earl Godwin attacked the enemies of Canute by surprise, with the English troops, and obtained a complete victory. This event raised Godwin and the English very greatly in the king's estimation (1).

The Eglaf was St. Olave, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Norway. Canute, occupied by his English crown, made at first no pretensions to the Norwegian sceptre (2). The submission of England gave him leisure to turn the eye of ambition to the mountains of Norway (3). Claims, those slight veils with which states desirous of war always cover their unjust projects, to conceal their deformity from the giddy populace; claims adapted to interest the passions of vulgar prejudice, existed to befriend Canute. His father had conquered Norway; his relation, Haco, had been driven from it. Many of the people who had most loudly welcomed St. Olave, had become dissatisfied at his innovations, and invited Canute to interfere (4).

The detail of the struggle between Canute and St. Olave need not be narrated here. Ulfr at first was among the enemies of Canute. He was afterwards pardoned and reconciled (5); and in the king's conflict with the Swedes, was the means of saving Canute's life (6).

At a feast in Roschild, Canute, according to Snorre, quarrelled with Ulfr at gaming. The indignant Jarl prudently retired. Canute taunted him on his cowardice for withdrawing. "Was I a coward when I rescued you from the fangs of the Swedish dogs?" was the answer of the irritated Ulfr. Canute went to his couch, and slept upon his resentment; but his fierce and haughty soul waked in the morning to demand blood. He sent his mandate, and Ulfr was stabbed in a church which he had entered (7). Canute descended so far beneath the courage of a hero, as to corrupt the subjects of Olave from their fidelity by money (8). Canute supported his insidious negotiations by a powerful fleet. Fifty ships of English thanes were with him; and every district in Norway which he approached accepted him as its lord (9). He exacted for hostages the sons and dearest relations of the chiefs of Norway, and appointed Haco, the son of his friend Eric, to be the governor of his conquests (10).

St. Olave retired before the storm, which he was unable to confront, and took shelter in Russia. Haco sailed to England for his wife; but he was doomed to visit Norway 1028.

(1) Sax. Chron. 154. Matt. West. 405.
(2) Snorre, vol. ii. p. 144. (3) Snorre, p. 212.
(4) Snorre, 212, 213.
(5) See Snorre, 26—69.; and compare Saxo's account, 195, 196.
(6) Snorre, 271, 272. (7) Ibid. 276, 277.
(8) Flor. Wig. 303. Theodoric, p. 29. Snorre, 278.
(9) Snorre, 295. (10) Snorre, 296.

no more. The last time his ship was seen on his return, was, late in the day, off Caithness, in Scotland; a furious storm was raging, and the wind was driving him towards the Pentland Firth: neither the vessel nor any of its mariners appeared again (1). In the next year, St. Olave returned; but perished from the insurrection of his subjects, whom he had offended by his laws to accelerate their civilization.

1031. In 1031, Canute penetrated Scotland, and subdued Malcolm, and two other kings (2). Snorre says, he conquered great part of it (3).

Canute had the fame of reigning over six kingdoms (4). As a soldier he was certainly eminent; but, fortunately for his fame, a few incidents have been preserved concerning him, which rescue his character from the charge of indiscriminate barbarism, and claim for him the reputation of a lofty mind.

He seems to have been one of those men, who feel that they are born to merit the approbation of future generations, and whose actions become sublimer, as their name seems likely to be perpetuated. He lived to posterity as well as to his country. It was in this strain, that, having in a moment of intemperance killed a soldier, and by that criminal deed violated a law which he had enforced on others, he assembled his troops, descended from his splendid throne, arraigned himself for his crime, expressed his penitence, but demanded a punishment. He proclaimed impunity for their opinions to those whom he appointed his judges; and, in the sight of all, cast himself humbly on the ground, awaiting their sentence. A burst of tears, at his greatness of soul, bedewed every spectator. They respectfully withdrew to deliberate, as he had required, and at last determined to let him appoint and inflict his own punishment. The king accepted the task. Homicide was at that time punishable by a mulct of forty talents. He fined himself three hundred and sixty, and added nine talents of gold as a further compensation (5).

There is something in the incident of the sea, which discovers a mind of power, looking far beyond the common associations of mankind. Canute had conquered many countries. In an age of

(1) Snorre, 321. Theodoric says, he was lost in the whirlpool of the Pentland Firth.

(2) Sax. Chron. 154. Hen. Hunt. 364. A northern scalld calls the kings, the two kings of Fife.

(3) P. 144. The Knytlinga Saga adds, that he appointed his son Harald to govern his conquests. On the gigantic bones said to be found, 1520, in the place of the conflicts between Canute and Malcolm, they who think it worth while may read Stephanius's note on Saxo, p. 27.

(4) Saxo, 196.; and see Encom. Emmæ, 492. He prevailed on Conrad II. to restore him to the Margraviate of Sleswick: and the Eider then became the northern boundary of Germany. 1 Putt. Hist. 154.

(5) Saxo, 199.

valour and enterprise, his exploits had equalled the most adventurous. Poets embodied in their melodies the admiration of his people, and directed to his heart those praises with which all Europe resounded. Encompassed with flattery and subjection, Canute's mind may have been swollen into temporary presumption. He may in the frenzies of vanity have fancied, like an Alexander, that he was scarcely a mortal. But his mind was too powerful to continue the slave of his conceit. The more he gazed on nature, the more he felt the adorable Being who governed him, as well as his people; the more he was humbled with the conviction of his individual insignificance. To communicate his solemn sensations, with all their impressions, to his adulating friends, he ordered the chair of his dignity to be placed on the sea-beach. His courtiers formed around him; the tide was undulating to the shore, and Canute seated himself before it. "Ocean, the island on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominion. None of my subjects dare to resist my orders; I therefore command thee that thou ascend not my coasts, nor presume to wet the borders of my robes."

In vain the mandate issued. He was not the master whom the waters reverenced; and in contempt of his authority every wave drew nearer to his feet, till the general elevation of the ocean covered his legs with its billows. It was then that he expressed the noble sentiment which was impressing his mind. "Let every dweller upon the earth confess that the power of kings is frivolous and vain. He only is the Great Supreme, let Him only be honoured with the name of Majesty, whose nod, whose everlasting laws, the heavens, the earth, and sea, with all their hosts, obey." In conformity to this sublime feeling, Canute would never afterwards wear his crown (1).

Among the kingly qualities in which Canute strove to excel, his liberality was distinguished (2). Master of the tributes of several kingdoms, his resources were equal to the munificence of his heart. His journey from Flanders to Rome was a stream of expensive generosity. Whoever approached him was fed and cherished without a request (3). Canute's presents in general had three objects; charity, literature, and public services.

The literature of his age was in the hands of two very different bodies of men; the clergy and the scallds. Both have extolled his liberality (4). Of the scallds who attended him, the names and

(1) I have stated this incident from Matt. West. p. 409.; Hen. Hunt. 364.; Rad. Dic. 469.; Higden and Bromton.

(2) Knytlinga Saga, 145.

(3) Ibid. 144, 145. Encomium Emmæ, 173.

(4) For his donations to the church, see Matt. West. 404, 405. 409.; Encom. Emmæ, 173.; and others. In mentioning his resources from his kingdoms, the Knytlinga Saga gives to our country the praise of that superior affluence which it seems, in every age, to have displayed:—"inter omnes septentrionales terras, opum ac thesaurorum Anglia facile sit ditissima," p. 146.

verses of many have survived to us. Sighvatr, Ottar the Swarthy, Thordr Kolbeinson, and Thorarin Loftunga, are among those whose historical poems or panegyrics have been much cited by Snorre in his northern history (1).

Thorarin was celebrated for the richness and celerity of his muse. He gave a striking specimen of this faculty. He had made a short poem on Canute, and went to recite it in his presence. On approaching the throne, he received a salute, and respectfully inquired if he might repeat what he had composed. The king was at table at the close of a repast; but a crowd of petitioners were occupying their sovereign's ear by a statement of their grievances. The impatient poet may have thought them unusually loquacious: he bore the tedious querulousness of injury with less patience than the king, and at last, presuming on his general favour with the great, exclaimed, "Let me request again, Sire, that you would listen to my song; it will not consume much of your time, for it is very short." The king, angry at the petulant urgency of the solicitation, answered, with a stern look, "Are you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared — to write a *short* poem upon me? Unless by to-morrow's dinner you produce above thirty strophes on the same subject, your head shall be the penalty." The poet retired — not with alarm, for his genius disdained that, but with some mortification at the public rebuke. He invoked his Scandinavian Muses; his mind became fluent; verses crowded on it; and before the allotted time he stood before the king with the exacted poem, and received fifty marks of pure silver as his reward (2).

As private anecdotes best display the real character, another may be permitted; and perhaps it will be most picturesque to give it in the words of the recording eye-witness. It occurred upon Canute's journey to Rome, at St. Omer's.

"Entering the monasteries, where he was received with great honour, he walked humbly, he fixed his eyes on the ground with wonderful reverence; and pouring out (if I may say so) rivers of tears, he implored the aid of the saints. But when the moment came of presenting his gifts upon the altar, how often did he impress the pavement with his kisses! how often did he strike his venerable breast! what sighs! what prayers that he might not be found unworthy of the mercy of the Supreme! At length his attendants stretched forth his munificent oblation, which the king himself placed on the altar. But why do I say *the* altar, when I remember

(1) In the second volume passim. Sighvatr was the son of Thordr, a scalld. Snorre, 45.

(2) Knytlinga Saga, 146, 147. Snorre mentions this shortly, p. 297. The poet afterwards, in his Tugdrapa, sung the present. See the stanza in Knytl. p. 147. His short poem was of the kind which Snorre says, "we call Flok." The longer was of the sort called Drapa. Snorre, p. 297. He gives a long specimen of the Drapa, p. 298. 299.. and a specimen of the Flok, p. 303.

that I myself saw him go round every part of the monasteries, and pass no altar, however small, on which he did not leave a present, and which he did not salute? Then came the poor, and were all separately relieved. These and other bounties of the lord Canute, I your slave! Oh, St. Omer, St. Bertin! myself beheld in your monasteries; for which do you pray that such a king may live in the heavenly habitations, as your servants, the canons and monks, are daily petitioning (1)."

This incident is inserted, because it affords a striking contrast to some actions of Canute's earlier life. A Dunstan might have acted such a scene for its theatrical effect. But in the proud master of so many conquered kingdoms, the emotions must have been those of his mind and heart.

Canute has himself described his journey to Rome in a public document, addressed to all the orders of the English nation (2): he says, he went for the redemption of his sins, and the welfare of his subjects; that he had projected it before, but had been hindered by business and other impediments. He adds:

"Be it known to you, that there was a great assembly of nobles at the Easter solemnity, with the lord the pope John, and Conrad the emperor (3). There were all the princes of the people, from Mount Gargano to the sea, who all received me with dignity, and honoured me with valuable presents. I was particularly honoured with various gifts and costly presents from the emperor, as well with gold and silver vessels, as with very rich apparel. I spake with the emperor, the pope, and the princes, on the necessities of my English and Danish subjects, that a more equal law, and better safeguard, might be granted to them in their journies to Rome; that they might not be hindered at so many fortified passages, nor oppressed by such unjust exactions. The emperor assented, and Rodolph, the king (4), who rules most of the passages, and all the princes established, that my subjects, whether merchants or travellers from piety, might go and return to Rome without detention or exaction.

"I also complained before the pope, and expressed myself highly displeased that such an immensity of money should be extorted from my archbishops when they came to Rome or the pall. It was declared that this should not happen again."

(1) Encomium Emmæ, 173.

(2) This Letter of Canute's is in Flor. Wig. 394—397.; Ingulf, 56—61.; and Malmsb. p. 74, 75. Its substance is stated in Matt. West. 407., and elsewhere.

(3) He was the fourth emperor after Otho the Great.

(4) In Florence he is called Rodulph; so in Malmsb. 74. But in Ingulph, both in Gale's edition, p. 60. and that of Frankfort, p. 893., he is named Robert. The difference is not merely verbal. Rodulph was the king of Burgundy; and Robert, the son and successor of Hugh Capet, was the king of France. But as the clausuræ, or fortified passages, of which Canute speaks, were probably those of the Alps, which Rodulph commanded; and as Robert died in 1030, and Canute's journey is usually placed in 1031, there can be no doubt that Rodulph is the right reading.

Canute, after mentioning that these concessions were ratified by oaths before four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles, exclaims: "Therefore I return my liberal thanks to Almighty God, that all things which I desired, I have prosperously achieved as I had contemplated, and have fulfilled all my wishes."

In the subsequent paragraphs of his public letter, he alludes nobly to his former conduct. In viewing his past actions with sentiments of regret, and in publicly confessing that he intends an amendment, he displays a greatness of mind which kings of such successful ambition have seldom reached. Canute is an instance, rarely paralleled, of a character improved by prosperity. His worst actions were in his days of peril. When the full glory of established and multiplied power shone around him, his heart became humble, pious, and ennobled. Educated among vikingr, his first misconduct may be referred to his tuition. His latter feelings were the produce of his improved intellect and magnanimity.

"Be it also known to all, that I have vowed to Almighty God to govern my life henceforward by rectitude, to rule my kingdoms and people justly, and piously to observe equal judgment every where; and *if, through the intemperance and negligence of my youth, I have done what was not just, I will endeavour, hereafter, by God's help, entirely to amend it.* Therefore I beseech and command all my conciliarii to whom I have confided the councils of my kingdom, that they in no shape suffer or consent to any injustice throughout my realm, neither from fear of me, nor from favour to any person of power; I command all the sheriffs and governors of all my realm, as they value my friendship or their own safety, that they impose unjust violence on no man, whether rich or poor; but that the noble and their inferiors, the wealthy and the needy, may enjoy their property justly. This enjoyment must not be infringed in any manner, neither in behalf of the king, nor any other man of power, nor on the pretext of collecting money for me, because there is no necessity that money should be obtained for me by unjust exaction."

After alluding to some enemies whom he had pacified, and mentioning that he was returning to Denmark, whence, as soon in the summer as he could procure shipping, he proposed to visit England, he continues:

"I have sent this letter first, that all my people may rejoice in my prosperity, because as you yourselves know, I have never forborne to apply myself and my labour, nor will I ever forbear to devote either to the necessary utility of all my people."

These patriotic sentiments, from a royal pen, are highly valuable. Such kings give new splendor to their thrones, and secure to themselves that perpetuity of fame which mortality so covets.

CHAPTER XII.

The Reign of Harold the First, surnamed Harefoot.

Canute, at his death (1), left three sons, Svein, Harold, and Hardicanute. In his life he had placed Svein over Norway (2), and he wished that Harold should rule in England, and Hardicanute in Denmark. At the council which met at Oxford to elect a new sovereign, the opinions were divided. The chiefs of Danish descent and connections chose Harold; the West-Saxons, headed by earl Godwin, preferred his brother Hardicanute, because his mother, Emma, had been the wife of Ethelred, and was a favourite with the Anglo-Saxons. The children of Ethelred who were in Normandy were also remembered; but the Danish dynasty was not yet unpopular, and Harold, by force or influence, obtained a portion of the kingdom, and seized the treasures which Emma possessed from the gift of Canute (3). Harold, at first, reigned at London, and north of the Thames; and Hardicanute in the west of England. 1035.

The murder of Alfred, one of the sons of Emma by Ethelred, lies heavy on the memory both of Harold and Godwin (4).

(1) He died at Shaftesbury, the 12th of November, 1034. MS. Tib. B. 1.

(2) Snorre, Saga Olafi Helga, p. 383. Florence calls his mother Northamtunensis Alfgivæ filiæ Alfhelmi Ducis, p. 398. Snorre names her Alfifo dottor Alfrims Jarls.

(3) Flor. Wig. 398. MS. Sax. Chron. Tib. B. 1. It is said of Harold that he was not Canute's son, but a cobbler's. The tale is, that his mother, having given no children to Canute, pretended pregnancy, and introduced first Svein, and afterwards Harold, as her own children. As Snorre does not mention it of Svein, it is probable that in both cases the rumour was the offspring of malignant competition. The auctor of Enc. Em. though he believes it, adduces only the plurimorum assertio for it, which is a better description of a rumour than of a fact. Florence states it as a res in dubio.

(4) I state this from the Encomium Emmæ. The author addresses the account to the mother herself, by whose orders he wrote it. (See his prologue.) He apologises to her for his brevity on Alfred's sufferings, and says, "Possent enim multa dici si non tuo parceremus dolori," p. 175. Considering, however, that he wrote to the youth's mother, his detail is sometimes horrible, for he describes part of their progress of operation. Malmsbury says, the deed took place between Harold's death and Hardicanute's election, p 77.; but this cannot prevail against the contemporary above cited, strengthened as it is as to its occurrence under Harold, by Flor. 300.; Matt. West. 410.; and Hoveden, 438. Two of these make 600 men to have perished. The printed Saxon Chronicle has nothing of it. The MS. Tib. B. 1. gives a long account of it. It thus mentions the fate of the companions:—"His geferan he todraf and rume mislice ofsloh, sume hi man with feo sealde, sume hreolice ac wealde, sume hi man bende, sume hi man blende, sume hamelode, sume hættode." It adds, "Ne wearth dreorliere dæd gedon on thison earde sythithan Thene comon."

Harold, though nominated king, could not obtain from the archbishop the regal benediction, because the children of Emma were alive. The archbishop, instead of committing to Harold the crown and sceptre, placed them on the altar, and forbad the bishops to give their benediction.

This conduct produced the effects which might easily have been foreseen. Harold despised the benediction as useless, and contracted a hatred against the Christian religion, and the children of Emma. When others were attending divine service, he called out his hunting dogs, or studied to occupy himself in some contemptuous pursuit. To get the youths, so imprudently set against him, into his power, he forged a letter to them in their mother's name, inveighing against himself, and desiring one to come to her to be counselled as to his conduct. The answer of the princes from Normandy expressed their obedience, and appointed a day and place. At the time so named, Alfred, the youngest, chose his military companions, and sailed. His waiting enemies too eagerly pressed on him when about to land, and he sailed to another part, still unconscious of the deceit. Godwin, now become a courtier to Harold, met him in the garb of friendship, and with the mockery of oaths. The innocent youth followed him to Guildford; there his warlike friends were artfully separated into little bands of ten, twelve, or twenty, to be more conveniently entertained at different houses. A few only remained with the prince. Food and wine were profusely given to all, till they sought the bed of rest; then the agents of Harold furtively took away their arms, and in the morning bound them in chains. Their fate was decided by a bloody decimation; the tenth man only was left unmurdered.

The betrayed Alfred was hurried to the Isle of Ely. Vile judges were appointed over him, who directed his eyes to be taken out. The shocking scene was closed by his death. Emma withdrew to Bruges (1). By Hardicanute's absence in Denmark, Harold obtained all England (2). He died in 1040, and was buried at Westminster.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reign of Hardicanute.

1040. This reign demands but few sentences. He had sailed the preceding year from Denmark to his mother, Emma, at Bruges. On Harold's death he was invited to the Eng-

(1) Enc. 176. The author's account of Bruges shows it to have been then of commercial importance. Emma's name was also Elfgiva.

(2) Ingulf, 61. Flor. 400. marks 1037 as the year when this occurred. So the MS. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4.

lish crown; and he came with purposes of such degrading revenge, that he even caused the body of Harold to be dug up, decapitated, and thrown first into a marsh, and afterwards into the Thames. A fisherman found and the Danes buried it in a cemetery which they had in London (1). Such actions have so much of the barbarian spirit as to fix a stain of disgrace on those who practise them (2).

Hardicanute oppressed England with impositions which occasioned great misery. Insurrection followed, and military execution at Worcester added a dreadful catastrophe (3).

He projected to punish Godwin for Alfred's murder; but the Dane had a passion which predominated over his fraternal feeling; and the present of a splendid vessel, profusely gilt, and rowed by eighty men in sumptuous apparel and splendid armour, having each on his arm two golden bracelets, weighing sixteen ounces, expiated the crime of Godwin (4). He displaced a bishop for joining in the cruelty, who appealed to the same master-passion, and escaped (5).

It was, however, a laudable trait of fraternal affection in Hardicanute, that he welcomed the arrival of his half-brother Edward in England (6). The son of Ethelred was a more grateful object to the English, that the son of a foreign conqueror. In caressing so kindly a brother so dangerous, Hardicanute displayed a virtue in which an Athelstan was wanting.

His health was frequently assailed by disease (7); but he ended his two years' reign by an act of intemperance, at a nuptial feast at Lambeth: a copious draught, as he stood in the mirthful company, occasioned him to fall senseless to the ground. He spake no more. He died in June, and was buried with Canute at Winchester (8).

His death separated the crowns of England and Denmark; and Magnus, the king of Norway, obtained the Danish sceptre.

(1) Flor. 402. Matt. West. 402. The MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. This MS. contains many paragraphs in this reign not in the printed Chronicle.

(2) Even the age of Hardicanute condemned his cruelty: "Unde in singulorum ore hominum de eo haberi imprecatus ut tantæ crudelitatis non diu abesset animadversio."—Reg. Abb. MS. Cotton Lib. Claudius, C. 9. Malmsbury, p. 76., mentions it with disapprobation.

(3) Flor. Wig. 403. MS. Chron. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. Matt. West. 413. Malmsb. 76.

(4) Flor. Wig. Matt. West. (5) Malmsb. 77.

(6) Malmsb. 76. Flor. Wig. 403.

(7) Ob morbos etiam quos frequenter patiebatur. Guil. Pict. 170.

(8) Flor. Wig. 403. Ingulf, 62. MS. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. contain passages on his death not in the printed Chronicle.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Reign of Edward the Confessor.

1042. The Danish line had now become unpopular: the factions, which the administration of Dunstan had at first excited, had ceased, and a new generation had arisen. The nation inclined again to its ancient line, and Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred, and at that time in England, was chosen to be king. While Edward and his brother were friendless exiles, Godwin was their enemy, and even projected their assassination; but became the zealous partisan of Edward, and eagerly assisted to introduce him to the throne, when Canute's issue failed (1). The king was induced to marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin (2); but was neither ardent in his connubial nor filial attentions. At no long period after his coronation, he went, with three earls, suddenly to his mother, and spoiled her of all the property which she possessed (3).

Edward was at first menaced with the competition of Magnus, the king of Norway, who had subdued Denmark into obedience. Magnus sent letters to Edward (4), claiming the crown, and Edward assembled a great fleet at Sandwich to dispute his landing (5). Embarrassed by a rival for his Danish sceptre, in Svein, the son of Ulfr, Magnus resolved not to risk the enterprise (6).

Svein requested the aid of Edward against Magnus; and Godwin, whose first patron had been Svein's father, urged that fifty

(1) Ingulf, 62. Malmsbury states at length a sort of bargain which Godwin made with Edward, before he supported him, 80.

(2) Ingulf knew her, and describes her as very beautiful, meek, modest, faithful, virtuous, and the enemy of no one. She had none of the barbarism of her father and brothers. She was even literis apprime erudita, a lady of learning. He adds, "I have very often seen her, when only a boy. I visited my father in the royal court. Often as I came from school she questioned me on letters and my verse; and, willingly passing from grammar to logic, she caught me in the subtle nets of argument. I had always three or four pieces of money counted by her maiden, and was sent to the royal larder for refreshment," p. 62. But even this fair rose, as the chroniclers call her, was stained with blood. See further.

(3) Flor. 404. Sax. Chron. 157. In the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary, a fragment of a Saxon chronicle is quoted, E. Cod. MS. G. Lambardi exarata in Bib. Ecc. Chr. Canterb. The fragment begins with Edward's reign. It is not the same with the printed one, nor with the two MSS. in the Cotton Library. I shall quote it as Lamb. MS.

(4) As the successor of Hardicanute. Snorre, Magnesi Goda, c. 38, 39.

(5) Lamb. MS. Sax. Chron. at Cambridge.

(6) "I think it," he declared, "right and most convenient that I should let Edward enjoy his crown, and content myself with the kingdoms which God has given me." Snorre, p. 52.

ships should be sent to him. But as Magnus was known to be well skilled in maritime affairs, the earl Leofric and the rest of the council opposed it as unadvisable (1). Magnus soon drove out Svein from Denmark, but died much lamented the same year (2). Svein then obtained the Danish crown; and Harald Hardrada, who afterwards perished in his invasion of England, the son of Syguard Syr, and by his mother the brother of St. Olave, succeeded in Norway (3). Harald is highly extolled for his wisdom (4). He sent letters of friendship to Edward, whose amicable answer established peace between their kingdoms. Thus passed over the disturbing question between England and the Baltic states. Edward and his council wisely suffered the hostility to die quietly away. Hence Svein's second application for assistance against Harald, though again supported by Godwin, was negatived by the good sense of Leofric and the community (5).

The character of Edward was amiable for its gentleness and kindness, and laudable for its piety; but it did not unite strength of mind with these interesting qualities. There is a simplicity in his exclamation to the low peasant who had displeased him, "I would hurt you if I were able," which almost implies imbecility. Men of rank and power, however inferior in understanding, know sufficiently their means of aggression against those of meaner condition who offend them. That Edward, when angry enough to desire to punish, should suppose that, although king, he had not the power, displays an ignorance of his authority, that is not reconcileable with his intellect. But as he reigned with more virtue, so he had better fortune than his father. His mild and equitable government was so popular, that a festival is said to have been annually celebrated in England, to express the national joy at the deliverance from the Danish kings (6). His provinces were under the administration of men of talents appointed by his predecessors (7). The unanimity of the country gave effect to their measures. England again became respected abroad, and no foreign power attempted to disturb its tranquillity.

But a new cause of internal discussion and contest, and ultimately of a great revolution, was silently rising up from preceding events. The marriage of Ethelred to a princess of Normandy;

(1) Flor. 406, 407. Lamb. MSS.

(2) Lamb. MSS. Snorre says, that he dreamt that his father appeared to him, saying, "Choose, my son, whether you will become my companion immediately, or live long the most powerful of kings, but by the commission of a crime which can never be expiated." The choice of Magnus was perplexed, but he decided with discreet virtue. "Father! do you choose for me."—"Be with me," was the answer of the vision. Snorre adds, that he awoke, told his dream, and afterwards died. Har. Hard. c. 28.

(3) Snorre, c. 30, 31. Flor. 407.

(4) Snorre, c. 36.

(5) Flor. 407.

(6) Spelman, Gloss. Voc. Hocday.

(7) Malmsb. 70.

the residence of this king during his exile, and of his children afterwards, at that court; Canute's subsequent marriage with this lady; and Edward's education in the same country; had raised an attachment to the Norman manners and nation, not only in Edward's mind, but in those of the nobles who had resided abroad with his father and himself, or had visited them in Normandy.

The Frankish nation had rapidly improved since the reign of Charlemagne. The effects of the Roman civilization were extensive and permanent, and the ardent zeal of the Christian clergy had greatly contributed to humanise and soften their martial fierceness. The unwarlike characters of the successors of Charlemagne had tended to increase the civilizing spirit. The Normans, from their contiguity, partook of the melioration of the French manners; and to Edward's milder temper these were peculiarly congenial. The Anglo-Saxons could not have been equally improved by the ruder Danes. Hence Edward found at first more that he could sympathise with in Normandy than in England, and therefore invited or admitted many Normans into his favour. Robert, one of them, was made, after various promotions, archbishop of Canterbury. Another was raised to an episcopal see, others also attained offices of rank and power. From the king's partiality, the French manners came into use; their language and their legal forms began also to be diffused (1).

The Norman favourites awakened the jealousy of Godwin, and were obstacles to his ambition. But the counteracting power of Leofric, the wise earl of Mercia, and of Siward, the earl of Northumbria, and distinguished for heroic valour, kept Godwin tranquil till a cruel violence of one of the noble foreigners gave him a popular reason for expressing his discontent.

1051. It was in 1051, that Godwin presumed to give defiance to the king. The count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, came to Dover. In a foolish effort to obtain or compel entertainment, his followers killed an Englishman. The citizens revenged it; the count, committing himself to the guidance of blind fury, rushed with his troops, killed many of both sexes in the city, and trampled some children under the feet of their horses. Provoked at his brutality, the people armed. The endangered count fled before their indignation, and went to Edward, who was then at Gloucester (2).

Availing himself of this event, Godwin raised immediately, from his own counties of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, a military power. The same occasion enabled his son Svein to collect a powerful force from the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berks, which he governed; and Harold, another son, embra-

(1) Ingulf, 62.; and see Malmsbury, 80., on the enmity between Godwin and the Normans.

(2) Flor. 410.

cing the same pretext, completed his formidable array by a levy from Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire, which he commanded.

The armies of Godwin and his children could not be completed without Edward's knowledge. Messengers were immediately sent to his brave protectors Leofric and Siward. These governors were earnestly desired to come, with all the forces they could assemble, with immediate speed.

The loyal earls hastened immediately to court. Learning the necessity, they sent swiftly-circulated orders through all their counties, for armies to be raised. The son of the culpable count did the same; and Edward had a prospect of being rescued from the tyranny of Godwin (1).

The rebellious family marched into Gloucestershire, and demanded of the king, under a menace of hostilities, the count of Boulogne and his followers, and the Normans and men of Boulogne, who were in Dover-castle.

The king, terrified, knew not how to act; he fluctuated in great anxiety, till he learnt that his friends were prepared to support him. An express refusal was then returned to Godwin.

A fierce civil war seemed now about to consume the country; but Godwin was not heroically adventurous, and Leofric was wise. Leofric therefore proposed that hostages should be exchanged, and that Godwin and the king should meet on an appointed day in London, and have the alleged subject judicially determined by the witena-gemot (2).

The proposition was too popular not to be accepted. Godwin returned to Wessex; the king ordered a witena-gemot (3) to be assembled for the second time in London, at the autumnal equinox; he augmented his army, and marched it to London. Godwin and his sons occupied Southwark, but soon discovered that their partisans were falling away.

The witena-gemot made the thanes, who were with Harold, to find pledges to the king for their conduct, and outlawed Svein, who did not think fit to be present at the wither-male, or conciliary meeting (4). They also cited Godwin and Harold to attend the gemot. Godwin, finding his ambitious views darkening, and dreading a legal enquiry into his conduct, did not attempt to face the witena, but fled in the night (5).

In the morning the king held the witena-gemot, and declared

(1) Flor. Wig. 410, 411.

(2) Flor. Wig. 411, 412.; and see Sax. Chron. 163, 164.; and the MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4.

(3) Tha gerædde se tyning and his witan tha man sceolde othre sythan habben ealra gewitena gemot on Lundene to hærfeste emnihte. Sax. Chron. 164.

(4) And man borhfæst tham cyning ealle tha thægnas the wæron Haroldes eorles his suna, etc. MS. Tib. B. 4. and Lamb. MS.

(5) Sax. Chron. 164. Flor. Wig.

him, his army, and his children, to be outlaws (1). Five days of safety were given them to quit the country (2). With three of his sons, Godwin sailed away, with all the property he could hastily amass, into Flanders. Harold, and a brother from Bristol, sailed to Ireland. A severe tempest put their lives in peril during the voyage. Their sister, the queen, was sent to a monastery (3).

Contrary to every natural expectation, and to his own, and to the astonishment of the Anglo-Saxons, the house of Godwin seemed now to have fallen for ever in England (4). Released from his intimidations, the king became more attached to his Norman friends. Invited or obeying a sagacious policy, William, the reigning Duke of Normandy, came to England with a large company of his nobles and knights at this period, and was received with great honour and courtesy by Edward, who entertained him for some time, conducted him to his cities and royal castles, and loaded him with presents when he returned (5). This visit was of importance to William. It introduced him to the knowledge of many of the English chiefs, and made his name familiar to the people. It began the formation of that interest which so powerfully assisted him in afterwards acquiring the crown. But Ingulf declares that no mention was made of his succession to the crown at this visit, nor had he then any hope of it. Yet it may have excited William's desire to enjoy such a crown, and must have made a lively impression on his memory.

Edward was then living without a prospect of issue; and, excepting one youth in Hungary, the crown had no heir. The family of William was connected with that of Edward by marriage, and with Edward himself by friendship and services. William was a neighbour, and Edward esteemed him. The family of Godwin was abased, and no competitor seemed likely to arise from the rest of the English. William therefore from this time could scarcely contemplate the throne of his friend, without coveting its acquisition. Any valued good which seems bending to our reach, soon excites our cupidity. He may have had the prudence to mark the hopeful ground in judicious silence; but the scheme of his succession must have been a project which his mind revolved, and secretly prepared to execute.

(1) And se cyng hæfd tha on morgen Witena Gemot and cwæth hine utlage and calle here; hine and calle his suna. MS. Tib. B. 4.

(2) Sax. Chron. 164. And sceawede him mann 5 nihta grith ut of lande to farenne.

(3) MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4. Flor. 412.

(4) The MS. Tib. B. 4. thus expresses the public surprise at the change: "Thæt wolde thyncan wundorlic ælcum men the on Englalande wæs gif ænig man ær tham sæde tha hit swa gewurtha sceolde. Fortham he wæs ær to tham swithe upahafen swylce he weolde thæs tynger and ealles Englalandes," etc.

(5) Flor. 412. Ingulf, 65. The MS. Tib. B. 4. mentions his coming, which the printed Chronicle omits.

The family of Godwin in their exile meditated new attempts to regain their power. Harold and his brother invaded the West of England with a fleet of adventurers collected in Ireland, defeated the king's officers, and plundered as they pleased. As Godwin was impending with a similar armament, a chosen force of forty ships was stationed at Sandwich to intercept it. He eluded their vigilance, reached Kent, and roused all his friends in the neighbouring counties to arm in his behalf. But the king's fleet pursued him. He sheltered himself in Pevensey; a storm checked the progress of the others, and when they made for London, he hovered about the Isle of Wight, where Harold joined him, after a voyage of plunder. With their united strength, swelled by every aid they could allure, they sailed to Sandwich. Edward found his friends more tardy than before. Other nobles became dissatisfied at the progress of the Normans in the king's favour; and Godwin proceeded, with successful enterprise, to the Thames, and reached Southwark. He demanded the restoration of his family. His numbers and secret connections were formidable; and to save the shedding of civil blood, Stigand, the archbishop, and the wise men, urged an accommodation. Their recommendation prevailed. The Normans beheld their fate sealed in the pacification, and fled in consternation. 1052.

A great council was then convened out of London, and all the earls, and the best men that were in the land, attended it. Godwin there purged himself before the king, his lord, and all the assembly, that he was guiltless of the crime of which he had been suspected. The king received him in full friendship, and granted to him and to his family a complete restoration of their honours. The Normans were all legally outlawed. Svein was the only one of the exiled family who received no benefit from the revolution of its fortunes. He had foully murdered his cousin Beorn, with every aggravated circumstance of abused confidence and treacherous falsehood. There is a sting in murder which goads the consciousness long after the world has forgiven it, and which no increase of prosperity can destroy. Svein, though six years had passed away since his crime, found it still his torment; and to soothe his sensations, he set off with naked feet on a walking pilgrimage from Flanders to Jerusalem. He died, on his return, in Lycia (1).

The remark of the Hebrew poet, that man disquiets himself for a vain shadow, is often verified in human history. A life is sacrificed to suffering, that a favourite object may be gained. We reach the seat of the felicity we have sighed for, and while our arms are extended to grasp it, we are received into the grave. Godwin experienced this mutability in human affairs. He had scarcely, by great toil and hazard, achieved his 1053. Godwin's death.

(1) Sax. Chron. 167, 168. Flor. Wig. 414.

restoration, and recovered his prosperity, when he was deprived of it soon afterwards by death. In 1053, at the Easter festival, the eventful changes of his life were closed. As he sat with the king at table, it is said, that the conversation turned on Alfred's murder, and that Godwin, with many sacred appeals to Divine Providence, denied that he was concerned in it (1). But whatever was the preceding discourse, the attack of fate was as irresistible as unexpected. He suddenly lost his speech, and fell from his seat. Harold and two other sons raised him, and carried him to the king's chamber, hoping a recovery. He lingered in helpless and miserable agony, from Monday to Thursday, and then expired (2).

It is recorded with pleasure, by the annalists, that Edward took off the heavy tax called Dane gelt (3). Ingulf ascribes the remission to the extreme dearth which raged in 1051, and in which so many thousand people perished. Touched with compassion for their sufferings, the king abolished the tax. It is added, that the royal mind, according to some rumours, was impressed the more deeply upon the subject, because one day, when the collected tax was deposited in the treasury, the king was brought to see the vast amount: the mass so affected his imagination, that he fancied he saw a little devil jumping exultingly about it (4). His mind was certainly weak enough to believe such a fancy; and many about him were interested to frame some device that should give it a foundation. He ordered the money to be restored to its former owners, and no more to be raised on such an assessment.

The Welsh had often molested the English provinces in their vicinity. In 1049, thirty-six ships of Irish pirates entered the Severn, and, with the help of Griffith, king of South Wales, obtained considerable successes (5). In 1052, Griffith ravaged great part of Herefordshire, defeated the provincials, and obtained great plunder (6).

The death of Godwin rather exalted than abased his family. His character was tainted. He was approaching the feebleness of age, without having secured its reverence. He had no influence but from his power; and greatness, which is only secured by terror, or extorted by force, is the creature of casualty, which the first tempest may destroy. But Harold had all the brilliancy of youth

(1) Ingulf, 66. Malmsb. 81. Hunt. 366.

(2) Flor. Wig. 415. The MS. Tib. B. 4, like the printed Chronicle, merely states his death; but the MS. Tib. B. 1. describes it like Florence, thus: "Sæt he mid tham cyninge æt gereorde tha wæringa sah he nither with thæs fotsetles spræce benumen and ealwe his mihte and hine man tha bræd into thæs kinges bure and thohtan tha hit ofergan sceolde ac hit næs na swa ac thurh wunode swa unfpecende and mihteleaf forth oth thone thunres dæg and tha his lif alet."

(3) Flor. Wig. 410. Hoveden, 441.

(4) Ingulf, 65. Hoveden tells a similar story, and makes the queen and her brother Harold the persons who took the king to the treasury.

(5) Flor. Wig. 409. (6) Ibid. 412.

and active courage: his character was full of promise, because, being born to dignity, he had sullied himself by no arts to attain it. There was a generous ardour in his actions which compelled admiration. When Edward raised him to his father's dignities, he gave new lustre to his family, and obtained all the influence to which his father had aspired (1).

When Harold received the honours of Godwin, his own dignities in Essex and East Anglia were given to Algar, the son of the deserving and patriotic Leofric. But Algar's rise to power was no pleasing omen to the family of Godwin. Within less than three years afterwards he was made a victim by being banished without a fault (2). 1055.

But Algar was too injured to be inactive: he fled to Ireland, collected eighteen piratical vessels, and interested Griffith, the king of Wales, in his favour. With this aid, he suddenly appeared in Hereford with great success; and though Harold went to oppose him, yet such was the state of Edward's court and councils, that Algar, though rather by violent than legal measures, regained his patrimony and power. His allies went to Leicester, and were remunerated by his father. In 1058, he was exiled again, and by the same means restored (3). The great were now dividing into new factions.

The Welsh made several efforts against the Anglo-Saxons in this reign. If any other feeling than personal ambition had actuated the British leaders, they must have discerned, that however feeble the Saxon king's government from the new political parties may have been, yet, from the comparative state of the two nations, transient depredations were the utmost that the valour of Wales could achieve. Such bounded triumphs were, however, certain of being followed at last by a powerful revenge. Griffith, for some years, molested, with good fortune, the counties near Wales, and for some years his aggressions escaped unchastised. In the year after he first reinstated Algar, his new insults, which occasioned the death of Harold's priest, just raised to a bishopric (4), were again connived at by a peace; and in 1058 he again restored Algar; but in 1063 Harold resolved to repress him, and there was nothing to restrain the full exercise of his ability. He marched into Wales with adequate force; Griffith fled; Harold burnt his palace and ships,

(1) The great wealth of the family may be seen in Domesday-book, where Godwin's possessions are often mentioned.

(2) Flor. 416. MS. Tib. 1. Butan ælcan gylte, and MS. Tib. B. 4. for neh butan gylte. The printed Chronicle says, that he was charged with treason, p. 169. Ingulf gives to Algar the aid of a Norwegian fleet, p. 66.

(3) Flor. 417—420.

(4) Flor. 418. The MS. Tib. B. 1. says of this bishop, that he would forego his spiritual arms, and take to his sword and spear, and go against Griffith: "Se forlet his crisman and his hrode, his gastlican wæpna and feng to his spere and to his sweorde, æfter his biscuphade, and swa for to fynde engean Griffin", etc.

and returned. In the beginning of summer he circumnavigated Wales with a marauding fleet, while his brother Tostig marched over it by land. The Welsh submitted with hostages and tribute, and banished the obnoxious Griffith, who soon after perished (1).

The means by which Harold obtained such immediate and decisive success are stated to have been a change of the armour of his soldiers. In heavy armour, the Saxons were unable to pursue the Welsh to their recesses. Harold observed this impediment to their success, and commanded them to use leathern armour and lighter weapons. By this arrangement, wherever the Britons could retreat, his men could pursue. He crossed their snowy mountains, defeated them on their plains, and spread destruction around, till terror and feebleness produced general subjection (2). He raised heaps of stones wherever he had obtained victory, with this inscription: "Here Harold conquered." Such a depopulation of Wales ensued from his invasion, that to this disastrous cause Giraldus ascribes the tranquil acquiescence of the Britons under the Norman yoke (3). Harold closed his efforts by a law, that every Briton found beyond Offa's Dike with a missile weapon, should lose his right hand (4).

Macbeth, the usurper of Scotland, condemned by the genius of Shakspeare to share for ever our sympathy and our abhorrence, was partly contemporary with Edward. In 1039, Duncan, after a five year's reign, was assassinated by Macbeth (5).

Macbeth defeated by Siward.

The two sons of Duncan, Malcolm, surnamed Ceanmore, or the Great-head, and Donald, called Bane, or the Fair, fled from Scotland. Malcolm sought refuge in Cumberland, and Donald in the Hebrides (6).

Eleven years after his usurpation, Macbeth is mentioned by the chroniclers of England, as distributing money at Rome (7). In 1054, while Macduff, the thane of Fife, was exciting a formidable revolt in Scotland, the celebrated Siward, by some called the Giant, from his large size, and whose sister had been Duncan's queen, conducted his Northumbrians against Macbeth. A furious conflict followed, in which thousands of both ar-

1054.

(1) Flor. 424. Ingulf, 68. MS. Lamb. Sax. Chron. 170. The head of Griffith was brought to Harold.

(2) Ingulf, 68. This invasion is fully stated by the elegant John of Salisbury, whose writings reflect so much credit on the twelfth century. See his De Nugis Curialium, lib. vi. c. 6. p. 185.

(3) Giraldus Cambriensis de illaudab. Walliæ, c. vii. p. 431.

(4) Joan Salisb. de Nugis. Cur. p. 185.

(5) Mailros, 156. Duncan, in 1035, had been foiled in an attack upon Durham. Sim. Dun. 33. Lord Hailes says:

"It is probable that the assassins lay in ambush, and murdered him at a smith's house in the neighbourhood of Elgin." Annals, p. 1.

(6) Hailes's Annals of Scotland, p. 2.

(7) "1050. Rex Scotorum Machethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit." Flor. Wig. 409. So Sim. Dun. 184. and Hoveden, 441. Mailros, who names him Macbeth, p. 157., has a similar passage.

mies perished; but Siward, though he lost his son and nephew, defeated the usurper. He returned with great plunder, having made Malcolm king (1).

The glory of a warrior was the renown most precious to Siward. On his return at York, he felt that internal disease was consuming his vital principle, and he sighed for the funereal trophies of a field of battle. "I feel disgraced that I should have survived so many combats, to perish now like a cow: clothe me in my mail, fasten on my sword, and give me my shield, and my battle-axe, that I may expire like a soldier (2)."

In 1057, England lost Leofric, the duke of Mercia, by whose wisdom the reign of Edward was preserved from many perils and disorders, which the ambition of others would have introduced. His councils and government have been much celebrated (3). His son Algar succeeded to his dukedom (). 1057.

On Siward's death, in 1055, Tostig, the brother of Harold, was appointed earl of Northumbria. By inducing the queen to cause some Northumbrian nobles to be treacherously killed, by repeating the same atrocity himself at York, and by exacting a large tribute from the country, Tostig so alienated the minds of the provincials, that they revolted in 1065, expelled him, and seized his treasures. The insurgents invited Morcar, the son of Algar, and chose him for their earl. At the head of the men of Northumberland, Morcar marched southward, and was joined by an armed force from other counties, and from Wales. Harold met him at Northampton with military array, but it was deemed prudent to comply with a request so powerfully supported; Morcar was confirmed in the earldom, and the laws of Canute were restored. Tostig fled with his wife and friends to Flanders, where Baldwin entertained them (5). 1063.

(1) MS. Chron. Tib. B. 4. Lamb. MS. Flor. Wig. 416. MS. Tib. B. 1. Lord Hailes, from Fordun, states, that "Macbeth retreated to the fastnesses of the North, and protracted the war. His people forsook his standard. Malcolm attacked him at Lunfanan in Aberdeenshire. Abandoned by his few remaining followers, Macbeth fell, 5th of December, 1056." Annals, p. 3. Until this period the ancient kings of Scotland usually resided in the Highlands. It was this Malcolm Cean-more who removed the capital to the Lowlands. Dumstaffnage, on the north-west coast of Argyleshire, whose ruins still remain, is supposed to have been his Highland palace. From this place, he removed his court to Scone, in the lowlands of Perthshire; an important revolution, which made the southern provinces of Scotland to assume in time so distinct a character, and such a superior civilization as they have since displayed.

(2) Rad. Dic. 477. (3) Flor. Wig. 419. Ingulf, 66.

(4) Leofric had another son, named Hereward, whose life seemed devoted to the task of supplying incidents to the genius of romance and heroic song.—See a further account of him in the chapter on the Anglo-Saxon chivalry, in the third volume of this work. Hereward is also mentioned in the book de Pontificibus, 3 Gale, 372.

(5) See the printed Saxon Chronicle, p. 171. Flor. Wig. 427. the MS. Chronicles, Tib B. 1. and B. 4.

1066. Edward, whose passive and peaceful disposition seems to have left his nobles to their own quarrels without any interposition from himself, soon after these transactions began to sicken. At Christmas he held his court in London, and dedicated the church of St. Peter at Westminster which he had rebuilt. On the eve of the Epiphany his malady assumed a fatal aspect, and he was buried the day following at Westminster (1).

In person, Edward was tall and well made; his hair and skin were remarkably white; his complexion rosy (2). His mind was gentle, if not weak; but, in general, unless acted upon by others, his disposition was well meaning. He was averse to the imposition of taxes; abstinent in his diet; and on the public feast days, though, by the care of the queen, he was sumptuously arrayed, he assumed no haughtiness of manner in his pomp. His piety was sincere and fervent. His time was chiefly divided between his prayers and hunting, to which he was greatly attached. His charities were frequent and extensive (3); and though his reign displayed no intellectual energies, and reflected no honour on his ancestry, he was so fortunate as to escape any striking disgrace.

CHAPTER XV.

The Reign of Harold the Second, the Son of Godwin, and the last of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

Edward had intended to appoint his cousin Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, the successor to his crown. This prince had continued in Hungary since Canute had sought his life. Called from thence by Edward the Confessor, he came to England in 1057, but died soon after his arrival (4).

Competition between Harold and William.

The death of this prince confirmed in two men the hopes of attaining the Anglo-Saxon sceptre. Harold, and William duke of Normandy, after this event, looked forward to the splendid prize with equal ardour.

Harold had sworn to William to assist him in ascending the throne of England; but afterwards pleaded that his oaths had been extorted by irresistible force, as William, having had him in his power, compelled him to swear. This charge thus repelled, the rivals

(1) MS. Tib. B. 1. and B. 4.; Flor. Wig. 427.; and Sax. Chron. 171. Both the MS. Chronicles have a long addition in Saxon, which follows his death. It begins, "Her Edward kinge, Engla, hlaford, sende sothfeste," etc. This is not in Lamb. MS.

(2) Malmsb. 91. Rossi Hist. Reg. Angl. 105.

(3) Malmsb. 91. His memory was canonized, and many monkish miracles have been appended to it.

(4) Flor. Wig. 410.

were in other respects on a level. Both claimed from Edward a gift or testamentary appointment in his favour (1); both had been in Edward's friendship, and the family of Harold, as well as the family of William, had been connubially allied to him.

There is perhaps no great event in our annals in which the truth is more difficult to be elicited, than in the transaction between Harold and William in the lifetime of Edward. We will state first the account of Harold and his friends, and contrast it with the Norman story.

In revolving the history of the friends of Harold, we meet with the unpleasing circumstance of two narrations upon the subject, which counteract each other. According to some, Harold accidentally sailed in a little fishing excursion from Bosham in Sussex, and was driven, by a sudden tempest, on the opposite shore (2). According to others, Harold went to the Continent not accidentally but deliberately. Two of his brothers had been committed by Edward, during the rebellion of Godwin, to the care of William. Harold wished to procure their release, and for that purpose is said to have requested permission of Edward to visit William in Normandy. The appendage to this account is, that Edward dissuaded him in vain: and that when Harold returned, and stated to him that William had detained and made him swear to give him the English crown, the king reminded him, that he had foreseen the misfortune (3).

The Norman historians declare, that on the death of the son of

(1) That Harold was appointed by Edward to succeed him, is asserted or intimated by the printed Saxon Chronicle, 172. By Flor. Wig. 427. Hoveden, 447. Sim. Dun. 194. Al. Bev. 122. Malmsbury informs us that this was the statement of the English (Angli dicunt a rege concessum, 93.), but he thinks it was rather the rumour of partiality than of judgment. On the other side, the Annales Margenses, p. 1.; Wike's Chron. p. 22.; Malmsb. 93.; and the Norman writers, declare that Edward gave the kingdom to William. The MS. Chronicles which affirm this are, Peter de Ickham, Domit. A. 3. (Willo duci Normanniæ consanguineo suo sicut ei prius juramento promiserat regnum teste dedit). So Will. Sheepheved, Faust. B. 6. (adoptavit in regnum Willielmum ducem Normannorum). So Th. Elmham, Claud. E. 5. (Willielmum ducem Normanniæ adoptavit heredem). So Hermannus says, it was the rumor plurimum that Edward appointed the kingdom to William. Many other MS. Chronicles affirm as much, as Chron. ab adv. Sax. ad Hen. 4. Nero, A. 6.; Chron. S. Martini de Dover a Bruto ad Hen. 2. Vespasian, B. 11.; Chron. de Bruto ad 1346. Cleop. D. 2.; Chron. de Hale's ab initio mundi ad 1304. Cleop. D. 3.; Annales de Gest. Angl. ad 1377. Cleop. D. 9.; Hist. brevis. ending temp. Ed. 2. Domit. A. 8.; the Hist. Abb. Claud. B. 6. We may add the words of William himself, who, in one of his charters, says: "Devicto Haraldo rege cum suis complicibus qui mihi regnum prudentia domini destinatum et beneficio concessionis domini et cognati mei gloriosi regis Edwardi concessum, conati sunt auferre." Faustina, A. 3. The authorities are too contradictory to decide the question.

(2) Matt. Paris, p. 2. Matt. West. 426.; and from him Bever, in his MS. Chron. in the Harleian Library, 641. Malmsbury mentions it as a report.

(3) Eadmer, 4. Al. Bev. 125. Sim. Dun. 195. Bromton, 947. Rad. Dic 479. Walt. Hemingford, 456. I believe Hemingford's Chronicle to be the same with the Chronica Will. de Giseburne, in the Cotton Library, Tiberius, B. 4. Higden, 283.

Edmund Ironside, who had been invited from Hungary, Edward obeyed the dictates of personal regard, and appointed William to be his successor; that he sent Harold to announce to him this disposition, and that Harold, sailing to Flanders for the purpose of travelling to the Norman court on this important mission, was thrown by a tempest on the coast of the count of Ponthieu, who seized and imprisoned him (1).

To these circumstances it is added, that before Edward sent Harold, he had commissioned Robert the Norman, the archbishop of Canterbury, to make to William the same annunciation.

This last assertion, however, cannot, for a moment, be believed, because Robert was exiled from England in the year 1052, on Godwin's reconciliation. He went to Normandy not on public business, but fled with precipitation to secure his personal safety (2); and so far was Edward from having adopted William in 1052, that in 1057, the son of Edmund Ironside came to England on Edward's express invitation, and for the avowed purpose of being his successor. It is also hostile to the tale of Robert's mission, that William was himself in England after Godwin's rebellion, the year before Robert left it. If Edward had then determined on William's succession, it is more probable that he should have imparted his intention to William himself, than that in the next year he should have sent it in a message by a fugitive. The testimony of Ingulf of Croyland is also adverse. He expressly declares, that while William was in England, he received no hopes of the succession; it was not then mentioned (3). Robert may have exerted himself in nurturing William's secret wishes. He may, in revenge to the family of Godwin, have commenced intrigues in favour of William; but it is not credible that Edward thought of William as his successor until after the death of his cousin from Hungary.

The celebrated tapestry of Bayeux presents to us the Norman account of these transactions.

The tapestry of Bayeux.

In the cathedral church of Bayeux in Normandy, this ancient monument has been preserved: "The ground of this piece of work is, a white linen cloth or canvass, one foot eleven inches in depth, and 212 feet in length. The figures

(1) Ingulf, a contemporary writer, p. 68. Guil. Pictav. 191. Will. Gemmet. 285. Orderic. Vital. 492. Ann. Petrob. 45. Walsingham Ypod. 28. Wike's Chron. 22. and many of the MS. Chronicles.

(2) Sax. Chron. 168. and the fuller Chronicle quoted there, 167. Hoveden, 443.

(3) De successione autem regni spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. Ingulf, 65. Ingulf describes himself as born in England, and as having studied at Westminster and Oxford. When William visited Edward, Ingulf joined his train, and sailed with him to Normandy; he became his secretary and a sort of favourite. He went to Jerusalem through Germany and Greece, and returned by sea to Rome. He says, that he and his companions went out thirty fat horsemen, and returned scarcely twenty, and emaciated pedestrians. He attended William to England, 73—75.

of men, horses, etc. are in their proper colours, worked in the manner of samplers, in worsted, and of a style not unlike what we see upon China and Japan ware; those of the men more particularly being without the least symmetry or proportion (1). It is in one piece; it was annually hung up and exposed to view, in the nave of the church, from the eve of Midsummer-day, and continued there for eight days. At all other times it was carefully locked up (2).

This tapestry is called, by the tradition of the country, "La toilette du Duc Guillaume (3)." The same popular account ascribes it to his queen, Mathilda, and her work-women (4). It has been engraved, and may be seen among the plates of the Académie des Inscriptions, and in Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities.

It represents the transactions between Harold and William. The first figures are, a king with a sceptre, sitting upon his throne; his right hand is pointed towards two men, as if giving them orders. Above is an inscription of two words, "Edward. Rex (5)." This has been fairly thought to portray Edward, directing Harold to go to Normandy. It therefore illustrates the Norman account, that Harold was sent by Edward to William (6).

The next figures are, five men on horseback, preceded by a cavalier with a bird in his left hand, and with five dogs running before him. The inscription to this is, "Ubi Harold dux Anglorum et sui milites equitant ad Bosham." The dogs and the bird mark the cavalier to be a nobleman, and of course to be Harold, who is proceeding with his train to Bosham (7).

(1) Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 79. M. Lancelot has written two memoirs on this tapestry, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. ix, p. 535—561.; and t. xii. p. 369—469. M. Lancelot's description is thus:—"C'est une pièce de toile de lin de dix-neuf pouces de haut, sur deux cent dix pieds onze pouces de long, sur laquelle on a tracé des figures avec de la laine couchée et croisée à peu près comme on hache une première pensée au crayon." p. 370.

(2) Lancelot, p. 371. Ducarel, 79. This tapestry is still at Bayeux. At the commencement of the war, after the peace of Amiens, while the invasion of these islands was in agitation, Bonaparte had this tapestry conveyed to Paris, for his own inspection. A comet having appeared about that time, he is said to have observed, with great earnestness, the comet represented in the tapestry.

(3) Lancelot, 371. This gentleman says of it, "L'extrémité commence à se gâter." This occasioned the Chapter to have it copied.

(4) Lancelot, 373. William of Poitou declares, that the English ladies excelled at their needle, and in gold embroidery. Ib. 375. Lancelot thinks, "qu'elle ne peut être d'un siècle postérieur à celui de Guillaume," 374. Mathilda died in 1083. Ib. 377.

(5) Lancelot, 378.

(6) Il faut observer la simplicité du trône du roi Édouard, semblable à celui que nous représentent les sceaux et les autres monuments qui nous restent de ces temps-là Les bras du trône sont terminés par une tête de chien——Ceux des empereurs d'Allemagne avoient ordinairement un lion. Son sceptre est terminé en fleuron, p. 541.

(7) The tapestry has sustained some injury at the beginning of this inscription. Lancelot, 378. "C'étoit alors l'usage de la noblesse de marcher ou en équipage de

A church follows, before which are two men with bending knees. Above is the word "Ecclesia." After this is an apartment where men are drinking, one from a horn, another from a goblet.

Two men are descending from this place of refreshment, one of them with an oar. A person with an oar is standing next. Another holds a dog in his arm, looking towards a ship, close to which is Harold, with a dog under his arm, and a bird in his left hand. The inscription is, "Hic Harold mare navigavit." It of course represents Harold embarking at Bosham in Sussex (1).

Two ships follow in full sail. The remark of Lancelot is just, that in their equipment they are not at all like fishing vessels. The words are, "Et velis vento plenis venit in terra Widonis Comitis."

The next figures represent Harold becoming the prisoner of Guy, the count of Ponthieu, who carries him to Belre (2), and detains him. The inscriptions will explain the figures which follow: "Here Harold and Guy converse; here the messengers of William came to Guy; here a messenger comes to William; here Guy conducted Harold to William, duke of the Normans; here William proceeds with Harold to his palace."

This part of the tapestry portrays the history as given in the chronicles. When Harold was detained by Guy, on whose coasts the winds impelled him, he sent information to William, whose menaces and gifts produced his release (3).

That William conducted Harold to Rouen, the chief city of his dominions, is the assertion of a contemporary chronicler (4). The tapestry says, to his palace, and exhibits a kind of hall, where a chief upon his throne, resting one hand on his sword, is attending to a person in the attitude of speaking, behind whom are some

guerre, quand il y avoit quelque expédition à faire, ou en équipage de chasse, quand la guerre ne l'occupoit point.—La noblesse seule avoit le droit de porter l'épervier ou le faucon sur le poing." p. 543.

(1) Walter Mapes informs us of the punning trick by which Godwin got Bosham from the archbishop of York. See it in Camden and Lancelot, p. 545.

(2) This was, says M. Lancelot, Beaurain le Château, two leagues from Montreuil, castrum de Bello ramo, p. 555. Le roman de Rou, par Robert Waice, est le seul des auteurs de ce temps-là qui, en rapportant la circonstance de la prison de Harold à Beaurain, confirme ce qu'en dit le monument dont il s'agit :

> "Guy garda Heralt par grant cure,
> Mout en creust mesaventure,
> A Belrem le fit envoyer
> Pour fere le Duc esloingnier." P. 379.

(3) In the tapestry, William is on his throne, with his sword in his left hand; his right is extended close to the face of a man, who is listening or speaking to him in a deprecating and intimidated manner. Lancelot says, "Deux vers du roman de Rou expriment ce que le duc faisait en cette occasion :

> 'Tant pramist au Comte et offri,
> Tant manacha et tant blandi,
> Que Guy Heralt au Duc rendi.'

Ce sont les menaces qu'il semble que la tapisserie a voulu désigner." p. 381.

(4) Guil. Pictav.

armed men. It is most likely Harold addressig William on the subject of his excursion; but there is no inscriptin on this part of the tapestry.

The next figures represent William's warfar with Conan, a count of Bretagne, in which Harold assisted (1). The inscriptions are: "Here Duke William and his army came o Mount St. Michael, and passed the river Cosno (3); here Harolduke drew them from the sand; and they came to Dol, and Conai fled. Here the soldiers of Duke William fought against the Dinanes (3), and Conan extended the keys."

All these circumstances are very expressively tol by appropriate figures, which give a curious delineation of th military equipments and manners of the period.

The events which follow are peculiarly interesting to us. William, in complete armour, extends one hand to Harold's right temple; his other is upon Harold's right arm and breast. Harold is a little inclining towards him, and supports a lane with a banner in his left hand. The words above are, "Here Wiliam gave arms to Harold." A Norman historian mentions, that William rewarded the exertions of Harold with splendid arms, horses, and other insignia (4).

After three horsemen in armour, with the letter, "Here William comes to Bagias" (Bayeux), William appears without armour on his throne with a sword, his left hand extended. Near this are two repositories of relics. Harold is between them, vith a hand on each. Officers are at both ends. The inscription is: "Here Harold swears to Duke William."

The historians state, that Harold swore to promote William's accession to the throne of England on Edmund's demise, to marry his daughter, and to put Dover into his power (5). Some other

(1) See Lancelot, 388—401., on William and Harold's war in Bretagne. William of Poitiers is the only historian who has at all detailed this warfare, "mais il s'en faut beaucoup que son récit ne soit aussi circonstancié que ce qui se voit dans la tapisserie," p. 389. Lancelot's Observations on the weapons of the combatants are worth reading.

(2) C'est la rivière de Couesnon qui sépare encore à présent la Normandie de la Bretagne, Lan. 396. Les flots de la mer et les sables font changer souvent le lit de cette rivière, ce qui rend le gué difficile. La tapisserie représente le passage de cette rivière par les troupes de Guillaume avec une exactitude très-détaillée. Ib. 397.

(3) This circumstance the tapestry only has preserved, "C'est la prise de Dinan, ville de Bretagne, à six lieues de Dol: aucun historien du temps n'en a parlé." Lan. 399.

(4) Order. Vital. lib. iii. p. 492. Le Roman de Rou places the ceremony at Avranches (Aurences) when the Duke was going to Bretagne. Lan. 402.

(5) Guil. Pictav. says this on the evidence of eye-witnesses: "Sicut veracissimi multaque honestate præclarissimi homines recitavere qui tunc affuere testes," p. 191. He is so angry with Harold for his subsequent breach of this oath, that he apostrophizes him with great warmth, p. 192. Both Pictav. and Ord. Vital. 492. place the oath before the war in Bretagne. On the oath see Ingulf, Malmsb., M. Paris, Eadmer, and others.

authorities mention that William, after Harold had sworn, uncovered the repositories, and showed him on what relics he had pledged himself; and Harold saw, with alarm, their number and importance (1). If this be true, these two great warriors were, at least in their religion, men of petty minds, or they would not have believed that the obligation of an oath was governed by the rules of arithmetical progression.

The tapestry represents a ship under sail, expressive of Harold's return, and afterwards Harold making his report to Edward. The king's sickness and funeral follow (2).

The next figures show Harold's coronation. One man offers him the crown, and another a battle-axe. Beyond this, Harold appears on his throne, with the globe and cross in his left hand, and a sceptre in his right. On his right two men are presenting to him a sword; and Stigand, the archbishop, is standing on his left (3).

Harold's coronation.

On the evening of Edward's funeral, which was the day after his death, Harold possessed himself of the crown of England. As there were other pretenders to the dignity, of whom one at least, Edgar Etheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, was invested with the interesting right of hereditary descent, delay was perilous to the ambition of Harold (4). Hence, while the nobles were agitated with divided minds, Harold boldly decided the splendid question by availing himself of the support of his friends (5), and by obtaining an instantaneous coronation from the suspended archbishop of Canterbury (6).

That Harold used his authority with kingly dignity, and for the great ends of public utility, is asserted (7), and must be admitted, with the qualification that as his reign was so short, the panegyric

(1) So the Roman de Rou and la Chronique de Normandie affirm. Lanc. 404, 405. I may here mention that the author of the Roman is stated to be Robert Waice; that he lived about fifty years after the conquest, and was a canon of Bayeux. Lan. 379.

(2) The figures of the funeral seem to precede the sickness.

(3) The inscriptions are: "Here they gave the crown to king Harold; here sits Harold, king of the English; Stigand, archbishop."

(4) Matthew says some of the proceres favoured William; some Harold, and some Edgar, the grandson of Edmund Ironside; but that Harold, extorta fide a majoribus, obtained the diadem, 433. Malmsbury intimates a violent seizure, p. 93. So Rudborne, p. 24. Ordericus says, he was consecrated sine communi consensu aliorum præsulum et comitum procerumque, p. 492.; and see Matt. West. 433. and M. Paris, 2.

(5) Florence, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, Rad. Dic. and Saxon Chronicle, imply, that a very large part, if not all, of the nobles chose him. The tapestry, which certainly tells the story in the Norman way, hints nothing of a violent seizure. It represents two men offering the crown to Harold, who is uncovered.

(6) Though most of the writers say that the archbishop of York crowned him, yet, as the tapestry shows Harold on his throne, and Stigand, who held Canterbury, near him; and as Guil. Pictav. 196. and Ord. Vitalis state that Stigand crowned him, I adopt this opinion, which M. Lancelot supports, 421.

(7) As Hoveden, Florence, and others. Malmsbury, 93. admits it.

must be referred to his intentions rather than to his actions. It is, however, essential to an usurper to be popular; and human ingenuity cannot invent a spell more potent to excite the favour of its contemporaries than the practice of virtue. All rulers, whose right to power is ambiguous, and whose possession of it depends on the public support, will affect to govern a while with equity and popularity. The true character of Harold cannot therefore be judged from his actions in the emergency of competition; and he perished before the virtues of his disposition could be distinguished from those of his convenience.

It is amusing to remark how industrious the chroniclers of this period have been to record, that a comet appeared this year in the heavens, and that it foreboded the revolutions of greatness, and the bloodshed which ensued (1). The popular impression produced by this comet is shown by its having been worked in the tapestry of Bayeux. This relic of ancient times contains, immediately after Harold's coronation, a rude figure of the comet, with several persons gazing at it with eager eyes and pointing hands (2).

The enjoyment of a favourite object is seldom the consequence of its violent acquisition. Harold found his crown full of the thorns which poets and moralists have been fond of describing. Three competitors prepared at the same time to wrestle with him for it; each was formidable enough to have endangered his prosperity, but the combination of their hostilities could have hardly failed to overpower him.

The rivals of Harold were, his brother Tostig, William duke of Normandy, and Haralld Hardrada, the king of Norway. The two last were sovereigns of long-established authority, and great military experience; and came with peculiar advantage into a conflict with Harold, whose ancestry was obscure, whose power was young, whose title was questionable, and whose friends were but a party in the nation which he governed.

Tostig was a man of talents and activity, but his fraternal relation gave to his hostilities a peculiar venom. He had been expelled from Northumbria in a preceding reign, and had not been recalled by Harold. His discontent and envy were fostered by William who embraced the policy of multiplying the enemies and of dividing the strength of Harold.

Eager to oppress his more fortunate brother, Tostig attempted,

(1) Will. Gem. p. 285.; Matt. West. 439.; and many annalists. I believe that above ninety comets have been remarked in the heavens.

(2) The inscription over the men is:—Isti mirant stella. The MS. Chronicles, Tib. B. 1. and B. 4. thus mention the comet:—Tha wearth hond eall Engla land swylc tacen on heofenum gesewen swylce nan man er ne geseah. Sume men cwedon that hit tometa se streorra wære thone sume menatath thone Fixedon steorran and he æteowde æreft on thone æfen Letania maior 8 K mai and swa scan ealle tha seofon niht."

but in vain, to excite the king of Denmark to attack him. On the mind of Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, he operated with more success. The Norwegian consented to invade England in the summer (1).

Tostig's Invasion.

Tostig went to Flanders, to prepare the means of an aggression of his own. He visited William of Normandy, of whose ambition he was made a convenient instrument (2). He collected all the English who were willing to join him; he raised many supplies from Flanders (3), and with sixty ships proceeded to the English coast.

He levied contributions from the Isle of Wight, and plundered along the shore till he reached Sandwich. Harold was then at London. He collected a very numerous fleet and army, because he perceived that his brother's force was but the advanced guard of William. When Harold reached Sandwich, Tostig, whose friends were chiefly in the north, sailed hastily for Lincolnshire, and committed many ravages on Lindesey. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria allowed them no time to collect support, but commenced an immediate opposition (4). Tostig, defeated by their energy, fled to Scotland with twelve ships (5), to wait the arrival of his allies, and Malcolm gave him an asylum.

The first shaft of danger was thus happily averted from Harold; but the feeblest arm of the confederacy had thrown it, and the triumph did not much augment the security of the king. The two sovereigns, whose power singly was sufficient to endanger him, were now preparing a combined attack.

William accedes in Normandy.

William, the rival of Harold, was the son of Robert, the sixth duke of Normandy. He was not a legitimate child (6); but in these days this circumstance, though always a reproach (7), did not prevent deserving talents from attaining the royal succession. William, like our Athelstan and Edmund Ironside, was admitted to assume the dignity of his father.

When Robert, obeying a fashion of his day, went to Jerusalem with a noble retinue, he appointed his boy William, though but a

(1) Snorre, v. iii. 146—149. W. Gemmet, 285.

(2) Order. Vital. 2. (3) Snorre, 150.

(4) Malmsb. 94.; Hunt. 367. Matt. West. p. 433. says 40. The MS. Chronicle, Tib. B. 4. mentions that Tostig came to Wight, mid swa micium lithe swa he begitan mihte. But in stating his entrance into the Humber, it adds, mid sixtigum scirum.

(5) MS. Chron. Tib. Bib. 4. mid 12 dnaccum.

(6) His mother was Herleva, or Harlotta, the daughter of Fullbert, an officer of the duke's household. After Robert's death she was married by Herluin, a probus miles, and left him two sons, of whom one, Odo, became an archbishop; the other also obtained reputation. W. Gemmet, lib. vii. c. 3.

(7) Therefore one of his nobles declared, quod nothus non deberet sibi allisque Normannis imperare. Gem. lib. vii. c. 3. Glaber Rodulphus says of the Normans: Fuit enim usque a primo adventu ipsius gentis in Gallias, ex hujusmodi concubinarum commixtione illorum principes extitisse, p. 47.

child, to govern Normandy in his stead, under the superintendance of a wise and faithful administration; and he engaged his nobles and the king of France to guard his arrangement (1). Robert died at Nice, on his return from Palestine, in 1035, the same year in which Canute the Great departed from this scene of his existence (2).

William, at the age of eight, became the duke of Normandy (3). His minority tempted many nobles to rebel against him, and to be turbulent towards each other. The king of France also coveted his dominions. Normandy was for many years harassed by wars, murders, and civil feuds; and William, like Philip of Macedon, experienced adversity enough to excite his energies, and to discipline his judgment. The abilities of his friends at first, and afterwards his own good conduct, surmounted every difficulty (4). He not only secured his own power, but having so often measured it against others with success, he was taught to know its strength, to nurture ambition upon that knowledge, and to look around him for new theatres on which his active mind could be employed with profit, and where increased celebrity would reward its exertions (5).

The friendship of Edward, the visit of Harold, and the state of the English court, excited and determined him to aim at the sceptre of our island.

William's message to Harold.

The sudden coronation of Harold prevented the effect of any private intrigues, and left to William no hope but from his sword. William, however, knew that the combat was half gained if the moral impressions of society were in his favour; and he therefore sent an embassy to Harold gently expostulating upon the seizure of the crown, reminding him of the sworn compact, and announcing hostilities if he persisted in the violation. After Harold's coronation, such messages could be only a theatrical trick, played off by the Norman, to call the attention of the people to the moral circumstances of the case, to introduce the claims of William publicly to their notice, to encourage his partisans, and to assume the merit of peaceful discussion. William could never have supposed that upon a mere message Harold would have walked down humbly from the throne which he had been so hasty to ascend.

Harold's answer.

Harold acted his part in the diplomatic farce, and gave a popular answer. His topics were as well selected as the case afforded. An oath extorted by violence could not be binding on the conscience. Human laws admitted a maiden's vow

(1) Glaber, p. 47.

(2) Gemmet, lib. vi. c. 12, 13. Ord. Vit. lib. iii. p. 459.

(3) Ord. Vit. 459.

(4) On William's struggles to regain his dignity, see Guil. Pictav.; W. Gemmet, and Orderic. Vitalis. They may be also read in Daniel's Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 362—368.

(5) He married Mathilda, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders. Gemmet, p. 277. She was descended from Alfred's daughter.

to be annulled, which was made without her parents' consent: as void must be the promise of an envoy, pledged without his master's knowledge. Besides, how could any individual alienate the right of royal succession without the national consent? And how could he abandon voluntarily a dignity with which the favour of the most potent nobles of England had honoured him (1)?

By wedding Alditha, the daughter of earl Algar (2), instead of Adeliza, the daughter of William (3), Harold strengthened himself at home, because Mercia and Northumbria were governed by the brothers of the lady.

William prepares.

William held council with his chiefs on his project of invasion. Some thought the chance unfavourable to Normandy, and dissuaded it (4). The influence of the duke surmounted opposition, and preparations were vigorously made. A great number of ships were immediately constructed (5). The tapestry, after the representation of a ship arriving from England, shows William on his throne, with the inscription, "Here Duke William gave orders to build ships." Men cutting down trees with axes, and planing them into planks; others arranging and hammering these into vessels, are the next figures. Afterwards five men appear pulling ships after them by ropes. Above are these words: "Here they drew the ships to the sea."

Men carrying coats of mail, spears, swords, and wine, and two others dragging a car, laden with weapons, and a barrel, are then exhibited. The inscription is: "These carry arms to the ships, and here they draw a car with wine and arms." Such was the expedition of the workmen, that they were ready by the end of August (6).

While the means of conveyance were providing, William was active in assembling soldiers sufficient for his attempt. His purpose was diffused through every land, and the courageous adventurer was invited from every coast to share in the honour, the danger, and the booty of the conflict. Crowds of fighters came

(1) Matt. Paris, p. 2. Matt. West. 431. Eadmer, 5.

(2) Gemmet, 285. (3) She died at this crisis. Mat. Par. 2.

(4) Guil. Pictav. 197. and Ord. Vital. p. 493.

(5) Guil. Pictav. 197. W. Gemmet, 286., says, he had 3000 ships built; which seem too many either to be wanted by him or to be believed by us. Ord. Vital. says, that many ships were diligently made in Normandy with their utensils; and that both clergy and laity, by their money and liquors, assisted in the business, 496.

(6) The Roman de Rou thus describes these things: —

"Fevres et charpentiers manda,
Dont veissiez à granz effors
Par Normendie à touz les pors
Merriens à traire et fust porter,
Chevilles faire et bois doler
Nesf et esquiex appareillier,
Velles estendre et mats dreeier
A grant entente et a grand ost,
Tout un este un Aost
Mistrent au navie atorner." Lancelot, 429.

from all parts adjacent (1). He collected powerful supplies from Bretagne, France, Flanders, and their vicinity (2), which, joined with the soldiers whom he raised in his own Normandy, presented a mass of force not less formidable from their spirit of enterprise and their enthusiasm, than from their numbers and the military skill of William, who had been accustomed to warfare from his infancy. The emperor so far favoured the expedition as to promise to protect Normandy against any enemies who might invade it in the duke's absence (3). William was here also peculiarly fortunate. The king of France, though so much interested in preventing the duke of Normandy from acquiring the additional power of the English crown, yet did not interfere to prevent the collection and departure of the expedition. Perhaps he judged it to be a desperate effort, and waited to profit by its failure. William availed himself of the oaths which Harold had broken, to give to his cause the appearance of religious sanctity; he therefore consulted with the pope, who sent him a consecrated banner (4).

King of Norway invades.

While William was putting in action every means of offensive aggression, which talents like his, so exercised in warfare, could devise, the king of Norway was also summoning all the resources of his country to give prosperity to his ambitious hopes. It is a pleasing instance of the growing importance of England, that his notice to his subjects, of his intended expedition, did not meet with the unanimous concurrence of the Norwegian mountaineers. Though some, exulting in the recollection of their Haralld's achievements, thought disaster impossible; yet others intimated that England abounded with valiant chiefs and soldiers (5). Like a part of the Norman nobility, they did not hesitate to foretell that the invasion would be a work of perilous difficulty, and doubtful issue.

The time had been, when to mention an expedition against England was to collect speedily a numerous fleet of eager adventurers. But now that experience had made known the bravery of the natives, as the hour of attack drew near, ominous dreams began to flit through Norway. Snorre has detailed three of these, and mentions that many other portents occurred of dire and ill-boding import (6). The dark minds of the North discovered their feelings by their superstitions. They began to dread the English power, and they found deterring omens, because they were disposed to look for them.

(1) Convenit etiam externus miles in auxilium copiosus. Guil. Pict. 197. Rumoribus quoque viri pugnaces de vicinis regionibus exciti convenerunt. Ord. Vit. 494.

(2) Ingentum quoque exercitum ex Normannis et Flandrensibus ac Francis et Britonibus aggregavit. W. Gem. 286. Galli namque et Britones, Pictavini et Burgundiones aliique populi Cisalpini ad bellum transmarinum convolarunt. Ord. Vit. 494.

(3) Guil. Pict. 197. (4) Guil. Pict. 197. Ord. Vit. 493.

(5) Snorre, Saga of Haralldi Hardrada, c. 82. p. 149.

(6) Snorre, 150—152.

Haralld Hardrada, having appointed his son Magnus to govern Norway in his absence, sailed with his other son, Olaf, and with his queen, Ellisif (Elizabeth), and her daughters, Maria and Ingegerdr, across the British ocean (1). He reached Shetland; and, after a short delay, he sailed to the Orkneys. He left there his family, and directing his course along Scotland, he landed with his multitude of warriors at the Tyne (2). His aggression seems to have been unforeseen. The duke of Normandy absorbed the attention of Harold, who did not expect that his hour of difficulty would have been made more stormy by a competitor from the North. Hardrada found no opposition of importance on the English coasts. Tostig joined him (3). They sailed onwards to Scarborough, which they plundered and burnt. They turned the point of Holderness, and with above five hundred ships entered the Humber (4).

They proceeded up the Ouse as far towards York as Richale. The related earls, Edwine and Morcar, though taken unawares, prepared to oppose Haralld Hardrada with the same spirit which had before expelled Tostig. On the 20th of September they gave battle to the invaders near York, on the right side of the Ouse (5). Hardrada formed his warriors into such an arrangement, that one of his wings reached to the river, and the other was flanked by a ditch and marsh full of water. The banner of the king and the flower of his warriors were on the river. His line at the ditch was weak, and tempted the attack of the earls, the brothers-in-law of Harold. They drove the enemy from their position. It was then that Hardrada rushed into the battle, and, with his compact troops, pierced through and divided the pursuing English. Some were driven to the river; some to the marsh and ditch. The slaughter was so great, that the Norwegians traversed the marsh on the bodies of the fallen (6). The Saxon account confirms the Icelandic: it claims the first advantage for the English, and acknowledges that in the disastrous close, more were pushed into the waters than were slain by the sword (7). The earls were besieged in York (8).

(1) For Haralld's actions, see Snorre, in the ode translated in the second volume of Mallet's Northern Antiquities; in Ad. Brem. 41. 43.; and Steph. in Sax. 215.

(2) Snorre, 153., says Klifland. So Orkneyinga Saga, p. 95. Hoveden, Florence, and Simeon, place his first descent at the Tyne.

(3) Flor. 429.

(4) Snorre, 154. Hoveden, 448. Flor. 429. Our writers differ on the number of Haralld's ships. Matt. Paris says 1000. So Sigeb. Gemb. p. 600. Ingulf states 200; and Malmsbury and others have 300.

(5) Hunt. 367. says, "Cujus locus pugnæ in Australi parte urbis adhuc ostenditur."

(6) Snorre, 155. Orkneyinga Saga, p. 95. The northerns give the command of the Saxons to Walthiof and Morcar. Walthiof is not mentioned by the English chroniclers in Harold's reign; but in William's reign he occurs with the Northumbrians, as in Hoveden, p. 455.

(7) Hoveden, 448. Flor. 429.

(8) Malmsb. 94.

Harold, watching anxiously the motions of the duke of Normandy, had stationed his troops on his southern coasts. The success of Haralld Hardrada compelled him to abandon this position of defence, and to march with his army into the North. To repel the king of Norway immediately was essential to his safety; and with this purpose he proceeded towards him so rapidly, as to reach York four days after the defeat of the earls.

Hardrada had been as much reinforced by the friends of Tostig (1), and by those adventurers who always join the flag of victory, as the time would permit; but the sudden presence of the king of England was an incident which he did not anticipate.

He had committed his ships to the care of his son, Olaf, with a part of his forces, and had marched with the rest towards the city, to settle the government of the province. The day was beautiful and mild. The sun shone with those pleasing beams which exhilarate the spirits, and give new charms to irradiated nature. But, alas! the drama of ambition was acting in the country, and its melancholy catastrophe was about to scatter round the dismal spectacle of death. Man was hastening to deform the smiling scene with all the massacres of a ferocious battle. On a sudden, the king of Norway saw an army marching towards him. He enquired of Tostig, who they were. Tostig stated his hope that they were a supply of his friends; but he knew enough of his brother's activity also to add, that they might be the English forces.

The advancing troops were soon discerned to be hostile; and Tostig, wishing a more elaborate preparation, advised a retreat to the ships, that the strength of Norway might join the battle in its most concentrated vigour. The king of Norway was hero enough not to decline an offered combat; but he sent three swift couriers to command the immediate presence of his other warriors.

He drew out his men in a long but not dense line; and, bending back the wings, he formed them into a circle every where of the same depth, with shield touching shield. In the centre the royal banner was planted, not unaptly surnamed the Ravager of the Earth. The peculiar mode in which the cavalry attacked was the cause of this arrangement. Their custom was to charge promiscuously in an impetuous mass, to fly off, and to return in the same or at some other point. Haralld Hardrada was as yet weak in cavalry. It was now but the 25th September, and he had not had time to mount many of his troops. The king of England, on the contrary, came forth with the strength of the island, and of course a large part of his army must have been horse. To secure himself against this superiority, was the first care of the Norwegian.

The first line were ordered to fix their lances obliquely in the

(1) Snorre, 156.

ground, with the points inclining towards the enemy, that the cavalry might impale themselves when they charged. The second line held also their spears ready to plunge into the breasts of the horses when near. The archers were joined with the array of Haralld and Tostig, to contribute their efforts to the success of the day (1).

Hardrada rode round his circle to inspect its order. His horse stumbling, he was thrown to the ground; but he sprang up, and wisely exclaimed, that it was an omen of good. Harold, who observed the incident, thought otherwise. He enquired who that Norwegian was, clothed in a blue tunic, and with a splendid helmet, who had fallen. He was answered, The king of Norway. "He is a large and majestic person," replied Harold, "but his fortune will be disastrous (2)."

An offer was sent to Tostig, before the battle joined, to give him Northumbria, and other honours, if he would withdraw from the impending conflict. Tostig remarked, that such a proposition in the preceding winter would have saved many lives: "But," added he, "if I should accept these terms, what is to be the compensation of the king, my ally?"—"Seven feet of ground, or, as he is a very tall man, perhaps a little more," was the answer. This intimation closed the negotiation, for Tostig was faithful to his friend (3).

The Norwegians, not having expected a battle on that day, are said to have been without their coasts of mail. The king of Norway sung some stanzas on the circumstance, and awaited the attack. His orders were implicitly obeyed. The charges of the English cavalry were received on the implanted points; and while the Norwegians kept their circle unbroken, they repulsed every attack. Weary of their unprevailing efforts, the English began to relax in some confusion, and their adversaries were tempted to pursue. It was then that the fortune of Norway first drooped. The English returned to the charge. The Norwegians were out of their defensive arrangement, and felt the destructive fury of the English weapons. Hardrada encouraged his men by the most heroic exertions; but he could not bind victory to his standard. A fatal dart pierced his throat; and his fall gave the first triumph to his kingly competitor (4).

Tostig assumed the command, and the battle still raged. Harold again offered life and peace to his brother and the Norwegians, but the enraged Tostig was deaf to reconciliation. Victory or death was his decision; and the arrival of the division from the ships, under the command of Eysteinn Orri, gave new hopes to his fury.

(1) Snorre, 150.
(2) Ibid. 160. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid. 163. See Haralld's character in Snorre, 174. He was fifty years of age when he died. Ib. 175.

These fresh troops were completely armed. Their attack was so vehement, that the fortune of the day was nearly changed; but they were exhausted by the speed with which they had hurried to the place of conflict. Their exertions relaxed as their strength ebbed; and after a desperate struggle, Tostig and the flower of Norway perished (1). Harold, who had shown himself the ardent warrior through all the combat, permitted Olave, the son of the unfortunate Hardrada, and Paul, the earl of the Orkneys (2), to retire from the island with their surviving friends and a few ships (3). Olave went to the Orkneys, and in the following spring to Norway, where he reigned jointly with his brother Magnus (4).

Two of Harold's competitors had now fallen; and if an interval had elapsed before the assault of the other, of sufficient space to have permitted him to have supplied the consumption of the late battles, and to have organized a new force, it is probable that the duke of Normandy would have shared the fate of the king of Norway. But three days only intervened between the defeat of the Norwegians, and the landing of William. He arrived at Pevensey on the 28th of September (5), and the king of Norway had fallen on the 25th.

Harold, expecting an invasion from William, had in the spring assembled, on the southern coasts, the best bulwark of the island. He stationed his fleet off Wight, to encounter the Norman on the seas, and encamped an army in its vicinity. This guard was continued during the summer and autumn; and while it watched at its allotted post, the throne of Harold was secure. But on the 8th of September (6), the fleet, which had lain along the coast at Pevensey, Hastings, and the neighbouring ports, was, from the want of provisions, obliged to disperse (7). Harold being immediately after occupied by the Norwegian invasion, neglected to supply and re-

(1) Ibid. 165. Huntingdon says, there never was a severer battle, p. 308. He, Malmsbury, and others, state, that at one period of the conflict, a Norwegian defended the bridge against the English army, and killed with his battle-axe forty soldiers before he was destroyed. Ord. Vit. mentions, that a great heap of bones in his time marked on the spot the dreadful slaughter of the day, 500.

(2) Hoveden, 448. Ingulf, 69. On Paul's descent and family, see the Orkneyinga Saga, p. 91–93.

(3) Ingulf, Hoveden, and others, say with 20. The MS. Chron. Tib. B 4. has 24. This mentions Olaf's departure thus:—"Se kyng tha geaf grythe Olafe thæs Norna cynges suna and heore bpe' and than eorle of Orcan ege and eallon than theon than scypu to lafe wæron and hi foron tha upp to uran kyninge and sporon athas th hi æfre woldon fryth and freondscype mto thisan lande haldan and se cyng hi let ham faran mid 24 scypum. Thas twa folc gefeoht wæron gefremmede binnan fif nihtan."

(4) Orkneyinga Saga, 95. Snorre, 171–176.

(5) The printed Chronicle says on Michaelmas day. But the MS. Tib. B. 4. says, "On see' Michaels mæsse æfen." So the Lambard MS. Ord. Vit. 500. agrees with the MS.

(6) Hoveden and Florence mark the nativity of St. Mary as the day. This was 8th September.

(7) The MS. Chron. B. 1. has a long paragraph on this.

instate it. By this unhappy mistake, he removed the main obstacle to William's expedition.

William had completed his armament in August and it lay in the mouth of the Dive, a little river between Havre and Caen. Fortunately for his enterprise, the wind was adverse. If it had been favourable, he would have sailed, and the fleet of Harold would have received the first shock of the storm. If the English navy had been defeated, an army was lining its coasts, which would have disputed his landing. Should victory still have followed him, his force must have been diminished by the combats, and he would have had then to wrestle with the strength of the island, directed by the active talents of Harold. But the contrary winds detained him for a month at the Dive (1); and in this interval the English fleet left its position, and the invasion of Norway called Harold from the southern coasts.

At last the currents of the atmosphere came into the direction he desired, and the fleet sailed from the Dive, round Havre, to St. Valery, near Dieppe, which was the nearest port between Normandy and England. Some unfavourable events had occurred. Of the large fleet several vessels were wrecked; and many of the adventurers, whose courage lessened from their leisure of reflection on the perils of the expedition, abandoned his standard. William caused the bodies of the drowned to be buried with speed and privacy; he exhilarated the spirits of his army by abundance of provisions, and he animated their drooping hopes by his eloquent exhortations. To excite their enthusiasm, he caused St. Valery's body to be carried in procession, under the pretence of imploring, and perhaps with the hope of obtaining, a propitious navigation.

A general eagerness to embark now pervaded the expedition. The duke, more impatient than any, was every where urging his soldiers to hasten to their ships. To prevent disasters usual to an unknown coast, he enjoined all the vessels to anchor round his at night and not to recommence their voyage till the lighted beacon on the top of his mast having given the signal, the general clangor of the trumpets should announce the time of resailing (2).

With seven hundred ships (3), or more, replete with

(1) Ord. Vital. 500. Guil. Pict. 108.

(2) These particulars are from the contemporary William of Poitou, whose valuable fragment was printed by Du Chesne, from a MS. in our Cotton Library.

(3) It has been already remarked, that W. Gemmet gives to William 3000 ships. The very ancient author of the Roman de Rou says, he had read of 3000 ships, but that he had heard it declared to his father that there were 700 all but four.

"Ne vous voil mie mettre en leitre,
Ne je ne me voil entremeitre
Quels barons et quels chevaliers,
Granz vavasours, granz soudoiers
Ont li Dus en sa compaingnie
Quant il prist toute sa navie.
Mez ceu oi dire a mon pere,
Bien m'en souvient, mes vallet ere

horses (1), and every implement of battle, he quitted his native shores. During the day, his ardent spirit not only led the van of his fleet, but his ship so far outsailed the others, that when a mariner was ordered to look round from the top of the mast, he declared he saw nothing but the clouds and the ocean William, though impatient for his landing, yet with dignified composure ordered his men to cast anchor, and calmly took a cheerful refreshment. A second sailor ascended, and beheld four ships coming into the horizon. Another, at a farther interval, declared he saw a sailing forest. The duke's heart swelled with joy, and he anticipated all the triumphs of his daring adventure (2).

At Pevensey their voyage ceased on the 28th September. They landed peaceably, for no opposing force was near (3). They made no stay here, and proceeded immediately to Hastings to procure food (4). As William landed from his ship, it happened that he fell. In these days, when the mind was still retaining many of the groundless fantasies of preceding ages, the accident was interpreted into an omen of disaster; but the spreading panic was checked by the judicious soldier who raised William from the ground. Seeing his hands full of mud, he exclaimed, "Fortunate general! you have already taken England. See, its earth is in your hands (5)." How excitable must be the mind of man, when a casual stumble can intimidate thousands, and a lucky expression re-assure them! How

Quer sept cent nesf quatre moins furent,
Quant de St. Valery s'esmurent,
Que nesf, que batteaux, que esquiez
A porter armes et hernois.
Ai je en escript trouvé,
Ne sai dire s'est vérité,
Que il y eut trois mile nesf,
Qui porterent velles et tresf." Lancelot, 431.

La Chronique de Normandie intimates, that some escriptures temoingnent neuf cens et sept grandes nesf a granz tresf et voiles, sans li menu vaisselin. Ib. M. Lancelot remarks, that the menu vaisselin may supply somewhat of the great difference between the rumours. The expressions of Guil. Pictav. imply 1000 ships.

(1) The tapestry of Bayeux has several ships with horses.

(2) Guil. Pict. 199. To this repast of William, M. Lancelot refers that in the tapestry. I think his supposition is decidedly and obviously erroneous.

(3) Guil. Pict. 199. The tapestry shows this. After representing many ships in full sail, some with armed men, and some with horses, with the inscription: "Mare transivit et venit ad Pevenesæ," it shows the landing of horses unmolested.

(4) The tapestry details this curiously. Four armed horsemen are riding. The words over them are, "And here the soldiers hastened to Hastings to seize provisions." One man is leading a sheep; another is standing near with an axe, looking at an ox; another is carrying some bundle on his shoulders near a man with a pig. The cookery, the serving, and the enjoyment of the repast, are then successively represented with appropriate inscriptions. The little anonymous narration, written in the reign of Henry I., and published by Tailor from a MS. at Oxford, after landing them at Pevensey, adds, "Sed non diutius ibi moratus, cum omni exercitu suo venit ad alium portum non longe ab isto situm quem vocant Hastingas, ibique omnem suam militiam requiescere jussit," p. 100.

(5) Matt. West. 435. and others.

difficult must it be to lead such excitability into a steady course of wisdom and virtue!

The duke forbad plunder, and built military works both at Pevensey and Hastings, to protect his shipping (1). It is mentioned that he went out with twenty-five companions to explore the country. They fell into such a rugged course, that they were obliged to return on foot; and the army remarked, with high approbation, that William had burthened himself with the armour of one of his party, who was unable to get to the camp without putting it off (2). William was now involved in an expedition which required the most zealous and self-devoting support of all his soldiers. Few things interest more strongly than the useful condescensions of the great, and it is an argument of William's discernment and true dignity of mind, that he seized such little occasions of exciting, in his army, an affectionate attachment.

A Norman friend conveyed to William the tidings of Harold's victory over Norway. The counsel of alarm was added to the news. "He is coming against you with all his power, and I think you will be but as despised dogs against it. You have prudently governed all your affairs in Normandy; be not now rash; keep to your fortifications; meet him not in battle."

William's mind was above these little agitations of fear. He had thrown his die. His spirit was fixed to stand the full venture, and to endure all the consequences, whether fatal or propitious. He returned for answer, that he should not entrench himself, but should give the battle as early as he could join it. He declared that this would have been his resolution, if he had headed only 10,000 men, instead of the 60,000 who were assembled round his banners (3).

Harold received the information of William's landing, while he was dining at York (4). The impressive incident would have summoned a wary mind to the most deliberate circumspection. A new enemy coming in such power demanded the wisest exertions of military intelligence. But the mind of Harold possessed not the judgment of his great adversary. His bravery had more vivacity than discretion, and its natural ardour was stimulated into presumption by his victory against the king of Norway. He looked upon William as his devoted prey; and instead of collecting all his means of defence, and multiplying these by the wisdom of their application, he flew to London, as if he had only to combat in order to conquer.

This triumphant vanity was the instrument as well as the signal of his ruin. In the deadly contest against Hardrada, he had lost many of his bravest warriors. By an ill-timed covetousness, he

(1) Wil. Gemmet. 286. Ord. Vit. 500. The tapestry represents this construction of the castle at Hastings.
(2) Guil. Pict. 199.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Hunt. 368.

disgusted the surviving; for he monopolised the plunder. When he marched to London against William, a large part of his army deserted him. Those only who served on pay, and as mercenaries, kept to him (1).

He sent spies to inspect William's force. The judicious duke, who knew his strength, and the good appointment of his army, had nothing to conceal: he caused the spies to be well feasted, and to be led through his encampment. On their return to Harold, they magnified what they had beheld; but added, that, from their shaven faces, they should have taken the Normans for an army of divines. Harold laughed at the conceit, but had sense enough to remark, that the divines would prove very formidable soldiers (2).

It was the interest of Harold to delay a battle with the invaders, but it was his passion to hasten it. His brother Gurth reminded him, that he had not recruited his losses in the north. Such an observation was evidence of his judgment. His other remarks, that if Harold fought, it would be committing perjury, and therefore that he, Gurth, had better lead on the English in his stead, were deservedly despised by Harold (3). The perjury, if any, was in the resistance, and could not be diminished by the change of the commander. But with what energy could the troops be expected to fight in a quarrel of personal competition, if Harold was away? His absence, on such grounds, would have sanctified the claim of William, and might have tainted his own fame with the perilous imputation of cowardice.

Monastic messengers were reciprocally sent by the two rivals. The one from the duke is said to have offered Harold his option of three proposals. To quit the throne, to reign under William, or to decide the dispute by a single combat.

The two first propositions Harold was too courageous to regard. The last was more compatible with his humour. But Harold had been William's guest, and well knew his personal prowess. The Norman excelled most men of his day in strength, stature, agility, and skill. As he possessed such notorious superiority, there was little courage in his offer of the duel, and Harold could not be disgraced in refusing it. Harold therefore answered with unusual discretion, when he declared, that God should judge between them (4).

Harold staid but six days at London to collect troops for the col-

(1) Malmsb. 94. Matt. West. 434.

(2) Malmsb. 100. The English did not shave the upper lip. Ib. The Roman de Rou mentions the account of the spies. Lanc. p. 456 The forces of William greatly outnumbered those of Harold. The MS. of Waltham Abbey, written by the canon whom the last queen of Henry I. patronised, states the Norman army to have been *four* times as numerous as that of Harold. "Non potuit de pari conditione contendere, qui modico stipatus agmine, QUADRUPLO congressus exercitu, sorti se dedit ancipiti." Cott. MSS. Jul. D. 6. p. 101.

(3) Malmsb. 100.

(4) Malmsb. 100. Guil. Pict. 200. Matt. Paris, 3.

lision with the invaders (1); his impatient presumption could not tarry for the force that was wanted to secure success. He left the city, and marched all night towards Hastings (2). His hope was to surprise the army of the duke (3), as he had surprised the Norwegians; and so confident were his expectations, that he sent round a fleet of 700 vessels to hinder William's escape (4).

This was another measure of his ill-judgment. A very large part of his force must have been lost to him in manning these vessels; and yet, though he had not had time to collect an army of great power, he deprived himself, needlessly, of a numerous support, by sending it on the seas. Prudence would have counselled him to have opened a passage on the ocean for his enemies' retreat. If he had coolly reasoned, he must have seen that William placed the issue of his adventure upon a land battle. To wage this successfully, he concentrated all his strength. Harold, instead of meeting him with his most consolidated force, favoured the wishes of his enemies by manning a fleet, whose exertions could not have the least influence on the impending conflict. But when vanity assumes the helm of our conduct, discretion disappears.

In projecting to surprise William, he proved how little he understood of the duke's character. Alert in obtaining notice of Harold's approach, William immediately commanded his men to remain all night under arms (5). Deterred by this preparation, Harold ventured no night attack.

On the spot afterwards called Battle, the English rested on an adjacent hill. The Normans quitted Hastings (6), and occupied an eminence (7) opposite. The night before the battle was spent by the English in festivity, by the Normans in devotion (8)."

While William was putting on his armour, it happened that he inverted his coat of mail. This petty mistake was a fatal omen; but William, like all great souls, disdaining such puerilities, said, with a calm countenance, "If I believed in omens, I should not fight to-day, but I never credited such tales, and never loved the superstitious. In every concern which I ought to undertake, I commit myself, for the result, to my Creator's ordination (9)."

At the command of their leader, the Normans, who were in the

(1) Will. Gemmet. 287. (2) Ibid.

(3) Ord. Vit. 500. Guil. Pict. 201.

(4) Guil. Pict. 201. Ord. Vit. 500. L'ancienne Chronique de Normandie, and the Roman de Rou (Lanc. 444—446.) mention that William burnt and destroyed his own shipping, to make his army more desperate.

(5) Gemm. 287.

(6) The tapestry represents them as departing from Hastings to the place of battle.

(7) Taylor's Anon. 192. (8) Malmsb. 101.

(9) "Si ego in sortem crederem, hodie amplius in bellum non introirem, sed ego nunquam sortibus credidi neque sortilegos amavi. In omni negotio quodcunque agere debui, Creatori meo semper me commendavi." Taylor's Anon. p. 192. Guil. Pict. 201. mentions it.

camp, armed. William, with solemn devotion, heard mass, and received the sacrament. He hung round his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn, and proceeded to arrange his troops (1); his standard was entrusted to Toustain the Fair (2).

He divided his army into three bodies. In front he placed his light infantry armed with arrows and balistæ. Behind these were the heavy-armed foot. His last division was composed of his cavalry, among whom he stationed himself (3).

He strengthened their determined valour by an impressive harangue (4). He reminded them of the achievements of Hastings, whose actions these pages have commemorated. He bade them to recollect Rollo, the founder of their nation, and the uniform successes of their ancestors against the Franks. He noticed their most recent exploits (5). He assured them that they were to fight not merely for victory, but for life. If they exerted themselves like men, glory and wealth were their rewards; if they were defeated, a cruel death, a hopeless captivity, and everlasting infamy, were the inevitable consequence. Escape there was none. On one side, an unknown and hostile country; on the other, the blockaded sea precluded flight (6). He added, "Let any of the English come forward, of those whom our ancestors have an hundred times defeated, and demonstrate that the people of Rollo have ever been unfortunate in war, and I will abandon my enterprise. Is it not, then, a disgrace, that a nation accustomed to be conquered, a nation so broken by war, a nation not even having arrows, should pitch themselves in regular battle against you? Is it not a disgrace that perjured Harold should dare to face me in your presence? I am astonished that you should have beheld those who destroyed your fathers, and my kinsman Alfred, by the basest treachery, and that they should yet be in existence. Raise, soldiers, your standards. Let neither diffidence nor moderation check your anger. Let the lightning of your glory shine resplendent from the east to the west. Let the thunders of your impetuous onset be heard afar, ye generous avengers of the murdered (7)!"

While he was yet speaking, his men hastened to engage. Their ardour could not tarry for his conclusion. One Taillefer, singing the song of Roland and Charlemagne (8), even outstripped his

(1) Guil. Pict. 201. Ord. Vit. 500.

(2) Le Roman de Rou mentions, that William first offered this honour to Raoul de Conches, and Gautier Guiffart, who declined it. See it quoted, Lanc. 450—453.

(3) Guil. Pict. 201. Ord. Vit. 501.

(4) The tapestry represents William speaking to his soldiers. The inscription imports: "Here William exhorts his soldiers to prepare themselves manlily and wisely to battle against the English army."

(5) Hen. Hunt. 368. Bromton.

(6) Guil. Pict. 201.

(7) Hen. Hunt. 368.

(8) "Taillefer qui mout bien chantout,
Sur un cheval qui tost aloit,
Devant euls aloit chantant.

friends, and killed an English ensign-bearer. Another also became his victim. A third overpowered him, and then the armies joined (1). The cry of the Normans was, "God help us." The English exclaimed, "The holy cross; the cross of God (2)."

The English, chiefly infantry, were arranged by Harold into an impenetrable wedge. Their shields covered their bodies. Their arms wielded the battle-axe. Harold, whose courage was equal to his dignity, quitted his horse to share the danger and the glory on foot. His brothers accompanied him; and his banner, in which the figure of a man in combat, woven sumptuously with gold and jewels, shone conspicuous to his troops, was implanted near him (3).

William, whose eye was searching every part of the field, enquired of a warrior near him, where he thought Harold stood. "In that dense mass on the top of the hill, for there his standard seems displayed," was the answer. William expressed his surprise at his presence in the conflict, and his confidence that his breach of faith would on that day be punished (4).

The English had possessed themselves of the hilly ground, which was flanked by a wood. The cavalry dismounted, and added to the firm mass of Harold's array. The Norman foot, advancing, discharged their missile weapons with effect; but the English, with patient valour, kept their ground. They returned the attack with spears and lances; with their terrible battle-axes, their ancient weapons, and with stones, whose falling masses were directed to overwhelm. The battle glowed. Distant weapons were abandoned for a closer conflict. The clamour of the engaging soldiers was drowned in the clashing of their weapons, and the groans of the dying (5). Valour abounded on both sides, and the chieftains fought with all the desperate firmness of personal enmity and ardent ambition.

Befriended by the elevation of their ground, by the mass of their phalanx, and by their Saxon axes, which cut through all the armour of their adversaries, the undaunted English not merely sustained, but repelled every attack. Intimidated by such invincible fortitude, the foot and cavalry of Bretagne, and all the other allies of William in the left wing, gave way. The impression extended

De Kallemaigne et de Roullant,
Et d'Olivier et de vassaux
Qui moururent en Rainschevaux."
Roman de Rou, p. 461.

Malmsbury and others mention, that the Normans sung the song of Roland.

(1) Hen. Hunt. 368. Rad. Dict. 480. Bromton, 960.

(2) The Roman de Rou, p. 461. which says: —

"Allerot est en Engleiz
Qui Sainte Croix est en Franceiz
Et Goderode est autrement
Comme en François Dex tout puissant."

(3) Malmsb. 101.

(4) Taylor's Anon. Hist. 192. (5) Guil. Pict. 202.

along all his line. It was increased by a rumour, that the duke had fallen. Dismay began to unnerve his army; a general flight seemed about to ensue (1).

William, observing the critical moment which threatened destruction to his glory, rushed among the fugitives, striking or menacing them with his spear. His helmet was thrown from his head. The indignant countenance of their leader was visible: "Behold me—I live; and I will conquer yet, with God's assistance. What madness induces you to fly? What way can be found for your escape? They whom, if you choose, you may kill like cattle, are driving and destroying you.—You fly from victory—from deathless honour.—You run upon ruin and everlasting disgrace. If you retreat, not one of you but will perish (2)."

At these words they rallied—he led them to another onset. His sword strewed his path with slaughter. Their valour and their hopes revived. Their charge upon their pursuers was destruction; they rushed impetuously on the rest.

But the main body of the English continued unmoved and impenetrable. All the fury of the Normans and their allies could force no opening. An unbroken wall of courageous soldiery was every where present.

Depressed by this resistance, William's mind was roused to attempt a stratagem. He had seen the success with which his rallied troops had turned upon those who pursued them. He resolved to hasard a feigned retreat, to seduce the English into the disorder of a confident pursuit, and to profit by their diffusion (3).

A body of a thousand horse, under the count of Boulogne, were entrusted with the execution of this manœuvre. With a horrible outcry they rushed upon the English; then suddenly checking themselves, as if intimidated, they affected a hasty flight (4). The English were cheated. They threw themselves eagerly on the retreating Normans, and at first they prospered; for the Normans retired upon a great ditch, or excavation, somewhat concealed by its vegetation. Driven upon this, great numbers perished, and some of the English were dragged into the ruin (5). But while this

(1) Guil. Pict. 202. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Taylor's Anon. Hist. 193. 1 Dugd. 311.

(5) Hunt. 368. Rad. Dict. 480. Bromton, 900. This ditch was afterwards called Malfossed. 1 Dugd. 311. The Roman de Rou stated this:—

"En la champagne out un fossé
Normans l'avient eux adossé
Embelinant l'orent passé
Ne l'avoient mie esgardé.
Engleis on tant Normans hastez
Et tant empoins et taut boutez
Ez fossez les ont fait ruser,
Chevaux et hommes gambeter
Mout voissiez hommes tomber,
Les uns sur les autres verser
Et tresbuchier et adenter
Ne s'en pooient relever;

incident was occupying their attention, the duke's main body rushed between the pursuers, and the rest of the army. The English endeavoured to regain their position; the cavalry turned upon them, and, thus enclosed, they fell victims to the skilful movement of their opponents (1). Twice was the Norman artifice repeated, and twice had the English to mourn their credulous pursuit (2). In the heat of the struggle, twenty Normans pledged themselves to each other to attack, in conjunction, the great standard of Harold. Eyeing the expected prize, they rushed impetuously towards it. In attempting to penetrate through the hostile battalions, many of the party fell; but their object not having been foreseen, the survivors secured it (3).

The battle continued with many changes of fortune. The rival commanders distinguished themselves for their personal exertions. Harold emulated the merit, and equalled the achievements of the bravest soldier, at the same time that he discharged the vigilant duty of the general (4). William was constantly the example to his troops. He had three horses killed under him (5); but, undaunted by peril, he was every where the foremost. Such was the general enthusiasm, that they who were exhausted by loss of blood and strength, still fought on, leaning on their supporting shields. The more disabled, by their voices and gestures, strove to animate their friends (6).

The sun was departing from the western horizon, and the victory was still undecided. While Harold lived and fought, his valorous countrymen were invincible (7). But an order of the duke's, by oc-

Des Engleis y mourut assez
Que Normans ont a euls tirez." Lanc. 464.

The tapestry seems to represent this. After the fall of Harold's brothers, it has the inscription: "Here the English and Franks fell together in battle." The figures are warriors fighting, and horses in positions which imply violent falls.

(1) Hunt. 368. Bromt. 960. At one period of the conflict, probably in this, Odo, the half-brother of William, and bishop of Bayeux, rendered him great services by rallying his men. The tapestry, immediately after the preceding incident, shows him on horseback in armour, with a kind of club, amid other cavalry. The words over are, "Here Odo, bishop, holding a stick, encourages the youths." The Roman de Rou also mentions his great and useful activity:

"Sur un cheval tout blanc seoit,
Tout la gent le congnoissoit.
Un baston tenoit en son poing.
Là où veoit le grand besoing
Faisoit les chevaliers torner,
Et la bataille arrester.
Souvent les faisoit assaillir,
Et souvent les faisoit ferir.
Des que le point du jour entra,
Que la bataille commencha
Dessi que nonne trespassa,
En chi de chà, fu si de la." Lanc. 466.

(2) Guil. Pict. 202. (3) Hunt. 368. Bromt. 960.
(4) Malmsb. 101.
(5) Malmsb. 101. Guil. Pict. 203. Matt. West. 438.
(6) Guil. Pict. 203. (7) Malmsb. 101. Matt. West. 437.

casioning his fate, gained the splendid laurel. To harass the hinder ranks of that firm mass which he could not by his front attack destroy, he directed his archers not to shoot horizontally at the English, but to discharge their arrows vigorously upwards into the sky. These fell with fatal effect on the more distant troops (1). The random shots descended like impetuous hail, and one of them pierced the gallant Harold in the eye (2). A furious charge of the Norman horse increased the disorder, which the king's wound must have occasioned; his pain disabled him, and he was mortally wounded. As the evening closed, one of the combatants had the brutality to strike into his thigh after he was dead, for which William, with nobler feelings, disgraced him on the field (3). Panic scattered the English on their leader's death (4). The Normans vigorously pursued, though the broken ground and frequent ditches checked their ardour. Encouraged by observing this, a part of the fugitives rallied, and, indignant at the prospect of surrendering their country to foreigners, they sought to renew the combat. William ordered the count Eustace and his soldiers to the attack. The count exposed the peril and advised a retreat. He was at this instant vehemently struck in his neck, and his face was covered with his blood. The duke, undismayed, led on his men to the conflict. Some of the noblest Normans fell, but he completed his hard-earned victory (5).

The body of Harold was found near his two brothers, and was carried to the Norman camp. His mother offered its weight of gold, for the privilege of burying it; but she was denied the melancholy

(1) Hunt. 368.

(2) Hunt. 368. Malmsb. 101. The Roman de Rou states the incident thus: —

"Heralt à l'estendart estoit,
A son poer se deffendoit.
Mez mout estoit de l'œil grevez
Pour ceu qu'il li estoit crevez,
A la douleur que il sentoit
Du cop de l'œil que li doloit,
Vint un armé par la bataille,
Heralt feri sor la ventaille
A terre le fist tresbuchier;
A ceu qu'il se vout condrecier,
Un chevalier le rabati,
Qui en la cuisse le feri,
En la cuisse parmi le gros
La plaie fu dist qu'a l'os." Lanc. 467.

(3) Matt. West. 438. Malmsb. 101. The tapestry seems to represent this; for under the words, "Here Harold king was slain," an armed man is figured fallen dead, his battle-axe flying from him. Another upon horseback leans forward, and with a sword is wounding his thigh.

(4) The tapestry ends with the flight of the English. "On ne voit plus dans ce qui reste de la tapisserie que des traits qui tracent des figures; peut-être n'y a-t-il jamais eu que ces traits; l'ouvrage dessiné et tracé fut interrompu par la mort de la princesse Mathilde; peut-être aussi le temps et les différents accidents qu'a essuyés cette extrémité de la tapisserie, ont rongé le tissu." Lanc. 468.

(5) Guil. Pict. 203.

satisfaction (1). The two brothers of Harold fell also in the battle (2).

William escaped unhurt (3). But the slaughter of his Normans had been great (4).

His victory was splendid; but if Harold had not fallen, it would have contributed very little to gain the crown of England. It was the death of Harold which gave William the sceptre. The force of England was unconquered. A small portion of it only had been exerted (5); and if Harold had survived, or any other heir at all competent to the crisis, William would have earned no more from his victory than the privilege of fighting another battle with diminished strength. When he landed on England, he came with all his power. The fleet of the Anglo-Saxons was afterwards ready to cut off further succour, if such could have been raised for him in Normandy; and it is probable that if, by the fall of Harold, England had not been suddenly left without a chief, the battle of Hastings would have been to William but a scene of brilliant glory, speedily followed by a melancholy catastrophe.

In great revolutions much is effected by active talents; but perhaps more by that arrangement of events over which man has no control. It was William's intention to have sailed a month sooner than he appeared. If his wishes had been fulfilled, he would have invaded Harold before the king of Norway, and would perhaps have shared his fate. For if the English king, with the disadvantages of a loss and desertion of his veteran troops, of new levies, of an inferior force, and an overweening presumption (6), was yet able to balance the conflict with William's most concentrated, select, and skilfully exerted strength, until night was closing; if the victory was only decided by his casual death, how different would have been the issue, if Harold had met him with the troops which

(1) So says Guil. Pict. 204. "In castra ducis delatus, qui tumulandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, *non matri* pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti.—Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles." So, in his following apostrophe, he says, "In cruore jacuisti et *in littoreo tumulo jaces*." In opposition to this contemporary evidence, the English writers, as Malmsb. 102. and others, say, "Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset." It is added, that the body was buried at Waltham. Orderic's statement, p. 502., is like Guil. Pict.

(2) The tapestry places the death of Gurth and Leofwine, the two brothers, some time before Harold's.

(3) Matt. West. 430. (4) Hoveden, 449. Sim. Dun. 197.

(5) That Harold had rushed with vain confidence to the battle, with an inferior force, is a general assertion among our old chroniclers.

(6) One chief reason of Harold's hastening to fight before he was fully prepared, is declared to have been, that he might find the Normans before they fled out of the country. Previous to the battle, he is said to have affirmed (Taylor's MS. p. 191.) that he had never done any thing more willingly in his life than his coming to meet William: mistaking thus his personal ardour for his military strength; mistaking also his great adversary, who, to courage and skill, at least equal to his own, was more desperate from necessity, and had superior forces.

he marched against the Norwegians! But Providence had ordained, that a new dynasty should give new manners, new connections, and new fortunes, to the English nation. Events were therefore so made to follow, that all the talents of Harold, and the force of England, should not avail against the vicissitudes intended. While Harold's fleet watched the ocean, the adverse wind kept William in port. This fleet was dispersed by its stores failing; and at the same time the invasion of the king of Norway compelled Harold to leave his coast unguarded, and to hurry his soldiers to the north of the island. In this critical interval, while Harold was so occupied by land, and before his fleet had go revictualled, the winds became auspicious to William, and he landed in safety. Immediately after this, the Saxon fleet was enabled to sail.

Harold had in the mean time conquered the Norwegians; but this very event, which seemed to insure the fate of William, became his safety. It inflated Harold's mind so as to disgust his own soldiery, and to rush to a decisive conflict in contempt of his adversary, before he was prepared to meet him. When the battle had begun, the abilities of Harold, and the bravery of his countrymen, seemed again likely to ruin the hopes of his great competitor. The death of Harold then terminated the contest, while William, who had been in as much danger as Harold, was not penetrated by a single weapon (1).

But it was ordained by the Supreme Director of events, that England should no longer remain insulated from the rest of Europe; but should, for its own benefit and the improvement of mankind, become connected with the affairs of the Continent. The Anglo-Saxon dynasty was therefore terminated; and a sovereign, with great continental possessions, was led to the English throne. By the consequences of this revolution, England acquired that in-

(1) At the foot of his anonymous MS. Taylor found this catalogue of the ships which were supplied for William's invasion:—

By Willelmo dapifero filio Osberni sexaginta naves.
Hugone postea comite de Cestria totidem.
Hugone de Mumfort quinquaginta naves et sexaginta milites.
Romo Elemosinario Fescanni postea episcopo Lincoliensi unam navem cum viginti militibus.
Nicholao Abbate de Sancto Audoeno quindecim naves cum centum militibus.
Roberto Comite Augi sexaginta naves.
Fulcone Dauno quadraginta naves.
Geroldo Dapifero totidem.
Willelmo Comite Deurons octoginta naves.
Rogero de Mumgumeri sexaginta naves.
Rogero de Boumont sexaginta naves.
Odone Episcopo de Baios centum naves.
Roberto de Morokmer centum et viginti.
Waltero Giffardo triginta cum centum militibus.

Extra has naves quæ computatæ simul M efficiunt habuit Dux a quibusdam suis hominibus secundum possibilitatem uniuscujusque multas alias naves, p. 209.

terest and established that influence in the transactions and fortunes of its neighbours, which have continued to the present day, with equal advantages to its inhabitants and to Europe.

NOTE ON HAROLD'S ALLEGED SURVIVAL.

The Harleian MS., No. 3776., contains a curious legend on Harold, which a gentleman who has reviewed Dr. Lappenberg's German History of England, in the second number of Cochran's Foreign Quarterly Review, has brought out to public notice. The author, from his expressions in his ninth chapter, seems to have lived about 140 years after the battle of Hastings. The story he narrates is, that although Harold was grievously wounded in this battle, and to all appearance dead, yet that when those lying in the field were examined by some women searching for their friends, it was discovered that life was still lingering in his body.

By the care of two men of middling station, whom the MS. calls 'Francalanos sive Agricolas,' that is, rural Franklins, he was secretly removed to Winchester, and was there nursed for two years concealed in a cellario by a woman of the Saracen nation who was skilled in the art of surgery. Her care restored him to health; but when he had thus recovered he found that England had every where submitted to William, and that he was too strongly seated on his throne, and had such a military command of the country, that without foreign aid it would be impossible to dispossess him. Harold sought to interest Saxony to assist him, but finding his application refused, he proceeded to Denmark; but William had secured the neutrality or friendship of that nation. These disappointments changed the feelings of Harold from ambition or patriotism into those of piety, humiliation, and repentance. He became an altered man, both internally and externally. In the hand which had wielded his spear he placed a pilgrim's staff; he exchanged the shield on his neck for a wallet, and his helmet for a humble hat, and with feet half naked journeyed to Palestine. He passed many years in his penitential travels and austerities, till age and infirmities induced him to return to England and die in his native land. He landed at Dover; ascended the cliffs once so well known by him, and contemplated the land he had ruled. But he suppressed his natural and worldly feelings; and concealing his worn features by a cowl, he assumed the name of Christian, and from Kent journeyed on to Shropshire, and settled himself in a secluded spot which the MS. calls Ceswrthin.

He constructed himself here a cell, where he lived unknown by any for ten years; but annoyed by the Welsh, who frequently beat him and stole his clothes, he quitted this abode, though not, says the MS., because he would not endure this affliction, but because he wished to give the rest of his life to meditation and prayer. He wandered thence to Chester, and was supernaturally warned that he would find a residence ready for him at the church of St. John there.

This occurred to him in the chapel of St. James, which the MS. mentions to have been situated on the Dee, beyond the walls of the city, in the cemetery of St. John.

On reaching the spot he found that a former hermit had just died there,

and he took possession of his retirement as his successor. Here he remained for seven years, leading a religious eremitical life until his death.

While he was here, some suspicions arose that he had been a distinguished Saxon chief, and he was questioned about it. To such inquiries he returned evasive answers, but never gave a direct answer to those who asked him if he had not been the King of England. He admitted that he had fought at the battle of Hastings, and that no one had been dearer to Harold than himself. But as death came upon him he revealed the secret, and acknowledged in his last confession his real dignity.

Such is the outline of this ancient narrative. The writer accounts for his own knowledge of these circumstances by stating that he derived them from a venerable anchorite, named Sebrecht, who had for many years ministered to Harold, and knew his regal character.

On the King's death Sebrecht quitted Chester, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and returning fixed himself in the village of Stanton in Oxfordshire, where the writer became acquainted with him and learned these facts concerning Harold from him, and obtained similar information also from others who were worthy of credit.

He declares that Gurth, the brother of Harold, also survived the fatal conflict, and lived to be presented to Henry II. at Woodstock. This Gurth assured Michael, a canon of Waltham, that the monks of his abbey had been deceived as to the body which they had buried as Harold's. Michael related this fact to the author, and was alive when he wrote his narrative.

His supplementary chapter contains the statement of the recluse who succeeded Harold in his cell, confirming facts which this individual declares he had received from Moyses, the confidential servant of Harold, and from Andrew, the priest of the church of St. John, to whom Harold had made his confession.—

There is great plausibility and circumstantiality in these particulars, but we cannot admit the legend to be true history. It is possible that there was such a hermit, and not improbable that either from some hallucination of mind, or from a self-exalting imposture, he may have pretended to have been the King of England.

This supposition would allow all the attestations to be true, without our believing that the pretender was the real person whose title and character he assumed.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

On the Structure or Mechanism of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

To explain the history of any language is a task peculiarly difficult at this period of the world, in which we are so very remote from the era of its original construction.

We have, as yet, witnessed no people in the act of forming their language; and cannot, therefore, from experience, demonstrate the simple elements from which a language begins, nor the additional organization which it gradually receives. The languages of highly civilized people, which are those that we are most conversant with, are in a state very unlike their ancient tongues. Many words have been added to them from other languages; many have deviated into meanings very different from their primitive significations; many have been so altered by the changes of pronunciation and orthography, as scarcely to bear any resemblance to their ancient form. The abbreviations of language, which have been usually called its articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections; the inflections of its verbs, the declensions of its nouns, and the very form of its syntax, have also undergone so many alterations from the caprice of human usage, that it is impossible to discern any thing of the mechanism of a language, but by ascending from its present state to its more ancient form.

The Anglo-Saxon is one of those ancient languages to which we may successfully refer, in our inquiries how language has been constructed.

As we have not had the experience of any people forming a language, we cannot attain to a knowledge of its mechanism in any other way than by analysing it; by arranging its words into their different classes, and by tracing these to their elementary sources. We shall perhaps be unable to discover the original words with which the language began, but we may hope to trace the progress of its formation, and some of the principles on which that progress has been made. In this inquiry I shall follow the steps of the author of the Diversions of Purley, and build upon his foundations; because I think that his book has presented to us the key to that mechanism which we have so long admired, so fruitlessly examined, and so little understood.

Words have been divided into nine classes: the article; the substantive, or noun; the pronoun; the adjective; the verb; the adverb; the preposition; the conjunction; and the interjection.

Under these classes all the Saxon words may be arranged, although not with that scientific precision with which the classifications of natural history have been made. Mr. Tooke has asserted, that in all languages there are

only two sorts of words necessary for the communication of our thoughts, and therefore only two parts of speech, the noun and the verb, and that the others are the abbreviations of these.

But if the noun and the verb be only used, they will serve, not so much to impart our meaning, as to indicate it. These will suffice to express simple substances or facts, and simple motions of nature or man; but will do by themselves little else. All the connections, references, distinctions, limitations, applications, contrasts, relations, and refinements of thought and feeling—and therefore most of what a cultivated people wish to express by language, cannot be conveyed without the other essential abbreviations — and therefore all nations have been compelled, as occasions occurred, as wants increased, and as thought evolved, to invent or adopt them, till all that were necessary became naturalized in the language.

That nouns and verbs are the most essential and primitive words of language, and that all others have been formed from them, are universal facts, which after reading the Diversions of Purley and tracing in other languages the application of the principles there maintained, no enlightened philologist will now deny. But though this is true as to the *origin* of these parts of speech, it may be questioned whether the names established by conventional use may not be still properly retained, because the words now classed as conjunctions, prepositions, etc., though originally verbs, are not verbs at present, but have been long separated from their verbal parents, and have become distinct parts of our grammatical syntax.

That the conjunctions, the prepositions, the adverbs, and the interjections of our language, have been made from our verbs and nouns, Mr. Tooke has satisfactorily shown: and with equal truth he has affirmed, that articles and pronouns have proceeded from the same source. I have pursued his inquiries through the Saxon and other languages, and am satisfied that the same may be affirmed of adjectives. Nouns and verbs are the parents of all the rest of language; and it can be proved in the Anglo-Saxon, as in other tongues, that of these the nouns are the ancient and primitive stock from which all other words have branched and vegetated.

The Anglo-Saxon adjectives may be first noticed.

The adjectives, which are or have been participles, have obviously originated from verbs, and they are by no means an inconsiderable number.

Adjectives which have been formed from participles, as aberendlic, bebeodenlic, etc., are referable to the same source.

But the large proportion of adjectives are either nouns used as adjectives (1), or are nouns with an additional syllable. These additional syllables are or have been meaning words.

Lic is an Anglo-Saxon word, which implies similitude, and is a termination which includes a large class of adjectives (2).

Another large class may be ranged under the ending leas, which implies loss or diminution (3).

(1) As lath, evil, also pernicious; leng, length, also long; hige, diligence, also diligent, etc.

(2) As ceorlic, vulgar, ceorl-lic; cildlic, childlike, cild-lic; circlic, ecclesiastical, circ-lic; cræftlic, workmanlike, cræft-lic; freolic, free, freo-(a lord) lic; freondlic, friendly, freond-lic; godlic, divine, god-lic; gramulic, furious, grama-(anger) lic; fænlic, muddy, fen-lic: etc.

(3) As carleas, void of care, car-leas; cræftleas, ignorant, cræft-leas; facenleas, no deceitful, facen-leas; feoh-leas, moneyless; dream-leas, joyless, etc.

Another class of adjectives is formed by adding the word sum, which expresses a degree or portion of a thing (1).

Other adjectives are made by putting the word full at the end of nouns (2).

A large collection of them might be made, which consist of nouns, and the syllable ig, as blood-ig, bloody; clif-ig, rocky; cræft-ig, skilful. Other adjectives are composed of a noun and cund; others of a noun and bær, etc., etc.

After these examples it will be unnecessary to go through all the classes of adjectives, to show that they are either participles of verbs, or have sprung from nouns. Every one who takes that trouble will be convinced of the fact. I will only remark, that the Saxon comparative degree is usually formed by the addition of er. Now er or ær is a word which implies priority, and is therefore very expressively used to denote that degree of superiority which the comparative degree is intended to affirm. So est, which is the termination of the Saxon superlatives, is a noun which expresses munificence or abundance. Tir is a præfix which makes a superlative, and tir signifies supremacy and lordship.

The Anglo-Saxon VERBS have essentially contributed to form those parts of speech which Mr. Tooke has denominated the abbreviations of language. The verbs, however, are not themselves the primitive words of our language. They are all in a state of composition. They are like the secondary mountains of the earth — they have been formed posterior to the ancient bulwarks of human speech, which are the nouns — I mean of course those nouns which are in their elementary state.

In some languages, as in the Hebrew, the verbs are very often the nouns applied unaltered to a verbal signification. We have examples of this sort of verbs in our English words, love, hate, fear, hope, dream, sleep, etc. These words are nouns, and are also used as verbs. Of verbs thus made by the simple application of nouns in a verbal form, the Anglo-Saxon gives few examples.

Almost all its other verbs are nouns with a final syllable added, and this final syllable is a word expressive of motion, or action, or possession.

To show this fact, we will take some of the Anglo-Saxon verbs:

Bad, *a pledge.*	bad-ian, *to pledge.*
bær, *a bier.*	bær-an, *to carry.*
bæth, *a bath.*	bæth-ian, *to wash.*
bat, *a club.*	beat-an, *to beat.*
behod, *a command.*	bebod-an, *to command.*
bidde, *a prayer.*	bidd-an, *to pray.*
big, *a crown.*	big-an, *to bend.*
bliss, *joy.*	bliss-ian, *to rejoice.*
blostm, *a flower.*	blostm-ian, *to blossom.*
blot, *a sacrifice.*	blot-an, *to sacrifice.*
bod, *an edict.*	bod-ian, *to proclaim.*
borg, *a loan.*	borg-ian, *to lend.*
bridl, *a bridle.*	bridl-ian, *to bridle.*
broc, *misery.*	broc-ian, *to afflict.*
bye, *an habitation.*	by-an, *to inhabit.*
byseg, *business.*	bysg-ian, *to be busy.*
bysmr, *contumely.*	bysmr-ian, *to deride.*
bytla, *a builder.*	byti-ian, *to build.*
car, *care.*	car-ian, *to be anxious.*
ceap, *cattle.*	ceap-ian, *to buy.*

(1) As fremsum, benign, freme-sum; winsum, joyful, etc.
(2) As facen-ful, deceitful; deorc-full, dark; ege-ful, fearful, etc.

cele, *cold.*	cel-an, *to cool.*
cerre, *a bending.*	cerr-an, *to return.*
cid, *strife.*	cid-an, *to quarrel.*
cnyt, *a knot.*	cnytt-an, *to tie.*
comp, *a battle.*	comp-ian, *to fight.*
cræft, *art.*	cræft-an, *to build.*
curs, *a curse.*	cursi-an, *to curse.*
cwid, *a saying.*	cwydd-ian, *to say.*
cyrm, *a noise.*	cyrm-an, *to cry out.*
cyth, *knowledge.*	cyth-an, *to make known.*
cos, *a kiss.*	coss-an, *to kiss.*
dæl, *a part.*	dæl-an, *to divide.*
dæg, *day.*	dæg-ian, *to shine.*
deæg, *colour.*	deag-an, *to tinge.*

If we go through all the alphabet, we shall find that most of the verbs are composed of a noun, and the syllables an, ian, or gan. Of these additional syllables, gan is the verb of motion, to go, or the verb agan, to possess; and an seems sometimes the abbreviation of anan, to give (1), and sometimes of the verbs gan and agan. Thus deagan, to tinge, appears to me deag-an, to give a colour; dælan, to divide, dæl-an, to give a part; cossan, to kiss, cos-an, to give a kiss; cursian, to curse, curs-an, to give a curse: while we may presume that carian, to be anxious, is car-agan, to have care; blostmian, to blossom, is blostm-agan, to have a flower; byan, to inhabit, is by-agan, to have a habitation. We may also say that cidan, to quarrel, is the abbreviation of cid-gan, to go to quarrel; bæthian, to wash, is bæth-gan, to go to a bath; biddan, to pray, is bidde-gan, to go to pray. The Gothic to pray, is bidgan.

That the words gan, or agan, have been abbreviated or softened into an, or ian, can be proved from several verbs. Thus fylgan, or filigian, to follow, is also filian. Thus fleogan, to fly, becomes also fleon and flion. So forhtigan, to be afraid, has become also forhtian. So fundigan has become fundian; gethyldgian, gethyldian; fengan, foan and fon; and teogan, teon. The examples of this change are innumerable.

This abbreviation is also proved by many of the participles of the abbreviated verbs ending in gend, thus showing the original infinitive to have been gen; as frefrian, to comfort, has its participle frefergend; fremian, to profit, freomigend; fulian has fuligend; gæmnian, gæmnigend, etc.

Many verbs are composed of the terminations above mentioned, and of words which exist in the Anglo-Saxon, not as nouns, but as adjectives, and of some words which are not to be met with in the Anglo-Saxon, either as nouns or adjectives. But so true is the principle, that nouns were the primitive words of these verbs, and that verbs are but the nouns with the additional final syllables, that we shall very frequently find the noun we search for existing in the state of a noun in some of those languages which have a close affinity with the Anglo-Saxon. This language meets our eye in a very advanced state, and therefore when we decompose it we cannot expect to meet in itself all its elements. Many of its elements had dropped out of its vocabulary at that period wherein we find it, just as in modern English we have dropped a great number of words of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In this treatise, which the necessary limits of my publication compel me to make very concise, I can only be expected to give a few instances.

Beran is to bring forth, or produce; there is no primitive noun answering

(1) It is probable that anan is a double infinitive, like gan-gan, to go, and that an is the original infinitive of the verb to give.

to this verb in the Anglo-Saxon, but there is in the Franco-theotisc, where we find bar is fruit, or whatever the earth produces: ber-an is therefore to give fruit, or to produce. So mærsian, to celebrate, is from segan, to speak, and some noun from which the adjective mæra, illustrious, had been formed. The noun is not in the Saxon, but it is in the Franco-theotisc, where mæra is fame, or rumour; therefore mærsian, to celebrate a person, is mera-segan, to speak his fame. I have observed many examples of this sort.

In searching for the original nouns from which verbs have been formed, we must always consider if the verb we are inquiring about be a primitive verb or a secondary verb, containing either of the præfixes, a, be, ge, for, on, in, to, with, etc. etc. In these cases we must strip the verb of its præfix, and examine its derivation under its earlier form. The verbs with a præfix are obviously of later origin than the verbs to which the præfix has not been applied.

Sometimes the verb consists of two verbs put together, as gan-gan, to go; so for-letan, to dismiss or leave, is composed of two verbs, faran, to go, lætan, to let or suffer, and is literally to let go.

The Anglo-Saxon NOUNS are not all of the same antiquity; some are the primitive words of the language from which every other has branched, but some are of later date.

We have mentioned the nouns of which the adjectives and the verbs have been formed. Such nouns are among the earliest of the language. But the more ancient nouns having been applied to form the adjectives and the verbs, a more recent series of nouns has been made by subjoining new terminations to the adjectives and verbs. Thus we have pursued the noun car to the adjective car-full. But this adjective having been thus formed, has become the basis of a new substantive, by the addition of the syllable nysse, and thus we have carfulnysse. In the same way the new noun carleasness has been made. So facenfulness, etc. etc.

A great many nouns have been made from verbs: as, gearcung, preparation, from gearcian, to prepare: gearnung, earning, from gearnian, to earn; geascung, an asking, from geascian, to ask; gebicnung, a presage, from gebicnian, to show, etc.

A new set of secondary nouns has been made by combining two more ancient nouns. Thus accorn, an acorn, is made up of ac, an oak, and corn; and thus accorn is literally the corn of the oak: so ceapscipa is a merchant ship; ceapman, a merchant, from ceap, originally cattle, and afterwards property, or business; and the other nouns, scipa, a ship; and man, a man. Thus ceasterwara, citizens, literally ceaster, a city, and wara, men. So burg-wara, citizens, from burg and wara. So eorldom, freondscip, etc.

A great many secondary nouns have been made by adding nouns of meaning terminations, which are in fact other nouns, as esse, or nesse; eld; er; ing; leaste; dom, rice, had; scipe; scire.

A very large proportion of nouns has been made by applying the primitive noun in a variety of figurative meanings. Thus originally ceap, cattle, came afterwards to express business, also sale, and also food. So cniht, a boy, a servant, a youth, a disciple, a client, and a soldier; cræft, art, is also workmanship, strength, power, and cunning. But an hundred examples might be added on this topic.

This view of the decomposition of the Anglo-Saxon language exhibits

the same principles of mechanism which may be found in other languages. They appear very conspicuously in the Welsh language, which, from the long seclusion of the Welsh nation, has retained more of its ancient form than any other language now spoken in Europe. They may be also seen in the Gaelic.

Having thus succinctly exhibited the Anglo-Saxon language in a state of decomposition, we may form some notion of its mechanism and progress.

The primitive nouns expressing sensible objects, having been formed, they were multiplied by combinations with each other. They were then applied to express ideas more abstracted. By adding to them a few expressive syllables, the numerous classes of verbs and adjectives arose; and from these again other nouns and adjectives were formed. The nouns and verbs were then abbreviated and adapted into conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections. The pronouns were soon made from a sense of their convenience; and out of these came the articles. To illustrate these principles, from the various languages which I have examined, would expand these few pages into a volume, and would be therefore improper; but I can recommend the subject to the attention of the philological student, with every assurance of a successful research.

The multiplication of language by the metaphorical application of nouns to express other nouns, or to signify adjectives, may be observed in all languages. Thus, beorht, light, was applied to express bright, shining, and illustrious. So deop, the sea, was applied to express depth.

As a specimen how the Anglo-Saxon language has been formed from the multiplication of simple words, I will show the long train of words which have been formed from a few primitive words. I select four of the words applicable to the mind. The numerous terms formed from them will illustrate the preceding observations on the mechanism of the language.

ANCIENT NOUN:

Hyge, *or* hige, *mind* or *thought.*
Secondary meaning: — *care, diligence, study.*
Hoga, *care.*
Hogu, *care, industry, effort.*

Adjectives, being the noun so applied:

Hige, *diligent, studious, attentive.*
Hoga, *prudent, solicitous.*

Verbs from the noun:

Hogian, *to meditate, to study, to think, to be wise, to be anxious:* and hence *to groan.*
Hygian, Hyggan, } *to study, to be solicitous, to endeavour.*

The verb, by use, having gained new shades of meaning and applications, we meet with it again; as,

hiegan, hyegan, } *to study, to explore, to seek vehemently, to endeavour, to struggle.*

Secondary noun, derived from the verb:

hogung, *care, effort, endeavour.*

Secondary nouns compounded of the ancient noun and another.

higecræft, *acuteness of mind.*
higeleast, *negligence, carelessness.*
higeforga, *anxieties, mental griefs.*

hogascip, } *prudence.*
hogoscip, }

hygeleast, *folly, madness, scurrility.*
hygesceaft, *the mind* or *thought.*

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun and a meaning word:

hygelease, *void of mind, foolish.*
hyge rof, } *magnanimous, excellent in mind.*
hige rof, }
hogfeast, } *prudent.*
hogofeast, }
hogfull, *anxious, full of care.*
hige frod, *wise, prudent in mind.*
hige leas, *negligent, incurious.*
hige strang, *strong in mind.*
hige thancle, *cautious, provident, thoughtful.*

Adverbs from the adjective:

higeleas lice, *negligently, incuriously.*
hogfull lice, *anxiously.*

ANCIENT NOUN:

Mod, *the mind;* also *passion* and *irritability.*

Verbs:

modian, } *to be high-minded.*
modigan, } *to rage.*
modgian, } *to swell.*

Adjectives composed of the noun and another word or syllable:

modeg, } *irritable.*
modig, } *angry, proud.*
modful, *full of mind, irritable.*
modga, *elated, proud, distinguished.*
modhwata, *fervid in mind.*
modilic, *magnanimous.*
mod leas, *meek-minded, pusillanimous.*
mod stathol, *firm-minded.*
modthwer, *patient in mind, meek, mild.*

Secondary nouns composed of the ancient noun and some other:

mod gethanc, *thoughts of the mind, council.*
mod gethoht, *strength of mind, reasoning.*
mod gewinne, *conflicts of mind.*
modes mynla, *the affections of the mind—the inclinations.*
modhete, *heat of mind—anger.*
modleaste, *folly, pusillanimity, slothfulness.*
modnesse, *pride.*
modsefa, *the intellect—sensation—intelligence.*
mod sorg, *grief of mind.*

Secondary nouns of still later origin, having been formed after the adjectives, and composed of an adjective and another noun:

modignesse,
modinesse, *moodiness, pride, animosity.*
mod seocnesse, *sickness of mind.*
mod statholnysse, *firmness of mind, fortitude.*
mod sumnesse, *concord.*
modthærnesse, *patience, meekness.*

Adverb formed from the adjective:

modiglice, *proudly, angrily.*

ANCIENT NOUN:

Wit, } *the mind—genius—the intellect—the sense.*
Gewit, }
Secondary meaning:—*wisdom—prudence.*

Noun applied as an adjective :

wita,
wite, *wise—skilful.*
Gewita, *conscious;* hence a witness.

Verbs formed from the noun :

witan, *to know, to perceive.*
gewitan, *to understand.*
witegian, *to prophecy.*

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun, and an additional syllable or word :

wittig, *wise, skilled, ingenious, prudent.*
ge-witig, *knowing, wise, intelligent.*
ge witleas, *ignorant, foolish.*
ge wittig, *intelligent, conscious.*
ge witscoc, *ill in mind, demoniac.*
witol, wittol, *wise, knowing.*

Secondary nouns formed of the ancient noun and another noun :

witedom, *the knowledge of judgment, prediction.*
witega, *a prophet.*
witegung, *prophecy.*
wite saga, *a prophet.*
gewitleast, *folly, madness.*
ge wit loca, *the mind.*
ge witness, *witness.*
gewitscipe, *witness.*
wite clofe, *trifles.*
witword, *the answer of the wise.*

Nouns of more recent date, having been formed out of the adjectives :

gewitseocness, *insanity.*
witigdom, *knowledge, wisdom, prescience.*
witolnesse, *knowledge, wisdom.*

Secondary adjective, or one formed upon the secondary noun :

witedomlic, *prophetical.*

Conjunctions :

witedlice, } *indeed, for, but, to-wit.*
witodlice, }

Adverbs formed from participles and adjectives :

witendlice, *knowingly.*
wittiglice.

ANCIENT NOUN :

Ge-thanc, } *the mind, thought, opinion.*
Ge-thonc, }
thank, } *the will.*
thonc, } *thought.*
Secondary meaning :—*an act of the will, or thanks.*
thing, } *a council.*
gething, }

And from the consequence conferred by sitting at the council, came

gethincth, *honour, dignity.*

Verbs formed from the noun :

thincan, } *to think, to conceive, to feel, to reason, to consider.*
thencan, }
gethencan, } *to think.*
gethengcan, }

thancian, } *to thank.*
gethancian, }
thingan, *to address, to speak, to supplicate.*
gethancmetan, *to consider.*

Adjectives formed from the ancient noun:

thancol, } *thoughtful, meditating, cautious.*
thoncol, }
ge thancol, *mindful,*
thanceful, *thankful, ingenious, content.*
thancwurth, *grateful.*
thancólmod, *provident, wise.*

Secondary nouns formed from the verb :.

thoht, } *thinking, thought.*
gethoht, }
getheaht, *council.*
getheahtere, *counsellor.*
thankung, *thanking.*
thancmetuneg, *deliberation.*

Secondary verb, from one of these secondary nouns :

getheahtian, *to consult.*

More recent noun, formed from the secondary verb :

getheahting, *council—consultation.*

Another secondary verb :

Ymbethencan, *to think about any thing.*

Adjective from a secondary verb :

getheahtendlic, *consulting.*

Adverb from one of the adjectives :

thancwurthlice, *gratefully.*

These specimens will evince to the observing eye how the Anglo-Saxon language has been formed; and they also indicate that it had become very far removed from a rude state of speech. These derivative compounds imply much cultivation and exercise, and a considerable portion of mental discrimination. It is, indeed, in such an advanced state, that novels, moral essays, dramas, and the poetry of nature and feeling might be written in pure Anglo-Saxon, without any perceptible deficiency of appropriate terms (1).

(1) It was remarked in our first volume, that the three great stems of language in Europe were the Keltic; the Gothic, of which the Anglo-Saxon is a main branch; and the Selavonic. We may here add, that other languages from Asia have also entered the northern and eastern parts of the European continent. The principal of these are the five related, but not identical languages of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Esthonian and Lettish. Professor Rask describes the Finnish as an original, regular, and graceful tongue, very melodious from the pleasing distribution of its vowels and consonants, and rich in a great variety of compound words, and with a boundless power of creating them. Its nouns have twelve cases, though only two or three declensions; and its verbs, though usually conjugated according to one common rule, have more forms than the Latin. Although it has a great variety of adverbs and prepositions, all its nouns are susceptible of twelve or fifteen modifications of purpose, possession, time, and place. It is remarkable that this Finnish language should want the first five consonants of our language, b, c, d, f, g. Its alphabet consists of only twelve consonants, but it has eight vowels. It is supposed to form the connecting link between the Esthonian and the Laplandish. Like the latter, it exhibits affinities with the Hungarian. The chief foreign works on it are Renvall's Dissertatio, Aboæ, 1815. Ganander's Myth. Fennica, Abo. 1789. Vhael's Gram. Fennica, Hels. 1821. Lenquist de Superst. Vet. Fenn. and Gottlund de Proverb. Fennica. The best English account of it is in the West. Rev. No. 14. p. 317.

CHAPTER II.

On the Originality of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

It is difficult to ascertain the originality of the Saxon language; because, however rude the people who used it may have appeared to us, it is a fact that their language comes to us in a very cultivated shape.

Its cultivation is not only proved by its copiousness—by its numerous synonymes—by the declension of its nouns—the conjugation of its verbs—its abbreviated verbs, or conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions, and its epithets or adjectives; but also by its great number of compound words applying to every shade of meaning.

By the Anglo-Saxon appearing to us in a state so advanced, it is very difficult to ascertain its originality. It is difficult, when we find words corresponding with those of other languages, to distinguish those which it originally had, like the terms of other tongues, and those which it had imported.

The conjugation of its substantive verb, however, proves that it is by no means in its state of original purity; for instead of this being one verb, with inflections of itself throughout its tenses, it is composed of the fragments of no fewer than five substantive verbs, the primitive terms of which appear in other languages. The fragments of these five words are huddled together in the Anglo-Saxon, and thus make up its usual conjugations.

To perceive this curious fact, it will be useful to recollect the same verb in the Greek and Latin.

In the Greek, the verb εἰμι is regularly deflected through almost all its tenses and persons. In the Latin it is otherwise. We begin these with *sum*, and pass directly to the inflections of another word more like the Greek εἰμι; but the inflections of *sum* are frequently intermixed. Thus,

Sum,	sumus,
es,	estis,
est,	sunt.

Here we see at one glance two verbs deflecting; the one into *sum, sumus, sunt;* the other into *es, est, estis.* In the imperfect and future tenses *eram* and *ero,* we see one of the verbs continuing; but in the perfect, *fui,* a new deflecting verb suddenly appears to us:

fui, fuisti, fuit, fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt.

In another of its tenses we have the curious exhibition of two of the former verbs being joined together to make a new inflection; as,

fuero, fueris, fuerit, etc.

This is literally a combination of *fui* and *ero;* which indeed its meaning implies, "*I shall have been.*"

"Among the most curious fragments of ancient Finnish literature, are the *fables.* They consist of dialogues between rocks and rivers and forests; between birds, beasts, fishes, and human beings." Ibid. 339. The Finnish, Lettish, Esthonian, Laplandish, and Hungarian languages form the fourth and latest stream of human speech that has entered Europe from Asia, and probably came into it at the period of the first Hunnish invasion.

The Anglo-Saxon substantive verb is also composed out of several verbs. We can trace no fewer than five in its different inflections.

I am,	eom,	eart,	ys,	synd,	synd,	synd.
I was,	wæs,	wære,	wæs,	wæron,	wæron,	wæron.
	beo,	byst,	byth,	beoth,	beoth,	beoth.

The infinitive is beon, or wesan, *to be.*

These are the common inflections of the above tenses; but we sometimes find the following variations:

For *I am*, we sometimes have eom, am, om, beo, ar, sy; for *thou art*, we have occasionally eart, arth, bist, es, sy; for *he is*, we have ys, bith, sy; and for the plural we have synd, syndon, synt, sien, beoth, and bithon.

In these inflections we may distinctly see five verbs, whose conjugations are intermixed:

eom, es, ys,	are of one family, and resemble the Greek εἰμί.
ar, arth, *and* am, are,	proceed from another parent, and are not unlike the Latin *eram.*
sy, sy, sy, synd,	are from another, and recall to our minds the Latin *sum* and *sunt.*
wæs, wære, wæs, wæron,	seem referable to another branch, of which the infinitive, wesan, was retained in the Anglo-Saxon.
beon, bist, bith, beoth,	belong to a distinct family, whose infinitive, beon, was kept in use.

But it is curious to consider the source of the last verb, beo, and beon, which the Flemings and Germans retain in ik ben and ich bin, *I am.*

The verb beo seems to have been derived from the Cimmerian or Celtic language, which was the earliest that appeared in Europe; because the Welsh, which has retained most of this tongue, has the infinitive bod, and some of its reflections. The perfect tense is

bum, buost, bu, buam, buac, buant.

The Anglo-Saxon article is also compounded of two words; as,

Nom.	Se,	seo,	that.
Gen.	thæs,	thære,	this.
Dat.	tham,	thære,	tham.
Acc.	thone,	tha,	that.

Se and *that* are obviously distinct words.

When we consider these facts, and the many Anglo-Saxon nouns which can be traced into other languages, it cannot be affirmed that the Anglo-Saxon exhibits to us an original language. It is an ancient language, and has preserved much of the primitive form; but a large portion of it seems to have been made up from other ancient languages.

The affinities which I collected on the substantive verb were stated in a letter to the Royal Society of Literature, which has been printed in their Transactions, vol. i. p. 101.

CHAPTER III.

On the Copiousness of the Saxon Language.

This language has been thought to be a very rude and barren tongue, incapable of expressing any thing but the most simple and barbarous ideas. The truth, however, is, that it is a very copious language, and is capable of expressing any subject of human thought. In the technical terms of those arts and sciences which have been discovered, or much improved, since the Norman Conquest, it must of course be deficient. But books of history, belles lettres, and poetry, may be now written in it, with considerable precision and correctness, and even with much discrimination, and some elegance of expression.

The Saxon abounds with synonymes. I will give a few instances of those which my memory can supply. To express

Man.	Woman (1).
man.	ides.
nith.	wyf.
fira.	femne.
calla.	megth.
guma.	ewe.
hæleth.	meowla.
wer.	blæd.
rinc.	mennen.
folc.	piga.
Secgelderbarnum.	Gebedda.

For persons possessing power and authority they used

waldende.	baldor.
brego.	frumgara.
brema.	drihten.
brytta.	ealdor.
frea.	hlaford.
tyr.	
hold.	
theodne.	nere.
tohtan.	reswa.

Besides the compounds

folces reswan.	leodhata.
folc togan.	heathorinc.
wigina balder.	leoda reswan.
burga ealdor.	æthelboren.
rice man.	frymtha waldend.

And besides the official names of

cyning.	eorl.
ealdorman.	thegn.
heretogas.	gesithcundeman, etc.

For property they had in use the terms

yrfe.	sceat.
reaf.	sinc.
æhta.	ceap.
feoh.	

Besides the metaphors from the metals and coins.

(1) The Finnish word for woman is waimo.

In a poem we find the following synonymous terms used to express convivial shouting :

hlydde.	strymde.
hlyned.	gelyde.
dyned.	

To the mind we find several words appropriated :

mod.	sefa.	higesceft.
gethanc.	mod-sefa.	ingehygd.
ferth.	gemynd.	mod-gethoht.
hige.	gefræge.	gethoht.
hrether.	ge wit.	orthanc.
gewit loca.	runcofa.	andgit.

For knowledge and learning they had list, crœft, leornung, leornesse.
For the sea,

brym.	mære.	egstream.
loge.	yth.	wæteres.
sæ.	garsecg.	holm.
ea.	stream.	sewe.
flode.	willflod.	

Besides numerous metaphors; as

Swan rade,
Ganotes bath, etc.

For poetry and song,

leoth.	dreamnesse.
fitt.	gethwere.
gyd.	spell.
sang.	

They had a great number of words for a ship; and to express the Supreme, they used more words and phrases than I can recollect to have seen in any other language.

Indeed the copiousness of their language was receiving perpetual additions from the lays of their poets. I have already mentioned that the great features of their poetry were metaphor and periphrasis. On these they prided themselves. To be fluent in these was the great object of their emulation, the great test of their merit. Hence Cedmon, in his account of the deluge, uses near thirty synonymous words and phrases to express the ark. They could not attain this desired end without making new words and phrases by new compounds, and most of these became naturalized in the language. The same zeal for novelty of expression led them to borrow words from every other language which came within their reach.

We have a specimen of the power of the language in Elfric's Saxon Grammar, in which we may perceive that he finds Saxon words for the abstruse distinctions and definitions of grammar. A few may be added.

verbum	word.
accidentia	gelimplic thing.
significatio	getacnunge.
actio	dæde.
passio	throwinge.
tempus	tid.
modus	ge met.
species	hiw.
figura	gefegednyss.
conjugatio	getheodnyss.
persona	had.
numerus	getel.
anomala	unemne.

inæqualis.	ungelic.
defectiva	ateorigendlic.
frequentativa	gelomlæcende.
inchoativa	onginnendlic.

To express indeclinables the natural resources of the language failed him, and he adopts the Latin word, and gives it a Saxonized form.

The astronomical treatises which have been already mentioned show a considerable power in the language to express even matters of science.

But the great proof of the copiousness and power of the Anglo-Saxon language may be had from considering our own English, which is principally Saxon. It may be interesting to show this by taking some lines of our principal authors, and marking in *Italics* the Saxon words they contain.

SHAKSPEARE.

To be or not to be, that is the question;
Whether 'tis nobler *in the mind to* suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms *against a sea of* troubles,
And by opposing *end them? To die, to sleep;*
No more! and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ach, and the thousand natural *shocks*
The flesh is heir *to! 'twere a* consummation
Devoutly *to be wish'd. To die; to sleep;*
To sleep? perchance *to dream!*

MILTON.

With thee conversing *I forget all time,*
All seasons, *and their* change; *all* please *alike.*
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm *of earliest birds;* pleasant *the sun*
When first on this delightful *land he spreads*
His orient *beams on* herb, *tree,* fruit, *and* flower,
Glistening with dew; fragrant *the* fertile *earth*
After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful *evening mild; then* silent *night*
With this her solemn *bird, and this fair moon,*
And these the gems *of heaven, her starry train.*

COWLEY.

Mark that swift arrow! how it cuts *the* air!
How it outruns the following eye!
Use *all* persuasions *now and* try
If thou canst call *it back,* or stay *it there.*
That way it went; but thou shalt find
No track *is left behind.*
Fool! 'tis thy life, and the fond archer *thou.*
Of all the time thou'st shot away
I'll bid thee fetch but yesterday,
And it shall be too hard a task *to do.*

TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE.

And they made ready the present *against* Joseph *came at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there. And when* Joseph *came home, they brought him the* present *which was in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive? And they answered, Thy* servant *our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And they bowed down their heads, and made* obeisance. *And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother* Benjamin, *his mother's son, and said, Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be* gracious *unto thee, my son.* Gen. xliii. 25—29.

Then when Mary *was come where* Jesus *was, and saw him, she fell down at his*

saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. When Jesus *therefore saw her weeping, and the* Jews *also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the* spirit, *and was* troubled. *And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see.* Jesus *wept. Then said the* Jews, *Behold how he loved him!* John, xi. 32—36.

THOMSON.

These as they change, *Almighty Father! these*
Are but the varied *God. The* rolling *year*
Is full of thee. Full in the pleasing *spring*
Thy beauty *walks, thy* tenderness *and love.*
Wide flush the fields; the soft'ning air is balm,
Echo *the mountains round; the* forest *smiles:*
And every sense *and every heart is* joy.
Then comes thy glory *in the summer months,*
With light and heat refulgent. *Then thy sun*
Shoots full perfection *through the swelling year.*

ADDISON.

I was yesterday, about sunset, walking in the open fields, till the night insensibly *fell upon me. I at first* amused *myself with all the richness and* variety *of* colours *which* appeared *in the western parts of heaven. In* proportion *as they* faded *away and went out,* several *stars and* planets appeared, *one after another, till the whole* firmament *was in a* glow. *The blueness of the* æther *was* exceedingly *heightened and enlivened by the* season *of the year.*

SPENSER.

Hard is the doubt, *and* difficult *to deem.*
When all three kinds of love together meet,
And do dispart *the heart with* power extreme,
Whether shall weigh the balance *down; to weet*
The dear affection *unto kindred sweet,*
Or raging *fire of love to woman kind,*
Or zeal *of friends,* combin'd *with* virtues *meet:*
But of them all the band of virtuous *mind*
Me seems the gentle *heart should most* assured *bind.*

Book iv. c. 9.

LOCKE.

Every man, being conscious *to himself, that he thinks, and that, which his mind is* applied *about whilst thinking, being the* ideas *that are there; it is* past doubt, *that men have in their minds* several ideas. *Such are those* expressed *by the words, whiteness, hardness, sweetness, thinking,* motion, *man,* elephant, army, *drunkenness, and others. It is in the first* place, *then, to be* inquired, *How he comes by them? I know it is a* received doctrine *that men have* native ideas, *and* original characters stamped *upon their minds in their very first being.* Locke's Essay, Book xi. ch. 1.

POPE.

How happy *is the* blameless vestal's *lot!*
The world forgetting, by the world forgot;
Eternal *sunshine of the* spotless *mind!*
Each pray'r accepted, *and each wish* resign'd;
Labour *and* rest *that* equal periods *keep;*
Obedient *slumbers that can wake and weep;*
Desires compos'd, affections *ever ev'n;*
Tears that delight, *and sighs that waft to heav'n.*
Grace *shines around her with* serenest beams,
And whispering angels prompt *her golden* dreams.
For her th' unfading *rose of* Eden *blooms,*
And wings of seraphs *shed* divine perfumes.

YOUNG.

Let Indians, *and the* gay, *like* Indians, *fond*
Of feather'd fopperies, *the sun* adore;
Darkness has more divinity *for me;*
It strikes thought inward; it drives back the soul
To settle on herself, our point supreme.
There lies our theatre: *there sits our* judge.

Darkness the curtain *drops o'er life's dull* scene;
'Tis the kind hand of Providence *stretch'd out*
'Twixt man and vanity; *'tis* reason's reign,
And virtue's *too; these* tutelary *shades*
Are man's asylum *from the* tainted *throng.*
Night is the good man's friend, and guardian too.
It no less rescues virtue, *than* inspires.

SWIFT.

Wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting, will at last cost you the pains *to dig out. 'Tis a cheese, which by how much the richer has the thicker, the homelier, and the* coarser coat; *and whereof, to a* judicious palate, *the* maggots *are the best. 'Tis a* sack posset, *wherein the deeper you go you will find it the sweeter. But then, lastly, 'tis a nut, which, unless you choose with* judgment, *may cost you a tooth, and* pay *you with nothing but a worm.*

ROBERTSON.

This great emperor, *in the* plenitude *of his* power, *and in* possession *of all the* honours *which can* flatter *the heart of man, took the* extraordinary resolution *to* resign *his kingdom; and to withdraw* entirely *from any* concern *in business or the* affairs of *this world, in* order *that he might spend the* remainder *of his days in* retirement *and* solitude. Dioclesian *is*, perhaps, *the only* prince, capable *of holding the* reins *of* government, *who ever* resigned *them from* deliberate *choice, and who* continued during *many years to* enjoy *the* tranquillity *of* retirement, *without fetching one* penitent *sigh, or* casting *back one look of* desire *towards the* power *or* dignity *which he had* abandoned.

Charles V.

HUME.

The beauties *of her* person, *and* graces *of her* air, combined *to make her the most* amiable *of women; and the* charms *of her* address *and* conversation, aided *the* impression *which her lovely* figure *made on the heart of all beholders.* Ambitious *and* active *in her* temper, *yet* inclined *to* cheerfulness *and* society; *of a lofty* spirit, constant *and even* vehement *in her* purpose, *yet* politic, gentle, *and* affable, *in her* demeanor, she seemed *to* partake *only so much of the* male virtues *as to* render *her* estimable, *without* relinquishing *those soft* graces *which* compose *the* proper ornament *of her* sex.

GIBBON.

In the second century *of the* Christian era *the* empire *of* Rome comprehended *the fairest* part *of the earth, and the most* civilized portion *of mankind. The* frontiers *of that* extensive monarchy *were guarded by* ancient renown *and* disciplined valour. *The* gentle *but* powerful influence *of laws and manners had* gradually cemented *the* union *of the* provinces. *Their peaceful* inhabitants enjoyed *and* abused *the* advantages *of wealth and* luxury. *The* image *of a free* constitution *was* preserved *with* decent reverence.

JOHNSON.

Of genius, *that* power, *which* constitutes *a* poet; *that* quality, *without which* judgment *is cold and knowledge is* inert; *that* energy *which* collects, combines, amplifies, *and* animates; *the* superiority *must, with some* hesitation, *be* allowed *to* Dryden. *It is not to be* inferred *that of this* poetical vigour Pope *had only a little, because* Dryden *had more; for every other writer since* Milton *must give* place *to* Pope; *and even of* Dryden *it must be said, that if he has brighter* paragraphs, *he has not better* poems.

From the preceding instances we may form an idea of the power of the Saxon language; but by no means a just idea; for we must not conclude that the words which are not Saxon could not be supplied by Saxon words. On the contrary, Saxon terms might be substituted for almost all the words not marked as Saxon.

To impress this sufficiently on the mind of the reader, it will be necessary to show how much of our ancient language we have laid aside, and have suffered to become obsolete; because all our writers, from Chaucer to our own times, have used words of foreign origin rather than our own.

In three pages of Alfred's Orosius I found 78 words which have bec obsolete, out of 548, or about $\frac{1}{7}$. In three pages of his Boetius I found

obsolete, out of 666, or about $\frac{1}{5}$. In three pages of his Bede I found 250 obsolete, out of 969, or about $\frac{1}{4}$. The difference in the proportion between these and the Orosius proceeds from the latter containing many historical names. Perhaps we shall be near the truth if we say, as a general principle, that one fifth of the Anglo-Saxon language has ceased to be used in modern English. This loss must be of course taken into account when we estimate the copiousness of our ancient language, by considering how much of it our English authors exhibit.

I cannot agree with Hickes, in classing the works of Alfred under that division of the Saxon language which he calls Danish Saxon. The Danes had no footing in England till after the period of Alfred's manhood, and when they obtained a settlement, it was in East Anglia and Northumbria. We cannot therefore suppose that Alfred borrowed any part of his language from the Danes. None of their language could have become naturalised in Wessex before he wrote, nor have been adopted by him without either reason or necessity. We may therefore refer to the Anglo-Saxon laws before the reign of Athelstan, and to the works of Alfred, as containing the Anglo-Saxon language in its genuine and uncorrupted state.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Affinities and Analogies of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

All languages which I have examined, besides discovering some direct ancestral consanguinity with particular tongues; as the Saxon with the Gothic, Swedish, Danish, etc., and the Latin with the Greek; display also, in many of their words, a more distant relationship with almost all. Some word or other may be traced in the vocabularies of other nations; and every language bears strong marks, that events have happened to the human race, like those which Moses has recorded in his account of the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind. The fragments of an original tongue seem, more or less, to exist in all; and no narrated phenomenon of ancient history accounts for the affinities and analogies of words which all languages exhibit, so satisfactorily as the abruption of a primitive language into many others, sufficiently different to compel separations of the general population, and yet retaining in all some indications of a common origin (1).

In such a confusion of mind, memory, and organs, as must have attended such an incident, most of the words and much of the structure of language would be materially altered in the future pronunciation, recollection, and use of the scattered families then existing, and consequentially in the orthography. But it is probable that many words would descend amid these variations into all the subsequent tongues: not the same words in every one, because various accidents would diversify what each retained; but every tongue will be found to have several terms which exist with the

(1) The letters which I sent on the affinities of languages to the Royal Society of Literature, and which have been printed in the first volume of its Transactions, contain copious illustrations on this curious subject. The examples there given of numerous similarities, present many, which nothing that history has recorded satisfactorily accounts for, except the Mosaic narration of the incidents at Babel,

same meanings, or display related analogies, in other distant and apparently unconnected nations. Some of these fragments of the primitive tongues, or of some primeval speech, or their derivatives, might with adequate labour and care and judgment be still collected; but the task demands so much penetration—such a solid discrimination—such an abstinence from all warmth of imagination—such a suspension of human egotism—and such an extensive acquaintance with the numerous languages of the world, that perhaps no single individual could be found capable of conducting the inquiry to a satisfactory termination. Such a curious collection would require many cooperators, and many successive efforts.

But many persons, if they applied early to the subject, might gradually contribute to the accomplishment of the great task, by observing what affinities, or analogies, either directly or derivatively, some one particular language has with others; not pursuing the delusive chimera of deriving it from any specific one, but endeavouring to trace its general relationship with all. I wished to have attempted this with the Anglo-Saxon language; but a defection of health, and adverse occupations, have interfered to prevent me from fully gratifying my own wishes. It may, however, be worth while to preserve a list of those analogies which I have noticed. They deserve our consideration, from the important inferences to which they lead. Though the affinities of some may be questioned, yet in most they will be found highly probable: the whole are too numerous to have occurred by mere chance. Where the English is not repeated it is the same as that of the Saxon word.

a, *always.*
  a, *life, New. Zeal.*
abidan, *to remain, to abide.*
  abadan, *a dwelling, Pers.*
  abi, *an habitation, Tonga.*
ac, *but.*
  ac, *Irish.*
ace, *ach, pain.*
  αχος, *Greek.*
æbs, *a fir-tree.*
  abies, *Lat.*
æcr, *a field; an acre.*
  ager, *Lat.*
  αγρος.
æhta, *eight.*
  octo, *Lat.*
æl, *oil.*
  oleum, Lat.
æled, *fire.*
ælan, *to flame.*
  al, *light, Arab.*
  ilak, *shining, ib.*
æn, *one.*
  εν, *Greek.*
  unus, *Lat.*
ænga, *narrow.*
  angustus, *Lat.*
ængel, *angel.*
  αγγελος, *Greek.*
ær, *brass.*
  eris, *of brass, Lat.*
æren, *brazen.*
  æreus, *Lat.*
æs, *food.*
  asha, *a supper, Susoo.*
  es, *eat, Lat.*
  esca, *food, ib.*
æt, *he eat.*
  est, *Lat.*
æx, *an axe.*
  αξινη, *an hatchet.*
æx, *an axle.*
  axis, *Lat.*
  αξων.
aferran, *to take away.*
  auferre, *Lat.*
agen, *frightened.*
  ag, *fear, Irish.*
ag, *wickedness.*
  ag, *fight, Irish.*
ahwyrfan, *to turn away.*
  avertere, *Lat.*
ahma, *the Spirit, Goth.*
  ανεμα.
aiv, *an age, Goth.*
  ævum, *Lat.*
as, *brass, Sax.*
  æs, *Lat.*

alls, *all, the whole, Goth.*
all, *all.*
ολος, *the whole.*
alne, *the arm.*
ulna, Lat.
alwan, *aloes.*
aloes, *Lat.*
amber, *a vessel.*
amphora, *Lat.*
ams, *the shoulder.*
ωμος.
an, *in.*
in, *Lat.*
ancer, *an anchor.*
αγκυρα.
anchora, *Lat.*
ade, *an heap.*
αδην, *enough.*
αδδην, *abundant.*
ains, *one, Goth.*
unus, *Lat.*
aldor, *elder.*
aldian, *to grow old.*
alds, *age, Goth.*
αλδω, *to increase.*
alet, *fire.*
haul, *the sun, Welsh.*
αλεα, *the heat of the sun.*
alenian, *macerare.*
αλυω *to pine.*
alh, *a temple.*
αλοος, *a sacred grove.*
amolsnian, *to putrefy.*
αμαλος, *soft.*
mollis, *Lat.*
amundian, *to defend.*
αμυνω, *to succour.*
ana, *over, above, Goth.*
ανας, *a king.*
ancgel, *an hook.*
αγκυλος, *crooked.*
αγκυλη *a dart.*
anga-anga,
coalition, New. Zeal.
cleaving together, ib.
anakumbgan, *to lie down.*
ανακειμαι, *to lie down.*
accumbere, *Lat.*
andanems, *pleasing, acceptable, Goth.*
ανδανεν, *to please.*
ange, *sad, severely vexed.*
antsia, *anxiety, Basque.*
αναγκη, *fate.*
anthroe, *causing horror.*
ανθραξ *burning coals.*
areosian, *to cut off.*
αρασσειν.
arg, *bad, wicked.*
αργος, *idle, slothful.*

arod, *ready.*
αρω, *I fit.*
aspanam, *to allure.*
ασπαζομαι, *I kiss.*
astyrred, *starred.*
αστηρ, *a star.*
attor, *poison.*
attorian, *to perish, to corrupt.*
ατταω, *to wound,* or *hurt.*
anxsumnes, *anxiety.*
anxietas, *Lat.*
aplantan, *to plant.*
plantare, *Lat.*
are, *brass.*
ære, *in brass, Lat.*
ar, *wealth.*
ar, *tillage, Irish.*
arca, *a chest.*
arca, *Lat.*
arian, *to honour, to pardon.*
araiani, *health, Susoo.*
aroha, *loving, New. Zeal.*
asal, *an ass.*
assa, *an ass.*
asinus, *Lat.*
astoa, *Basque.*
asceacan, *to shake off.*
excutere, *Lat.*
ascræpan, *to scrape.*
scribu, *Russian.*
asce, *ashes.*
asat, *fire, Amharic.*
ase, *as.*
asay, *like, Persian.*
asha, *like, ib.*
aththan, *but, Goth.*
autem, *Lat.*
auther, *another.*
alter, *Lat.*
awegan, *to carry away.*
evehere, *Lat.*

Barm, *a bay.*
bar, *a frith, the sea, Irish.*
barn, *a son, Goth.*
bearn, *Sax.*
bar, *Chaldee.*
barr, *Irish.*
beo, *a bee.*
neb, *Amharic.*
nabowan, *Gafœt.*
abeehon, *Cantabria.*
beard, *a beard.*
bara, *Mandingo.*
barba, *Lat.*
bedælan, *to separate.*
bdl, *Chald.*
bedelfan, *to dig.*
bdil, *tin, Chald.*
bellan, *to bellow.*
bula, *to make a thundering noise, Susoo.*

benam, *he deprived.*
bana, *castrated, Susoo.*
beorcan, *to bark.*
bare, *a dog, Susoo.*
beran, *to bear*, or *carry.*
beri, *to bear, Susoo.*
betre, *better.*
bihter, *Pers.*
bi, *near.*
be, *here, Susoo.*
bi, *against, Goth.*
bi, *Susoo.*
blec, *black.*
belcha, *Basq.*
blætt, *bleats.*
balat, *Lat.*
bog, *a bough.*
boge, *fruit, Sus.*
bolla, *a round bowl.*
bola, *a globe, Basq.*
box, *the box-tree.*
buxus, *Lat.*
brego, *a king.*
rego, *to govern, Lat.*
regem, *a king, ib.*
buan, *to inhabit.*
bu, *to stay long, Sus.*
bu, *to continue, ib.*
byrel, *a cupbearer.*
beri, *intoxicating liquor, Sus.*
bosg, *a stall.*
βους, *an ox.*
brad, *huge, vast.*
βραδος *heavy.*
brædan, *to roast.*
βραξειν, *to boil.*
bræchme, *a noise.*
βραχειν, *to make a noise.*
bragen, *the brain.*
burmuna, *Basq.*
bræc, *he broke.*
bric, *a fragment.*
brocos, *broken.*
βραχυς, *short.*
bremman, *fremere.*
βρεμειν, *to threaten.*
broc, *a brook.*
βρεχω, *I water.*
brucan, *to eat.*
βρυχειν, *to bite*, or *swallow.*
βροσκειν, *to eat.*
barth, *a skiff.*
βαρις, *a boat.*
beal, *destruction.*
bil, *a bill*, or *weapon.*
βελος, *a dart.*
birian, *to bury.*
obiratu, *Basq.*
burg, *a town.*
burqua, *Basq.*

Cæge, *a key.*
quaw, *ib. Loochoo.*
χειω, *to take.*
εχω, *to hold.*
cælan, *to be cold.*
gelu, *frost, Lat.*
cænnan, *to know.*
γινωσκω, *I know.*
cænned, *born.*
γινομαι, *I am born.*
cænryn, *a race.*
γενεα.
caf, *quick, sharp.*
καφωρη, *a fox.*
cald, *cold.*
gelidus, *Lat.*
γελυ, *frost.*
calic, *a cup.*
calix, *Lat.*
cald, *called.*
akilli, *Mandingo.*
καλεω, *I call.*
καλλω, *ib.*
calanga, *to roar out, Tonga.*
kal, *a voice, Tchut. Agow.*
to call, *English.*
calo, *bald.*
calvus, *Lat.*
camp, *a field of battle, a camp.*
campus, *a field, Lat.*
camp, *a feat, a circle, Welsh.*
cancere, *a crab, a disease.*
cancer, *Lat.*
candel, *a candle.*
candela, *Lat.*
canna, *a can, a bowl.*
κανης.
canistrum, *Lat.*
cancetung, *horse-laugh.*
cachinnus, *Lat.*
καγχαζω, the verb.
car, *care.*
cura, *Lat.*
kir, *passion, Armenian.*
cardd, *shame, disgrace, Wel.*
cur, *anxiety, ib.*
κηρ, *calamity.*
kharchar, *anguish, Pers.*
khar, *a thorn, ib.*
carc, *care, Welsh.*
carian, *to be anxious.*
γηρυειν, *to complain.*
carr, *a rock, a stone.*
careg, *a stone, Welsh.*
cat, *a cat.*
καΛτος.
cattus, *Lat.*
cath, *Welsh.*
choaa, *Holt.*
catua, *Basq.*

caul, *colewort.*
caulis, *Lat.*
cawl, *a basket.*
cawell, *Welsh.*
cau, *to enclose, ib.*
ceaf, *chaff.*
καρφη.
cealc, *chalk, a stone.*
calx, *a stone, Lat.*
ceap, *cattle.*
γεωπονεια, *agriculture.*
γεωπεδον, *a farm.*
cearfan, *to kill, to carve.*
καρφειν, *to break in pieces.*
κειρειν, *to cut.*
ceast, *a strife, contention.*
cas, *Welsh.*
ceaster, *a city, a castle.*
kostra, *a castle, Chaldee.*
castrum, *Lat.*
cegan, *to call.*
καυχομαι, *I boast.*
cene, *bold, hostile.*
keno, *bad, New Zeal.*
cennan, *to beget.*
γεννασιν.
cenedlu, *Welsh.*
ceo, *a crow.*
κορωνη.
ceol, *a ship.*
κελης, *swift.*
cepan, *to covet, to entrap.*
captare, *Lat.*
cernan, *to churn.*
corddi, *Welsh.*
cerre, *a bend, a turning.*
coredd, *a winding, Welsh.*
corddi, *to turn about, ib.*
cor, *a round, ib.*
cese, *cheese.*
caseus, *Lat.*
cedpan, *to keep,* or *hold.*
capsa, *a chest, Lat.*
cicen, *the young, a chick.*
cyw *the young, Welsh.*
cid, *contention, strife.*
cad, *a battle, Welsh.*
cimbal, *a cymbal.*
cymbalum, *Lat.*
cind, *a race.*
cenau, *an offspring, Welsh.*
cenedl, *a tribe, ib.*
kin, *a wife, Armen.*
cinn, *a kind,* or *race.*
genus, *Lat.*
circol, *a circle.*
circulus, *Lat.*
circlic, *circular.*
circularis, *Lat.*
cist, *benignity, bounty.*
chsd, *Heb.*

ciste, *a chest.*
cista, *Lat.*
cisten beam, *a chesnut-tree.*
castanea, *Lat.*
cite, *a city.*
civitas, *Lat.*
clusa, *a prison.*
clausus, *shut up, Lat.*
κλειω, *I shut up.*
cleow, *a globe.*
globus, *Lat.*
climan, *to climb.*
κλιμαξ, *a ladder.*
cloccan, *to clock.*
glocire, *Lat.*
cleossian, *to call.*
κλαζειν, *to make a noise.*
clow, *a clew.*
glomus, *Lat.*
κλωθω, *I spin.*
cliff, *a hill.*
collis, *Lat.*
clufiht, *full of cliffs.*
clivosus, *Lat.*
cnæp, *a button.*
cnap, *a knob, Welsh.*
cnear, *a ship.*
nav, *Armenian.*
navis, *Lat.*
ναυς.
cneou, *the knee.*
genu, *Lat.*
κνημη, *the leg.*
cnif, *a knife.*
κναω, *to cut.*
cnif, *pain, Welsh.*
cnocian, *to beat, to knock.*
cnociaw, *Welsh.*
cnodian, *to bestow.*
cnod, *a crop, Welsh.*
cnidiaw, *to yield an increase, ib.*
cnoll, *a knoll, a top.*
cnoll, *Welsh.*
cnuck, *a joint, a knuckle.*
cnuc, *a joint, Welsh.*
cnyllan, *to knell.*
cnull, *a passing bell, Welsh.*
cnotta, *a knot.*
necto, *to tie, Lat.*
nodus, *a knot, ib.*
cnyttan, *to tie.*
nectere, *Lat.*
coc, *a cook.*
coquus, *Lat.*
codd, *a wallet.*
cod, *a budget,* or *bag, Welsh.*
cof, *a cave, a cove.*
cof, *an hollow trunk, Welsh.*
cavea, *a cave, Lat.*
colla, *an helmet.*
galea, *Lat.*

copp, *an apex, a top.*
cop, *the top, Welsh.*
corn, *corn.*
kier, *food, Armen.*
corntreow, *a cornel-tree.*
cornus, *Lat.*
cos, *a kiss.*
cus, *Welsh.*
corther *a multitude.*
cordd, *Welsh.*
cors, *execration.*
corsian, *to curse.*
chrm, *he cursed, Heb.*
chrf, *he upbraided, ib.*
cosp, *a fetter.*
cosp, *Welsh.*
cospi, *to chastise, ib.*
cot, *a house, a cottage.*
cut, *a hovel, Welsh.*
cott, *a chamber.*
κοιτη, *a bed-room.*
cracettan, *to croak.*
crocitare, *Lat.*
crocio, *ib.*
crecian, *to scream, Welsh.*
cradel, *a cradle.*
cryd, *Welsh.*
cræsta, *a crest.*
crista, *Lat.*
cræt, *a cart.*
carrum, *Lat.*
craw, *a crow.*
corvus, *Lat.*
creopan, *to creep.*
repere, *Lat.*
croh, *saffron.*
crocus, *Lat.*
cruce, *a gibbet,* or *cross.*
crux, *Lat.*
cruel, *Eng.*
cruela, *Basq.*
cruft, *a vault, a grot.*
crypta, *Basq.*
cu, *a cow.*
t'kau, *a buffalo, Hottentot.*
t'goos, *a cow ib.*
curcummi, *Ethiop.*
chhui, *a ram, Armen.*
kema, *a cow, Falash.*
ghwa, *Pushtoo.*
cucian, *to be alive.*
kea, kja, *he lived, Armen.*
chich, *Heb.*
chich, *life, ib.*
culfer, *a dove.*
columba, *Lat.*
cula, *a cowl.*
cucullus, *Lat.*
cultor, *a ploughshare.*
culter, *Lat.*

cunnan, *to know.*
ceniaw, *to perceive, Welsh.*
con, *astute, Heb.*
gen, *the intellect, Welsh.*
curs, *a curse.*
kier, *passion, Armen.*
cusc, *chaste.*
cuis, *a virgin, Armen.*
cuth, *known.*
get, *knowing, Armen.*
cwdden, *said.*
cwid, *a saying.*
cwed, *Welsh.*
cwæthan, *to say.*
cwedla, *to talk, Welsh.*
cwatan, *to shake.*
quatere, *Lat.*
çwyvan, *to waver, Welsh.*
çwaen, *a sudden motion, ib.*
cwellan, *to kill.*
cwelan, *to die.*
cwealen, *slaughter.*
κολουειν, *to cut off.*
cweman, *to please, to flatter.*
kam, *desire, Pers.*
çwara, *to play, Welsh.*
çweg, *pleasant, ib.*
khrm, *pleasing, Pers.*
cwen, *wife, queen.*
kin, *wife, Heb.*
cwic, *alive, quickened.*
çwyth, *life, Welsh.*
çweiaw, *to quicken, ib.*
cwiman, *to come.*
çwin, *motion, Welsh.*
cwidol, *evil-mouthed.*
cwidw, *a sorcerer, Welsh.*
cwysan, *to shake.*
quassare, *Lat.*
cwythan, *to lament.*
cwithaw, *to be in a dilemma, Welsh.*
cycene, *a kitchen.*
coquina, *Lat.*
cygean, *to call.*
vocare, *to call;* vox, *voice, ib.*
cylene, *a kitchen.*
culina, *Lat.*
cyn, *the chin.*
γενος.
gen, *Welsh.*
cyn, *an offspring.*
koo, *a son, Hott.*
γενοι, *an offspring.*
genus, *Lat.*
cyne, *royal.*
cyneg, *king.*
kuin, *Chin.*
cyn, *a chief, Welsh.*
khan, *Pers.*
cynn, *a tribe.*
genus, *a race, Lat.*

cynren, *a nation.*
gens, *Lat.*
cypa, *a basket.*
cophinus, *Lat.*
cypeleac, *a monument, a grave-stone.*
cippus, *Lat.*
cyrde, *he turned.*
çwired, *a sudden turn, Welsh.*
cyrran, *to return.*
cor, *a circle, a round, Welsh.*
corawl, *a turning round, ib.*
cyrs-treow, *a cherry-tree.*
cerasus, *Lat.*

Da, *a doe.*
dama, *Lat.*
dæd, *a deed.*
dad, *any thing, Egypt.*
dad, *an act, Pers.*
dæg, *a day.*
dies, *Lat.*
diah, *Gaelic.*
div, *Armen.*
diaw, *Welsh.*
diena, *Lithuan.*
dæl, *a part.*
dail, *a share, Gaelic.*
dal, *division.*
dal, *a share, Gaelic.*
dali, *a button.*
dal, *to catch hold, Welsh.*
dead, *dead.*
daudr, *Gaelic.*
daf, *Arab.*
deag, *colour.*
dakal, *a dye, Arab.*
deah, *a tincture.*
dean, *colour Gaelic.*
degle, *hidden, secret.*
daghl, *false, Arab.*
dagmar, *an hidden thing, ib.*
dgi, *dark, ib.*
dem, *slaughter.*
dema, *blood, Arab.*
din, *slaughter, Heb.*
dema, *a judge.*
din, *Heb.*
don, *he judged, ib.*
demn, *a loss.*
damnum, *Lat.*
damikal, *a misfortune, Pers.*
damar, *ruin, Arab.*
denegan, *to beat, to ding.*
ding, *Sus.*
deofl, *devil.*
diabolus, *Lat.*
deor, *deer, wild beasts.*
Θηρ.
deorc, *dark.*
dorcha, *Gaelic.*
darka, *a cloud, Pers.*
dghe, *dark, Arab.*

dilgian, *to destroy.*
dileu, *Welsh.*
delere, *Lat.*
dim, *dim, obscure.*
dihms, *dark, Pers.*
dins, *dim, obscure, Arab.*
doema, *a judge.*
doms, *Syriac.*
dochter, *a daughter.*
dohter.
dokht, *Pers.*
dokhter, *ib.*
douktie, *Lith.*
dora, *a door.*
doras, *Gaelic.*
drabbe, *dirt.*
drab, *a spot, Gaelic.*
dragan, *to drag, to draw.*
trahere, *to drag, Lat.*
draghan, *to pull, Gaelic.*
dream, *melody, an organ.*
dran, *a tune, Gaelic.*
drecan, *to torment.*
drag, *anger, Gael.*
drice, *angry, ib.*
drefan, *to disturb.*
drip, *affliction, Gaelic.*
dropian, *to drop.*
dreogan, *Gaelic.*
dry *a magician.*
draoi, *Gaelic.*
dugeth, *nobility.*
dux, *a leader, Lat.*
duquea, *Basq.*
dun, *a hill,* or *downs.*
dun, *a fortified hill, Gael.*
dunn, *a dun colour.*
donn, *Gaelic.*
adune, *down.*
dooma, *Mandingo.*
dur, *a door.*
dar, *Pers.*
da, *Mandingo.*
dorus, *Gael.*
dust, *dust.*
dus, *Gaelic.*
dynan, *to dine, to feed.*
dong, *to eat, Susoo.*
dynt, *a blow.*
ding, *to beat, Susoo.*
dydan, *to die.*
due, *Gallas.*

Ea, *water, river.*
ie, *Susoo.*
awa, *the river, New Zeal.*
eacan, *to add.*
akeejee, *Mandingo.*
eafer, *a boar.*
aper, *Lat.*
eage, *an eye.*
oculus, *Lat.*
ako, *Lith.*

eahta, *eight.*
octo, *Lat.*
eahtasithon, *the eighth time.*
octies, *Lat.*
eal, *an awl.*
subula, *Lat.*
eanian, *to yean.*
enitor, *Lat.*
ear, *an ear of corn.*
arista, *Lat.*
ear, *the ear.*
auris, *Lat.*
eax, *an axle.*
axis, *Lat.*
ecan, *to increase.*
augere, *Lat.*
eced, *vinegar.*
acetum, *Lat.*
ecg, *an edge.*
acies, *Lat.*
aka, *sharp, Loochoo.*
efst, *haste.*
festinatio, *Lat.*
efstan, *to hasten.*
festinare, *Lat.*
egle, *a dormouse.*
glis, *Lat.*
egor, *the waves of the sea.*
æquor, *Lat.*
ele, *oil.*
olioa, *Basq.*
oleum, *Lat.*
elchtre, *amber.*
electrum, *Lat.*
elles, *otherwise.*
aliter, *Lat.*
alias, *another time, ib.*
ellor, *elsewhere.*
alio, *Lat.*
alias, *ib.*
elm, *an elm.*
ulmus, *Lat.*
elpend, *an elephant.*
elephanta, *Lat.*
ened, *a duck.*
anas, *Lat.*
enge, *sorrow.*
angustia, *Lat.*
eorod, *a body of men.*
cohors, *Lat.*
eorra, *anger.*
ira, *Lat.*
eorsian, *to be angry.*
irasci, *Lat.*
eow, *alas.*
heu, *Lat.*
væ, *ib.*
eosol, *an ass.*
asinus, *Lat.*
eowa, *an ewe.*
ovis, *Lat.*
ere, *a chest.*
arca, *Lat.*

erian, *to plough.*
ερα, *the earth.*
arare, *to plough, Lat.*
etan, *to eat.*
edere, *Lat.*
etchemi, *Gafat.*

Facan, *to make, to acquire.*
facere, *to do, Lat.*
fucan, *Tonga.*
facen, *deceit.*
fuco, *to counterfeit, Lat.*
facinus, *wickedness, ib.*
fæccean, *to fetch.*
facesso, *to procure, Lat.*
fæcele, *a little torch.*
fæcula, *Lat.*
fægen, *glad.*
φαιδρος.
fæger, *beautiful, fair.*
φαικος, *splendid.*
fæle, *faithful.*
fidelis, *Lat.*
fællan, *to offend.*
fallax, *deceitful, Lat.*
fallere, *to deceive, ib.*
φαλλειν.
fam, *foam.*
fæman, *to foam.*
fumare, *to smoke, Lat.*
fæmna, *a girl.*
femina, *a woman, Lat.*
fær, *sudden.*
fors, *chance, Lat.*
færan, *to terrify.*
fera, *a wild beast, Lat.*
ferus, *wild, ib.*
ferire, *to strike, ib.*
ferox, *fierce, ib.*
færlice, *by chance.*
forte, *Lat.*
færm, *supper.*
far, *corn, Lat.*
færs, *a verse.*
versus, *Lat.*
fæt, *a foot.*
fisha, *feet, Loochoo.*
færthrade, *strong.*
fortis, *Lat.*
færten, *a fastness, a citadel.*
fastigium, *a summit, Lat.*
fag, *a colour, many-coloured.*
fucus, *a paint, Lat.*
fagen, *glad.*
fagnian, *to rejoice.*
fang, *to love, Susoo.*
fah, *a foe.*
φαω, *to kill.*
fah, *discoloured.*
φαιος, *dusky.*

falewe, *fallow colour.*
flavus, *yellow, Lat.*
fulvus, *tawny.*
fana, *cloth, Goth.*
pannus, *Lat.*
fann, *a fan.*
vannus, *Lat.*
faran, *to go.*
fa, *to come, to go to, Sus.*
fæt, *a vessel, a cup.*
fat, *a vessel.*
fete, *a small basket, Sus.*
fatha, *an enclosure, Goth.*
φατνη, *a stall.*
faul, *foul.*
φαυλος, *vile.*
fea, *money.*
feo, *money.*
fe, *affairs, a concern, Sus.*
feo, *to give, ib.*
feallan, *to fall.*
φαλλειν, *to slip.*
fallere, *Lat.*
fefer, *a fever.*
febrian, *to be feverish.*
febris, *fever, Lat.*
fecele, *a torch.*
fax, *Lat.*
feder, *a wing.*
φαιδρος, *swift.*
fell, *a skin.*
pellis, *Lat.*
fell, *choler, anger, cruel.*
fel, *bile, Lat.*
feor, *far off.*
foras, *out of doors, Lat.*
fera, *the borders, Goth.*
περας.
feran, *to bear,* or *carry.*
ferre, *Lat.*
φερειν.
feron, *fierce.*
ferus, *Lat.*
ferht, *fear.*
ferit, *to fear, Amhar.*
feri, *to fear, Gafat.*
fic, *a fig.*
ficus, *a fig, Lat.*
finie, *corrupted.*
finio, *I end, Lat.*
finis, *end, death, ib.*
φενω, *I kill.*
finn, *a fin.*
pinna, *Lat.*
finol, *fennel.*
fæniculum, *Lat.*
firas, *men.*
viros, *Lat.*
ira, *a man, Falash.*
fise, *fish.*
piscis, *Lat.*
fiscian, *to fish.*
piscari, *Lat.*
fithele, *a fiddle.*
fidicula, *Lat*
flean, *to flay, to unskin.*
φλοιειν.
fleotan, *to float.*
fluitare, *Lat.*
fleowan, *to flow.*
fluere, *Lat.*
flewsa, *a flowing.*
fluxus, *Lat.*
flece, *a flock of sheep.*
floccus, *a lock of wool, Lat.*
flod, *a flood.*
φλυδαω, *moisten.*
floh, *a flaw.*
φλαω *I break.*
flota, *a fleet.*
flota, *Basq.*
flotteran, *to flutter.*
fluctus, *a wave, Lat.*
fluctuare, *to fluctuate, ib.*
flum, *a river.*
flumen, *Lat.*
flys, *a fleece.*
φλοιος, *the bark.*
fon, *to take.*
funis, *a rope, Lat.*
fon, *fire, Goth.*
φαινειν, *to shine.*
φανος, *a torch.*
forc, *a fork.*
furca, *Lat.*
forhtleas, *intrepid.*
fortis, *Lat.*
fraced, *vile, filthy*
fraceo, *to putrefy, Lat.*
fracidus, *rotten, ib.*
fracen, *dangerous.*
fragilis, *brittle, Lat.*
fræne, *a bridle.*
frenum, *Lat.*
fricca, *a cryer.*
præco, *Lat.*
frinan, *to consult, to inquire.*
φρην, *the mind.*
frum, *beginning.*
formare, *to frame, Lat.*
frysan, *to freeze.*
frigus, *cold, Lat.*
fugel, *a bird.*
fuee, *fowls, Loochoo.*
fugio, *I fly, Lat.*
ful, *foul.*
φαυλος, *vile.*
full, *full.*
fyllan, *to fill.*
φλεειν, *to be full.*
fulstan, *to support.*
fulcire, *Lat.*

fylnesse, *soot.*
fuligo, *Lat.*
fu, *fire.*
fyr, *fire.*
furi, *heat, Susoo.*
fee, *fire, Loochoo.*
afi, *New Caled.*
or, *Pushtoo.*
furor, *fury, Lat.*
fyrn, *fire.*
furnus, *an oven, Lat.*
fysan, *to hasten.*
festinare, *Lat.*
fell, *the skin.*
φελλος, *the bark.*
fengan, *to seize.*
φενειν, *to plunder.*

Gæc, *a cuckow.*
cuculus, *Lat.*
gamol, *a camel.*
camelus, *Lat.*
gat, *a gate.*
gata, *to keep, to preserve, Susoo.*
gea, *yes, truly.*
γε, *certainly.*
geoc, *a yoke.*
jugum, *Lat.*
yugh, *Pers.*
geolare, *a flesh-colour.*
gilvus, *Lat.*
gigant, *a giant.*
gigantem, *Lat.*
gos, *a goose.*
gah, *Chippeway.*
kgou, *Hott.*
gas, *Lapl.*
zansis, *Lith.*
gim, *a gem.*
gemma, *Lat.*
god, *the supreme.*
khoda, *Pers.*
grad, *a degree.*
gradus, *Lat.*
græf, *a grave.*
graphum, *Lat.*
grennian, *to grunt*
grunnire, *Lat.*
grafan, *to engrave.*
πλαφειν.
γραφειν, *to write.*
græg, *hoary, grey.*
γραια, *an old woman.*
guide, *English.*
guidaria, *a leader, Basq.*

Habban, *to have.*
habere, *Lat.*
hat, *hot.*
atteisa, *Loochoo.*
hægl, *hail.*
guly, *Pushtoo.*
heal, *a hall,* or *court.*
hælla.
aula, *Lat.*
hælm, *a stalk.*
culmus, *Lat.*
hæthen, *a pagan.*
ethnicus, *Lat.*
haga, *a farm.*
agellus, *Lat.*
helan, *to hide.*
celare, *Lat.*
hemetho, *marriage.*
hæmeth.
hymen, *Lat.*
henep, *hemp.*
cannabis, *Lat.*
heno, *lo!*
en, *Lat.*
henon, *hence.*
hinc, *Lat.*
hispan, *to hiss.*
seesee, *Loochoo.*
hnut, *a nut.*
nux, *Lat.*
hnæppian, *to sleep.*
nepan, *Kristen.*
hol, *a hole.*
chuloa, *Basq.*
horn, *a horn.*
cornu, *Lat.*
hreh, *an inundation.*
ῥεω, *to flow.*
hreman, *to cry out.*
ῥημα, *a word.*
ῥεω, *to speak.*
hrin, *touch.*
ῥινος, *the skin.*
hruran, *to rush.*
ruere, *Lat.*
hwelc, *of what sort.*
qualis, *Lat.*
hwerflan, *to be turned.*
versari, *Lat.*
hwonne, *when.*
quando, *Lat.*

Ic, *I.*
ego, *Lat.*
εγω.
ides, *a woman.*
ειδος, *beauty.*
ierre, *anger.*
irre, *anger.*
hira, *Basq.*
ira, *Lat.*
il, *the sun, Goth.*
ηλιος.
imne, *a hymn.*
hymnus, *Lat.*
in, *in.*
in, *Lat.*

iow, *you.*
ya, *Loochoo.*
ioic, *a joke.*
jocus, *Lat.*
is, *he, Goth.*
is, *Lat.*
is, *he is.*
is, *Heb.*
ist, *he is, Goth.*
est, *Lat.*
ϵϛι.
it, *it.*
id, *Lat.*

Lac, *a lake.*
lacus, *Lat.*
lago, *water, the sea.*
lagea, *a river, Gallas.*
læfel, *a level.*
libella, *Lat.*
læge, *a law.*
legem, *Lat.*
læng, *long.*
longus, *Lat.*
lam, *loam.*
limus, *Lat.*
lauerce, *a lark.*
alauda, *Lat.*
leag, *a place.*
lega.
locus, *Lat.*
leoht, *light.*
lux, *Lat.*
li, *fire, Chin.*
leaw, *Holt.*
leon, *a lion.*
leo, *Lat.*
λεων.
liccian, *to lick.*
lakiel, *Chald.*
lakiel, *Syr.*
lakiel, *Arm.*
lias, *flames.*
lya, *Falash.*
lya, *fire, Tch. Agow.*
læg, *flame.*
lage, *fire, Agow.*
leoma, *light.*
lambu, *flame, Pushtoo.*
linen, *linen.*
lineus, *Lat.*
lip, *a lip.*
labium, *Lat.*
lixan, *to shine.*
lux, *light, Lat.*
lof, *praise.*
luaidh, *Gael.*
laus, *Lat.*

To match, *English.*
matchat, *to marry, Amhar.*
matchotch, *Gafat.*

mæger, *thin, meagre.*
macer, *Lat.*
mæl, *a part.*
ml, *to cut off, to divide, Heb.*
melan, *to say.*
μελος, *a song.*
mænan, *to mean.*
manian, *to exhort.*
mens, *the mind, Lat.*
μενος.
mna, *to reckon, Chald.*
manawa, *animal spirits, New Zeal.*
mænsumunge, *a dwelling.*
mansio, *Lat.*
medew, *a meadow.*
medæ, *a plain, Amharic.*
mæra, *borders.*
meræ, *Lat.*
maga, *the stomach.*
μαγειρος, *a cook.*
marm, *marble.*
marmor, *Lat.*
mægen, *power.*
magnus, *great, Lat.*
magn, *more, New Caled.*
μεγαν, *great.*
micel, *much.*
michett, *Knisten.*
mealwe, *mallow.*
malva, *Lat.*
meca, *a sword.*
machæra, *Lat.*
mucro, *a point, ib.*
μαχομαι, *to fight.*
medeme, *great, dignified.*
μεδω, *to command.*
me, *me.*
με.
mana, *Van. Diem.*
meos, *moss.*
muscus, *Lat.*
mersc, *a marsh.*
mariscus, *Lat.*
mathelan, *to speak.*
methel, *a discourse.*
μυθος.
meter, *metre.*
metrum, *Lat.*
met, *meat.*
matu, *flesh, New Zealand.*
mid, *middle.*
medius, *Lat.*
mid, *a bushel.*
modius, *Lat.*
mil, *a mile.*
miliare, *Lat.*
mild, *mild.*
mlau, *to be soothing, Heb.*
mulceo, *I soothe, Lat.*
milisc, *sweet.*
mulsus, *Lat.*

miln, *a mill.*
mola, *a mill-stone, Lat.*
μυλη.
mulan, *to pulverise, Chili.*
minsian, *to make small.*
minuere, *Lat.*
μινυος, *small.*
mna, *to distribute, Heb.*
mint, *mint.*
mentha, *Lat.*
moder, *mother.*
ματηρ.
mater, *Lat.*
mor, *Pushtoo.*
motina, *Lith.*
mu, *Chinese.*
moububa, *New Caled.*
umma, *Loochoo.*
mona, *the moon.*
μηνη.
mienau, *Lithua.*
manoc, *New Caled.*
monath, *a month.*
μην.
mensis, *Lat.*
morth, *death.*
mors, *Lat.*
mot, *Heb.*
maoot, *Malay.*
moot, *Hindoostan.*
murk, *ib.*
matu, *New Zeal.*
mata, *Van. Diem.*
mota, *to die, Amhar.*
mun, *a hand.*
manus, *Lat.*
μεθελ, *council.*
μεδος.
mul, *a mule.*
mulus, *Lat.*
munt, *a mount.*
montem, *Lat.*
mendia, *Basq.*
murcnian, *to murmur.*
murmurare, *Lat.*
mus, *a mouse.*
μυς.
mus, *Lat.*
muscel, *a muscle-fish.*
musculus, *Lat.*
must, *new wine.*
mustum, *Lat.*
mylen, *a mill.*
molendinum, *Lat.*
muth, *mouth.*
mougui, *Van Diem.*
mouanguia, *New Caled.*
mylcian, *to milk.*
mulgere, *Lat.*
mynegian, *to admonish.*
monere, *Lat.*

mynet, *money.*
moneta, *Lat.*

Nægl, *nail.*
nook, *Pushtoo.*
neow, *new.*
νεος.
novus, *Lat.*
nowian, *to make new.*
νεοω.
novo, *Lat.*
innovo, *ib.*
no, *not.*
non, *Lat.*
nuna, *Knisten.*
ny, *Insu.*
nu, *Pushtoo.*
nu, *now.*
nunc, *Lat.*
nye, *a nest.*
nidus, *Lat.*
nacod, *naked.*
ναχος, *a skin with its fleece.*
næcan, *to kill.*
necare, *Lat.*
nægan, *to nod.*
νευω.
nuo, *Lat.*
nicht, *night.*
noctem, *Lat.*
νυκτος.
naktis, *Lith.*
nama, *name.*
nemn, *ib.*
nomen, *Lat.*
næpe, *a turnip.*
napus, *Lat.*
næse, *a nose.*
nasus, *Lat.*
nozis, *Lith.*
næssa, *a promontory.*
νησος, *an island.*
naman, *to name.*
nominare, *Lat.*
na, *name, Loochoo.*
nan, *no one.*
nemo, *Lat.*
nathær, *neither.*
neuter, *Lat.*
nefa, *a nephew.*
nepos, *Lat.*
nefene, *a niece.*
neptis, *Lat.*
nellan, *to be unwilling.*
nolle, *Lat.*
ænote, *nothing.*
nude, *not, Van Diem.*

Oefest, *haste.*
festinatio, *Lat.*
offrian, *to offer, o sacrifice.*
offerre, *Lat.*

open, *open.*
apertus, *Lat.*
openian, *to open.*
aperio, *I open, Lat.*
or, *beginning.*
origo, *Lat.*
orc, *a jar.*
orca, *Lat.*
oxa, *an ox.*
okous, *a bull, Curds.*

Pal, *a stake.*
palus, *Lat.*
pan, *cloth.*
pannus, *Lat.*
panna, *a pan.*
patina, *Lat.*
papig, *the poppy.*
papaver, *Lat.*
pawa, *a peacock.*
pavo, *Lat.*
pic, *pitch.*
pix, *Lat.*
πισσα.
pil, *a pile.*
pila, *Lat.*
pilan, *to drive with a pile.*
παλλω, *to shake.*
pile, *a pillow.*
pulvinar, *Lat.*
pin, *pain.*
pœna, *Lat.*
ποινη.
pinan, *to torture.*
πεινα, *hunger.*
πονεω, *to cause pain.*
πονος, *pain.*
pisa, *pease.*
pisa, *Lat.*
pitt, *a pit, a well.*
puteus, *a well, Lat.*
plæca, *a sheet.*
platæa, *Lat.*
plant, *a plant.*
planta, *Lat.*
plætte, *a slap.*
plettian, *to strike.*
πλητταω.
plantian, *to plant.*
plantare, *Lat.*
plaster, *a plaster*
emplastrum, *Lat.*
plume, *a plum.*
prunum, *Lat.*
pond, *a pound.*
pondo, *Lat.*
port, *a port.*
portus, *Lat.*
pur, *pure.*
purus, *Lat.*

pyngan, *to prick.*
pungere, *Lat.*
pyrigean, *a pear tree.*
peroqui, *a tree, Van Diem.*

Race, *history.*
ra, *to do, Coptic.*
ræd, *a discourse.*
ῥεω, *I speak.*
ῥημα, *a word.*
ræd, *quick, ready.*
ῥαδιος, *easy.*
rægn, *rain.*
ῥαινω, *to pour.*
renc, *glory, pride.*
renc, *proud.*
ran, *a name, Copt.*
reaflan, *to rob.*
reafere, *a spoiler.*
refa,
reftahe, *Copt.*
refskiou, *ib.*
reccere, *a ruler.*
rector, *Lat.*
regn, *a ruler.*
regnum, *a kingdom, Lat.*
regnare, *to reign, ib.*
regel, *a rule.*
regula, *Lat.*
reht, *right.*
rectus, *Lat.*
rice, *a region.*
regio, *Lat.*
ricsian, *to rule.*
rixian, *to rule.*
rexi, *I have ruled, Lat.*
rihte, *justly.*
rite, *Lat.*
rude, *rue.*
ruta, *Lat.*

Saban, *linen.*
sabi, *a shirt, Pers.*
sabibat, *a vest, Arm.*
sac, *contention, quarrel.*
sakhinat, *rage, Arab.*
sukht, *indignation, ib.*
sakht, *violent, Pers.*
skr, *a falsehood, Heb.*
sacc, *a sack.*
saccus, *Lat.*
σακκος.
sok, *Coptic.*
sk, *Heb.*
sakil, *weighty, Arab.*
sadian, *to be full.*
sat, *sufficient.*
sæ, *sea.*
ooshu, *Loochoo.*
sæd, *seed.*
sid, *Copt.*
sat, *to sow, ib.*

sægen, *a saying.*
sægen, *to say.*
sakhun, *a saying, Pers.*
sag, *to swar, Heb.*
saji, *to speak, Copt.*
sægednysse, *a sacrifice.*
sgd, *he adored, Heb.*
sæger, *a sword.*
σαγαρις, *a Persian sword.*
sæl, *time.*
salah, *age, years, Pers.*
sal, *a year, ib.*
sæl, *well.*
salim, *safe, Pers.*
salus, *safety, Lat.*
sælth, *prosperity.*
σιλας, *splendour.*
siloh, *to rest, Heb.*
sal, *a hall, a palace.*
salar, *a prince, Pers.*
sala, *a bond.*
saleh, *seizing, Arab.*
salh, *a willow.*
salah, *a wicker-basket, Pers.*
salt, *salt.*
sal, *Lat.*
salt, *sharp, Arab.*
σαλος, *the sea-coast.*
same, *the same.*
similis, *like, Lat.*
sinod, *likeness, Copt.*
sammœle, *concordant.*
saml, *reconciliation, Arab.*
samu, *together*
samod, *together*
simul, *Lat.*
sîmal, *assistant, Arab.*
sand, *sand.*
sinna *Loochoo.*
sæng, *song.*
sensen, *a sound, Copt.*
sensen, *to sound, ib.*
sape, *soap.*
sabun, *Arab.*
sapo, *Lat.*
sar, *sore, sorry.*
sa, *infirmity, Arab.*
sarisk, *a tear, Pers.*
sarsan, *fear, ib.*
saud, *a sacrifice, Goth.*
sajjat, *an idol, Arab.*
sajjad, *adoring, ib.*
scær, *a ploughshare.*
skai, *to plough, Copt.*
scamiam, *to be ashamed.*
shaamat, *adversity, Pers.*
scanc, *the thigh.*
iskana, *Arab.*
scacere, *a thief.*
shaki, *criminal, Arab.*
sceala, *scales.*
scalæ, *Lat.*
sceam, *shame.*
asham, *a crime, Pers.*
sceard, *a fragment.*
askardan, *to bruise, Pers.*
sceat, *a part.*
shat, *dispersed, distinct, Arab.*
shatey, *a share, ib.*
scen, *shining.*
askar, *polishing, Arab.*
scep, *a sheep.*
sha, *Arab.*
shat, *ib.*
sculden, *the shoulder.*
scapula, *Lat.*
scurf, *scurf.*
iskuran, *dross, Arab.*
scyld, *a crime.*
σκυλον *plunder.*
scyrt, *short.*
curtus, *Lat.*
scyrtan, *to shorten.*
curtare, *Lat.*
sefa, *the intellect.*
sufi, *wise, Arab.*
sabe, *Copt.*
sabo, *to learn, ib.*
sæft, *quiet.*
safa, *content, Pers.*
sæglian, *to sail.*
sayl, *flowing, Arab.*
σαλος, *the sea.*
sægnian, *to sign.*
signare, *Lat.*
segne, *a drag-net.*
sagena, *Lat.*
segen, *a sign.*
signum, *Lat.*
sel, *good.*
salih, *Arab.*
saluh, *ib.*
salah, *virtue, ib.*
σιλας, *brightness.*
selsol, *to adorn, Copt.*
sel, *time, opportunity.*
seoi, *time, Copt.*
sema, *a judge.*
simmet, *an old man, Arab.*
seman, *to adjust a dispute.*
samn, *adjusting, Arab.*
semne, *to dispose, Copt.*
semle, *always.*
semper, *Lat.*
synd, *they are.*
sunt, *Lat.*
sendan, *to send.*
sen, *to pass over, Copt.*
seoc, *sick.*
sakim, *Arab.*
sakam, *sickness, ib.*
seofen, *seven.*
septem, *Lat.*

seon, *to see.*
sima, *the face, Pers.*
seon, *to flow.*
σειω, *to agitate.*
setan, *to plant.*
set, *to sow, Copt.*
setan, *to set.*
set, *the tail, Copt.*
sethel, *a seat.*
sedes, *Lat.*
sex, *six.*
sex, *Lat.*
ἑξ.
sexta, *the sixth part.*
sextus, *Lat.*
si, *be thou.*
sis, *Lat.*
sib, *peace.*
sabat, *rest, Heb.*
sib, *a kinsman.*
sabab, *affinity, Pers.*
sibun, *seven.*
sabia, *Arab.*
sba, *Heb.*
sife, *a sieve.*
siftan, *to sift.*
safsafat, *sifting, Pers.*
saftan, *to bore, ib.*
suffidan, *to perforate, ib.*
sigel, *a bracelet, a button.*
σιγλαι, *ear-rings.*
silfer, *silver.*
cillan, *Basq.*
sin, *sin.*
sintavel, *evil, Arab.*
sintayel, *obscene, ib.*
snaah, *hatred, Heb.*
sineigs, *an old man, Goth.*
senex, *Lat.*
sitan, *to sit.*
sitan, *reclining, Pers.*
sittath, *he sits.*
sedet, *Lat.*
slide, *a fall.*
slat, *Copt.*
slim, *slime.*
limus, *Lat.*
smean, *to inquire.*
sme, *voice, Copt.*
smeoc, *smoke.*
σμυχω, *to consume.*
σμυχω, *to inflame.*
smirian, *to smear.*
σμιαω, *to wipe.*
son, *sound.*
sonus, *Lat.*
stor, *histories.*
ustarah, *a story, Arab.*
stan, *a stone, a rock.*
setoni, *to stone, Copt.*
astun, *a column, Pers.*

standan, *to stand.*
istandan, *Pers.*
sted, *a place,* or *station.*
istandan, *to stop,* or *dwell, Pers.*
steor, *a heifer.*
astar, *a mule, Pers.*
steorra, *a star.*
sterr, *a star.*
istarah, *Pers.*
astar, *ib.*
sitareh, *ib.*
izarra, *Basq.*
storee, *Pushtoo.*
stræte, *a bed.*
stratum, *Lat.*
streawian, *to strew.*
sternere, *Lat.*
streow, *straw.*
stramentum, *Lat.*
style, *steel.*
stali, *Copt.*
succan, *to suck.*
sugere, *Lat.*
suga, *a sow.*
συς.
sus, *Lat.*
sul, *a plough.*
suli, *Pers.*
sulcus, *a furrow, Lat.*
sum, *some.*
suman, *a little, Arab.*
sunu, *a son.*
sunus, *Lithuan.*
sur, *sour.*
seesa, *Loochoo.*
sutere, *a cobbler.*
sutor, *Lat.*
swa, *so.*
se, *also, Copt.*
swift, *swift.*
sufuce, *Arab.*
sufya, *ib.*
swige, *silence.*
sukut, *Arab.*
syn, *sin.*

Ta, *the toe.*
teb, *a finger, Copt.*
tale, *opprobrium, calumny.*
tale, *erring, Arab.*
talan, *plunder, Pers.*
tela, *well.*
talske, *health, Copt.*
telan, *to tell, to count.*
tale, *to add, Copt.*
tem, *a yoke of oxen.*
tom, *to join, Copt.*
tendan, *to take fire.*
tan, *fire, Welsh.*
temmo, *to burn, Copt.*
teoche, *a leader.*
duce, *Lat.*

thanne, *then.*
tunc, *Lat.*
thec, *a covering.*
tectum, *Lat.*
thecan, *to cover*
tegere, *Lat.*
thinman, *to thin.*
tenuare, *Lat.*
thin, *thin.*
tenuis, *Lat.*
thre, *three.*
tres, *Lat.*
thregian, *to torture.*
torquere, *Lat.*
thrym, *a crowd.*
turma, *Lat.*
thu, *thou.*
tu, *Lat.*
thunian, *to thunder.*
thunerian, *to thunder.*
tonare, *Lat.*
tim, *time.*
tempus, *Lat.*
tiny, *small, Engl.*
tina, *little, Gallas.*
tithian, *to grant.*
tei, *to give, Copt.*
to, *to.*
ta, *Pers.*
top, *the summit.*
top, *to raise up, Copt.*
toor, *a mountain, ib.*
torr, *a tower.*
torrea, *Basq.*
turris, *Lat.*
trog, *he drew.*
traxit, *Lat.*
tu, *two.*
duo, *Lat.*
δυο.
turtl, *a turtle-dove.*
turtur, *Lat.*
twig, *a twig.*
togi, *a plant, Copt.*
tyman, *to summon*
tame, *to make known, Copt.*
tigh, *a tye.*
tighing, *to tye, New Caled.*

Upon.

upper.
pur, *upon, Pushtoo.*

Weg, *a way.*
via, *Lat.*
wæltan, *to turn round.*
volutare, *Lat.*
wær, *a man.*
wiras, *Lith.*
vir, *Lat.*
wæs, *water.*
wushu, *a river Agow.*
wai, *water, New Zeal.*
waha, *Amharic.*
wakka, *Insu.*
weoduco, *a widow.*
vidua, *Lat.*
wesan, *to be.*
wusiou, *Pushtoo.*
will, *the will.*
volitio, *Lat.*
voluntas, *ib.*
willan, *to will.*
velle, *Lat.*
win, *wine.*
vinum, *Lat.*
well, *well.*
elo, *New Caled.*
wind, *the wind.*
ventus, *Lat.*
wynstre, *the left.*
sinister, *Lat.*
wist, *food.*
victus, *Lat.*
word, *a word.*
wardas, *Lith.*
verbum, *Lat.*
wyrm, *a worm.*
vermis, *Lat.*
wul, *wool.*
ulea, *Basq.*

Ynce, *an inch.*
uncia, *Lat.*
yndsa, *an ounce.*
uncia, *Lat.*
ymen, *a hymn.*
hymnus, *Lat.*
yrre, *anger.*
ira, *Lat.*

The following affinities occur with the Anglo-Saxon for SUN, in many of the languages of the globe:

SUNNAN, SUNA,	The Sun.		
Sohun,	Tongouse.	Schwun,	Nertschink.
Sohains,	Arabic (1).	Siguni,	Iakouzk.

(1) In Arabic, sanat is a year, and sanan is clear; both obviously alluding to the term sun for that luminary.

Gjon,	Nogai Turk.	Sorre,	Hottentot.
Sonne,	German.	Suria,	Java.
Sunne,	Swiss.	Seeno,	Nias, Sumatra.
Sinne,	Frisian.	Singhar,	Sumbava.
Zon,	Dutch.	Senang,	Mindanao.
Sunno,	Meso Gothic.	Singa,	Ile de Paw.
Solntze,	Russian.	Siare,	New Guinea.
Sountze,	Slavonian.	Somanlu,	Chimanos, Brazil.
Sountze,	Croatian.	Saache,	Mexos.
Sontze,	Wendish.	Schakore,	Panis.
Slountze,	Bohemian.	Sah,	Chippeway.
Slontze,	Polish.	Sa,	Tacouillies.
Schonde,	Permian.	Channo,	Kinai.
Schundy,	Wotiak.	Sackanach,	Greenland.
Siuna,	Ostiack.	Succanuk,	Greenland.
Siunk,	Ostiack, Lumpokel.	Schekenak,	Tchouktche, Asiat.
Set,	Serere.	Tschikinuk,	Tchouktche, Americ.

PERSIAN, ZEND, and PEHLVI affinities.

Since I printed the fourth edition of this work, the probable derivation of the Saxon race from the regions near the Caspian led me to examine what affinities existed between the Asiatic languages in these parts, and the Anglo-Saxon. The Hon. Mr. Keppel calls the country where the ancients placed the Sacæ and Sacassani, and which he visited, "the beautiful province of Karabaugh." It lies between the Arras and the Kur, which are the ancient Araxes and Cyrnus, near the northern parts of Persia. His travels induced me to compare the Anglo-Saxon language with the Persian, and afterwards with the Zend, the earliest speech that is known to have been used in Persia, and also with the Pehlvi, which succeeded it there. The result of the comparison was, that I found 162 words in the MODERN PERSIAN, 57 in the ZEND, and 43 in the PEHLVI, so similar in sound and meaning, to as many in the Anglo-Saxon, as to confirm the deduction of the progenitors of our ancestors from the regions of ancient Asia. I sent the list to the Royal Society of Literature, and the communication has been printed in Part 2. of the second volume of their Transactions.

ARABIC AFFINITIES.

I proceeded afterwards to inspect the Arabic language; and on comparing the Anglo-Saxon with the ARABIC, the following 148 affinities occurred:

Saxon.	Arabic.
sel, *good.*	salih, *good.*
sibb, *peace.*	sabb, *loving.*
sac, *strife.*	sakhb, *tumult.*
sefa, *intellect.*	sufi, *wise.*
leogan, *to lye.*	lay, *lying.*
leg, *flame.*	layak, *flame.*
hlithe, *quiet.*	lim, *peace.*
leoman, *to shine.*	lamah, *shining.*
lufa, *love.*	laha, *love.*
lippa, *a lip.*	lab, *the lip.*
lust, *luxury.*	lazzat, *pleasure.*
hlyd, *tumult.*	lud, *altercation.*
list, *knowledge.*	lasan, *eloquence.*
na, *a dead body.*	nafs, *the body.*
næcan, *to kill.*	nikayat, *killing.*
nacod, *naked.*	nakad, *peeling.*

Saxon.	Arabic.
nama, *a name.*	namus, *fame.*
neah, *nigh.*	nawb, *near.*
hæl, *an omen.*	halij, *dreaming.*
hador, *serene.*	hadu, *tranquillity.*
hare, *hoary.*	harim, *an old man.*
ist, *is.*	hast, *is.*
isa, *ice.*	husr, *ice.*
hund, 100.	hand, 100.
merran, *to err.*	marick, *deviating.*
merra, *a seducer.*	murai, *a hypocrite.*
mirran, *to offend.*	murahhat, *provoked.*
mori, *a marsh.*	murabit, *standing water.*
missian, *to err.*	musi, *a sinner.*
mist, *a mist.*	mushtabih, *obscure.*
mal, *a speech.*	mulhat, *a saying.*
mal, *a stain.*	malam, *disgrace.*
milc, *milk.*	milka, *pap for infants.*
mild, *mild.*	malik, *mild.*
menan, *to mean.*	manwi, *intended.*
mytha, *a limit.*	mita, *a boundary.*
mel, *time.*	milat, *time.*
mædful, *benign.*	maad, *tender.*
mæcian, *to make.*	makhiz, *a bringing forth.*
mara, *the night-mare.*	maraz, *falling sick.*
mara, *greater.*	mar, *a lord.*
mæra, *lofty.*	marod, *proud.*
mal, *tribute.*	mal, *riches.*
murcnian, *to murmur.*	mutkidan, *to murmur.*
matu, *malignant.*	muttazir, *criminal.*
mod, *the mind.*	mudukat, *the intellect.*
mægthe, *a young woman.*	makhdur, *a matron.*
myrth, *joy.*	marah, *cheerful.*
myrnan, *to mourn.*	marhun, *pitied.*
marc, *a mark.*	maram, *marked.*
mearu, *tender.*	marfak, *gentle.*
beorht, *bright.*	barikat, *bright.*
burg, *a castle.*	buruj, *a castle.*
basing, *a rich cloak.*	bizzat, *a dress of honor.*
bered, *vexed.*	barh, *distress.*
beorth, *birth.*	baraa, *creating.*
bysmor, *infamy.*	bazia, *shameless.*
bita, *a morsel.*	bit, *provisions.*
scearan, shearan, } *to sheer.*	sharz, *cutting.*
scearp, shearp, } *sharp.*	sharish, *sharp.*
sceocca, sheocca, } *the devil.*	shaki, *wicked.*
sciman, shiman, } *to shine.*	shams, *the sun.*
sceawian, sheawian, } *to see.*	shuwan, *the eye.*
seman, *to adjust a dispute.*	samn, *adjusting.*
sceap, sheap, } *sheep.*	sha, *sheep.*
sceotan, sheotan, } *to shoot.*	shatu, *a shoot.*
scama, shama, } *shame.*	shiman, *modesty.*
sceam, sheam, } *a disgrace.*	shamit, *malicious.*
sceat, sheat, } *a part.*	shatey, *a share.*

Saxon.	Arabic.
sceale, shealc, *a servant.*	shakkat, *a boy.*
scacan, shacan, *to shake.*	shakkaz, *tottering.*
thinan, *to vanish, to become thin.*	tanazzur, *becoming small.*
tinterg, *torment.*	tinkan, *punishment.*
thiret, *a hole.*	tirak, *a cleft.*
thearf, *poor.*	tarh, *poverty.*
tam, *mild.*	tamanu, *humane.*
tingnysse, *eloquence.*	tanj, *expression.*
tilian, *to study.*	talyat, *reading.*
tille, *quiet.*	tulunni, *lazy.*
til modig, *mild.*	talyim, *mitigating.*
seoc, *sick.*	sikat, *languid.* sakun, *sick.*
swift, *swift.*	sufuw, *swift.*
ysla, *a spark.*	azz, *fire.*
hleo, *a refuge.*	ihlaj, *hiding.*
ær, *brass.*	ayar, *brass.*
aide, *help.*	ida, *assistance.*
tæl, *reproach.*	tilka, *blame.*
tælan, *to blame.*	talwin, *reprehending.*
tær, *a tear.*	tarafuz, *tears flowing.*
tælg, *a branch.*	taalab, *a tree.*
teiss, *affliction.*	taassur, *sadness.* tahazzur, *grief.*
tir, *a prince.*	tarah, *high.*
tir, *glory.*	tawrim, *proud.*
tan, *a shoot.*	tandigh, *flowering.*
yrre, *fury.*	irr, *fire.*
yrfe, *inheritance.*	irs, *inheritance.*
orf, *cattle.* oxa, *an ox.*	urkh, *a bullock.*
ar, *wealth.*	arzak, *riches.*
eard, *the earth.*	arz, *the earth.*
earm, *poor.*	armat, *poor.*
clæmian, *to clam.*	iklaf, *gluing.*
climan, *to climb.*	iklawla, *climbing.*
ælan, *to flame.*	ilak, *flashing.*
atelic, *base.*	atir, *a crime.* atlas, *a stain.*
aful, *a fault.*	affak, *a lyar.*
afylan, *to be contaminated.*	uffat, *a coward.*
an, *in.*	an, *in.*
ancor, *an anchor.*	anjar, *an anchor.*
anda, *rancour.*	indagh, *doing evil.*
sifer, *pure.*	safi, *pure.*
sælth, *prosperity.*	sulwat, *content.*
sigan, *to fall.*	sakut, *falling.*
swig, *silence.*	sukat, *silence.*
sefa, *intelligence.*	shafin, *intelligent.*
siofotha, *chaff.*	safa, *dust.*
siftan, *to sift.*	safsafat, *sifting.*
syb, *peace.*	sabt, *rest.*
sac, *contention.*	sakhinat, *rage.*
surig, *sour.*	surkua, *sour wine.* surbat, *sour milk.*
sad, *a halter.*	saad, *strangling.*
salt, *salt.*	salt, *sharp.*
sal, *black.*	silab, *a black habit.*
sith, *a path.* sid, *a side.*	sawda, *a path.*

Saxon.	Arabic.
sum, *some.*	suman, *a little.*
bacan, *to cook.*	bukhtag, *cooked.*
beorna, *a man.*	barnasa, *man.*
balew, *depraved.*	balas, *wicked.*
balo, *evil.*	baliyah, *evil.*
beal, *destruction.*	bala, *a misfortune.*
bald, *bold.*	baltayi, *bold.*
belewita, *simple.*	balahat, *foolish.*
beado, *cruelty.*	badawi, *fierce.*
beado, *battle.*	badad, *sallying to battle.*
bild, *a bill.*	bildan, *a blunt sword.*
bold, *a town.*	baldat, *a city.*
byan, *to inhabit.*	bingain, *a dwelling.*
ang-breost, *asthma.*	anh, *breathing hard.*
enge, *anguish.*	inkas, *injuring.* inghas, *making life painful.*
anesum, *troublesome.*	inkas, *injuring.*
anfeng, *he took.*	anfal, *plunder.*
anfindan, *to seize.*	anfaktan, *to acquire.*
andèaw, *arrogant.*	anfan, *haughty.*
unan, *to give.*	ihna, *giving.*
wuda, *wood.*	ud, *wood.*
waa, *sorrow.*	awwat, *sorrow.*
wa, *wo.*	awwah, *a sigher.*
wa! *alas!*	awwat, awah, *alas!*
wog, wo, *crooked.*	awad, *crooked.*

HEBREW AFFINITIES.

Instead of putting the Hebrew words in the orthography of their modern onunciation, which, in many, differs according to the class of the Jews o express or spell them, I will only insert their written letters. The wels omitted in their writing are supplied in their enunciation, as in ny of the Eastern languages.

Saxon.	Hebrew.
sacc, *a bag.*	sk, *a bag.*
sæd, *an halter.*	sd, *a fetter.*
slæan, *to strike.*	slh, *he struck down.*
senian, *to sign.*	smn, *to sign,* Σημεῖον.
sefa, *the mind.*	sàph, *thoughts.*
seofian, *to mourn.*	sphd, *he mourned.*
sip, sup (English).	sap, *to sup.*
searo, *an instrument of war.*	srh, *a breast plate.*
sur, *sour.*	sar, *leaven.*
sib, *peace.*	sbt, *quiet.*
sceap, sheap, *sheep.*	sha, *a lamb.*
secgan, *to say.*	soh, *to speak.*
say (English).	sih, *discourse.*
secan, *to seek.*	sok, *he desired.*
cwellan, *to kill.*	clh, *to be consumed.*
clusa, *a prison.* clam, *a fetter.*	cla, *to shut up.*
hol, *a hole.*	hll, *to make a hole.*
leg, *flame.* leht, *light.*	lht, *flame.*
lystan, *I wish.*	lo, *I wish.*
lehan, *to lend.*	loh, *he lent.*
liccian, *to lick.*	lhk, *to lick.* lkk, *he licked.*

Saxon.	Hebrew.
meltan, *to melt.*	mhh, *to melt.*
mæl, *a part.*	ml, *to divide, to cut off.*
milescian, *to soothe.*	mlts, *to be soothing.*
mil, *among.*	mhl, *to mingle.*
mildsian, *to pity.* / mildse, *mercy.*	mlits, *a mediator.*
lac, *a present.*	lak, *a messenger.*
calo (calvus), *bald.*	chlk, *bald.*
can, *I can.*	cal, *I can.*
are, *honor.*	ira, *revering.*
fæger, *fair.*	ifh, *fair.*
ys, *is.*	is, *is.*
man, *a crime.*	man, *a vice.*
morn, / morhgen, *to-morrow.*	mhr, *to-morrow.*
hidd, *hidden.*	chd, *he hid.*
naman, *to name.*	nam, *he spoke.*
cnocian, *to knock, to beat.*	nkh, *to strike.*
hwæte, *wheat.*	hth, *wheat.*
to be ill (Engl.).	hlh, *to be ill.*
tor, *a tower.*	tir, *a tower.*
will, *will.*	ial, *will.*
win, *wine.*	iin, *wine.*
cydung, *chiding.*	ikh, *to chide.*
tired (English).	trh, *he tired himself.*
feohtan, *to fight.*	phtl, *to struggle.*
sid, *a side.*	tsd, *aside.*
sælth, *prosperity.*	tslh, *prosperous.*
cald, *called.*	kol, *voice.*
samod, *together.*	tsmd, *assembled.*
cyst, *a case, a chest.*	csh, *to cover*
cist, *benignity.*	csd, *benignity.*
crawan, *to crow.* / to cry out (English).	cra, *he called,*
rarian, *to roar.* / ream, *noise.*	ràm, *to thunder.*
reafran, *to plunder.*	trf, *to plunder.*
reosan, *to rush.*	ràsh, *to move, to shake.*
dropian, *to drop.*	ràp, *to drop.*
setan, *to place.*	sot, *he placed.*
scyan, *to suggest.*	skoi, *a thought.*
scylan, *to distinguish.* / skill (English).	skl, *the intellect.*
sæcg, *a small sword.*	scn, *a knife.*
socian, *to soak.*	skh, *to water.* / scoi, *drink.*
sel, *prosperity, good.*	slh, *peaceful, quiet.*
selan, *to give.*	sloh, *a gift.*
sal, *a palace.*	slt, *a ruler.*
sin, *sin.*	snah, *hatred.*
scen, / shen, *sheen.* / scerpan, / sherpan, *to sharpen.*	shnn, *to sharpen.*
seawian, / sheawian, *to behold.*	shàh, *to behold.*
shout (English).	shàt, *shout.*
sipan, *to sip.*	sph, *the lip.*
sceala, *scales.*	sel, *to weigh.*
scath, *a thief.* / sceocca, *the devil.*	sctz, *detestable.*

CHINESE AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Chinese.
leas, *false.*	la, *wicked.*
ledan, *to lead.*	leu, *to lead.*
longa, *mightily.* / langian, *to increase.*	lang, *strong.*
lea, *a place.*	lee, *to place.*
lyf, *life.*	leik, *spirit.*
man, *wickedness.*	mang, *wicked.*
minsian, *to mince, to diminish.*	min, *to pare off.*
mawan, *to mow.*	mo, *to cut.*
mod, *mind.*	mo, *diligent.*
cina, *a fissure.*	khan, *to cut.*
col, *cool.*	kop, *to freeze.*
cænnan, *to know.*	khan, *to investigate.*
monan, *to suggest.*	meen, *to persuade.*
feohtan, *to fight.*	fuh, *to strike.*
cegan, *to call.*	keaou, *to call.*
can, *I can.*	ko, *I can.*
ceapian, / cheapian, *to sell.*	chow, *to sell.*
hloh, *he laughed.*	lo, *to laugh.*
lustan, *to desire.*	lan, *to desire.*
sipan, *to sip.*	sa, *to drink.*
wo, *perversely.* / wigan, *to resist.*	woo, *refractory.*
wafran, *to be astonished, to hesitate.*	wei, *to fear.*
ange, *vexed, angry.*	hang, *angry speech.* / hung, *angry.*
wenan, *to expect.*	wan, *to ask.*
hynan, *to hinder.*	ho, *to stop.*
hoc, *hook.*	ho, *to join.*
lud, *sounding.*	luh, *sound.*
hiu, *alas!*	heu, *to moan.*
wa, *woe.*	wa, *a child's sobbing.* / wo, *a child's weeping.*
manga, *many.* / manig, *much.*	mang, *large.*
heuen, *heaven.*	heen, *heaven.*
sugan, *to suck.*	shun, *to suck.*
lud, *noise.*	laou, *noise.*
teon, *to accuse.* / teon, *slander.*	tuh, *railing.*
cnif, *a knife.*	khan, *to cut.*
shiran, *to sheer*	shan, *to sheer.*
teon, *to tug.*	tuy, *to pull with force.*
hleowan, *to low.*	leuh, *to low.*
hleo, *an asylum, a retreat.*	low, *to be concealed.*
fah, *an enemy.* / fian, *to hate.* / feond, *the devil.*	phei, *wicked.*
Cynn, *a nation.*	kin, *a multitude.*
thingan, *to harangue, to plead.*	ting, *to debate.*
hwa, *who.*	ho, *who.*
woh, *injury.*	woo, *to injure.*
cyn, *offspring.*	chin, *boys.* / keen, *a son.*
fah, *revenge.* / fah, *an enemy.*	fe, *to injure.*
tucian, *to punish.*	tuh, *to strike.*
weardian, *to guard.*	wei, *to guard.*

Saxon.	Chinese.
mor, *a marsh.*	mo, *mud.*
morth, *death.*	mo, *to die.* mae, *to bury*
dun, *a hillock.*	tun, *a hillock.*
fader, *father.*	foo, *a father.*
falu, *false.*	fei, *false.*
heafod, *the head.*	hee, *the head.*
ear, *the ear.*	urh, *the ear.*
senian, *to sign.*	shin, *to sign.*
wea, *misfortune.*	wei, *disquieted.*
heahmod, *proud.*	heaou, *proud.*
sei, *to say.*	seay, *sound.*
sugan, *to suck.*	so, *to suck.*
hæwen, *putrid.*	hew, *to smell.*
mænan, *to complain.*	ma, *to scold.*
lean, *emolument.*	leo, *profit.*
sican, *to sigh.* seofian, *to groan.*	tseay, *to sigh.*
man, *wickedness.*	man, *to ruin.*
hlyn, *noise.*	lung, *a great noise.*
sorh, *sorrow.*	tsuh, *sorrow.*
gnægan, *to gnow.*	neih, *to gnaw.*
hwearfian, *to revolve.* hweol, *a wheel.*	hwuy, *to revolve.*
etan, *to eat.*	e, *to eat.*

SANSCRIT AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Sanscrit.
yeong, *young.*	yuwan, *young.*
mænan, *to think.*	munus, *the mind.*
beon, *to be.*	bhu, *to be.*
riht, *right.*	rita, *right.*
rice, *rich.*	raih, *wealth.*
wer, *a man.*	viroh, *a man.*
cnawan, *to know.*	jna, *to know.*
hæle, *health.*	heeta, *health.*
ma, *larger.*	maha, *great.*
mod, *excited mind.*	mada, *courage.*
bald, *bold.*	bala, *strength.*
samod, *together.*	sam, *together.*
segen, *a sign.*	sanjna, *a sigh.*
man, *a man.*	monuschyo, *a man.*
cwellan, *to kill.*	kāla, *death.*
thurst, *thirst.*	torscho, *thirst.*
naddra, *a serpent.*	naga, *a serpent.*
serian, *to put in order.*	soroh, *a series.*
galan, *to sing.*	gai, *to sing.*
dance (English).	tandovan, *to dance.*
dieth, *death.*	di, *to decay.*
tam, *tame.*	damu, *tame.*
tan, *a germen.*	dhanu, *to produce.*
sceotan, sheotan, *to shoot out.*	shu, *to produce.*
lociath, *he sees.*	lokote, *he sees.*
mad (English).	madu, *to grow mad.*
findeth, *he findeth.*	findoli, *he finds.*
gan, *to go.*	ga, *to go.*
lean, *a reward.*	la, *to give.*
hænan, *to stone.*	hanu, *to slay.*
ende, *the end.*	onto, *the end.*
ys, *is.*	asu, *to be.*
toss up (English),	tasu, *to toss up.*

Saxon.	Sanskrit.
hlutan, *to bend.* / lutan, *to bend towards.*	lutu, *to roll.*
thyrstan, *to thirst.*	trishu, *thirst.*
nate, *not.*	natau, *not.*
nan, *none.*	nanyau, *no.*
in, *in.*	in, *in.*
na, *not.*	na, *not.*
nægl, *a nail.*	noko, *nail.*
etan, *to eat.*	adu, *to eat.*
iou, *you.*	yuyov, *you.*
na, *a dead body.*	nasu, *to perish.*
derian, *to hurt.*	dharu, *to hurt.*
gar, *a dart.*	guru, *to kill.*
morth, *death.*	mri, *to die.*
to lop (English).	lupu, *to lop.*
tredan, *to bruise.*	tridu, *to injure.*
beran, *to bear.*	bhri, *to bear.*
teran, *to tear.*	dri, *to tear.*
thecan, *to cover.*	the, *to covet.*
middle, *middle.*	modyoh, *middle.*
ioc, *a yoke.*	yugon, *a yoke.*
wefan, *to weave.*	ve, *to weave.*
son, *sound.*	savanu, svonoh, *sound.*
grædan, *to cry.*	cridan, *to cry.*
teon, *injury.*	tu, *to injure.*
bindan, *to bind.*	bhandu, *to bind.*
læssa, *less.*	ilasu, *to grow less.*
uppe, *upon.*	upo, *upon.*
yte, *out.* / uter, *outer.*	itaru, *out.*
lustan, *to desire.*	luha, *to covet.*
wiscan, *to wish.*	vasu, *to wish.*
liccian, *to lick.*	ilahu, *to lick.*
sadian, *to be weary.*	sadu, *to wither.*
wudewe, *a widow.*	vidohva, *a widow.*
eacan, *to add, to increase.*	akshu, *to heap up.*
habban, *to have.*	aapu, *have.*
moder, *mother.*	matu, *mother.*
cu, *a cow.*	ge, *a cow.*
brother, *brother.*	bhratri, *brother.*
teran, *to tear.*	tari, *to tear.*
swuster, *sister.*	savasri, svostro, *sister.*

There are many other affinities between the Sanscrit and the Anglo-Saxon.

GEORGIAN AFFINITIES.

The following similarities of some words in the Anglo-Saxon with the Georgian language may deserve our notice:

Saxon.	Georgian.
batho, *a bath.*	abano, *a bath.*
bald (English).	belathi, *bald.*
dæg, *a day.*	adi, *a day.*
alæcgan, *to place.*	alaghi, *a place.*
æled, *fire.*	alehi, *fire.*
mægan, *power.*	amaghlela, *fullness.*
angel, *a hook.*	anghisari, *a hook.*
anda, *rancour.*	andamari, *calamity.*

Saxon.	Georgian.
anælan, *to inflame.*	anthe, *to inflame.*
aglæ, *sorrow.*	aklia, *sorrow.*
arleas, *vile.*	areule, *abomination.*
ase, *as.*	asre, *thus.*
bar, *barren.*	barzi, *barren.*
diglian, *to hide.*	dagule, *to shut up.*
ele, *oil.*	eleo, *oil.*
erming, *miserable.*	eremo, *a desert.*
theoden, *a lord.*	thaadi, *a noble.*
theowian, *to minister.*	thaascham, *to minister.*
med, *a reward.*	madili, *a benefit.*
mædful, *courteous.*	madlieri, *courteous.*
maga, *powerful.*	megali, *great.*
mal, *tribute.*	mali, *tribute.*
mal, *a stain.*	malo, *bad.*
martha, *great deeds.*	martheb, *to conquer.*
sace, *a sack.*	sako, *a sack.*
team, *a posterity.*	tomi, *a nation.*
wyrcian, *to work.*	vich, *to work.*
win, *wine.*	vino, *wine.*
win-beam, *a vine.*	venachi, *a vine.*
delay (English).	dila, *to adjourn.*
tumbian, *to dance.*	thamascio, *to dance.*
cat, *a cat.*	kata, *a cat.*
mænan, *to mean.*	mene, *interpret.*
na, *a dead body.*	nakodi, *slaughter.*
næcan, *to kill.*	
seoc, *sick.*	sikduili, *pestilence.* sichudli, *death.*
sawl, *the soul.*	suli, *the soul.*
sop, *a sop.*	supa, *a sop.*
locian, *to look.*	loca, *the cheek.*
lippa, *the lip.*	lasci, *the lips.*
talian, *to narrate, to speak.* talk (English).	talkmazi, *comedy.*
uuerse, *worse.*	uuaresi, *worse.*
wyrse, *worse.*	uuaruar, *to make worse.*
outcry (English). ut, *out.* gecrangan, *to howl.*	uthchar, *to cry out.*
fet, *foot.*	futkari, *from the foot.*
forc, *a fork.*	furka, *a pitchfork.*
gan, *to go.*	gauilib, *to go away.* gauli, *to go by.*
cleopian, *to call out.*	galob, *to roar out.*
sceacul, *a shackle.*	sceikrua, *to bind.* scekrua, *a shackle.*
scuwa, scua, } *a shade.*	sciau, *black.*
sefa, *the intellect.*	cheva, *the intellect.*
sæ, *the sea.*	zea, *the sea.*
sucan, *I suck.*	zueni, *I suck.*
cyst, *kindness.*	chesileba, *kindness.* chesilis, *good.*
to gingle (English).	gingili, *chains.*

MALAY AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Malay.
rum, *a place.*	rooma, *a house.*
ec, *I.*	ako, *I.*
that, *that.*	ethoo, *that.*
boc, *book.*	bacha, *to read.*

Saxon.	Malay.
beran, *to endure.*	bear, *to suffer.*
samod, *all together.*	samoa, *all together.*
same, *like.*	samaa, *like as.*
scinan, *to shine.*	sinar, *sun's rays.*
bæran, *to bear.*	bava, *to bear.*
bendan, *to bend.*	benko, *bent.*
tan, *a shoot.*	toonar, *to blossom.*
boren, *born.*	beranak, *born.*
bunda, *bundles.*	booncoos, *a bundle.*
a bunch (English).	boongkoot, *a bunch.*
bi, *by.*	bah, *by.*
cæppe, *a cap.*	capala, *the head.* / copea, *a hat.*
same, *like.*	samaian, *to compare.*
morth, *dead.*	maoot, *death.*
emtig, *empty.*	ampex, *empty.*
gleam, *splendour.* / glomung, *the dawn.*	gomelung, *glitter.*
bolla, *a bowl.* / ball (English).	boolat, *a round ball.*
lappa, *a lap.*	lipat, *a lap.*
marm, *marble.*	marmar, *marble.*
tellan, *to tell.*	teleleecan, *to tell.* / telelee, *to publish.*
moder, *mother.*	ma, *mother.*
nama, *name.*	nama, *name.*
ne, *not.*	nen, *not.*
to cut (English).	catan, *to reap.*
to pay (English).	bayar, *to pay.*
cidan, *to quarrel.*	chidera, *to quarrel.*
scoe, *shoe.*	caoos, *shoe.*
sec, *sick.*	sakit, *sick.*
sweopan, *to sweep.*	sapoo, *to sweep.*

COPTIC AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Coptic.
heal, *a hall.*	aule, *a hall.*
heafod, *the head.*	aphe, *the head.*
leccian, *to lick.*	legh, *to lick.*
mere, *the sea.*	mer, *over sea.*
morth, *death.*	mou, *death.*
net, *a net.*	nebd, *a net.*
sage, *wise.*	sabe, *wise.*
sefa, *the mind.*	sabo, *to learn.*
sedan, *to sow.*	set, *to sow.*
sægan, *to say.*	sagi, *a speech.*
son, *a sound.*	sensen, *a sound.*
stænan, *to stone.*	setoni, *to stone.*
sættan, *to sit.*	set, *the tail.*
slide, *a sliding.*	slad, *a sliding.*
sacc, *a sack.*	soc, *a sack.*
style, *steel.*	stali, *steel.*
sot, *a sot.*	so, *drink.*
con, *he knew.* / cunnan, *to know.*	conon, *to know.*
hal, *healthy.*	talso, *health.*
boh, *a bough.*	bai, *a bough.*
hol, *a hole.*	chol, *a hole.*
fot, *a foot.*	phat, *a foot.*
fæther, *a feather.*	phet, *to fly.*
heah, *high.*	hi, *above.*
moder, *mother.*	maau, *mother.*

Saxon.	Coptic.
hap (English).	haps, *necessary.*
inne, *in.*	en, *in.*
nu, *new.*	dnou, *new.*
fæder, *father.*	phiod, *father.*
ne, *not.*	ne, *nor.*

MANTCHOU AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Mantchou.
ing, *a meadow.*	ing, *a field.*
icton, *they added.*	iktar, *a heap.*
ombiht, *a servant.*	ombi, *to work.*
late, *late.*	lata, *late.*
mine, *mine.*	mini, *of me.*
me, *me.*	mim, *me.*
sage, *wise.*	sa, *know.*

JAPANESE AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Japanese.
maga, *a kinsman.*	mago, *a nephew.*
car, *care.*	cocorogage, *care.*
sur, *sour.*	su, *vinegar.*
gos, *a goose.*	gan, *a goose.*
haccan, *to cut.*	haka, *a knife.*
ancer, *an anchor.*	icari, *an anchor.*
nemnan, *to name.*	notamai, *to name.*
ac, *an oak.*	qi, *a tree.*
sand, *sand.*	suna, *sand.*
sulh, *a plough.*	sugi, *I plough.*
byrnan, *to burn.*	aburi, *to roast.*
morth, *death.*	moja, *a dead body.*
cæg, *a key.*	cagui, *a key.*
thecan, *to cover.*	togi, *I shut up.*
merran, *to err.*	maioi, *to err.*
easy (English).	ysui, *easy.*
sudden (English).	sudeni, *instantly.*
yrre, *angry.*	icari, *anger.*
swinc, *labour.*	xinco, *labour.*
teoche, *a leader.*	taisco, *a leader.*
rowan, *to row.*	ro, *an oar.*

CARIBBEE AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Caribbee.
salt, *salt.*	salou, *salt.*
inne, *in.*	one, *in.*
eaga, *the eye.*	acou, *the eye.*
hæp, *adapted.*	apatara, *to adapt.* (*apto.*)
leoma, *rays of light.*	illeme, *fire.*
car, *the ear.*	aricae, *the ear.*

TURKISH AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Turkish,
beon, *to be.*	buden, *to be.*
methle, *a speech.*	megele, *a question.*
bearn, *a son.*	ibnun, *a son.*
er, *a male agent.*	er, *a man.*
æwe, *a wife.*	æwret, *a woman.*
ægh, *an eye.*	æjn, *an eye.*
eorthe, *earth.*	erz, *earth.*
rad, *a road.*	reh, *a way.*
eom, *I am.*	um, *I am.*
synd, *ye are.*	synuz, *ye are.*

SUSOO.

Saxon.	Susoo.
barm, *a bay.*	ba, *the sea.*
beran, *to bear.*	beri, *to bear.*
bat, *a boat.*	ba, *to row.*
beorcan, *to bark.*	bare, *a dog.*
bog, *a branch.*	boge, *fruit.* / boge, *to grow to fruit.*
buruh, *a city.* / bord, *a house.* / bur, *a chamber.*	bore, *a neighbour.*
buan, *to inhabit.*	bu, *to continue.*
borian, *to bore.*	bo, *to split.*
bulgian, *to bellow.*	bula, *to make a rumbling noise.*
byldan, *to strengthen.* / byldo, *firmness.*	balang, *strong, hard.*
me, *me.*	em, *me.*
dynt, *a blow.*	ding, *to strike.*
fyr, *fire.*	furi, *heat.*
dynan, *to feed.*	dong, *to eat.*
helan, *to cover.*	geli, *to shut.*
ea, *water.*	ie, *water.*
dyfan, *to dive.*	dulan, *to dive.*
leoht, *light.*	iling, *light.*
losian, *to lose.*	loe, *to lose.*
new, *new.*	nene, *new.*
sape, *soap.*	safung, *soap.*
wilnian, *to desire.*	whuli, *desire.*
henan, *to stone.*	gene, *to stone.*
gar, *a dart.*	geri, *fighting.*
siwian, *to sow.*	she, *to sow.*
to cut (English).	khuo, *to cut.*
mædful, *benign.*	madunduhe, *meek.* / madididu, *to be quiet.*
na, *not.*	na, *not.*

ANGOLA.

Saxon.	Angola.
cwæth, *he saith.*	quiae, *you say.*
munan, *to think.*	muenho, *the mind.*
mal, *speech.*	milonga, *words.*
mamma (English).	mama, *mother.*

Of the affinities which occur in other languages, I have not at present ne to collect more than the following:

AFFINITIES WITH THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

Saxon.	Tonga.
fir, *fire.*	afi, *fire.*
anan, *to give.*	angi, *to give.*
andget, *the mind.*	anga, *the mind.*
afyran, *to take away.*	ave, *to take away.*
bigan, *to bend.*	bico, *crooked.*
blawan, *to blow.*	boohi, *to blow.*
cald, *called* / clypian, *to call out.*	calanga, *to roar out.*
feon, *to hate.*	fehia, *to hate.*
feohtan, *to fight.*	fetaagi, *to fight.*
figan, *to have enmity.*	fege, *controversy.*
gnawan, *to gnaw.*	gnow, *to chew.*
hiw, *the appearance.*	ha, *to appear.*
helan, *to hide.*	lilo, *to conceal.*

Saxon.	Tonga.
læfel, *a level.*	lafa, *flat.*
læran, *to exhort.*	lea, *speech.*
læf, *a leaf.*	lo, *a leaf.*
leoman, *to shine.*	laa, *sunshine.*
lot, *cunning.*	loto, *mind.*
leoh, *he scolded.*	low, *to discourse.*
lar, *teaching.*	
lyden, *speech.*	
lithian, *to soothe.*	loho, *to pay.*
leogan, *to lye.*	lohi, *falsehood.*
luh, *a lake.*	loo, *a pit.*
hlynn, *noise.*	longoa, *noise.*
lime, *lime.*	lehe, *lime.*
leod, *people.*	lahi, *many.*
muth, *the mouth.*	ma, *a mouthful, to chew.*
meca, *a sword.*	machela, *sharp.*
mona, *the moon.*	mæhina, *the moon.*
mal, *a stain.*	mala, *ill luck.*
mal, *a speech.*	malanga, *a speech.*
mild, *mild.*	malo, *rest.*
mænan, *to think.*	manatoo, *to bethink, to consider.*
manig, *many.*	manoo, *ten thousand.*
mæra *a boundary.*	maoo, *a boundary.*
morth, *death.*	mate, *death.*
meltan, *to melt.*	moloo, *soft.*
æled, *fire.*	oloo, *flame.*
ombeht, *a servant.*	omi, *to bring, to fetch.*
ongean, *again.*	onga, *an echo.*
ongalan, *to sing.*	onga, *sound.*
pol, *a pole.*	pale, *to push with poles.*
	pale vaca, *the poles.*
hiscan, *to hiss.*	sisi, *to hiss.*
talian, *to tell.*	tala, *to tell.*
tallic, *blameable.*	talahooi, *impudent.*
tama, *a boy.*	team, *offspring.*
teon, *to drag.*	to ho, *to drag.*
togan, *to go away.*	too goo, *to quit.*

LAPLAND AFFINITIES.

Saxon.	Lapland.
aide, *help.*	aide, *a favour.*
helig, *holy.*	ailes, *holy.*
on, *one.*	aina, *only.*
onlu, *only.*	
ær, *brass.*	air, *brass.*
ar, *an oar.*	airo, *an oar.*
asce, *ashes.*	aiset, *to flame.*
	aisanet, *to burn.*
acer, *a field.*	aker, *a field.*
acennan, *to bring forth.*	akk, *pregnant, a fœtus.*
æcse, *an axe.*	aksjo, *an axe.*
oxa, *an ox.*	wuoxa, *an ox.*
alda, *old.*	alder, *age.*
ær, *early.*	aret, *early.*
arbi, *inheritance.*	arbe, *patrimony.*
arian, *to spare.*	arjot, *to spare.*
arm, *wretched.*	armes, *miserable.*
bacan, *to bake.*	bakot, *to bake.*
bar, *bare.*	baros, *manifest.*
	bara, *only.*
beorce, *the birch.*	barko, *the birch bark.*

Saxon.	Lapland.
bearn, *son.*	barne, parne, *a son.*
batho, *a bath.*	bart, *a bath.*
biddan, *to pray.*	biddet, *to pray.*
bera, *a bear.*	bire, *a bear.*
bita, *a bit.*	bitta, *a bit.*
biter, *bitter.*	bittjes, *bitter.*
blac, *pale.*	blackok, *pale.*
blæd, *fruit, a branch, a blade.*	blade, *a leaf.*
blendian, *to mix.*	blandet, *to mix.*
bleo, *colour.*	blaw, *blue.*
blæc, *black.*	blekk, *black.*
bonda, *a husband.*	bond, *a husband.*
bræchme, *noise.*	brakkohem, *noise.*
brid, *a bride.*	brudes, *a bride.*
brucæn, *to use.*	brukot, *to use.*
brym, *the sea.*	broun, browe, *the sea.*
bod, *a precept.* bude, *he commands.*	buda, *a precept.*
bord, *a table.*	buorde, *a table.*
borian, *to bore.*	baret, *to bore.*
bygan, *to buy.* byrga, *a creditor.*	bargal, *a merchant.*
banc, *a bench.*	bank, *a bench.*
dochter, *daughter.*	daktar, *daughter.*
deor, *dear.*	deuras, *dear.*
dæd, *a deed.*	did, *a custom.*
dæma, *a judge.*	dobmar, *a judge.*
dom, *judgment.*	dobmo, *judgment.*
duua, *a dove.*	duwo, *a dove.*
ac, *an oak.*	eik, *an oak.*
ece, *eternal.*	ekewe, *eternal.*
false, *false.*	falske, *false.*
fang, *a captive.*	fang, *a captive.*
fare, *a journey.*	faro, *emigration.*
fat, *a vessel.*	fatte, *the stomach of animals used as vessels for liquor.*
feger, *fair.*	fauro, *fair.*
fedæn, *to feed.*	fedo, *nutriment.* fedet, *to nourish.*
fægnian, *to rejoice.*	fegen, *rejoicing.*
feohtan, *to fight.*	fiktet, *to fight.*
frith, *peace.*	fred, *peace.*
freo, *free.*	frije, *free.*
frea, *a lord.*	frua, *a lady.*
folgian, *to follow.*	fuljet, *to follow.*
folc, *people.*	fuolke, *people.*
feond, *the devil.*	fuodno, *the devil.*
first, *the first.*	forsta, *a prince.*
got, *a goat.*	gaits, *a goat.*
græss, *grass.*	grase, *grass.*
græf, *a grave.*	graupe, *a ditch.*
growend, *growing.*	gruonas, *flourishing.*
gold, *gold.*	gulle, *gold.*
hæg, *a hedge.*	hagæn, *a hedge.*
healdan, *to hold.*	haldet, *to hold.*
hoc, *hook.*	hakan, *hook.*
ham, *a house.*	heima, *a house.*
hiw, *the look.*	heiwe, *the look.*
hell, *Tartarus.*	helwet, *Tartarus*
hafoc, *a hawk.*	hauka, *a hawk.*

Saxon.	Lapland.
hera, *a lord.*	herr, *a lord.*
hentan, *to pursue.*	hinnet, *to follow.*
horu, *a strumpet.*	hora, *a strumpet.*
horingas, *adulterers.*	horawuot, *adultery.*
hoga, *care.*	hugso, *care.*
haccan, *to hack.*	hakkatet, *to kill.*
hige, *mind.*	hagga, *life.*
hælo, *health.*	halso, *good health.*
hale wese, *save you!*	halsalet, *to salute.*

There are many more affinities besides these between the Lapland and the Anglo-Saxon, which I omit, that I may not overburthen the attention of the reader. As the Laplandish is a branch of the Hunnish stock, which came latest into Europe, its affinities with the Saxon indicate a consanguinity from primeval ancestry which concurs with the rest to corroborate the ideas before mentioned of the original unity and subsequent dispersion of mankind.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

MONEY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The statements mentioned in Domesday-book are stated in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, exactly as our pecuniary calculations are now made. Twenty shillings constitute a pound, and a shilling is composed of twelve pence. The same computation occurs elsewhere. Elfric, in his translation of Exodus (1), adds, of his own authority, "They are twelve scythinga of twelve pennies;" and in the monies mentioned in the Historia Eliensis, edited by Gale, we find numerous passages which ascertain that a pound consisted of twenty shillings. Thus, three hides were sold by a lady to an abbot for a hundred shillings each. The owner is afterwards said to have come to receive the fifteen pounds. When seven pounds and a half only had been paid, the ealdorman asked the abbot to give the lady more of her purchase money. At his request the abbot gave thirty shillings more; thus, it is added, he paid her nine pounds. On another occasion the money agreed for was thirty pounds. One hundred shillings were received, and twenty-five pounds were declared to remain due (2).

The Saxon money was sometimes reckoned by pennies, as the French money is now by livres. Thus, in one charta, three plough-lands are conveyed for three thousand pennies. In another, eighty acres were bought for three hundred and eighty-five pennies. In another one thousand four hundred and fifty pennies occur (3).

The name for money, which is oftenest met with in the charters, is the mancus. On this kind of money we have one curious passage of Elfric: he says, five pennies make one shilling, and thirty pennies one mancus (4). This would make the mancus six shillings. The passage in the laws of Henry the First intimates the same (5). Two passages in the Anglo-Saxon laws seem to confirm Elfric's account of the mancus being thirty pennies; or an ox is valued at a mancus in one, and at thirty pence in another (6).

But there is an apparent contradiction in five pennies making a shilling, if twelve pennies amounted to the same sum. The objection would be unanswerable, but that, by the laws of Alfred, it is clear that there were two sorts of pennies, the greater and the less; for the violation of a man's borg was to be compensated by five pounds, mærra peninga, of the *larger* pennies (7).

(1) Chap. xxi. 10. (2) 3 Gale, Script. p. 473.; and see 485. 488.
(3) Astle's MS. Chart. Nos. 7. 22. 28.
(4) Hickes, Diss. Ep. 109. and Wan. Cat. MS. 113.
(5) Debent reddi secundum legem triginta solidi ad Manbotam, id est, hodie 5 mancæ Wilk. p. 265. So p. 249.
(6) Wilk. p. 66. and 126. Yet this passage is not decisive, because the other accompanying valuations do not correspond. (7) Ibid. 35.

The mark is sometimes mentioned; this was half a pound, according to the authors cited by Du Fresne (1); it is stated to be eight ounces by Aventinus (2).

The money mentioned in our earliest law consists of shillings, and a minor sum called scætta. In the laws of Ina, the pening occurs, and the pund as a weight. In those of Alfred the pund appears as a quantity of money, as well as the shilling and the penny; but the shilling is the usual notation of his pecuniary punishments. In his treaty with the Danes, the half-mark of gold, and the mancus, are the names of the money; as is the ora in the Danish compact with Edward. In the laws of Athelstan, we find the thrymsa, as well as the shilling and the penny; the scætta and the pund. The shilling, the penny, and the pound, appear under Edgar. The ora and the healf-marc pervade the Northumbrian laws. In the time of Ethelred, the pound is frequently the amount of the money noticed. The shilling and penny, the healf-marc, and the ora, also occur (3).

The Anglo-Saxon wills that have survived to us mention the following money: In the archbishop Elfric's will we find five pundum, and fifty mancusan of gold (4). In Wynflæd's will, the mancæs of gold, the pund, the healfes pundes wyrthne, and sixty pennega wyrth, are noticed. In one part she desires that there should be put, in a cup which she bequeaths, healf pund penega, or half a pound of pennies. In another part she mentions sixteen mancusum o. red gold; also thirty penega wyrth (5).

In Thurstan's will, twelf pund be getale occurs. In Godric's we perceive a mark of gold, thirteen pounds, and sixty-three pennies (6). In Byrhtric's will, sixty mancos of gold and thirty mancys goldes are mentioned; and several things are noticed, as of the value of so many gold mancus. Thus, a bracelet of eighty mancysan goldes, and a necklace of forty mancysa; a hand secs o: three pounds is also bequeathed, and ten hund penega (7).

In Wulfar's will, the mancus of gold is applied in the same way to mark the value of the things bequeathed, and also to express money (8). The mancus of gold is the money given in Elfhelm's will; in Dux Elfred's, pennies; in Ethelwryd, both pennies and the pund occur. In Athelstan's testament we find the mancosa of gold, the pund of silver, the pund be getale, and pennies (9).

In the charters we find pennies, mancusa, pounds, shillings, and sicli, mentioned. In one we find one hundred sicli of the purest gold (10); and in another, four hundred sicli in pure silver (11). In a third, fifteen hundred of shillings in silver are mentioned, as if the same with fifteen hundred sicli (12). The shilling also at another time appears as if connected with gold, as seventy shillings of auri obrizi (13). Once we have two pounds of the purest gold (14). The expressions of pure gold, or the purest gold, are often added to the mancos.

That the pound was used as an imaginary value of money, is undoubted. One grant says, that an abbot gave in money quod valuit, what was of the value of one hundred and twenty pounds (15). Another has four pounds of

(1) Du Fresne, Gloss. ii. p. 437.
(2) Ann. Boi. lib. vi. p. 524.
(3) See Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Sax. passim.
(4) MS. Cott. Claud. B. 6. p. 103.
(5) Hickes, Gram. Præf.
(6) Hickes, Diss. Ep. 29, 30.
(7) Ibid. p. 51.
(8) Ibid. p. 51.
(9) Sax. Dict. App.
(10) The late Mr. Astle's MS. Charters, No. 10.
(11) App. to Bede, p. 770.
(12) MS. Claud. C. 9.
(13) Mr. Astle's Charters, No. 28. b.
(14) Ibid. p. 25.
(15) MS. Claud. C. 9.

lic-wyrthes feos (1), which means money or property agreeable to the party receiving it. We read also of fifteen pounds of silver, gold, and chattels (2); also sixty pounds in pure gold and silver (3). Sometimes the expression occurs, which we still use in our deeds, "One hundred pounds of *lawful money* (4)."

As no Anglo-Saxon gold coins have reached modern times, though of their silver coinage we have numerous specimens, it is presumed by antiquaries that none were ever made. Yet it is certain that they had plenty of gold, and it perpetually formed the medium of their purchases and gifts. My belief is, that gold was used in the concerns of life, in an uncoined state (5), and to such a species of gold money I would refer such passages as these: fifty "mancussa asodenes gold," "sexies viginti marcarum auri pondo," "appensuram novem librarum purissimi auri juxta magnum pondus Normannorum," "eighty mancusa auri purissimi et sex pondus electi argenti," "duo uncias auri." I think that silver also was sometimes passed in an uncoined state, from such intimations as these: "twa pund mere hwites seolfres," and the above mentioned "sex pondus electi argenti." The expressions that pervade Domesday-book imply, in my apprehension, these two species of money, the coined and the uncoined. Seventy libras pensatis, like two uncias auri, are obviously money by weight. But money ad numerum, or arsurum, I interpret to be coined money; also the pund be getale. The phrases, sex libras ad pensum et arsuram et triginta libras arsas et pensatas, appear to me to express the indicated weight of coined money. The words arsas and arsuram I understand to allude to the assay of coin in the mint.

Whether the mancus was, like the pund, merely a weight, and not a coin, and was applied to express, in the same manner as the word pound, a certain quantity of money, coined or uncoined, I cannot decide; but I incline to think that it was not a coin. Indeed there is one passage which shows that it was a weight, "duas bradiolas aureas fabrefactus quæ pensarent xlv mancusas (6)." I consider the two sorts of pennies as the only coins of the Anglo-Saxons above their copper coinage, and am induced to regard all their other denominations of money as weighed or settled quantities of uncoined metal (7).

That money was coined by the Anglo-Saxons in the octarchy, and in every reign afterwards, is clear from those which remain to us. Most of them have the mint-master's name. It does not appear to me certain, that they had coined money before their invasion of England, and conversion.

It was one of Athelstan's laws, that there should be one coinage in all the king's districts, and that no mint should be outside the gate. If a coiner was found guilty of fraud, his hand was to be cut off, and fastened to the mint smithery (8). In the time of Edgar, the law was repeated, that the king's coinage should be uniform; it was added, that no one should refuse it, and that it should measure like that of Winchester (9). It has been men-

(1) Heming. Chart. p. 180. (2) 3 Gale, p. 410.
(3) Heming. Chart. p. 8. (4) Ingulf, p. 35.
(5) One coin has been adduced as a Saxon gold coin. See Pegge's Remains. But its pretensions have not been admitted.
(6) Heming. Chart. p. 86.
(7) It is the belief of an antiquarian friend, who has paid much attention to this subject, that even the Saxon scyllinga was a nominal coin; as he assures me no silver coin of that value has been found which can be referred to the Saxon times.
(8) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 59. (9) Ibid. p. 78.

tioned of Edgar, that finding the value of the coin in his reign much diminished by the fraud of clipping, he had new coins made all over England.

We may add a few particulars of the coins which occur in Domesday-book. Sometimes a numeration is made very similar to our own, as 11*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Sometimes pounds and sometimes shillings are mentioned by themselves. In other places some of the following denominations are inserted :

Una marka argenti,
Tres markas auri,
Novem uncias auri,
c solidos et unam unciam auri,
xxiv libras et unciam auri,
xx libras et unam unciam auri, et un. marcum,
xxv libras ad pond,
l libras appretiatas,
xiv libras arsas et pensatas, et v libras ad numerum,
cvi libras arsas et pensatas, et x libras ad numerum,
xxii libras de alb. denariis, ad pensum hujus comitis,
xvi libras de albo argento,
xlvii libras de albo argento xvi denariis minus,
xxiii lib. denar. de xx in ora,
xv lib. de xx in ora,
iii solid. de den. xx in ora, et xxvi denar. ad numerum,
v oris argenti,
i denarium,
i obolum,
i quadrantem,
viii libras et xx denar. (1).

It seems reasonable to say, that such epithets as purissimi auri, and asodenes gold, that is, melted gold, refer to money paid and melted.

But if the Saxon silver coins were only the larger and smaller pennies, what then was the scyllinga? In the translation of Genesis, the word is applied to express the Hebrew shekels (2). In the New Testament, thirty

(1) The meaning of arsas and arsuram, as applied to money, is explained in the Black Book of the Exchequer to be the *assay* of money. The money might be sufficient in number and weight, yet not in quality. It by no means followed that twenty shillings, which constituted a pound weight, was, in fact, a pound of silver, because copper or other metal might be intermixed when there was no examination. For this reason, the books say that the bishop of Salisbury instituted the arsura in the reign of Henry the First. It is added, that if the examined money was found to be deficient above sixpence in the pound, it was not deemed lawful money of the king. Liber Niger Scacarii, cited by Du Cange, Gloss. 1. p. 343. The bishop cannot, however, have invented the arsura in the reign of Henry, because Domesday-book shows that it was known in the time of the Conqueror. In Domesday-book it appears that the king had this right of assay only in a few places. Perhaps the bishop, in a subsequent reign, extended it to all money paid into the exchequer.

An intelligent friend has favoured me with the following extract from Domesday: "Totum manerium T. R. E. et post valuit xl libras. Modo similiter xl lib. Tamen reddit l lib. ad arsuram et pensum, quæ valent lxv lib." Domesday, vol. i. fo. 15. b. This passage seems to express, that 65*l.* of coined money was only worth 50*l.* in pure silver, according to the assay of the mint. Whether this depreciation of the coin existed in the Saxon times, or whether it followed from the disorders and exactions of the Norman conquest, I have not ascertained.

(2) See Genesis, in Thwaite's Heptateuch.

pieces of silver, which the Gothic translates by the word SIA»BKIN, or silver, the Saxon version calls (1) scyllinga.

The etymology of the word scyllinga would lead us to suppose it to have been a certain quantity of uncoined silver; for, whether we derive it from scylan, to divide, or sceale, a scale, the idea presented to us by either word is the same; that is, so much silver cut off, as in China, and weighing so much.

I would therefore presume the scyllinga to have been a quantity of silver, which, when coined, yielded five of the larger pennies, and twelve of the smaller.

The Saxon word scæt or sceat, which occurs in the earliest laws as a small definite quantity of money, is mostly used to express money generally. I would derive it from sceat, a part or division; and I think it meant a definite piece of metal originally in the uncoined state. The sceat and the scyllinga seem to have been the names of the Saxon money in the Pagan times, before the Roman and French ecclesiastics had taught them the art of coining.

The value of the scæt in the time of Ethelbert would appear, from one sort of reasoning, to have been the twentieth part of a shilling. His laws enjoin a penalty of twenty scyllinga for the loss of the thumb, and three scyllinga for the thumb-nail. It is afterwards declared that the loss of the great toe is to be compensated by ten scyllinga, and the other toes by half the price of the fingers. It is immediately added, that for the nail of the great toe thirty sceatta must be paid to boot (2).

Now as the legislator expresses that he is estimating the toes at half the value of the fingers, and shows that he does so in fixing the compensation of the thumb and the great toe, we may infer, that his thirty sceattas for the nail of the great toe were meant to be equal to half of the three scyllinga which was exacted for the thumb-nail. According to this reasoning, twenty sceatta equalled one scyllinga.

About three centuries later, the scætta appears somewhat raised in value, and to be like one of their smaller pennies; for the laws of Æthelstan declare thirty thousand scætta to be cxx punda (5). This gives two hundred and fifty sceatta to a pound, or twelve and a half to a scyllinga. Perhaps, therefore, the sceat was the smaller penny, and the pening, properly so called, was the larger one.

We may be curious to enquire into the etymology of the pening. The word occurs for coin in many countries. In the Franco-theotisc, it occurs in Otfrid as (4) pfenning; and on the continent one gold pfenning was declared to be worth ten silver pfennings (5). It occurs in Icelandic, in the ancient Edda, as penning (6).

The Danes still use penge as their term for money or coin; and if we consider the Saxon penig as their only silver coin, we may derive the word from the verb punian, to beat or knock, which may be deemed a term applied to metal coined, similar to the Latin, cudere (7).

(1) Matthew, xxvii. 3.
(2) Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 6.
(3) Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72.
(4) It is used by Otfrid, l. 3. c. 14. p. 188.
(5) I. Alem. prov. c. 299. cited by Schilter in his Glossary, p. 657.
(6) Ægis drecka, ap. Edda Sæmundi, p. 168.
(7) Schilter has quoted an author who gives a similar etymology from another language, "Pænings nomine pecunia tantum numerata significat, a päna, quod est cudere, signare." Gloss. Teut. p. 657.

That the Anglo-Saxons did not use coined money before the Roman ecclesiastics introduced the custom, is an idea somewhat warranted by the expression they applied to coin. This was mynet, a coin, and from this, mynetian, to coin, and mynetere, a person coining. These words are obviously the Latin moneta and monetarius; and it usually happens that when one nation borrows such a term from another, they are indebted to the same source for the knowledge of the thing which it designates.

An expression of Bede once induced me to doubt if it did not imply a Saxon gold coin. He says that a lady, foretelling her death, described that she was addressed in a vision by some men, who said to her, that they were come to take with them the aureum numisma (meaning herself) which had come thither out of Kent. This complimentary trope Alfred translates by the expressions, gyldene mynet (1).

The passage certainly proves, that both Bede and Alfred knew of gold coins; and it certainly can be hardly doubted, that when gold coins circulated in other parts of Europe, some from the different countries would find their way into England. The use of the word aureos, in the Historia Eliensis, implies gold coin (2); and that coins called aurei were circulated in Europe, is clear from the journal of the monks who travelled from Italy to Egypt in the ninth or tenth century. In this they mention that the master of the ship they sailed in charged them six aureos for their passage (3). But whether these aurei were those coined at Rome or Constantinople, or were the coins of Germany or France, or whether England really issued similar ones from its mint, no authority, yet known, warrants us to decide.

That the pennies of different countries varied in value, is proved by the same journal. Bernard, its author, affirms that it was then the custom of Alexandria to take money by weight, and that six of the solidi and denarii, which they took with them, weighed only three of those at Alexandria (4).

The silver penny was afterwards called, in the Norman times, an esterling, or sterling; but the time when the word began to be applied to money is not known (5).

There has been a variety of opinions about the value of the Saxon pound (6). We have proof, from Domesday, that in the time of the Confessor it consisted of twenty solidi or shillings. But Dr. Hickes contends that the Saxon pound consisted of sixty shillings (7), because, by the Saxon law in Mercia, the king's were gild was one hundred and twenty pounds, and amounted to the same as six thegns, whose were was twelve hundred shillings each (8). And certainly this passage has the force of declaring that the king's were was seven thousand two hundred shillings, and that these were equivalent to one hundred and twenty pounds; and according to this passage, the pound in Mercia contained sixty shillings. Other authors (9) assert that the pound had but forty-eight shillings.

(1) Bede, l. 3. c. 8. and Transl. p. 531.
(2) L aureos, p. 485. x aureos, ib. lxxx aureis, p. 484. c aureos, p. 486.
(3) See before, p. 104. (4) See before, p. 104.
(5) The laws of Edward I. order the penny of England to be round without clipping, and to weigh thirty-two grains of wheat, in the middle of the ear. Twenty of these were to make an ounce, and twelve ounces a pound. Spelm. Gloss. p. 241.
(6) The Welsh laws of Hoel dda use punt or pund as one of their terms for money. They have also the word ariant, which means literally silver, and ceiniawg, both these seem to imply a penny. See Wotton's Leges Wallicæ, p. 16. 20, 21. 27. Their word for a coin is bath. (7) Hickes, Dissert. Ep. p. 111.
(8) Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72. (9) As Camden, Spelman, and Fleetwood.

We have mentioned that a scyllinga, or shilling, consisted of five greater pennies, or of twelve smaller ones. But in the time of the Conqueror the English shilling had but four pennies: "13 solz de solt Engleis co est quer deners (1)." This passage occurs in the Conqueror's laws. It has been ingeniously attempted to reconcile these contradictions, by supposing that the value of the shilling was that which varied, and that the pound contained sixty shillings of four pennies in a shilling, or forty-eight shillings of five pennies in a shilling (2). To which we may add, twenty shillings of twelve pence in a shilling. These different figures, respectively multiplied together, give the same amount of two hundred and forty pennies in a pound. Yet though this supposition is plausible, it cannot be true, if the shilling was only a nominal sum, like the pound, because such variations as these attach to coined money, and not the terms merely used in numeration.

The styca, the helfling, and the feorthling, are also mentioned. The styca and feorthling are mentioned in a passage in Mark. "The poor widow threw in two stycas, that is, feorthling peninges, or the fourth part of a penny (3)." The helfling occurs in Luke: "Are not two sparrows sold for a helflinge (4)?" We cannot doubt that these were copper monies.

The thrymsa is reckoned by Hickes to be the third part of a shilling, or four pence (5). Yet the passage which makes the king's were thirty thousand sceatta, compared with the other which reckons it as thirty thousand thrymsa (6), seems to express that the thrymsa and the scætta were the same.

On this dark subject of the Anglo-Saxon coinage, we must however confess, that the clouds which have long surrounded it have not yet been removed. The passages in Alfred's and in the Conqueror's laws imply that there were two sorts of pennies, the mærra or bener pennies, and the smaller ones. We have many Anglo-Saxon silver coins of these species; but no others.

Some ecclesiastical persons, as well as the king, and several places, had the privilege of coining. In the laws of Ethelstan, the places of the mints in his reign are thus enumerated:

"In Canterbury there are seven myneteras; four of the king's, two of the bishop's, and one of the abbot's.

"In Rochester there are three; two of the king, and one of the bishop.

In London eight,
In Winchester six,
In Lewes two,
In Hastings one,
Another in Chichester,
In Hampton two,
In Wareham two,
In Exeter two,
In Shaftesbury two,
Elsewhere one in the other burgs (7)."

(1) Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 221. In the copy of these laws in Ingulf, p. 89., the expression is quer *bener* deners, or four better pennies.
(2) Clarke's preface to Wotton's Leges Wallicæ.
(3) Mark, chap. xii. 42.
(4) Luke, chap. xii. 6.
(5) Hickes, Diss. Ep.
(6) Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72. and 71.
(7) Ibid. p. 59.

In Domesday-book we find these monetarii mentioned :

Two at Dorchester,
One at Bridport,
Two at Wareham,
Three at Shaftesbury.

Each of these gave to the king twenty shillings and one mark of silver when money was coined.

The monetarii at Lewes paid twenty shillings each.

One Suetman is mentioned as a monetarius in Oxford.

At Worcester, when money was coined, each gave to London fifteen shillings for cuneis to receive the money.

At Hereford there were seven monetarii, of whom one was the bishop's. When money was renewed, each gave eighteen shillings, pro cuneis recipiendis; and for one month from the day in which they returned, each gave the king twenty shillings, and the bishop had the same of his man. When the king went into the city, the monetarii were to make as many pennies of his silver as he pleased. The seven in this city had their sac and soc. When the king's monetarius died, the king had his heriot: and if he died without dividing his estate, the king had all.

Huntingdon had three monetarii, rendering thirty shillings between the king and comes.

In Shrewsbury the king had three monetarii, who, after they had bought the cuneos monetæ, as other monetarii of the country, on the fifteenth day gave to the king twenty shillings each; and this was done when the money was coining.

There was a monetarius at Colchester.

At Chester there were seven monetarii, who gave to the king and comes seven pounds extra firman, when money was turned (1).

(1) For these, see Domesday-book, under the different places.

In April 1817, a ploughman working in a field near Dorking, in Surrey, struck his plough against a wooden box which was found to contain nearly seven hundred Saxon silver coins, or pennies, of the following kings :

Ethelweard of Wessex,	16	Edmund E. Angl.	2
Ceolulf of Mercia,	1	Ethelstan Do.	3
Biornwulf Do.	1	Ceolneth A. B. Cant.	86
Wiglaf Do.	1	Eegbeorht Wess.	20
Berhtulf Do.	23	Ethelwulf,	265
Burgred Do.	1	Ethelbearth,	249
		Pepin K. of Soissons,	1

with about forty more that were dispersed. See Mr. T. Coombe's letter in Archol. V. xix. p. 110.

But the Annals of the coinage, by the late Rev. R. Ruding, give the best account and plates of the Anglo-Saxon coins.

Since this work was published, about the beginning of this year, 1820, a number of old silver coins, nine silver bracelets, and a thick silver twine, were found by a peasant, on digging a woody field in Bolstads Socked, in Sweden. Of the legible coins, eighty-seven were Anglo-Saxon ones. Eighty-three of these bear the date of 1005, and are of king Ethelred's reign: and two of them of his father's, king Edgar. The king of Sweden has purchased them; and they are now deposited in the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities at Stockholm.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

THE HISTORY OF THE LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

To trace the principles on which the laws of various nations have been formed, has been at all times an interesting object of intellectual exertion; and as the legislation of the more polished periods of a states is much governed by its ancient institutions, it will be important to consider the principles on which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers framed their laws to punish public wrongs, and to redress civil injuries.

There are three characters of transgression, under which the objectionable actions of mankind may be classed : VICES, CRIMES, and SIN.

They are frequently intermingled, and rarely stand distinct. Each commonly leads to the others, and they are repeatedly seen to run into each other. But by a more exact discrimination of their individual nature, and of their general character, we may consider those actions more peculiarly as VICES, which injure the well-being of the individual, without being intentionally directed against the welfare of others;—those as CRIMES, which unjustly invade the life, property, liberty, and happiness of our fellow creatures;—and those as SIN, which are offences committed against our Maker, or in violation of His promulgated laws and revealed will, or which are considered and represented by Him to have this displeasing and dangerous character in His estimation; of which He alone is the proper judge, and on which we can know nothing but from HIS information.

SIN is the proper subject of the consideration of the religious instructor and philosopher; and VICES, of the ethical treatises of the moral reasoner. But CRIMES are the express objects of all human legislation. It is against them that laws are more especially made ; and to repress them is the main principle and primary cause of all human government.

The Deity Himself takes cognizance of SIN ; appoints its punishment, and provides its remedies. VICES chastise themselves by the disgrace and evil which they always, in time, produce, by their own agency, on those who will practise them. But CRIMES have every where, by the common consent of all mankind, in all ages, and from an experienced conviction of the necessity or expediency of the reprehension, been taken out of individual liberty and choice, and made, by special laws, the subjects of decided prohibition, of personal infamy, of social aversion, and of penal suffering.

Nations have, indeed, at different periods of their political course, marked different actions with their legislative brand; and neither the censure nor the deterring severity has been the same in every country of our many-peopled globe. But in all, some actions have been stamped as

crime by their unwritten or written law; and of these, FOUR descriptions of human offence have been universally, more or less, forbidden and punished.

These four offences, which have been every where considered as crimes, though often with some modifications, varying with the manners of the age and place, are HOMICIDE, PERSONAL INJURIES, THEFT, and ADULTERY; and we shall select these as the fittest heads under which we can exhibit the main principles of the criminal law of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

Their Laws on Homicide.

The principle of pecuniary punishment distinguishes the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and of all the German nations. Whether it arose from the idea, that the punishment of crime should be attended with satisfaction to the state, or with some benefit to the individual injured, or his family, or his lord; or whether, in their fierce dispositions and warring habits, death was less dreaded as an evil than poverty; or whether the great were the authors of most of the crimes committed, and it was easier to make them responsible in their property than in their lives, we cannot at this distant era decide.

The Saxons made many distinctions in HOMICIDES. But all ranks of men were not of equal value in the eye of the Saxon law, nor their lives equally worth protecting. The Saxons had therefore established many nice distinctions in this respect. Our present legislation considers the life of one man as sacred as that of another, and will not admit the degree of the crime of murder to depend on the rank or property of the deceased. Hence a peasant is now as secured from wilful homicide as a nobleman. It was otherwise among the Saxons.

The protection which every man received was a curious exhibition of legislative arithmetic. Every man was valued at a certain sum, which was called his were; and whoever took his life, was punished by having to pay this were.

The were was the compensation allotted to the family or relations of the deceased for the loss of his life. But the Saxons had so far advanced in legislation, as to consider homicide as a public as well as private wrong. Hence, besides the redress appointed to the family of the deceased, another pecuniary fine was imposed on the murderer, which was called the wite. This was the satisfaction to be rendered to the community for the public wrong which had been committed. It was paid to the magistrate presiding over it, and varied according to the dignity of the person in whose jurisdiction the offence was committed; twelve shillings was the payment to an eorl, if the homicide occurred in his town, and fifty were forfeited to the king if the district were under the regal jurisdiction (1).

In the first Saxon laws which were committed to writing, or which have descended to us, and which were established in the beginning of the 7th century, murder appears to have been only punishable by the were and the wite, provided the homicide was not in the servile state. If an esne, a slave, killed a man, even "unsinningly," it was not, as with us, esteemed an excusable homicide; it was punished by the forfeiture of all that he

(1) Wilkins, Leg. Saxon. p. 2, 3.

was worth (1). A person so punished presents us with the original idea of a felon; we consider this word to be a feo-lun, or one divested of all property.

In the laws of Ethelbert the were seems to have been uniform. These laws state a meduman leod-gelde, a general penalty for murder, which appears to have been 100 shillings (2). The differences of the crime arising from the quality of the deceased, or the dignity of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction it occurred, or the circumstances of the action, were marked by differences of the wite rather than of the were. The wite in a king's town was fifty shillings; in an earl's twelve. If the deceased was a freeman, the wite was fifty shillings to the king as the drichtin, the lord or sovereign of the land. So, if the act was done at an open grave, twenty shillings was the wite; if the deceased was a ceorl, six shillings was the wite. If a læc killed the noblest guest, eighty shillings was the wite; if the next in rank, sixty; if the third, forty shillings (3).

The wite and the leod-gelde were to be paid by the murderer from his own property, and with good money. But if he fled from justice, his relations were made responsible for it (4).

The Saxon law-makers so far extended their care as to punish those who contributed to homicide by introducing weapons among those who were quarrelling. Twenty shillings composed the wite (5).

The usual time for the payment of the wite and were is not stated; but forty days is mentioned in one case as the appointed period (6).

As the order and civilization of the Anglo-Saxon society increased, a greater value was given to human life, and the penalties of its deprivation were augmented.

The first increase of severity noticed was against the esne, the servile. Their state of subjection rendered them easy instruments of their master's revenge; and it was therefore found proper to make some part of their punishment extend to their owner. Hence, if any man's esne killed a man of the dignity of an eorl, the owner was to deliver up the esne, and make a pecuniary payment adequate to the value of three men. If the murderer escaped, the price of another man was exacted from the lord, and he was required to show by sufficient oaths that he could not catch him. Three hundred shillings were also imposed as the compensation. If the esne killed a freeman, one hundred shillings were the penalty, the price of one man, and the delivery of the homicide; or if he fled, the value of two men, and purgatory oaths (7).

A succeeding king exempted the killer of a thief from the payment of his were (8). This, however, was a mitigation that was capable of great abuse, and therefore Ina required oath that the thief was killed "sinning," or in the act of stealing, or in the act of flying on account of the theft (9).

Humanity dictated further discrimination. A vagrant in the woods, out of the highway, who did not cry out or sound his horn (probably to give public notice of his situation), might be deemed a thief, and slain (10); and the homicide, by affirming that he slew him for a thief, escaped all penalties. It was, however, wisely added, that if the fact was concealed, and

(1) Wilkins, p. 7.
(2) Ibid. p. 2.
(3) Ibid. p. 1—7.
(4) Ibid. p. 3.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid. p. 7, 8.
(8) Ibid. p. 12.
(9) Ibid. p. 17. 20.
(10) Ibid. p. 12.

not made known till long time after, the relations of the slave should be permitted to show that he was guiltless (1). Mistake or malice was further guarded against by requiring that where a homicide had killed the thief in the act of flying, yet if he concealed the circumstance he should pay the penalties (2). The concealing was construed to be presumptive proof of an unjustifiable homicide. Modern law acts on a similar presumption, when it admits the hiding of the body to be an indication of felonious discretion in an infant-murderer, between the age of seven and fourteen.

In the days of Ina, the were, or protecting valuation of an individual's life, was not uniform. The public were arranged into classes, and each class had an appropriated were.

Rank and property seem to have been the criterion of the estimation. The were of some in Ina's time was thirty shillings; of others, 120; of others, 200 (3). The same principle of protection, and of discriminating its pecuniary valuation, was applied to foreigners. The were of a Welshman, who was proprietor of a hide of land, was 120 shillings; if he had but half that quantity, it was 80; and if he had none, it was 60 (4). Hence it appears, that the wealthier a man was, the more precious his life was deemed. This method of regulating the enormity of the crime by the property of the deceased, was highly barbarous. It diminished the safety of the poor, and gave that superior protection to wealth which all ought equally to have shared.

The were, or compensatory payment, seems to have been made to the relations of the defunct. As the exaction of the wite, or fine to the magistrate, kept the crime from appearing merely as a civil injury, this application of the were was highly equitable. But if the deceased was in a servile state, the compensation seems to have become the property of the lord. On the murder of a foreigner, two-thirds of the were went to the king, and one-third only to his son or relations: or, if no relations, the king had one half, and the gild-scipe, or fraternity to which he was associated, received the other (5).

The curious and singular social phenomenon of the gild-scipes, we have already alluded to. The members of these gilds were made to a certain degree responsible for one another's good conduct. They were, in fact, so many bail for each other. Thus, in Alfred's laws, if a man who had no paternal relations killed another, one-third of the were of the slain was to be paid by the maternal kinsmen, and one-third by the gild; and if there were no maternal kinsmen, the gild paid a moiety. On the other hand, the gild had also the benefit of receiving one-half the were, if such a man of their society was killed (6).

The principle of making a man's society amenable for his legal conduct was carried so far, that by Ina's law, every one who was in the company where a man was killed, was required to justify himself from the act, and all the company were required to pay a fourth part of the were of the deceased (7).

The same principle was established by Alfred in illegal associations. If any man with a predatory band should slay a man of the valuation of twelve hundred shillings, the homicide was ordered to pay both his were

(1) Wilkins, p. 18. (2) Ibid. p. 20. (3) Ibid. p. 25.
(4) Ibid. p. 20. (5) Ibid. p. 18. (6) Ibid, p. 41.
(7) Ibid. p. 20.

and the wite, and every one of the band was fined thirty shillings for being in such an association. If the guilty individual were not avowed, the whole band were ordered to be accused, and to pay equally the were and the wite (1).

The Anglo-Saxons followed the dictates of reason in punishing in homicide those whom we now call accessories before the fact. Thus, if any one lent his weapons to another to kill with them, both were made responsible for the were. If they did not choose to pay it in conjunction, the accessory was charged with one third of the were and the wite (2). A pecuniary fine was imposed on the master of a mischievous dog (3).

Excusable homicide was not allowed to be done with impunity. If a man so carried a spear as that it should destroy any individual, he was made amenable for the were, but excused from the wite (4).

Thus stood the laws concerning murder, up to the days of Alfred. The compact between his son Edward and Guthrun made a careful provision for the punctual payment of the were. The homicide was required to produce for this purpose the security of eight paternal and four maternal relations (5).

In the reign of Edmund, an important improvement took place. The legal severity against murder was increased on the head of the offending individual; but his kindred were guarded from the revenge of the family of the deceased. If the full were was not discharged within twelve months, the relations of the criminal were exempted from hostility, but on the condition that they afforded him neither food nor protection. If any supported him, he became what would now be termed an accessory after the fact; he forfeited to the king all his property, and was also exposed to the enmity of the relations of the deceased. The king also forbad any wite or homicide to be remitted (6). And whoever revenged an homicide on any other than the criminal, was declared the enemy of the king and his own friend, and forfeited his possessions. The reason alleged by the sovereign for these and his other provisions was, that he was weary of the unjust and manifold fights which occurred (7). The object was to extinguish that species of revenge which became afterwards known under the name of deadly feud. This was the fæhthe, the enmity which the relations of the deceased waged against the kindred of the murderer.

Though the wite was all the penalty that society exacted to itself for murder, and the were all the pecuniary compensation that was permitted to the family, yet we must not suppose that murder was left without any other punishment. There seems reason to believe, that what has been called the deadly feud existed amongst them. The relations of the deceased avenged themselves, if they could, on the murderer or his kinsmen. The law did not allow it. The system of wites and weres tended to discountenance it, by requiring pecuniary sacrifices on all homicides, and of course on those of retaliation as well as others. But as all that the law exacted was the fine and the compensation, individuals were left at liberty to glut their revenge, if they chose to pay for it.

But this spirit of personal revenge was early restricted. Ina's laws imposed a penalty of thirty shillings, besides compensation, if any one took

(1) Wilkins, p. 40. (2) Ibid. p. 39. (3) Ibid. p. 40.
(4) Ibid. p. 42. (5) Ibid. p. 54. (6) Ibid. p. 73, 74.
(7) Ibid. p. 73.

his own revenge before he had demanded legal redress (1). So Alfred's laws enjoined, that if any one knew that his enemy was sitting at home, yet that he should not fight with him until he had demanded redress; but he might shut his adversary up, and besiege him for seven days if he could. If at the expiration of this time the person would surrender himself, he was to have safety for thirty days, and to be given up to his friends and relations. The ealdorman was to help those who had not power enough to form this siege. If the ealdorman refused it, he was to ask aid of the king before he fought. So if any one fell accidentally in with his enemy, yet if the latter was willing to surrender himself, he was to have peace for thirty days. But if he refused to deliver up his arms, he might be fought with immediately (2).

If any one took up a thief, he not only had a reward, but the relations of the criminal were to swear, that they would not take the fæhthe, or deadly feud, for his apprehension (3). So if any one killed a thief in the act of flying, the relations of the dead man were to swear the unceastes oath; that is, the oath of no enmity, or of not taking the fæhthe (4).

Every man was ordered to oppose the warfæhthe, if he was able, or could dare to attempt it (5).

Edmund the First interfered to check this system of personal revenge, with marked severity, as before mentioned. He declared that the delinquent should bear his crime on his own head: and that if his kinsmen did not save him by paying the compensation, they should be protected from all fæhthe, provided that they afforded him neither mete nor mund, neither food nor shelter (6).

We may add some specimens of the violences which were committed in the Anglo-Saxon society in the days of Alfred, as our ancient lawyer Horne has stated them from the legal records of that period, which were subsisting in his time.

Dirling was the ally of Bardulf, and yet he came and ravished his wife, and then killed Hakensen, her father. These facts Bardulf declared himself ready to prove upon the offender by her body, or as a mayhend (maimed) man, or as a woman or a clericus ought to prove.

Cedde had a house with much corn and hay, and Wetod, his father, lived in it. But Harding came and set it on fire, and burnt Wetod in it.

Cady was living in peace, when Carlin came, and with a sword run him through the body so that he died.

One Knotting was lying maimed on his bed; another came and carried him to a water-ditch, or marl pit, and threw him into it, and there left him to die without help or sustenance.

Omond had a horse; Saxmund came and robbed him of it.

Athælf was living in peace, when Colquin came with violence, assaulted his house, and broke into it.

Darliog was also living like a quiet person, but Wiloe came and arrested him without any right, took him away, and put into stocks or in irons.

(1) Wilkins, p. 16. (2) Ibid. p. 43, 44. (3) Ibid. p. 19.

(4) Wilkins and Lye call this the unceases oath, which they interpret unmeaningly *the oath not select*. The reading of the Roff. MS. is unceastes, which is intelligible, and is obviously an expression synonymous with the unfæhtha oath mentioned in the preceding page. Both passages clearly mean, that the taker and killer of the thief were to be absolved from the fæhthe of his relations.

(5) Wilkins, p. 22. (6) Ibid. 73.

So Mainaword attacked Umbred and cut off his foot.
Olif with a weapon struck Barning, and wounded him, and
Atheling ravished Arneborough.

These are not stated as unusual actions, or as deeds of the refuse of society, but as if occurring amid the ordinary course of the offences of the day.

CHAPTER II.

Personal Injuries.

The compensation allotted to PERSONAL INJURIES, arising from what modern lawyers would call assault and battery, was curiously arranged. Homer is celebrated for discriminating the wounds of his heroes with anatomical precision. The Saxon legislators were not less anxious to distinguish between the different wounds to which the body is liable, and which, from their laws, we may infer that they frequently suffered. In their most ancient laws these were the punishments : —

The loss of an eye or of a leg appears to have been considered as the most aggravated injury which could arise from an assault; and was therefore punished by the highest fine or 50 shillings.

To be made lame was the next most considerable offence, and the compensation for it was 50 shillings.

For a wound that caused deafness, 25 shillings.

To lame the shoulder, divide the chine-bone, cut off the thumb, pierce the diaphragm, or to tear off the hair, and fracture the skull, was each punished by a fine of 20 shillings.

For breaking the thigh, cutting off the ears, wounding the eye or mouth, wounding the diaphragm, or injuring the teeth so as to affect the speech, was exacted 12 shillings.

For cutting off the little finger, 11 shillings.

For cutting off the great toe, or for tearing off the hair entirely, 10 shillings.

For piercing the nose, 9 shillings.

For cutting off the fore-finger, 8 shillings.

For cutting off the gold-finger, for every wound in the thigh, for wounding the ear, for piercing both cheeks, for cutting either nostril, for each of the front teeth, for breaking the jaw-bone, for breaking an arm, 6 shillings.

For seizing the hair so as to hurt the bone, for the loss of either of the eye-teeth, or of the middle finger, 4 shillings.

For pulling the hair so that the bone became visible, for piercing the ear or one cheek, for cutting off the thumb-nail, for the first double tooth, for wounding the nose with the fist, for wounding the elbow, for breaking a rib, or for wounding the vertebræ, 3 shillings.

For every nail (probably of the fingers), and for every tooth beyond the first double tooth, 1 shilling.

For seizing the hair, 50 scættas.

For the nail of the great toe, 30 scættas.

For every other nail, 10 scættas.

To judge of this scale of compensations by modern experience, there seems to be a gross disproportion, not only between the injury and the compensation, in many instances, but also between the different classes of

compensation. Six shillings is a very inconsiderable recompense for the pain and confinement that follow an arm or the jaw-bone broke; and it seems absurd to rank in punishment with these serious injuries the loss of a front tooth. To value the thumb at a higher price than the fingers, is reasonable; but to estimate the little finger at 11 shillings, the great toe at 10 shillings, the fore-finger at 8 shillings, the ring-finger at 6 shillings, and the middle finger at 4 shillings, seems a very capricious distribution of recompense. So the teeth seem to have been valued on no principle intelligible to us: a front tooth was atoned for by 6 shillings, an eye-tooth by 4 shillings, the first double tooth 3 shillings, either of the others 1 shilling. Why to lame the shoulder should occasion a fine of 20 shillings, and to break the thigh but 12, and the arm but 6, cannot be explained, unless we presume that the surgical skill of the day found the cure of the arm easier than of the thigh, and that easier than the shoulder (1).

Alfred made some difference in these compensations, which may be seen in his laws (2).

He also appointed penalties for other personal wrongs.

If any one bound a ceorl unsinning, he was to pay ten shillings, twenty if he whipped him, and thirty if he brought him to the pillory. If he shaved him in such a manner as to expose him to derision, he forfeited ten shillings, and thirty shillings if he shaved him like a priest, without binding him; but if he bound him and then gave him the clerical tonsure, the penalty was doubled. Twenty shillings was also the fine if any man cut another's beard off (3). These laws prove the value that was attached to the hair and the beard in the Anglo-Saxon society.

Alfred also enjoined, that if any man carrying a spear on his shoulder pierced another, or wounded his eyes, he paid his were, but not a wite. If it was done wilfully, the wite was exacted, if he had carried the point three fingers higher than the shaft. If the weapon was carried horizontally, he was excused the wite (4).

CHAPTER III.

Theft and Robbery.

Theft appears to have been considered as the most enormous crime, and was, as such, severely punished. If we consider felony to be a forfeiture of goods and chattels, theft was made felony by the Anglo-Saxons in their earliest law; for if a freeman stole from a freeman, the compensation was to be threefold; the king had the wite and all his goods (5).

The punishment was made heavier in proportion to the social rank of the offender. Thus, while a freeman's theft was to be atoned for by a triple compensation, the servile were only subjected to a two-fold retribution (6).

The punishment of theft was soon extended farther. By the laws of Wihtræd, if a freeman was taken with the theft in his hand, the king had the option of killing him, of selling him, or receiving his were (7).

(1) Wilkins, p. 4—6. In the compensation for the teeth, the injury to the personal appearance seems to have occasioned the severest punishment. The fine was heaviest for the loss of the front tooth.

(2) Wilkins, p. 44—46. (3) Ibid. p. 42. (4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 2. (6) Ibid. p. 7. (7) Ibid. p. 12.

Ina aggravated the punishment yet more. If the wife and family of a thief witnessed his offence, they were all made to go into slavery (1). The thief himself was to lose his life, unless he could redeem it by paying his were (2). Ina's law defines these kinds of offenders. They were called thieves, if no more than seven were in a body; but a collection of above seven, up to thirty-five, was a hloth; a greater number was considered as an here, or an army (3): distinct punishments were allotted to these sorts of offenders.

The Saxon legislators were never weary of accumulating severities against thieves; the amputation of the hand and foot was soon added (4). If a man's geneat stole, the master himself was subjected to a certain degree of compensation (5). A reward of ten shillings was allowed for his apprehension (6); and if a thief taken was suffered to escape, the punishment for the neglect was severe (7).

In the reign of Ethelstan, a milder spirit introduced a principle, which has continued to prevail in our criminal jurisprudence ever since, and still exists in it. This was, that no one should lose his life for stealing less than twelve pence. The Saxon legislators added, indeed, a proviso, which we have dropped: "unless he flies or defends himself (8)."

They introduced another mitigating principle, which we still attend to in practice, though not in theory; this was, that no youth under fifteen should be executed. The same exception of his flight or resistance was here also added (9); his punishment was to be imprisonment, and bail was to be given for his good behaviour. If his relations would not give the bail, he was to go into slavery. If he afterwards stole, he might be hanged (10).

The many provisions made for the public purchases of goods before witnesses, or magistrates, seem to have arisen partly from the frequency of thefts in those days, and partly from the severity with which they were punished. To escape this, it was necessary that every man, and especially a dealer in goods, should be always able to prove his legal property in what he possessed. Hence in Athelstan's laws, it is enacted, that no purchases above twenty pennies should be made outside the gate; but that such bargains should take place within the town, under the witness of the port gerefa, or some unlying man, or of the gerefas in the folc-gemot (11).

CHAPTER IV.

Adultery.

The criminal intercourse between the sexes is not punished among us as a public wrong committed against the general peace and order of society. No personal punishments, and no criminal persecutions can be directed against it, although the most trifling assault and the most inconsiderable misdemeanour are liable to such consequences. It is considered by us, if unaccompanied by force, merely as a matter of civil injury, for which the

(1) Wilkins, p. 16.
(2) Ibid. p. 17.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid. p. 18. 20.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid. p. 19.
(7) Ibid. p. 20.
(8) Ibid. p. 70.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Ibid. p. 70.
(11) Ibid. p. 58.

individual must bring an action and get what damages he can; and even this right of action is limited to husbands and fathers; and the latter sues under the guise of a fiction, pretending to have sustained an injury by having lost the service of his daughter.

Our Saxon legislators did not leave the punishment of this intercourse to the will and judgment of individuals. But they enacted penalties against it as a public wrong, always punishable when it occurred. In the amount of the penalty, however, they followed one of the great principles of their criminal legislation, and varied it according to the rank of the female. The offence with a king's maiden incurred a payment as high as to kill a freeman, which was fifty shillings (1); with his grinding servant half that sum, and with his third sort twelve shillings.

With an earl's cupbearer the penalty was twelve shillings, which was the same that attached if a man killed another in an earl's town. With a ceorl's cupbearer six shillings was the fine, fifty scættas for his other servant, and thirty for his servant of the third kind (2).

Even the poor servile esne was protected in his domestic happiness. To invade his connubial rights incurred the penalty of a double compensation (3).

Forcible violation was chastised more severely. If the sufferer was a widow, the offender paid twice the value of her mundbyrd. If she were a maiden, fifty shillings were to be paid to her owner, whether father or master, and the invader of her chastity was also to buy her for his wife at the will of her owner. If she was betrothed to another in money, he was to pay twenty shillings; and if she was pregnant, in addition to a penalty of thirty-five shillings, a further fine of fifteen shillings was to be paid to the king (4).

The next laws subjected adulterers to ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, and enjoined the banishment of foreigners who would not abandon such connections (5). The pecuniary penalties were also augmented.

The laws remained in this state till the time of Alfred, when some new modifications of correction were introduced. He governed the punishment of adultery by the rank of the husband. If he was a twelfhynd-man, the offender paid one hundred and twenty shillings. If a syxhynd-man, one hundred shillings. If a ceorl, forty shillings. This was to be paid in live property; but no man was to be personally sold for it (6).

But the most curious part of Alfred's regulations on this subject was the refinement with which he distinguished the different steps of the progress towards the completion of the crime. To handle the neck of a ceorl's wife incurred a fine of five shillings. To throw her down, without further consequences, occasioned a penalty of ten shillings; and for a subsequent commission of crime, sixty shillings (7).

But as we now allow the previous misconduct of the wife to mitigate the amount of the damages paid by the adulterer; so Alfred and his witan provided, that if the wife had transgressed before, the fines of her paramour were to be reduced an half (8).

For the rape of a ceorl's slave, five shillings were to be paid the owner,

(1) Wilkins, p. 2. (2) Ibid. p. 3. (3) Ibid. p. 7.
(4) Ibid. p. 7. (5) Ibid. p. 10. (6) Ibid. p. 37.
(7) Ibid. p. 37. (8) Ibid.

and sixty shillings for the wife. But the violence of a theow on a fellow slave was punished by a personal mutilation (1).

CHAPTER V.

The Were and the Mund.

As the WERE and the MUND are expressions which occur frequently in the Saxon laws, it may be useful to explain what they mean.

Every man had the protection of a were and the privilege of a mund. The were was the legal valuation of an individual, varying according to his situation in life.

If he was killed, it was the sum his murderer had to pay for the crime—if he committed crimes himself, it was the penalty which, in many cases, he had to discharge.

The were was therefore the penalty by which his safety was guarded, and his crimes prevented or punished. If he violated certain laws, it was his legal mulct; if he were himself attacked, it was the penalty inflicted on others. Hence it became the measure and mark of a man's personal rank and consequence, because its amount was exactly regulated by his condition in life.

The king's were geld or were payment was thirty thousand thrymsas, or one hundred and twenty pounds; an etheling's was fifteen thousand; a bishop and ealdorman's, eight thousand; a holde's and heh-gerefa's, four thousand; a thegn, two thousand, or twelve hundred shillings; a ceorl's, two hundred and sixty-six thrymsas, or two hundred shillings, unless he had five hides of land at the king's expeditions, and then his were became that of a thegn. The were of a twelfhynd-man was one hundred and twenty shillings, of a syxhynd-man was eighty shillings, and of a twyhynd-man thirty shillings (2).

A Welshman's were who had some land, and paid gafol to the king, was two hundred and twenty shillings; if he had only half a hide of land, it was eighty shillings; and if he had no land, but was free, it was seventy shillings (3).

The amount of a person's were determined even the degree of his legal credibility. The oath of a twelfhynd-man was equal to the oaths of six ceorls; and if revenge was taken for the murder of a twelfhynd-man, it might be wreaked on six ceorls (4).

To be deprived of this were was the punishment of some crimes, and then the individual lost his greatest social protection.

The MUNDBYRD was a right of protection or patronage which individuals possessed for their own benefit and that of others. The violation of it towards themselves, or those whom it sheltered, was punished with a severity, varying according to the rank of the patron. The king's mundbyrd was guarded by a penalty of fifty shillings. That of a widow of an earl's condition was equally protected; while the mund of the widow of the second sort was valued at twenty shillings, of the third sort at twelve shil-

(1) Wilkins, p. 40. (2) Ibid. p. 25. 71, 72. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.

lings, and of the fourth sort at six shillings. If a widow was taken away against her consent, the compensation was to be twice her mund. The penalty of violating a ceorl's mund was six shillings (1). This privilege of the mund seems to be the principle of the doctrine, that every man's house is his castle.

The mund was the guardian of a man's household peace, as the were was of his personal safety. If any one drew a weapon where men were drinking, and the floor was stained with blood, besides forfeiting to the king fifty shillings, he had to pay a compensation to the master of the house for the violation of his mundbyrd (2).

CHAPTER VI.

Their Borh, or Sureties.

The system of giving sureties, or bail to answer an accusation, seems to have been coeval with the Saxon nation, and has continued to our times. In one of our earliest laws, it was provided that the accused should be bound over by his sureties to answer the crime of which he was accused, and to do what the judges should appoint.

If he neglected to find bail, he was to forfeit twelve shillings (3). These bail were not to be taken indiscriminately; for the laws of Ina enact, that the bail might be refused if the magistrate knew that he acted right in the refusal (4).

Felonies are not bailable now; in the Anglo-Saxon times it was otherwise.

If a man was accused of theft, he was to find borh, or sureties; if he could not do this, his goods were taken as security. If he had none, he was imprisoned till judgment (5).

When a homicide pledged himself to the payment of the were, he was to find borh for it. The borh was to consist of twelve sureties; eight from the paternal line, and four from the maternal (6).

If a man was accused of witchcraft, he was to find borh to abstain from it (7).

If a man was found guilty of theft by the ordeal, he was to be killed, unless his relations would save him by paying his were and ceap-gyld, and give borh for his good behaviour afterwards (8).

But the most curious part of the Saxon borh was not the sureties which they who were accused or condemned were to find, to appear to the charge or to perform the judgment pronounced; but it was the system, that every individual should be under bail for his good behaviour.

It has been mentioned that Alfred is stated to have divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; that every person was directed to belong to some tithing or hundred; and that every hundred and tenth were

(1) Wilkins, p. 2. 7. (2) Ibid. p. 9. (3) Ibid. p. 8.
(4) Ibid. p. 21. (5) Ibid. p. 50. (6) Ibid. p. 54.
(7) Ibid. p. 57. (8) Ibid. p. 65.

pledged to the preservation of the public peace, and answerable for the conduct of their inhabitants (1).

Of this statement, it may be only doubted whether he divided England into counties or shires. These divisions certainly existed before Alfred. The shire is mentioned in the laws of Ina (2); and we know that the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, existed as little kingdoms from the first invasion of the Saxons. Of the other counties, we also find many expressly mentioned in the Saxon history anterior to Alfred's reign.

It may however be true, that he may have separated and named some particular shires, and this partial operation may have occasioned the whole of the general fact to be applied to him.

The system of placing all the people under borh originated from Alfred, according to the historians; but we first meet with it clearly expressed in the laws in the time of Edgar. By his laws it is thus directed: "Every man shall find and have borh, and the borh shall produce him to every legal charge, and shall keep him; and if he have done any wrong and escapes, his borh shall bear what he ought to have borne. But if it be theft, and the borh can bring him forward within twelve months, then what the borh paid shall be returned to him (3)."

This important and burthensome institution is thus again repeated by the same prince: "This is then what I will, that every man be under borh, both in burghs and out of them; and where this has not been done, let it be settled in every borough and in every hundred (4)."

It is thus again repeated in the laws of Ethelred: "Every freeman shall have true borh, that the borh may hold him to every right, if he should be accused (5)." The same laws direct that if the accused should fly, and decline the ordeal, the borh was to pay to the accuser the ceap-gyld, and to the lord his were (6). And as to that part of the population which was in the servile state, their lords were to be the sureties for their conduct (7).

The man who was accused and had no borh, might be killed and buried with the infamous (8).

Nothing seems more repugnant to the decorous feelings of manly independence, than this slavish bondage and anticipated criminality. It degraded every man to the character of an intended culprit: as one whose propensities to crime were so flagrant that he could not be trusted for his good conduct, to his religion, his reason, his habits, or his honour. But it is likely that the predatory habits of the free population occasioned its adoption.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Legal Tribunals.

The supreme legal tribunal was the witena-gemot, which, like our present house of lords, was paramount to every other.

The scire-gemots may be next mentioned. One of these has been mentioned in the chapter on the disputes concerning land: another may be described from the Saxon apograph which Hickes has printed.

(1) See before, p. 95. (2) Wilkins, p. 16. 20. (3) Ibid. p. 78.
(4) Ibid. p. 80. (5) Ibid. p. 102. (6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid. p. 102. (8) Ibid. p. 103.

This was a shire-gemot at Aylston, in Canute's days. It was composed of a bishop, an ealdorman, the son of an ealdorman; of two persons who came with the king's message, or writ; the sheriff, or scir-gerefa; three other men, and all the thegns in Herefordshire.

To this gemot Edwin came, and spake against his mother, concerning some lands. The bishop asked who would answer for her. Thurcil the White said he would if he knew the complaint, but that he was ignorant about it. Three thegns of the gemot were shewn where she lived, and rode to her, and asked her what dispute she had about the land for which her son was impleading her. She said she had no land which belonged to him, and was angry, earl-like, against her son. She called Leofleda, her relation, the wife of Thurcil the White, and before them thus addressed her: "Here sits Leofleda, my kinswoman; I give thee both my lands, my gold, and my clothes, and all that I have, after my life." She then said to the thegns, "Do thegn-like, and relate well what I have said to the gemot, before all the good men, and tell them to whom I have given my lands and my property; but to my own son nothing; and pray them to be witness of this."—And they did so, and rode to the gemot, and told all the good men there what she had said to them. Then stood up Thurcil the White in that gemot, and prayed all the thegns to give his wife the lands which her relation had given to her; and they did so; and Thurcil the White rode to St. Ethelbert's minister, by all the folks' leave and witness, and left it to be set down in one Christ's book (1).

By the laws of Canute it was ordered, that there should be two shire-gemots and three burgh-gemots every year, and the bishop and the ealdorman should attend them (2). By the laws of Ethelstan, punishments were ordered to those who refused to attend gemots (3). Every man was to have peace in going to the gemot and returning from it, unless he were a thief (4).

Sometimes a gemot was convened from eight hundreds, and sometimes from three (5). On one occasion, the ealdorman of Ely held a plea with a whole hundred below the cemetery at the north gate of the monastery; at another time, a gemot of two hundreds was held at the north door of the monastery (6).

A shire-gemot is mentioned at which the ealdorman and the king's gerefa presided. "The cause having been opened, and the reasons of both sides heard, by the advice of the magnates there, thirty-six barons, chosen in equal number from the friends on both sides, were appointed judges." These went out to examine the affair, and the monks were asked why and from whose donation they possessed that land. They stated their title, and length of possession. They were asked if they would dare to affirm this statement on the sacrament, that the controversy might be terminated. The monks were going to do this, but the ealdorman would not suffer them to swear before a secular power. He therefore declared himself to be their protector, the witness of their devotion and credibility, alleging that the exhibition of the cautionary oath belonged to him. All who were present admired the speech of the ealdorman, and determined that the oath was unnecessary; and for the false suit and unjust vexation of the

(1) Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 2.
(2) Wilkins, p. 136.
(3) Ibid. p. 60.
(4) Wilkins, p. 136.
(5) 3 Gale, 469. 473.
(6) Ibid. p. 473. 475.

relations who had claimed the lands from the monastery, they adjuged all the landed property and goods of the other to be at the king's mercy. The king's gerefa, and the other great men, then interfered; and the complainant, perceiving the peril of his situation, publicly abjured the land in question, and pledged his faith never to disturb the monastery in its possession; a reconciliation then took place (1). The administration of justice in this affair seems to have been very summary and arbitrary, and not very compatible with our notions of legal evidence.

We have one account of a CRIMINAL prosecution. A wife having poisoned a child, the bishop cited her and her husband to the gemot; he did not appear, though three times summoned. The king in anger sent his writ, and ordered him, that, "admitting no causes of delay," he should hasten to the court. He came, [illegible] before the king and the bishop affirmed his innocence. It was decreed that he should return home, and that on the summons of the bishop he should attend on a stated day at a stated place, with eleven jurators, and that his wife should bring as many of her sex, and clear their fame and the conscience of others by oath. On the appointed day, and in the meadow where the child was buried, the cause was agitated. The relics, which an abbot brought, were placed upon a hillock, before which the husband, extending his right arm, swore that he had never consented to his son's death, nor knew his murderer, nor how he had been killed. The wife denying the fact, the hillock was opened by the bishop's command, and the bones of the child appeared. The wife at last fell at the prelate's feet, confessed the crime, and implored mercy. The conclusion of the whole was, that the accused gave a handsome present of land to the ecclesiastics concerned, as a conciliatory atonement (2).

A bishop having made a contract for land with a drunken Dane, the seller, when sober, refused to fulfil it. The cause was argued in the king's forum; the fact of the bargain was proved; and the king adjudged the land to the bishop, and the money to the Dane (3). The forum regis is mentioned again (4).

The folc-gemot occurs in the laws. "It is established for ceap-men, or merchants, that they bring the men that they lead with them before the king's gerefa in the folc-gemot, and say how many of them there be, and that they take these men up with them, that they may bring them again to the folc-gemot if sued. And when they shall want to have more men with them in their journey, they shall announce it as often as it occurs to the king's gerefa, in the witness of the folc-gemot (5)."

These folc-gemots were ordered not to be held on a Sunday; and if any one disturbed them by a drawn weapon, he had to pay a wite of one hundred and twenty shillings to the ealdorman (6).

The following may be considered as proceedings before a folc-gemot. Begmund having unjustly seized some lands of a monastery, when the ealdorman came to Ely, the offenders were summoned to the placitum of the citizens and of the hundred, several times, but they never appeared. The abbot did not desist, but renewed his pleading, both within and without the city, and often made his complaint to the people. At length the ealdorman, coming to Cambridge, held a great placitum of the citizens and

(1) 3 Gale, 416. (2) Ibid. 440. (3) Ibid. 442.
(4) Ibid. 444. (5) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 41. (6) Ibid. 42.

hundreds, before twenty-four judges. There the abbot narrated before all, how Begmund had seized his lands, and though summoned had not appeared. They adjudged the land to the abbot, and decreed Begmund to pay the produce of his fishery to the abbot for six years, and to give the king the were; and, if he neglected to pay, they authorised a seizure of his goods (1)."

Much of their judicial proceedings rested on oaths, and therefore their punishment of perjury was severe. A perjury man is usually classed with witches, murderers, and the most obnoxious beings in society; he was declared unworthy of the ordeal; he was disabled from being a witness again, and if he died he was denied Christian burial (2).

We have some specimens of the oaths they took:

The oath of a plaintiff in the case of theft was, "In the Lord: As I urge this accusation with full folc-right, and without fiction, deceit, or any fraud; so from me was that thing stolen of which I complain, and which I found again with N."

Another oath of a plaintiff was, "In the Lord: I accuse not N. neither for hate nor art, nor unjust avarice, nor do I know anything more true, but so my mind said to me, and I myself tell for truth, that he was the thief of my goods."

A defendant's oath was, "In the Lord: I am innocent both in word and deed of that charge of which N. accused me."

A witness's oath was, "In the name of the Almighty God: As I here stand in true witness, unbidden and unbought; so I oversaw it with mine eyes and overheard it with mine ears, what I have said."

The oath of those who swore for others was, "In the Lord: the oath is clean and upright that N. swore (3)."

CHAPTER VIII.

Their Ordeals and legal Punishments.

We have a full account of the Anglo-Saxon ordeals, of hot water and hot iron, in the laws of Ina.

The iron was to be three pounds in weight for the threefold trial, and therefore probably one pound only for the more simple charge; and the accused was to have the option, whether he would prefer the water "ordal" or the iron "ordal."

No man was to go within the church after the fire was lighted by which the ordeal was to be heated, except the priest and the accused. The distance of nine feet was to be then measured out from the stake, of the length of the foot of the accused. If the trial was to be by hot water, the water was heated till it boiled furiously; and the vessel that contained it was to be iron or copper, lead or clay.

If the charge was of the kind they called anfeald, or simple, the accused was to emerge his hand as far as the wrist in the water, to take out the

(1) Hist. El. 3 Gale, 478. (2) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 53. 61. 49.
(3) Ibid. 63, 64.

stone; if the charge was of threefold magnitude, he was to plunge his arm up to the elbow.

When the ordeal was ready, two men were to enter of each side, and to agree that the water was boiling furiously. Then an equal number of men were to enter from each side, and to stand along the church on both sides of the ordeal, all fasting. After this the priest was to sprinkle them with holy water, of which each was to taste; they were to kiss the Gospels, and to be signed with the cross. All this time the fire was not to be mended any more; but the iron, if the ordeal was to be by hot iron, was to lie on the coals till the last collect was finished; and it was then to be placed on the staples which were to sustain it.

While the accused was snatching the stone out of the water, or carrying the hot iron for the space of nine feet, nothing was to be said but a prayer to the Deity to discover the truth. The hand was to be then bound up and sealed, and to be kept so for three days; after that time the seal and the bandage were removed, and the hand was to be examined to see whether it was foul or clear (1).

From this plain account, the ordeal was not so terrible as it may at first sight appear; because, independently of the opportunity which the accused had, by going alone into the church, of making terms with the priest, and of the ease with which his dexterity could have substituted cold iron or stone for the heated substances, at the moment of the trial, and the impossibility of the detection, amid the previous forms of the holy water, the diminution of the fire, prayers on the occasion, and the distance of the few spectators; independently of these circumstances, the actual endurance of the ordeal admitted many chances of acquittal. It was not exacted that the hand should not be burnt, but that after the space of three days it should not exhibit that appearance which would be called foul, or guilty. As the iron was to be carried only for the space of nine of the feet of the accused, it would be hardly two seconds in his hand. The hand was not to be immediately inspected, but it was carefully kept from air, which would irritate the wound, and was left to the chances of a good constitution to be so far healed in three days as to discover those appearances, when inspected, which were allowed to be satisfactory. Besides, there was, no doubt, much preparatory training, suggested by the more experienced, which would indurate the epidermis so much as to make it less sensible to the action of the hot substances which it was to hold (2).

Ordeals were forbidden on festivals and fast-days (3).

Of the single ordeal, it was ordered, that if the persons had been accused of theft, and were found guilty by it, and did not know who would be their borh, they should be put into prison, and be treated as the laws had enjoined (4).

An accused mint-master was to undergo the ordeal of the hot iron (5).

The ordeal might be compounded for (6).

The law of Athelstan added some directions as to the ordeal. Whoever appealed to it was to go three nights before to the priest who was to transact it, and should feed on bread and salt, water and herbs. He was to

(1) Wilk. Leg. Inæ, p. 27.

(2) Some authors have mentioned the preparations that were used to indurate the skin.

(3) Wilk. p. 53. (4) Ibid. p. 57. (5) Ibid. p. 59. (6) Ibid. p. 60.

be present at the masses in the mean time, and make his offerings and receive the holy sacrament on the day of his going through the ordeal; and he should swear, that with folc-right he was guiltless of the accusation before he went to the ordeal. If the trial was the hot water, he was to plunge his arm half-way above the elbow on the rope. If the ordeal was the iron, three days were to pass before it was examined. They who attended were to have fasted, and not to exceed twelve in number of either side; or the ordeal was to be void unless they departed (1).

A thief found guilty by the ordeal was to be killed, unless his relations redeemed him by paying his were, and the value of the goods, and giving borh for his good behaviour (2).

The command of the ordeals must have thrown great power into the hands of the church; and as in most cases they who appealed to them did so from choice, it is probable that whoever expressed this deference to the ecclesiastical order were rewarded for the compliment, as far as discretion and contrivance would permit.

The ordeal was a trial, not a punishment. The most popular of the legal punishments were the pecuniary mulcts. But as the imperfection and inutility of these could not be always disguised—as they were sometimes impunity to the rich, who could afford them, and to the poor, who had nothing to pay them with, other punishments were enacted. Among these we find imprisonment (3), outlawry (4), banishment (5), slavery (6), and transportation (7). In other cases we have whipping (8), branding (9), the pillory (10), amputation of limb (11), mutilation of the nose and ears and lips (12), the eyes plucked out, hair torn off (13), stoning (14), and hanging (15). Nations not civilized have barbarous punishments.

CHAPTER IX.

The Trial by Jury.

In considering the origin of the happy and wise institution of the English Jury, which has contributed so much to the excellence of our national character, and to the support of our constitutional liberty, it is impossible not to feel considerable diffidence and difficulty. It is painful to decide upon a subject on which great men have previously differed. It is peculiarly desirable to trace, if possible, the seed, bud, and progressive vegetation of a tree so beautiful and so venerable.

It is not contested that the institution of a jury existed in the time of the Conqueror. The document which remains of the dispute between Gundulf, the bishop of Rochester, and Pichot, the sheriff, ascertains this fact. We will state the leading circumstances of this valuable account.

The question was, Whether some land belonged to the church or to the

(1) Wilkins, p. 61.
(2) Ibid. p. 65. For the ordeal of other nations, see Muratori, v.; and Du Cange.
(3) Wilkins, Leg. Sax. 34. 70. (4) Ibid. p. 74. Sax. Chron.
(5) Sax. Chron. (6) Wilk. 12. 15. 18. 20. 50. (7) Ibid. p. 12.
(8) Wilk. p. 12. 22. 52, 53. 81. (9) Ibid. p. 139. (10) Ibid. p. 11. 75. 54.
(11) Ibid. p. 18. 139. 134. (12) Ibid. p. 138. 142. (13) Ibid. p. 138.
(14) Ibid. p. 67. (15) Ibid. p. 18. 70. 139.

king? "The king commanded that all the men of the county should be gathered together, that by their judgment it might be more justly ascertained to whom the land belonged." This was obviously a shire-gemot.

"They, when assembled, from fear of the sheriff, affirmed that the land was the king's: but as the bishop of Bayeux, who presided at that placitum, did not believe them, he ordered, that if they knew that what they said was true, they should choose twelve from among themselves, who should confirm with an oath what all had declared. But these, when they had withdrawn to counsel, and were there harassed by the sheriff through his messenger, returned and swore to the truth of what they asserted."

By this decision the land became the king's. But a monk, who knew how the fact really stood, assured the bishop of Rochester of the falsehood of their oath, who communicated the information to the bishop of Bayeux. The bishop, after hearing the monk, sent for one of the twelve, who, falling at his feet, confessed that he had forsworn himself. The man on whose oath they had sworn theirs, made a similar avowal.

On this the bishop "ordered the sheriff to send the rest to London, and twelve other men from the best in the county, who confirmed that to be true which they had sworn."

They were all adjudged to be perjured, because the man whose evidence they had accredited had avowed his perjury. The church recovered the land; and when "the last twelve wished to affirm that they had not consented with those who had sworn, the bishop said they must prove this by the iron ordeal. And because they undertook this, and could not do it, they were fined three hundred pounds to the king, by the judgment of other men of the county (1)."

By this narration, we find that a shire-gemot determined on the dispute, in the first instance: but that in consequence of the doubts of the presiding judge, they chose from among themselves twelve, who swore to the truth of what they had decided, and whose determination decided the case.

The jury appears to me to have been an institution of progressive growth, and its principle may be traced to the earliest Anglo-Saxon times. One of the judicial customs of the Saxons was, that a man might be cleared of the accusation of certain crimes, if an appointed number of persons came forward and swore that they believed him innocent of the allegation. These men were literally juratores, who swore to a veredictum; who so far determined the facts of the case as to acquit the person in whose favour they swore. Such an oath, and such an acquittal, is a jury in its earliest and rudest shape; and it is remarkable that for accusations of any consequence among the Saxons of the Continent, twelve juratores were the number required for an acquittal. Thus, for the wound of a noble, which produced blood, or disclosed the bone, or broke a limb; or if one seized another by the hair, or threw him into the water; in these and some other cases twelve juratores were (2) required. Similar customs may be observed in the laws of the Continental Angli and Frisiones, though sometimes the number of the jury or juratores varied according to the charge; every number being appointed from three to forty-eight (3). In the laws of the Ripuarii, we find that in certain cases the oaths of even seventy-two persons were necessary to his acquittal (4). It is obvious, from their numbers, that these

(1) Thorpe, Regist. Roffen. 32. (2) Lindenborg. Leg. Sax. p. 474.
(3) Lind. Lex. Angli. 482. and Lex. Fris. 490. (4) Lind. Lex. Ripuar. p. 451.

could not have been witnesses to the facts alleged. Nor can we suppose that they came forward with the intention of wilful and suborned perjury. They could only be persons who, after hearing and weighing the facts of the case, proffered their deliberate oaths that the accused was innocent of the charge. And this was performing one of the most important functions of our modern juries.

In the laws of the Alemanni, the principle appears more explicitly; for in these the persons who are to take the oath of acquittal are called nominati, or persons named. And in the case of murdering the messenger of a dux, the juratores were to be twelve named and twelve elected (1). This named and elected jury seems to approximate very closely to our present institution.

In referring to our own Anglo-Saxon laws, we find three jurators mentioned in those of the kings of Kent, in the latter end of the seventh century. If a freeman were accused of theft, he was to make compensation, or to acquit himself by the oaths of four rim æwda men. These words are literally "the number of four legal men," or "four of the numbered legal men (2)." In either construction they point to a meaning similar to the nominati in the laws of the Alemanni; that is, persons legally appointed as jurators.

The principle of an acquittal by the peers of the party accused appears in the laws of Wihtræd, where the clergyman is to be acquitted by four of his equals, and the ceorlisc man by four of his own rank (3).

An acquittal from walreaf, or the plunder of the dead, required the oaths of forty-eight full-born (4) thegns. These, of course, could not be witnesses. They must have been a selection of so many in the shire-gemot, who, on hearing the facts of the accusation, would, upon their oaths, absolve the accused. And what is this but a jury? The Danish colonists probably used it.

In the treaty between Alfred and Guthrun, more lights appear: "If any accuse the king's thegn of manslaughter (manslihtes), if he dare absolve himself, let him do it by twelve king's thegns. If the accused be less than a king's thegn, let him absolve himself by eleven of his equals, and one king's thegn (5)." Here the number of twelve, and the principle of the peers, both appear to us.

Something of the principle of a jury appears to us in these laws: "If any one takes cattle, let five of his neighbours be named, and out of these let him get one that will swear with him, that he took it to himself according to folc-right; and he that will implead him, let ten men be named to him, and let him get two of these and swear that it was born in his possession, without the rim æthe, the oath of number, and let this cyre oath stand above twenty pennies."

"Let him who prays condemnation for a slain thief get two paternal and one maternal relation, and give the oath that they knew of no theft in their kinsman, and that he did not deserve death for that crime; and let some twelve go and try him (6)."

This passage seems to have an allusion to this subject:

"Let there be named, in the district of every gerefa, as many men as

(1) Lind. Lex. Aleman. p. 370, 371.
(2) Leg. Hloth. Wilk. p. 8. (3) Leg. Wiht. Wilk. p. 12.
(4) Leg. Inæ. Wilk. p. 27. (5) Wilk. p. 47. (6) Wilk. p. 58.

are known to be unlying men, that they may witness every dispute, and be the oaths of these unlying men of the value of the property without (1) choice." These men, so named, may have been the rim æwda men noticed before.

"If any kill a thief that has taken refuge within the time allowed, let him compensate for the mund byrde; or let some twelve absolve him that he knew not the jurisdiction (2)."

This injunction seems also to provide a jury: On an accusation of idolatry or witchcraft, "if it be a king's thegn who denies it, let there be then named to him twelve, and let him take twelve of his relations, and twelve strangers: and if he fails, let him pay for the violation of the law, or ten half marcs (3)." This seems a jury: twelve persons were to be appointed, and he was to add twelve of his kinsfolks; and this law concerning Northumbria, where they were chiefly Danes, as many foreigners were to be added. If they absolved him, he was cleared; if not, he was to be mulcted. It is one of the rules established concerning our jury, that a foreigner has a right to have half of the jury foreigners.

The following law of Ethelred has the same application:

"Let there be gemots in every wæpentace; and let twelve of the eldest thegns go out with the gerefa, and swear on the relics, which shall be given into their hands, that they will condemn no innocent man, nor screen any that is guilty (4)." This passage seems to have no meaning but so far as it alludes to a jury.

Two other laws are as applicable: "If any be accused that he has fed the man who hath broken our lord's peace, let him absolve himself with thrinna twelve, and let the gerefa name the absolving persons; and this law shall stand where the thegns are of the same mind. If they differ, let it stand as eight of them shall declare (5)." This is surely a jury, of whom eight constituted the legal majority.

There is another passage, in the laws made by the English witan and the Welsh counsellors, which bears upon this subject: "Twelve lahmen, of whom six shall be English and six shall be Welsh, shall enjoin right. They shall lose all that they have if they enjoin erroneously, or absolve themselves that they knew no better (6)."

On the whole, it would seem that the custom of letting the oaths of a certain number of men determine legal disputes in favour of the person for whom they swore, was the origin of the English jury. It was an improvement on this ancient custom, that the jurators were named by the court instead of being selected by the parties. It was a further progress towards our present mode of jury, that the jurators were to hear the statements of both parties before they gave their deciding veredictum, or oath of the truth. While the ordeals were popular, the trials by jurators were little used; but as these blind appeals to Heaven became unfashionable, the process of the legal tribunals was more resorted to, and juries became more frequent (7).

(1) Wilk. p. 62. (2) Ibid. p. 63. (3) Ibid. p. 100.
(4) Ibid. p. 117. (5) Ibid. p. 118. (6) Ibid. p. 125.
(7) The following passage in the old law-book, the Mirror, shows that jurors were used in the time of Alfred. It says of this king, "Il pendist les suitors d'Dorcester, pur ceo que ils judgerent un home a la mort per jurors de lour franchise pur felony que il fist; en le forrein et dount ils ne puissent conustre pur la forrainte." p. 300. See a notice of what Alfred is stated to have done with respect to such jurors or jurymen in the second volume of this history, p. 97.

The excellence of the English trial by jury seems to arise from the impartiality of the sheriff in summoning a sufficient number of jurors; from their being indifferently called and put on the trial at the time of the causecoming on; from their having no interest or prejudices as to the matter in decision; from their habits of serving on juries; from their general good meaning and common sense; from a fair sentiment of their own importance as judges of the fact of the case; from their moral sense of their own duties as a jury; from a conscientious desire of doing right between the parties; from an acuteness of mind which prevents them from being misled by declamation; from the respectful attention to the observations and legal directions of the presiding judge; and from a general acquaintance of the rules of wrong and right between man and man. These qualities cannot be attained by any country on a sudden; our population has been educated to these important duties by many centuries of their practical discharge, and therefore it will be long before either the juries of Scotland, France, Spain, or Germany can equal the English in utility, efficiency, judgment, or rectitude.

APPENDIX.

No. IV.

ON THE AGRICULTURE AND LANDED PROPERTY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

Their Husbandry.

The agricultural state may have been coeval with the pastoral, in the climates of the East, where nature is so profuse of her rural gifts, that cultivation is scarcely requisite; but in the more ungenial regions of the north of Europe, where the food of man is not to be obtained from the earth, without the union of skill and labour, the pastoral state seems to have been the earliest occupation of uncivilized man. While this taste prevailed, agricultural attentions were disreputable and despised, as among the ancient Germans. But when population became more numerous and less migratory, husbandry rose in human estimation and use, until at length it became indispensable to the subsistence of the nation who pursued it.

When the Anglo-Saxons invaded England, they came into a country which had been under the Roman power for about four hundred years, and where agriculture, after its more complete subjection by Agricola, had been so much encouraged, that it had become one of the western granaries of the empire. The Britons, therefore, of the fifth century may be considered to have pursued the best system of husbandry then in use, and their lands to have been extensively cultivated with all those exterior circumstances which mark established proprietorship and improvement; as small farms; inclosed fields; regular divisions into meadow, arable, pasture, and wood; fixed boundaries; planted hedges; artificial dykes and ditches; selected spots for vineyards, gardens, and orchards; connecting roads and paths; scattered villages, and larger towns, with appropriated names for every spot and object that marked the limits of each property, or the course of each way. All these appear in the earliest Saxon charters, and before the combating invaders had time or ability to make them, if they had not found them in the island. Into such a country the Anglo-Saxon adventurers came, and by these facilities to rural civilization soon became an agricultural people. The natives, whom they despised, conquered, and enslaved, became their educators and servants in the new arts, which they had to learn, of grazing and tillage; and the previous cultivation practised by the Romanised Britons will best account for the numerous divisions, and accurate and precise descriptions of land which occur in almost all the Saxon charters. No modern conveyance could more accurately distinguish or describe the boundaries of the premises which it conveyed.

The Anglo-Saxons seem to have had both large and small farms, as both are enumerated in the Domesday Register; and it is most probable that the more extensive possessions, though belonging to one proprietor, were

cultivated in small subdivisions. The number of petty proprietors was, according to the same record, greater in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, where the Northmen colonists settled themselves, than in other parts of the island. But the British custom of gavelkind, which preceded the Anglo-Saxon invasions, was favourable to the increase of small proprietorships. Large farms seem to be the best adapted to bring an extensive surface of the country into a state of cultivation, and may by the application of more capital raise the greatest quantity of produce on the whole: but small farms, manual labour, and more minute tillage, employ and support a valuable class of our rural population, whose worth and industry deserve encouragement, and greatly benefit every civilized country.

It must, however, be recollected, that large portions of the country were, in every part, in a state of forests, lakes, pools, marsh, moor, slough, and heath; but they turned the watery parts, which they had not the skill or the means to drain, to the best advantage, by making them productive of fish. In most of their ditches we read of eels, and in several descriptions, of fish waters. Brooks and bourns were so common as to form parts of almost all their boundaries.

The Anglo-Saxons cultivated the art of husbandry with some attention. The articles which they raised from the earth, and the animals which they fed, have been mentioned in the chapter on their food. A few particulars of their practical husbandry need only be mentioned here.

They used hedges and ditches to separate their fields and lands (1); and these were made necessary by law; for if a freeman broke through a hedge, he had to pay six shillings (2). A ceorl was ordered to keep his farm inclosed both winter and summer; and if damage arose to any one who suffered his gate to be open, and his hedge to be broken down, he was subjected to legal consequences (3).

They had common of pasture attached to the different portions of land which they possessed; and they had other extensive districts laid out in meadow. Every estate had also an appropriated quantity of wood. In Domesday-book, the ploughed land, the meadow, the pasture and the wood, are separately mentioned, and their different quantities estimated.

They sowed their wheat in spring (4). It was a law, that he who had twenty hides of land should take care that there should be twelve hides of it sown when he was to leave it (5).

They had ploughs, rakes, sickles, scythes, forks and flails, very like those that have been commonly used in this country (6). They had also carts or waggons. Their wind-mills and water-mills are frequently mentioned, in every period of their history.

Their woods were an object of their legislative attention. If any one burnt or cut down another's wood without permission, he was to pay five shillings for every great tree, and five pennies for every other, and thirty shillings besides as a penalty (7). By another law, this offence was more severely punished (8).

(1) These appear in most of the boundaries described in the Saxon grants. Hedges are mentioned in Domesday. A nemus ad sepes faciendum occurs in Middlesex, fo. 127.

(2) Wilk. Leg. p. 4. (3) Ibid. p. 21. (4) Bede, p. 244.

(5) Wilk. Leg. p. 25.

(6) Their drawings in their MSS. show a great resemblance between the Saxon instruments and those still used in the northern counties of England.

(7) Wilk. p. 37. (8) Ibid. p. 21.

They were careful of the sheep. It was ordered by an express law, that these animals should keep their fleece until midsummer, and that the value of a sheep should be one shilling until a fortnight after Easter (1).

There are some curious delineations in a Saxon calendar, which illustrate some of their agricultural labours (2).

In January are men ploughing with four oxen; one drives, another holds the plough, and another scatters seeds.

In February men are represented as cutting or pruning trees, of which some resemble vines.

In March one is digging, another is with a pick-axe, and a third is sowing.

In April three persons are pictured as sitting and drinking, with two attendants; another is pouring out liquor into a horn; and another is holding a horn to his mouth.

In May a shepherd is sitting; his flocks are about, and one man has a lamb in his arms; other persons are looking on.

In June some are reaping with a sickle, and some putting the corn into a cart. A man is blowing a horn while they are working.

In July they are felling trees.

In August they are mowing.

In September is a boar-hunting.

In October is hawking.

In November a smithery is shown.

In December two men are threshing, others are carrying the grain in a basket; one has a measure, as if to ascertain the quantity; and another, on a notched stick, seems to be marking what is measured and taken away.

In the Saxon dialogues already quoted, the ploughman gives this account of his duty:

"I labour much. I go out at day-break, urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough (the syl). It is not yet so stark winter that I dare keep close at home, for fear of my lord; but the oxen being yoked, and the share and cultro fastened on, I ought to plough every day one entire field or more. I have a boy to threaten the oxen with a goad, who is now hoarse through cold and bawling. I ought also to fill the bins of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry out their soil." He adds, "It is a great labour, because I am not free."

In the same MSS. we have this statement of a shepherd's and a cowherd's duty. "In the first part of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them in heat and in cold with dogs, lest the wolves destroy them. I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day, and I move their folds, and make cheese and butter; and I am faithful to my lord." The other says, "When the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows; and all night I stand watching over them, on account of thieves; and again, in the morning, I take them to the plough, well fed and watered."

Some circumstances may be selected from their grants, which illustrate the customs and produce of an Anglo-Saxon farm. "I give food for seventy swine in that woody allotment which the countrymen call Wulferdinleh, and five waggons full of good twigs, and every year an oak for

(1) Wilk. p. 23. 25.
(2) Cott. MS. Tib. B. 5. See them copied in Strutt's Hord. Angl. vol. i. tab. x. xi. xii.

building, and others for necessary fires, and sufficient wood for burning (1)."

A noble lady ordered out of her lands a yearly donation of forty ambra of malt, an old ram, four wethers, two hundred and forty loaves, and one weight of bacon and cheese, and four fother of wood, and twenty henfowls (2).

In Ina's laws, ten hides were to furnish ten vessels of honey, three hundred loaves, twelve ambra of Welsh ale, thirty of clear ale, two old rams, ten wethers, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, an ambra full of butter, five salmon, twenty pounds weight of fodder, and an hundred eels (3).

Another gives ten mittas of malt, five of grits, ten mittas of the flour of wheat, eight gammons, sixteen cheeses, and two fat cows; and in Lent eight salmon (4).

Offa, in 785, grants some land, with permission to feed swine in the wood of Andreda; and another district to cut wood for building or for burning; and also wood sufficient to boil salt; and the fishing of one man; with one hundred loaded waggons, and two walking carts, every year (5).

We frequently find salt-pans, or places to boil salt in, conveyed, as, "with four vessels for the boiling of salt," and "with all the utensils and wells of salt (6)."

Fisheries were frequently given with land. To three plough lands in Kent a fishery on the Thames is added (7). Ethelstan gives a piece of land for the use of taking fish (8). So forty acres, with fishing, were given on the condition of receiving every year fifteen salmon (9). So half of a fishery is given to a monastery, with the buildings and tofts of the fishermen (10).

A vineyard is not unfrequently mentioned in various documents. Edgar gives the vineyard situate at Wecet, with the vine-dressers (11). In Domesday-book, vineyards are noticed in several counties.

A wolf-pit is mentioned in one of the boundaries of an estate (12).

In Domesday we frequently meet with parks. Thus, speaking of Rislepe, in Middlesex, it adds, "There is a park (parcus) of beasts of the wood (13)." At St. Albans and Ware, in Herts, similar parks are mentioned, and in other places.

Gardens also occur several times in Domesday. Eight cotarii and their gardens (14) are stated in the manor of Fuleham in Middlesex. And we may remark that Fulham still abounds with market gardeners. A house with its garden is mentioned in the burg of Hertford (15).

Two or three intimations occur in Domesday of the increasing conversion of pasture into arable land. Thus at Borne in Kent, "a pasture from which strangers have ploughed six acres of land (16)."

We have many contracts extant of the purchases of land by the Anglo-Saxons, from which we may expect to gain some knowledge of the price of land. But this source of information is by no means sufficient to form an accurate criterion, because we cannot tell the degree of cultivation, or the quality of the land transferred; and also because many of the grants seem

(1) Bede, App. 770. (2) Hickes's Diss. Ep. 10. (3) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 25.
(4) 3 Gale, Hist. R. 410. (5) Astle's MS. Charters, N. 4. p. 4b.
(6) Heming. Chart. Wig. p. 144. (7) Thorpe Regist. 20.
(8) Heming. Chart. p. 111. (9) Ibid. p. 171.
(10) 3 Gale x. Script. p. 405. (11) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 116.
(12) 3 Gale, p. 520. (13) Domesday, 129. b. (14) Ibid. p. 127. b.
(15) Domesday, 132. (16) Ibid. p. 9.

to have been rather gifts than sales, in which the consideration bears little proportion to the obvious value. A few of the prices given may however be stated : —

1 hyde and a field for 100 shillings.
3 hydes for 15*l.*
10 hydes and two mills for 100 aureos.
7 hydes and an half for 200 aureos (1).
6 cassatorum for 3 pundus argenti.
10 manentium for 31 mancosas.
20 manentium for 10 libris argenti.
2 mansiones for 20 manecusis auri probatissimi (2).
15 manentes for 1500 solidis argenti.
5 manentium for 10 libras inter aurum et argentum.
5 manentium for 150 mancas de puro auro.
8 mansas for 90 mancusa of purest gold.
10 mansas for 30 mancusas of pure gold.
8 mansas for 500 criseis mancusis (3).

It is obvious from this short specimen of the sums mentioned in their documents, that no regular estimate can be formed of the usual price of their land.

By the exorcisms to make fields fertile which remain, we may perceive that our superstitious ancestors thought that they could produce abundant harvests by nonsensical ceremonies and phrases. They who choose may see a long one in Caleg. A. 7. It is too long and too absurd to be copied. But we may recollect in justice to our ancestors, that Cato the censor has transmitted to us a recipe as ridiculous.

The course of nature, in the revolutions of the seasons, has suffered no essential change since the deluge, which human records notice. We may therefore presume that the seasons in the Anglo-Saxon period resembled those which preceded and have followed them. Bede calls October Winterfylleth, because winter begins in this month. And we have a description of Anglo-Saxon winter from a disciple of Bede: "The last winter far and wide afflicted our island horribly, by its cold, its frosts, and storms of rain and wind (4)."

To give some notion of the state of the atmosphere and of the seasons in these times, it may not be uninteresting to mention some of the years which were more remarkable for the calamities of the weather which attended them.

A. D. 763-4. This winter was so severe, for its snow and frost, as to have been thought unparalleled. The frost lasted from the first of October to February. Most of the trees and shrubs perished by the excessive cold (5).

795. A great famine and mortality (6).

799. Violent tempests, and numerous shipwrecks in the British Ocean (7).

807-8. A very mild and pestilential winter (8).

(1) 3 Gale, p. 483. 485. 480. 486.
(2) Heming. Chart. p. 69, 70. 222. 230.
(3) MS. Claud. c. 9.
(4) 16 Mag. Bib. p. 88.
(5) Simeon Dunelm, p. 105. Ann. Astron. ap. Ruberi, p. 18. Sigeb. Gembl. p. 551.
(6) Sim. Dun. p. 112.
(7) Ibid. p. 115.
(8) Adelmi Benedict. p. 409.

820. From excessive and continual rains, a great mortality of men and cattle ensued. The harvest was spoilt. Great inundations prevented the autumnal sowing (1).

821. A dreadful winter followed. The frost was so long and severe, that not only all the smaller rivers, but even the largest in Europe, as the Seine, the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, were so frozen, that, for above thirty days, waggons passed over them as if over bridges (2).

823. The harvests devastated by hail. A terrible pestilence among men and cattle (3).

824. A dreadful and long winter. Not only animals, but many of the human species, perished by the intenseness of the cold (4).

832. This year began with excessive rains.. A frost succeeded so sudden and intense, that the iced roads were nearly impassable by horses (5).

834. Great storms and excessive falls of rain (6).

851. Severe famine on the Continent (7).

869. Great famine and mortality in England (8).

874. A swarm of locusts laid waste the provinces of France. A famine so dreadful followed, that, in the hyperbolical language of the writers, nearly a third part of the population perished.

875. A long and inclement winter succeeded, with unusual falls of snow. The frost lasted from the first of November to the end of March (9).

913. A severe winter.

956. A very mortal pestilence (10).

976. A severe famine in England. A frost from first November to end of March.

986. A great mortality amongst cattle in England (11).

987. A dreadful flux and fever in England (12).

988. A summer of extreme heat.

989. Great inundations. Very hot summer, unhealthy and unfruitful. Great drought and famine; much snow and rain; and no sowing (13).

1005. A great and dreadful famine in England.

1006. The same over all Europe (14).

1014. Great sea flood.

1016. Great hail, thunder, and lightning (15).

1022. Extreme heat in the summer.

1039. A severe winter.

1041. Inclement seasons all the year, and unproductive; and great mortality amongst the cattle (16).

1043-4. A dreadful famine in England and the Continent. A sester of wheat sold for above sixty pennies (17).

(1) Adel. Benedict. p. 421. (2) Ibid. p. 422. Ann. Astron. p. 46.
(3) Adel. Bened. p. 425. Sigeb. Gemb. p. 561.
(4) Ann. Fuld. p. 6. Bouquet's Recueil, p. 208. Annales apud Ruberi, p. 49.
(5) Annales Ruberi, p. 56. Adel. Bened. p. 463. (6) Annales Ruberi, p. 58.
(7) Sigeb. Gembl. apud Pistorium, p. 565. (8) Asser, p. 20.
(9) Aimoini de gestis Fran. p. 489. Segeb. Gembl. p. 569.
(10) Regino Chron. p. 568. 74. 79.
(11) Sax. Chron. p. 123. 125. Sim. Dun. p. 160. Sig. Gemb. p. 587.
(12) Flor. Wig. and Sim. Dun. 161. (13) Lamb. Schaff. p. 158., Sig. Gemb. p. 589.
(14) Sim. Dun. 165. Sig. Gemb. p. 591. (15) Sax. Chron. p. 146. Lamb. Schaff. p. 158.
(16) Sig. Gemb. p. 593. Sim. Dun. p. 180.
(17) Sax. Chron. p. 157. Sig. Gemb. p. 596. The MS. Claud. c. 9. mentions that a sextarius of wheat sold for five shillings, p. 129. Henry of Huntingdon says the same, adding, that a sextarius of wheat used to be the burthen of one horse, p. 365.

1047. An uncommon fall of snow. Trees broken by it (1).

1048. Earthquake at Worcester, Derby, and other places; and a great mortality (2).

Of the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark, that Domesday Survey gives us some indications that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of society. They have much less wood upon them, and less common of pasture; and what they had appears often in smaller and more irregular pieces; while their meadow was more abundant, and in more numerous distributions.

CHAPTER II.

Their Proprietorship in Land and Tenures.

When the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain, a complete revolution in the possession of landed property must have taken place, so far as it concerned the persons of the proprietors. They succeeded by the sword. All the chieftains of the octarchy had many years of warfare to wage, before they could extort the occupation of the country. In such fierce assaults, and such desperate resistance, the largest part of the proprietary body of the Britons must have perished.

What system of tenures the Anglo-Saxon conquerors established, will be best known from the language of their grants. Some antiquaries have promulged very inaccurate ideas on this subject; and we can only hope to escape error, by consulting the documents and studying the legal phrases of the Anglo-Saxon period.

We find the land distinguished in their laws by various epithets. We there meet with boc lande, gafole land, folc land, bisceopa land, thegne's land, neat land, and frigan earthe (3). The proprietors of land are called dryhtne, hlaforde, agende or land hlaforde, and land agende (4). The occupiers of land were named ceorl, geneat, landesman, tunesman (5), and such like.

From Domesday-book, we find that of some lands the king was the chief proprietor; of others, the bishops and abbots; of others, several earls and persons of inferior dignity. A few specimens may be given. Thus in Sussex—

The king had	$59\frac{1}{2}$ hides.
Archbishop of Canterbury	214
Bishop of Chichester	184
Abbot of Westminster	7
Abbot of Fescamp	135
Bishop Osbern	149
Abbot of St. Peter, Winchester	33
Church of Battle	$60\frac{1}{2}$
Abbot of St. Edward	21
Comes of Oro	$196\frac{1}{4}$
Comes of Moriton	520
Comes Roger	818
William of Warene	$620\frac{1}{4}$
William of Braiose	$452\frac{1}{4}$
Odo and Eldred	10

(1) Sim. Dun. p. 180. Sig. Gembl. p. 597.
(2) Sax. Chron. p. 183.
(3) Wilkins, Leges Sax. p. 43. 47. 49. 65. 76.
(4) Ibid. p. 2. 10, 11. 15. 21. 28. 58. 63.
(5) Ibid. p. 18. 47. 101. 105.

These were the tenentes in capite, the great proprietors in demesne. The men who resided on the land, and in the burgs under these in this county, may be seen in Domesday-book. In other counties, we find the same description of persons possessing land, with the addition of others. Thus the great proprietors in Hertfordshire were, the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, five bishops, three abbots, an abbess, two canons, four earls or comites, twenty-four less dignified individuals, and three ladies. Two of these ladies are described as wives. Thus: "Rothais, wife of Richard, son of earl Gislebert, holds Standor, and defends herself for eleven hides; Adeliz, wife of Hugo of Grentmaisnil, holds Brochesborne, and defends herself for five hides and a half." The other was the daughter of Radulf Tailgebosch, and held four hides in Hoderdon.

In Buckinghamshire the chief proprietors were, the king, the archbishop, five bishops, two abbots, an abbess, a canon, a presbyter, two earls, thirty-eight other individuals; the queen, countess Judith Azelina, wife of Radulf Tailgebosch; the king, thane, and eleemosiners.

But subordinate tenures are also mentioned in this valuable record. Thus the abbess of Berching held Tiburn (Tyburn) under the king, and the canons of St. Paul held of the king five hides in Fulham. Many tenures of this sort appear (1).

To several tenures it is added, that the possessors could not give or sell the land without leave (2).

Other tenants are mentioned, who could turn themselves, with their land, wherever they pleased (3).

Land held in elemosinam, or frankalmoigne, also appears (4).

Of other tenants it is said, that they held certain manors, but rendered no service to the abbot, except thirty shillings a year (5).

Sochmanni, and the terra sochmannorum, are mentioned: of two of them it is expressed, that they could sell without leave; while another is declared unable to give or sell without his lord's leave. Two other sochmanni are called men of the bishop of London (6).

One of the sochmen, who could do what he chose with the land, was a canon of St. Paul's.

Of the tenures which appear from the Anglo-Saxon grants, the first that may be noticed is that of pure freehold of inheritance, unconnected with any limitation or service. Thus, in a conveyance made between 691 and 694, the kinsman of the king of Essex gives some land, amounting to 40 manentium. The conveying words are, "I Hodilredus, the kinsman of Sebbi, in the province of the East Saxons, with his consent, of my own will, in sound mind, and by just advice, for ever deliver to thee, and from my right transcribe into thine, the land, etc., with all things belonging to it, with the fields, wood, meadows, and marsh; that, as well thou as thy posterity, may hold, possess, and have free power to do with the land whatsoever thou wilt (7)."

In another, dated in 704, from a king to a bishop, of 30 cassatorum, at Tincenhom, in Middlesex, the words are, "We have decreed to give in dominio to Waldhare, bishop, part of a field, etc. The possession of this land so as aforesaid, with fields to be sowed, pastures, meadows, marshes,

(1) Domesday-book. (2) Ibid. fo. 129. (3) Ibid. fo. 6, 7. 129.
(4) Ibid. fo. 12. 137. (5) Ibid. fo. 12. (6) Ibid. fo. 11. 129.
(7) MS. Augustus, 2. 26., printed in Smith's Appendix to Bede, p. 748.

fisheries, rivers, closes, and appurtenances, we deliver to be possessed in dominio by the above bishop in perpetual right, and that he have the free power of doing whatsoever he will (1)."

There seems to have been no prescribed form of words for the conveyance of a freehold estate, because we find that almost every grant varies in some of its phrases. The most essential requisite seems to have been that the words should imply an intended perpetuity of possession. One other specimen of a freehold grant, not quite so absolute as the above, may be added: "That it may be in his power, and may remain firmly fixed in hereditary right, both free from the services of all secular things within and without, and from all burden and injury of greater or smaller causes, and that he may have the liberty of changing or giving it in his life, and after his death may have the power of leaving it to whomsoever he will (2)."

Freehold estates also occur, made subject to the three great services to which almost all lands were liable. In these cases the duty of military expedition, and bridge and castle work, are expressly excepted (3). A modification of this freehold tenure is, where the grant is for the life of the person receiving it, with a power of giving it to any person after his death in perpetual inheritance. This kind of estate very frequently occurs in the Saxon grants, and differs from the pure and absolute freehold, inasmuch as it does not appear that the tenant for life had the liberty of alienating it before his death, nor that it was descendible to his heirs if he made no testamentary devise.

Thus in a grant dated 756, the part which lawyers call the habendum, and which determines the nature of the tenure, is thus expressed: "I will give it him for ever — That he may have and possess it as long as he lives, and after that time, that he may leave it to any person he shall please, to be possessed in hereditary right, with the same liberty in which it is granted to him (4)."

Others are in these phrases: "To have and possess it in his own possession, and for his days to enjoy it happily, and after his days to leave to whomsoever shall be agreeable to him in everlasting inheritance (5)."

A very common tenure in the Anglo-Saxon times was that the person to whom an estate was conveyed should hold it for his life, and should have the power of giving it after his death to any one, two, three, or more heirs, as mentioned in the grant; after which it should revert either to the original proprietor making the grant, or to some ecclesiastical body or other person mentioned in it.

Thus Oswald gives lands to a person, in the stability of perpetual inheritance; that in having he may hold it, and possessing he may enjoy it, for the length of his life. After his death he might leave it to any two heirs whom he preferred, to have it continuedly — after their death it was to revert to the church of St. Mary (6).

In 984 Oswald gave to his kinsman, Eadwig, and his wife, three mansæ, for their lives. If the husband survived her, he was to be deemed the first possessor, or heir of the land; or if she survived, she was to be the first heir. They were empowered to leave all to their offspring, if they had any; if not, the survivor was to leave it to any two heirs (7).

(1) Appendix to Bede, p. 749.
(2) MS. Charters of the late Mr. Astle, No. 7.
(3) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 112, 113.
(4) Smith's App. p. 767.
(5) Astle's MS. Charters, Nos. 12, and 16.
(6) Smith's App. Bede, p. 773.
(7) Ibid. p. 778.

Thus a bishop gave to Berhtwulf, the Mercian king, certain lands "for the space of the days of five men, to have and to enjoy it with justice; and after the number of their days, that it may be returned, without any dissension or conflict, to the church in Worcester." This same land Berhtwulf gave to his minister, Ecbercht, "for the space of the days of five men, as before it was given to him (1)."

Sometimes an attempt was made to possess the land beyond the number of lives indicated. It is mentioned in a charter, that one Cynethryth had conveyed some land for three lives, and that Ælsted had added three more lives; when it was discovered, by inspecting the hereditarios libros of the king, Kenulf, who first granted it, that the person originally receiving it had only the power of giving it for one life. Consequently the subsequent grants were set aside (2).

A life estate was also a very frequent tenure. Sometimes the remainder that was to follow a life estate was expressed. This was usually to the church.

Thus Aldred, in the middle of the eighth century, gave a monastery to his relation, "on condition that she possess it as long as she lives; and when she goes the way of her fathers," it was to revert to the church of Worcester, into the jus of the episcopal seat (3). An archbishop devised land to a person for life, with remainder to an abbey (4).

The land passing by these grants was called Bocland, as the land held by bishops was mentioned at Bisceopa land; the land of thegns was Thegnes land, and the land of earles was Earles land. All these occur in Domesday-book. There was also King's land, Gerefa land, and such like; but these names attached to land seem rather to express the quality of the demesne proprietors than any other circumstance.

One grant is rather singular, in the limitations of the estate which it conveys. The king gives a manor to Edred, and permits Edred to give it to Lulla and Sigethrythe, who are enjoined to give part of the land to Eaulfe and Herewine. But Eaulfe was to give half of this part to Biarnulve, and to enjoy the other half for his own life, with the power of devising it as he pleased (5).

To these tenures we may add the Gafoleland, or land granted or demised on the condition of paying some contribution in money or other property. Thus archbishop Ealdulf, in 996, gave land to a miles, for his life and two heirs; but annexed a condition, that they should provide every year fifteen salmon (6). An abbot and the monks demised twenty-seven acres to a person, that he might have them in stipendium as long as he served them well (7).

An ancient lease is mentioned in the year 852, by which Ceolred, abbot of Medeshamstede, and the monks, let (leot) to Wulfred the land at Sempigaham for his life, on condition that he gave (besides some other land) a yearly rent of sixty fother of wood, twelve fother of græfan (which may mean coals), six fother of turf, two tuns full of clear ale, two slain cattle, six hundred loaves, ten mittan of Welsh ale, one horse, thirty shillings and a night's lodging (8). A marsh was leased at the rent of two thousand

(1) Heming. Chart. p. 6. 8.
(2) Ibid. p. 29.
(3) Smith's App. Bede, p. 765.
(4) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 125.
(5) Astle's MS. Charters, No. 20.
(6) Heming. Chart. p. 191.
(7) 3 Gale's Script. p. 475.
(8) Sax. Chron. p. 75.

eels (1). By the laws, a ceorl, who had gafol lande, was estimated at two hundred shillings (2).

CHAPTER III.

The Burdens to which Lands were liable, and their Privileges.

The oldest Saxon grants we have contain reservations of services which the possessor of the land had to perform; and, from the language of those which have survived to our times, we perceive that certain burdens, though varying in kind and quantity, were attached to estates in every age. Some few were exempted from any; a larger proportion were freed from all but the three great necessities, which in one charter are described to be, "what it is necessary that all people should do, and from which work none can be excused (3)."

These three common labours, or universal necessities, as they are frequently styled, are the fyrd-færelde; the bryge-geweorc; and the weal, or fæsten-geweorc.

The fyrd-færelde was the military service to which all the Saxon lands appear to have been subject, excepting those which the king, with the consent of his witena, or sometimes the king alone, expressly exempted from the obligation. This military service consisted in providing a certain number of armed men, proportioned to the rated quantity of land, who were to attend the king or his officers on expeditions made for the public safety, or against invading enemies. What number of men a given quantity of land was to furnish cannot now be precisely stated; though it would seem, from Domesday-book, that five hides found one soldier in most counties. In the year 821 a grant of various lands was made, with the specified condition, that the owner should attend the public expedition with twelve vassals and as many shields (4). Even church lands were not exempt from this general obligation of military service. We find a person mentioned as a witness, who was "the leader of the army of the same bishop to the king's service (5)." Egelwin, prior of a monastery, gave to a miles the villa of Crohlea for life, on the condition that he should serve for the monastery in the expeditions by sea and land (6).

There are many grants of lands to monasteries in which the military service is expressly preserved. It is almost always spoken of as a general, known, and established thing. It is mentioned in Domesday-book, of the burg of Lideford, in Devonshire, that when an expedition is on foot, either by land or sea, the burg has to render the same amount of service as should be required from Totness.

Of Totness it is said, that when expeditions are enjoined, as much service is to be rendered from Totness, Barnstaple, and Lideford, as from Exeter; and Exeter was to serve as for five hides of land (7). The laws of Ethelred provided that for every plough two men, well horsed, should be furnished (8).

(1) 3 Gale's Script. p. 477.
(2) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 47.
(3) Heming. Chart. p. 109.
(4) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 104.
(5) Heming. Chart. p. 81.
(6) Ibid. p. 265.
(7) Domesday-book, con. Devenscire.
(8) Wilk. Leg. p. 59.

It is from Domesday-book that we may collect the most precise information on this curious topic. It is said of Berkshire, that, "if the king should send an army any where, only one soldier should go for five hides; and for his victuals and pay, every hide was to give him four shillings for two months. This money was not to be sent to the king, but to be given to the soldiers (1)."

Of the city of Oxford it is said, that when the king should go on an expedition, twenty burghers should go with him for all the others, or that twenty pounds should be paid, that all might be free (2).

This curious article shows, that the military service might be commuted by a pecuniary mulct.

In Worcestershire it is declared, that "when the king goes against the enemy, if any one, after summoned by his mandate, should remain, he should (if he was a freeman having his sac, and able to go where he pleased) forfeit all his land at the pleasure of the king." But if he was a freeman under another lord, his lord should carry another man for him, and the offender should pay his lord forty shillings. But if no one at all went for him, he was to pay his lord that sum, who was to be answerable for as much to the king (3).

On these expeditions it was the privilege of the men serving for Herefordshire, that they should form the advanced guard in the progress, and the rear guard in a retreat (4).

From Leicester twelve burghers were to go with the king when he went with an army by land. If the expedition was maritime, they were to send him four horses from the same burg, as far as London, to carry their arms and necessaries (5).

The custom of Warwick was, that ten burghers should go on the expedition for the rest. Whoever did not go after his summons, forfeited to the king one hundred shillings. When the king went by sea against his enemies, this burg was to send him four batsueins, or four pounds of pennies (6).

The fyrde, or expedition, is mentioned so early as in the laws of Ina. If a sith-cund man owning land abstained from the fyrde, he was to pay one hundred and twenty shillings, and lose his land. If he were not a land-owner, he was to pay sixty shillings, and a ceorl sixty shillings, for the fyrde mulct (7). In the laws of Ethelred the fyrde is ordered to take place as often as there be need, and the scyp-fyrdrunga, or naval expedition, was directed to be so diligently prepared as to be ready every year soon after Easter. It is added, that if any depart from the fyrde where the king himself is, both his life and goods should be the forfeit: if he in any other case quitted it, he was fined one hundred and twenty shillings (8).

In one of the grants it is mentioned, that a land-owner had lost his rus of ten cassatos, because he had rebelled with the king's soldiers in his expedition, and had committed much rapine and other crimes (9).

The other two great services to which land was generally liable were, the construction or reparation of bridges and fortresses or walls. These

(1) Domesday-book, con. Berockescire.
(2) Ibid. Oxenefordscire.
(3) Ibid. Wirecestrescire.
(4) Ibid. com. Herefordscire.
(5) Ibid. Ledecestrescire.
(6) Ibid. Warwicscire.
(7) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 23.
(8) Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 109.
(9) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 132.

are enjoined to be done in almost every grant. In Domesday-book it is said of Chester, that the prepositus should cause one man for every hide to come to rebuild the wall and bridge of the city; or if the man should fail to come, his lord was to pay forty shillings (1).

Besides these three great services, which later writers have called the trinoda necessitas, there were many other burdens to which the landed interest was more or less liable in the hands of the sub-proprietors.

A careful provision is made in many grants against royal tributes and impositions, and those of the great and powerful. In one it is mentioned, that the king should not require his pasture, nor the entertainment of those men called Fæsting-men, nor of those who carry hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs (2). In another it is agreed, that the wood should not be cut for the buildings of either king or prince (3). It is elsewhere expressed, that the land should be free from the pasture and refection of those men called in Saxon Walhfæreld, and their feasting, and of all Englishmen or foreigners, noble and ignoble (4). This burden of being compelled to entertain others, is mentioned in several grants. In one, the pasture of the king's horses and grooms (5), and of his swine, which was called fearn leswe (6), is noticed.

It is probable that these royal impositions attached only to the lands which were or had been of the royal demesne. The pecuniary payments which resulted to the king from the landed estates in England are enumerated in Domesday-book.

When the original proprietors aliened or demised their lands to others, they annexed a variety of conditions to their grants, which subsequent transfers either repeated or discharged. Some of these may be stated. One contract was, that the person to whom the land was given should plough, sow, reap, and gather in the harvest of two acres of it, for the use of the church (7). Another was, that the tenant should go with all his craft twice a year, once to plough, and at the other time to reap, for the grantors (8). Another grant reserves two bushels of pure grain. Another the right of feeding one hundred swine. Another exacts the ploughing and reaping of a field (9). In others a ship, in others lead is reserved (10). Offa gave the land of twenty manentium to the church at Worcester, on the terms of receiving a specified gafol from the produce of the land (11). The services and customs attached to the possession of burghs, houses, and lands, which are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, may be consulted as giving much illustration to this topic. Sometimes an imposition was made on the land of a province by general consent. Thus, for building Saint Edmund's church, four denarii were put annually on every carucata of earth, by the consent of the landholders (12). There were also ecclesiastical duties attached to land.

It is said by Lord Coke, that the first kings of this realm had all the lands

(1) Domesday, Cestrescire.
(2) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 104. Thorpe, R. R. 22.
(3) MS. Claud.
(4) Heming. Chart. 31.
(5) Heming. Chart. 58.
(6) Ibid. 86.
(7) Ibid. 134.
(8) Ibid. 189.
(9) Ibid. 144. p. 174. 208. I quote Hearne's edition of this book; but cannot avoid saying, that the Saxon passages are badly printed. Either the transcript was made, or the press set and corrected, by a person ignorant of Saxon.
(10) Dugdale, Mon. i. p. 19, 20. 141.
(11) Ibid. 101.
(12) Ibid. p. 291.

of England in demesne, and that they reserved to themselves the grand manors and royalties, and enfeoffed the barons of the realm with the remainder, for the defence of the realm, with such jurisdiction as the courts baron now have, and instituted the freeholders to be judges of the court baron (1). Much of this statement may be true; but it can be only made inferentially, for no positive information has descended to modern times of what lands the Saxon chieftains possessed themselves, nor how they disposed of them. We may recollect, that, according to the laws of the Britons in Wales, in the ninth century, all the land of the kingdom was declared to belong to the king (2); and we may safely believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island.

It is highly probable that the Saxon war-cyning succeeded to all the rights of the monarch he dispossessed; and, in rewarding his companions and warriors with the division of the spoil, it can be as little doubted, that from those to whom the cyning or the witena gave the lands of the British landholders a certain portion of military service was exacted, in order to maintain the conquest they had achieved. This was indispensable, as nearly a century elapsed before the struggle was completely terminated between the Britons and the invaders. It was also a law among the Britons, that all should be compelled to build castles when the king pleased (3). But that the lands in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon proprietors were subject to the fyrde, as a general and inevitable burden, and that this military service was rigorously exacted, and its neglect severely punished, and was to be performed when called for by the king, the facts already adduced have abundantly proved. Enough has been also said to show that custom, or the will of individuals, had imposed on many estates personal services, pecuniary rents, and other troublesome exactions. Hence there can be no doubt that the most essential part of what has been called the feudal system actually prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons. The term vassals was also used by them. Asser, the friend of Alfred, has the expression nobilibus vassalis (4); and grants of kings to their vassals are not unfrequent.

The Anglo-Saxon proprietors of land in demesne were, in many respects, the little sovereigns of their territories, from the legal privileges which, according to the grants, and to the customs of the times, they possessed and were entitled to exercise. Their privileges consisted of their civil and criminal jurisdictions, their pecuniary profits and gafols, and their power over the servile part of their tenantry and domestics.

It is an appendage to many grants of land, that the possessors should have the sac and soc, or a certain extent of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Thus Edward the Confessor gave to the abbot of Abbendon sace and socne, toll and team, infangenetheof binnan burgan, and butan burgan; ham socne, grithbrice and (5) foresteal. Similar privileges are given, with many additions, in various grants; and they conveyed, not only the right of holding courts within the limits of the estate, to determine the causes and offences arising within it, but also the fines and payments, or part of them, with which the crimes were punished. In some grants these fines were shared with the king (6). Sometimes the liberty of holding markets, and of receiving toll, is allowed, and sometimes an exemption from toll.

(1) Coke on Littleton, 58.
(2) Leges Wallicæ Hoel, cap. 337.
(3) Leg. Wall. Hoel. cap. 165.
(4) Asser, Vit. Alfredi, p. 33.
(5) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 130.
(6) Ibid. p. 104.

There seems to be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons took lands by inheritance. The peculiar modes of inheritance, called gavelkind, where all the children inherited; and borough-english, where the youngest son was the heir; have been referred to the Saxon times.

CHAPTER IV.

Their Conveyances.

We have several of their grants of land without any pecuniary consideration; of their conveyances on purchase; of their deeds of exchange; their testamentary devises, and their leases. These are all short and simple—as short and as simple as they might always be made, if the ingenuity of mankind were less directed to evade their legal contracts by critical discussions of their construction.

The Saxon conveyances consisted principally of these things:

1st, The grantor's name and title are stated. In the older charters the description is very simple. It is more full in those of a later period; but the grants of Edgar are generally distinguished from those of other kings by a pompous and inflated commencement.

2d, A recital is usually inserted, in many instances preceding the donor's name. Sometimes it states his title, or some circumstances connected with it. Sometimes the recital is on the brevity and uncertainty of life, and on the utility of committing deeds to writing—sometimes of the charitable or friendly feelings which occasioned the grant; and one recital states that the former land-boc, or conveyance, had been destroyed by fire, and that the owner had applied for new ones.

3d, The conveying words follow, which are usually "Do et concedo; donare decrevimus; concedimus et donamus; dabo; trado:" or other terms of equivalent import, either of Latin or Saxon.

4th, The person's name then occurs to whom the land is granted. The name is sometimes given without any addition, and sometimes the quality or parentage is simply mentioned, as, Eadredo, Liaban fili Birgwines; meo fideli ministro Æthelwezde; Æthelnotho præfecto meo; Ealdberhto ministro meo, atque Selethrythe sorori tuæ, etc.

5th, What lawyers call the consideration of a deed is commonly inserted. This is sometimes pro intimo caritatis affectu, pro ejus humili obedientia, pro redemptione animæ meæ, and such like. Often it is for money paid, or a valuable consideration.

6th, Another circumstance frequently mentioned in the royal grants is, that it was done with the consent of the witena or nobles.

7th, The premises are then mentioned. They are described shortly in the body of the grant by their measured or estimated quantity of land, and the name of the place where they were situate. Some general words then follow, often very like those annexed to the description of premises in our modern conveyances. The grants show that the land of the country was in a state of cultivated divisions, and was known by its divisional appellations. Sometimes the name given to it is expressed to be that by which it was locally known among the inhabitants of the district. At others the

name is expressed to be its ancient or well-known denomination. The appellation, however, is usually Saxon; though in some few places it is obviously British.

When estates were large, they comprehended many pieces of land, of various descriptions. With the arable land, meadow, marsh, wood, and fisheries, were often intended to be passed. In our times, lest the words expressly used to indicate the land conveyed should not include all the property included in the purchase, words of large and general import are added, without any specific idea, that such things are actually attached. Such expressions occur in the Saxon charters. Thus, in a grant dated in 679, after the land is mentioned, we have "with all things pertaining to it; fields, meadows, marshes, woods, fens, and all fisheries to the same land belonging." In the Anglo-Saxon grants of a more recent date, the general words are nearly as numerous as in our own present deeds.

Besides the first description of the place, and the general words, there are commonly added, at the end of the grant, the particular boundaries of the land. The grants are, for the most part, in Latin, and the boundaries in Saxon.

8th, The nature of the tenure is then subjoined, whether for life or lives, or in perpetuity, or whether any reversion is to ensue.

9th, The services from which the land is liberated, and those to which it is to continue subject, are then expressed.

10th, Some exhortations are then inserted to others, not to disturb the donation, and some imprecations on those who attempt such disturbance.

11th, The date, the place of signature if a royal grant, and the witnesses, usually conclude it. The date is sometimes in the beginning.

It may be here remarked, that the Saxon deeds had no wax seals. These were introduced by the Norman conquest (1).

The divisions of land mentioned in the Saxon charters are marked and distinguished by precise boundaries. We will mention some of them, as they will show, very satisfactorily, the agricultural state of the country. They sometimes occur concisely in Latin; but it was far more usual to express them in Saxon, even in Latin charters. This was perhaps that they might be more generally and exactly known, and, in case of dispute, easier proved. The juries, gemots, and witnesses of the day, might mistake a Latin description, but not a vernacular one.

In 866 the boundaries of two manentes run thus: "From Sture on the Honey-brook, up behind the brook on the old hedge; along the hedge on the old way; along the way on the great street; along the street on four boundaries, then so to Calcbrook, along the brook; then so to Horse-brook, along the brook; then so to the ditch, along the ditch to the Sture again; on Sture to the ditch that is called Thredestreo, along the ditch on Heasecan-hill; from Heasecan-hill to the ditch, along the ditch to Wenforth, along Wenforth, and then again on the Sture (2)."

"First the Icenan at Brom-bridge, up along the way to Hlide-gate; thence along the valley to Beamstead; then by the hedge to Searnegles-ford; then up by Swetheling to Sow-brook; then forth by the boundary to Culesfield, forth by the right measured to the Steedlea, so to the Kids-field; then to the boundary valley, so to the Tæppe-lea; so on to Sheep-lea, then

(1) Ingulf. p. 70. 3 Gale, 409. (2) Smith's App. Bede, 770.

to Broad-bramble, so to the old Gibbet-place, then on to the deep-dell; then by the wooden boundary mark to Back-gate; thence by the mark to the old fold; thence north and east to the military path, and by the military path to the Stocks of the high ford, so by the mere of the Hide-stream to Icenan; then up by the stream and so to the east of Wordige; thence by the right mark to the thorn of the mere; thence to the red cross; so on by the Ealderman's mark; from the mark then it cometh to Icenan up by the stream to the ford of Alders; thence to Kidburn, up and along the burn to the military path, so to the Turngate within the fish water to Sheepswick; then by the right mere to the Elderford, so to the Broad-valley, then to the Milk-valley, so to the Meal-hill, and along the way to the mark of the Forester's, south of the boundary to the hay-meadow, then to the Clæan-field, so on Copper-valley, forth by the hedge on the angle field; then forth on the Icenan north of Steneford, so with the stream till it cometh again on Brombridge (1)."

"These are the boundaries of the land to Cerotesege (Chertsey), and to Thorpe: That is, first on the Waymouth up and along the way to Way-bridge; from Way-bridge within the eel mill ditch; midward from the ditch to the old military street, and along the street on Woburn-bridge, and along the burn on the great willow; from the great willow along the lake on the pool above Crocford; from the head of this pool right to the elder; from the elder right on the military street; along the street to Curten-staple; from Curten-staple along the street to the hoar-thorn; from the thorn to the oak tree; from the oak tree to the three hills; from the three hills to the Sihtran; from the Sihtran to the limitary brook; from the limitary brook to Exlæpesburn; from Exlæpesburn to the hoar maple; from the hoar maple to the three trees; from the three trees along the deep brook right to the Wallgate; from the Wallgate to the clear pool; from the clear pool to the foul brook; from the foul brook to the black willow; from the black willow right to the Wallgate, and along the Thames to the other part of Mixten-ham, in the water between the hill island and Mixten-ham, and along the water to Nettle-island; from that island and along the Thames about Oxlake to Bere-hill, and so forth along the Thames to Hamen-island; and so along the middle of the stream to the mouth of the Way (2)."

In 743 these boundaries occur: "First from Turcan Spring's head and along the street on Cynelms-stone on the mill-way, then and along the ridge on Hart-ford; thence and along the streams on the city ford on the fosse on the speaking place; thence on Turcan-valley on the seven springs, midward of the springs to Bale's-hill, south, then on the chalk-walk; thence again on Turcan-valley, and along again on the Turcan Spring's head (3)."

"First from Thames mouth and along the Thames in Wynnabæce's mouth; from Wynnabæce to Woodymoor; from Woodymoor to the wet ditch; from the wet ditch to the beach, and from the beach to the old dike: from the old dike to the sedge-moor; from the sedge-moor to the head of the pool, and along to Thorn-bridge; from Thorn-bridge to Kadera-pool; from Kadera-pool to Beka-bridge; from Beka-bridge to the forepart of the Hipes moor; from that moor within Coforth-brook; from the brook within the hedge; after the hedge to the hillock called Kett; from Kett to the bar-

(1) Dugd. Mon. 37. (2) Ibid. (3) Heming. Chart. 57.

rows; from the barrows to Lawern; from Lawern into the ditch; and after the ditch to the Ship-oak; and from the Ship-oak to the great aspen, and so in to the reedy slough: from the slough within the barrows; from the barrows to the way of the five oaks, and after that way within the five oaks; from the oaks to the three boundaries; from the three boundaries to the bourn of the lake; from that bourn to the mile-stone; from that stone to the hoar apple-tree; from that apple-tree within Doferie; after Doferie to Severn, and along the Severn to the Thames mouth (1)."

In one of the boundaries a wolf-pit occurs (2).

CHAPTER V.

Some Particulars of the Names of Places in Middlesex and London, in the Saxon Times.

It appears from Domesday-book, that in the Saxon times the county of Middlesex had been divided into hundreds, which were distinguished by the names that they now bear, with small variations of pronunciation or orthography.

Domesday Names for the Hundreds of Middlesex.	Modern Names.
Osuluestone,	Ossulston.
Gara,	Gore.
Helethorne,	Elthorne.
Spelethorne,	Spelthorne.
Adelmetone,	Edmonton.
Honeslaw,	Hounslow.

Among the places mentioned in the county in Domesday-book, we may easily discern the following ancient and modern names to correspond:—

Holeburne,	Holborn.
Stibenhede,	Stepney.
Fuleham,	Fulham.
Tueverde,	Twyford.
Wellesdone,	Wilsdon.
Totehele,	Tothil.
Scepertone,	Shepperton.
Hochestone,	Hoxton.
Neutone,	Newington.
Pancrass,	Pancras.
Draitone,	Drayton.
Hamestede,	Hampstead.
Stanes,	Staines.
Sunneberic,	Sunbury.
Greneforde,	Greenford.
Hanewelle,	Hanwell.
Covelie,	Cowley.
Handone,	Hendon.
Hermodeswarde,	Harmondsworth.
Tiburne,	Tyburn.
Haneworde,	Hanworth.
Hardintone,	Harlington.
Hillendone,	Hillingdon.
Ticheham,	Twickenham.
Leleham,	Laleham.

(1) Heming. Chart. 75.

(2) 3 Gale, 520.

Exeforde,	Uxbridge.
Bedefunt,	Bedfont.
Felteham,	Feltham.
Stanmere,	Stanmore.
Northala,	Northall.
Adelmetone,	Edmonton.
Eneffelde,	Enfield.
Rislepe,	Ruislip.
Chingesberie,	Kingsbury.
Stanwelle,	Stanwell.
Hamntone,	Hampton.
Hergotestane,	Hestone.
Cranforde,	Cranford.
Chelched,	Chelsea.
Chenesita,	Kensington.
Iseldone,	Islington, otherwise Isledon, or the Isel Hill.
Toteham,	Tottenham.
Hesa,	Hayes.

The local denominations by which the various places in England are now known seem to have been principally imposed by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Most of them, in their compositions, betray their Saxon origin: and whoever will take the trouble to compare the names in Domesday-book, which prevailed in the island during the time of the Confessor, with the present appellations of the same places, will find that the greatest number of them correspond. The hundreds in the county of Sussex were sixty-three, and still remain so: of these, thirty-eight bore the same names as now; and of the villæ or maneria, which are about three hundred and forty-five, there are two hundred and thirty with appellations like their present.

London is mentioned in Bede as the metropolis of the East Saxons in the year 604, lying on the banks of the Thames, "the emporium of many people coming by sea and land (1)."

In a grant, dated 889, a court in London is conveyed "at the ancient stony edifice called by the citizens hwæt mundes stone, from the public street to the wall of the same city (2)." From this we learn that so early as 889 the walls of London existed.

In 857 we find a conveyance of a place in London called Ceolmundinge haga, not far from the West Gate (3). This West Gate may have been either Temple Bar or Holborn Bars.

Ethelbald, the Mercian king, gave a court in London, between two streets called Tiddberti-street and Savin-street (4).

Snorre, the Icelander, mentions the battle in Southwark in the time of Ethelred II. He says the Danes took London. On the other side of the Thames was a great market called Sudrvirki (Southwark), which the Danes fortified with many defences; with a high and broad ditch, and a rampart of stone, wood, and turf. The English under Ethelred attacked these in vain.

The bridge between the city and Southwark was broad enough for two vehicles to pass together. On the sides of the bridge, fortifications and breast-works were erected fronting the river. The bridge was sustained

(1) Bede, l. 2. c. 3.
(2) Heming. 42.
(3) Hem. 44.
(4) Dugd. Mon. 138.

by piles fixed in the bed of the river. Olave, the ally of Ethelred, assailed the bridge, and succeeded in forcing it (1).

Ethelbald grants the vectigal, or custom, paid by one ship in the port of London to the church of Rochester (2).

CHAPTER VI.

Lawsuits about Land.

We have some account of their legal disputes about landed property in some of their documents, from which we will select a few particulars.

One charter states that Wynfleth led her witnesses before the king. An archbishop, a bishop, an ealdorman, and the king's mother were there. They were all to witness that Alfrith had given her the land. The king sent the writ by the archbishop, and by those who had witnessed it, to Leofwin, and desired that men should be assembled to the shire-gemot. The king then sent his seal to this gemot by an abbot, and greeted all the witan there. Two bishops, an abbot, and all the shire were there. The king commanded to be done that which was thought to be most right. The archbishop sent his testimony, and the bishop; they told her she must claim the land for herself. Then she claimed her possessions, with the aid of the king's mother. An abbot, a priest, an etheling, eight men, two abbesses, six other ladies; and many other good thegns and women were there. She obtained her suit (3).

In another transaction, a bishop paid fifteen pounds, for two hides, to Lefsius and his wife at Cambridge. Ten pounds of the money were paid before several witnesses. A day was appointed for the other five pounds. They made another convention between them, which was, that Lefsius and his wife should give the fifteen pounds for the five hides at Cleie, with the condition that the bishop should give, besides, a silver cup of forty shillings which the father of Lefsius, on his death-bed, bequeathed to the bishop. This agreement being made, they exchanged all the live and dead stock of the two lands. But before they had returned to the bishop those ten pounds at Cleie, king Edgar died. On his death Lefsius and his wife attempted to annul their agreement with the bishop, sometimes offered him the ten pounds which he had paid them, and sometimes denied that they owed anything. Thus they thought to recover the land which they had sold; but the bishop overcame them with his witnesses. Presuming on success, Lefsius seized other lands. This violence occasioned these lands to remain two years without being plowed or sowed or any cultivation. At last a generale placitum was held at London, whither the duces, the princes, the satrapæ, the pleaders, and the lawyers, flowed from every part. The bishop then impleaded Lefsius, and before all expounded his cause, and the injury he had sustained.

This affair being well and properly and openly discussed by all, they decreed that the lands which Lefsius had forcibly taken should be restored to the bishop, and that Lefsius should make good all the loss and the mund,

(1) Snorre, excerpted in Johnstone's Celto-Scand. p. 89. 92.
(2) Thorpe, Reg. Roff. 14. (3) MS. Cott. Aug. 2. p. 15.

and forfeit to the king his were for the violence. Eight days afterwards they met again at Northampton : all the country having assembled, they exposed the same cause again before all : and it was determined in the same manner in which it had been adjudged at London. Every one then with oath on the cross returned to the bishop the lands which had been violently torn from him.

Thus far the narration gives no account of the two and the five hides about which the controversy began. But it is immediately afterwards mentioned, that soon after Lefsius died. On his death, the bishop and the ealderman and the primates of Northamptonshire, and the proceres of East Anglia, had a placitum at Walmesford in eight hundreds. It was there determined, among other things, that the widow of Lefsius and his heirs ought to compensate for the above-mentioned violence, as he ought to have done if he had lived; and they appreciated the injury which the bishop had sustained at one hundred pounds. The aforesaid matron, supported with the good wishes of all the optimates, humbly requested the bishop to have mercy on her, and that she might commute her were, and that of her sons, for one hundred shillings, which the bishop was about to give her for the two hides at Dunham. The bishop was more benevolent to her than she expected; for he not only remitted to her the money in which she had been condemned, but paid her the hundred shillings which she had proposed to relinquish. He also gave her seven pounds for the crop on the land at Dunham (1).

A piece of water was leased at a rent of two thousand eels. The tenants unjustly possessed themselves of some land of the monastery, without the adjudication or legal permission of the citizens and the hundred. The ealderman came to Ely, and Begmund and others were called for this cause, and summoned to the placitum of the citizens and of the hundred several times, but never came. The abbot did not therefore desist, but renewed his claim at the placita within the city and without, and oftentimes made his complaint. At length the ealderman held at Cambridge a great placitum of the citizens and hundreds, before twenty-four judges, under Thorningefeld, near Maideneburge. The abbot related how Begmund and others had unjustly seized the land, and though often summoned to the placitum, would never come. Then they all adjudged that the abbot should have his land, pool, and fishery, and that Begmund and the others should pay their fish to the abbot for six years, and should give their forfeiture to the king. They also decreed that if this was not performed willingly, they should be justified in the seizure of the offender's property. The ealderman also commanded that Oschetel, Oswy, of Becce, and Godere of Ely, should go round the land, lead the abbot over it, and do all this, which was performed accordingly (2).

In another dispute on the non-performance of an agreement for the sale of land, the ealderman commanded the defendant to be summoned, and, going to Dittune, began there to narrate the causes and complaints, the agreements and their violation, by the testimony of many legal men. The defendant denied the whole. They ordered him to purge himself by the requisite oath; but as neither he nor they, who ought to have sworn with him, could do this, the cause was adjudged against him, and this judgment was afterwards confirmed at Cambridge (3).

(1) Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, 468, 469. (2) Ibid. p. 478. (3) Ibid. p. 484.

As many curious particulars of their legal customs appear in these narrations, we will add another.

Wlstan forfeited some land, which the king had purchased and sold to a bishop. About this time a great gemot was appointed at Witlesford, of the ealderman and his brothers, and the bishop, and the widow of Wlstan, and all the better counsellors of the county of Cambridge. When they all had sat down, Wensius arose and claimed the land, and said that he and his relations had been unjustly deprived of the land, as he had received for it no consideration, neither in land or money. Having heard this plea, the ealderman asked, if there were any one present who knew how Wlstan had acquired that land. Alfric of Wicham answered, that Wlstan had bought that land of Wensius for eight pounds, and he appealed to the eight hundreds on the south side of Cambridge as witnesses. He said Wlstan gave Wensius the eight pounds in two payments, the last of which he had sent by Leofwin, son of Adulf, who gave it to him in a purse, before the eight hundreds where the land lay. Having heard these things, they adjudged the land to the bishop, and they directed Wensius, or his relations, to look to the heirs of Wlstan if he wanted more money for his land (1).

CHAPTER VII.

Their Denominations of Land.

In the charters we find various names for the quantities of land conveyed. These are, hidæ, cassati, mansæ, manentes, aratrum, sulunga.

The cassati, mansæ, the manentes, the aratrum, and the sulunga, appear to have expressed the same meaning which the word hide signified.

That the cassati and the mansæ were the same, appears from several grants; thus, ten mansas are in another part of the same grants called ten cassatos (2); and thirty mansas, thirty cassatos (3). So ten cassatos, when mentioned again, are styled ten mansos or mansas (4).

In other grants, hides are stated as synonymous with cassatos. Thus, ten cassatos are, in the same grant, called ten hides (5), and twenty cassatos, twenty hides (6). In other grants, the land, which, in the first part of the document, is enumerated as hides, is afterwards termed cassatos. Thus, fifty hides, fifty cassatos (7); seven hides, seven cassatos (8); five hides, five cassatos (9).

The grants also identify the expressions mansæ and mansi with hide. A charter of 947 conveys twenty mansæ, "quod anglice dicitur twenty hides (10)." In another, seven hides are also called seven mansæ (11). One mansa is one hide (12), and five mansæ, five hides (13).

In one grant, the expressions fourteen mansiunculæ, and forty jugeribus, are identified with fourteen hides and forty acres (14).

(1) Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, p. 484.
(2) Cotton MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 195.
(3) Ibid. p. 119. 195.
(4) Ibid. p. 131, 132.
(5) Ibid. c. 9.
(6) Ibid. p. 102. 194.
(7) Ibid. p. 118.
(8) Ibid. p. 121.
(9) Ibid. p. 130.
(10) Ibid. Claud. b. 6. p. 37.
(11) Ibid. MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 130.
(12) Heming. Chart. p. 150.
(13) Ibid. p. 143. 182, 183.
(14) MS. Claud. b. 6. p. 75.

All these authorities prove, that the hide, the cassatus, and the mansa, were similar designations of land.

In an ancient MS. there is a note in the margin, in the same hand-writing with the body, thus "No. qd. hide cassati et manse idem sunt (1)."

Other grants identify the sulunga with the preceding. Thus, one conveys sex mansas quod Cantigenæ dicunt sex sulunga (2). Another mentions the land of three aratrorum as three sulong (3). Another says twelve mansas "quod Cantigenæ dicunt twelf sulunga (4)." Two cassati are also called two sulunga (5).

The hide seems to have contained one hundred and twenty acres. In one historical narration of ancient grants, an hide is so defined; "unam hydam per sexies viginti acras (6);" two hides are afterwards mentioned as twelve times twenty arable acres (7).

In Domesday-book we find hides and carucatæ mentioned (8). Carucata implies so much land as a single plough could work during a year (9). This ancient survey also contains acres, leucæ, and quarantenæ, among its terms for expressing the quantities of land.

The following measures of land occur in the Anglo-Saxon laws; 3 mila, 3 furlong, 3 æcera bræde, 9 fota, 9 scefta munda, 9 bere corna (10), express the extent to which the king's peace was to reach.

(1) MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 113.
(2) MS. Chart. of the late Mr. Astle, No. 23.
(3) Ibid. No. 7.
(4) Ibid. No. 24. and Thorpe, Reg. Roff. 189.
(5) MS. Chart. Aug. 2. p. 68.
(6) 3 Gale, Script. p. 472.
(7) Ibid. p. 475. 481.
(8) The word is usually abbreviated. In p. 77, and some other places, it occurs at full length.
(9) See Du Cange, Gloss. Med. Lat. 1. p. 359.
(10) Wilkins, Leges Sax. p. 63.

NOTE

ON THE COLONI OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

It will assist us in forming more correct ideas of the state of the peasantry of the Anglo-Saxons, if we consider that portion of the agricultural population in the Roman empire, when the Gothic nations overran it, who were termed the *Coloni*. It is probable that this order of peasants was established in Britain while the Romans occupied it, as in the other parts of their dominions; and that the Anglo-Saxons found them there when they invaded it.

Mr. Savigny has given one of the latest and best accounts of this class of the Roman husbandmen in his Memoir to the Acad. Roy. at Berlin, in 1822; and as they seem to come nearer to the Anglo-Saxon ceorls than any others of the rustic class of the lower empire, we will subjoin some of the information which he has industriously collected.

"The Coloni were by their birth attached to the soil, not as day-labourers, but as farmers, cultivating, on their own account, a certain extent of soil, and obliged to pay for their enjoyment of it an annual *canon* or a rent, usually in kind, but sometimes in money. They do not seem to have been subjected to any personal services for the proprietor of the lands they occupied, who was often called the *Patronus*. They had no actual right in the land; yet as they could not be separated from it, nor their rent be arbitrarily increased, their tenure was as secure as if they had been proprietors.

"The land could not be alienated without the coloni, nor the coloni without the land. They were subjected to a personal contribution to the state, which was entered on the rolls after the land tax on the property.

"The owner paid both these assessments to the government, and collected them from these tenants; with whom the personal tax was so closely connected, that when the law suppressed it in some provinces, it added a declaration that this should not change the condition of the coloni.

"They differed from slaves in being freemen: capable of contracting marriage, and of possessing property of their own, which their patronus could not take, though they could not alienate it without his leave. But they got released from this restriction, if they became one of the three classes into which the free citizens of the empire were divided: *Cives; Latini; Peregrini*. Their obligatory attachment to the soil occasioned them to be sometimes called *Servi terræ;* and from their taxation they were also named *adscriptitii; tributarii; censiti;* a more rare appellation was *inquilini*. The largest part of them were in this state from birth; some by prescription; and some, less frequently, by contract." Ferrussac's Bull. Univ. 1827. No. 3. Hist. pp. 200—202.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.